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February 19, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR BETH HINCHLIFFE

FROM: BOB SIMON

SUBJECT: AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF BENJAMIN O. DAVIS, JR.

- Davis was born in Washington, D.C. His father was in the Army for 50 years, retiring as a brigadier general. For most of his Army career, Davis, Sr. was the only black officer in the Army. Davis, Jr. spent part of his childhood in Tuskegee, where his father was professor of military science. Segregation was strictly enforced off campus and the KKK was actively lynching blacks. One night, the Klan planned a march protesting a decision to hire blacks at the new black veterans hospital. All blacks were instructed to stay indoors with their lights off. Davis, Sr. refused to cower. The whole family was on their porch with lights ablaze as the white-robed Klansman filed by without incident.

- After high school, Davis wanted to by a pilot, but there were almost no black pilots in the U.S. He thought he might have to become an engineer and move to South America to escape segregation and pursue a worthwhile career.

- Davis, Jr. received a West Point appointment from the only black Congressman in the country at that time (1932). His father wrote to him: "I feel you have the makings of a good cadet and officer.... Remember twelve million people [the black population of America] will be pulling for you with all we have." Davis, Jr. noted, "In climbing through the Army's ranks from 1989 to 1932, my father had overcome what seemed almost impossible odds. In spite of the attitudes of whites towards all people of color, he had managed to buck the system and accomplish his goals. He had made life easier for me. Now it was my turn to make things better for those who would come after me. I was determined to succeed."

- At West Point, Davis was "silenced." The other cadets never spoke a word to him during his four years as a student apart from official business. After the recognition ceremony at the end of plebe year, many upper classmen congratulated him. But after that, he reverted to being an invisible man. No white student would room with him or eat with him.

- At graduation from West Point, Davis received a standing ovation. The Davises were now the only black officers in the Army.

- Davis asked to join the Air Corps but was rejected because of his race. However, in 1941, the Army decided to conduct an "experiment" to see if blacks could be trained to fly. Davis was chosen to be the commander of the unit, based at Tuskegee. In building the new training base, the Army provided for segregated restrooms and water fountains.

- Davis' wife Agatha wrote a long poem highly critical of the segregation at the Tuskegee training center, but it ended on a positive note:

  We ... are doing a patriotic job on the side of right
  In an effort to win the Double V for which we fight.
  We hope that after war will come a fair and lasting peace
  All hostility between the blacks and whites will cease.
  It always makes me glow to think of the day there will be
  A world of brother-loving men, all men equal and free.
  Hate and force will be gone & tolerance will take their pace,
  Twill matter not if you belong to the black or white race.

- The all-black 99th Fighter Squadron and the 332 Fighter Group had one of the best records of all Air Forces in Europe. They fought in North Africa and Italy, and flew missions all over central and eastern Europe, even one harrowing 1600-mile mission to bomb Berlin. The units became known as specialists in precision bombing and escorting bombers. After hundreds of escort missions, the squadrons <u>never</u> lost a single bomber to enemy fighters. Davis personally flew 60 missions and won the Silver Star.

- One downed pilot, Lt. Herbert Clark, evaded capture for eight months behind enemy lines. He continued the fight by leading a partisan band that conducted raids against the Germans in Northern Italy.

THE WHITE HOUSE

RADM WALTER S. DAVIS, JR.
~~6TH~~ CARRIER TASK FORCE
CMDR GROUP 6

VADM JOSEPH REASON
CMDR NAVAL SURFACE
LANTFLT

NAVY SWITCH 697-3350 Army
CHF INFO 703-697-5342
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Dep Comdr.

Col. Leonard M. Randolph, Jr. Surgeon/Prof. Services
1st Tactical Wing

Col. John D. Hopper, Jr.
Dep. Comdr. for 63rd/M Airlift Wing

lieve strongly that apartheid is wrong and that it must end. We want to see the creation of a nonracial and democratic South Africa as a result of negotiations among legitimate representatives of all of South Africa's people. We support the beginning of a process leading to a peaceful transition to democracy.

To achieve our goal, we intend to expand our assistance to black South Africans to help them both economically and politically so they can play their rightful role in determining the future of their country. We will work with the Congress to increase present programs and develop new ones to assist black South Africans in the critical areas of human rights, education, employment, housing, and community development. Such programs should not be misunderstood as our acquiescing in apartheid, but rather viewed as a determined effort to bring it to an end.

We will also work closely with our allies, particularly the British, Japanese, West Germans, and Portuguese, to develop mutually supporting policies and cooperative programs to resolve the political impasse created by apartheid and to assist in the advancement of black South Africans. These nations have important historical, cultural, and economic ties with South Africa, and their wisdom and influence need to be brought to bear on the problems of South Africa and the region.

Again, it has been an honor to be with Mrs. Sisulu here today. Her struggle and that of her husband, Walter, who remains in prison, and her children, remind us of the price of freedom and the hope which her example inspires in all of us.

Nomination of Jane A. Kenny To Be Director of ACTION

June 30, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Jane A. Kenny to be Director of ACTION. She would succeed Donna M. Alvarado.

Ms. Kenny currently serves as Deputy Director of ACTION, the Federal domestic volunteer agency in Washington, DC, and also serves as Acting Associate Director of the Office of Domestic and Antipoverty Operations. In November 1988 she was appointed Deputy Director of the Office of Domestic Operations and administered the ACTION programs, including the Foster Grandparent, Senior Companion, and Retired Senior Volunteer Programs (RSVP); Volunteers In Service to America (VISTA); and ACTION Drug Alliance. Ms. Kenny joined ACTION in July 1986, serving as Director of VISTA. Prior to this, she was Director of the Executive Secretariat at the General Services Administration. She served in the Office of Vice President George Bush for 4 years, most recently serving as Special Assistant to the Vice President. Ms. Kenny has served as a staff assistant at the National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration, and as a management analyst in the Department of Justice in Washington, DC.

Ms. Kenny graduated from the College of New Rochelle (B.A., 1967) and American University (M.P.A., 1977).

Remarks at a White House Ceremony Commemorating the 25th Anniversary of the Civil Rights Act

June 30, 1989

Well, thank you for that warm reception, and welcome to the White House. We're just delighted that you joined us for this important occasion. And of course, I'm very

pleased to see several of our Cabinet members here, leaders of the United States Congress here. I'm particularly pleased to see our Attorney General, Dick Thornburgh, and, I might say, Bill Lucas, a friend of mine of longstanding, our nominee at Justice—both of whom, I can tell you, are fully committed to the vigorous enforcement of civil rights.

And I might say I am just delighted that, among others representing the fine work of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, we have their president, the Reverend Joseph Lowery, with us over here today. I don't know who the man sitting on his right is, but I'll try to—[*laughter*]. Jesse [Jackson], you know the ground rules. [*Laughter*] But let me be very clear: I'm delighted you are here. It's most important that you be here today, too, sir.

We gather today not only to commemorate an anniversary but to celebrate a movement and to rededicate our efforts to the unfinished work of that movement. Some of America's mileposts are easy to date. In 1776, America invented itself, a nation founded upon an idea—the self-evident truth that all men are created equal. And nearly a century later, our nation fought its bloodiest war that the promise of that Revolution might be extended to all people. But for many Americans, another hundred years were to pass before the promise would even begin to become a reality.

Like the first American Revolution, it began with the quiet courage of ordinary citizens. Perhaps it began on December 1, 1955, when Rosa Parks refused to give up her rightful place on a Birmingham bus. Or maybe, maybe it was October 1, 1962, when James Meredith took destiny into his hands and registered at the University of Mississippi. But by the summer of '64, the revolution had a name. It was called the civil rights movement, and that year marked a watershed for many Americans. The previous August had seen 250,000 gathered—just beyond those windows—to hear Martin Luther King, Jr., proclaim a dream that was due every American. And the following year would see the march on Selma, and Watts would burn.

But in 1964, the debate raged. Good people with honorable intentions struggled with issues as old as the Republic and as young as the movement's leadership. The breakthrough came when the Senate finally invoked cloture, ending the longest debate in its history and a 74-day filibuster. And the result was a statutory package—soon to be bolstered by voting rights and open housing legislation—that stands as a landmark in the civil rights movement.

But it wasn't the year's only milepost. That same summer, the brutal murder of three young civil rights workers, so singularly appalling in its savagery, shocked the conscience of this nation and became critical to our country's progress on civil rights. Twenty-five years later, these mileposts are important symbols of how far we've come as a nation and reminders of how far we must still go.

It's appropriate today that we rededicate ourselves to that most American of dreams: a society in which individuals are judged not "by the color of their skin, but by the content of their character." That means vigilant and aggressive enforcement of all civil rights laws. It means the sensitive application of those laws when competing rights of innocent persons are at stake. The law cannot tolerate any discrimination, and my administration will not tolerate abuse of that principle.

And while celebrating our achievements and recommitting ourselves to their preservation, we must recognize that the full promise of the civil rights movement has still not been achieved. The hard lesson of the passing years is that it has not been enough to wage a war against the old forms of bigotry and inequality. The lives of the disadvantaged in this country are affected by economic barriers at least as much as by the remnants of legal discrimination. And for that reason, I continue to support affirmative action and minority outreach programs. And as I've stated before, we must move beyond the protection of rights to the creation of opportunity.

Creating opportunities for all Americans will require both public and private leadership. And it's time to move forward on a broader front. And we will be satisfied with nothing less than equal opportunity for all

Americans and the removal of final barriers to self-reliance. And that's why—that my administration has proposed new initiatives in education, the key to opportunity, to boost programs such as Head Start, merit schools, adult literacy and, of course, historically black colleges and universities. And we've asked Congress for emergency urban grants to help free our youth from a new form of enslavement: the slavery of drug addiction.

On other fronts, we're supporting landmark new legislation to extend the Nation's civil rights guarantees to those more than 36 million Americans with disabilities, bringing them into the mainstream of American society. And last week we added our voice to those calling for passage of the Hate Crimes Act. My administration's comprehensive crime package isn't just about law enforcement. Earlier this week, I spoke about the impediments to providing equal opportunities for women—if a justifiable fear of violent crime leaves them concerned about walking to a campus library at night or reluctant to work late hours for fear of getting out of the parking lot safely.

And new programs in civil rights also means anticipating the future, a future in which more than 80 percent of those entering the work force will come from the ranks of women, minorities, and immigrants. The challenge of the future will not be just finding jobs for our people but, if you look at the demographics, finding people for our jobs.

And the work force of the future can also benefit from the unique abilities of persons with disabilities. The time-tested laws that give civil rights protections can and ought to be extended to persons with disabilities. This will involve, of course, a careful balance between the needs of persons with disabilities and the needs of business to make real progress towards opening the doors of the workplace.

In the 25 years since the summer of '64, we've seen much progress. It is time now to move forward on a broader front, to move forward into the century's final decade with a civil rights mission that fully embraces every deserving American, regardless of race—whether women, children, or the aged; whether the disabled, the unemployed, or the homeless. And for all these reasons, I'm proud today to honor this year's anniversary by calling on Congress, respectfully, to join me in a new partnership to reauthorize the Civil Rights Commission, with the goal of launching a renewed civil rights mission.

Launching a civil rights mission that can keep pace with a fast-changing world and work force will require commitment, cooperation and, yes, creative thinking. And beyond government, and even beyond the private leadership of dedicated representatives such as those here in this room, achieving the long-delayed dream of civil rights for every citizen will require full support from our businesses, our schools, and families.

As President Kennedy proclaimed in a call to conscience when he proposed the landmark legislation in 1963, even the most comprehensive of laws could never meet the challenge of civil rights. The problem, he declared, "must be solved in the homes of every American in every community across our country." And in this, I ask you and every American for a renewed commitment to this just cause.

And I thank you for coming to the White House today and for honoring the history of this movement—a movement in which many of you here in this room today were in the very forefront of leadership for that movement. Thank you for coming. Now we've got some work to do in the 25 years ahead. Thank you all very, very much.

Note: The President spoke at 2:05 p.m. in the East Room at the White House.

Message on th
June 30, 1989

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Statement on
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June 30, 1989

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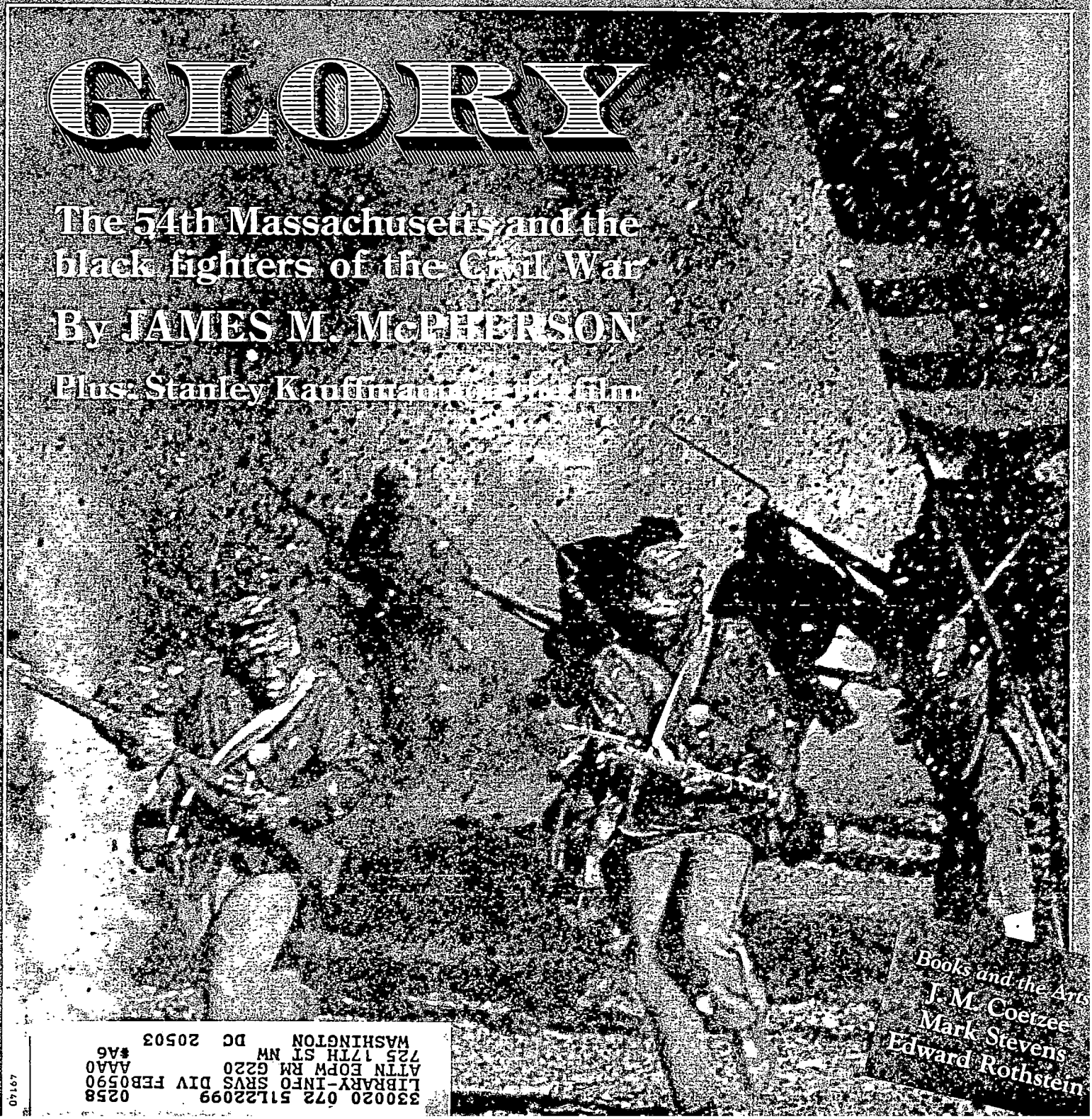
Sakharov's legacy · 'White nationalism' in the schools? · East Bloc boondoggles

GLORY

The 54th Massachusetts and the black fighters of the Civil War

By JAMES M. McPHERSON

Plus: Stanley Kauffmann on the film



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4 MICHAEL KINSLEY **TRB: A LIBERAL TAX CUT** Your taxes just went up again. It's time for Democrats to do something about it.

6 CORRESPONDENCE Cocaine, Nicaragua, *Shira*, &c.

7 THE EDITORS **SAKHAROV** With the loss of the prophet of *glasnost*, has Russia gained a liberal tradition? **PANAMA COCKED HAT** Early indications suggest that Bush's military intervention was a good idea. **NOTEBOOK** Bork worship, Quayle revisionism, &c.

12 FRED BARNES **WHITE HOUSE WATCH: MR. POPULARITY** Bush keeps boosting his approval rating by breaking all the rules about how Presidents are supposed to act.

13 STEPHEN COHEN **PRAGUE POSTCARD: ROSES IN THE SNOW** With Vaclav Havel and the students in the lead, Czechoslovakia's Civic Forum emerges victorious.

14 JACOB WEISBERG **BLOC PARTIES** Washington's consultants and lobbyists are just thrilled about Eastern Europe's emerging democracies.

16 ANGELA STENT **DOCTRINAL DISCORD** What has to be called the Gorbachev Doctrine is a calculated risk that has scrambled all of Moscow's calculations.

18 SCOTT MCCONNELL AND ERIC BREINDEL **INCLUSION ILLUSION** The Sobol report on New York's 'white nationalist' school curriculum won't help minorities a bit.

22 JAMES M. MCPHERSON **THE 'GLORY' STORY** The film about the 54th Massachusetts, the black regiment that fought heroically at Fort Wagner, fudges a few historical details but articulates well some larger truths about what happened in the Civil War.

28 STANLEY KAUFFMANN **ON FILMS: COMRADES IN ARMS** *Glory*, a full-bodied, bloody, moving account of a black regiment in the Union Army.

30 MARK STEVENS **ON ART: CHURCH'S CHURCH** Frederic Church, an American master of excess, discovered spiritual ecstasy and kitsch in his art.

33 EDWARD ROTHSTEIN **DREAMS OF DISAPPEARANCE** The eccentric vision of Elias Canetti, obsessed by power and by the lure of escape.

36 NICHOLAS CHRISTOPHER **POEM** *Scarlet Lake*

39 J. M. COETZEE **TOO LATE THE LIBERAL** *Save the Beloved Country* by Alan Paton

41 ROBERT ALTER **THE METAMORPHOSIS** *The Storyteller* by Mario Vargas Llosa, translated by Helen Lane

43 JEFFERSON MORLEY **FELIX'S FRIENDS** *Shadow Warrior: The CIA Hero of a Hundred Untold Battles* by Felix I. Rodriguez and John Weisman

46 HENDRIK HERTZBERG **WASHINGTON DIARIST: WAR STORIES** Yet more on *Glory*, plus a holiday Bennett-bashing and Atwater-induced cognitive dissonance.

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THE 'GLORY' STORY

By James M. McPherson

"Can Movies Teach History?" asks the title of a recent *New York Times* feature article. The answer for *Glory* is yes. It is not only the first feature film to treat the role of black soldiers in the American Civil War; it is also the most powerful and historically accurate movie about that war ever made. If it wins a deserved popularity, it will go far to correct the distortions and romanticizations of such earlier blockbuster films as *Birth of a Nation* (1915) and *Gone with the Wind*. Celebrating their 50th anniversary on the screen, Scarlett O'Hara and Rhett Butler are still teaching false and stereotyped lessons about slavery and the Civil War to millions of viewers. *Glory* will throw a cold dash of realism over the moonlight-and-magnolias portrayal of the Confederacy. It may also help to restore the courageous image of black soldiers and their white officers that prevailed in the North during the latter war years and early postwar decades, before the process of romanticizing the Old South obscured that image.

Glory tells the story of the 54th Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry from its organization in the winter of 1863 to the climactic assault of July 18, 1863, against Fort Wagner, a massive earthwork guarding the approach to Charleston. The Union military and naval effort to capture Charleston failed in 1863. So did this assault on Fort Wagner led by the 54th, which suffered nearly 50 percent casualties in the attack. One of them was Col. Robert Gould Shaw, killed while leading his men over the parapet. But if in this narrow sense the attack was a failure, in a more profound sense it was a success of historic proportions. The unflinching behavior of the regiment in the face of an overwhelming hail of lead and iron answered the skeptic's question, "Will the Negro fight?" It demonstrated the manhood and courage of the race to millions of white people in both North and South who had doubted whether black men would stand in combat against soldiers of the self-styled master race.

The events that led to this epochal moment in Afro-American history represented a radical evolution of the scope and purpose of the Civil War. The original war aims of Abraham Lincoln's Administration had been to suppress an insurrection in 11 Southern states and to restore them to their old place in the Union. The North conceived of this as a limited war that would not fundamentally alter the American polity or society—including slavery. Four slave states had remained loyal to the Union. In 1861-62 they would not have supported a war to abolish slavery. Neither would the Democrats, who constituted nearly half of the Northern voters. And the Constitution that the North was fighting to defend guaranteed the protection of slavery in states that wanted it. Therefore, despite Lincoln's personal abhorrence of slavery, he could not willfully turn this war for the Union into a war against slavery. Nor could his War Department accept black volunteers in the Union Army in 1861, for to do so would have sent a signal that this was to be an abolition war.

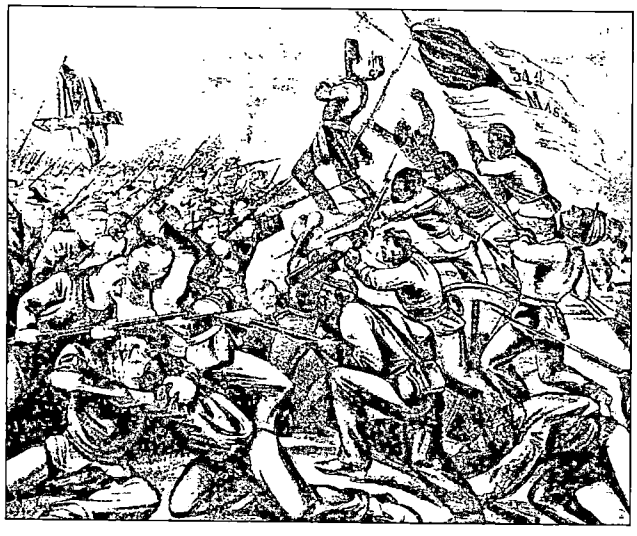
By 1862, though, it was becoming such a war by the actions of slaves themselves and of the Lincoln Administration and Congress, and by the accelerating momentum of the conflict. It had become a total war, not merely a militia action to suppress insurrection. Thousands of slaves flocked to Union Army posts when Northern troops invaded portions of the South. Abolitionists and radical Republicans insisted that they must be granted freedom. The success of Confederate military offensives in 1862 convinced Republicans, including Lincoln, that the North could not win the war without mobilizing all its resources and striking against Southern resources used to sustain the Confederate war effort. The most important such resource was slavery, for slaves constituted the majority of the South's labor force. In the summer of 1862 Congress enacted legislation confiscating the property of Confederates, including slaves. Lincoln followed this with the Emancipation Proclamation to free the slaves, invoking his power as commander in chief to seize enemy property used to wage war against the United States. The Proclamation also stated that blacks would be "received into the armed services of the United States."

These events underlay the decision of Governor John Andrew of Massachusetts to organize a black reg-

JAMES M. MCPHERSON is the author of *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (Oxford University Press), which won the Pulitzer Prize for history in 1989.

iment, which became the 54th Massachusetts. A bold experiment, black soldiers could be made acceptable in the context of the time only if they were commanded by white officers. Andrew was determined to appoint officers "of firm antislavery principles . . . superior to a vulgar contempt for color." In Robert Gould Shaw, son of a prominent abolitionist family, he found his man. As black volunteers came into training camp near Boston during the spring of 1863, Shaw shaped them into a high-morale outfit eager to prove their mettle.

In May 1863 the 54th completed its training and marched through Boston to embark for the front (a scene nicely depicted in *Glory*). About the same time the *New York Tribune*, the leading Northern newspaper and a supporter of arming blacks to fight for the Union and freedom, observed that most Yankees now endorsed that radical policy, but many still wondered whether blacks would make good soldiers. "Loyal whites have generally become willing that they should fight," declared a *Tribune* editorial, "but the great majority have no faith that they will do so. Many hope they will prove cowards and sneaks—others greatly fear it."



THE CHARGE AT FORT WAGNER, JULY 18, 1863
LITHOGRAPH BY CURRIER & IVES (THE BETTMANN ARCHIVES)

The 54th was not the first black regiment organized, or the first to see combat. To test the waters on this issue, the War Department quietly allowed Union commanders of forces occupying portions of the lower Mississippi Valley, the Kansas-Missouri border, and the South Carolina sea islands to begin organizing black regiments in the fall of 1862. Four of these regiments had fought in actions connected with the Vicksburg campaign during May and June 1863, winning plaudits for their performance. But these events had received little publicity in the Northern press.

The recruitment of black combat troops was still regarded as a risky experiment when the 600 men of the 54th moved out at dusk on July 18 to the attack on Fort Wagner. During the next few hours they more than justified the experiment. Forced by the ocean on one side and swamps on the other to approach the fort along several hundred yards of narrow beach, the regiment moved forward steadily through bursting shells and murderous musketry, losing men every step of the way but continuing right up the ramparts and breaching the parapet before the immense strength of the works stopped them. (The portrayal of this attack in *Glory* is the most realistic combat footage in any Civil War movie I have seen.)

A war correspondent for the *New York Tribune* vividly described the battle to Northern newspaper readers. The 54th's attack did more than prove that Fort Wagner was impregnable to infantry assault; it disabused hundreds of thousands of Northerners of their stereotypes. "Who asks now in doubt and derision, 'Will the Negro fight?' " commented one abolitionist. "The answer is spoken from the cannon's mouth . . . it comes to us from . . . those graves beneath Fort Wagner's walls, which the American people will surely never forget." "Through the cannon smoke of the dark night," said the *Atlantic Monthly*, "the manhood of the colored race shines before many eyes that would not see." For the *New York Tribune*, the assault resolved any lingering doubts: "It made Fort Wagner such a name to the colored race as Bunker Hill had been for ninety years to the white Yankees."

White officers of the 54th represented the elite of New England society. Some, including Shaw, were Harvard alumni and sons of prominent families. Several—also including Shaw—were combat veterans of white regiments during the first two years of the war. Anti-slavery in conviction, they had willingly risked stigma and ridicule to cast their lot with a black regiment. Shaw's death made a deeper impression on Yankee culture than that of any of the other 35,000 men from New England killed in the Civil War. The clergyman Henry Ward Beecher wrote that Shaw's martyrdom had regenerated Boston's past glory as America's cradle of freedom: "Our young men seemed ignoble; the faith of old heroic times had died . . . but the trumpet of this war sounded the call and Oh! how joyful has been the sight of such unexpected nobleness in our young men." Ralph Waldo Emerson and James Russell Lowell extolled Shaw in verse. Lowell wrote:

> Right in the van,
> On the red rampart's slippery swell,
> With heart that beat a charge, he fell
> Foeward, as fits a man;
> But the high soul burns on to light men's feet
> Where death for noble ends makes dying sweet.

continued on page 26

The Confederate defenders of Fort Wagner stripped Shaw's body and dumped it into an unmarked mass grave with the bodies of the men of the regiment who had been killed in the attack. When the Union commander sent a flag of truce across the lines a day later to request the return of Shaw's body (a customary practice for high-ranking officers killed in the Civil War), a Confederate officer replied contemptuously, "We have buried him with his niggers." This produced bitterness as well as more poetry in the North, the best of which was perhaps these lines by an obscure bard:

They buried him with his niggers!
A wide grave should it be.
They buried more in that shallow trench
Than human eye could see.
Ay, all the shames and sorrows
of more than a hundred years
Lie under the weight of that Southern soil
Despite those cruel sneers.

Several weeks after the battle, Union forces finally occupied Fort Wagner after a punishing naval bombardment had compelled the Confederates to evacuate it. When a Union officer offered to search for Shaw's grave to recover his body, Shaw's father wrote an eloquent letter to stop the enterprise: "We hold that a soldier's most appropriate burial-place is on the field where he has fallen." The most fitting marker for Shaw and the soldiers of the 54th is Augustus St. Gaudens's superb bas-relief sculpture on Boston Common showing Shaw in the foreground on his horse while his soldiers march alongside with shouldered rifles and heads held high in pride—surely the noblest of the thousands of Civil War monuments in this country.

The apotheosis of Shaw and his men in July 1863 came just after the terrible four-day draft riot in New York City. The riot had been fueled in part by the hostility of Irish-Americans to blacks and to being drafted to fight in a war to free the slaves, who they feared would come North to compete for jobs and social space. Black New Yorkers were the chief victims of the rioters. On July 15 the mob beat to death the nephew of one of the 54th's sergeants, Robert Simmons; three days later Simmons was mortally wounded in the attack on Fort Wagner.

The draft riot occurred in the context of opposition by Northern Democrats to the Lincoln Administration's war policies, including emancipation, black soldiers, and the draft. Democrats had done much to stir up the racial hatreds manifested by the rioters, who chanted the anti-war and anti-black slogans of the "Copperhead" wing of the party. Few Republican commentators failed to juxtapose the draft riot with the heroic conduct of the 54th at Fort Wagner, and to point to the moral: black men who fought for the Union deserve more respect than white men who rioted against it.

Lincoln himself made this point in a public letter to a political meeting in August 1863, which was reprinted in nearly every Northern newspaper. "Some of the commanders of our armies in the field who have given us our most important successes," wrote Lincoln, "believe the emancipation policy, and the use of colored troops, constitute the heaviest blow yet dealt to the rebellion." This was a reference to Gen. Ulysses S. Grant, who in a recent letter to Lincoln had endorsed the value of black regiments. Addressing himself to anti-emancipation Democrats, Lincoln continued: "You say you will not fight to free negroes. Some of them seem willing to fight for you," that is, for the Union.

The performance of the 54th at Fort Wagner not only advanced the liberation of slaves; it also helped to liberate Lincoln from the constitutional and political constraints that had earlier inhibited the President from making this war for the Union a war against slavery—an institution that Lincoln had often branded a "monstrous injustice." In a moving peroration of this public letter written a month after Fort Wagner, Lincoln wrote that when final victory brought a new birth of freedom to the re-United States, "there will be some black men who can remember that, with silent tongue, and clenched teeth, and steady eye, and well-poised bayonet, they have helped mankind on to this great consummation; while, I fear, there will be some white ones, unable to forget that, with malignant heart, and deceitful speech, they have strove to hinder it."

Glory does not go into detail about the impact of the battle of Fort Wagner on Northern opinion; it is sketchy on the political context of the black soldier issue; it does not mention the draft riot. The 54th continued to serve through the war, fighting in several more battles and skirmishes. The movie, though, ends with the attack on Fort Wagner. That is appropriate, for Shaw is the central figure in the film. His death makes a fitting climax to the drama whose tensions build steadily to that moment of consummation. If the 54th had done nothing else in the war, this would have elevated it to the deserved status of most famous of the 166 black regiments in the Union Army. If it is not literally true, as the caption appearing on the screen at the end of the movie would have it, that the bravery of the 54th at Fort Wagner caused Congress to authorize more black regiments—that had happened months earlier—the example of the 54th did help to transform experiment into policy. It also helped to earn a front-line combat role for many other black regiments instead of the rear-area role as service and labor battalions that had been their original purpose. A central theme of *Glory* is Shaw's determined fight to win a combat assignment for the 54th, so it can earn respect for black manhood and overcome the stereotype of shiftless, cowering, comic darkies.

Glory portrays this theme with sensitivity and dramatic power—even though many scenes and charac-

ters that convey it are fictional. This raises the question posed by Richard Bernstein's *Times* article "Can Movies Teach History?" He observes that "more people are getting their history, or what they think is history, from the movies these days than from the standard history books." For every person who has read one of the several excellent histories of black soldiers in the Civil War, a hundred or more will see this movie. That being true, does "the filmmaker, like the novelist, have license to use the material of history selectively and partially in the goal of entertaining, creating a good dramatic product, even forging what is sometimes called the poetic truth, a truth truer than the literal truth?" asks Bernstein. In other words, "Does it matter if the details are wrong if the underlying meaning of events is accurate?"

Glory does confront the literal-minded historian with this question on several occasions. Most of the details are right. And when they are wrong, there is often a rational explanation that minimizes the distortion. Knowledgeable viewers will note that in the movie the 54th charges *southward* against Fort Wagner, with the Atlantic ocean on its left, when in reality the assault went northward. The reason is the configuration of the Georgia beach where the set of Fort Wagner was built, which required a southward assault. Does it really matter?

Some errors in the film are inexplicable, though, because they seem to serve no purpose. The 54th began organizing in February 1863, not three months earlier. In his brief cameo role, black leader Frederick Douglass is presented as a venerable sage whose screen appearance is modeled on a photograph taken a quarter century later when Douglass was in his 70s instead of the vigorous 45 he was in 1863. The real Robert Gould Shaw received the offer of command of the 54th by letter from Governor Andrew borne by his father to Shaw in winter camp with his regiment (the 2nd Massachusetts) in Virginia. Rob discussed it earnestly with his father, wrestled with his conscience overnight, declined, then changed his mind a day later and accepted. In the movie, Shaw is attending an elegant drawing-room party in Boston while on furlough when Andrew offers the command; without a pause, Shaw accepts. Literal history in this case would seem to have offered greater dramatic possibilities for getting at a deeper truth than the cinematic version.

Except for Shaw, the principal characters in the film are fictional: there was no real Maj. Cabot Forbes; no Emerson-quoting black boyhood friend of Shaw's named Thomas Searles; no tough Irish Sergeant-Major Mulcahy; no black Sergeant and father-figure John Rawlins; no brash, hardened Private Trip. Indeed, there is a larger fiction involved here. The movie gives the impression that most of the 54th's soldiers were former slaves. But in fact, the regiment was recruited mainly in the North and most of the men had always been free. Some of them came from prominent Northern black families; two of Frederick Douglass's sons were among the first to sign up. The older son, Lewis, was sergeant-major of the regiment from the start. The young adjutant of the regiment, wounded in the assault on Fort Wagner, was Garth Wilkinson James, brother of William and Henry James. A dramatic and important story about the relationship of Northern blacks to slavery and the war, and about the wartime ideals of New England culture, could have been constructed from a cast of real, historical figures. The story also might have included Sergeant Simmons, his nephew, and the draft riot.

But the story that producer Freddie Fields, director Edward Zwick, and screenwriter Kevin Jarre chose to tell is equally important—and, in that sense of "the underlying meaning of events," equally true. This is a film not simply about the 54th Massachusetts, but about blacks in the Civil War. Most of the 178,000 black soldiers (and 10,000 black sailors) were slaves until a few months, even a few days, before they joined up. They fought for their freedom, for the freedom of their families, their people. This was the most revolutionary feature of a war that wrought a revolutionary transformation in America by freeing four million slaves and uprooting the social structure of half the country. Arms in the hands of slaves had been the nightmare of Southern whites for generations. In 1863 the nightmare came true. It achieved a new dignity, self-respect, and militancy for the former slaves who fought for the Union. It helped them achieve equal citizenship and political rights—for a time—after the war.

That is the real story told by *Glory*. That is why most of the soldiers are depicted as former slaves. It is a story of their transformation from an oppressed to a proud people. It is a story told skillfully through several of the fictional events in the film—the incident of the racist quartermaster who initially refuses to distribute shoes to Shaw's men; the punishment of Trip by whipping for going AWOL; the regiment's dramatic refusal on principle to accept less pay than white soldiers, which launched an ultimately successful movement to shame Congress into equalizing the pay of black soldiers (this actually happened, but at Shaw's initiative, not Trip's); the religious meeting the night before the assault on Fort Wagner.

It is a story told symbolically in one of the most surreal and, at first glance, irrelevant scenes in the movie, when Shaw gallops his horse along a path flanked by stakes, each with a watermelon (in February in Massachusetts?) jammed on its top. Shaw slashes right and left with his sword slicing and smashing every watermelon. The point becomes clear when we recall the identification of watermelons with the darky stereotype. If the image of smashed watermelons in *Glory* can replace that of moonlight and magnolias in *Gone with the Wind* as America's cinematic version of the Civil War, it will be a great gain for truth. •

BOOKS & The Arts

Stanley Kauffmann on Films

Comrades in Arms

On Boston Common in 1897 the city dedicated a monument by Augustus St. Gaudens to Col. Robert Gould Shaw and the men of the 54th Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry. It was a black regiment in the Union Army, and he was their white commander. He and nearly half of his men were killed in the assault on Fort Wagner, near Fort Sumter, in July 1863. William James spoke at the monument's dedication:

> The republic to which Robert Shaw and a quarter of a million like him were faithful unto death is no republic that can live at ease hereafter on the interest of what they have won. Democracy is still upon trial.

Then James specified the institutional and commercial comforts that cannot "save us from degeneration if the inner mystery is lost."

In 1963, the 100th anniversary of Fort Wagner, Robert Lowell wrote "For the Union Dead," a wintry view of the monument and the city, a wintrier view of the fate of James's "inner mystery." Cold practicalities have chilled the spirit; change has flooded through Boston, even through the Common, where a huge garage is being excavated and where the poet sees

> Colonel Shaw
> and his bell-cheeked Negro infantry
> on St. Gaudens' shaking Civil War relief,
> propped by a plank splint against the
> garage's earthquake.

The change is more than physical. Surveying the grubby scene and breathing the altered air, Lowell writes: "Their monument sticks like a fishbone / in the city's throat."

To refresh us about the inner mystery, to celebrate the fire of the past—thus inevitably to imply the ironies of what followed—some gifted people have made **Glory** (Tri-Star). The film tells the story of Shaw, a 24-year-old captain when he was wounded at Antietam in 1862, who was commissioned to form the 54th Massachusetts of black volunteers and to lead them: and the story of that regiment through its formation, its training, its harassments within the Union Army itself, its first engagements, to Fort Wagner. The film has a major and a minor flaw; nonetheless it is powerful—poignant in detail and, more importantly, in spirit.

The producer, Freddie Fields, was apparently the originating force behind the enterprise and apparently deserves much credit for the fact that *Glory* is not a mere exploitation of a historical circumstance with modern relevance, not a made-for-TV thesis tract, but an authentic, patient, bloody, and moving work. The screenplay by Kevin Jarre is based on two books, *Lay This Laurel* by Lincoln Kirstein (yes, that Kirstein) and *One Gallant Rush* by Peter Burchard. Also, there are several quotations from Shaw's letters to his parents, read on the sound track by Matthew Broderick, who plays Shaw.

The cinematographer was Freddie Francis, the Englishman who did *Sons and Lovers* and *The French Lieutenant's Woman* and who fixes surely the visual quality that certifies each scene—some sequences in pouring rain, for instance, and a deadly battle in the woods where the dewy freshness of the air makes the fight more terrible. The easy comparison for Francis's work is with Mathew Brady's, but I think this is off kilter, not because Brady shot in black and white but because Francis works with a history of photography behind him, a history that is in the viewer's eye as well. This was not available to the relative newcomer Brady. Francis's realism, in carefully graded colors, is not Brady's magnificent, ever-surprising journalism but unobtrusively sophisticated art.

The director was Edward Zwick, whose only previous theater feature was the amusing *About Last Night . . .* and who was one of the creators of the TV series "thirtysomething." Whoever it was—Fields, I suppose—who took a chance on Zwick, to direct a film that was several universes away from what he had previously done, should be congratulated. The decision had to be something of a risk, but by and large, *Glory* proves that it was right.

The very first sequence sets the tone and texture: a series of shots of a Union Army camp, with soldiers lounging, laundering, playing, and so on—with no sound except the film music. Zwick wanted to do more than establish period, he wanted to show at once the men within the history, show them realistically but with a hint of reverence. Aided by his editor Steven Rosenblum, whose skill becomes more and more impres-

FILMS WORTH SEEING

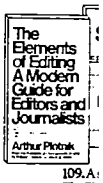
Enemies, A Love Story. *New York, 1949. A Jewish survivor of Nazi terror and three women from the same background. Romantic, funny, wry. Paul Mazursky directed a wonderful cast with understanding. (Reviewed 1/1/90)* **Henry V.** *The young British actor Kenneth Branagh has adapted and directed and stars in a version of the Shakespeare play that challenges the Olivier film yet is very much itself. For the most part, Branagh succeeds stirringly. (12/4/89)* **My Left Foot.** *Christy Brown, an Irish victim of cerebral palsy, who wrote and painted with his left foot, did an autobiography that now makes a salty, non-maudlin, highly moving film, crammed with fine acting. (11/27/89)* **Mystery Train.** *If you like Jim Jarmusch's work, this will really test you. A spare account of three sets of lives that cross in a seedy Memphis hotel. A piece of daring yet gratifying minimalism. (12/11/89)* —**SK**



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sive as complications follow, Zwick stamps the opening moments with grave simplicity.

Antietam, the enlistment of the blacks, the vicissitudes of the training camp, Zwick handles them all firmly. A few time lapses jar. But his intimate scenes, in the soldiers' tents, catch the abutment of differing men; his encounters between officers have the right edge of rivalry under the discipline; his battle scenes have the special horror of the Civil War. Anyone who has visited the battlefields has seen the appalling *closeness* of the opposing lines. (For some of the spectacular scenes, Zwick had the participation of Civil War buffs, who regularly re-enact occasions in that history.)

All but one of the cast are excellent. Jarre has written four principal black roles, soldiers in the regiment who epitomize much of conditions before the war and of what is now happening around them. Zwick has cast the parts wisely and has helped his actors. Andre Braugher as the well-educated Boston black who is the first to volunteer; redoubtable Morgan Freeman as the seasoned, wise ex-slave; Jihmi Kennedy as the country boy, candid and sweet, whose previous shooting experience has been squirrel hunting (although he squints the wrong eye when he aims his rifle!); and, the boldest of the four, Denzel Washington as the runaway slave with the whip-scarred back, proud and full of hate, who enlisted without illusion and fights with a kind of relief. All these are vivid men, not the trite composites of an army-film group. Cary Elwes, as the white officer who is second in command, incises a man struggling with a new idea and mastering it.

But the casting of Broderick as Colonel Shaw, unlike the choice of Zwick to direct, is a gamble that fails. Broderick, trying hard, has neither the style nor the weight for the role. He is the only one on whom a uniform looks like a costume. He misses the quintessence of the role—the son of Boston Brahmin abolitionists who feels noblesse oblige to put his life at the service of his beliefs. Lowell says of him:

> He rejoices in man's lovely,
> peculiar power to choose life and die—
> when he leads his black soldiers to death,
> he cannot bend his back.

Broderick conveys little of this quality.

Less important but quite unhelpful is James Horner's music. Mostly it repeats one theme in numerous variations; occasionally a swelling boys' choir is added. The economical strength of the film itself has at times to withstand assault from the lush sound track.

The core of the film is the black men's eagerness to fight. What they suspect is that the regiment has been formed merely to provide a labor force. These soldiers have struggled to become free men—most of them are ex-slaves—and they want the double chance: to affirm their manhood and to strike at the kingdom of slavery they have escaped.

Possibly the film's best achievement is in making credible this urgency to fight. If you have ever seen a modern audience, particularly of young people, at an older film in which men talk about wanting to fight in a war and being willing, if need be, to die, you will know how extraordinary it is that Zwick and colleagues make the soldiers' sentiments compelling.

Glory contains no scenes of battle as glory: it is all brutal killing with gun and bayonet. The film isn't warmongering; it's the depiction of oppressed men with the means at hand to end oppression. That the Civil War ended slavery but not racial injustice—something foreseen by Trip, the bitterly percipient Denzel Washington character—is not a reproof of the 54th Massachusetts but of what came after. (Trip would have agreed with Walt Whitman, who admired the black troops that he saw and said, "The Negro will get his due from the Negro—from no one else.")

After the Fort Wagner battle, the Confederates showed their contempt for Shaw, the white officer who led black troops, by throwing his body in a common ditch with his soldiers. (A touch too neatly, Trip's body falls next to his.) History tells us that, later on, when disinterment was proposed, Shaw's father declined. Lowell again:

> Shaw's father wanted no monument
> except the ditch,
> where his son's body was thrown
> and lost with his "niggers."

Mark Stevens on Art

Church's Church

The catalog of the Frederic Church show at the National Gallery in Washington contains a wonderful photograph that recalls the original installation, in 1859, of *Heart of the Andes*. This spectacular landscape painting, which includes everything from the tiniest birds to the most distant mountains, and ranges from the green heat of the tropics to the blue chill of mountain snow, was set into an imposing wooden edifice so that viewers could indulge the illusion of looking through a window into the landscape. On either side some drapes were pulled back, giving the impression also of a stage. Portraits (not by Church) of three American Presidents rose above the painting like a benediction. In the center was George the Father.

Contemporary accounts report that the lighting in the room was kept low, except on the painting, and that visitors spoke in whispers. Some brought opera glasses. It cost a quarter to see this picture; the show was, among other things, a big commercial hit, taking in more than $3,000 during its three-week run and proving popular with a broad spectrum of the public. Most who came spoke of the experience in reverential tones, for the setting of the painting not only resembled a window and a theater but also an altar from which one might, under the presiding spirit of the Presidential patriarchs, worship Nature in the New World.

Although they have removed some of the funkier stuff, notably the drapes and the Presidents, the organizers of the exhibition in Washington have nonetheless fashioned an evocative re-creation of this original setting. One can almost see the picture as Americans did around the time of the Civil War. And the truly marvelous and complicated thing is that one hardly knows whether to laugh or to fall to one's knees. Without question the picture (which belongs to the Metropolitan Museum in New York) has miraculous elements: the progression of tone, the rendering of detail, the layering of space from near to far, and above all, the god-like sensation that one has been invited to the Creation. At the same time the painting is show-biz, kitsch, greedy for detail, anxious to impress, overproud of its spirituality, and painfully innocent.

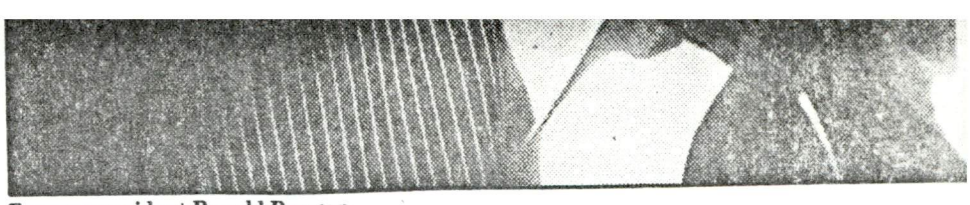
In other words, made in America. Church is a great but powerfully flawed artist; and the ways in which he is flawed, no less than those in which he excelled, help make him one of the essential Americans. He is as important in this symbolic way as any 19th-century American writer. He presumed to create a new world and, in doing so, he seemed to bring together every important vice and virtue in the American soul.

A student of Thomas Cole, who taught that landscape must convey an idea as well as portray a fact, Church began by imitating his master's work. Like Cole, he

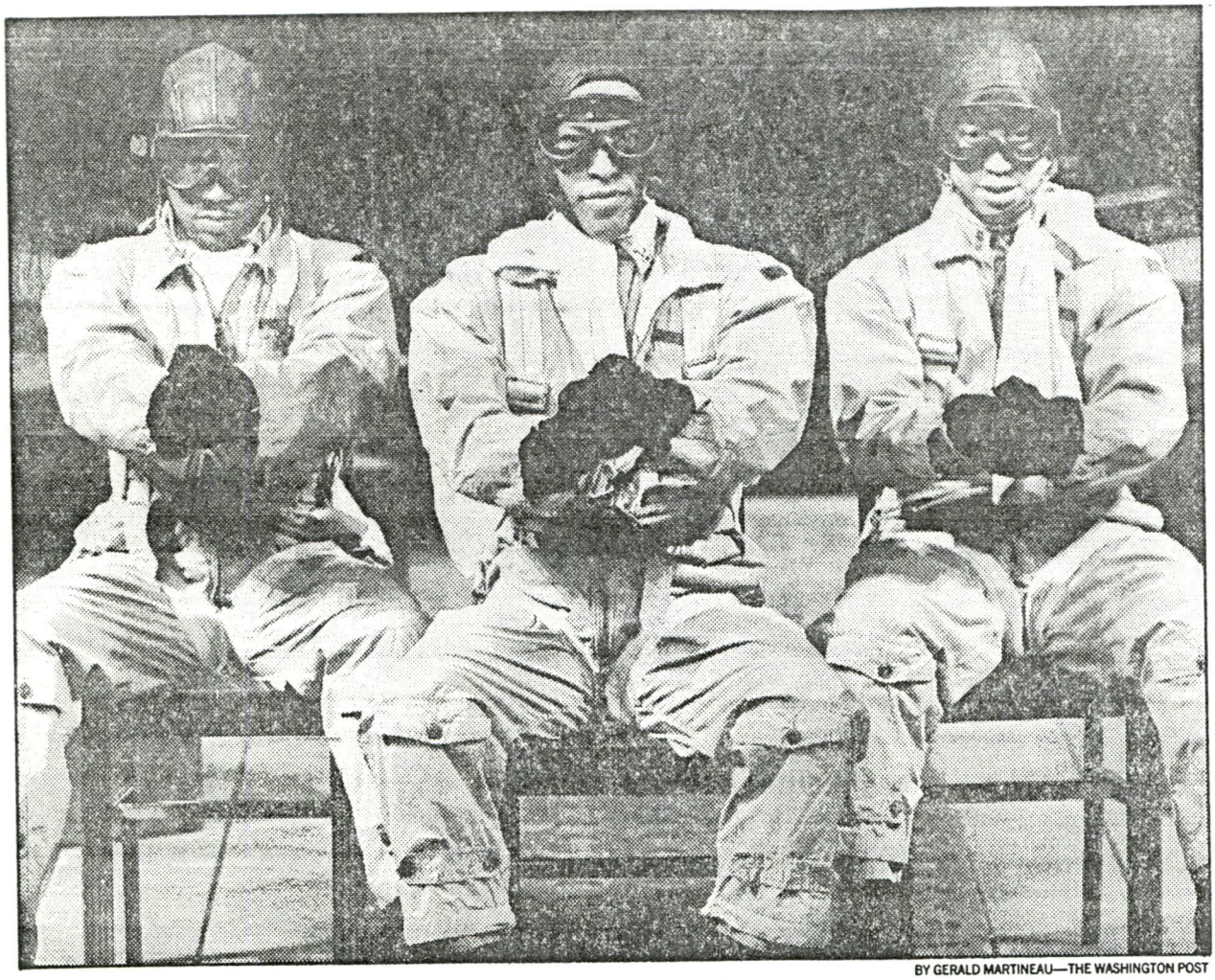
the basis of his successful fund-raising speech for Republican presidential candidate Barry Goldwater in 1964.

Reagan's highly dramatized versions of events in his life were interspersed with shrewd observations about his career. He said, for instance, that

See REAGAN, B2, Col. 1



Former president Ronald Reagan.



BY GERALD MARTINEAU—THE WASHINGTON POST

Scott Whitehurst, Brian Evaret Chandler and David Rainey in "Black Eagles."

Theater

At Ford's, Fledgling 'Black Eagles'

By Lloyd Rose
Washington Post Staff Writer

It's an ill war that blows nobody good. "Black Eagles," Leslie Lee's historical play about the Tuskegee Airmen that opened last night at Ford's Theatre, benefits from its unsettling timeliness. With men flying bombing missions in the Persian Gulf, and considerable African American opposition to the war, Lee's story about black pilots who want the opportunity to kill for their country is relevant with a vengeance. It's a shame that the play itself is listless, not up to Lee's usual work and certainly not up to its great subject.

During World War II, the Tuskegee Airmen—known to the white brass as an "experiment"—flew more than 15,000 combat sorties and 200 successful bomber escort missions. They destroyed or did damage to hundreds of German aircraft and ground transportation units and performed the considerable feat of sinking a destroyer with machine gun fire alone. In short, they proved the armed forces bigots wrong. Despite this, they had to endure the indignity of segregation until 1948, when the Air Force became the first branch of the services to integrate. In 1945, a riot erupted over the segregated officers club at Freeman Army Air Field in Indiana,

See THEATER, B10, Col. 1

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'Black Eagles' at Ford's

THEATER, From B1

which resulted in the replacement of Col. Robert Selway as commander with then-Col. (now retired Lt. Gen.) Benjamin O. Davis Jr.

In a recent interview with The Washington Post, Davis gave a stoic account of his ordeal at West Point and in the military—the fact, for example, that no one at the academy spoke to him outside of the lines of duty and instruction for his whole four years there. There is nothing like this awful, shameful tale in "Black Eagles." The men sit around and discuss their anger at the segregation, they jaw and joke and quarrel, they let the two white officers who come by to integrate on their own know that Things Are Not Right, and later, with these officers, they run offstage to attempt to enter that segregated officers club. They also fly missions and rejoice in their victories: "Praise God, I had my first friggin' kill! . . . Praise God, that's what this friggin' war's about!"

Though Lee shows what the men are up against, he never gives any sense of their taking control of their own destinies, except in that attack on the officers club; he doesn't even show that the attack resulted in Selway's replacement by Davis. Nor do the men interact with any complexity: The characters are ill-differentiated, defined by gimmicks (one has a ventriloquist's dummy, one is a poet etc.) The characters in the movie "Glory" were stock, but each had his individual response to military service, and you wondered what was going to happen to them. Charles Fuller gave the sociological observations of "A Soldier's Play" a dramatic engine in the form of a murder mystery. But Lee can't get any plot going, and his characters react to their war pretty much identically: They want to prove themselves, they want to fight, they want to kill.

There were ironies and ambiguities in the situation of the Tuskegee Airmen. War, though terrible, is not an entirely unbeneficent social force. Historian Bruce Catton has made the point that the presence of black soldiers in the Union Army made it difficult to disenfranchise them as citizens once the Civil War was over. Military historian John Keegan has called war "a form of masculine self-expression," and for the Tuskegee Airmen, being a warrior involved not only "proving" themselves, as white men felt called to, but also proving themselves *to* white men. Against all of this you have the opinion of many blacks today that military service is not a triumph of integration but a form of social oppression. None of these complexities is present in "Black Eagles."

The production has had some recent cast replacements, and on Tuesday night it felt under-rehearsed. Undoubtedly the cast will settle into a comfortable ensemble as the run continues. And presumably the sound will be adjusted so that it doesn't overwhelm the actors' voices. The play unfolds on a terrific set by Charles McClennahan: a Quonset hut whose proportions and perspectives also suggest an airstrip, and whose revolving overhead fans echo the movement of propellers.

In the play's last scene, set in 1989, a group of reunited Eagles toasts Gen. Colin Powell. It's a jingoistic moment—a real theater moment—but it underscores the play's simple view of the armed services as basically a good place for black Americans. When one of the men, faced with segregation, wonders whether they're on the right side, another has the last word with, "We're on the right side. They just don't know it yet." It's a good line, but it sweeps a lot of issues under the carpet.

Black Eagles, *by Leslie Lee. Conceived and directed by Ricardo Khan. Set, Charles McClennahan; lights, Shirley Prendergast, sound, Rob Gorton; music design, Robert La Pierre; costumes, Beth A. Ribblett. With Graham Brown, Norman Bush, Brian Evaret Chandler, Milton Elliott, Larry Green, Michael Barry Greer, Kevin Jackson, Lawrence James, Illeana Douglas, Damien Leake, David Rainey, Raymond Anthony Thomas, Scott Whitehurst. At Ford's Theatre through March 3.*

Bettelheim Acc
Of Plagiarism

Associated Press

SAN FRANCISCO, Feb. 6.—The
Bettelheim, a pioneer in treating menta
children, plagiarized the work of anothe
his popular book about children and f
noted folklore expert said today.

Bettelheim took whole passages of "
Enchantment" from a book by psychiatr
Heuscher but did not give him credit
Dundes, a professor at the University
at Berkeley.

Dundes, an admirer of Bettelheim,
"devastated" by his inadvertent discover
it could diminish the importance of the
psychoanalyst's work.

But Heuscher said he was "very skep
Dundes's allegation. When he read
1976 book, Heuscher saw similarities
1963 work but didn't think his work had

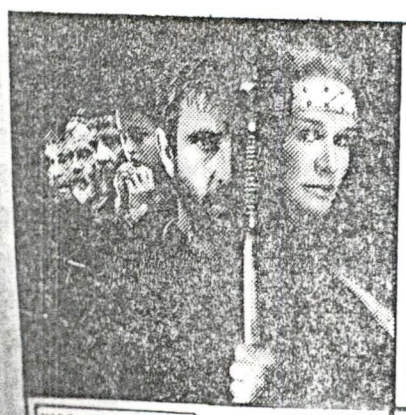
"There were some areas where we we
similarly about some of the tales. [But
feeling he happened to think the same
said Heuscher. What he himself wrote
particularly original," Heuscher added.

But Dundes said there were too many
of important parallel passages for th
coincidental or an example of two people
the same conclusion.

Bettelheim, a student of Sigmund
survivor of Nazi death camps, killed h
March in a Maryland nursing home at the
His doctor said he had been depressed si
ing a stroke a short time earlier.

Bettelheim taught that violent fantasie
of a healthy child's psychology. In "Th
Enchantment," he argued that fairy tales
the struggle for identity children wage ag
parents.

The book, which won the National Bo
and the National Book Critics Circle
probably the best-known book to take a
alytic study of fairy tales, said Dundes.



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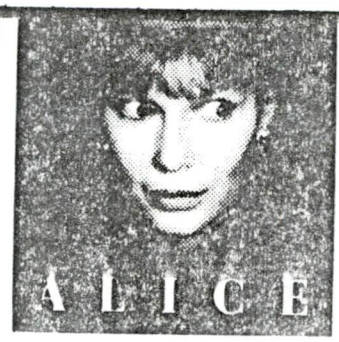
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PROCEEDINGS BEFORE

SPEECH
GENERAL COLIN L. POWELL, USA
CHAIRMAN, JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF

and

PRESENTATION OF THE
UDC PRESIDENT'S DISTINGUISHED SERVICE AWARD
TO GENERAL POWELL

February 27, 1990

University of the District of Columbia

ALDERSON REPORTING COMPANY, INC.
1111 FOURTEENTH STREET N.W.
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SPEECH

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CHAIRMAN, JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF

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SPEECH

GENERAL POWELL: Thank you very much, Mr. President. It is a great pleasure for me to be here at the University of the District of Columbia as you commemorate Black History Month, and I want to say a special word of greeting to all the ROTC cadets I see here.

As I was driving along Van Ness Street in my fancy armored limousine, I saw the brothers and sisters hustle along at double time trying to get here.

(Laughter.)

I am glad you all made it. You all don't look too winded, and I think you are probably ready for the PT test when it comes up.

I was tempted to get out and run with you, but security wouldn't let me do that.

(Laughter.)

I always like to point out when I am around an ROTC group that, as was mentioned in my flyer, read by your president, I am a graduate of the ROTC program, four years of ROTC, four-and-a-half years of college, but we won't talk about that, just four years of ROTC.

I am also proud of the fact that of the things I have been able to do with my life, and the things people say behind my name in introductions such as you just

heard, of the 12 chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, I am the first Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff who is a graduate of the ROTC program.

(Applause.)

And looking at the fine young men and women I see in front of me, I am absolutely positive that I will not be the last chairman to be a graduate of the ROTC program.

I want to thank your president for that very fine introduction. He and I have a couple of things in common: We are both from New York, we are both out of the South Bronx section of New York.

I kidded him earlier, I said, you had some money in your family, I see you went to Fordham University, and I went to CCNY. And he said, oh, no, I had a baseball scholarship, that's how I went to college.

(Laughter.)

But nevertheless, two guys from the South Bronx, both of whom have done reasonably well in their careers, I can say to you that in this room today however, a university president has a lot more power than a four-star general any day of the week. Right, President?

(Laughter.)

It really is a pleasure to be here. It is a pleasant break from what I would be otherwise doing back

at the Pentagon: worrying about budgets, analyzing the dramatic events that are taking place throughout the world that reference was made to a few moments ago, as we look at what is happening in the Soviet Union, as we look at what is happening in South Africa, as we look around the world, as we look in our own hemisphere in Nicaragua and see those dramatic, historic forces at work.

Or I just might be worrying about the future of the armed forces. As we go into this new era of hope and peace, how do we restructure our armed forces, make them smaller, spend less of the taxpayer dollar; but at the same time, make sure that in the process of doing that, the armed forces that remain is a good one, one consisting of proud volunteers who, even if the Soviet Union may be imploding upon itself, understand that the world is still in some danger and that there is still instability in the world and who are willing to serve their nation with pride, with the nation returning that pride to our service men and service women, the kind of service men and service women that you can call upon to do an operation such as we did in Panama a few months ago and bring democracy to that nation.

So while we see these historic forces around the world at work, moving the world in the right direction toward peace, democracy and freedom, we have to remember

that it has to be supported and undergirded by armed strength, as one of the elements of national strength that the United States enjoys.

Our political strength, our moral strength, our economic strength and the strength of our arms has helped move the Soviet Union in the direction it is now going, and we have to make sure they keep moving in that direction and never turn around and look back and see the United States with its guard down, not willing to pay the cost of our collective security -- the collective security that involves our alliances in both the Atlantic and the Pacific.

That's what I would be doing if I was back at the Pentagon, worrying about those kinds of issues, and they consume a great deal of my time.

So this is a pleasant break to be here with you and talk about something and reflect on something a little bit different than my daily work and my daily activity, and that is to talk about Black History ~~Week~~ Month.

One question one might ask is: Why have it? We may have needed it once, many years ago when Carter G. Woodson first came up with the idea, but why continue to observe it after all these years? Is it still necessary or is it just an anachronism that is no longer necessary?

There is no "White History ~~Week~~ Month," why a Black

History ~~Week~~ Month? Why go through this after more than 50 years? Hasn't the purpose been served? Haven't we made enough out of this issue?

And the reason why it is still necessary in my judgment is a sad reason, and the reason is that for the first 300 years of African-American experience in this beloved, great country of ours, our history was denied to us.

We had no history. Those who had responsibility for our destiny in those years didn't want us to have a history. They told us it wasn't important. They didn't record it. They didn't record it and it wasn't important to them because it wasn't a pleasant history.

Slavery does not make for pleasant history. The systemic denial of human rights does not make for a pleasant history. Slaves, masters say, don't deserve a history.

Oppressors throughout the world -- even today, oppressors always try to eliminate the history of those being oppressed.

The Soviet empire tried to eliminate the history of all of those republics that are now rising up and demanding their freedom. Oppressors always try to eliminate the history of those oppressed.

Why do they do that? Because a history is

important to a people. Without a history, the people do not know where they have been or why they are where they are or where they need to be going into the future.

A history provides roots. A history provides a reason for being, it provides a purpose. A history gives you pride in the contributions and sacrifices of those who went before you. A history tells you who you are, tells us who we were.

It is the basis to understand where we are today and it's the basis to point a direction for the future. But beyond that, having a history, practicing that history, studying that history, gives us the basis for hope, for hope.

For most of the African-American experience in this country, that hope had to be denied. It had to be suppressed. But not to know because your ~~history because~~ is has been denied to you is not not to have a history.

Carter G. Woodson knew that. He knew that we would need this history. He knew that it had to be recorded. He knew that it had to be taught. He knew that it had to be passed on.

So, in the early part of this century, he made that his life's work, and it is a work that we must continue. And the history of the negro in America, is ~~history~~ as he called it, is a rich history, a rich history

and a troubled history, but it is our history.

And no where is that history richer than in American military history, and in my career I have studied black contributions to American military history, and it is a very important contribution, a contribution that we all should be very proud of.

The Massachusetts Militia of "Glory" fame -- and for those of you who haven't seen that movie, you have got to see it. You've simply got to see it if you want to know a little bit more about the contributions that have been made by African-Americans to our country.

But the history even began long before "Glory" and the Civil War. It goes well back to the earliest days of our country, back to the early 17th Century, to Crispus ~~Attucs~~ Attucks who was the first black man to die to gain freedom for our nation, to the Buffalo Soldiers that I talk about all the time, the 9th and 10th Calvary who, right after the Civil War for the first time, were allowed to serve in times of relative peace and not just being called up as they had been called up during the Revolution or the War of 1812 when there was dying to be done.

And when the dying was done, blacks were no longer allowed to serve their nation and were then subsequently denied again the rights that had been promised to them if they had been willing to serve and

fight for their country.

It's a history that takes us through World War I and World War II and Dory Miller, that brave seaman who was one of the first men to engage our enemy in combat in World War II.

It's the story of the 369th Infantry of World War I fame. It is the story of the Tuskegee Airmen that all of you know about. Heroes, we have had-heroes in every conflict this nation has ever been involved with. We have gained honor in war as you saw in Glory, but regrettably that same honor did not follow us back in peacetime.

In my office at the Pentagon, on the second floor, right at the eye level as you look out the Pentagon -- I have it as nicely decorated as the government will allow me to. It is a spacious office, but on the walls, I just have a few paintings.

Two paintings in particular that I enjoy and have on the walls have to do with black military history. One of them is a marvelous painting of the 10th Calvary in action with Lieutenant Henry O. Flipper on a horse leading patrol.

Lieutenant Flipper was the first black graduate of West Point, and after serving well out in the west for a few years, he was drummed out of the army on trumped up

charges, and after being drummed out of the army he then went on to a very distinguished career in civilian life, both in government and in private life, and many, many years later he was reinstated in the army.

But I keep that picture on my wall of Lieutenant Flipper leading the band of Buffalo Soldiers as they helped settle the Great Plains.

And on another wall in my office I have another painting that was given to me by the 24th and 25th Infantry Regiment Association, for those two regiments, two other black regiments that were put into our structure in the post-Civil War period.

That painting shows those two black regiments at San Juan Hill during the Spanish-American War, charging up that hill. You have seen many pictures in our history books of Teddy Roosevelt and the Rough Riders taking San Juan Hill, but if all the truth be told, if all the history be known, all four black regiments that were serving in our Army at that time were there in Cuba and went up that hill with Teddy Roosevelt.

I keep those two paintings on my wall, one right over the sofa where I greet foreign visitors and another one on a wall right behind me. And when foreign visitors come from around the world and they come into my office and we are making small talk and we take a photo

opportunity before we sit down to have our business meeting, they will turn and look at that painting.

And invariably they will be curious about it and ask me what it is commemorating, and I will describe Lieutenant Flipper of the 10th Calvary and the circumstances under which black soldiers served, settling the West in those days, fighting Indians, trying to extend this nation's destiny out to the Pacific, but at the same time being denied the opportunity to benefit from that destiny, to benefit from that gain.

And my visitors tend to get a little uncomfortable as they hear about that, and I say don't be uncomfortable, this is American history. This is African-American history. It is of a time past. It is time that belongs in the past, but it is our history and we are proud of it.

We are proud of it. We are proud of the fact that we live in a country where ~~that we have~~ over the years we have gone through a period of slavery to a period where blacks were allowed to serve initially with some reservation, all through the wars of the 20th Century until today, when you can sit in my office and look at that 1875 history of the 10th Calvary and the 1898 history of the 24th and 25th Regiments in Cuban.

And you can look at that and sit here now in the

Office of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who is also African-American. Understand what you see when you are in America and you see this kind of growth, when you see this ability for Americans to learn from their past mistakes and continue moving into the future.

Lieutenant Flipper looks back across the room at me all day long when I am alone and there are no guests. This painting is directly across from my desk and every time I look over and I see him and I glance to the right and see those regiments charging up San Juan Hill, it reminds me once again of the contributions made by all those who went before me.

But beyond that, it reminds me that I am in the present and I have to look to the future. I have to look to the future, recognizing what was done for me in the past, and make sure that those who come after me, whether it's in the Army, Navy, Air Force, Marine Corps or any other part of American life, build on the history, build on the sacrifices and contributions of those who went before them.

People say to me, gee, you are the first black Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. You were the first black National Security Advisor to the President of the United States. So you had it made and obviously there is a meritocracy in the Army anyway. You are not black, you

are not white, you are just green. So all of this really doesn't matter anymore, you have made it.

When I say to them, it is wrong, wrong, I am black. I am not green; I am black. I have been black all of my life. I have had to fight the prejudice that came my way all my life. I am now Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. I am still black. You put it in your stories because I hope there is some young man or woman, boy or girl, somewhere in the country, somewhere in the inner-city or out in the countryside who will look at me and say, if that brother, born in Harlem, coming out of the South Bronx, can make it to where he made it, so can I.

(Applause.)

I also want each and every one of you to understand and put into your mind and put into your heart that all those who came before us did not make those sacrifices -- they didn't march, they didn't break new grounds so we could have the first black Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff or so that we could have the first black governor of Virginia, or the first black mayor of New York or the first black this or the first African-American that.

What they did, and their only dream, was to make sure that some day in the future, this country would live up to its dream that all the "firsts" would be gone, that

no citizen of this country of whatever race, color, creed and background would be denied their ambition, would be denied their own dream.

Dr. King and Carter G. Woodson and all the military friends of mine who went before didn't do this just so I could be number one in this, that, the other. They did it so that we would advance the dream to the point where there are no other firsts, where every person is limited only by their willingness to work hard and by their own dreams and by their own ambition.

We are not there. There is still racial intolerance in this country. There is still pressure to deny opportunity to people. There is still the denial of the education that every American must have. There is still denial of economic opportunity which must become a reality for all Americans.

How can I feel proud and good on a day like today when as was mentioned a few moments ago, you read statistics which tell you that 25 percent of all young black men have had some trouble with the law, they are either in jail or on probation or in some way in the legal system. This cannot make any American, black or white feel good.

So the challenge is still before us. We have to remember the past. We have to continue to struggle until

we reach the dream -- the dream that all of our forefathers spoke of.

For the young people in this room, a special burden falls on you. I will be gone in a couple of years and I retire in exactly three years and about six days and a day tomorrow.

(Laughter.)

And then I will go, and I will be retired somewhere, telling somebody else how to run the Army from retirement. You will be here. You will be making your mark. We will be counting on you. You will be looking back at that point of almost 400 years of history, military history and just the history of African-Americans in this country.

A lot is expected of you. You simply have got to give it your very best. You have got now to develop those habits of working hard, those habits of commitment, those habits of self-esteem, hope in your heart, pride in your heart and knowledge that if you work hard enough, if you apply yourself, if you take advantage of every opportunity that this beloved country has laid out there for you, there is no limit to what you can do. There is no limit to where you can go.

But it takes sacrifice. It takes the sacrifice of avoiding temptation. It takes the sacrifice of

avoiding drugs. People say to me, how come the military is doing so well with drugs. I say we don't tolerate them. No drugs. You play drugs, you are out.

They said are you serious? I say, let me tell you how serious I am. The day after I was announced by the president to be the next chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, I was back at my headquarters in Atlanta, starting to clean up my desk.

I was Commander-in-Chief, Forces Command at that time. I commanded a million soldiers in the active Army and the Army National Guard all over the country. Good job. Good job.

(Laughter.)

While I was sitting there, starting to think about becoming the Chairman and giving up command of those million soldiers, a young lieutenant came to my door. And my secretary walked in and said, the lieutenant is here to see you. I said what does he want?

He said, it's your turn. My turn for what? He said, your name came up on the roster. I said the roster for what? I am the general.

(Laughter.)

They said urinalysis testing.

(Applause.)

Your name is on the roster in that company, and

we do it randomly and when your name comes up, you've got to do it. So I did it. That young lieutenant, trained well, knew his job, cut no slack, administered the test to me the way he would any other soldier down to the last private in the Army.

And I waited patiently three days to make sure it was okay.

(Laughter.)

And it was, and I became the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

(Applause.)

The point is, in the military we have a zero tolerance policy. We educate our young soldiers, sailors, airmen, marines when they come in. We tell them that we have zero tolerance. We educate them again after they have been in awhile. We let them know what will happen. We perform that kind of testing to catch and then if you catch you are in trouble. If you deal, you go to jail.

(Applause.)

Now it's that kind of policy and that kind of zero tolerance of drugs that we have to take out of the Army and put in throughout our society, because if you want to know what the number one problem is facing young African-Americans in this country, young male African-Americans in this country, it is the temptation, the

destructive influence of drugs.

It is killing a generation of young men and young women that we cannot afford to lose. ~~them.~~ If we lose them, we have betrayed our history. We have betrayed the sacrifice of all of those who went before.

For this young group, I ask you to take that message into your heart. I ask you to communicate that message to everybody you meet. I ask you to take that message back into your community. It is a crime against all Americans and it is a particular crime against African-Americans.

We simply must wipe out drug use in this country or we are never going to be able to live out the dream that is waiting there before us.

(Applause.)

I also reemphasize to all the need to apply yourself in college, to apply yourself in high school. Take advantage of the opportunities that are going to be coming your way. People sometimes say to me, well, you don't have to worry about that anymore. You are never subjected to racism.

I say, oh, yes, I am, even as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and as National Security Advisor, it comes to you in curious ways. People don't say things to me they don't want to say.

But it still comes to you in these little indirect ways. I will tell you just a quick story. When I was made National Security Advisor to the President, about a week after I was appointed, I was in the Roosevelt Room at the White House, just 10 steps away from the Oval Office and I was giving a press conference to a number of editors from this big newspaper chain, and they were mostly white editors and there was one African-American editor.

The questions were pretty straightforward about things happening in the world and the Soviet Union and elsewhere. And the black editor raised his hand and he said, I would like to ask you a question, general. He said, are you really the guy in charge of the National Security Council?

(Laughter.)

I thought to myself, brother, you could have gone all day with asking that question, and he said, do you really have that access to the President? Do you really have everybody come through you before those major national security issues go to the President of the United States?

So I found it a curious question, but I answered it and said yes. One, the people I work for know the importance of this job. It isn't a job you put somebody

into as a token or because it is a throw-away job. It is a critical job.

And two, I have been around this town ~~time~~ a long time and I know how to do my job, and I know how to handle anybody who tries to hit and run. I am not a rookie ~~rooky~~ in this business.

So he thanked me for the answer and it seemed to be satisfactory and about a month later I saw him at a private social function, and I called him over and I said, why did you ask such a question? He says because I was the only one in the room who dared ask it, but everybody else in the room thought it.

(Applause.)

That didn't offend me or trouble me. I didn't wear a chip on my shoulder after that or read racism into that kind of a situation. It just said to me, Colin, it just demonstrates the fact that you got to just keep doing the very best you can. You can't afford to do any less and don't ever let yourself do any less.

Let the fact that you are from the streets of New York, let the fact that you are African-American, let your color, the kind of hair you have be somebody else's problem. Don't let it be your problem. Let it be somebody else's problem.

(Applause.)

I believe the challenge for every one of you here is to make sure that you keep it somebody else's problem. All you have to do is do the very best you can and never do any less; you can't do any more -- if you have that attitude, if you have pride in your heart and remember the history and remember where you came from and remember where we are going in this great country, I guarantee that success will be yours.

Thank you.

(Applause.)

February 19, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR BETH HINCHLIFFE

FROM: BOB SIMON

SUBJECT: FACTS ABOUT THE BLACK EAGLES

- In May 1943, the 99th attacked the Italian island of Pantelleria as a prelude to the invasion of Sicily. In two weeks, the island's resistance gave up. This marks the first time in history that air power alone had destroyed all enemy resistance.

- Captains Wendell Pruitt and Gwynne Pierson strafed and sank an enemy destroyer, an almost impossible task for fighter planes.

- Lt. Col. Edward Gleed, commander of the 301st Fighter Squadron and decorated combat pilot, said, "When we were in training at Tuskegee and in combat, we never gave it a thought that we were making history. All we wanted was to learn to fly as Army Air Corps pilots, fight for our country and survive."

- Black airmen destroyed 111 enemy planes in the air, and destroyed or damaged 273 more on the ground. They flew 1500 missions and over 15,000 sorties. They won over 100 Distinguished Flying Crosses and over 700 Air Medals.

Nomination of Russell Flynn Miller To Be Inspector General for the Federal Emergency Management Agency

May 16, 1990

The President today announced his intention to nominate Russell Flynn Miller to be Inspector General for the Federal Emergency Management Agency. This is a new position.

Mr. Miller currently serves as a consultant for the Central Intelligence Agency. Prior to this, he was assistant director in the office of security for the office of the President-elect, 1988–1989, and he worked for the Bush-Quayle campaign, 1988. He was a private consultant, 1986–1988. In addition, Mr. Miller worked in several capacities with the United States Synthetic Fuels Corporation, including Deputy Inspector General, 1985–1986, and Director of Investigation in the Office of the Inspector General, 1981–1985. Mr. Miller worked for the Reagan-Bush Presidential campaign, 1979–1980. Prior to that he was a career officer in the Operations Directorate at the Central Intelligence Agency.

Mr. Miller received a bachelor of arts degree from the University of Iowa and a bachelor of laws degree from Drake University College of Law. He was born October 25, 1921, in Panora, IA. Mr. Miller served in the U.S. Army, 1943–1945, and in the U.S. Army Reserve, 1946–1966. He is married, has four children, and resides in Potomac, MD.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Death of Sammy Davis, Jr.

May 16, 1990

The President and Mrs. Bush are deeply saddened by the death of Sammy Davis, Jr. The Bushes are longtime admirers of Mr. Davis, who has given a lifetime to bringing joy to others through his special entertainment and good will. The President and Mrs. Bush telephoned Mrs. Davis on Saturday, May 12, to extend their best wishes and prayers.

Mr. Davis has been a major figure in the entertainment world. His legacy of humor and songs, as well as charity work, will continue to be a part of future generations. The President and Mrs. Bush extend their sympathy and condolences to Mr. Davis' family and friends.

Remarks at a Meeting With the Commission on Civil Rights

May 17, 1990

Welcome to the Rose Garden and to the White House. Thank you all very much for coming. To the Attorney General and Secretary Cavazos and Secretary Sullivan, thank you for joining us; Director Newman, the same. And to Senators Dole, Hatch, and Garn, Congressman Ham Fish, thank you very much for being with us today. To Chairman Fletcher, an old friend and a man I'm very proud of, welcome, sir. To Commissioners Buckley, Ramirez, Redenbaugh, Wilfredo Gonzalez and the State Advisory Committee Chairpersons and to the distinguished leaders—I see Ben Hooks here and others of the civil rights community across this great country—it is—and I mean it—an honor to have you here today.

I think we've made it a moment that's very hopeful worldwide. In a minute from now, I'll be meeting in this marvelous Oval Office with Chancellor Kohl, talking about the dramatic changes that have taken place in the world. There is a time when the thundering cry for freedom is being heard and answered from Panama, hopefully in Johannesburg, to Warsaw. And around the world, peoples are warring against tyranny, citizens struggling against State control, economies weary of bureaucratic central planners—all are looking to America as reason for hope, the bright star by which to chart their course to freedom. And so, it's all the more crucial now that we look carefully to the kind of country we are, to the state of democracy here in the Land of Liberty. And we're called upon to ensure that this democracy means opportunity for all who call it home.

Few have worked harder to deliver the omise of democracy, to make an enduring eam a living reality, than the men and omen assembled here today in this Rose arden. And particularly, I want to give edit again to these men and women anding behind me.

From its earliest origins, the Commission n Civil Rights has been an independent, ipartisan voice for justice. And the Com-issioners, the Directors, the Advisory ommittees all share a cultural diversity nd an intellectual and moral conviction hat are truly America's best. And these nen and women have earned our admira-ion, and today they deserve our thanks.

Joining a new Chairman—and as I said, ny friend of many years, Art Fletcher—are wo outstanding additions: Carl Anderson nd Russell Redenbaugh. I know Bob Dole hares my admiration for Russell, a man of impressive credentials, who knows, as all Americans should know, that physical disability will not be a barrier to service in this administration. That's why I remain firmly committed to the landmark Americans for Disabilities Act to help ensure equal rights and opportunities for these Americans. And today I'd like to announce a new member of the Civil Rights Commission, Mr. Charles Pei Wang, President of the China Institute in America, an outstanding new addition.

Over the last few days, I've met to discuss pending civil rights legislation with leaders representing America's rich tapestry of cultural, religious, and ethnic diversity. And I got, as I knew I would, a lot of sound advice. Much of which I can accept. [*Laughter*] But these leaders, this Commission, the Congress, and this administration, believe me, all share a common conviction for equal opportunity. It's a responsibility that I've tried to take very seriously, especially now, when our most vital export to the world is democracy. And we must make sure that we as a nation continue to lead by example. We must see that true affirmative action is not reduced to some empty slogan and that this principle of striking down all barriers to advancement has real, living meaning to all Americans. We will leave nothing to chance and no stone unturned as we work to advance America's civil rights agenda.

This nation's progress against prejudice—from the '64 act to the Voting Rights Act to the Fair Housing and Age Discrimination in Employment Acts—it's all hinged on the principle that no one in this country should be excluded from opportunity. And so, we're committed to enacting new measures like the Hate Crimes Statistics Act, the HOPE [Homeownership and Opportunity for People Everywhere] initiative of housing, a revitalized enforcement of restrictions against employment bias. This administration seeks equal opportunity and equal protection under the law for all Americans, goals that I know are shared by Senator Kennedy and Representative Hawkins, and certainly by the four distinguished Members of Congress with us here today.

And so, we've supported efforts to ensure an individual's ability to challenge discriminatory seniority systems. We've also moved to stiffen the penalties for racial discrimination in setting or applying the terms and conditions of employment. And today, as we work to ensure that America represents democracy's highest expression, I want to begin by offering three principles that must guide any amendments to our civil rights laws. These principles are firmly rooted in the spirit of our current laws. After the extensive discussions that we've had this week, I think they're principles on which all of us, including the leadership on the Hill, can agree. And so, I will enthusiastically support legislation that meets these principles.

First, civil rights legislation must operate to obliterate consideration of factors such as race, color, religion, sex, or national origin from employment decisions. So, in essence, we seek civil rights legislation that is more effective, not less. The focus of employers in this country must be on providing equal opportunity for all workers, not on developing strategies to avoid litigation.

No one here today would want me to sign a bill whose unintended consequences are quotas because quotas are wrong and they violate the most basic principles of our civil rights tradition and the most basic principles of the promise of democracy. America's minority communities deserve more than symptomatic relief. And we want to eradi-

cate the disease, and that will require systematic solutions, strategies that transcend statistics.

We should empower and ennoble our minority communities. We should seek systematic change that allows every American to excel. During these meetings this week, I invited the civil rights leadership to work with me to craft a bill that moves us towards this goal. After these consultations, I am confident that this can be done. I want to sign a civil rights bill, but I will not sign a quota bill. I think we can work it out.

The second, civil rights legislation must reflect fundamental principles of fairness that apply throughout our legal system. Individuals who believe their rights have been violated are entitled to their day in court, and an accused is innocent until proved guilty. In every case involving a civil rights dispute, constitutional protections of due process must be preserved.

And third, Federal law should provide an adequate deterrent against harassment in the workplace based on race, sex, religion, or disability and should ensure a speedy end to such discriminatory practices. Our civil rights laws, however, should not be turned into some lawyer's bonanza, encouraging litigation at the expense of conciliation, mediation, or settlement.

Let me add that Congress, with respect, should live by the same requirements it prescribes for others. In '72, the Civil Rights Act of '64 was justly applied to executive agencies and State, local governments; and Congress, however, is not yet covered. This is not an assault on Congress. I'm just trying to—I've got about—[*laughter*]—but seriously, this inconsistency should be remedied to give congressional employees and applicants the full protection of the law to send a strong signal that it's both the executive branch and Congress that are in this together. And the Congress should join the executive branch in setting an example for these private employers.

Now, we seek strategies that work, putting power where it belongs: in the hands of the people. That means new ideas, like giving poor parents the power of an alternative choice in where to send the kids to school so that all can have access to the best. It means more tenant control and ownership of public housing, tax credits for child care to give parents more flexibility and choice, policies that underwrite prosperity by encouraging capital flow to businesses in poor neighborhoods. The door is open wider now than it ever has been. Together, I believe we can open it still wider.

Today an expanding economy is working in the service of civil rights. And so, let's not set the clock back. Let's look past the differences that divide us to the shared principles and the better natures that we have within us. To the civil rights leadership assembled here today—Dorothy, excuse me, I didn't see you earlier—and so many—I'm in real trouble if I single them out here. Look, I have offered you my hand and my word that together we can and will make America open and equal to all. Now, this administration is committed to action that is truly affirmative, positive action in every sense, to strike down all barriers to advancement of every kind for all people. We will tolerate no barriers, no bias, no inside tracks, no two-tiered system, and no rungless ladders. And I'm willing to take the time to make sure that this is done right, simply because it's worth doing right. Now is the time, really, to extend a hand to all that are struggling and to devote our energies to a broader agenda of empowerment, that all might join in this new age of freedom.

I am delighted that you all came here. Thank you for bringing honor to this prestigious Rose Garden and to paying tribute to our Commission here, in which I have great confidence and in which I take great pride. Thank you all very, very much.

Note: The President spoke at 10:02 a.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to Attorney General Dick Thornburgh; Secretary of Education Lauro F. Cavazos; Secretary of Health and Human Services Louis W. Sullivan; Office of Personnel Management Director Constance B. Newman; Arthur A. Fletcher, Esther G. Buckley, Blandina C. Ramirez, Russell G. Redenbaugh, Wilfredo J. Gonzalez, and Carl A. Anderson, Chairman and Commissioners of the Commission on Civil Rights, respectively; Benjamin L. Hooks, ex-

ecutive director of t for the Advancem Chancellor Helmut public of Germany Dorothy Haight.

Statement by Pre on Armenia's Ex Appreciation to J Bush for Their E Efforts

May 17, 1990

On behalf of Soviet and Counci bassador Yuri Dub and certificates of and his son, Geo for "the sincere s the Armenian pe misfortunes and fered during the ing earthquake human lives anc towns." The cert menian people " onstration of hun tion was made to dor Dubinin du White House on

The earthquak cember 7, 198 among the volu the fourth airlift national medica Connecticut, to 1988. The air 100,000 pounds toys for the Bushes visited t the Armenian veyed a messa American peop and especially holiday season. provided disast for Internation U.S. Foreign Di

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release July 18, 1990

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO NATIONAL COUNCIL OF LA RAZA

The Omni Shoreham Hotel
Washington, D.C.

1:17 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you all very much. Well, thank you so much for that welcome. I'm delighted to be here, and I had a little visit in the hall with the jefes, Raul and Tony -- (laughter) -- and Rita, Patricia, gave me the warm welcome. And I rode over here with Dr. Cavazos, our Secretary of Education, who is with us, and of whom I'm very, very proud. (Applause.) And, of course, I'm delighted to see Lou Sullivan, who's doing a superb job over at HHS, a major position in our administration. (Applause.)

I shouldn't quote Larry Cavazos, but he says, you know it's a strange world. He says, here I am Secretary of Education for the United States and I just met with the Minister of Education from Mexico. The Minister from Mexico's name is Bartlett; the Secretary from the United States' name is Cavazos. So I tell you -- (laughter and applause) -- things are really moving.

But again, I'm very proud of him. And I am grateful for this opportunity to appear before this distinguished group, to greet the National Council of La Raza; and pleased to see so many distinguished leaders from America's Hispanic service, education and business communities, all gathered here in our nation's capital.

And I want to thank the person whose brilliance, foresight and tenacity made this July gathering in Washington possible. I'm talking about the man who invented air conditioning. (Laughter.) It is hotter than blazes out there. (Laughter and applause.) And I'm delighted to be here. (Applause.)

Something about me, I'll tell you. It was hotter than blazes in Houston last week. We should have known it was coming because the weatherman that we consulted was the same guy who set up our summit with Gorbachev at Malta. (Laughter.) Some of you may remember that one.

But today, I did want to drop in; I'm on my way out to California in just a little bit. (Applause.) But to welcome you to Washington, and really to tell you how important I believe and our administration believes your efforts are.

I mentioned Dr. Cavazos, and, of course, Lou Sullivan. But I also wanted to salute an old comrade of mine in Congress, now a Secretary, Manuel Lujan, from New Mexico -- (applause) -- the Secretary of the Interior. But he and Larry, outstanding Cabinet secretaries, they do represent not only the new energy, and I would say leadership, Hispanic-Americans are bringing to our country, but also two of the most important priorities: The protection and use of our natural resources, and the excellence in education -- the quest for all-across-the-board excellence in education.

And, indeed, our administration has made educational assistance for Hispanic-Americans one of the top priorities of our campaign to revive national educational excellence. And you heard

from Larry yesterday in some detail, I understand. But, look, we will seek and we will demand educational excellence for all America. And that means reforms like giving parents a choice in their children's education and educational excellence for all Americans. (Applause.)

Let me just touch -- without being redundant here and repeating what Dr. Cavazos has said -- on just a few of our most important efforts. Last December, we launched a new effort, specially designed to assist Hispanic-Americans, and developed in part with the assistance and advice that we received from many right here at this table and in this room today. They helped us develop -- you all, helped us develop this program. And I directed our Secretary of Education to form what we call the Hispanic Education Task Force. And it is aimed not only at identifying educational obstacles, but also -- and I'd say this is more a part of it -- educational opportunities.

Larry has told me that the work of the Task Force is well underway, seeking new ways to improve federal education programs that basically serve Hispanic-Americans and seeking ways to make them better. We need to focus on finding solutions.

And you, who are a proud part of the La Raza tradition, have also been one of those solutions. Efforts like Project Second Chance, the Family Reading Program -- and I wish Barbara Bush were here to -- (applause) -- I wish Barbara were here to tell you how moved she is by that effort on a nationwide basis -- and Project EXCEL; all designed to help Hispanic community organizations become effective partners with the schools. And they're already making a difference for thousands of young Americans. And, look, I view it as a national goal that this unacceptable dropout rate for Hispanic kids come down, way down below the national average. (Applause.)

I don't want to overstay my welcome. I was told to have very brief remarks, and our time today is short. And if I'm not out of the hotel by 2:00 p.m., they'll probably charge me for an extra room. (Laughter.) So another day you know. (Laughter.)

Let me just address briefly one of the most important priorities of our administration and this is a current subject: helping to build a better America where the doors of opportunity are open to every citizen and every child.

And I hope you know where I have stood and always stand on the civil rights matters. And the Civil Rights Commission has been reauthorized. I think that's proper. The Hate Crimes Statistics Act is now the law of the land. And I will sign another, I would say, historic piece of legislation next week. And I'm talking about the Americans with disabilities act. (Applause.)

And for the past several months, we have been working diligently to make another civil rights law a reality. And I met with many of you at the White House back May -- several of you -- Mario Moreno of MALDEF, Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund, you know him. Jesse Quintero of LULAC was there. Raul was there. But I told Raul that I wanted to sign the civil rights bill of 1990, and not a quota bill of 1990.

Morris Abram, a very respected American now serving as an ambassador over in Geneva, but really I think it's fair to say known as a champion of civil rights, recently wrote me about the bill that's before the Congress right now, urging me to oppose the bill as currently written. And he told me, look -- here's this quote: "All my life, even in the darkest days of segregation in Georgia I fought against the principle of color preference, then known as white supremacy." This bill, he pointed out, would "achieve precisely what the '64 Civil Rights Act stood four-square against."

And he recalled Frederick Douglass' famous statement of 1871. And here was that quote: "Equality of numbers has nothing to do with equality of attainment." And we all know quotas aren't

right. They are not fair. They divide society instead of bringing people together. And as leaders and representatives of the Hispanic-American community, I owe it to you to see that this legislation does not say to the young kids, you only fit in if you fit into a certain numbered quota. That is not the American dream.

And I gave Raul a commitment back in May that I want desperately, I want very much to sign a civil rights bill. And I did then, and I still do.

And yesterday's announcement marked only the end of a chapter, not the end of a campaign, because today I just met with some on the Republican side of the aisle. Talks are still going on. And we renew the fight for a civil rights bill that I can sign. But I want to ask for your help to make the changes. And we're talking now about legal changes -- they're relatively small -- to make the changes needed to ensure that a bill does not result in quotas that could somehow inadvertently work to the detriment of the very kids you all are trying to help. Changes needed to ensure a bill that will protect the rights of all Americans, and injure the rights of none.

From the time it was first launched in '68, your National Council, Council of La Raza, has played a unique role in helping to improve opportunities for Americans of Hispanic descent. And I think that the success -- I know sometimes you see only the problems out there, and it's proper you keep them in focus -- but I think the success of your efforts is evident in the many success stories that are represented throughout this room. And so I came over here today to salute you for the important work that you do. By working today for Hispanic-Americans, you're building a better tomorrow for all Americans.

As President of the United States, I want to do my part. I want a lead for equity. I want a lead in the field of education. And I, again, am grateful for the support I receive there. I want to take the crusades that Dr. Sullivan is involved in to get better health care out there for our people and be as of the much leadership and support for those initiatives as I possibly can.

And some of you know that with me this is more than a passing interest. And I would just say to you keep up the good work for La Raza. It inspires the American people. And I want to do my part.

Thank you all. And God bless you. Thank you very, very much. (Applause.)

END 1:36 P.M. EDT

this fight. But first and foremost, the killing must stop. And we must repeat it until we're hoarse, repeat it until we're heard, from the Apollo Theatre to the halls of Congress to anyone who doesn't seem to understand what it is you are up against out there on the street. The killing must stop!

And what happened on the streets of Staten Island last week was a horrible tragedy which means—you knew it all along—that you have an important task ahead. The cowards who murdered Everett Hatcher should be given no rest. But be careful out there. Remember the tearful salute of 9-year-old Zachary, and find these criminals. Bring them to justice. Nobody—nobody but nobody is going to beat the DEA.

May God bless you all, and thanks for what you're doing for the United States.

Note: The President spoke at 4:19 p.m. in the auditorium at the Drug Enforcement Administration. He was introduced by Robert Stutman, Special Agent in charge of the New York City field office. In his opening remarks, the President referred to New York City Police Commissioner Benjamin Ward and William J. Bennett, Director-designate of National Drug Control Policy.

Remarks at the United Negro College Fund Dinner in New York, New York

March 9, 1989

Thank you, Michael Jordan, for that introduction. Barbara and I are delighted to be with you, speaking before the olives, the celery, the raw carrots. [*Laughter*] But we've got to get back to Washington fast—[*laughter*]—the Senate is still in session, and our dog is pregnant. [*Laughter*]

I want to just add my voice of congratulations to Gus Hawkins and Larry Rawl and Paul Simon. You honor three good people. And I want to thank Hugh Cullman, who gives so much of himself to the United Negro College Fund, and, of course, salute Chris Edley, a friend of longstanding. You know, Paul Simon once wrote a song called simply, "Old Friends." And I'm delighted to see my old friends Bill and Vi Trent here with us tonight.

You know, as Michael said, my association with the UNCF got started there at Yale University in '48. And Bill Trent came up to New Haven and talked to a lot of young idealistic people about his vision for higher education, and he did a superb job. And so today, when he and Vi flew up with me on Air Force One, I had this great feeling of nostalgia. And his 79th birthday I think is tomorrow, but in any event, it's great to be with this old friend way down on the end of the line. Also with us on Air Force One was another executive director of the UNCF, Art Fletcher, who's here somewhere. But we had good representation. And you talk about the hard sell, they're still doing it. [*Laughter*]

Tonight, flanked by old friends and, in a real sense, family—because my brother, John, is active in this crusade, and I consider many of you here family—I am grateful for your company. During my student days at Yale, I first saw the fund invest in higher education and in America. And then, as now, it insisted that excellence become a way of life and a higher learning a bequest. And as an undergraduate, I came to grasp what Churchill talked about when he said, "Personally, I am always ready to learn, though I do not always enjoy being taught." [*Laughter*]

Well, for nearly half a century, this fund has taught so that America could learn, and the gentler impulses of mankind was high on the teaching agenda. And you have helped society's disadvantaged cast off despair and poverty. And through such friends as Bill Trent and now Chris and then Frederick D. Patterson—and, yes, he is still sorely missed—you have endorsed liberty, opportunity, and the dignity of work.

But most of all, you really have shown

how the conscience and education can fulfill the promise of America: to right wrong, to love freedom, to demand equality for all. And for that, I congratulate you. And yet I challenge you, too. Black and white, together—we know that America will not be a good place for any of us to live until it is a good place for all of us to live.

Most Americans, I'm convinced, believe that government can be an instrument of healing. There are times when government must step in where others fear to tread. My friends, I share those beliefs, and as President, I will act on them.

I'm delighted that my Secretary of Education, our distinguished Secretary of Education Larry Cavazos, is with us here tonight, sitting over here. For America, it seems to me, means pride—individually, culturally, racially. And America means, in the words of Dr. King, that "injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere." And it does mean opportunity for those who need jobs and who dream of owning homes. And it means the hope that tomorrow will be brighter than today. How can we best inspire that hope and secure the promise of America? I do believe that the answer is in education. Education knows no barriers, accepts no limits. Education is a ladder; it embodies self-respect, not dependency. Education can give minorities a greater voice and then make sure that that voice is heard.

Since 1944, when Dr. Patterson founded the UNCF, your voice has resounded from colleges like Tuskegee and Morehouse and Spellman and Fisk. And I'm going to hurt a lot of feelings here tonight, because I was in a receiving line, and I was so impressed with the names that came flowing back as I met the presidents of these distinguished universities. Black colleges have ennobled such Americans as Leontyne Price, Frank Yerby, Azie Taylor Morton, and our next Secretary of Health and Human Services, my dear friend, Dr. Lou Sullivan, who is here with us tonight.

It is said that the woman who Time calls the Silver Fox—[*laughter*]—was responsible for Lou Sullivan's being appointed to this Cabinet, and I'll give her some credit. [*Laughter*] I want to gun down the rumor, though, that I appointed Lou Sullivan to be Secretary because when as president of Morehouse Medical School he was working my wife to death as a board member. And it's rumored I just wanted him to get out of there to let up on her—not true. [*Laughter*]

As you know, in September 1981, President Reagan signed that Executive Order 12320, committing the Federal Government to increase its support of historical black colleges and universities. And our goal was to identify and eliminate unfair barriers to participation in federally sponsored programs. And our means was to involve the private sector and to motivate the 27 Federal agencies which provide nearly all the Federal funding.

And did it work? Did it ever—in fiscal '81, historical black colleges received $545 million; fiscal year '87, $684. And moreover, research and development, which includes funds for nonscientific institutional development, comprised nearly half of all funding for historically black colleges. Our White House Science and Technology Advisory Committee fostered science, math, and engineering programs and curricula. And this comprehensive HBCU effort has attacked the four horsemen of the American night: illiteracy and inequality, indigence and fear. Great beginnings—crawling before we walk and then run. Great beginnings, and now let's build on them. And we have done much, but there remains so much more left to do.

My friends, 8 weeks ago I think it was, there in the White House complex, I met with the presidents of many of the colleges represented here tonight to probe exactly where we are going and how. And we discussed faculty development and merit scholarships, community college grants and institutional planning. And from that meeting, and others like it, came six new initiatives which will help do nationally what you have done historically: enrich education so that education can enrich our lives. And after listening to your presidents, I proposed that Congress fund $60 million over 4 years in endowment-matching grants. We put our money on the table. And now I want to challenge the private sector. It's a beginning. We need the help of the private sector; the time has come.

And secondly, if excellence breeds achievement, that excellence should be rewarded in grade schools, in high school, and at our colleges and university. And so, I want Congress to create a $500 million program to reward America's merit schools, the schools which improve the most.

And thirdly, I want it to create special Presidential awards for the best teachers in every State.

And next, I want to see the expanded use of magnet schools to give parents and students the freedom of choice.

And I've also proposed a new program to encourage alternative certification: to allow talented Americans from every field to teach in America's school classrooms. Consider that today, in many areas, a John Updike or an Alex Haley could not qualify to teach high school creative writing. There is something wrong, and we've got to change that system. My point is that when rules are so inflexible that creativity and talent and imagination aren't welcome in our schools it's time to change those rules.

And finally, through a new program of National Science Scholars, I seek to give America's youth a special incentive to excel in science and math. The National Science Foundation predicts a shortage of 400,000 scientists by the year 2000. Through excellence in education, we must and will reverse that trend. And I see the historical black colleges as an enormous resource to do just exactly that.

And yet I recognize that these proposals—all of this isn't enough; it never is. As Americans, we never are satisfied. We know that when a dream comes true it gives rise to even bigger and better dreams. And so, my appeal tonight is that we work to build a better America. I feel deeply in my heart about the United Negro College Fund. And I came up to tell you, at this highly successful dinner that Hugh and Chris and Michael and others here at this dais and all of you out there worked so hard on to make so successful, I want to help. I want the United States Government to help. And Barbara and I as individuals want to join you in this enormous power of the private sector to do all we can to help you achieve your goals and your ideals.

And thank you all, and God bless you.

Note: The President spoke at 7:51 p.m. in the Imperial Ballroom at the Sheraton Center Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to Michael H. Jordan, Hugh Cullman, Christopher S. Edley, William Trent, and Frederick D. Patterson, member of the board of directors, chairman of the board of directors, president and chief executive officer, first executive director, and founder of the United Negro College Fund, respectively. Representative Augustus F. Hawkins of California; Lawrence G. Rawl, chairman of Exxon Corp.; and entertainer Paul Simon were given the Frederick D. Patterson Distinguished Leadership Award. Following his remarks, the President returned to Washington, DC.

Statement on the Failure of the Senate To Approve the Nomination of John Tower as Secretary of Defense

March 9, 1989

John Tower has devoted his life to service of country. Whether in the U.S. Senate, at the arms control negotiating table, or in the privacy of his counsel to Presidents, he has always held the interests of this nation above all else. John Tower has been steadfast in his advocacy of a strong defense and consistent in support of the many principles for which he fought throughout his career. He is and will remain my friend.

I have read Senator Tower's statement regarding the decision of the Senate and find its dignity and lack of rancor to be typical of the man whose leadership, knowledge, and experience would have benefited the Department of Defense and the Nation.

Instead of the recompense of a grateful nation, John Tower's lot in the past weeks

covery and adventure, that is surely drawing us to a new destiny on new and far distant worlds. You are privileged to be the generation that will witness the first large movement of men and women into space. And as this happens, I know that the Boy Scouts of today will be in the lead. Thank you for inviting me to your Jamboree. God bless you, God bless the Boy Scouts of America, and God bless the United States of America. Thank you all.

Note: The President spoke at 10:44 a.m. at Fort A.P. Hill. In his remarks, he referred to G. William Swisher, Jr., chairman of the National Jamboree; Ben H. Love, chief Scout executive of the Boy Scouts of America; former Scout Curtis Hawkins; entertainer Calvin Grant; and Col. John R. Bourgeois, USMC, Director of the U.S. Marine Corps Band.

Statement by Press Secretary Fitzwater on the Execution of Lieutenant Colonel William R. Higgins

August 7, 1989

The Federal Bureau of Investigation today released the results of forensic examinations of the videotape purported to be of Lieutenant Colonel Higgins. Mrs. Higgins was informed of the results by the Commandant of the Marine Corps, General Al Gray. President Bush called Mrs. Higgins at about 2 p.m. to offer his support and encouragement. The President said the U.S. Government will continue to do all it can to obtain a full accounting of what happened to her husband.

Note: Lt. Col. William R. Higgins, USMC, chief of the U.N. peacekeeping force in southern Lebanon, was kidnaped on February 17, 1988, and executed by pro-Iranian terrorists on July 31, 1989. After examining a videotape released by the terrorists, FBI forensic experts and pathologists concluded that, although a positive identification could not be made, the person depicted in the videotape probably was Lieutenant Colonel Higgins and that he was "within a reasonable degree of medical certainty" dead.

Remarks at the National Urban League Conference

August 8, 1989

Thank you very much, Dr. Watson. And to you, my friend John Jacob, thank you, sir—Tony Burns, the chairman, and all the other Urban League leaders. I single out my Cabinet-mate, Secretary Kemp. I'm delighted that you're here, Jack. Thank you all.

You know, Jack told me coming over that you had a moment of silence—a prayer, really, for Mickey Leland, my fellow Houstonian. And let me just say that we have been in touch with the Government of Ethiopia and the United Nations to learn the whereabouts of Congressman Leland's plane. Our Secretary of Defense, Dick Cheney—seeing what he can do in terms of search assets.

I think it says a lot about Mickey that he was on his sixth humanitarian mission to help feed the hungry in that part of the world, and so, I would just like to join you all in what you did this morning to say that our thoughts and prayers are with him. I talked to Alison, his wife, late this morning—earlier this morning, I guess. She's strong, has a lot of hope. And we all pray that he's safe and that he and the others with him on that humanitarian mission will

be found and that they'll all be safe. And we will, I can tell you as President, do all we can to learn what has happened.

I want to speak to you today about the state of urban America, about the future that I see for American cities and for the many millions of Americans who make them their home. In many respects, let's face it, urban America offers a bleak picture: an inner city in crisis. And there is too much crime, too much crack, too many dropouts, too much despair, too little economic opportunity, too little advancement, and—the bottom line—too little hope. But there's something else that's true about our inner cities, something we can't overlook, something the Urban League has worked tirelessly to strengthen; and that's a core community that is simply too strong to succumb, a community where there is too much faith, too much pride, too strong a sense of family not to fight back—whatever their challenge, whatever the odds.

But the challenge for urban America is a challenge for all America. It's a challenge for my administration. It's a challenge every American must embrace. The condition of our inner cities isn't a matter of charts and graphs and these cold statistics. It's more than an exercise in sociology or public policy. It's a question of how people live their lives, a question of human dignity; and it's a challenge that I take to heart. Your problems are my problems; your hopes, the hopes all Americans hold dear. Today I offer you my hand, and I offer you my word: Together we will make America open and equal to all. And together we must and will find a way to stop the decline in our inner cities, to restore hope, and make the nineties a decade of urban renaissance.

And whether we succeed depends on how well we meet three key tests. First, we must strike down barriers to advancement and opportunity for American minorities—and strike them down for good. And second, we must create conditions for urban growth and economic revival, conditions that leave no one behind. And finally, we must secure the most fundamental right of all: the right of young and old alike of any race to walk any street without fear.

Let me start with equal opportunity. Not just in urban America but across this nation, we must continue the crusade for equality. Just over a week ago, a collection of scholars released a monumental study called "A Common Destiny: Blacks and American Society." It offers detailed evidence of the progress our nation has made in the past 50 years in living up to American ideals. But the study makes clear that our work is far from over. The great gulf between black and white America has narrowed, but it's not closed. And closing that gulf, eliminating it for all time, is the next chapter we must write in the unfolding history, the unfinished history, of civil rights. And that chapter will be written because today, as in the past, advancing the cause of equal rights is in keeping with our highest ideals. It's the right thing to do.

Think back to 1954, the Court's decision in favor of Linda Brown; a year later, another decision, Rosa Parks' refusal to go to the back of the bus; the 1960's, the passage of the Civil Rights Act, the Voting Rights Act, Fair Housing; and in this decade, the elevation of Dr. Martin Luther King to a place of honor among American heroes. It was the right thing to do. And today, when our challenge is securing true equality for every American, once again, we will succeed because it's the right thing to do.

Discrimination—of course it still exists. Race hate, born of ignorance and inhumanity, still exists. The day of the poll tax is over. The day of Jim Crow is gone. Today bigotry and bias may take more subtle forms; but they persist, and as long as they do, my work is not over; your work is not over; our work is not over.

Before I go on, I want to make sure everyone in this room knows just exactly where I stand and just where my administration stands. My administration is committed to reaching out to minorities, to striking down barriers to free and open access. We will not tolerate discrimination, bigotry, or bias of any kind, period, just as Dr. Watson said.

Now, we've all spent a lot of time over the past two decades debating the best means of ending unequal treatment. And we've argued—I've even argued with John Jacob; you try that one on for size—we've argued, society's argued, about affirmative

action, about quotas, about goals and timetables, about set-asides and 8–A firms. Well, while society's been debating these important issues, society's also been changing. The economy's been changing. Our world, the world our children will inherit, is changing. And part of the change is the progress we have made—hard-fought changes in which the Urban League can take pride. Part of the change is simply a matter of the dynamics at work in our world.

Take the economy: We're used to thinking of unemployment as a case of too many people and too few jobs. I remember playing musical chairs when I was a little kid—a game of musical chairs. And all too often, it's the minorities left standing when the music stops. In the 1990's, into the next century, our problem—our nation's problem—will be just the opposite: more than enough jobs and too few people qualified to fill them.

The last of the baby boom generation are in their thirties. And there's been a slowdown in the number of new workers that are entering our economy, and that's going to continue into the 1990's. Talk to any demographer, and they'll tell you that's true. New works will be in demand—new workers—and the simple fact is that 8 out of every 10 new workers will be women, minorities, and immigrants. Think about what that means. Think about it: For every child growing up today—black or white and, yes, urban or rural—there will be a job waiting. The question, our challenge, is whether they'll have the education and the skills that they need to seize that opportunity. And that's the new frontier for civil rights.

Opportunity means education. The jobs open to the 21st century worker are going to require higher skills. And never has education been more important than for the next generation, for the first-grader—today's first-grader—who is a member of the high school class of the year 2001. The package of education initiatives that I sent to the Congress this spring will make a difference for urban America and for American minorities. And I've called on Congress to provide a $250 million increase in funds for Head Start, a key program in getting disadvantaged children ready for school. And back in April, I signed an Executive order that will strengthen our nation's historically black colleges and universities and expand opportunities for their students and their graduates.

In many urban schools, the key is creating a sound learning environment, one that keeps the dropouts in and keeps the drugs out. And that's why I've called for the creation of urban emergency grants to help clean up schools hit hardest by the drug scourge. Education is the way to turn dreams into reality, and even in the inner city, every kid has a dream.

And opportunity means job training, building the employment skills and basic literacy ability that everyone needs to get and keep a job. For 6 years now, the Job Training Partnership program has been equipping the disadvantaged youth to enter the work force, to start that climb up out of the poverty trap. JTPA—it works. The proof is its 68-percent success ratio, and we're working to make the program even stronger. Last month we introduced amendments to the Job Training Partnership Act to target it more tightly on at-risk youth, kids with the most urgent need for job training.

But growth creates jobs, and the future of urban America depends on bringing growth to our inner cities. One entrepreneurial answer to inner city poverty—and I salute my Secretary of HUD for being in the foreground on this one—is enterprise zones. Enterprise zones can be a source of jobs, growth, and advancement. And the payoff isn't simply economic. When you create jobs, you create hope. We've debated the idea of enterprise zones long enough. And I've asked Congress to create at least 50 enterprise zones between now and 1993, and now is the time for action.

But enterprise zones are meaningless if we don't create economic incentives for urban expansion. And that's why I've also called on Congress to enact changes in the Tax Code that will make enterprise zones magnets for capital, magnets for job creation. And I'm talking about incentives to increase investment, to open a flow of seed capital into urban areas. And if we're going to make inner cities attractive to new capital, individuals who invest in enterprise

zones should get an immediate tax savings.

And we've also got to reward risk-taking. I've proposed a zero capital gains rate for eligible business investments in enterprise zones. If you take your capital and go there to invest, you ought to have that as an incentive to put the business where the jobs must be for outside—[*applause*]. It should be a powerful incentive for outside investors and a rate of return fitting for urban entrepreneurs.

And I'm talking about incentives for working people. We want to establish what's known as a refundable wage credit for low-income employees in enterprise zones. In many cases, this credit will cut the taxes of low-income workers to zero. And for some low-income families who already owe little in taxes, a refundable credit will not only take them off the Federal income tax rolls; it will put money in their pockets.

Opportunity, education, advancement, equality: each is essential. But we can't talk about the future we want to see for urban America without talking about the number-one threat in our inner cities today. You know what that is, every one of you: illegal drugs. And you know the simple truth: Our inner cities cannot become centers of opportunity as long as they are battle zones in a drug war.

A little over a week ago, our Secretary of HHS, Dr. Louis Sullivan, released the newest statistics—maybe some of you all saw it in the paper—the newest statistics on illegal drug use in America. The statistics show two trends, one positive and one profoundly, earthshakingly disturbing. Overall use of cocaine has declined by almost half—testimony to the years of dedication and hard work of parents, educators, religious and community leaders, all determined to end this plague. But our greatest challenge is yet to come. Frequent cocaine use—frequent use—is up sharply.

And that means while our message is getting across to the casual user, hardcore drugs, drugs like this insidious crack cocaine, are tightening their grip. And that's grim news, that's bad news for the United States of America, because crack, crime, and violence—they're the unholy trinity in our inner cities. And urban communities suffer the most. And when the crackhouse is on your block, and when the stray bullet from a drug war shootout kills some mother sitting on her porch, and when parents and teachers and churches struggle to teach the values of honesty and hard work and then find themselves up against the fast-money lure of the drug trade, there's a certain hopelessness.

But our children can live and learn in peace. Urban communities can thrive again. And that's why we've got to combat drug violence, and that's why we've got to eliminate fear, and that's why we've got to create a climate of hope. The Federal Government is doing its part. We're going to do more. We've taken forceful action to speed up the eviction process for drug dealers in America's public housing. And in less than a month, we'll unveil a new national drug strategy, our comprehensive battle plan to wage the long, hard fight against illegal drugs.

And there's a message that I want to send today, all out across this country, to all law-abiding Americans: The war on drugs is a battle that can't simply be waged from Washington, DC. When I was in Chicago last month, I asked this nation's Governors to pass laws in each of their States that parallel the tough Federal stand that we've taken against illegal drugs. And today I ask each of you to do the same at the local level, in urban America. Let's put more police on the streets, tougher laws on the books, build the jail cells that we need to put drug criminals where they belong—behind bars—and, in my view, keep them there. Let's not point the finger or look for scapegoats. Let's enlist every asset that we have, form a united front, and fight this war together.

There are some who say—and you've heard it—the state of urban America is hopeless. The National Urban League doesn't believe that. I say they're wrong. We've got to see past the stories on the 6 o'clock news and past the statistics. We've got to see the potential for progress; we've got to see the face of hope in our inner cities.

And, now, I'm not afraid to say we've got hard work ahead of us: We've got to wage war on poverty and wage war on despair

and wage war on the hopelessness that robs us of our future. And I want to tell all of you here today: I'm not going to relax in this job, or rest, until I know that I have done everything in my power to ensure that we succeed, that every child in our inner cities has a shot at a good job, that every kid stays in school and gets a quality education—yes, lives in decent housing in a neighborhood free of drugs, fear, and violence. We've got to work together to achieve these goals. I know we will, and I know why. John, you know why. Jack Kemp, Dr. Watson, you know why. Everyone here today knows why: Because, simply, it is the right thing to do. [illegible] you, God bless you, and God bl[illegible] United States of America. Thank you very much.

Note: The President spoke at 2:25 p.m. [illegible] the Washington Convention Center. In his remarks, he referred to Bernard Watson, John Jacob, and M. Anthony Burns, senior vice chairman, president and chief executive officer, and chairman of the National Urban League, respectively, and Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Jack Kemp.

Remarks on Signing the Financial Institutions Reform, Recovery, and Enforcement Act of 1989

August 9, 1989

Well, Secretary Brady and Secretary Jack Kemp, Chairman Greenspan, Senators Riegle and Gramm, and Congressmen Wylie and Gonzalez, and other distinguished Members of the House and Senate, ladies and gentlemen, and friends: Thomas Jefferson once observed that "the care of human life and happiness, and not their destruction, is the first and only legitimate object of good government." And today we gather here to sign legislation, the Financial Institutions Reform, Recovery, and Enforcement Act of 1989, which reaffirms those words.

This legislation comes to grips with the problems facing our savings and loan industry. It'll safeguard and stabilize America's financial system and put in place permanent reforms so these problems will never happen again. And moreover, it says to tens of millions of S&L depositors: You will not be the victim of others' mistakes. We will see—guarantee—that your insured deposits are secure.

And this, of course, was government's intent when, in 1933, it created the Federal Deposit Insurance [Corporation]. And yet as that system incurred massive loans over the past couple of decades, the fund designed to protect depositors itself became insolvent. And the crisis has been told [illegible] retold: The Federal insurance fund [illegible] unable to make good on its commitments to the public or to close insolvent institutions and—their losses mounting—hundreds of bankrupt institutions were allowed to continue operating.

On February 6, I announced a plan to change all that: to protect insured depositors and to responsibly finance the closing or other resolution of all insolvent institutions. And we sought to abolish lax regulations, to increase penalties for wrongdoing, and to reform the financial system. And above all, we sought to protect those who have relied on government to faithfully fulfill its obligations.

I take a special pleasure in the historic legislation that I will sign here this morning. For the Task Group on Regulation of Financial Services, which I was proud to chair, began the effort to strengthen our financial system. And its work, and that of many others, was debated and refined by the United States Congress—and you see it here, all 371 pages of it. And, no, the bill is not perfect, but it is a first step, a crucial step, toward restoring public confidence. H.R. 1278 is responsive and responsible, and for that I salute the Congress. This bill

draft

PRESIDENT BUSH'S RECORD OF SUPPORT FOR CIVIL RIGHTS

- The President has a record of strong support for civil rights dating back more than 40 years. At Yale University, in 1948, he headed up a fundraising drive for the United Negro College Fund.

- While living in Houston in the 1960s, he sponsored a black girls' softball team and, during his tenure as county Republican chairman, Mr. Bush placed all the GOP's money into a black-owned bank.

- In 1968, during his first term in Congress, then Representative Bush was one of two southern Republicans in the House to vote for a 1968 open-housing bill.

- As Vice President he worked to extend the 1965 Voting Rights Act, legislation aimed at getting federal aid to schools known for their discriminatory actions.

- Today, twenty months into the Bush administration, several legislative initiatives have become law, including the extension of the tenure of the Civil Rights Commission and the Hate Crimes Act.

- The President is also determined to help eliminate bias and bigotry by removing barriers to opportunity. He has asked Congress to increase funding for several important programs. The requested budgets for Head Start and aid for historically black colleges and universities have increased by $500 million and $60 million, respectively. The president's new HOPE initiative, a program aimed at giving all people basic shelter and affordable housing, is budgeted at $4 billion over three years.

- In regards to other areas concerning civil rights, the president has proven to be an impassioned supporter. He was a proponent of the Americans With Disabilities Act, potentially the most definitive equal rights legislation in 25 years. Also, on many occasions, he has condemned attacks on the civil rights of AIDS patients.

- As recently as the 12th of September, President Bush signed a proclamation designating September 12th through the 15th of 1990 as "The National Historically Black Colleges Week." This proclamation is a show of support on the part of the President, noting the importance of educational choice and diversity which Black colleges and universities offer.

was dropped from the staff. Subsequently, Davis became involved in an alleged kidnapping attempt of three San Quentin prisoners from the Marin County Civic Center; she was accused of planning the incident and supplying the gun that killed four people during the incident. Charged with murder, kidnapping, and conspiracy, Davis was finally incarcerated. However, in 1972, after 16 months in jail, she was tried and acquitted of the charges. A celebrity, Davis travelled to the Soviet Union and several other communist countries, and lectured in the United States. Her publications include: *If They Come in the Morning: Voices of Resistance* (1971); the pamphlet *Lectures on Liberation* (1972); *Angela Davis: With My Mind on Freedom, An Autobiography* (1974).

DAVIS, AUTHUR P. (1904–), educator, author; born in Hampton, Va. Davis received a B.A. degree (1927), a M.A. degree (1929), and his Ph.D. degree (1942) from Columbia University. His teaching career began in 1927 at North Carolina College at Durham (now North Carolina Central University). Davis later taught at Virginia Union University and at Hampton Institute (Hampton, Va.), and he became professor of English at Howard University (Washington, D.C.) in 1969. He coedited, with Sterling Brown and Ulysses Lee, *The Negro Caravan* (1941). Davis contributed many book reviews and articles to professional journals, and he wrote several books, including *From the Dark Tower: Afro-American Writers, 1900 to 1960* (1975).

DAVIS, BENJAMIN OLIVER, JR. (1912–), Air Force officer; born in Washington, D.C. The son of Gen. Benjamin O. Davis, Sr., Davis graduated from the U.S. Military Academy at West Point in 1936, the fourth black student ever to do so. He transferred to the Air Corps when he received his wings in 1942. Davis became commander of the 99th Fighter Squadron, which fought in North Africa, Sicily, and Northern Italy during World War II, and after that, he commanded the 332d Fighter Group. By the end of the war, he had won the Silver Star and the Distinguished Flying Cross. Subsequently, Davis was appointed commander of the 51st Fighter-Interceptor Wing during the Korean War in 1952, and later he became director of operations and training of the Far East Air Forces. In 1954 he was made a brigadier general, becoming the first black general in the Air Force. In 1965 Davis was promoted to lieutenant general, the rank he held on his retirement from the Air Force in 1970. After serving as director of public safety in Cleveland, Ohio, during that year, Davis was appointed assistant secretary in charge of civil aviation security of the U.S. Department of Transportation. *See also* DAVIS, BENJAMIN OLIVER, SR.

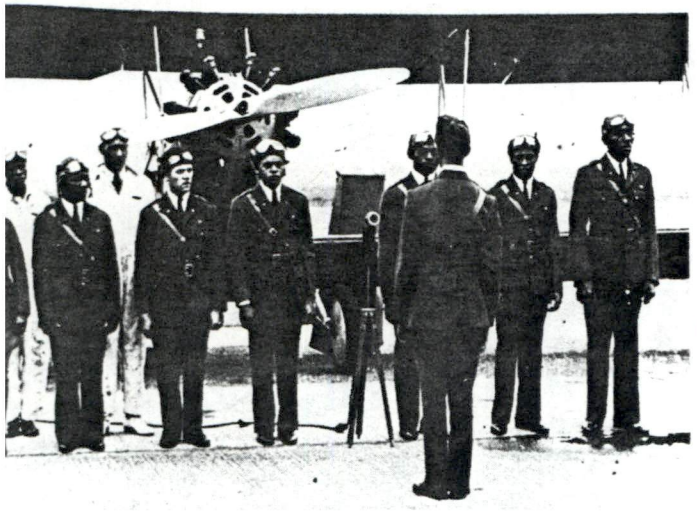


Brigadier Gen. Benjamin O. Davis, Sr., (right) pins the Distinguished Flying Cross on his son, Col. Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., in Italy during World War II. Awaiting their turn to be decorated are other officers of the 332d Fighter Group: Capt. Joseph D. Elsberry of Langston, Okla., 1st Lt. Jack D. Holsclaw of Spokane, Wash., and 1st Lt. Clarence D. Lester of Chicago, Ill. *(U.S. Air Force photo.)*

DAVIS, BENJAMIN OLIVER, SR. (1877–1970), Army officer, educator, government official; born in Washington, D.C. Father of Gen. Benjamin O. Davis, Jr., of the U.S. Air Force, Davis attended Howard University (Washington, D.C.), after which he enlisted as a private in the Regular Army in 1899 (after a year in the infantry during the war with Spain). He served for two years in the Philippines, and in 1901 he was commissioned a second lieutenant in the cavalry. In the following years, Davis served in various posts in the United States, until he was sent to Monrovia, Liberia, as military attaché, a post he held until 1912. He joined and rejoined the faculty of Wilberforce University (Wilberforce, Ohio) several times throughout his career, teaching military science both there and at Tuskegee Institute (Tuskegee Institute, Ala.). Rising in rank through the years, Davis was promoted to major during World War I and to full colonel in 1930. He was further promoted to brigadier general under President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1940, the first Afro-American to attain that rank in the Army. After his retirement in 1941, Davis was recalled to active duty to serve as special adviser to the commander of the European Theater (ETO) during World War II and as assistant to the inspector gen-

died in D.C. Retired from Armed Forces in 1948.

AVIATORS Eugene Jacques Bullard, born in Columbus, Ga., in 1894, was one of the first Afro-Americans who sought to break the racial barrier and enter the field of aviation. Failing in the United States, he went to France and joined the Foreign Legion in 1914. Eventually, he became a pilot in the Lafayette Escadrille, gaining fame as one of the Lafayette Flying Four. He returned to the United States in 1940 and died in 1961. Between the end of World War I and 1939, 23 blacks were licensed to fly private craft and 4 to fly commercial craft. One of the private-craft flyers was Hubert Julian, a flamboyant pilot known as the "Black Eagle." During the Italo-Ethiopian War (1935), he went to Ethiopia and offered his services to the emperor Haile Selassie. On his return to the United States, he made many lecture tours, but he was not accepted for flight duty in the United States Army Air Force during World War II.



Other black private-craft flyers in the 1930s formed a group known as the Negro Airmen International, Inc., in Chicago, Ill., in 1933 under the leadership of Ed Gibbs. About the same time in Chicago, some of the earliest black pilots, or student pilots, were accommodated at a black-operated flying school and local airport (Harlem).

One of the four commercially licensed pilots in the country before World War II was Robert Terry of East Orange, N.J. Terry had been a stunt flyer before the war and taught flying at A & T college, in Greensboro, N.C., under the Civilian Pilot Training (CPT) program in 1940–41. One of his first graduates was the college's youthful dean of men, William H. Gamble. Another CPT flight program was conducted at West Virginia State College where there were several graduates, including a young Ph.D. on the faculty of mathematics, William S. Claytor. There were also CPT programs at three other black colleges, then segregated. There were programs at Howard University, Washington, D.C.; Hampton Institute, Hampton, Va.; and Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Ala. Charles "Chief" Anderson, another of the four commercially licensed black pilots before World War II was in charge of the CPT program at Tuskegee Institute. (One of his students was Daniel "Chappie" James, a fighter pilot in World War II who later became a four-star general in the United States Air Force.)

Born in 1907, "Chief" Anderson was a native of Pennsylvania. However, he remained a permanent resident at Tuskegee long after the Army Air Force closed the base. He also remained an excellent pilot of his own personal plane after he had passed his seventieth birthday. With an extensive knowledge of Afro-Americans in aviation, Anderson preserved memories of his former students and pilot friends, including "Chappie" James. One of his fondest recollections was of a goodwill flight to Trinidad in the early 1930s with a former student and friend, Albert E. Forsythe. Another one of Anderson's recollections was of the time that he obliged Eleanor Roosevelt by taking her on a flight over the Tuskegee area in a Piper Cub. Mrs. Roosevelt and President Franklin D. Roosevelt were visiting Tuskegee at the time, preparatory to the decision of the army to put an air base nearby in order to train black pilots for World War II.

After the war began, Robert Terry went to the air base at Tuskegee, serving as a civilian instructor in the pilot training program, and was later commissioned. Two of his students, Sam Bruce and Graham Smith, preceded him there as the first pilot-training students, receiving their "wings" in the 99th Pursuit Squadron, which became the famous 332nd, commanded by Ben-

Far left: This group of Harlem aviators assembled in 1935 in the interest of aiding Emperor Haile Selassie in the Italo-Ethiopian War. ***(U.S. Information Agency. National Archives.)***

jamin O. Davis, Jr. Bruce was later killed in his fighter plane (a P-40) over Sicily, and Smith was reported missing in the Korean War.

James O. Plinton, Jr., another pilot with a commercial license, also went to the Tuskegee air base as a flight instructor. He became the first black to serve as a top executive (vice president) of a major airlines (Eastern) in 1971.

Certainly, World War II provided the first important entry of blacks into aviation. After the war, however, commercial flying remained almost exclusively closed to black pilots, and flight activity among black pilots decreased. By the time of the civil rights movement of the late 1960s, however, a few black pilots were serving as flight officers on commercial lines. One of these was Warren Wheeler of Durham, N.C., who became a pilot for Piedmont Airlines at the age of 22. In 1969, Wheeler began his own airline (Wheeler) at the Raleigh-Durham Airport.

Although he did not fly for a commercial airline, one Afro-American commercially licensed pilot, William M. Dandridge, maintained a lifelong interest in flying that went back (though not service-connected) to his days as a commissioned officer in World War II. Of the 49,694 airplane pilots in the nation in 1970, however, only 162 were black (5 of these were women), according to census reports. One of the women flyers, Jill Brown of Millersville, Md., later gained distinction when she became the first Afro-American woman to serve as a captain on a major commercial airline (Texas International). *See also* JAMES, DANIEL "CHAPPIE"; PLINTON, JAMES O., JR.; WARS.



This picture was taken by the parents of Jill Brown immediately after her solo flight in 1967. *(Courtesy of Elaine and Gilbert Brown.)*

REFERENCES: Very little attention has been given to the subject of black aviators. In the 1970s, however, two biographies, one on Jacques Bullard (Carisella, P. J., *Black Swallow of Death*, 1972) and the other on Hubert Julian (Nugent, John Peer, *Black Eagle*, 1971), appeared, showing increasing interest in the subject. (An early reference by Charles E. Francis, *The Tuskegee Airmen: The Story of the Negro in the U.S. Air Force*, 1955, is concerned almost entirely with combat activity.) Also, an article in the *Charlotte Observer*, Feb. 5, 1978, featured Warren Wheeler; and *Ebony* magazine, in the same year, carried a feature on Jill Brown.

Remarks at the Dedication of Tuskegee University's General Daniel "Chappie" James Center in Alabama

May 10, 1987

The President. Thank you, Dr. Payton. It's an honor for me to dedicate this aerospace science and health education center to the memory of one of Tuskegee's finest and one of America's best, General Daniel "Chappie" James. Chappie James was a hero of three wars. He flew 101 combat missions in Korea, where at one point he force-landed behind enemy lines, and 78 combat missions over North Vietnam. Nearby, we can see—and we just came by—one of the jet planes that he flew in Vietnam. He rose through the ranks of the United States Air Force in the Military Airlift Command and the North American Air Defense Command. As Commander of NORAD, all America depended on his judgment and his courage for our defense and survival.

Chappie's mother told him at a young age that there was an Eleventh Commandment: "Thou shalt not quit." He took that to heart. And Chappie James is one of the very few officers ever to attain the rank of four-star general. He had 4 stars on his shoulder and 50 stars in his heart. Chappie James was an unabashed patriot; his expressions of affection and dedication to the cause of freedom stirred the hearts of his countrymen. He loved America, and America loved Chappie James.

This unique individual began his career here at Tuskegee. This is where he earned his degree. This is where he trained young men how to fly and how to fight. And these warriors put his lessons to good use, destroying 261 enemy aircraft and wreaking destruction and havoc upon the enemy. They served their country with valor and distinction. As you may be aware, in 1944, I narrated a film about the Tuskegee Airmen. I was presently in uniform serving with the Army Air Corps at the time, but my past occupation caught up with me, and I was given the opportunity to do that narration. And I'm proud that in a small way I was able to contribute to the change in climate that gained public acceptance for black pilots.

And with us today is Air Force General Bernard Randolph, who I've nominated to receive his fourth star. His contributions to America today are possible because of men like Chappie James and the Tuskegee Airmen. The lessons Chappie taught the Tuskegee Airmen were of great service to our country. Today it's most fitting, then, that we dedicate this center to carry on that spirit. The James Center will help train young men and women in the discipline of aerospace science and health education. And we expect from the ranks of these students will come young leaders who will follow the proud traditions of this university, men and women who will be a lasting tribute to Chappie James and all that he stood for.

Chappie, who fought in war and in peace to make this a better, freer country, once said: "This is my nation. I love her. If I see Miss Liberty ill, I'll hold her hand. If she is in the hospital, I'll bring her roses." Well, now, let his spirit hold the hand of these students and guide them through the challenges of higher education and through the frustrations of life.

I am most proud to dedicate this center in honor of a darned good pilot and a revered military officer and a truly great American.

Reporter. Mr. President, [former Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs] Bud McFarlane says you ordered *contra* aid at a time when Congress had banned such aid. What do you have to say about that?

The President. I'm not going to take any questions now on things like that. We're here for a different purpose. And let's, just for a few moments, decide that there's enough controversy, and we'll leave it in Washington for today.

Note: The President spoke at 10:42 a.m. at the center. He was introduced by Dr. Benjamin Franklin Payton, president of Tuskegee University.

Remarks at the Tuskegee University Commencement Ceremony in Alabama

May 10, 1987

The President. Thank you, President Payton, Governor Hunt, Senator Heflin, Congressman Nichols, Mrs. James, the distinguished faculty members and honored guests, graduates to be, and, of course, proud parents. It's an honor for me to be here, sharing this special day with you. And, President Payton, after having had you and Mrs. Payton on our campus a few weeks ago, let me say, Nancy and I are honored by the invitation to be on yours. She sends her greetings. You know, the First Lady doesn't work for the Government—well, she doesn't get paid by the Government, but she works for the Government. And she's home, packing for a trip they're sending her across the country on.

This is a most fitting day for a graduation ceremony because it coincides with the day we give thanks to the individuals to whom we really owe everything, people who sacrificed and sometimes themselves went without so that we could have happier and more complete lives. Today we remember and give thanks to our mothers. I'd like to ask every woman who has a child graduating today to stand, if they would. [*Applause*] Ladies, we honor your children today for their outstanding accomplishment, but we know that you deserve our accolades, as well. God bless you, and thank you all for all you've done to bring this happy day about.

And speaking of mothers, Mrs. Punch, would you come up here on the platform for a moment? I know Tuskegee students have had a special one here on campus for 40 years. She's retiring this year. Mrs. Punch, love and thanks are yours today. And Nancy and I would like to give you something on behalf of all of us.

Mrs. Punch. Thank you, Mr. President.

The President. Today you young people end one phase of your life and begin another. Your parents, your teachers, all of us, are genuinely excited for you.

There's a story of a diplomat who caught a taxi in Washington, and on the long ride to Dulles International Airport, he struck up a conversation with the cabbie. And the young man happened to mention that he would be graduating in a few weeks. And the diplomat asked what kind of work he intended to pursue. "I don't know," replied the cabbie, "because I haven't decided yet." Well, once at Dulles, the diplomat caught a plane which was taking him straight to the Soviet Union, to Moscow. And arriving there, he got in a taxicab and started the long ride in, and he, speaking fluent Russian, struck up a conversation with that cabbie. And asked, the cabbie, too, by coincidence said he too would soon be graduating. And when the diplomat asked him what line of work he planned to pursue, the cabbie replied, "I don't know; *they* haven't decided yet." [*Laughter*]

Well, in a free society, as that story suggests, the individual makes the ultimate decision as to the direction of his or her life. This freedom is one of the greatest sources of strength from which this or any country can draw, a wellspring of hope that can be seen in the optimism of free people. And looking at your faces today, one cannot but have confidence in you and in our country's future. Your generation of Americans will usher the world into a new era of freedom and progress, a time when our technology and our creativity will carry us beyond anything that we can now imagine. Already computers are expanding our productivity and opening doors of opportunity only dreamed of a short time ago. Small businesses, for example, have computer facilities formerly reserved for giant corporations.

When I was attending college—now, I know many of you probably think that that was back when there were dinosaurs roaming the Earth—[*laughter*]—actually, they weren't; it was about the time when Moses was parting the Red Sea. [*Laughter*] Seriously, the goals Americans set for themselves in the days of my youth seem so modest: indoor plumbing, electricity, a

family car, having a telephone or a radio crystal set. Traveling to distant cities was rare; traveling overseas was within reach of only a few. For my family, even going to a movie was not always within reach.

Today we explore technology that might someday conquer the remaining threats to our health and increase our longevity. While jet airliners carry passengers, even those of modest means, from coast to coast and overseas, our engineers are busy developing crafts that one day will take off from a runway and carry us into space, aerospace planes that will deliver us anywhere in the world in just a few hours' time. Discoveries in the field of superconductivity are coming so rapidly that research results are often out of date before they're in print. Scientists are bringing us to the day of pollution-free electric cars and magnetic trains that carry cargo and travelers at speeds of 300 or 400 miles per hour.

During my teens, one in four Americans was still on the farm; more often than not, toiling to achieve extremely limited production. It took one farmer then to feed four Americans in those days. Today that same farmer can feed 60 Americans and 15 foreigners. Those were also the days when most people, trying to earn a meager living, shut their eyes to the injustices suffered by minority citizens. It was Thomas Jefferson who once said, "I like dreams of the future better than the history of the past." Well, Americans have never lacked vision, never lacked the desire or the courage to attempt great deeds.

After the Second World War, during another time of tremendous economic and technological progress, our society moved forward to make a long-overdue commitment to extend freedom to those who had been denied, to make real the dream of a land of freedom and justice for all. In the 1950's and 1960's, great strides were made through political action. The legal sanctions of bigotry and discrimination were torn away, laws protecting the civil rights of all Americans were put in place, and racism was, in effect, outlawed. These great achievements did not come easy. They were the result of the struggle and commitment of generations and the outstanding leadership of individuals like Dr. Martin Luther King. The civil rights movement earned the respect and gratitude of all good and decent Americans, even some who may at first have had reservations about what was happening. Yet changes in the law—and the political struggle itself—brought social progress that enormously strengthened the moral foundation of the United States.

The political and legal battle is obviously not over. We must remain vigilant, inside and outside of government. We must maintain our moral solidarity against intolerance and racial hatred. We cannot shrug off incidents of racial violence or interracial crime. Yet today, if black Americans are to progress socially and economically, if they are to be independent and upwardly mobile, it is imperative that they be part of the great technological and scientific changes now sweeping our country and the world. And it's just as vital for America that all her citizens march into the future together.

If there's any lesson now being learned, it is that there is a relationship between human freedom and the progress of man. The discrimination and prohibitions suffered by minorities in this country were undoubtedly some of the greatest impediments to the forward thrust of our nation. One need only look at the invaluable scientific contributions, especially in the area of agriculture, made by George Washington Carver, to wonder what more he might have accomplished had he not been overcoming prejudice as well as conducting scientific experiments. An American pioneer in heart surgery was Dr. Daniel Hale Williams, a black physician. Another black physician, Dr. Charles Drew, discovered a method of storing blood plasma. How many of our countrymen would have lived longer, more productive lives had these outstanding citizens been freer to reach their potential?

The United States, in all these cases and so many more, did not know what it was losing. Ironically, today America often isn't aware of what it's gaining by having opened doors that were long closed. Our citizens may know of the three black astronauts now in line for becoming [upcoming] shut-

tle missions. Yet how widely known is it that a large portion of NASA's work force is black, including 422 engineers and scientists? One of them, David Hedgly, was responsible for a breakthrough in computer graphics a few years ago, solving a problem that had confounded the scientific establishment for years. The press release announcing the accomplishment did not—as was proper—mention his race. Dr. Jewell Plummer Cobb is president of California State University at Fullerton. She's a distinguished scientist who's known for her work in cell physiology.

There's nothing wrong with the attention focused on black athletes and entertainers; I would be the last one to play down the role of entertainers. [*Laughter*] However, I think it's high time the media and the rest of America began paying more attention to those black citizens who are prominent in other professions, as well. We must be concerned about the perception children of every race are developing about themselves and about others. Certainly, problems in the black community cannot be covered up or ignored; yet rather than dwelling almost exclusively on the negative, let's make certain our children see stories of black successes and triumphs. And there are many from which to choose.

Today there are some 843,000 minority-owned businesses in the United States. Over and above what they buy and sell in the private sector, the Federal Government is doing an unprecedented $6½ billion in business with them. Black entrepreneurs often overcome great adversity. Their stories lift the human spirit and give credit to individuals who should serve as role models for our children. Coming up, for example, is National Small Business Week. An engineering and technical services company named Analysis Group Incorporated, has been selected for distinction. The president of the company, Arthur Paul, received his bachelor's and master's in engineering from Howard University and his doctorate from the University of Virginia. As our country moves into the 21st century, it's crucial that more young black Americans follow the path of Dr. Paul and of our black scientists, physicists, and mathematicians. America must not be denied the benefits of the creativity and talents of its citizens.

Our administration is moving aggressively in a number of fronts. We have an agenda that is aimed not only at overcoming the problems of today but also preparing the ground for black economic independence in the technological era that we're entering. We threw out the old, inefficient CETA [Comprehensive Employment Training Act] program and put in its place the Job Training Partnership Act, which provides more training for every dollar spent. It was Booker T. Washington who said: "The world cares very little about what a man or woman knows; it is what the man or woman can do. . . ." Well, our new training programs are designed to provide marketable, up-to-date skills.

We've done our best to put in place spending and tax policies that will keep our economy healthy and growing. Certainly, black unemployment has remained far too high and is totally unacceptable, yet there are some figures that give us hope. Black employment has increased 1.8 million since 1980, and today more black Americans are working than ever before and a higher percentage of the black work force is employed than at any time in this decade. Since the economic recovery began, about one in seven of all new jobs being created has gone to black Americans. I care deeply about the unemployed. I saw my father suffer from the pain of not being able to support his family. I witnessed what it did to him and his self-respect and to my mother. And it's not something I or anyone in the administration take lightly. And I can assure you, we won't be satisfied till every American who wants a job has a job and is earning a decent living.

Our preparation for the next century goes far beyond our efforts to build an economy that will provide jobs for the unemployed. By our campaign for excellence in education, we have not been offering easy answers in this regard; instead, we set out to mobilize the public, to get the people involved in their local schools and in the education of their children, to encourage them to insist on high standards and discipline. And let's not kid ourselves—we can't expect children to excel in an environ-

ment of drugs and permissiveness. All Americans should stand shoulder to shoulder against this evil that undermines the moral fiber of the Nation and attacks our youth. It's time to get drugs off our campuses and out of our schoolyards. We want to make certain that by the time young people get to college, they're of sound mind, good character, and have the basic educational skills to carry them into any field they choose.

We're also engaged in an effort to encourage them as to what choice to make. At the college level, we're helping to provide incentives for black Americans to choose math, engineering, and the sciences. And next year, in response to our direction, the National Science Foundation—whose budget is being doubled—will move to ensure the widest participation in the sciences. This includes funding comprehensive projects to improve the teaching of science and engineering to pre-college and undergraduate students in minority schools.

And this isn't just a job for the Government. One of the goals we've set for ourselves in recent years has been to enlist the citizenry and private corporations in such community-building programs. Today there are partnerships between Texas Engineering Experiment Station and Prairie View A&M University, between Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory and Jackson State University, and others that provide hands-on engineering and scientific experience to minority students. We're doing our best to encourage these partnerships, whether they take the form of apprentice programs or consulting arrangements or joint research. In the public sector, the full support of our administration has been thrown behind the effort to greatly strengthen the research capabilities of black institutions of higher learning. In 1986, 27 Federal agencies and departments invested more than $600 million in our nation's historically black colleges, much of it in the form of research grants and projects.

One example: Tuskegee competed for, and won, a $2¼-million Navy contract to help in the development of automobile, aircraft, and spacecraft engine components. More of Tuskegee's students are enrolled in engineering and architecture than any other area of study. Furthermore, among your faculty and staff, in keeping with the standards established by Dr. Carver, are some of the best higher education has to offer in electrical, mechanical, chemical, and aerospace sciences. Tuskegee has a tradition of top-quality scientific research from its earliest days.

Dr. Carver once said: "Race and creed find no recognition in the eyes of the Deity when He bestows His generous gifts." Dr. Carver not only said that; he proved it. Tuskegee made history with its agricultural research, which continues even now to be a source of pride. Yet let me suggest that this fame may someday be surpassed by contributions your institution will make in the field of aerospace engineering.

Audience member. Yeah!

The President. He's ready. [*Laughter*] This potential is the reason the George C. Marshall Flight Center and other similar organizations, as well as private corporations, are humming around here. This is the reason NASA donated to this institution some of its most sophisticated aviation-related computers last year. And, of course, it is the reason that you have received $9 million in support from the Department of Education for the opening of this Aerospace Science and Health Education Center, this center I was honored to inaugurate shortly before joining you here today. This center, of course, is dedicated to the memory of one of this country's great patriots, a hero of three wars, America's first black four-star general, Daniel "Chappie" James. He has been mentioned here repeatedly. As a youth he washed airplanes for 25 cents. He earned his degree here at Tuskegee and helped train the famous Tuskegee Airmen, pilots who during the war destroyed 261 enemy aircraft and won a basketful of Distinguished Flying Crosses.

Some of you may be aware that back in 1944, in the midst of that great conflict, I narrated a film about these brave pilots. I can't tell you how proud I am to be an honorary Tuskegee Airman. And if they hadn't made me wear this robe, you'd have seen I was wearing the button in my lapel. [*Laughter*] The skill and courage of these individuals, Chappie James and the Tuske-

gee Airmen, is part of an heroic tradition, from the Revolutionary War, when some 5,000 black Americans fought gallantly for our country's independence, to Pearl Harbor, where a black seaman named Dorie Miller was one of the first Americans to bring down an enemy aircraft. Dorie Miller, the Tuskegee Airmen, and others who fought and often paid the supreme sacrifice for their country did so in a segregated military. Their courage and patriotism undoubtedly helped bring an end to this outrage.

Today one of the greatest strengths of our military is that it is one of the most successfully integrated institutions in the country, an open door of opportunity to all citizens. Over 10 percent of the Army's officers are black, as are 34 percent of its sergeants. Blacks are in more positions of managerial and command authority in the military than in business, education, journalism, or any other part of government. Chappie James' mother once predicted: "Someday there will be so many black people doing so many things that are noteworthy that it will no longer be newsworthy." Nowhere is it more apparent than in the Armed Forces.

Twenty-nine of the Army's active-duty generals are black. There have been two black four-star generals: Chappie James in the Air Force and Roscoe Robinson, Jr., in the Army. And in fact, I have nominated another black general, Bernard Randolph, for his fourth star. It's now pending congressional approval. Again, Chappie was right, and his mother was right. This officer's race no longer even makes the news. By the way, General Randolph is with us today, as you've just seen. And so, General, congratulations!

The military is seen by many as an avenue for advancement, a job where individual merit will be recognized and rewarded. The technological training and skill development provided in the military is some of the best in the country. And that could mean learning about car and truck engines. It could also mean learning to build bridges or space stations. Astronaut Guy Bluford was an ROTC graduate who went into the Air Force after receiving a B.S. from Penn State. While in the service, he earned his doctorate degree in aerospace engineering, with a minor in laser physics, from the Air Force Institute of Technology. I might add that he was at the White House on the day we announced the initial grant for the Chappie James Center here in Tuskegee.

These Americans in the military service of the United States do us proud because of their achievements and because they, like the brave men who went before them, are willing to put their lives on the line to defend our country. With us today are 27 newly commissioned ROTC second lieutenants who will soon be joining the ranks. Would they please stand? [*Applause*] You young people are a great source of pride to all of us—your families and your fellow students and your countrymen. I know I speak for all of us here when I tell you that we're confident that you will never let us down. And let me pledge to you, we will never let you down. As an old ex-second lieutenant of horse cavalry, I consider it an honor to salute you. Thank you.

I'd like to close with one story. Being from this campus, you know of Chappie and the Tuskegee pilots. I'd like to speak with you of a man whose name is not so well known as these—Ensign Jesse Brown, the first black naval aviator. He was a husband and a father, a deeply religious man, an individual who studied engineering at Ohio State and left college to become a naval aviator. He loved to fly. In December 1950, Ensign Brown was a member of Fighting Squadron 32, aboard an aircraft carrier somewhere off Korea. He flew 20 close air-support missions, providing cover for our outnumbered marines at the Chosin Reservoir. The battle was fierce; our men on the ground were in a desperate situation.

On December 4th, 1950, Ensign Brown's aircraft was hit while making a strafing run against the enemy. With tremendous skill, he managed to crash land on a rough, boulder-strewn slope. He survived the crash, waving to his friends as they circled overhead. They knew he was in trouble when he remained in the cockpit even as smoke began to billow from the wreckage. Finally, a fellow member of his squadron could stand it no more. As the others attacked and held off advancing enemy troops, Lieutenant (jg.) Thomas Hudner ignored the

dangers of the mountain terrain and enemy troops and made a deliberate wheels-up landing. He ran to Ensign Brown's plane, now erupting in flames, and found his friend alive, badly injured, and trapped in the cockpit. Lieutenant Hudner shoveled snow with his hands to keep Jesse from the flames, burning his own hand badly in the process. Finally, over the battle-scarred terrain, came a marine helicopter. Lieutenant Hudner, joined by a crewman from the helicopter, struggled desperately to get Jesse out.

Now, I would like to tell you that they both made it and that, over the years, they have been best of friends, sharing family outings, caring about one another. But that was not to be. Ensign Jesse Brown died on that slope in Korea. When he risked his life for those besieged marines, Jesse Brown didn't consider the race of those he sought to protect. And when his fellow pilots saw him in danger, they did not think of the color of his skin. They only knew that Americans were in trouble. Ensign Brown was posthumously awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross, the Air Medal, and the Purple Heart; Lieutenant Hudner, the Congressional Medal of Honor. But perhaps the most moving tribute was paid by Ensign Brown's shipmates. In a memorial printed in the ship's paper, they wrote: "We bid farewell to a Christian soldier, a gentleman, shipmate, and friend. He was a credit not alone to the Navy but to our country. His courage and faith in Almighty God shone like a beacon for all to see. Hail and farewell."

Today, you become part of the continuing saga, the history shaped by individuals like Dr. Carver, Chappie James, and Ensign Jesse Brown. What you do with your lives will keep America shining like a beacon of opportunity and freedom for all to see. Thank you for letting me be with you here today. Good luck in the years ahead, and God bless you all.

Note: The President spoke at 11:35 a.m. in the auditorium at the General Daniel "Chappie" James Center. He was introduced by Dr. Benjamin Franklin Payton, president of Tuskegee University. Dr. Payton also presented the President with an honorary doctor of laws degree. The President presented flowers to Pauline Punch, who served as secretary and executive assistant to three Tuskegee University presidents. Following the ceremony, the President went to Maxwell Air Force Base in Montgomery, AL, for lunch at the Base Operations Building. He then traveled to Fayetteville, NC.

Remarks at Bob Hope's 40th Anniversary Salute to the United States Air Force in Fayetteville, North Carolina
May 10, 1987

Mr. Hope. All I want to do, Mr. President—I just want to welcome you. And I just want to tell you that they've been waiting, you know. They publicized that you were going to be here, so they've been waiting. And they've been waiting. They started at 10 o'clock this morning, and they've been waiting for you. And I can't tell you how happy I am that you're here, but I thought with this particular crowd that you might drop in by parachute.

The President. Well, Bob, I'll leave that to the experts. If I tried that, I might have landed on your birthday cake. [*Laughter*]

Mr. Hope. Yes—the seat of government would have icing all over it, huh? [*Laughter*] But you know, it's great to have you here. I'm just sorry Nancy isn't with you.

The President. Well, I was going to ask her, but I was afraid she'd just say no. [*Laughter*]

Mr. Hope. I want to tell you, Mr. President, with all the travel and all the work you've done, you look just great.

The President. Well, Bob, you look great, too.

Mr. Hope. You do——

The President and Mr. Hope. Well, I hope

Milestones in Black Education

CHRONOLOGY OF BLACK EDUCATION

1634 French Catholics are instrumental in providing instruction for laborers in Louisiana. The French and Spanish had liberal attitudes toward slaves. Many were respected for their worth and given privileges as freemen. Estevanico, an enlightened slave sent by Niza, the Spanish adventurer, to explore Arizona, was a favored servant of this class. French Jesuits, among them missionary Paul LeJeune, promote educational opportunities for blacks.

1685 Virginia laws prohibiting slaves from attending Quaker meetings for the purpose of instruction are denounced by the Reverend Morgan Goodwyn in a sermon preached in Westminster Abbey, London.

1695 Reverend Samuel Thomas of Goose Creek Parish, South Carolina, instructs blacks in reading and writing. Enlisting community support, he is able to educate many blacks in his parish.

1700 A monthly meeting for blacks is established by William Penn. Penn advocated the emancipation of slaves so they might have the opportunity for improvement. Many colonists were teaching slaves and free blacks.

1701 Chief Justice Sewall of Massachusetts publishes an anti-slavery pamphlet, The Sewall pamphlet represented the first direct attack on slavery in New England. One of the few Puritans to espouse the black cause, Sewall urged emancipation and education. Earlier, Cotton Mather and other Massachusetts Puritans made efforts to organize black people when they founded the Society of Negroes in 1693. Later, in 1717, Mather began an evening school for Indians and blacks.

1701 The Church of England organizes the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts for the purpose of converting and educating black slaves. Although merchants and other vested interests pressured religious groups in America to sanction slavery, the churches endorsed policies of Christianization, which proved to be the first great step in providing educational opportunity for blacks. Dr. Thomas Bray, sent to Maryland by the Bishop of London in 1669, exerted a profound influence in the conversion and education of blacks.

1704 Catechizing school at Trinity Church in New York City is founded under the direction of Elias Neau. Instruction was given regularly at this church until 1712, when blame for a local slave uprising was attributed by some masters to Neau's work. While enrollment was temporarily curtailed, instruction continued until the middle of the century, despite Neau's death in 1722.

1724 A document encouraging the Christian education of Indian, black, and mulatto children is circulated in Virginia. The document stated that slaves should be educated and that baptized children who understood the Christian religion should receive exemption from taxes until the age of 18.

1728 Nathaniel Piggott announces that he is opening a school for "instruction of Negroes in reading, catechizing, and writing."

1738 Moravians establish a mission exclusively for blacks. A mission for blacks was established by the Moravian brethren at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. A painting of some converts prior to 1747 shows, among others, two blacks, Johannes of South Carolina and Jupiter of New York.

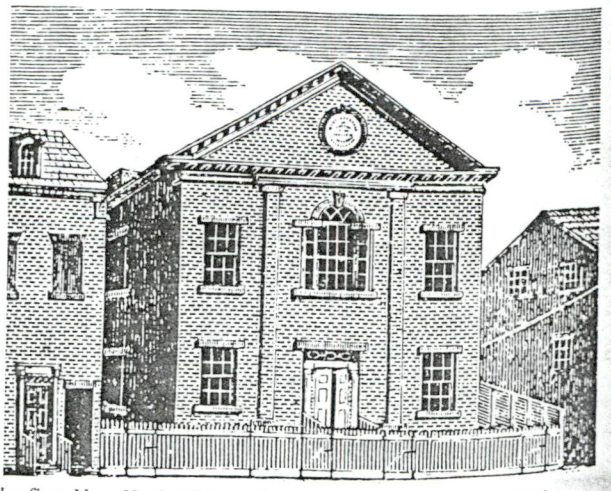
1743 A school for black youths opens in Charlestown, South Carolina. Mr. Garden's school for training black youths opened in Charlestown, in September 1743. Supported almost entirely by the people of Charlestown, the school exerted a profound influence throughout the province. Individual missionaries saw an earnest desire among black parents to have their children instructed. Fifty-five children were taught during the day and 15 adults in the evening. Mr. Bray died in 1756.

1745 French Code Noire makes it incumbent upon masters to enlighten their slaves in order that they might grasp the principles of Christianity.

1747 Presbyterians begin religious instruction of blacks in Virginia. In 1740, Hugh Bryan, a wealthy Presbyterian, showed interest in the education of blacks and by 1755 was operating a school for slaves.

1749 Reverend Thomas Bacon preaches four sermons in Talbot County, Maryland, declaring that next to one's children, slaves enjoyed certain rights, including the right to knowledge and enlightenment.

1750 Anthony Benezet opens an evening school for Philadelphia blacks in his home. Quakers made the most conscientious efforts to fight slavery and educate blacks, permitting them to attend Quaker meetings in the face of great opposition. After teaching blacks in his home for 20



The first New York African Free School opened its doors in 1787. School No. 2 is shown here.

Benezet opened a free school for them in Philadelphia Moses Patterson. Upon Benezet's death, money he as used for the continuation of the school, known fter as Benezet House. Benezet, a French Protestant uted on account of his religion, had moved from to England and later to Philadelphia. He declared had "found among Negroes a variety of talents as st a like number of whites." Besides fighting for the ration of the condition of blacks, he published some erica's first textbooks and urged religious equality.

Society for the Propagation of the Gospel sends Ottolenghi to convert and educate blacks in Georgia. nghi, a convert from Judaism and a native of Italy, d in Georgia in July 1751. He "promised to spare no to improve the young children" and asked God's gs on his educational efforts, which included reading igious instruction to blacks. He became so successful fluential in the colonies that he was later elected a er of the Georgia Assembly and remained a member 55.

Benjamin Rush advocates the abolition of the slave nd urges the education of blacks. In *An Address to habitants of the British Settlements of America upon keeping*, Benjamin Rush, a Philadelphia physician aker parentage, was in contact with the most tened men of his time, and by persuasive argument, ced the black cause.

Benjamin Franklin opens a school for blacks. While its of government were exposing the inconsistency eholding among a people contending for political , and men like Samuel Webster, James Swan, and el Hopkins were attacking slavery on economic ds, Benjamin Franklin, Jonathan Boucher, and Dr. were devising plans to educate slaves for freedom. min Franklin associated with friends of blacks and was made president of the Abolition Society of Philadelphia, which in 1774 founded a successful school for blacks.

1777 New Jersey begins educating black children. By 1801, schools are in operation in Salem, Burlington, and Trenton.

1787 New York African Free School is established by the Manumission Society. Beginning with 40 students, it encountered opposition, but grew when New York required masters to teach the children of slaves to read Scripture. By 1820 more than 500 black children were enrolled.

1788 New Jersey passes an act making the teaching of slaves to read compulsory under a penalty of five pounds.

1791 Thomas Jefferson writes to Benjamin Banneker, a black mathematician and astronomer. Jefferson declared that he wished to see blacks improve their condition and stated that lack of progress was due to the degraded condition of the black man in Africa and America. Writing the Declaration of Independence, he had in mind the rights of blacks as well as whites, and declared that blacks had a natural right to education and freedom. He advocated the training of slaves in industrial and agricultural schools to equip them for a higher station in life.

1794 American Convention of Abolition Societies expresses hope that freedmen would participate in the battle for civil rights as fast as they gained their education.

1798 A school for black children is established in the home of Primus Hall, a prominent Boston black.

1800-1830 Individual schools for blacks are developed by churches, slaveholders, and free blacks. Despite legal restrictions in the South, many blacks did receive some education from their masters and in small clandestine private schools in the new nation. In 1820, for example, Boston opened an elementary school for blacks. In the District of Columbia, George Bell, Nicholas Franklin, and





vs Robert Morris and Charles Sumner began against exclusion of blacks from Boston's in 1849. Although their test case lost, usetts passed a law in 1855 which admitted to the public school system.

Moses Liverpool, former slaves, built the first schoolhouse for blacks in 1807. Unsuccessful, it opened again in 1818 under the direction of the Resolute Beneficial Society, an association of free people of color. Catholics vied with Quakers in admitting blacks to parochial schools.

During these years, a few blacks were beginning to attend colleges. (In 1826, Edward A. Jones graduated from Amherst and John Russwurm received his degree from Bowdoin. They were the first two black college graduates in the United States.)

In Philadelphia (1804), African Episcopalians found a school at the church of the free people of color who are organized by this time. Eleven of the 16 schools in Philadelphia in 1822 were taught by teachers of African descent. In 1830, one-fourth of the 1,200 black children in the schools of that city paid for their instruction, where as in 1825 only 250 students were in attendance.

1830-1860 Educational opportunities for blacks are curtailed due to a rising fear of the increasing power of slaves. This was precipitated by the fear aroused in the white population after the slave insurrection led by Nat Turner in Virginia in 1831. "Black Codes" were then enacted in several states to keep the black "in his place" by denying him access to educational facilities of any kind.

1831 Vocational education for black youth is proposed by a black convention. The First Annual Negro Convention was held in Philadelphia June 6-11, 1831. Delegates attended from New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia. The idea was suggested by Samuel Cornish in 1827 and taken up by the Reverend S. A. Jocelyn, an anti-slavery white minister from New Haven. Vocational education for black youth was discussed at this and ensuing conferences held in Philadelphia, New York, and Rochester. The conference declared that colleges and high schools were needed where youth could be instructed in the manual labor system and the arts of civilized life. Money was raised for a school in New Haven, but the citizens objected and declared that "the founding of colleges for colored people was a dangerous undertaking."

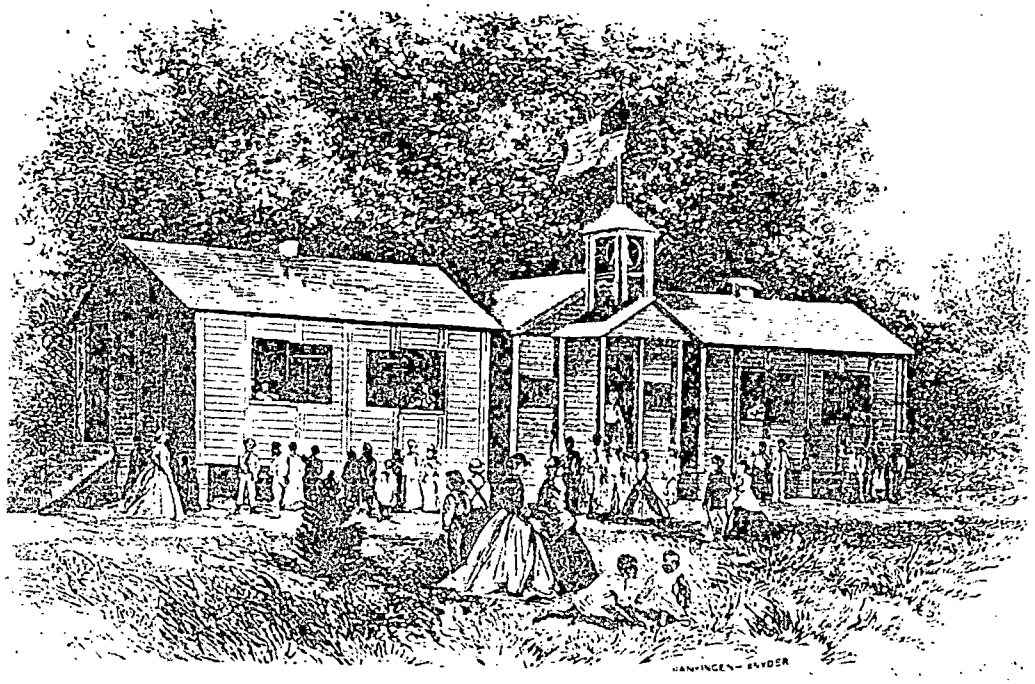
1834 Prudence Crandall is imprisoned and mobbed at Canterbury, Connecticut. Reaction to the education of blacks was manifest when Prudence Crandall, a young Quaker who had established a boarding school at Canterbury, tried to enroll Sarah Harris, a black girl, at her institution. When whites objected, she advertised for young women of color. Imprisonment and violence resulted.

1840 Blacks attend school with whites in Wilmington, Delaware.

1842 A school for black and Indian boys opens in Ohio. Augustus Wattles, agent of American Anti-Slavery Society, and Samuel Emlen, New Jersey philanthropist, open Emlen Institute for Negro and Indian Boys, in Mercer County, Ohio. The school specialized in the teaching of agricultural and skilled crafts.

1848 A black industrial training school opens in Philadelphia at the House of Industry. By 1851, Sarah Luciana was teaching 70 youths at the training school and at the Sheppard School, another industrial institution. Other schools in operation were the Corn Street Unclassified School (1849), the Holmesburg Unclassified

The Penn School for black children on St. Helena Island, South Carolina, was established and operated by Quakers after the Civil War.



School (1854), and the Home for Colored Children (1859). By this date there were 1,031 pupils in the black public schools of Philadelphia; 748 in the charity schools; 211 in the benevolent schools; 331 in private schools. In all, 2,231 were in attendance, whereas 10 years earlier there were only 1,643. Besides supporting these institutions, the blacks of Philadelphia maintained many small schools and a system of lyceums and debating clubs, one of which had a library of 1,400 volumes.

1849 *Roberts* v. *City of Boston.* Robert Morris, a prominent black lawyer, and Charles Sumner argued that segregation hurts white and black children alike. The suit was filed in Boston by Benjamin F. Roberts on behalf of his daughter, Sarah, who had applied under the Equal Education Act of 1845 to attend a white school closer to her home. The court ruled against Sumner and a local ordinance providing for the separate education of the races was upheld. During the next six years, however, public opinion persuaded the Massachusetts legislature to repudiate the court. This was accomplished in 1855 by a law which forbade distinction of race, color, or religion for purposes of admission into the state's public schools.

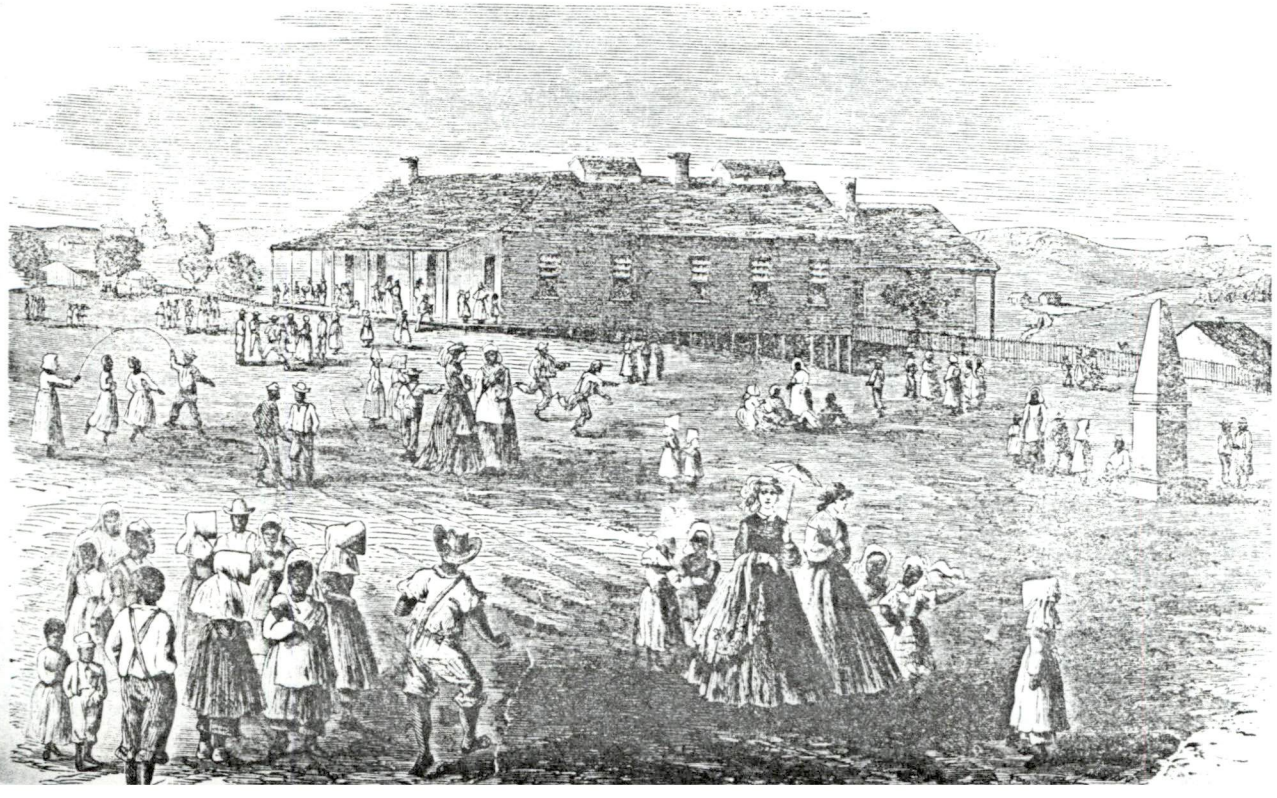
1852 Students in the North become converted to the doctrine of equality in education through the efforts of President C. B. Storrs of Western Reserve College, Hudson, Ohio. By 1852 black students had attended the Institute of Easton, Pennsylvania; the Normal School of Albany, New York; Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine; Rutland College, Vermont; Jefferson College, Pennsylvania; Athens College, Athens, Ohio; Franklin College, New Athens, Ohio; and Hanover College, near Madison, Indiana. Blacks had taken courses at the Medical School of New York, the Castleton Medical School in Vermont, the Berkshire Medical School in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, the Rush Medical School in Chicago, the Eclectic Medical School in Philadelphia, the Homeopathic College of Cleveland, and the Medical School of Harvard University. Black preachers had been educated at the Theological Seminary of Charlestown, South Carolina. Vocational schools were abundant. Statistics of 1850 and 1860 show that there was an increase in the number of black mechanics, especially in Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Columbus, the Western Reserve, and Canada. But this was probably due to the decreasing prejudice of the local white mechanics toward black artisans fleeing from the South rather than to formal industrial training.

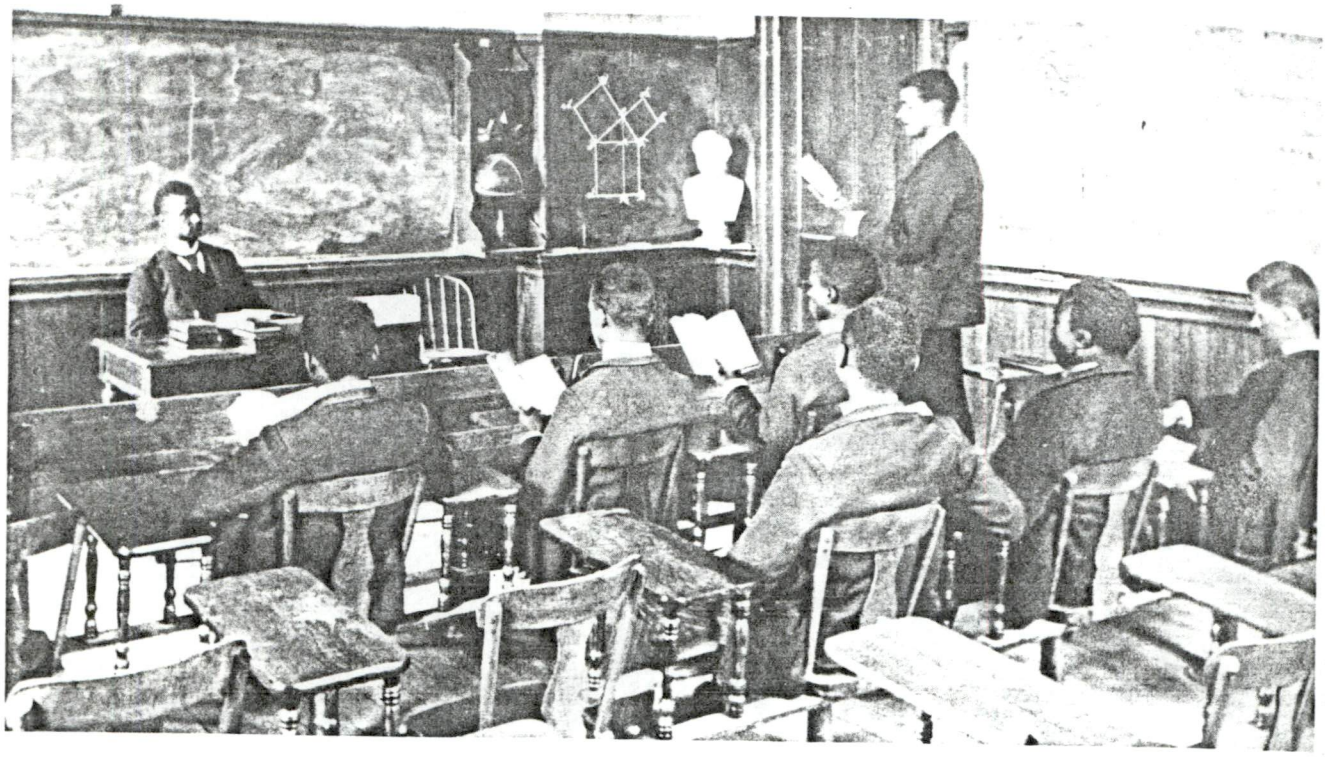
1855 The Massachusetts legislature enacts a law providing that no distinction be made on account of race, color, or religion, in admitting scholars to public schools.

1864 The Civil War sees mass education of blacks. The Christian Commission sponsored 50 teachers who taught blacks in the Union Army. Chaplains also taught black troops. By the war's end, 20,000 had been taught to read.

1865 The Freedman's Bureau is founded under General Oliver O. Howard. The Bureau was created by Congress on March 3, 1865, to cooperate with benevolent and religious societies in the establishment of schools for blacks. John Mercer Langston, black lawyer, and Inspector General of Schools in the Bureau, reported in August 1869 the existence of many good schools for blacks. By 1870, the Freedmen's Bureau operated over 2,600 schools in the South with 3,300 teachers educating 150,000 students.

Noon recess at the primary school for freedmen, Vicksburg, Mississippi.





A typical classroom in one of the early colleges associated with the United Negro College Fund.

Four thousand schools were in operation prior to the abolition of the Bureau.

1865-1871 Several predominantly black institutions of higher learning are established. During these years, a number of important black institutions of learning were founded, including Virginia Union and Shaw University (1865); Fisk University and Lincoln Institute (1866); Talladega College, Augusta (Georgia) Institute, Biddle University, Howard University, and Scotia Seminary (1867); Tougaloo College (1869); and Alcorn College and Benedict College (1871). Many of these colleges have changed their names since their founding.

1867 Establishment of the Peabody Fund. The two million dollar Peabody Fund was established for promotion and encouragement of intellectual, moral, and industrial education among the young of the more destitute portions of the southern and southwestern states.

1872 Alcorn College becomes the first black land grant college. This was made possible under the Morrill Act of 1862, which provided federal land grant funds for higher education. It was the Morrill Act of 1890, however, which provided that funds for black education be distributed on a "just and equitable basis." Such legislation, however, also served to strengthen the doctrine of "separate but equal," with the result that the 17 southern states maintained colleges which came to be known as "Negro land grant colleges."

1897 In Washington, D.C. the American Negro Academy is founded. Organized on March 5, 1897, by the Reverend Alexander Crummell, black theologian and educator, the Academy has five stated objectives: (1) defense of the black against vicious assaults; (2) publication of scholarly work; (3) fostering higher education among blacks; (4) formulation of intellectual tastes; (5) promotion of literature, science, and art.

Crummell's father was a prince and son of a West African tribal chief (Temme tribe). Crummell himself first conceived the idea of an American Negro Academy while a student at Cambridge University, England. The Academy was the first body in America to bring together black scholars from all over the world. The general purpose of the organization was to foster scholarship and culture in the black race and encourage budding black genius. In March 1897, the year of McKinley's inauguration, celebrated black scholars and writers assembled in the Lincoln Memorial Church and organized into a brotherhood of scholars. In attendance was Dunbar, the poet; DuBois, the sociologist; Scarborough, the Greek scholar; Miller, the mathematician; Grimke, the theologian; Cromwell, the historian; and many other noted educators. At Crummell's death on September 12, 1908, DuBois was elected president and stated that those with higher education must take responsibility for uplifting the black race. Many brilliant papers were published, which are still today the best discussion on Negro suffrage and southern disfranchisement.

1900 The New York legislature, under the governorship of Theodore Roosevelt, passes an act providing that no one

should be denied admittance to any public school on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

1902 The General Education Board is founded and supported by John D. Rockefeller. Funds from this organization aided black education materially in such categories as endowment, scholarships, teacher training, and industrial education.

1908 Founding of the Anna T. Jeanes Fund. The Jeanes Fund sponsored the Jeanes Teacher Program to improve the quality of instruction in rural black schools.

1908 *Berea College* v. *Kentucky.* A Kentucky law had made segregation mandatory. At issue was whether a private college had the right to teach blacks and whites together. The Supreme Court ruled, on technical grounds, against the college.

1913 The Julius Rosenwald Fund is founded. The Fund provided grants for constructing schools. By 1932, more than 5,000 school buildings in 883 counties of 15 states had been built under Rosenwald sponsorship.

1932 Publication of the *Journal of Negro Education.* This organ, published at Howard University, has done much to improve educational opportunities for blacks and to democratize education in general.

1954 *Brown* v. *Board of Education.* This decision by the U.S. Supreme Court declared segregation in public schools to be unconstitutional. It was based on the theory that "the segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other tangible factors may be equal, deprives children of the minority group of equal educational facilities." (For fuller discussion see "review" and Supreme Court section.)

1957 The Little Rock crisis. After a federal court ordered desegregation in Little Rock, Arkansas, Governor Orval Faubus called out the Arkansas National Guard to prevent nine black students from entering Central High School. As a result, President Eisenhower dispatched U.S. troops to Little Rock to enforce the court order, and ultimately federalized the Arkansas National Guard as well.

1961 New Rochelle: *The Lincoln School Case.* In this case, Federal District Court Judge Irving A. Kaufman ruled that the New Rochelle Board of Education had deliberately created and maintained Lincoln as a racially segregated school. Judge Kaufman ordered the Board to present a plan to desegregate the predominantly black school at all levels. This case marked the first court decision against *de facto* segregation in the North.

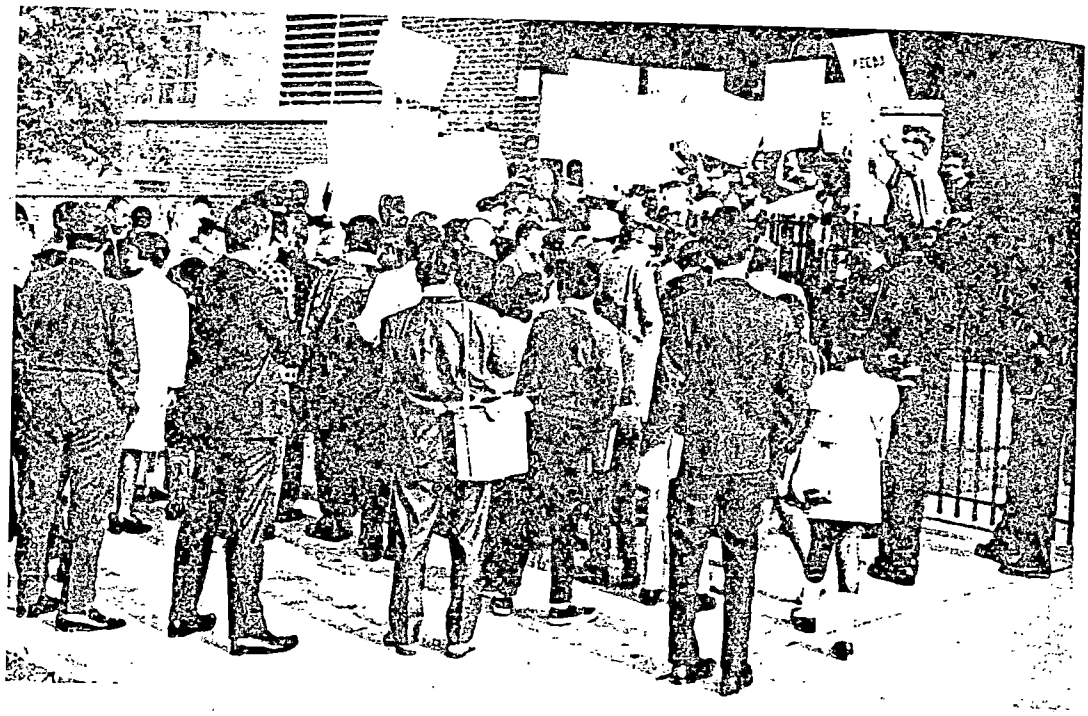
1964 The Civil Rights Act is passed. This act placed further legal restrictions on discrimination in education.

1965 The Elementary and Secondary School Education Act is passed. This act provides funds under Title I for promoting racial integration in the public schools of the United States.

1966 Federal judge orders Lowndes County school districts to desegregate. Federal District Court Judge Frank M. Johnson, Jr. directed the Lowndes County, Alabama school board to install a sweeping desegregation order. All grades

President John F. Kennedy meets with the Presidents of United Negro Colleges.





Neighborhood control of education was the goal of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville Demonstration.

were ordered desegregated within two years. A free choice transfer system to any school was to be effected and all black teachers integrated.

1966 The teaching profession continues to appeal to black students despite the emphasis on the need to diversify careers. Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz declared that two-thirds of all black college students are preparing to teach and that many of these students should be preparing for careers other than in education in order to fill positions that are finally becoming available to black applicants.

1966 The Kennedy plan for urban ghettos. Senator Robert F. Kennedy called for eradication of huge central city ghettos and criticized the deliberate location of public housing in ghettos. To help desegregate schools, he urged a program for boarding children in the suburbs.

1966 The *Chester School* case. The Court of Common Pleas of Dauphin County, Pennsylvania, decides the *Chester School* case. The court upholds the order by the Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission that the Chester school board stop assigning black teachers and clerks only to all-black schools, and that the board cease refusing to assign white teachers to a predominantly black school. The court rejects two contentions: (1) that it has authority to act against *de facto* segregation and (2) that the school board has engaged in extensive gerrymandering.

1966 The *Tometz* case against the Waukegan school board. State Circuit Court Judge Philip W. Yaeger of Illinois rejects a Waukegan school board motion to dismiss the *Tometz* case filed against it by a group of black parents.

1966 A Detroit suburb agrees to integrated textbooks. The school board of Inkster, Michigan, a Detroit suburb, signs a contract with Local 1068 of the American Federation of Teachers agreeing that effective education must be integrated education. Only integrated textbooks are to be used in reading and social studies classes.

1966 Prince Edward County school board is found guilty of contempt. The U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit finds the Prince Edward County, Virginia school board guilty of contempt of court for illegally distributing state funds to be used for tuition in private schools so as to avoid desegregation.

1966 Plaquemine Parish, Louisiana is desegregated. The public schools of Plaquemine Parish, Louisiana are ordered by a federal district court to desegregate six of 12 grades through a free choice plan.

1966 Integration in Fayette, Mississippi. In Fayette, Mississippi, 13 black children are enrolled in two formerly all-white schools as a result of an agreement between the school board and the state NAACP headed by Charles Evers.

1966 The integration question is raised at I.S. 201 in Harlem. A community movement in East Harlem calls upon the school board to integrate the new intermediate school I.S. 201 or place its management under effective community control.

1967 Civil Rights Commission releases an important study. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights releases its study, Racial Isolation in the Public Schools, made in response to a November 1965 request by President Johnson.

1967 The *Girard College* case. Girard College in

Philadelphia does not have to admit blacks under the state's Public Accommodations Act, according to a ruling by the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit. This part of the opinion thus reverses an earlier ruling by Federal District Court Judge Joseph S. Lord III.

1967 The Court of Appeals declares that southern states are obliged to foster integration. The U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit endorses an earlier ruling that six southern states have an affirmative responsibility to integrate their public schools. In April, the U.S. Supreme Court declines to delay the implementation of the Court of Appeals' order. A federal court strikes down an Alabama law against the HEW desegregation guidelines as a violation of the Constitutional supremacy of Congressional legislation.

1967 Final ruling on the *Tometz* case by the Illinois Supreme Court. The Illinois Supreme Court holds unconstitutional the Armstrong law and thus reverses the earlier *Tometz* ruling. The statute, enacted in 1963, required school boards to redistrict attendance boundaries periodically to reduce segregation and prevent further segregation. The state high court finds the law to be arbitrary and unreasonable and in violation of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

1967 The Supreme Court upholds a Court of Appeals ruling in *Oklahoma City Dowell* case. The U.S. Supreme Court refuses to review a Tenth Circuit Court of Appeals decision in the *Oklahoma City Dowell* case, thus leaving intact a District Court order of September 5, 1965. The 1965 order called for sweeping changes in school organization: the attendance areas of various schools were to be merged to promote desegregation; a child in a racial majority would be permitted to transfer to a school in which he was in a racial minority; faculties were to be desegregated by 1970 so that the racial composition in each school approximated the system-wide composition (plus or minus a 10% tolerance).

1968 There is a racial imbalance in Massachusetts, the District of Columbia, and Lansing. The Massachusetts racial imbalance law withstands attack before the U.S. Supreme Court. The statute, which requires a school board to take action whenever a school's enrollment exceeds 50% nonwhite, is unsuccessfully challenged as unconstitutional by Boston school authorities. The Supreme Court rules that the suit failed to raise a substantial federal question. In the District of Columbia, the Board of Education reports on plans to effectuate the court's ruling in *Hobson v. Hansen*. Plans are submitted to the court regarding the reduction of racially imbalanced student bodies and faculties; measures include attendance boundary changes and busing. New teachers are assigned to achieve racial balance. Discussions are held with suburban school officials about attendance of District students in schools outside the city. The Ingham County Circuit Court rules that the Lansing school board can change attendance boundaries to bring about racial balance.

1968 A rise in the population of black students is recorded at predominantly white colleges in North Carolina. Between 1963 and 1967, the percentage of black students in predominantly white colleges and universities increases from 0.4 to 1.6%, according to the North Carolina Board of Higher Education.

1968 "One man, one vote" is applied to school board election. The U.S. Supreme Court holds that the "one man, one vote" rule must be applied to elections of school boards and other local agencies. "Units with general governmental powers over an entire geographic area," ruled the court, "must not be apportioned among single-member districts of substantially unequal population."

1968 The Supreme Court rules on "open enrollment" or "freedom of choice." The Supreme Court rules unanimously that "freedom of choice" desegregation plans (called "open enrollment" in the North) must promise significant progress before being approved. Desegregation plans that result in no substantial change of segregation will be rejected. School boards are given the affirmative responsibility of finding realistic plans. The Supreme Court explicitly limits its ruling to southern and border states that had permitted legal segregation before 1954.

1968 In its final ruling, the State Supreme Court reverses its earlier ruling in the *Tometz* case. At issue was the 1963 Illinois Armstrong Act which required school districts to change or revise school attendance areas to prevent or end segregation. In its 1967 ruling, the court invalidated the law, holding that race could not properly be a consideration in attendance area revision. Now, however, it determines that the "issue here is whether the constitution permits, rather than prohibits, voluntary state action aimed toward reducing and eventually eliminating *de facto* school segregation. The Armstrong Act was thereupon found to be constitutional."

1968 Deliberate segregation is unearthed in South Holland. Legal proceedings continued in the federal complaint of deliberate segregation against School District No. 151 in South Holland, Illinois. In a deposition, Superintendent Charles B. Watts stated he was present when a school board member acknowledged that race was taken into account in locating the site of two schools. Federal attorneys introduced evidence showing that a white school board member had been allowed to enroll his children in a white school.

1968 The right of an experimental school district—Ocean Hill-Brownsville Demonstration School District—to transfer or dismiss teachers becomes the central issue in a continuing confrontation between the United Federation of Teachers and black parents constituting the majority of the district's governing board.

1968 In May, in its final ruling of the *Girard* case, the U.S. Supreme Court refused to review a lower court ruling that ended a 120-year-old practice of exclusion of black boys

from Girard College, a free boarding school in Philadelphia. Four weeks later, numerous black mothers brought their youngsters to register for entrance in September.

1968 U.S. Circuit of Appeals declines to rule on "freedom of choice." The Fifth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals refused to strike down 42 freedom of choice plans in four southern states. It ordered federal district courts in the states to determine by November 4 how effective the plans were. The court defined an effective plan as one that produces integration of faculties, staff, facilities, transportation, and school activities along with integration of students.

1968 The U.S. Justice Department intervenes against the Ku Klux Klan. The U.S. Department of Justice filed suit against a Ku Klux Klan chapter in Crenshaw County, Alabama, charging interference with a court-ordered "free choice desegregation plan." The Klan, according to federal complaint, intimidated black parents into withdrawing their children from white schools.

1968 Busing begins in South Holland, Illinois. Federal court-ordered desegregation takes effect in South Holland, Illinois without incident in September. Nine-tenths of the white enrollment as of June reentered the desegregated schools. About 800 pupils equally divided between black and white were bused daily.

1968 A federal panel in Illinois refuses to rule on per-pupil expenditure disparities between school districts. A three-man federal court panel in Illinois refused to rule unconstitutional large per-pupil expenditure disparities between school districts in the state. One suburb spent $1,283 per high school student, another $919. Plaintiffs contended state laws permitting such disparities violated the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Without doubt, ruled the panel, the educational potential of each child should be cultivated to the utmost and the poorer districts should have more funds, but the allocation of public revenues is a basic policy decision, more appropriately handled by a legislature than a court.

1969 Integration pressure is applied to Los Angeles school district. Lawsuit filed in Los Angeles Superior Court asking that the Inglewood Unified School District be ordered to eliminate *de facto* segregation in school district number 17. The board allegedly refuses even to adopt a policy statement committing the district to integration.

1969 Citizens move to bar the erection of a *de facto* segregated high school in Muncie, Indiana. Black citizens filed suit in federal court, Muncie, Indiana, to bar construction of a high school in an all-white area. The suit charged that the resulting exclusion of black children from the new facility would be in violation of their constitutional rights to equal educational opportunities.

1969 Mt. Vernon elementary schools are desegregated. The State Supreme Court of New York upholds a state order to desegregate the Mt. Vernon elementary schools.

1969 Pennsylvania is directed to achieve greater integration of schools of higher learning. Pennsylvania was directed by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to desegregate its public colleges and universities. Pennsylvania, H.E.W. charged, "is operating a system of higher education that is segregated on a statewide basis." The state's only predominantly black school, Cheyney State, enrolls 85% black students, which amount to more than 4.5 times the number of blacks in all other 13 state colleges combined.

1970 HEW's office for Civil Rights issues a memorandum, "Discrimination and Denial due to National Origin." The memorandum reports that states and districts continue to institute practices that discriminate against Spanish-speaking Americans, violating their Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which forbids the discriminatory use of national origin as well as race or color. School districts are warned: "where the inability to speak or understand the English language excludes national origin minority group participation in the education program... the districts must take affirmative steps to rectify the language deficiency in order to open its instructional program to these students."

1971 Lower courts are urged to support integration. The Supreme Court called upon lower courts to make every effort to achieve the greatest possible degree of desegregation based on practical realities of local situations. (*Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education.*)

1972 New York Regents back busing. New York State Board of Regents backed the use of "judicious and reasonable busing to achieve school integration."

1972 Justice Department lawyers oppose Nixon. In the Justice Department, 95 lawyers publicly expressed opposition to President Nixon's anti-busing legislation.

1973 Denver is challenged to disprove *de facto* segregation. The Supreme Court emphasized that the differentiating factor between *de jure* and *de facto* segregation is *purpose* or *intent* to segregate and demanded that Denver School Board prove that it had not intentionally effected a policy that created or maintained segregation in the core city schools.(*Keys v. School District #1 Denver, Colorado.*)

1974 The Court affirmed that minority children may not be denied a meaningful opportunity to participate in public educational programs and cited section 601 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which bans discrimination based on the grounds of "race, color or national origin in any program or activity receiving federal financial assistance." (*Lau* v. *Nichols.*)

1974 HEW is pressed to enforce desegregation. HEW's Office of Civil Rights is urged to move faster in enforcing Title VI of Civil Rights Act of 1964 by taking action to end segregation in public education institutions receiving federal funds. (*Adams* v. Richardson.)

1974 A Detroit Metropolitan integration plan is defeated. In the *Detroit* case, in a 5 to 4 ruling, the Supreme Court reversed a District court plan to link Detroit's 185,000 black students with the 53 suburban school districts surrounding the City of Detroit.



Racial violence flared in the schools after courts ordered Boston desegregation in 1974.

1974 Boston opposes integration. The city of Boston resisted a court order to desegregate public schools, succumbing to white demonstrations.

1974 James A. Harris becomes NEA president. The National Education Association, the nation's largest professional organization, elected James A. Harris, a black schoolteacher from Des Moines, Iowa, as its president.

1974 Senator Edward Kennedy is prevented from speaking out on Boston desegregation issue. Senator Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts was driven from a speaker's platform by jeers and egg-throwing, while urging whites to accept the desegregation guidelines established for the Boston school system.

1975 The Civil Rights Commission cites laxity in the enforcement of civil rights laws in education. In a report made public on January 22, the U.S. Civil Rights Commission accused the federal government of failing to enforce the civil rights laws as they apply to education. Singled out for criticism was the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

1975 In a report issued March 11, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights recommended that the federal government withhold federal aid from schools that fail to comply with desegregation directives within a 90 day period.

1975 Justice Department charges segregation in Mississippi Colleges. The U.S. Department of Justice charged that Mississippi's 25 state colleges and universities were illegally segregated. The charge was submitted to the U.S. District Court in Aberdeen.

1975 Dr. James S. Coleman, a prominent black educator, issued a study entitled Recent Trends in School Integration. The core of the study concluded that integration efforts in the United States have failed and that modification of approaches was needed.

1975 U.S. Justice Department files a suit against a Detroit suburb charging segregation. The Justice Department filed suit in federal court charging Ferndale, a Detroit suburb, of operating a racially segregated school system. The suit, taken on behalf of the Office of Revenue Sharing, is the first of its kind.

1976 Black conservatives led by Thomas Sowell attack busing and affirmative action programs as ineffective and charge that government efforts in this direction benefit lawyers and government officials advocating busing more than the black children the policy is supposed to serve.

1976 Integrationists have mixed feelings about the election of Jimmy Carter to the Presidency. While they prefer him to outgoing President Gerald Ford, they feel he has been lukewarm in his support of integration.

1977 Leaders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People accuse several northern political leaders of abandoning support for strong measures against school districts that evade integration.

1977 Joseph Califano, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, blames an anti-desegregation mood in Congress for a slowdown in integration efforts.

1977 A survey by the National Urban League indicates that 45% of blacks interviewed, while favoring integration, believe that an equal say in control of schools is more important.

1978 The U.S. Civil Rights Commission charges that large areas of the South have still failed to integrate their schools.

1978 By a 5 to 4 vote, the Supreme Court rules that Alan Bakke, a young white man, is entitled to admission to the University of California because the university's affirmative action program for minorities discriminated against him. However, the Court also holds that college admission affirmative action programs are constitutional.

1979 Stronger federal enforcement of civil rights laws are stated as a prerequisite. The civil rights commission charges that segregation remains most severe in the northeastern states and North Carolina. The remedy, it declares, is stronger enforcement of civil rights laws and Congressional action to enforce the Department of Health, Education and Welfare's power to order busing.

1979 A sharp decline in black high school dropouts is reported by the Census Bureau, from 35% in 1968 to 24% in 1976. The white rate remained stable at 14%.

1979 The Supreme Court sustains busing as a means to desegregate entire school systems when the policies of local officials result in a racial imbalance in parts of the system.

1979 The formation of a cabinet level Department of Education is assured by a narrow 5-vote margin in the House of Representatives. The first year's budget is to be $14 million.

1979 Signs of trouble in university black studies programs surface, as Harvard's administration recommends its Afro-American Studies Department be downgraded. Russell Adams, a Howard University professor, reports that the number of college-level black studies programs has dropped from about 600 in 1961 to 250 in 1975.

1979 In Topeka, Kansas, Linda Brown joins other parents in bringing an action against the Topeka school system on the grounds that it remains segregated 25 years after her historic victory in *Brown v. Board of Education*.

1980 Supreme Court Justices Powell, Stewart, and Rehnquist express concern that school busing induces white flight to the suburbs.

1980 In separate decisions involving Cleveland, Ohio, and New Castle, Delaware, the Supreme Court supports busing as a means to end segregation. The Justice Department presses for speedier desegregation in Chicago. However, attempts to include suburban schools in Houston and St. Louis plans are rejected.

1980 A "Black College Day" attended by 20,000 black students is held in Washington, D.C. Its purpose is to mobilize the public to support historic black colleges, which have suffered since desegregation opened the predominantly white colleges to blacks. Tony Brown, a black writer, contends that 70% of blacks attending "white" colleges do not graduate. Meanwhile, the Justice Department contends that university systems in Texas, Louisiana, and North Carolina are segregated.

1980 Ronald Reagan is elected president. During his campaign he advocated elimination of the Department of Education, elimination of busing to achieve integration, and deep cuts in federal aid to education.

1981 A series of actions to curb busing are undertaken on several fronts. The House and Senate vote to forbid the Justice Department to use busing for integration in any but the most limited circumstances; anti-busing steps, of questionable constitutionality, are also proposed to limit the Supreme Court's power to order busing; and anti-busing constitutional amendments are proposed.

1981 Drastic cuts in federal aid to education programs are included in the Reagan budget which Congress approves and the President signs. Cuts run the gamut from the preschool Head Start program to the Pell loans for college students.

1981 The Justice Department announces it will no longer sue to desegregate entire school districts when only a part of a district discriminates. Instead, litigation is to concentrate on individual schools that discriminate. System-wide suits had become a major weapon of integrationists and had been upheld by the Supreme Court.

1982 A storm erupts as the Administration reverses its 11-year policy of denying tax exempt status to private schools and colleges that discriminate racially. Stunned by the force of broad-based opposition to its stand, the government refers the matter to Congress and the Supreme Court but defends its action as one of necessary restraint on the powers of an administrative agency.

1982 Civil rights lawyers assail the Justice Department's approval of a Chicago desegregation plan that relies extensively on voluntary student transfers.

1982 Governor Carey of New York criticizes medical schools for a 46% drop in enrollment of minorities since 1976.

1982 Efforts to eliminate the Department of Education appear to have failed as bipartisan Congressional support rallies around the beleaguered agency.

1983 The U. S. Supreme Court, in *Bob Jones University v. IRS*, authorizes the denial of tax-exempt status to an institution that practices racial discrimination.

1984 In *Grove City College v. Bell*, the U. S. Supreme Court rules that the financial-aid office of Grove City College is the only part of the institution subject to federal laws protecting women against discrimination because that office is the only part of the college receiving federal funds.

1984, March 29 Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, a national civil rights education figure died in Atlanta, Ga., at age 89. He had served as president of Atlanta's Morehouse College from 1940 to 1967, and often said that one of his greatest honors was teaching and advising the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., who was a student there. Raised on a farm, Dr. Mays attended college in 1916, and eventually earned a doctorate from the University of Chicago. He gained international renown as an educator and lecturer while dean of the Howard University Divinity School, from 1934-1940. During his career, he received 45 honorary degrees in law, divinity and the humanities.

1984, April 14 In order to consolidate community support, Federal Judge Henry Woods orders the merger of the mostly black Little Rock School District with the mostly white North Little Rock and Pulaski County Districts in Arkansas. the judge cited the Little Rock District's inability to pass a property tax in five years as an indication that white voters were unwilling to support a mostly black school district. The case is to be heard by the Court of Appeals.

1986 In February, Federal District Judge Jack Tanner rules that the state of Washington must pay $482 million over 6 years to bring the pay of 35,000 state workers—mostly women—up to the level of jobs of similar difficulty and worth held by most men. The ruling is the first major triumph for women fighting for "comparable worth."

1985, May 2 the Ford Foundation announces it will give $9 million in fellowships for doctoral studies by blacks and minorities.

1985, August 1 By a vote of 9 to 4, Dr. Laval S. Wilson, 47, becomes Boston school system's first black superintendent. His duties include overseeing a student population that is

48% black, 28% white, and 24% other minorities, and which has seen racial discord for more than a decade.

1985, August 31 The Justice Department announces it no longer requires actual tabulations as proof that the court-ordered school desegregations have been met. Instead, the department says, school districts may be released from such obligations if they can demonstrate that they have "fully and in good faith" abided by measures outlined in the desegregation plan.

1985, December 11 A group of black educators, politicians and community leaders form "The Select Committee on the Education of Black Youth." The committee's goal is to reduce dropout rates and increase college attendance of black youth. They offer an alternative curriculum for public school students, called "Foundation for Learning," which stresses reading, writing, and speaking skills.

1986, January 1 In Congress, the House Committee on Government Operations criticizes the Reagan Administration in its handling of civil rights complaints against schools and colleges. The report recommended that federal anti-discrimination agencies insist that colleges do more than offer "good faith" efforts to correct previous racial imparities. The report, based on investigations and hearings by the Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations, cited as an example of the refusal of the Education Department's Office of Civil Rights to impose a mandatory cessation of federal funding to school districts and colleges which were found discriminatory in their treatment of blacks, women and handicapped persons.

1986, February Amendments to the Higher Education Act authorize the Ronald E. McNair Post-Baccalaureate Achievement Program and the Special Child Care Services for Disadvantaged College Students Program.

1986, February 6 Federal judges in Richmond, Va., uphold a lower-court decision to end court-ordered busing in Norfolk, Va. The decision was seen as reflecting the Reagan Administration's proposal that if school districts demonstrated "good faith" efforts to desegregate, they would be allowed to choose alternatives to busing, as long as resegregation was not a result. Proponents argued that busing was driving whites from the city's public schools. Opponents protested that the decision threatened a 30-year effort to integrate the nation's public school system, and promised to seek an injunction from the Supreme Court.

1986, April 23 National Education Association President Mary Futrell declares that the current levels of finances are insufficient to bring needed reform to public schools. Her announcement is buttressed by a NEA report that shows a 7.1% increase in school funding in the 1985-85 school year — far below the 20% to 25% increase needed for reform.

1986, April 24 A general mood in America to apply economic sanctions against South Africa places black college officials in a financial quandary. Many of the companies which fund black institutions also have operations in white-ruled South Africa. If the black colleges divest themselves economically from those companies, they clearly stand to lose much more than other, better-financed institutions.

1986, June *Wygant* v. *Jackson Board of Education*, the U. S. Supreme Court in June declares unconstitutional a Jackson, Mich. school board plan for laying off teachers that gives preference to minority groups. In their decision, however, the Justices reject the broad position that the Constitution bars governments from using any racial preferences in employment that, at the expense of whites, benefit members of minority groups who are not personally the victims of discrimination.

1986, June 16 The Supreme Court denies the injunction requested by black parents in Norfolk, Va., which would prevent the cessation of busing. The case, however, remains eligible for consideration on the high court's docket in the fall.

1986, July 4 In Richmond, Va., a 25-year-old school desegregation case requiring busing ends when a federal judge finds no vestiges of state-sanctioned segregation in the school system.

1986, October 7 The famous Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas lawsuit is reopened by the original plaintiff and others. They contend that the defendant has neither fully integrated their schools as mandated, nor eradicated elements which permitted racial separation in previous years. Instead, said Richard Jones, a lawyer for the plaintiffs, the school board has approved racially divisive school boundaries, and has allowed white parents to circumvent desegregation efforts through school attendance alternatives.

1986, November 3 The U. S. Supreme Court in *Riddick* v. *School Board of Norfolk* allows Norfolk to become the first school district in the U. S. to end court-ordered busing of elementary school pupils. At the same time, the Court, in *Board of Education of the Oklahoma City Public Schools* v. *Dowell*, lets stand a U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals ruling in Denver in June 1985 that blocked Oklahoma City's plan to end busing. Although the rulings appear contradictory, the likely result is that school districts will follow Norfolk and try to abandon busing plans.

1986, November 4 The Norfolk, Va., and an Oklahoma, OK., school desegregation cases are declined for review by the Supreme Court without explanation. The decision meant that busing would end in Norfolk, Va. The second case involved a bid by the Oklahoma City School Board to end busing of students in grades 1 through 4. Observers felt the Supreme Court, by declining to accept these cases, was choosing to leave the decisions in local disputes to lower courts rather than set a national standard.

1986, December 14 A federal district court judge dismisses a 26- year-old desegregation case in Chattanooga, Tenn., ruling that the local board of education has successfully complied with orders to integrate students and faculty. However, James Mapp, a black real estate agent who

initiated the suit in 1960, maintained that some schools continued to have a student body of entirely one race, even though blacks compose 51.6% of the school system's 23,700 students.

1987, April 1 The United Negro College Fund and the National Institution of Independent Colleges and Universities release a study which finds that black students are bearing the brunt of federal cut backs. The Findings were based on a survey of the nation's 57 historically black private colleges.

1987, April 9 College Board President Donald Stewart decries the Reagan Administration's efforts to cut federal aid to college students, although he praised the president's Education Secretary William Bennett for calling for more coherence and rigor in college curriculums.

1987, April 27 Hunter College anthropologist Johnetta Cole is named president of Spelman College in Atlanta, Ga. She also succeeds Donald Stewart as president of the College Board.

1987, April 29 Billionaire John Kluge donates $25 million to Columbia University in New York for a new aid program for minority students. The funds will allow the university to offer financial aid to more than 60 Kluge Presidential Scholars who are chosen annually by the university provost.

1987, May 20 The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights releases a report validating the role of desegregation plans, such as busing, in improving racial balances in public schools. The report notes, however, that white enrollment in public schools declined during the same period.

1987, May 22 The House of Representatives approves a sweeping education bill, called the School Improvement Act, which will affect a majority of the nation's elementary and secondary school children. The Act consolidates 14 programs and renews them until 1993, and is estimated to add $780 million to current budget projections for the programs.

1987, August 7 The NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund faults the Department of Education for failing to enforce desegregation in higher education systems in Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Oklahoma and Virginia.

1987, September 17 A federal district judge orders increases in property and income taxes to pay for improvements in the Kansas City, Mo., school system. One such improvement was the creation of magnet schools, designed to attract students from suburban and private schools elsewhere in the city.

1987, September 23 Scholastic Aptitude Test results show that black students are making gains nationwide; however, College Board assessments find that the overall average school scores of black students have remained unchanged for the third year in a row.

1987, September 25 Howard University in Washington, D.C. celebrates its 120th anniversary. The university, created by a congressional act in 1867, opened with a single building and four students.

1987, October 4 In a follow up from a report issued in January 1986, the House Committee on government Operations finds that Virginia and nine other Southern states have not eliminated racial discrimination in their colleges and universities. The report cited disparities between black and white enrollment and retention rates, shortages of black faculty members and low minority enrollment in graduate and professional schools.

1987, December 11 William Pratt of D. C. Superior Court ruled in Adams vs. Bennett that the so-called "Adams" decision is no longer enforceable. The Office of Civil Rights is required to obtain desegregation plans from 18 states with vestiges of *de jure* segregation.

1988, February 17 A New York Times article finds that colleges and universities are finding it difficult not only to recruit black students, but to keep them on their rolls.

1988, April 1 University of Maryland at College Park Chancellor Dr. John B. Slaughter announces his resignation in favor of accepting the post of president at Occidental College, a small, private college in Los Angeles. Dr. Slaughter was the first black to hold a high administrative position at the prestigious Maryland university.

1988, April 25 the Supreme Court, in a 5-4 decision, decides to review a pivotal (1976) decision prohibiting private schools from discriminating on the basis of race.

1988, August 16 Bishop College in Dallas, Texas, which was founded by freed slaves and was once the largest college west of the Mississippi, closes its doors after 108 years. The college reportedly owed more than $12 million to creditors.

1988, September 16 Racial discussions consume residents of Hillside, N.J., a suburb of Newark. The 22,000-member community is at odds over a new plan to achieve racial balance in elementary schools where some two-thirds of the students are minorities.

1988, October Congress passes, over President Reagan's veto, the Civil Rights Restoration Act of 1987, which restores the effectiveness of four civil rights statutes that prohibit discrimination in federally assisted programs, including Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, enforcement of which was limited by the Supreme Court's *Grove City College* decision.

1988, November 4 Actor Bill Cosby and wife, Camille, donate $20 million to Spelman College in Atlanta, Ga., the prestigious black women 's college. The contribution is the single largest gift ever made to a black college. Cosby said he made the donation with the hope of encouraging others to support black learning institutions, which are seriously underfunded.

1988, December 27 Fifteen years atter court-ordered busing touched off violent opposition and "white flight" from the city, Boston approves a new plan to save its troubled public school system. The plan will allow parents to select a school closer to home, in order to reduce the lengthy bus rides of their children.

hip. In this connection, it is useful to recall a emark of Napoleon's: "There are no bad regi-ients, only bad colonels." *See also* AFRO-AMER-CAN HISTORY: COLONIAL PERIOD, 1600s–1783; AFRO-AMERICAN HISTORY: THE WEST; AFRO-AMERICAN HISTORY: CIVILWAR, 1861–65; AVIA-ORS; CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT.

EFERENCES: Afro-American writers were the first to recog-nize the Afro-American contribution to various American war efforts. Writers of the nineteenth century—William C. Nell, George Washington Williams, and Joseph T. Wil-son—wrote about Afro-American military service. More recently, good accounts are in Blassingame, John W., "Recruit-ment of Colored Troops in Kentucky, Maryland, and Mis-souri, 1863–1865," *Historian*, August, 1967; Chandler, Vera, "The Negro in World War II," *Negro Yearbook*, 1947; Lee, Ulysses, *The Employment of Negro Troops: United States Army in World War II*, 1966; McConnell, Roland C., *Negro Troops in Antebellum Louisiana: A History of the Battalion of Free Men of Color*, 1968; Quarles, Benjamin, *The Negro in the American Revolution*, 1961; and Reddick, Lawrence D., "The Negro Policy of the American Army Since World War II," *Journal of Negro History*, April, 1953. A helpful bibliographical (including periodic literature) and biographical account (with accompanying photographs) is found in Greene, Robert Ewell (ed.), *Black Defenders of America, 1775–1973: A Reference and Pictorial History*, 1974. Though the author treats all wars since and including the Revolution (except Indian campaigns), his coverage of the Vietnam war takes up more than one-third of the book.

There are other writers who have valuable accounts, including Cassell, Frank A., "Slaves of the Chesapeake Bay Area and the War of 1812," *Journal of Negro History*, April 1972; Fowler, Arlen L., *The Black Infantry in the West, 1869–1891*, 1971; Gatewood, Willard B., *"Smoked Yankees" and the Struggle for Empire*, 1971; Langley, Harold D., "The Negro in the Navy and the Merchant Service, 1789–1860," *Journal of Negro History*, October 1967; and Leckie, William H., *The Buffalo Soldiers: A Narrative of the Negro Cavalry in the West*, 1967. See also Dalfiume, Richard M., *Desegregation of the U.S. Armed Forces: Fighting on Two Fronts, 1939–1953*, 1969; Foner, Jack D., *Blacks and the Military in American History: A New Perspective*, 1974; and Motley, Mary Penick (ed.), *The Invisible Soldier: The Experience of the Black Soldier, World War II*, 1975.

WARWICK, DIONNE (1941–), singer, actress; born in East Orange, N.J. Warwick attended the University of Hartford on a music scholarship in 1959. By 1964 she was rated the top rhythm-and-blues singer in the United States. With Bert Bacharach conducting, Warwick made her singing debut at Philharmonic Hall in New York City's Lincoln Center in 1966, after which she received rave reviews. She made grand tours of the major capitals of the world, where her musical style was highly acclaimed. Warwick also appeared in *Slaves*, her first motion picture.

WASHINGTON, BOOKER T. (BTW)

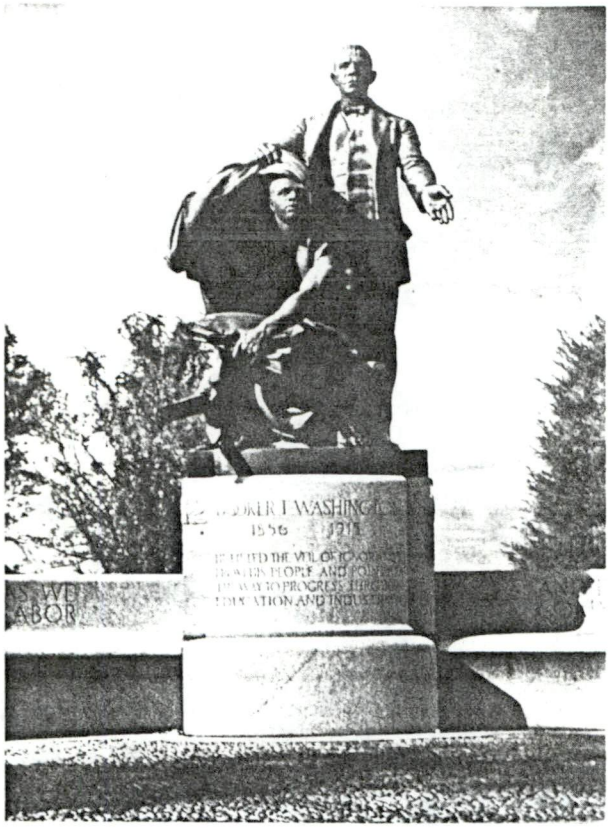
WASHINGTON, BOOKER TALIAFERRO (1856–1915), educator; born in Franklin County, Va.

In the mid-1890s Afro-Americans were in the throes of a national crisis that seemed to threaten their very survival. Hopes that had been inspired by emancipation and by Reconstruction lay in shambles. Abandoned by the political party of Abraham Lincoln, black citizens confronted a rising tide of racism—manifested by increasing incidents of lynching, disfranchisement, and riots—at a moment when they seemed to be without a racial spokesman. Their champion of half a century, Frederick Douglass, died in February 1895, and shortly thereafter John M. Langston, Blanche K. Bruce, and other notable Afro-American leaders died. The Afro-American press voiced grave concern about the vacuum in leadership in this critical juncture in race relations.

On September 18, 1895, seven months after the death of Douglass, ex-slave Booker T. Washington, the principal of Tuskegee Institute (Tuskegee Institute, Ala.), delivered an address at the Cotton States Exposition in Atlanta, Ga., that became famous as the "Atlanta Compromise." Notwithstanding the refusal of a few Afro-Americans to recognize Washington as Douglass' successor, the Atlanta address did in fact mark his emergence as the foremost spokesman for Afro-Americans. It was clear, however, that even if the ultimate goals of Douglass and Washington were similar, their methods and styles were substantially different. In a perceptive analysis of these differences, first published in 1903 and reflected in later interpretations, Kelly Miller of Howard University (Washington, D.C.) concluded that while the two men were in part products of their times, they were "also natural antipodes." In an "age of moral giants," Douglass was a leader of heroic proportions who was "like a lion, bold and fearless" in seeking full citizenship and integration into American society for Afro-Americans. In his pursuit of similar ends

BTW followed in the tradition of Fred Douglass

during an "era of merchant prices," according to Miller, Washington told the world what it was "disposed to listen to" rather than what it needed to hear. His were the methods of a social pacifist for whom an emphasis upon the economic uplift of Afro-Americans through industrial education offered the best way out of their predicament. Washington was more the "missionary seeking material and moral betterment of an unfortunate people" than the spontaneous leader voicing their highest aspirations in unequivocal terms.



This familiar statue of Booker T. Washington is a landmark on the campus at Tuskegee Institute (Ala.). Washington is shown "lifting the veil of ignorance from his people." *(Courtesy of Prentiss Polk, Tuskegee Institute.)*

Born a slave in 1856 on a small plantation in Virginia, the child who was to become known as Booker T. Washington was the progeny of the plantation cook and a local white man. Without a name other than Booker, he was never certain of the date of his birth and never knew the identity of his father. Only later when he became aware that other children possessed more than a single name did he add Washington to his own. His best-selling autobiography, *Up From Slavery* (1901), whatever its distortions, not only reveals much about the formative experiences in his life but also chronicles his own search for identity. Imbued with a desire to get on in a hostile world, Washington was determined to secure an education and managed to attend school sporadically in Malden, W. Va., where his mother and stepfather, Washington Ferguson, had settled after the Civil War. Forced to work in the coal mines and salt furnaces by his exploitative stepfather, young Washington was encouraged by his mother to find a better life. He finally secured a job as a houseboy in the mansion of Gen. Lewis Ruffner, Malden's most prominent citizen. Here Washington came under the tutelage of the general's wife, a "Yankee woman from Vermont," whose lessons in cleanliness, efficiency, and order were, according to Washington, as "valuable to me as any education I have ever gotten anywhere." Mrs. Ruffner remembered Washington as the ideal servant, eager to please and "always in his place." At least one historian, in analyzing the mature Washington, claims that he "never lost the attitude of the favorite slave."

In 1871 Washington made his way across Virginia to enroll in Hampton Institute (Hampton, Va.), a school for Afro-Americans founded and directed by Gen. Samuel C. Armstrong. The son of missionaries to Hawaii and himself a former commander of Afro-American troops in the Civil War, Armstrong espoused the cause of industrial education as the means for assisting black people up the social ladder. He urged Afro-Americans to accommodate themselves to the new order in the South, a process requiring them to eschew politics and postpone the attainment of first-class citizenship. Protest and agitation were to be replaced by an emphasis upon economic progress. Although his industrial education program provided agricultural and mechanical training, Armstrong viewed it primarily as a means of endowing a backward people with the morality, discipline, and character necessary for advancement in American society. As a result, training at Hampton emphasized cleanliness, thrift, abstinence, and the dignity of manual labor as much as it did the technical aspects of various trades. As a student and later as an instructor at Hampton, Washington came under the direct influence of General Armstrong, whom he later described as "the noblest, rarest human being" he had ever known. His experiences at Hampton provided Washington with the values and rationale upon which he later acted as the spokesman of Afro-Americans. Clearly, Washington did not exaggerate when he remarked that Armstrong "made the greatest and most lasting impression" upon him.

Upon graduating in 1875, Washington returned home to West Virginia to begin a teach-

ing career. Here he applied the lessons he had learned at Hampton. Convinced that "mere book education" did not meet the needs of his students, he taught them the proper use of the bath and the toothbrush. Indeed, he came to believe that the civilizing influence of the toothbrush was greater than that of academic subjects. Experiences during 1878 as a student at Wayland Seminary (Washington, D.C.) strengthened his belief in the superiority of practical education. In his opinion, Wayland graduated students who, though versed in Greek and Latin, knew little of the day-to-day demands of life and were little inclined to go "into the country districts of the South . . . to take up the work of our people." While in the nation's capital, he had occasion to observe Afro-American urban life in general and the behavior of Afro-American politicians in particular; and what he saw alarmed him and served to reinforce his faith in the formula prescribed by General Armstrong.

After a year at Wayland Seminary, Washington accepted an invitation to join the faculty at Hampton. During his two years there as an instructor, he served first as supervisor of a dormitory for Indian youths and later as director of a night school for black students who lacked the means of paying the cost of their education. General Armstrong, however, worked out an arrangement whereby these students were employed by day in one of the industries at Hampton so that they could earn enough money to pay their tuition. Washington described his experience in the night school as having come "providentially to help prepare me for my work at Tuskegee."

In 1881 the opportunity for Washington to direct his own institution came when General Armstrong recommended him for the position of principal of a new school for Afro-Americans at Tuskegee in Macon County, Ala. For the next 34 years Washington sought to gain his goals in the Alabama black belt. The monument to his efforts was Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, which in time became the capital of black America. Consciously conceived as a replica of Hampton, his school reflected the influence of General Armstrong both in the particulars of its curriculum and in its concern for propagating the Protestant ethic. The mission of Tuskegee was to provide Afro-Americans with the means to become economically self-supporting while inculcating the virtues necessary for leading "useful, decent" lives. Its educational program was designed to improve the economic condition of Afro-Americans but without making them dissatisfied with the existing sociopolitical order. In Washington's opinion, education that filled Afro-American citizens with nothing more than "a divine discontent" was worse than no education at all.

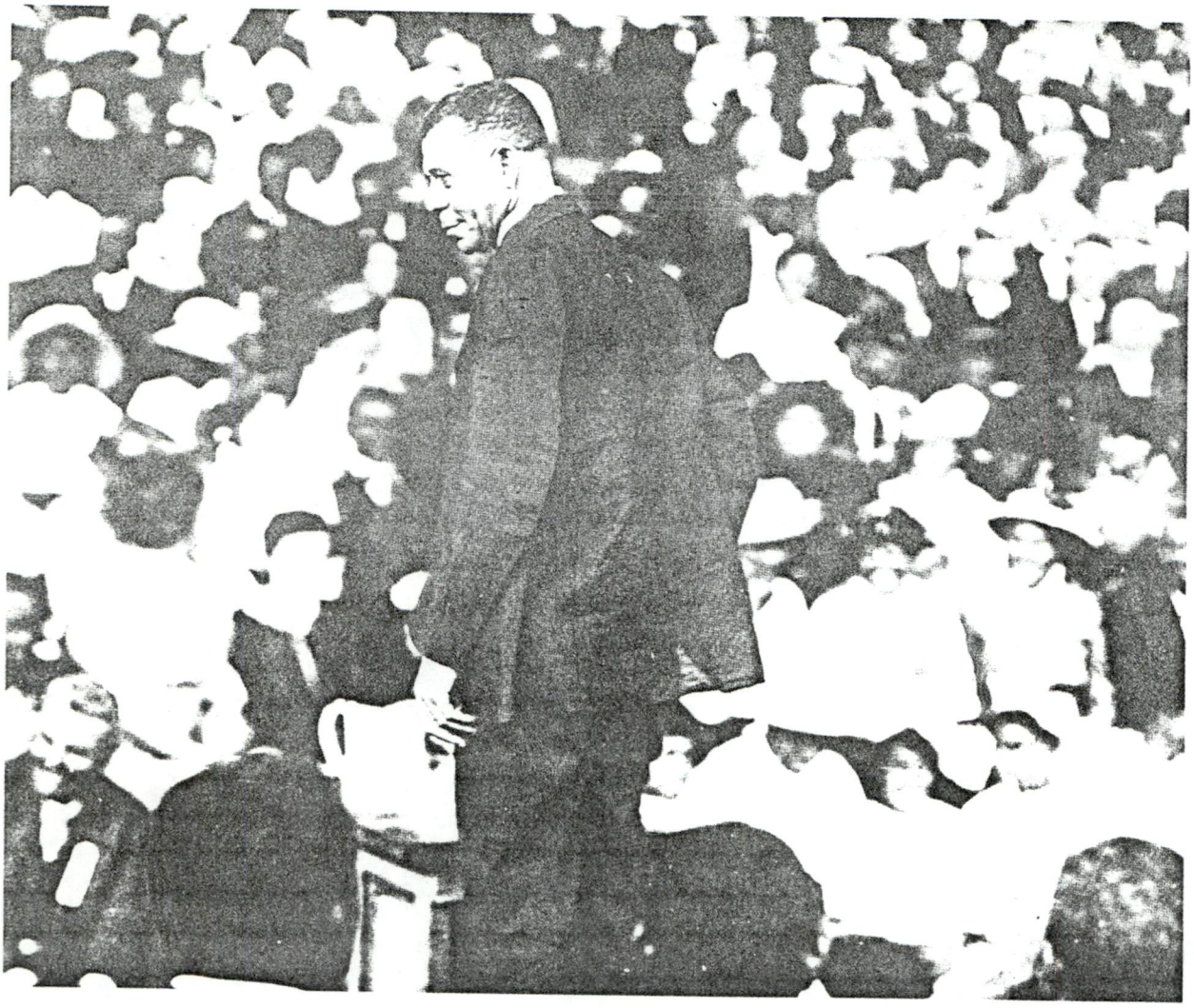
Beginning with neither capital nor a campus, Washington was ever aware of the pressure to demonstrate that "it was possible for Negroes to build up and control the affairs of a large educational institution." Resourcefulness and persistence enabled him to meet the challenge with such success that by 1895 Tuskegee was heralded as "the best product of Negro enterprise of the century." It was an enterprise that Washington supervised and controlled in the manner of a despot. Not the least among the factors in the development of the school was Washington's ability to sell the "Tuskegee idea" to Northern philanthropists. First introduced to men of wealth in the Northeast by General Armstrong, Washington became a remarkably effective fund raiser, who, skilled in articulating the platitudes dear to middle-class white Americans, impressed Northern industrialists and financiers as a conservative, self-made man not unlike themselves. That he was as much an entrepreneur as he was an educator served to enhance the impression that he made upon white capitalists. So complete was the faith of such men as Andrew Carnegie and William H. Baldwin in Washington and his program that they made him the arbiter of large-scale white charity.

The selection of Washington to deliver an address at the Atlanta Exposition in 1895 was a commentary on the esteem that he enjoyed among the "best" white people of the South. The formula of race relations proposed in that 20-minute speech before a biracial audience in the capital of the New South was a natural product of the lessons that Washington had learned from the Ruffners and from General Armstrong and that he had practiced for the previous 14 years at Tuskegee. It embodied what he thought was the only feasible option of Afro-American citizens in an era of deteriorating race relations and of noisy and unchecked Negrophobia. A classic example of Washington's skill in walking "the razor's edge between Negro pride and white prejudice," the address emphasized means rather than ends, the opportunities rather than the grievances of Afro-Americans, and the mutuality of interests between blacks and whites. He called upon Afro-Americans to surmount the obstacles of prejudice by focusing their energies upon economic

initiative and self-help, assuring them that the acquisition of property and "high character" would bring the recognition of all other rights. To allay the fears of the whites in his audience, Washington disparaged the black man's involvement in politics, condemned the migration of Afro-Americans from "our beloved South," and repudiated any agitation for social equality. Although he urged Afro-Americans to accommodate themselves to existing circumstances in the South, he did not, according to William Dean Howells, counsel "a base submission to the Southern whites, but a manly fortitude in bearing the wrongs that cannot be righted and a patient faith in the final kindliness and ultimate justice of the Anglo-Americans." With characteristic optimism Washington closed his Atlanta address with a reference to "the higher good"—the blotting out of racial animosities—that would accompany the economic evolution of black people.

For the remainder of his life, Washington elaborated upon these views in a plethora of speeches, books, and articles. The unity, pride, and "love of race," ethnic characteristics that he observed among Jews, were, in his opinion, worthy of emulation by Afro-Americans. Washington urged black businessmen to exploit the Afro-American market and encouraged black consumers to patronize black enterprises. In spite of evidence to the contrary, he persisted in the belief that the economic success of Afro-Americans would dissipate the prejudice of whites. In the rhetoric of Social Darwinism so fashionable in his day, Washington argued that although Afro-Americans must begin "at the bottom of life," they could struggle upward to achieve the economic efficiency that underlay "every kind of success." For those overwhelmed by the dimensions of the struggle, Washington was always ready with fatherly advice. Typical was the counsel he gave in 1903 to a discouraged Tuskegee alumnus: "You must look on the bright side of life and keep up your courage; that goes a long way in the direction of bringing success." Repeatedly, Washington argued that Afro-Americans would acquire the rights and privileges of other Americans in the same degree that they made themselves economically indispensable. The means for achieving this condition lay in industrial education, which, according to Washington, "killed two birds with one stone": it secured the assistance of whites and did "the best possible thing for blacks." While he did not shut the door upon liberal education for Afro-Americans and occasionally acknowledged the need for acquiring "culture and taste," his appeals in behalf of vocational training as more appropriate for a majority of Afro-Americans in their "present condition" displayed a disdain for Greek and Latin and other "ornamental gewgaws of life."

Washington's public utterances regarding the civil rights of Afro-American citizens were characterized by even more ambiguity and ambivalence than those on education. Accepting segregation "in all things that are purely social" as the price for racial harmony, he urged Afro-Americans to exploit every opportunity open to them within a segregated society. But within the framework of the "separate-but-equal doctrine," Washington sought equality of treatment for members of his race. Typical was his crusade for equality of accommodations on railroads. On the matter of disfranchisement, he maintained that in the South restrictions on voting were necessary but insisted that such restrictions be applied "with equal and exact justice to both races." Granting that mistakes had been made in regard to Afro-American suffrage during Reconstruction, he nonetheless expressed a belief in universal, free suffrage "as a rule" and admitted that any group permanently disfranchised under a republican form of government was "placed at a serious disadvantage." While he maintained that noisy agitation over civil rights would alienate whites and thereby hamper the progress of Afro-Americans in general, he did not abjure all protest. "When the foundation of our citizenship is attacked," he declared in 1900, "I think I have a right to speak." Washington exercised such a right, albeit unsuccessfully, in appealing to southern legislatures to apply voting restrictions equally to both races. The failure of his appeals forced Washington back upon the argument that the rights of Afro-Americans would ultimately follow their acquisition of property and character. The validity of such an argument seemed to be exemplified by Washington himself, a black who in the age of Jim Crow rode in Pullman cars, voted, dined with presidents and industrialists, and had tea with Queen Victoria. While counseling patience among Afro-Americans, Washington constantly reminded whites of the responsibilities of power. Their self-interest, he argued, required them to aid Afro-Americans, since one could not "hold another in the ditch without himself staying" there. His public statements on lynching, which were more consistently outspoken than those on any other injustice suffered by



Washington was a persuasive public speaker. *(Library of Congress.)*

Afro-Americans, not only refuted the claim that the rape of white women was the primary cause for such acts but also emphasized that a disregard for morality and legal procedures in the treatment of Afro-American citizens was more harmful to whites than to blacks.

The response to his Atlanta address cast Washington in the role of race leader. In spite of his protests to the contrary, he relished the title and skillfully consolidated his position by acquiring the power that gave it meaning. It was in this capacity as the spokesman of Afro-Americans that the nature of his personality was revealed in all its complexity and diversity. He was a man of many faces, adept at adjusting his appearance to fit the occasion and the audience. Ambitious and calculating, Washington could be as ruthless toward those whom he considered his enemies as he was magnanimous to his allies. The secrecy and deviousness that characterized his behavior as master of Tuskegee were qualities no less evident in his role as race leader. If his behind-the-scenes manipulations to perpetuate his own power appeared at variance with his homilies about honesty and "high character," his clandestine activities in combating segregation, peonage, and other Jim Crow contrivances seemed to diverge no less sharply from his public image as an accomodationist. Undoubtedly, the circumspection, dissimulation, and secrecy that were so much a part of Washington's style resulted from the fact that he was a black man in a white man's world, whose earliest training had been that of a slave and house servant.

In the two decades after 1895, Washington possessed sufficient power to exercise a large measure of control over the destiny of the Afro-American community. So great was his influence with wealthy industrialists and philanthropic boards that his approval was a prerequisite for any Afro-American institution to gain their support. As the confidant of presidents Theodore Roosevelt and William Howard Taft,

Washington functioned as a political boss who distributed patronage, constructed alliances, and rooted out malcontents. Critics were always quick to point out that his performance as the "Black Warwick" was wholly inconsistent with his counsel to Afro-Americans regarding the role they should take in politics. Although he utilized this power over political appointments to consolidate what was called the "Tuskegee Machine," he also used his influence with political and governmental figures to advance the interests and welfare of Afro-Americans. Either publicly or secretly, he waged campaigns against the debt peonage system and the lily-white Republican movements in the South, attempted to secure the appointment of white officials (especially judges) who were likely to give Afro-Americans "a fair chance," and tempered party platforms and presidential utterances on racial questions. Most secret of all was his role in initiating litigation designed to protect the civil rights of Afro-Americans.

The claim that Washington was a leader of Afro-Americans selected by whites was in a sense valid, but the maintenance of his position involved a complicated interplay of forces. To be sure, his power was dependent upon the confidence that the white community placed in him and his program. Such confidence, in turn, rested in part upon his success in maintaining his image as a racial spokesman. Yet the power bestowed upon him by whites, especially in the distribution of philanthropy and political patronage, provided means for gaining and sustaining the support of blacks. With the aid of a select group of trusted allies, Washington pursued various tactics that resulted in projecting the image and in perpetuating the power he desired. A continuous flow of publicity in the form of inspired editorials, syndicated columns, articles, and books called attention to the practical achievements and popular acceptance of the Tuskegee program. The editorial allegiance of the Afro-American press to his programs, or at least to him personally, was always a matter of primary concern to Washington. With a few notable exceptions, those newspapers inclined to deviate from the Tuskegee line were brought into the fold by persuasion—if possible—and by economic coercion, subsidies, or covert ownership—if necessary. Nor did Washington fail to extend his influence among important Afro-American organizations, especially religious denominations and fraternal orders. The National Negro Business League, which he founded in 1900, proved useful not only in advertising and stimulating Afro-American capitalism but also in cementing his relations with the black entrepreneurial class in northern cities. All the while, hundreds of Tuskegee alumni, many of whom were rising young men in Afro-American communities throughout the United States, provided Washington with a constant source of reliable support. Any serious challenge to his program or personal prestige was likely to feel the full weight of the "Tuskegee Machine." Fully informed about such challenges through an elaborate and effective system of espionage, Washington used his power to undermine or isolate those engaged in anti-Tuskegee activities.

Despite the risks involved in defying Washington, opposition to his leadership steadily increased among Afro-Americans who disagreed with him ideologically, resented his power, or suffered from not having his favor. The attacks leveled against him by such articulate intellectuals as W. E. B. Du Bois and Monroe Trotter increasingly placed Washington on the defensive. Opponents who belonged to that segment of the Afro-American population that Du Bois classified as the "talented tenth" characterized his educational philosophy as a rationale for perpetuating a racial caste system and assailed his efforts to force conformity to the Tuskegee line. They also resented his use of "darkey" anecdotes and were repelled by what they considered his self-effacing, obsequious manner toward white southerners. But their basic disagreement with Washington concerned his acceptance of segregation and what they interpreted as his compromising stand on the Afro-American's civil rights. According to some critics, Washington had bargained away these rights for a skimpy mess of pottage in the form of a few "good gifts" from whites. Others claimed that the major fallacy in the Tuskegee approach was its failure to appreciate the relationship between economic and political rights. Du Bois in particular noted the paradox in Washington's attempt to transform Afro-American workers into businessmen and property owners at the same time that he called upon them to surrender the ballot—the very instrument necessary for the defense of their economic interests. Finally, those whom Washington patronizingly referred to as "a small group" of agitators were frustrated by his inconsistencies and ambiguities and by the elusive, indefinite nature of his utterances regarding the ultimate goals of his program. That Washington neither avowed nor dis-

claimed "in distinct terms a single plank in the platform of Douglass" was a persistent source of exasperation for his critics.

Despite Washington's frenzied efforts to neutralize or silence his critics, the opposition to his leadership gathered momentum throughout the first decade of the twentieth century. The proliferation of racial violence, dramatized by a series of bloody riots, lent credence to their charge that the status of Afro-Americans had steadily deteriorated under his tutelage. His unsuccessful attempt in 1906 to alter President Theodore Roosevelt's decision to discharge a battalion of Afro-American soldiers accused of shooting up Brownsville, Tex., played into the hands of Du Bois and other opponents who had organized the Niagara Movement in the previous year. The climactic challenge to his leadership came in 1909 with the launching of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), a biracial organization that included his most effective Afro-American critic, Du Bois, as well as several prominent whites who earlier had been sympathetic to Washington. Attempts at a rapprochement between Washington and the NAACP proved to be abortive. The emergence of the NAACP, followed in 1912 by the election victory of Woodrow Wilson, which sharply curtailed Washington's role as a political boss, seriously eroded Washington's power during the last several years of his life.

Late in October 1915, while on a speaking tour of the North, Washington collapsed in New York City and had to be hospitalized. Apprised of the seriousness of his condition, he asked to go home. "I was born in the South," he declared, "I have lived and labored in the South, and I expect to die and be buried there." He returned to Tuskegee on November 13, 1915, and on the following day died at his home, "The Oaks," on the campus. His death brought forth eulogies from men of all races throughout the United States and the world. Even such men as Du Bois, who held him responsible for the deterioration of the black man's civil rights, conceded that his leadership had not been wholly barren of positive accomplishments in the educational and economic progress of his people. Although the generous assessments of Washington rendered by eulogistic biographers shortly after his death have undergone substantial alterations, the significance of his leadership has never been questioned. For nearly two decades Washington was the preeminent Afro-American, and his reputation and influence extended beyond the boundaries of the United States. *See also* AFRO-AMERICAN HISTORY: RECONSTRUCTION TO REVOLT, 1877–1977; EDUCATION; DU BOIS, WILLIAM EDWARD BURGHARDT; NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE (NAACP); TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE.

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WASHINGTON, CALVIN CARLTON (1909–), educator; born in Faceville, Ga. Washington received a B.S. degree from Tuskegee Institute (Tuskegee Institute, Ala.) in 1935 and his M.Ed. degree from Atlanta University in 1950. After having served as a high school principal (1944–62), he became president of Rosenwald Junior College in 1958. Wasington was also president of the Florida State Teachers Association.

WASHINGTON, CHESTER L. (1902–), editor, publisher; born in Pittsburgh, Pa. Washing-

The Washington Times

The Black Eagles get their glory

Pioneering pilots of World War II settled for nothing less than success

By Hap Erstein
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

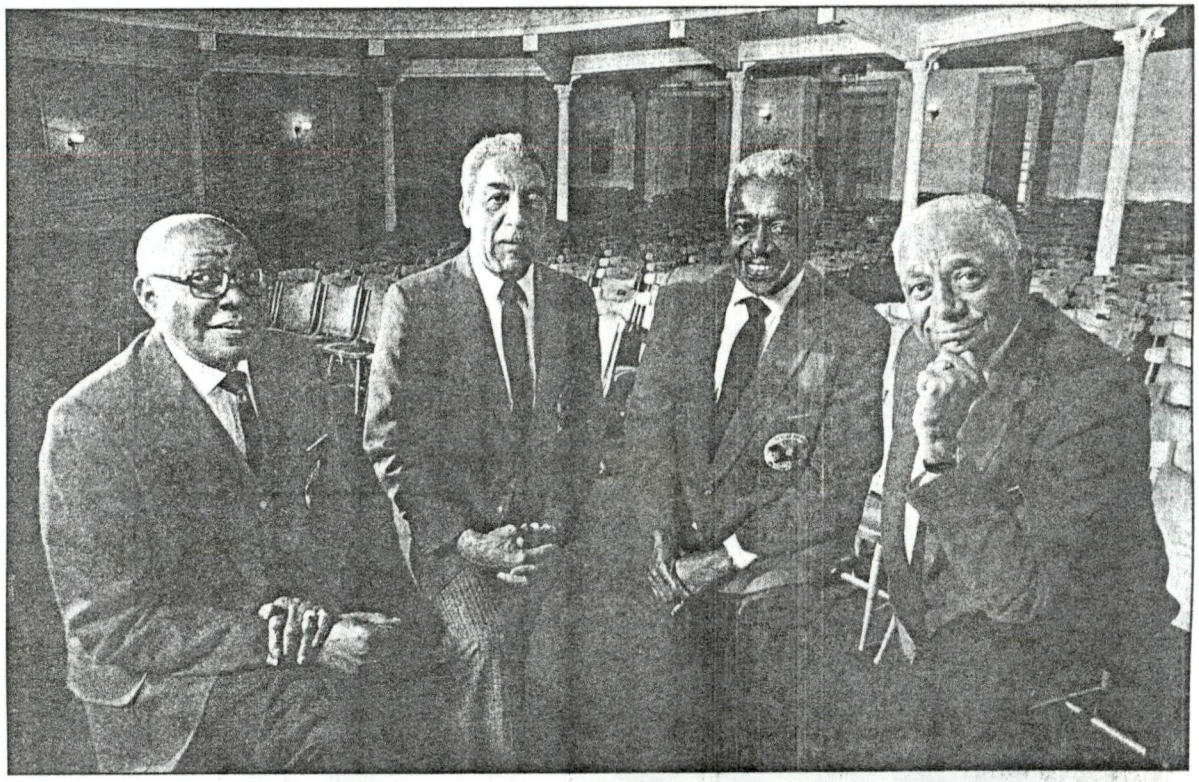
Move over, "Glory" and "Memphis Belle." Here come the "Black Eagles."

Like the first company of black soldiers in the Civil War, these relatively unsung members of the Army Air Corps during World War II were the first black U.S. pilots allowed to fly in combat. And while the heralded flyboys of the Memphis Belle, dramatically celebrated in the recent movie, had to fly 25 missions before they could be rotated back stateside, Black Eagles flew as many as 140 without relief.

Still, if you look in most history books, there is no mention of this groundbreaking outfit, or at best only a footnote. No longer. Beginning this weekend at Ford's Theatre, "Black Eagles," a dramatic tribute to their wartime exploits, begins performances. Next month comes the autobiography of Gen. Benjamin O. Davis Jr. (see story below), the Black Eagle commander who was the first black general in the Air Force. And now in pre-production is a film on the subject being developed by George ("Star Wars") Lucas.

Although some of the black World War II veterans have expressed concerns about the accuracy of the play "Black Eagles," and although Gen. Davis has refused to cooperate with Mr. Lucas on his movie, they are eager to get their story out — to fill in the gaps of our historical consciousness.

The so-called Black Eagles were trained at Tuskegee (Ala.) Institute, but the creation of an all-black pilot program did not happen easily. The Army stood by a 1925 War College study that categorically insisted that blacks were mentally inferior to whites, psychologically unfit for combat and physically unqualified.



a physical along with about 20 other [black] Hampton Institute students," says Philip F. Lee, 73, of Washington, D.C., who served as a trainer of the Tuskegee airmen. "We'd already passed the IQ. They flunked us all on the physical."

The Army refused to create a pilot training program for blacks. As a result, "We had to sue the War Department to even get in the Air Corps," says Woodrow W. Crockett, 72, of Annandale.

Over the recommendation of his top generals, President Franklin Roosevelt in 1941 ordered the creation of a combat flight training program at Tuskegee, to test whether blacks were capable of becoming military pilots. This became known as "the Tuskegee experiment," and according to the emphatic opinions of some of those who went through it, it was an experiment that the top brass wanted to fail.

However, the brass miscalculated by making the admissions standards tough and then planning to fail half the would-be pilots out of the pro-

quirements so stringent, and they expected to cut through us like a scythe," according to Harry Sheppard, 73, of Arlington. That attracted not only the best and the brightest, but the most stubborn. "They got so determined that they were not going to fail, it built a cohesion into us that we didn't have before. With that in mind, there was nothing we thought that we couldn't do."

When the airmen got to the practical flight training, it was obvious that they were not given the best planes to learn with. "No, they were hand-me-downs," recalls Mr. Sheppard. "Some of them that we got, I remember, we had to practically rebuild them. You had to use what's available, but we were the last in line."

"It's just another form of 'back-of-the-bus,' " adds Tuskegee airman Elwood T. Driver, 69, now residing in Reston.

Just getting the program started was difficult enough. But once the airmen were trained and formed into

see FLIERS, page E2



Tuskegee airmen Woodrow W. Crockett, Elwood T. Driver, Philip F. Lee and Harry Sheppard (above, from left) at Ford's Theatre, where actors Raymond Anthony Thomas (left) and David Rainey rehearse new play "Black Eagles," about the first black American pilots to fly in combat.

...his ...heir ...our ...were ...tute, ...pilot The ...lege that ... to ... for ed. ...ook

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see **FLIERS**, *page E2*



...first black American pilots to fly in combat.

Photos by Tracy A. Woodward The Washington Times



Photo by Don Preisler The Washington Times

a plane of the type he used to fly

The ride cost $5, a lot of money to squander in 1926, but it indirectly changed the face of integration — inside the military and beyond. For when Ben Davis Jr. was in his early teens, his father took him to nearby Bolling Air Field and bought him a ride in an airplane with a barnstormer.

Tuskegee leader knew his success or failure was a fearful legacy

"It's a mystery to me as to why he did that," says the retired general who commanded the World War II Tuskegee airmen, the first black pilots in combat. "Because $5 was an important sum of money in 1926, and my father was very conscious of not being wasteful of resources."

That ride "in 1926, reinforced by [aviator Charles] Lindbergh's feat in 1927, set me afire with a desire to fly," says the 78-year-old, still fighting-trim Gen. Davis. To get to fly meant tearing down innumerable racial barriers. That is the story of his life and of his new autobiography, "Benjamin O. Davis, Jr.: American," published by Smithsonian Institution Press.

Being first runs in the family. His father was the first black general ever in the military, and he was the first black general ever in the Air Force. To attain that position, he suffered four years of abuse and uninterrupted silence from his fellow cadets to emerge as the first black American to graduate from West Point in this century.

But even being in West Point did not guarantee that he would be accepted into flight training. "I applied for aviation training in 1935, while still a cadet at West Point," he recalls. "I was turned down by the office of the Chief of Air Corps, to my surprise. [The application] came back with a terse statement that we don't have any black units in the Army Air Corps and we don't contemplate having any."

After West Point, where he graduated 35th in a class of 276, he served as aide to his father. In 1941, soon after President Roosevelt ordered the War Department to create a black fighter pilot unit — the 99th Pursuit Squadron — the office

see **DAVIS**, *page E2*

unapologetic conductor says today, "was all these opera houses produced a mediocre routine, with not enough rehearsals, without good preparation. I think that's absolutely treason to music and to theater.

"Therefore, I said if you want to go on with this routine with the opera houses, just get rid of them. If the conditions are not there for really excellent performances, why keep them?"

In a phone conversation from his Paris apartment, Mr. Boulez, 66, reflects on his recommendation: The old Metropolitan Opera actually was blown up to make way for Lincoln Center. The Paris Opera is reduced to presenting only ballet, with the

For Mason, Israeli gig was from heart

By Sheryl Flatow
SPECIAL TO THE WASHINGTON TIMES

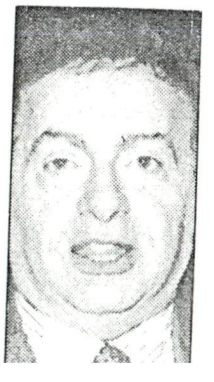
NEW YORK

Jackie Mason can joke about it now, but his three-day goodwill visit to Israel last week was no laughing matter.

Take, for instance, the story about the gas masks.

When the 56-year-old comedian arrived Tuesday in Israel, he was met by a government official who was to accompany him to the Tel Aviv Hilton. Mr. Mason, ...

...miliar singsong delivery, lunching on a bagel and sardines Monday afternoon at a favorite New York deli. "'You can't go anywhere without a mask, because no one can predict when a gas attack will happen.'



"I said, 'So, do

"I said, 'How long does it take to get to the Hilton?' He said, 'Not more than an hour.'

"I said, 'Does that mean that for an hour I can get killed?' He said, 'Israelis have faith. This country was built on courage. You can't get that scared for just an hour.'

"I said, 'If courage is more important than a gas mask, how come you've got a gas mask and I should have courage? How do you know nothing will happen between now and the Hilton? Do you have a tele-

Just too qui...

Alas, the weekend visit... **Mark Phillips** was so hus... that hardly anybody got t... the soon-to-be-divorced-f... Britain's-**Princess Anne** e...

Capt. Phillips spent two... Montpelier, the Virginia e... James Madison, now own... National Trust for Histori... ervation. And what was h... there?

Well, like lotsa folks, Ca... lips is a consultant, and he... sulting with fellow Brit **Ch... Scott**, executive director o... pelier, on how to develop a... ing course" on the propert...

That's show jumping, dr...

And, by the way, Capt. P... planning a return visit to M... pelier as the project develo...

Hither 'n' yo...

Au revoir: And former W... House speechwriter **Mark ...** has been lured to Sacrame... Guv. **Pete Wilson**. Mark sig... as director of the guv's ent... speechifying department j... week.

Web query: Who was tha... Young Thang Rep. **Charlie ...** was dancing his feet off wit... 'n' Mo's Saturday night?

And the buzz from astrol... A lunar eclipse today could ... bad news for **Saddam Husse...** was born April 28, 1937.

Saddam's Uranus is at 9 ... Taurus, if ya know what I m...

Scribblers' corn...

fic jams snarl roadways to and from major airports. Air travel stops.

Darius leaves his company's fingerprints on the virus, all but ensuring financial ruin for Whitney

readable, sometimes ridiculous pot-boiler billed as "entirely plausible" — a fictional portent of tomorrow's headlines, even — by a publisher obviously smitten with Mr. Harrington's knack for authentic detail.

puters and air-traffic control. Some of these tutorials are quite fascinating. Mr. Harrington's straight-ahead prose rings with authority.

Salute him for his research; he would be brilliant writing owner's manuals for the technologically ob-

hacker, must imagine himself the aggregate of these two (although a photo on the book jacket puts him a good deal closer to Darius): self-educated genius and former Navy pilot, each seduced by the miasma

the opportunity to ba knowing disdain -- a what a movie about t like.

Sean Piccoli is a Life section.

FLIERS

From page E1

the 99th Pursuit Squadron, they still sat inactive, waiting for the orders to be sent overseas to fight. In part, this was because of the Air Corps' failure to find a base in Europe that would accept the 99th. Mr. Crockett credits the black press with putting on the pressure that got them past these hurdles.

"Well, the black press began to raise hell," he says. "They said, 'You've just made a token action here. Now you've got a combat-ready outfit, use it.' "

Finally, in April 1943 the squadron shipped out for North Africa, flew to a base near Tunis, and entered combat two months later. The Tuskegee airmen flew more than 1,500 missions, both over North Africa and Italy, distinguishing themselves beyond all expectations.

During the course of the war 66 of the pilots were killed in combat, out of a total of 966 Tuskegee airmen. Another 32 were shot down and became prisoners of war. The airmen are credited with destroying or damaging 409 German aircraft and more than 950 units of ground transportation. With machine-gun fire they sank a German destroyer, the only such sinking of the entire war.

Still, many of their missions were as bomber escorts, protecting Allied bomber planes from enemy attack. And if there is one distinction that the Black Eagles are proudest of, it is that over the 200 escort missions they never lost a friendly bomber. This too is a unique distinction of all the U.S. fighter groups.

Because the escort planes had a limited fuel capacity and flying range, they flew in relay, being relieved by other escorts before they had to turn back for lack of fuel. The Tuskegee airmen gained a reputation for sticking with their bombers no matter what. "We never lost a bomber, because we never relinquished our position," says Mr. Driver. "Sometimes our relief didn't show — either on time or didn't show up at all. Which meant we had to extend our mission," frequently endangering their lives.

The airmen flew as if they were on a personal mission — a mission to prove once and for all that black pilots were *at least* as capable as whites of fulfilling combat assignments. Their fighter group was completely segregated, as were all of the armed forces in World War II. And because the Army was slow in readying black replacement pilots, the Tuskegee airmen remained in combat, flying many more missions, far longer than their white counterparts.

Mr. Driver brushes off a question of why they did not fall victim to battle fatigue. "We weren't going to settle for less than success. We felt that we had to win."

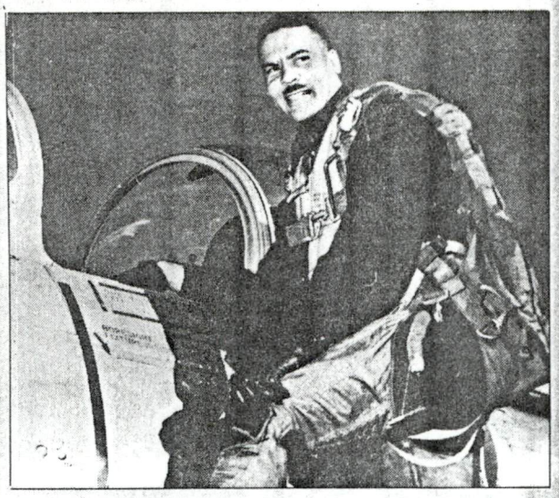
The legacy of the Black Eagles, they all feel, was a giant step forward toward integration.

"We believe that we were the ones that got integration started," says Mr. Driver. "Not just in the military, but everywhere. If it had failed, I don't know what the consequences would have been."

Although the Black Eagles earned the right to be thought of as heroes, they hardly received a heroes' welcome when they returned stateside from the war.

If Mr. Sheppard had to choose one word to describe the reaction at home, it would be "hostile. It was more hostile now, because we had elevated ourselves to officers' rank, and they resented that even more."

Certainly the barriers did not fall instantly. Mr. Sheppard can recall the first thing he saw when he disembarked was two signs directing the soldiers where to go. "Coming off the gangplank, they said, 'White personnel' and 'Negro personnel.' " Integration in the armed forces did not occur until President Harry Truman issued such an order in 1949.



Gen. Benjamin O. Davis Jr., the first black general in the Air Force

DAVIS

From page E1

of the Chief of Air Corps asked Gen. Davis Sr. to release his son to pilot training. "I was sought out by them," Gen. Davis Jr. smiles at the irony, "having been turned down by them six years earlier."

He breezed through the training and was appointed to lead the unit as it moved overseas to prove its combat abilities to the still doubting military establishment. As it had been throughout most of his life, he realized that his success or failure would affect how blacks who followed him would be treated. "I was made to realize that whatever you do in pilot training and whatever you do later in combat, the roles of blacks in the armed services will be determined by the quality of your performance," he says.

The Tuskegee airmen excelled, with heroic achievements under Gen. Davis' leadership. When he returned from combat, his uniform was weighed down with the Silver Star, Distinguished Flying Cross, Legion of Merit with Oak Leaf Cluster, Air Medal with Five Oak Leaf Clusters and the Croix de Guerre.

He is unstinting in his admiration for the Tuskegee airmen, but low-key about his personal racial breakthroughs. While he retired from the Air Force as a three-star general in 1970, having last served as deputy commander-in-chief, U.S. Strike Command at MacDill Air Force Base, Fla., he feels strongly that the struggle for racial equality is not over.

"There isn't any doubt about racism continuing," he says soberly. "What's the biggest problem in this nation today? In one word — racism. It's not as bad as it was before Lyndon Johnson, but you talk about segregation, discrimination and denigration, it's all there today."

Asked about Desert Storm and the difficulty of becoming a flier, Gen. Davis says, "I am personally convinced that there are no roadblocks that would keep a black man from becoming a pilot." That is because of what Gen. Davis and his Tuskegee airmen proved more than 45 years ago. "We turned it around and showed them that we were good enough."

— Hap Erstein

Still, although they faced strong institutionalized discrimination trying to fight and fly for their country, and while some say that racism is still endemic in American society, the Tuskegee airmen are not bitter. They take pride in their accomplishments and now direct their efforts toward today's youth, telling their inspirational stories and sponsoring scholarships for black students to pursue the considerably wider opportunities to become military officers and pilots.

They welcome the chance for wider awareness of their history, but they are wary of commercialization and distortion for the sake of entertainment. Mr. Driver saw an earlier version of "Black Eagles" at the Crossroads Theatre Company in New Jersey, and expresses some reservations about the portrayal.

"What disturbed me was at least one-third of the play was about this love affair between this black pilot and this Italian girl," he says, referring to a fictional subplot. "And a lot was inaccurate about escorting the bombers. And there was a lot of dancing and singing, not the real story."

According to playwright Leslie Lee, who researched the era carefully and interviewed numerous Tuskegee airmen at one of their annual reunion conventions, "It is romanticized. Some of the facts are juxtaposed for dramatic effect," but the essence of the story is true.

Like the airmen themselves, he was motivated to write the play out of a concern for young black people. "I'm very worried about youth today growing up with a lack of heroes," he says. "Or they choose the wrong heroes. These men are legitimate heroes, and more people should know about them."

If they are worried about the Ford's Theatre play veering into fiction for the sake of entertainment, the concern is even more extreme about the upcoming George Lucas film.

"They've tried to have a film made for what? Fifteen or 20 years?" Mr. Crockett asks rhetorically. "But they always want to put a lot of fiction in it. There was more than enough fact."

Although Gen. Davis is also eager to have wider awareness of that chapter of history, when he was approached about acting as an adviser on the Lucas project, he turned it down. "I long ago made the decision that I would have nothing to do with it," he says. "Because I knew that I would be unable to influence him at all. I think I know what it's going to be, and I don't want to be associated with it."

Ford's Theatre, which has a knack for presenting plays that coincide with current headlines, has done it again. While war rages in the Persian Gulf, "Black Eagles" focuses on the trailblazing ancestors of the pilots now in Saudi Arabia. The issue of the play's accuracy remains to be resolved, but the story of the Tuskegee airmen is about to surface, and America is about to discover some little-known heroes from a previous war.

BOULEZ

From page E1

pidou and IRCAM in Paris, Mr. Boulez's own brainchild, continue to present avant-garde works to the world.

And Pierre Boulez, not so quietly, still creates his own conditions for music that is anything but routine.

Much of that music will be available for the first time on compact disc as Sony Classics releases the "Boulez Edition", something Mr. Boulez himself calls "a kind of encyclopedia of the 20th century."

"Certainly I think I have made a consistent series of recordings: I have recorded all the composers whom I like very much and all their important works.

"I simply brought my personality, my own view of these composers and of these compositions," he says, stressing that the recordings simply show "the way I was feeling at the time."

He adds, "I don't think recordings are done for eternity.

"They are good documents of the time in which you live. When I hear some of these recordings I made 20, 25 years ago, I feel as if I am looking at old pictures of myself."

The bad wolf

There is as much discussion and controversy in music circles about these "pictures" today as when they were new. Have they aged well?

"Let's say I was young, and now I am not."

The "Boulez Edition" shows the French conductor's tenacious enthusiasm for the music of Arnold Schoenberg. All his major works, including the opera "Moses und Aron," the cantata "Gurrelieder" and all the orchestral music are scheduled for release.

Once regarded as the best sign of things to come — though never by the public — the Schoenbergian legacy of serialism and spiraling musical complexity is now an interesting chapter in history. For Mr. Boulez, it is still very much the present. Certainly electrifying performances such as the "Boulez Edition's" "Friede auf Erden," Schoenberg's most moving choral score, make a persuasive case.

"The works of Schoenberg are not performed enough," Mr. Boulez says. "His name is something everybody is afraid of, a bad wolf. If you are acquainted with the works, they are wonderful. But you have to know them to like them."

'The Boulez mafia'

The conductor feels the same way about some other composers, including Edgar Varese and Gyorgy Ligeti, who will turn up in future releases.

"These composers are very important, and you cannot understand the life of music today, especially the trajectories of composers today, if you don't know the works of these people from the recent past."

That past also includes Puccini and Strauss, contemporaries of Schoenberg whose popularity riles Mr. Boulez. He once memorably referred to the more recent Dmitri Shostakovich and Benjamin Britten as "irrelevant."

His view of contemporary composers who don't follow the Schoenberg party line is equally stern. The Boulez influence was strongest when he succeeded Leonard Bernstein as director of the New York Philharmonic in 1969 and followed up by organizing the Rug Concerts and Domaines Musicales to propagate new music.

Philip Glass, now the leading U.S. composer of his generation, remembers, "It was impossible to get a performance with the Boulez mafia in charge."

"Well, I don't think I have a mafia," Mr. Boulez replies. "And I didn't have one then. Philip Glass now is much

more performed tha I suppose. It's not m people in Europe do sic.

"I think the minim virtues, but they hav tations — and the li too much. What wa the beginning is no l positive aspects: Yo repetition forever."

Debussy w

Pierre Boulez was 1925, in the small Montbrison. He rem 12-tone music for t 1945 in Paris, when "no other music wa soon saw other musi

If anything, his ca study in dialectical Teutonic serialism a istic Gallic trends.

Mr. Boulez's cry Ravel initially was cold and clinical. A way in divesting Ra veneer and stands one of the initial Boulez Edition.



Pierre Boulez

of non-French singe fore had performe work considered t most French in all rich tradition.

"It's true tha French," Mr. Boule "So what? I find view of music absu

"Good music is wines don't travel. well. Debussy — 'P lar — is very good

His recording Melisande" was a freed the score of tradition. It had a w stagings of the wor ropolitan Opera's vival in the 1980s Karajan's productio with the Berlin Ph perhaps the most pated release in the

" 'Pelleas' is al dream," Mr. Boulez on the earth, there some part there is in the music, but very violent. That show. I think if you violence you emas

"I don't like this bussy without sex."

Keeping t

The Boulez ve Berg's "Wozzeck" Berry, already out is by far the most the opera on recor corrective or alt Boehm's surprisin of the opera with Dieskau as the her

In musical term details come in the perform Schoen *stimme*, the voca speech and song score. Mr. Boulez speaking violently, pitch.

"Because I thi matic necessity," t " 'Wozzeck' is thea theater. If you hav ture, in the drama goes against the g

"If you forget you are not doing sic."

governor of Virginia. When Lord Dunmore returned from the expedition against the Indians, he brought the speech with him, and according to Jefferson, "It became the theme of every conversation in Williamsburg." It was printed in the *Virginia Gazette,* reprinted in papers across the continent and even in publications in Great Britain.

Jefferson reprinted the speech in his *Notes on Virginia* to refute those Europeans who "supposed there is something in the soil, climate, and other circumstances of America, which occasions animal nature to degenerate, not excepting even the man, native or adoptive, physical or moral." Jefferson offered Logan's speech as proof "of the talents of the aboriginals of this country, and particularly of their eloquence." He asserted "that Europe had never produced anything superior to this morsel of eloquence."

Logan's speech was a regular feature in school reading books of the nineteenth century, and was familiar to generations of American youngsters.

I appeal to any white man to say, if ever he entered Logan's cabin hungry, and he gave him not meat: if ever he came cold and naked, and he cloathed him not. During the course of the last long and bloody war Logan remained idle in his cabin, an advocate for peace. Such was my love for the whites, that my countrymen pointed as they passed, and said, "Logan is the friend of white man." I had even thought to have lived with you, but for the injuries of one man. Colonel Cresap, the last spring, in cold blood, and unprovoked, murdered all the relations of Logan, not even sparing my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it: I have killed many: I have fully glutted my vengeance: for my country I rejoice at the beams of peace. But do not harbour a thought that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan?—Not one.



THE SLAVES' APPEAL TO THE ROYAL GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS

We are a freeborn Pepel and have never forfeited this Blessing by aney compact or agreement whatever.

A Dutch ship brought twenty Africans to Jamestown, Virginia, in 1619; whether they were slaves or indentured servants is not known. With the rise of the southern plantation system in the late seventeenth century, the importation of Africans increased, as did colonial laws establishing their permanent slave status. During the 350 years of the slave trade, between nine and twelve million Africans were carried to the Americas under brutal conditions; about 400,000 of these were brought to North America.

Some colonists opposed slavery, especially Quakers and Mennonites, and leaders such as Benjamin Franklin, Alexander Hamilton, and John Jay. Revolutionary appeals based on the natural rights of man encouraged some slaves to assert that they, too, had a right to freedom. On May 25, 1774, a group of slaves in Massachusetts addressed the following appeal to Thomas Gage, the royal governor of the colony.

When the revolution began, the American army excluded blacks. But when the British called on slaves to join their side, the revolutionary army reversed its policy. Some 5,000 African Americans, both slave and free, fought in the American army. Many gained their freedom as a result of wartime service, and thousands of others escaped from slavery during the War. Most Africans, however, remained in slavery, a reproach to the ideals of the new nation.

The Petition of a Grate Number of Blacks of this Province who by divine permission are held in a state of Slavery within the bowels of a free and Christian Country

Humbly Shewing

That your Petitioners apprehind we have in common with all other men a naturel right to our freedoms without Being depriv'd of them by our fellow men as we are a freeborn Pepel and have never forfeited this Blessing by aney compact or agreement whatever. But we were unjustly dragged by the cruel hand of power from our dearest frinds and sum of us stolen from the bosoms of our tender Parents and from a Populous Pleasant and plentiful country and Brought hither to be made slaves for Life in a Christian land. Thus we are deprived of every thing that hath a tendency to make life even tolerable, the endearing ties of husband and wife we are strangers to for we are no longer man and wife than our masters or mistresses thinkes proper marred or onmarred. Our children are also taken from us by force and sent maney miles from us wear we seldom or ever see them again there to be made slaves of for Life which sumtimes is vere short by Reson of Being dragged from their mothers Breest Thus our Lives are imbittered to us on these accounts By our deplorable situation we are rendered incapable of shewing our obedience to Almighty God how can a slave perform the duties of a husband to a wife or parent to his child How can a husband leave master to work and cleave to his wife How can the wife submit themselves to there husbands in all things How can the child obey thear parents in all things. There is a great number of us sencear . . . members of the Church of Christ how can the master and the slave be said to fulfil that command Live in love let Brotherly Love contuner and abound Beare yea onenothers Bordenes How can the master be said to Beare my Borden when he Beares me down whith the Have chanes of slavery and operson against my will and how can we fulfill our parte of duty to him whilst in this condition and as we cannot searve our God as we ought whilst in this situation. Nither can we reap an equal benefet from the laws of the Land which doth not justifi but condemns Slavery or if there had bin aney Law to hold us in Bondage we are Humbely of the Opinion ther never was aney to inslave our children for life when Born in a free Countrey. We therfor Bage your Excellency and Honours will give this its deer weight and consideration and that you will accordingly cause an act of the legislative to be pessed that we may obtain our Natural right our freedoms and our children be set at lebety at the yeare of twenty one for whoues sekes more petequeley your Petitioners is in Duty ever to pray.

Autobiography of Gen. B.O. Davis, Jr.

[Army Corps of] Engineers. If you do that you have the world waiting for you. Remember twelve million people [the black population of the United States] will be pulling for you with all we have. Let me have your notice and any other official papers you receive. I will put them with some of my own. Somebody, some day, may wish to write something about us and we will have the original papers. Two hours before I found your letter I was talking to a group of colored reserve officers. I was asked if I thought a young colored man could get into West Point. I told them I felt that when a colored person passed the exam, he would be admitted, that I knew one young man who I was sure had passed and would go to West Point July 1. So you see how I felt about you. When I got your letter I felt like shouting. I shall save this letter of yours. To me it is great. . . . I am indeed proud of you, am honored to be,

Your loving Dad

In climbing through the Army's ranks from 1898 to 1932, my father had overcome what seemed almost impossible odds. In spite of the attitudes of whites in the United States toward all people of color, he had managed to buck the system and accomplish his goals. He had made life easier for me. Now it was my turn to make things better for those who would come after me. I was determined to succeed.

I had to ask my father for $100 to live on during the four weeks before I left Chicago—with the understanding, of course, that I would return what I did not spend! I hoped this would be the last time I would have to ask my father or anyone else for money, because cadets were paid $65 a month, deposited to their West Point account. Our family's kind of discipline certainly helped me in keeping my finances straight, although at the time I thought it was funny. An incident involving Henry O. Flipper, who in 1877 was the first black cadet to graduate from the Academy, must have had something to do with my father's demand for strict financial accounting. Flipper had been court-martialed and dismissed from the service for allegedly mishandling government funds. It was not until President Carter's administration in 1976 that pressure from concerned citizens and politicians resulted in a review of the case, and Flipper was given an honorable discharge decades after his death.

Once I got to the Academy on 1 July 1932, I would have no leave until December 1933, so I wrote to my parents suggesting I visit them at Tuskegee before going into "confinement." But they were leaving

tion of our democratic society. And we are fortunate that they are willing to serve that tradition without any hesitation.

Our first purpose, our constant purpose in everything we seek to do, is honorable peace. We stand with those who stand in defense of their own freedom and independence. We work with those who work in support of peace for the world and progress under freedom for human mankind.

I know that as our Ambassador to Viet-Nam you will, Mr. Ambassador, communicate to the Vietnamese people and their leaders the resolve, the determination, and the continuing support of the American people.

General Taylor, we wish you Godspeed on your journey and in your service.

NOTE: The ceremony was held in the early afternoon in the Rose Garden at the White House. In his opening words the President referred to Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor, formerly Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and Dean Rusk, Secretary of State.

The text of General Taylor's response was also released.

446 Radio and Television Remarks Upon Signing the Civil Rights Bill. *July 2, 1964*

[Broadcast from the East Room at the White House at 6:45 p.m.]

My fellow Americans:

I am about to sign into law the Civil Rights Act of 1964. I want to take this occasion to talk to you about what that law means to every American.

One hundred and eighty-eight years ago this week a small band of valiant men began a long struggle for freedom. They pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor not only to found a nation, but to forge an ideal of freedom—not only for political independence, but for personal liberty—not only to eliminate foreign rule, but to establish the rule of justice in the affairs of men.

That struggle was a turning point in our history. Today in far corners of distant continents, the ideals of those American patriots still shape the struggles of men who hunger for freedom.

This is a proud triumph. Yet those who founded our country knew that freedom would be secure only if each generation fought to renew and enlarge its meaning. From the minutemen at Concord to the soldiers in Viet-Nam, each generation has been equal to that trust.

Americans of every race and color have died in battle to protect our freedom. Americans of every race and color have worked to build a nation of widening opportunities. Now our generation of Americans has been called on to continue the unending search for justice within our own borders.

We believe that all men are created equal. Yet many are denied equal treatment.

We believe that all men have certain unalienable rights. Yet many Americans do not enjoy those rights.

We believe that all men are entitled to the blessings of liberty. Yet millions are being deprived of those blessings—not because of their own failures, but because of the color of their skin.

The reasons are deeply imbedded in history and tradition and the nature of man. We can understand—without rancor or hatred—how this all happened.

But it cannot continue. Our Constitu-

February 19, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR BETH HINCHLIFFE

FROM: BOB SIMON

SUBJECT: FACTS ABOUT THE BLACK EAGLES

- In May 1943, the 99th attacked the Italian island of Pantelleria as a prelude to the invasion of Sicily. In two weeks, the island's resistance gave up. This marks the first time in history that air power alone had destroyed all enemy resistance.

- Captains Wendell Pruitt and Gwynne Pierson strafed and sank an enemy destroyer, an almost impossible task for fighter planes.

- Lt. Col. Edward Gleed, commander of the 301st Fighter Squadron and decorated combat pilot, said, "When we were in training at Tuskegee and in combat, we never gave it a thought that we were making history. All we wanted was to learn to fly as Army Air Corps pilots, fight for our country and survive."

- Black airmen destroyed 111 enemy planes in the air, and destroyed or damaged 273 more on the ground. They flew 1500 missions and over 15,000 sorties. They won over 100 Distinguished Flying Crosses and over 700 Air Medals.

February 19, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR BETH HINCHLIFFE

FROM: BOB SIMON

SUBJECT: AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF BENJAMIN O. DAVIS, JR.

- Davis was born in Washington, D.C. His father was in the Army for 50 years, retiring as a brigadier general. For most of his Army career, Davis, Sr. was the only black officer in the Army. Davis, Jr. spent part of his childhood in Tuskegee, where his father was professor of military science. Segregation was strictly enforced off campus and the KKK was actively lynching blacks. One night, the Klan planned a march protesting a decision to hire blacks at the new black veterans hospital. All blacks were instructed to stay indoors with their lights off. Davis, Sr. refused to cower. The whole family was on their porch with lights ablaze as the white-robed Klansman filed by without incident.

- After high school, Davis wanted to by a pilot, but there were almost no black pilots in the U.S. He thought he might have to become an engineer and move to South America to escape segregation and pursue a worthwhile career.

- Davis, Jr. received a West Point appointment from the only black Congressman in the country at that time (1932). His father wrote to him: "I feel you have the makings of a good cadet and officer.... Remember twelve million people [the black population of America] will be pulling for you with all we have." Davis, Jr. noted, "In climbing through the Army's ranks from 1989 to 1932, my father had overcome what seemed almost impossible odds. In spite of the attitudes of whites towards all people of color, he had managed to buck the system and accomplish his goals. He had made life easier for me. Now it was my turn to make things better for those who would come after me. I was determined to succeed."

- At West Point, Davis was "silenced." The other cadets never spoke a word to him during his four years as a student apart from official business. After the recognition ceremony at the end of plebe year, many upper classmen congratulated him. But after that, he reverted to being an invisible man. No white student would room with him or eat with him.

- At graduation from West Point, Davis received a standing ovation. The Davises were now the only black officers in the Army.

- Davis asked to join the Air Corps but was rejected because of his race. However, in 1941, the Army decided to conduct an "experiment" to see if blacks could be trained to fly. Davis was chosen to be the commander of the unit, based at Tuskegee. In building the new training base, the Army provided for segregated restrooms and water fountains.

- Davis' wife Agatha wrote a long poem highly critical of the segregation at the Tuskegee training center, but it ended on a positive note:

  We ... are doing a patriotic job on the side of right
  In an effort to win the Double V for which we fight.
  We hope that after war will come a fair and lasting peace
  All hostility between the blacks and whites will cease.
  It always makes me glow to think of the day there will be
  A world of brother-loving men, all men equal and free.
  Hate and force will be gone & tolerance will take their pace,
  Twill matter not if you belong to the black or white race.

- The all-black 99th Fighter Squadron and the 332 Fighter Group had one of the best records of all Air Forces in Europe. They fought in North Africa and Italy, and flew missions all over central and eastern Europe, even one harrowing 1600-mile mission to bomb Berlin. The units became known as specialists in precision bombing and escorting bombers. After hundreds of escort missions, the squadrons <u>never</u> lost a single bomber to enemy fighters. Davis personally flew 60 missions and won the Silver Star.

- One downed pilot, Lt. Herbert Clark, evaded capture for eight months behind enemy lines. He continued the fight by leading a partisan band that conducted raids against the Germans in Northern Italy.

Black troops of the 93rd Division later fought at Bougainville and the Treasury Islands, and joined MacArthur in a historic moment of triumph and national glory when the Philippines were retaken in October 1944. By then, black marines had helped win the Battle of Saipan, and black engineers had pitched in to build the Burma Road on the Asian mainland. Black aviation engineers had built runways and landing strips in New Caledonia, the point of origin for the Air Force escort bombers that struck the Japanese in the crucial Battle of the Coral Sea, fought in 1942.

The 92nd also saw combat overseas, although its record was by far the most controversial of all black fighting units. General Benjamin O. Davis, the Army's first black general, joined the unit overseas in Italy, where he shot a propaganda film entitled Teamwork in an effort to prepare the American public for the advent of black combat troops on the European firing line. Great Britain's crusty and indomitable leader Winston Churchill, on hand to offer words of encouragement, was followed by dozens of white correspondents sent to improve public relations. Perhaps the most transparent public relations episode was the "battlefield promotion" invented by General Mark Clark to demonstrate the vital combat role already being played by the 92nd when it had not in fact taken its positions on the Gothic Line. General Clark rashly promoted First Lieutenant Charles F. Gandy of Washington, D.C., as a gesture to allay black criticism of the promotion policies in effect for black officers. Clark simply plucked the captain's bars off one of his white staff members and placed them on the shoulders of a man he had designated, clairvoyantly it seemed, as one who ought to be made visible.

Other problems of morale, level of training, and competence were simply overlooked by the high command of the 92nd. There were some initial combat successes, largely against light resistance along Highway 12 enroute to the foothills of the Apennines. Once in the mountains, however, the 92nd faltered badly. Some ran, some hesitated, some advanced sluggishly and without any combat crispness and determination. Still, there were contingents which engaged the enemy aggressively and fought earnestly to capture key objectives. Mass frustration, mismanagement, and confusion keynoted the experience as a whole, however. Lieutenant Colonel Marcus Ray, a black officer, conceded he was "heartsick," but was emphatic in denying the 92nd was "a complete failure as a combat unit."

Other black units performed many missions without any stigma of controversy. General Eisenhower, watching a black battalion charge the beach at Normandy, commended the troops for carrying out their mission "with courage and determination." General George S. Patton found the all-black 761st Tank Battalion worthy of fighting in his select company. "I would never have asked for you," he told them bluntly, "if you weren't good." The men were good enough to be on hand for the German capitulation in Austria.

At the Battle of the Bulge, Germany's last-ditch attempt to drive a wedge into Allied lines, black troops were called into action on an emergency basis to help withstand a ferocious Nazi assault. General Lanham commented that he had "never seen soldiers who have performed better in combat." Again, neither proficiency nor praise was sufficient to override rigid patterns of segregation. The "heroes" were returned to their all-black units as soon as the crisis passed.

The 99th Pursuit Squadron remains the most glamorous black unit associated with World War II. Commanded by Colonel Benjamin O. Davis, this unit had flown over 500 combat missions and more than 3,000 sorties against the Germans by the summer of 1944. After being attached to the 332nd Fighter Group, the record of the unit grew even more impressive. By the spring of 1945, it boasted of nearly 1,600 combat missions and over 15,000 sorties. It destroyed



Colonel Benjamin O. Davis Jr., commanding officer of the 99th Pursuit Squadron.

OUTSTANDING MILITARY FIGURES



Ensign Jesse L. Brown, a hero of the Korean War. Winner of the Distinguished Flying Cross, Ensign Brown was killed during the action which won him the medal.

ENSIGN JESSE L. BROWN
1926-1950

Jesse L. Brown was the first black American to become a naval aviator and the first black naval officer to be killed in action during the Korean War.

Born in Hattiesburg, Mississippi, he attended Ohio State University. In October 1948, he qualified as an aviator and became the first black man to wear the Navy wings. When the Korean War broke out he entered the combat as a pilot with the 32nd Fighter Squad and quickly rose to section leader. For his daring attacks on enemy transportation facilities and military installations at Wonsun, Songjin, and Sinanju, he earned the Air Medal. On December 4, 1950, he was dispatched to fly close air support for the marines fighting near Chosin Reservoir. As he repeatedly returned to strafe enemy positions, his low-flying craft was hit by hostile fire and almost immediately crashed. He died in the wreckage. Ensign Brown was posthumously awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross for his exceptional courage, airmanship, and devotion to duty.

In 1973, he became the first black man to have a naval vessel named in his honor. The USS *Jesse L. Brown,* Commissioned at the Boston Naval Yard, is a new type of destroyer escort.

LIEUTENANT GENERAL BENJAMIN O. DAVIS Jr.
1912-

Described by a former instructor as "the closest thing to a model cadet I ever saw," General Benjamin O. Davis rose to become the highest ranking black military man in the United States.

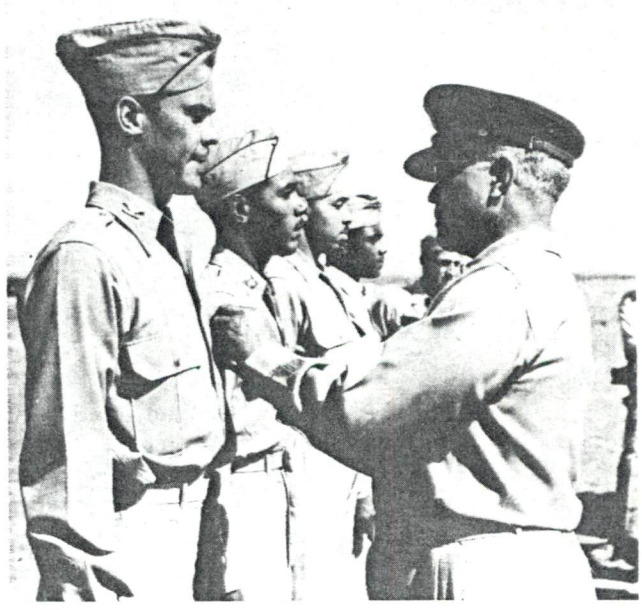
Born in Washington in 1912, Davis was educated in Alabama (his father taught military science at Tuskegee), and later, in Cleveland, where he graduated as president of his class with one of the highest scholastic averages in the city.

Davis attended Western Reserve University and the University of Chicago before accepting an appointment to the U.S. Military Academy in 1932. Davis survived the silent treatment as a cadet, and graduated 35th in his class of 276.

After serving in the infantry for five years, he transferred to the Army Air Corps in 1941 and was among the first six black air cadets to graduate from the Advanced Army Flying School in 1942.

As Commander of the 99th Fighter Squadron (and later commander of the all-black 332nd Fighter Group), Davis flew 60 missions in 224 combat hours during World War II, winning several medals, including the Silver Star.

Davis became a Lieutenant General in 1965 and closed out his career as deputy commander of the U.S. Strike Command at McDill Air Force Base in Tampa, Florida. In civilian life, Davis worked briefly in the administration of Cleveland's black mayor Carl Stokes, resigning after a policy dispute.



General Benjamin Davis Sr. pins the Distinguished Flying Cross on his son Colonel Benjamin Davis Jr. in Italy, WWII.