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CORE

Civil Rights

Growing Negro Militancy Is Cited by Farmer

CORE Director's Book Warns of More Demonstrations

By M. S. HANDLER

Black nationalism is the dominant mood of the Negro masses in the United States today, according to James Farmer, who warns white liberals in his book "Freedom — When?" that there will be no respite from demonstrations and other forms of direct action until full equality is achieved.

The national director of the Congress of Racial Equality is leaving the organization at the end of this month to become head of the new Center for Community Action Education, Inc. in Washington. The agency will develop job training and literacy programs with Federal and private financing.

"Freedom—When?" is something of a testamentary analysis of the civil rights organization's history, its philosophy of action, a purview of the civil rights struggle against the background of American history, and an intimate view of the sentiments and motivations of the Negro people.

The book will be published by Random House Feb. 18. It is intended as a prod to the white liberals to shed their illusions and face the realities of the Negroes' aspirations to a rightful place in the American sun.

Sees a Betrayal

"The humiliation and fury that a man feels," Mr. Farmer writes, "when he has been brutally treated are rendered insupportedly bitter if he discovers that he has also been betrayed.

"You may say that the Negro will not be susceptible to betrayal much longer, for they are rapidly flinging aside all their illusions about the good will of the white man."

In response to the often-heard white man's question, "but when will the demonstrations end?," Mr. Farmer says that without demonstrations the Negroes would have achieved nothing, that demonstrations are their indispensable weapon.

"What the public must realize is that in a demonstration more things are happening at more levels of human activity, than meet the eye," he says. "Demonstrations in the last few years have provided literally millions of Negroes with their first taste of self-determination and political self-expression. We might think of the demonstration as a rite of initiation through which the [illegible] is mustered [illegible] order of freedom."

Change in Attitude

Farmer attributed the new revolutionary mood of the Negro people who wish to win their freedom instead of receiving it as a gift from the white man to a number of factors.

These include the influence of Malcolm X, whom Mr. Farmer paid tribute for contributions to the awakening self-consciousness of the Negro people, although Mr. Farmer said that he did not agree with the late Black Muslim leader on many points.

Other factors, he said, are pride of achievement in the civil rights struggle and the search for black identity."

Other contribution to this awakening self-consciousness are the new generation of Negr writers—James Baldwin, Ossie Davis, John Williams, John Oliver Killens and Louis Lomax—Mr. Farmer said.

"Malcom X," Mr. Farmer wrote, "had a considerable impact on my own thingking. His own tragically brief career exemplified the best and the worst in the Muslim influences.

"From an uneducated, narcotics-addicted denizen of the New York underworld, Malcolm became an articulate and extraordinarily disciplined spoeksman for the Muslims. He was a regenerated man, fascinating and powerful."

"He spoke with great, if untutored, lucidity, and he had a following of admires—some grudging—far wider than is apparent if one simply counts Muslim membership."

Saying that he could not agree with Malcolm's philosophy, Mr. Farmer felt that nevertheless Malcolm's theories of violence were based on historice facts and corresponded to the thinking of many Negroes.

"The white man has been free to murder and maraud for centuries; with impunity he has raped our women and emascultated our sons. We were not even permitted what every other age and society has respected as an apt response—personal revenage."

"Malcolm assumed that where Negroes are concerned, there is no law; that indeed the law is a mask for white oppression," he said.

"Precisely because so much of what he said was so valid psychologically, Malcolm and his heirs have succeeded in discrediting the whole philosphy of nonviolence in the eyes of many Negroes," he wrote.

Mr. Farmer said the Negroes today must move into the field of political action, elect their own candidates to public office and learn how to use political power as an instrument to further their cause.

Mr. Farmer said that the movement faced new problems today, "that the other enemies of the Negro are those impersonal forces of modern economic life which produce mass unemployment, urban squalor, education inadequate to the demands of our technological economy."

In addition to programs to deal with these new "enemies," Mr. Farmer said, CORE must go into the ghettos to organize the Negroes intensively for social and political action without which the plight of the Negroes will become worse not better.

Rights Groups Are Expected to Stress Direct Approach

The New York Times

James Farmer

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Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Wick
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

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The Washington Post and Times Herald
The Washington Daily News
The Evening Star
New York Herald Tribune
New York Journal-American
New York Daily News
New York Post
The New York Times 41
The Baltimore Sun
The Worker
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
The National Observer
People's World
Date 2/10/66

- James Farmer

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James Farmer

You are right commies have gone underground. Look at [redacted] now has a single activity and that is [redacted] that is [redacted] place at [redacted]

Although a class mate of Felix Frankfurter's at Harvard, he does not like Felix F for he says Felix F treats him with a superiority complex.

[redacted] is probably the [redacted] for the Communist Party right here, while Felix F had a much higher & more exalted job & never gave social or fraternal recognition & it burns [redacted] even now. [redacted] really went after Felix F the other day when [redacted] said Felix F now tries to forget his former activities, tries to be native Georgetown. Even to his voice tone & pronunciation.

b6
b7C
b7D

Two si ters formerly redder than a fire truck, [redacted] the last time I knew of her employment was with [redacted] her activities unknown to me, well she has ceased to live with her sister [redacted] she lives next door to [redacted] now. Her work & activities unknown to me now. She is dangerously dedicated tho.

Rayomond Moley went a long step backward the other day, did you see his editorial column in Newsweek on Harold Laski & Felix Frankfurter? It was truly a wow, god how they do fold themselves when faced with necessity.

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