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A.1. Southern Politics: Bass-DeVries Interviews

Interview A-0157

Gedney Main Howe, Jr.

Note on the transcript: The interviewee is incorrectly identified on the first page of the original transcript as Gedney Main Howe, III. Family members reported the error to the Wilson Library and the Southern Oral History Program in December 2018 and identified the interviewee as Gedney Main Howe, Jr. (1914-1981) rather than Gedney Main Howe, III, (1946-).

This is an interview conducted by Jack Bass with Gedney Howe, III. Absolutely no information about the date of the interview, Mr. Howe's title or location of the interview is given. It was transcribed by Susan Hathaway.

JACK BASS: How deeply wedded are the blacks to the Republican party in South Carolina?

GEDNEY HOWE: I don't know.

J.B.: How tenuous is the relationship?

G.H.: I think that, I just don't know. I would think that they are extremely anti-Republican. (inaudible) Or they don't feel welcome there. I think that, I really do think that the Democratic party certainly in this part of the country, and I think generally over the state, certainly in this part of the country has gone out of its way to be genuinely politically be friends (?) of the black people, and there is just no question about it. They hold a lot of political offices, I know last week I went to a meeting for McKinley Washington who's running in the general election on April 7 against a (inaudible) the man who ran against ^{Mindel} ~~A~~ Davis for Congress in fact. And there were a good number of white people at the meeting . . . it was just a little caucus. State senators were there, members of the house a variety of other white politicians, probably more whites than blacks were there. But the whole idea was that McKinley Washington wasn't black or white, he was a Democratic standard barrer (inaudible). I think it was a genuine feeling

that way. They raised a few thousand dollars for him there and then there were just more people of good will, there was a good feeling about him.

J.B.: Do you think that the politicians in this state tend to be more open and more sensitive, in that sense more liberal in racial attitudes in the population . . .

G.H.: Yeah.

J.B.: Is it going to go beyond the fact that blacks have votes?

G.H.: Yeah. I think it does . . . I think because . . . I think the average politician is thrown into an environment that no other white fellow really has a full opportunity to enjoy. I never will forget, and it hasn't been but about two years ago . . . and I've been participating with black people for a long number of years on the cutting edge of social change and in politics. A black fellow, who I had recently met, at that time, who was well educated called me Gedney. It really knocked me for a loop, that's the first time a black man had ever called me Gedney. I couldn't . . . it wasn't that he called me Gedney that knocked me for a loop, it was the fact that I realized that for as long as I had known any number of people whose name I could call, who were around my age and I had participated with them for 20 years, none of them had ever thought of calling me anything but Mr. Howe. This fellow was new, and he said in the most genuine kind of way, now Gedney, so forth and so on. Well in the past two years because he met me on a number of occasions, he's got probably 15 or 20 of my black friends calling me Gedney.

(Telephone call and break in conversation.)

J.B.: You didn't finish the Governors.

G.H.: All right, we'll go back to the Governors. We got through with ~~Burns~~ ^{Byrnes}, and we got through with Tillman, I told you about Tillman. Hollings. Well, I thought Hollings made a very good Governor, I thought he was the right man at that time. The state did need, and needed badly, some practical approach to educating people, to serve in industry, and I think the tech program which he inaugurated was a good one. I thought that what he had started with ~~Burns~~ ^{Byrnes}, the idea of the ~~singles~~ ^{sales} tax and the extension of schools was a good one. I thought that his undertaking to sell industry on locating in South Carolina was a good program, I really do. I thought he was short on the human side in his administration, but after all the doing of those things indirectly increased the capacity to live a better life. Towards the end of his term I thought he acted responsibly in integrating Clemson College. He had an opportunity to deal with the racial question, and I thought he dealt . . . handled the responsibility well. He might not have been as enthusiastic about it as he could have been but I thought it was accomplished with good grace and it went well. I thought that while he was Governor his espousing over a candidate, rather than going along with the reactionary movement (inaudible) was good. I am thinking of the Presidency as much as I am thinking of the atmosphere.

J.B.: Considering his role as Governor and senator, would you consider him in this last quarter century as the single most influential progressive political force?

G.H.: In this State, yeah, by all means, by all honor.

J.B.: Did he . . . do you think he genuinely brought about a change in political attitudes toward social problems in his party (inaudible)

G.H.: Yeah. I think so. I think that the main thing that Fritz has done . . . I've known him ever since he was born, literally. His Aunt Estelle, who was a spinster until she married very late in life was inseparable with my aunt who was a spinster until she married very late in her life. So the Howes and Hollings have been connected for over a long period of time, and I have known Fritz since he was born. I think that one of the most important things that has happened in the relationship of Hollings to South Carolina politics is the growth of Hollings. I don't think that he would have had any idea 20 years ago . . . like so many people if he might feel like they'll never reach an opportunity to be this (inaudible). I don't think Hollings wanted to be as progressive as he has become. I don't think he ever thought of himself in that context. So, while I think the state has grown, its capacity to think progressively, that is its increasing number of people who think that way. I think the number one person to date produced by way of growth has been Hollings.

J.B.: Do you think he has been a leader, in that growth of progressive thought rather than a follower of the state's movement?

G.H.: No, I think that he has been a genuine leader, particularly in recent years. I think Hollings believes everything

he says on that subject, I really do. I think that in days gone by he and I haven't been too close politically, as you probably are aware, but I think in the past ten years Hollings has been a true progressive. I think he has areas of residual old Hollings, but I think basically he has really developed, he has not changed. I've often thought that it was impossible for a man to change. I usually think of a fellow developing, not changing. So I am not going to say he changed, but he certainly developed some areas that I never knew he had. I think when he talks to you on the subject of ^{hunger} ~~(inaudible)~~ and the calamities that go with it, including not just the tragedy of want to want him reduced, ill health and other things, but the tragedy to despair, and I think he means that, I really do. I've talked to him personally. He's done me the courtesy of coming to my office two or three times. As a matter of fact not long ago he said he was just walking in the neighborhood and he wanted to drop up and shoot the breeze, and he stayed for over two or three hours. So I had sort of a chance to go over a variety of things with him, and I found him rather invigorating, so much so that when I came home I said to my wife, I said, you know, that Fritz is growing like topsy (?). I mean he is just really, to me, moving along. And, I think he is genuine. Fritz used to be far more of an opportunist than he is today. I think he has reached that point where he doesn't, you know, he doesn't have to win anymore. He'd like to but he don't have to. I think that is healthy, I think that is good. He's seems a

lot more at ease today than I have ever seen him to be in my life. Relaxed, easy to get a long with, he isn't mad with anybody. So I think he is good for the state, but I think the state has been extremely good for him, I think this has been a real good environment for him.

J.B.: How about Russell?

G.H.: I think that in many ways Russell did well to leave the Governor's office and go to the Senate and into the court. I don't mean that in an ugly way, I think he is making a good circuit judge, appellate judge. I doubt if he could have gotten there if he hadn't been a Governor, I don't think he did any harm as Governor. I think he did all right. As United States Senator, I think he made a good Senator. I think the manner that he got it made it ^{im}possible for him to keep it. But I thought that the year that he was United States Senator he was very progressive. He voted for most of the CEO programs, and things of that kind, and identified himself with at least the moderate side of the Democratic party. He wasn't any reactionary. In fact, I think he was a lot more liberal as a United States Senator, than he was as the Governor, frankly. So I think that as a circuit judge he was . . . as a district judge he was an extremely able man, and as a circuit judge, he's making a good circuit judge. But McNair I found to be . . . I can't really make a fair statement on McNair . . . I'm going to make one, but in fairness to him I'm going to preface it by saying I don't have too good of an opinion on him, personally. It's just hard. I can not have . . . I do not have too high of an opinion of ^{Byrnes}~~Burns~~, but he's been so long out of the Governor's

office until I feel like I can be a little objective about him. I look on him really as a wheeler-dealer. He's a . . . fella that . . . he pretty well confirmed when he got out of the Governors office what he was doing in the Governors office. You can't be a small time (inaudible) lawyer from the hell over in the swamp in Berkley County that moves over to the smallest town in the State like Allendale in the smallest county, be a Governor for six years and come out on the Board of Directors of the Seaboard Coastline Railroad Company and the Georgia Pacific and a variety of other things without . . . you just don't learn that much about timber cutting and railroad and stuff like that with absolutely no corporate background . . . they just don't have those kind of industries in Berkley and Allendale Counties, they just don't. So whatever he learned he must have learned in the Governor's office. I just think that our Governors have been nothing men.

J.B.: (Inaudible) too much special interest.

G.H.: I don't think there is any doubt about it, he really . . . I think he really hurt the state in that respect. I don't think those kind of things are good for the state. Charleston had a State Ports authority, they had a contract to buy a piece of land and . . . they discontinued that one and bought a piece from Georgia Pacific. Maybe they bought the right piece of land, I don't know. But I do know that he got a percentage of the purchase. That isn't good for the state. The West Virginia (inaudible) . . . Dorchester County Fort Dorchester paid \$20,000 for it and got a million dollar

tax exemption when they gave it to the state. That kind of bologne. That's the kind of thing that isn't good for a state. He epitomizes the Governor, the southern Governor in particular who really looks out for the special . . . it really nauseates me every time I hear people say he can save the Democratic party, we got to call on McNair to save the Democratic party. He's the only fellow I know of any political prominence in South Carolina that would cause me to browse vote Republican. I never have done that before in my life. There are very few Democrats that would be too conservative for me to vote for if they got the nomination. I am not thinking about him in terms of a conservative or a liberal because I think he could be either, depending on what was wanted. I just don't have any confidence in him. I think he had an opportunity like ^{Byrnes} ~~Burns~~ in only a small way when you had the hospital strike . . . that's so easy to say it . . . what I tried to get him to say that in as much as the minimum wage gets a \$1.60 an hour, after all if you pay somebody \$1.55 they'd put you in prison. It came with the state for to pay \$1.30, I mean that doesn't make any sense. He'll say that without (inaudible). He'll say as Governor of South Carolina the state ought to meet the same standards as it requires of its citizens. Don't you think . . . I mean (inaudible), but he's . . . easy for him to do it, he could have said Orangeburg, this is a tragedy, this is something that is a tragedy . . . a tragedy for everybody, I am heart broken about it, gone down there. . . I don't know why he couldn't have spent a week on that campus . . . I think

you would have. I know goddamn well I would have. Those are the kind of things you either meet or you don't. I told ~~him~~ *Gaillard* when he ran for Mayor, the same thing locally, I said you ought to walk from Calhoun Street to Mt. Pleasant Street on East ~~Dave~~ *Bay* Street on Monday and the next day right on Dallas, he said I'm liable to get killed. I said exactly, but when you became Mayor you could walk there . . . I used to walk there. So go back there and walk there. The first order of business would be to walk on the streets. If you can't walk on the streets, I don't want no Mayor that I can't walk on the streets. That's a chance you take . . . you shouldn't be a Mayor unless you can walk on the streets. If you can't walk on every street in town, you've got no business running for Mayor. That's the way I feel about Governor. If I was Governor of South Carolina and a campus broke out into a riot, I would have a contract with the State of South Carolina to go on that campus. If I couldn't go on that campus . . . if I went and got killed, that's one of those chances you take, you're liable to get killed when you drive to Charlotte, I don't know. I think people are either committed to that type of thinking or they have no business in a public office, that's my personal judgement. Because those occasions when the personal appearance of a leader can be very meaningful, and can symbolize how he truly feels, and I think McNair was offered some marvelous opportunities, of course in six years as Governor, after all he served six rather than four years, and he had some marvelous opportunities to exemplify some good and fine things in this state. I think the way he handled the thing at the University, a bunch of

bologne, running policemen all over a college campus, shooting up . . . I mean he didn't have to do that . ! . you don't have to do that. You're a newspaper man and I am a lawyer . . . and I could have straightened that out in about an hour. He chooses those things. He wants to look like a strong man with the militia and all of that crap. I went down on East ~~Base~~ Bay Street during the course of the hospital strike, was walking over to the Union Hall, in the meantime a couple of officers came running over to me, Ohhhh Mr. Howe, you're liable to get killed out here, they had asked me to come, and I said listen, you're liable to get hurt, no body is going to hurt me, I know these people. A fellow who is participating in government is supposed to know the people, if he doesn't, he's got no business running. I think today if I went over there I probably would get hurt, but I ain't running for anything either. I'm getting too old for that. If I was 35 or 40 and running for office, I'd go over there, I'll guarantee you that. I was up at Berkley County at Russelville during a union strike . . . all black men when ~~Burns~~ ^{Byrnes} was Governor, getting the hell beat out of us by (inaudible) . . . I shake about thinking about some of those places I used to go, but I didn't mind going in when I was involved. I think that is what leadership takes, myself.

J.B.: How about the West administration?

G.H.: I think West made a pretty good Governor. If he has a fault it is probably being too cautious. He's a highly intelligent man, very gifted intellectually, I think he is very smart. I think he has a genuine desire to do the

right thing. I really do think so. I think that if he has a feeling, it is what I said, being too cautious, sometimes making a move and then trying to modify what he has done. I think that . . . and I've told him that he ought to first make a determination that he is going with something before he does it or if he's going to take a chance, which I think well of taking chances, going through with it, and that's it. I mean you can't . . . during the hospital thing, ~~(inaudible)~~ ^{on a fair West} came down here to Charleston where I was . . . the Democratic party down here . . . gave an explanation as to why he used the word paranoid, so forth and so on. A minor thing but it was an emotional thing at the time. I said listen, there's nothing wrong with the use of the word paranoid, you just don't understand Charleston, they were looking for a reason to give you hell and they picked it, that's a bunch of bologne, my children use that word around the house, and everybody enjoys the children using it around the house. They are just pulling your leg, you ought to come out and tell them to go to hell, you don't have to take it back, you don't owe them any apology. I use that as an example. So I think that really he is a well intentioned fellow, and an honorable fellow, a right capable fellow, but I think he has a tendency to get frightened to easily. That's just my personal judgement. I think that his administration has been pretty good. He has been in government long enough to understand it. He's also been in (inaudible) long enough to where he is a little too kindly and forbearing where the beauracrcy is concerned. That's the wonderful thing you get out of a man who is new to government. He might come in and not quite understand what buttons to push

or what levers to pullas you have expressed it, but he don't mind running around the welfare department kicking a few people out, changing the wave, keep the records of the highway department and a few other things. I mean, I think John has been in government long enough to where he knows all the people in it and he has a predisposition to be kind to any more stuff. That is some of the things, but I think his administration, per se in itself, has been pretty good. I think it has been right (inaudible) financially, he's had a (inaudible) come in because the nature of the heated economy in the growth of South Carolina has just produced more money than he really knows what to do with. I think you'd know what to do with it, and I'd know what to do with it. I think for a Scotchman from Camden it's almost more than he knows what the hell to do with.

J.B.: Part of the problem is he can't get his financial advisors to make an accurate estimate and he isn't willing to get rid of them.

G.H.: He's got a bunch of money, and I'd like to see him make a . . . I really think the number one problem in the state, for right now, is housing. I don't mean there aren't many other problems like health, education, and this and that. But I'm talking about for the right now, today. I'd like to see him take all of the talenthe can muster out of the private sector and bring in some people who'd probably be willing if he made a total committment to take the money in South Carolina and really move it to housing.

J.B.: Did the voting machines in Charleston effectively end the era of corruption, I mean election fraud?

G.H.: Well . . .

J.B.: Is that the key to it?

G.H.: I would think that (inaudible) would have ended by the . . . national elections after the second world war, or prior to World War II. The key to politics was jobs in a metropolitan area, I mean, after World War II you didn't . . . political jobs weren't worth anything, nobody wanted one. The Mayor today has got ten jobs, he can't get anybody to fill them. I mean, nobody wants a local job. You have to got out running looking for somebody to be a policeman. When I was coming along you'd see 25 fellows standing in line to be a policeman. Nobody wants to be a policeman today. Nobody wants to hold up in the cities in the states, I mean that's about the lowest paying entities you have got.

J.B.: No, we have a . . . pretty good (inaudible) particularly over in the sixth congressional district, that there are precincts where elections can be controlled and are controlled in advance.

G.H.: I just wouldn't know. I realize that (inaudible) balance a person who are skilled and know how to handle a paper balance necessarily can create a fraud if there is nobody to watch them. Certainly you can mark ballots in advance in an election, and if you can get them in a ballot box you can certainly cause an election before it comes off. That certainly was done in Charleston, I understand that it was done in Charleston.

J.B.: That day is gone in Charleston.

G.H.: No question about that.

J.B.: Gedney Howe, let me ask you this question. What has been Herbert ~~F~~elding's role in Charleston County Politics?

G.H.: Well Herbert is quite a decent fellow to start with. I think he acted as a catalyst to some extent in bringing about a degree of trust with both races. Without meaning to be racial in talking about race, Herbert would be about half white and half black I would guess. I think his color was useful in a way, he was educated . . . Herbert is a graduate of the University of West Virginia. He's been (inaudible) in Paris, the University of Edinborough in Scotland, so he's a worldly wise fellow. I've never heard him say a curse word in my life, he doesn't use any profanity. He's a right conscientious decent sort of fellow. Probably the most non-racial person I know in Charleston, white or black. He just . . . I think that white people have a tendency to find somebody they can trust in black people, trust him also. So I think he was a good influence.

J.B.: I've heard several people say that his recent problems have in effect made him a martyr, and he is more popular now in the black community than he ever has been.

G.H.: I think in both communities. I think he is more popular in the white than he is in the black. I hope he'll not run for public office anymore. I just personally don't think it is good for him. I don't think he is cut out for a public office. I think he is a highly sensitive person, he's obviously got some emotional problems or he would have filed his taxes . . . the way he did didn't make any sense. Whenever an intelligent man does something that doesn't make any sense, you have got to assume that there is some emotional problem. I just don't know what those problems are, I know he is a very notoriously poor business

man, whether that's because he just isn't good at business or whether it's because he's so active in politics he doesn't have any time left to give his business. I don't know. I know he is a very poor business man. My relationship with him goes way back. My father was very close friends with his father. I find that dealing with black people in Charleston, but you don't think it has anything to do with it. Actually he winded it up being right close to that part of the negro leadership close to that of your father and your grandfather. It's remarkable how much they value old traditions and family. They might kick on them, but they stick with them, feelings that have been with me since I was born.

J.B.: You've been very active in Charleston County in South Carolina this whole period in which Charleston probably because of the newspapers more than anything else have projected this very conservative image. Yet as politics . . . in terms of elected representatives, has been generally among the more progressive groups. How did you put it together?

G.H.: Well I think a combination of things. You've got a lot of people in the Charleston community that are insulated from we'll say management domination. You begin with 10,000 people in the Navy yard that can't be reached by any business man. you've got most of the better industries here are pretty highly unionized. You've got most of the waterfront pretty unionized. To the extent that people can be reached for political control in this community in recent years has been people who handle political jobs. In the past 20 years the average person hasn't wanted a political job. On the

waterfront, if you work for the State Ports Authority and make \$3 an hour, if you work for private sector at (inaudible) Union College you make \$5.60 an hour for the same job. So a man gets a public job in order to leave it as quick as possible so he can get a private job. Well the result is, that even though the hand of the union business agent is unseen, he exercises a fair degree of political (inaudible). I represent most of the unions generally, I used to represent them all, and you could get in a certain amount of influence through them. You put that together with the blacks, and with whatever you could do within the political establishment, my difficulty so far as being progressive in this community was always moving the politicians . . . of pulling and tugging and pushing and pulling to move the Mayor two feet. I don't think I really did a lot, I tried, but it was always a job to tug the office holder. I think the public here is well ahead of the office holder. Even today I don't think that . . . I remember when Rivers was making speeches in 1946, I thought the blood was going to run in the streets. South Carolinians always had blood running in the streets. (Inaudible) But good lord, the first reorganization meeting we had, we had a caucus for the black man. But that was the trouble. We had sense enough to know that the only currency in politics is votes. Currency in politics is votes, and they can vote. So we went and we had a caucus of so many blacks and so many whites and divided up the delegates, I mean we did that the first time, nobody tried to fight the votes. It's ridiculous. And,

tried to put together something you could live with. People were talking about their party one time. They had a racist lady over there . . . I was too liberal. (inaudible) of course you are a lawyer and the next thing you'll be having these colored people on the jury and then you'll know where it is . . . I said good lord lady. I tried a case last week and there were nine blacks and three whites on the jury, they've been on there for 20 years. She didn't even know it. Southerners are funny. They get a long so well with nearly anyone they are thrown with . . .

J.B.: Anybody what?

G.H.: That they are thrown with an intimate relationship with. They have, what I call and you might inquire around as you go where they don't find in other places . . . what I call the bathroom syndrom, wherever race comes up. Wherever a variety of things comes up, wherever sex comes up . . . It doesn't matter how they are going to go to the bathroom, because they are going to have women on the jury. I used to be circuit solicitor and Lloyd Flanning who is a splendid fellow and a very excellent Clerk of Court, he said you can't do that, how they going to the bathroom. I said I don't know, I've been married a number of years and my wife and I don't go to the bathroom together, we go separately. They don't all have to go to the bathroom together. I was arguing last year on the TV with a lady on the ERA, I was of course for women voting . . . right in the middle, right on TV she said . . . almost embarassing to me she said well,

what are you going to do about this, she said you can't . . . she says in jail you can't . . . the matrons will be in there when . . . someone will have to guard them when they are taking their shower, and the matrons will be thrown around nude men while they are taking a shower because the ERA constitutes . . . you can't show any difference because of sex. So I told her the trouble with you lady is you've got the southern bathroom syndrom. I mean, none of that's going to happen. I mean, you go to the hospital right now and there are ladies that are called upon to come into intimate touch with a naked male and the world didn't come to an end, it doesn't offend either the man or the woman. There is nothing unusual about that. Men are taking a shower, look at him if you want to, if you don't, don't look at him. I mean that is just not a problem. You have the bathroom, how are you going to go to the bathroom. Throughout this business, whether it is sex or whether it is race, the (inaudible) in his genes I guess, or way back, worries about sex, worries about race and sex and it just comes out a peculiar way, but he worries about it, he worries about it dreadfully. I don't know he knows how much he worries about it, but he really worries about it. I guess it goes back to, and this is just a guess, a psychologist or a psychiatrist could probably give you a better judgement, but when the ^{Grimke} (inaudible) girls went north, they took their nephew, half brother or whatever he was with them and sometimes if you back into history you'll learn something; but the (inaudible) of their message was, as I recollect it, what that what was new was not slavery, that that was old. What was new is not the forced meeting and a variety

of other things that were done with slaves, what was new was the status of the slaves in law was a race thing, and that Wayne, a slave owner, had intercourse with his slave and she gave birth to a child, what was new was he had (inaudible) a thing. That was new to the world extremely. There was something very terrifying about a man looking out and seeing something that was born of his born and born of his blood, that wasn't human. Terrifying. It scared the south to death. I suspect that somewhere, back in the history of all of us is this terrible unresolved (inaudible) save your nation concept and I still think that length is terrific. I just do. I don't think it is only with white people, it's just as bad with the blacks. I find with . . . to the extent that I am thrown with any relationship where there is a mixture of activity with a white and a black person, the blacks are even more (inaudible) than the whites in many ways. I know one time on the inter-racial committee, we had a question on a fellow running a right large and prominent dance hall, but not admitting blacks. That came up, it was right sensitive, and we were trying to resolve a lot of other things. . . the more activist blacks on the committee like ^{Esau} Jenkins, McKⁱnley Washington, and a variety of other black men and women, . . . somebody said what do you think they are voting the most and somebody said what do you think about ^{Esau} ~~Esop~~, he said I couldn't be more disinterested. He said I don't want to put down anything, I don't want to be (inaudible) black girls and black boys going around dancing with white girls and white boys. I don't like it

and I don't like the concept, got no time for it. I'm interested in jobs . . . and that was the general attitude, they worry about it. I don't know if they'll worry about it 20 years from now or not, . . . I don't know.

J.B.: We had somebody in Columbia tell us that one of the major changes they had seen wasn't even ten years ago . . . ten or twelve years ago. There was a bar association convention, and there was a state judge spending half of his time making a speech telling race jokes. (inaudible) that such jokes even at a dinner party are considered bad manners.

G.H.: There is no question about it.

J.B.: That would be just as true in Charleston.

G.H.: Oh yeah. Oh yeah.

J.B.: What was that mean . . . deeper sense. Isn't it one isn't a basic . . . one of the psychological explanations that people tend to make jokes about things about which they are anxious, would that suggest that there is less anxiety about race?

G.H.: I don't know Jack. I think it would (inaudible) that, I guess. I don't know how much of the racial problems, for lack of a better term, that we are solving here that we are not solving in another area. I think things have improved terrifically. I think the crude areas, the mean areas, the hateful areas are disappearing and with considerable (inaudible), I agree with you on that, but the new lines that are being drawn by the blacks lines that are in many instances highly illogical and as racist as any lines I can think of are right frightening to a lot of white people. (Inaudible) you just all of a sudden, you are confronted with people who (inaudible) this is a black job or

this is a black this or black that. You find them identifying the jobs which is all right when it is some menial task, all right if a policeman or this or that . . . it's a very different thing . . . when you get into more important issues you can't say this is going to be a black doctors job, you might do violence to the life of a lot of patients, anymore than you can say this is the time for a negro attorney to be called in, that's fine if you are examining the title to real estate or something. It's a very different thing.

(Interview suddenly stops with no explanation. The reverse of the tape is with another person.)