

the school board to be contrary to the requirements of *Cooper v. Aaron* and to violate the board's court-imposed duties. "Private School Charter," *Race Relations Law Reporter* 3 (1958): 870-872; "Petition for Order Against Leasing," *Race Relations Law Reporter* 3 (1958): 875-877; "Aaron v. Cooper" (8th Cir.), *Race Relations Law Reporter* 3 (1958): 1135, 1142-1143.

82. 358 U.S. 11 (1958); Mark V. Tushnet, *Making Civil Rights Law: Thurgood Marshall and the Supreme Court, 1936-1961* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 264; Schwartz with Leshner, *Inside the Warren Court*, 162; Hutchinson, "Unanimity and Desegregation," 78-80.

83. *Cooper*, 358 U.S. at 19-20.

84. *Times* (London), September 30, 1958, p. 9; *Times* (London), September 15, 1958, p. 8; *Times* (London), September 18, 1958, p. 8; *Times* (London), September 23, 1958, p. 7; *Times* (London), September 17, 1958, p. 10; *Times* (London), September 19, 1958, p. 9; *Times* (London), September 16, 1958, p. 8; *Times* (London), September 22, 1958, p. 9.

85. *South China Morning Post*, August 30, 1958, p. 14; *South China Morning Post*, September 10, 1958, p. 6. The *South China Morning Post* covered Little Rock in the fall of 1958 in the context of other civil rights developments, including the arrest of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., during a civil rights protest. *South China Morning Post*, September 15, 1958, p. 10; *South China Morning Post*, August 27, 1958, p. 12; *South China Morning Post*, August 28, 1958, p. 9; *South China Morning Post*, August 29, 1958, p. 13; *South China Morning Post*, August 30, 1958, p. 12.

Times of India, October 1, 1958, p. 6. With the exception of an August 28 front-page story on the U.S. government's brief in *Cooper v. Aaron*, the *Times of India's* coverage was on the inside pages and was relatively brief. *Times of India*, August 29, 1958, p. 1; *Times of India*, August 30, 1958, p. 5; *Times of India*, September 14, 1958, p. 9.

86. Coverage in the *Egyptian Gazette*, for example, was extensive but was on the inside pages. See *Egyptian Gazette*, September 30, 1958, p. 2. The paper published only one front-page article on Little Rock in the fall of 1958—on an October 4 federal court order finding the privatization of Little Rock public schools to be unlawful. *Egyptian Gazette*, October 5, 1958, p. 1.

In contrast to the *Egyptian Gazette* coverage, the *Tanganyika Standard* carried brief Little Rock stories but placed them on the front page. *Tanganyika Standard*, August 23, 1958, p. 1; *Tanganyika Standard*, September 1, 1958, p. 1.

87. Daisy Bates, *The Long Shadow of Little Rock: A Memoir* (New York: David McKay, 1962), 163; Greenberg, *Crusaders in the Courts*, 242.

88. Act 461 of the 1959 Session of the Arkansas General Assembly (March 30, 1959), *Race Relations Law Reporter* 4 (1959): 747-749. There was one direct reference to race in the statute: "no child shall be compelled to attend any school in which the races are commingled with a written objection of the parent or guardian has been filed with the Board of Education [sic]." This provision appeared to enable parents to pull their children out of integrated schools notwithstanding Arkansas' school attendance requirements. *Ibid.*, 749.

89. Greenberg, *Crusaders in the Court*, 242. The Supreme Court denied certiorari in 1959 in *Covington v. Edwards*, a Fourth Circuit case upholding North Carolina's pupil placement plan, following a narrow, summary affirmance of a district court opinion upholding an Alabama plan in 1958. *Covington v. Edwards*, 264 F.2d 180 (4th Cir. 1959), cert. denied, 361 U.S. 840 (1959); *Shuttlesworth v. Birmingham Bd. of Educ.*, 162 F.Supp. 372 (N.D. Ala. 1957), affirmed 358 U.S. 101 (1958); Stephen L. Wasby, Anthony A. D'Amato, and Rosemary Metrailer, *Desegregation from Brown to Alexander* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1977), 194-195.

90. Although the Court's denial of certiorari in *Covington* gave southern states the green light to go ahead with pupil placement schemes, the Court's action was not reported in the *Tanganyika Standard*, *Egyptian Gazette*, *South China Morning Post*, *Times of India*, or *Times* (London). The Court's affirmance of a pupil placement plan in *Shuttlesworth* was also not reported in these papers. All of these papers had carried very detailed coverage of other legal developments pertaining to the desegregation crisis.

The pupil placement cases were front-page news in the United States, although without the banner headlines that attended the *Brown* and *Cooper* rulings. *New York Times*, November 25, 1958, p. 1; *New York Times*, October 13, 1959, p. 1.

CHAPTER FIVE

1. American Embassy, Niamey, to Department of State, May 21, 1963, RG 59, Central Foreign Policy File 1963, SOC 14-1 US, National Archives.

2. Report of Incident Involving Ambassador Malick Sow of Chad, (undated), Folder: Chad, General, 1961-1962, Papers of President Kennedy, President's Office Files, Countries, Box 113a, John F. Kennedy Library, Boston, Massachusetts; Battle to O'Donnell, June 19, 1961, Folder: Chad, General, 1961-1962, Papers of President Kennedy, President's Office Files, Countries, Box 113a, Kennedy Library.

3. Report of Incident Involving Ambassador Malick Sow; Battle to O'Donnell, June 19, 1961; Harris Wofford, *Of Kennedys & Kings: Making Sense of the Sixties* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1980), 126-128.

4. H. S. Wilson, *African Decolonization* (London: Edward Arnold, 1994), 177.

5. Dean Rusk, *As I Saw It* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1990), 581; Remarks of Louis Martin, April 3, 1963, Folder: Civil Rights Press Releases, Papers of Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., Writings File, Box W-4, Kennedy Library. The importance of civil rights to Rusk's role as secretary of state is illustrated by the fact that he devoted an entire chapter of his memoir to the issue. Rusk, *As I Saw It*, 579-592.

6. William H. Chafe, *Civilities and Civil Rights: Greensboro, North Carolina and the Black Struggle for Freedom* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 71-100.

7. John Lewis Gaddis, *We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 260-280; Jennifer Whitmore See, "US-Soviet Entente?: John F. Kennedy and the Pursuit of Peace, 1963" (paper presented at annual meeting of the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations, June 1996).

8. Ellen Schrecker describes the McCarthy era as extending through the 1940s and 1950s. Ellen Schrecker, *Many Are the Crimes: McCarthyism in America* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1998), x. On the Supreme Court and individual rights during the 1960s, see Milton R. Konvitz, *Expanding Liberties: Freedom's Gain in Postwar America* (New York: Viking Press, 1966). On DuBois' later years, see Gerald Horne, *Black and Red: W. E. B. DuBois and the Afro-American Response to the Cold War, 1944-1963* (Albany: State University of New York, 1986).

9. David Garrow, *Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference* (New York: William Morrow, 1986); Taylor Branch, *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954-1963* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988).

10. Harris Wofford, recorded interview by Berl Bernhard, November 29, 1965, pp. 7, 31, John F. Kennedy Library Oral History Program, Kennedy Library.

Carl M. Brauer describes Kennedy's posture toward civil rights during his years in the Senate as that of a moderate. For example, Kennedy supported the Civil Rights Act of 1957 but also voted for an amendment favored by Southern Democrats that weakened the act. He was criticized for this and other votes by the African American press. During the same period, when asked about school desegregation while speaking in Mississippi, Kennedy said that "he accepted it as the law of the land." According to Brauer, "Kennedy's moderate stand on civil rights allowed and even encouraged Southern politicians to embrace him." Carl M. Brauer, *John F. Kennedy and the Second Reconstruction* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977), 20-23.

11. Richard D. Mahoney, *JFK: Ordeal in Africa* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 20-33.

12. Brauer, *Second Reconstruction*, 43, 127, 205-210, 212-213; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 586-587; Wofford, *Of Kennedys and Kings*, 124; Arthur Schlesinger, *A Thousand Days: John F. Kennedy in the White House* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1965), 847-849, 853.

13. Aaronson/Wilkins, Confidential Memorandum, February 6, 1961, Papers of Theodore C. Sorensen, Subject Files, 1961-64, Box 30, Kennedy Library; Roy Wilkins with Tom Mathews, *Standing Fast: The Autobiography of Roy Wilkins* (New York: Viking Press, 1982), 280-282.

Carl Brauer noted in 1977 that "the foreign implications of America's race problems" were "especially significant" for the Kennedy administration. Brauer's important book was written long before the records to fully explore the impact of foreign affairs on civil rights were declassified or otherwise made public. As a result, an issue that Brauer recognized but was unable to develop more fully remains to be more thoroughly considered using the diplomatic and other materials made available in the twenty years since his work was published. Brauer, *Second Reconstruction*, 76.

14. Aaronson/Wilkins, Confidential Memorandum, February 6, 1961.

15. Elisabeth Cobbs Hoffman, *All You Need is Love: The Peace Corps and the Spirit of the 1960s* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 29.

16. Chafe, *Civilities and Civil Rights*, 71; Garrow, *Bearing the Cross*, 127-136; Clayborne Carson, *In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s* (Cambridge: Har-

vard University Press, 1981), 9-30; *Eyes on the Prize: America's Civil Rights Years*, Clayborne Carson, David J. Garrow, Vincent Harding, Darlene Clark Hine, eds., (New York: Penguin Books, 1987), 78-79, 83-88.

17. August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, *CORE: A Study in the Civil Rights Movement* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 135-158; Garrow, *Bearing the Cross*, 158-161.

18. Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 136-138; Garrow, *Bearing the Cross*, 155-157.

19. Schlesinger, *A Thousand Days*, 854-855; Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 138.

20. *Eyes on the Prize: America's Civil Rights Years, Ain't Scared of Your Jails, 1960-1961*, produced by Blackslide, Inc., for PBS-TV, 1986.

21. Richard Reeves, *President Kennedy: Profile of Power* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994), 123; Wofford, *Of Kennedys and Kings*, 125.

22. United States Information Agency, "Worldwide Reactions to Racial Incidents in Alabama," pp. 7-15, May 29, 1961, Folder: S-17-61, RG 306, Records of the USIA, Office of Research, Special "S" Reports, 1953-63, National Archives.

23. *Ibid.*, 1.

24. *Ibid.*

25. *Ibid.*, 2.

26. Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 139.

27. Battle to Dutton, September 19, 1961, Folder: Foreign Policy, 4/1/61-10/8/63, Papers of Theodore C. Sorensen, Subject Files, 1961-64, Box 34, Kennedy Library.

28. *Meredith v. Fair*, 305 F. 2d 343 (5th Cir., 1962); *Fair v. Meredith*, 371 U.S. 828 (1962); Schlesinger, *A Thousand Days*, 858-859; Reeves, *President Kennedy*, 354-364.

29. United States Information Agency, "Media Comment on the Mississippi Crisis," October 5, 1962, p. 5, Folder: R-109-62, RG 306, Records of the USIA, Office of Research, "R" Reports, 1960-63, Box 10, National Archives; U.S. Information Agency, "Student Reaction in Bogota to the Mississippi Crisis," October 1962, Folder: Mississippi Situation 10/1/62-1/26/63 and undated, Papers of Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., White House Files, Box WH-15, Kennedy Library.

30. United States Information Agency, "Media Comment on the Mississippi Crisis," October 5, 1962, pp. 9-12.

31. Bowles to R. Kennedy, October 10, 1962, Folder: Bowles, Chester 10/62-11/62, Papers of Robert F. Kennedy, Attorney General's General Correspondence, Box 5, Kennedy Library.

Long after the crisis was resolved, James Meredith remained on the minds of people around the world. When Chester Bowles traveled through thirteen African countries, at each stop "one question was inevitable, urgent, and recurrent: What about James Meredith at the University of Mississippi?" Chester Bowles, "Emancipation: The Record and the Challenge," February 15, 1963, Folder: Bowles, Chester, 1963, Papers of Robert F. Kennedy, Attorney General's General Correspondence, Box 6, Kennedy Library.

32. Schlesinger, *A Thousand Days*, 866.

33. United States Information Agency, "Media Comment on the Mississippi Crisis," October 5, 1962, p. ii; United States Information Agency, "Racial Prejudice Mars the

American Image," October 17, 1962, Folder: R-136-62, RG 306, Records of the USIA, Office of Research, "R" Reports, 1960-63, Box 5, National Archives.

34. Wilson to Lincoln, October 11, 1962 (and attached report), Folder U.S.I.A. 7/62-12/62, Papers of President Kennedy, President's Office Files, Departments and Agencies, Box 88a, Kennedy Library.

35. Rusk, *As I Saw It*, 582.

36. *Ibid.*, 583-584.

37. Report of Incident Involving Ambassador Malick Sow of Chad (undated); Battle to O'Donnell, June 19, 1961; Meeting with Representatives of State Governors (transcript), p. A-5, June 16, 1961, Folder: Second Meeting with Representatives of State Governors, Papers of Pedro Sanjuan, MS 78-21, Kennedy Library; Wofford, *Of Kennedys and Kings*, 126-128.

38. Wofford, *Of Kennedys and Kings*, 127-128; Brauer, *Second Reconstruction*, 77.

39. Pedro Sanjuan, "Address to the Legislative Council of the General Assembly of Maryland," September 13, 1961, Folder: Campaign in Maryland for Passage of Public Accommodations Bill, 9/1/61, Papers of Pedro Sanjuan, MS 78-21, Kennedy Library. Pedro Sanjuan and the Office of Special Protocol Services are discussed more fully in Renee Romano, "No Diplomatic Immunity: African American Diplomats and the Dilemma of American Racism during the Cold War, 1961-1964," *Journal of American History* (forthcoming); Timothy P. Maga, "Battling the 'Ugly American' at Home: The Special Protocol Service and the New Frontier, 1961-63," *Diplomacy and Statecraft* 3 (1992): 126-142.

Discrimination in housing in Washington, D.C., was another source of particular embarrassment. Nonwhite foreign diplomats and their staffs regularly faced discriminatory landlords, turning simple apartment searches into diplomatic crises. United States Commission on Civil Rights, *Civil Rights U.S.A.: Housing in Washington, D.C.* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1962), 21-26.

40. Sanjuan, "Address to the Legislative Council of the General Assembly of Maryland," September 13, 1961 (emphasis in original); Progress Report, April 2, 1962, Folder: Progress Report, 4/2/62, Papers of Pedro Sanjuan, MS 78-21, Kennedy Library; Progress Report, June 16, 1963, p. 6, Folder: Progress Report, 6/16/63, Papers of Pedro Sanjuan, MS 78-21, Kennedy Library; R. Kennedy to Sanjuan, March 28, 1963, Folder: Sanjuan, Pedro: 9/1961, Papers of Robert F. Kennedy, Attorney General's General Correspondence, Box 51, Kennedy Library.

41. Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 758-763.

42. Garrow, *Bearing the Cross*, 267-268; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 764-785; U.S. Information Agency, "Reaction to Racial Tension in Birmingham, Alabama," May 13, 1963, R-85-63 (A), RG 306, National Archives; John Walton Cotman, *Birmingham, JFK and the Civil Rights Act of 1963: Implications for Elite Theory* (New York: P. Lang, 1989), 100-102.

43. Wilson to J. F. Kennedy, May 14, 1963, Folder: USIA (Classified) 1/63-11/63, Box 133, Papers of Pierre Salinger, Background Briefing Material, Kennedy Library; Accra to Secretary of State, May 17, 1963, RG 59, Central Foreign Policy File 1963, SOC 14-1 US,

National Archives; Richard Lentz, "Snarls Echoing 'Round the World: The 1963 Birmingham Civil Rights Campaign on the World Stage," *American Journalism* (forthcoming).

44. Cotman, *Birmingham, JFK and the Civil Rights Act*, 35.

45. Burke Marshall Oral History Interview, May 29, 1964, pp. 98-99, Kennedy Library; Cotman, *Birmingham, JFK and the Civil Rights Act*, 21-60.

46. King Hassan II of Morocco was absent out of concern that his presence would be construed as recognition of Mauritania. Mauritania's president was present at the meeting, and Morocco had previously claimed sovereignty over Mauritania's territory. According to *Keesing's Contemporary Archives*, Togo's president was absent because "no agreement had been reached on the question of his country's admission." *Keesing's Contemporary Archives* (London: Longman, 1963-64), 14:19463. South Africa was not invited to the meeting. Brubeck to Bundy, May 27, 1963, Folder: Africa, General, 6/63, Box 3, National Security Files, Countries, Africa, Kennedy Library.

47. *Keesing's Contemporary Archives*, 14:19463; Brubeck to Bundy, May 27, 1963.

48. *Ibid.* The United States and the Soviet Union are obviously different models of nationhood. In invoking them, however, Selassie illustrated his general goal of political unification, without embracing any particular model of national organization.

49. Addis Ababa to Secretary of State, May 23, 1963, Folder: Civil Rights, 6/19/63-7/9/63, National Security Files, Subjects, Box 295, Kennedy Library (quoting Obote letter); *Keesing's Contemporary Archives*, 14:19465. At the State Department's urging, President Kennedy had sent a congratulatory message to the conference. It was expected that many other nations, including the Soviet Union, would send such messages. Obote's letter was in response to Kennedy's message. Brubeck to Bundy, May 11, 1963, Folder: Africa, General 5/63, Box 3, National Security Files—Countries—Africa, Kennedy Library; Department of State to American Embassy, Addis Ababa, May 17, 1963, Folder: Africa, General 5/63, Box 3, National Security Files—Countries—Africa, Kennedy Library.

50. Addis Ababa to Secretary of State, May 23, 1963 (quoting Obote letter).

51. Addis Ababa to Secretary of State, May 27, 1963, RG 59, Central Foreign Policy File 1963, SOC 14-1 US, National Archives. The despatch identified the "American Negro black Muslim" as Akbar Mohammad, a student living in Cairo. Elijah Muhammad's son Akbar was living in Cairo at the time, and attended the OAU meeting as a reporter for *Muhammad Speaks*. In an e-mail to the author, however, Dr. Akbar Muhammad indicated that he was not the source of the Obote letter. Akbar Muhammad to Mary Dudziak, March 6, 2000 (e-mail correspondence). It is unclear whether another American helped generate the Obote letter, or whether the embassy was mistaken on this point.

52. Quoted in Monrovia to Secretary of State, May 22, 1963, Folder: Africa, General 5/63, Box 3, National Security Files—Countries—Africa, Kennedy Library.

53. Addis Ababa Resolutions, p. 5, Folder: Africa, General 6/63, National Security Files, Countries, Ghana, Box 99, Kennedy Library.

54. Brubeck to Bundy, May 27, 1963; Nyerere to J. F. Kennedy, June 18, 1963, Folder: Tanganyika, 1961-1964, Box 124a, Papers of President Kennedy, President's Office Files, Countries, Kennedy Library.

55. Youlou to J. F. Kennedy, May 17, 1963, Folder: Congo, General, 1963, Box 114, Papers of President Kennedy, President's Office Files, Countries, Kennedy Library; J. F. Kennedy to Youlou, June 4, 1963, Folder: Congo, General, 1963, Box 114, Papers of President Kennedy, President's Office Files, Countries, Kennedy Library.
56. Rusk to All American Diplomatic and Consular Posts, Circular 2177, June 19, 1963, Folder: Civil Rights, 6/19/63-7/9/63, National Security Files, Subjects, Box 295, Kennedy Library; Rusk, *As I Saw It*, 581-583.
57. Rusk to All American Diplomatic and Consular Posts, Circular 2177, June 19, 1963.
58. Donald Wilson, "Racial Strife: The Overseas Impact," June 10, 1963, attached to Jordan to G. Mennen Williams, June 12, 1963, Folder: Civil Rights Folder, RG 59, Classified Records of Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs G. Mennen Williams, 1961-66, Box 3, National Archives; White to Jordan, June 11, 1963 attached to Jordan to Williams, June 12, 1963.
59. Gardner to Cleveland, October 31, 1963, Folder: Civil Rights Folder, RG 59, Classified Records of Assistant Secretary for African Affairs G. Mennen Williams, 1961-1966, Box 3, National Archives.
60. Reeves, *President Kennedy*, 514-522.
61. Cotman, *Birmingham, JFK and the Civil Rights Act*, 147.
62. John F. Kennedy, "Radio and Television Report to the American People on Civil Rights," June 11, 1963, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: John F. Kennedy, 1963*, (Washington, D. C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1964), 468.
63. *Ibid.*, 469.
64. *Ibid.*
65. *Ibid.*, 470.
66. John F. Kennedy, "Special Message to the Congress on Civil Rights and Job Opportunities," June 19, 1963, *Public Papers of the Presidents: John F. Kennedy, 1963*, 483.
67. Brauer, *Second Reconstruction*, 247.
68. John F. Kennedy, "Commencement Address at American University in Washington," June 10, 1963, *Public Papers of the Presidents: John F. Kennedy, 1963*, 459-464. The juxtaposition of Kennedy's civil rights and arms control speeches is discussed at greater length in Jennifer Whitmore See's thoughtful paper for the 1999 meeting of the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations. See, "US-Soviet Entente?," 14-15.
69. Cited in see, "US-Soviet Entente?"
70. Read to Bundy, July 7, 1963, Folder: Africa, General 7/63, Box 3, National Security Files—Countries—Africa, Kennedy Library.
71. Korry to J. F. Kennedy, June 28, 1963, Folder: Africa, General 7/63, Box 3, National Security Files—Countries—Africa, Kennedy Library; Addis Ababa, to Department of State, June 29, 1963, Folder: Africa, General 7/63, Box 3, National Security Files—Countries—Africa, Kennedy Library; *Ethiopian Herald*, June 25, 1963, in Folder: Africa, General 7/63, Box 3, National Security Files—Countries—Africa, Kennedy Library; "Soviet Media Coverage of Current US Racial Crisis," June 14, 1963, Folder: Civil Rights, 6/

11/63-6/14/63, National Security Files, Subjects, Box 295, Kennedy Library; USIA to J. F. Kennedy, June 14, 1963, Folder: Civil Rights, 6/11/63-6/14/63, National Security Files, Subjects, Box 295, Kennedy Library.

72. *NAACP v. Button*, 371 U.S. 415 (1963); *Gibson v. Florida Legislative Investigation Committee*, 372 U.S. 539 (1963).

On public versus private discrimination, see *The Civil Rights Cases*, 109 U.S. 3 (1883). In that ruling, the Supreme Court overturned the Civil Rights Act of 1875 in part because it regulated private behavior. The Court ruled that the Fourteenth Amendment's equal protection clause only applied to "state action."

73. The Supreme Court upheld the Civil Rights Act of 1964, as applied to private enterprises that had an impact on interstate commerce, in *Heart of Atlanta Motel, Inc. v. United States*, 379 U.S. 241 (1964); and *Katzenbach v. McClung*, 379 U.S. 294 (1964). Prior to the enactment of the Civil Rights Act, Congress's power under the commerce clause was extensive, reaching even private activities with a very small impact on interstate commerce, as long as, taken together with other similar activities, the "cumulative effect" on interstate commerce was substantial. *Wickard v. Filburn*, 371 U.S. 111 (1942).

74. *Congressional Record*, 88th Cong., 1st Sess., 1963, 109, pt. 6: 8293.

75. Rusk, *As I Saw It*, 586-588; U.S. Senate Committee on Commerce, Hearings on S. 1732, A Bill to Eliminate Discrimination in Public Accommodations Affecting Interstate Commerce, 88th Cong., 1st Sess., 1963, 281.

In his memoirs and oral history interview, Rusk recalled that his testimony on July 10, 1963, was before the Senate Judiciary Committee. Senate records, however, indicate that his testimony was before the Commerce Committee. The reason the civil rights bill came before the Commerce Committee was that one source of constitutional power relied on by Congress as authority for the Civil Rights Act was Congress's power to regulate interstate commerce. U.S. Const. Art. I, Sec. 8; U.S. Senate Committee on Commerce, Hearings on S. 1732.

76. Reeves, *President Kennedy*, 527-528; Hugh Davis Graham, *The Civil Rights Era: Origins and Development of National Policy, 1960-1972* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 125-152; Biography—Pedro A. Sanjuan (undated), Folder: Sanjuan, Pedro: 6/1963, Box 51, Personal Papers of Robert F. Kennedy, Attorney General's Papers, General Correspondence, Kennedy Library; Sanjuan to Attorney General, June 28, 1963, Folder: Sanjuan, Pedro: 6/1963, Box 51, Personal Papers of Robert F. Kennedy, Attorney General's Papers, General Correspondence, Kennedy Library; "Living Conditions of New Diplomats in Washington and Vicinity and Suggestions for Easing of Tensions by the Office of Protocol," February 23, 1961, Folder: Living Conditions, New Diplomats, Box 1, Papers of Pedro Sanjuan, Kennedy Library.

77. U.S. Senate Committee on Commerce, Hearings on S. 1732, 281; Rusk, *As I Saw It*, 586.

78. U.S. Senate Committee on Commerce, Hearings on S. 1732, 281-282.

79. *Ibid.*, 282-283.

80. *Ibid.*, 283.

81. *Ibid.*, 311; *New York Times*, July 11, 1963, p. 1.

82. U.S. Senate Committee on Commerce, Hearings on S. 1732; *New York Times*, July 11, 1963, p. 16.

83. U.S. Senate Committee on Commerce, Hearings on S. 1732; *New York Times*, July 11, 1963, p. 16.

84. *Washington Post*, August 26, 1963, p. 1, attached to Sanjuan to R. Kennedy, August 26, 1963, Folder: Sanjuan, Pedro: 8/1963, 10/1963, Box 51, Personal Papers of Robert F. Kennedy, Attorney General's Papers, General Correspondence, Kennedy Library.

85. Memo for Bundy, Status Report of African Reactions to Civil Rights in the United States, Week Ending 7/12/63, Folder: Africa, General 7/63, Status Report of African Reactions to Civil Rights in the United States, Box 99, National Security Files, Countries, Kennedy Library.

86. Scott A. Sandage, "A Marble House Divided: The Lincoln Memorial, the Civil Rights Movement, and the Politics of Memory, 1939-1963," *Journal of American History* 80 (June 1993): 137-138, 159.

There are many sources on the March on Washington. A particularly helpful recent account appears in Lucy Grace Barber, "Marches on Washington, 1894-1963: National Political Demonstrations and American Political Culture" (Ph.D. diss., Brown University, 1996), 363-465. See also Garrow, *Bearing the Cross*, 265-286; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 846-887; Paula F. Pfeffer, *A. Philip Randolph, Pioneer of the Civil Rights Movement* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990), 240-280. For accounts of the earlier march on Washington Movement, see Herbert Garfinkle, *When Negroes March: The March on Washington Movement in the Organizational Politics for FEPC* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1959); Barber, "Marches on Washington," 251-362.

87. Barber, "Marches on Washington," 444-447.

88. USIA to Curaçao, Dhahran, Kuwait, Dublin, August 26, 1963, RG 59, Central Foreign Policy File, 1963, SOC 14-1 US, National Archives.

89. Sargent to Fales, August 28, 1963, enclosure to American Embassy, Paris, to Department of State, September 17, 1963, RG 59, Central Foreign Policy File, 1963, SOC 14-1 US, National Archives. The embassy reported that only thirty people attended the meeting at the Living Room, but its estimate was not based on a firsthand account. American Embassy, Paris, to Secretary of State, August 28, 1963, RG 59, Central Foreign Policy File, 1963, SOC 14-1 US, National Archives.

90. Sargent to Fales, August 28, 1963.

91. *Ibid.*; American Embassy, Paris, to Secretary of State, August 28, 1963; Enclosures to American Embassy, London, to Department of State, August 28, 1963, RG 59, Central Foreign Policy File 1963, SOC 14-1 US, National Archives.

92. Sargent to Fales, August 28, 1963; American Embassy, Paris, to Secretary of State, August 28, 1963; Paris to Secretary of State, August 21, 1963, RG 59, Central Foreign Policy File 1963, SOC 14-1 US, National Archives; Paris to Secretary of State, August 19, 1963, RG 59, Central Foreign Policy File 1963, SOC 14-1 US, National Archives.

93. Paris to Secretary of State, August 21, 1963; Sargent to Fales, August 28, 1963.

94. American Embassy, The Hague, to Department of State, August 24, 1963, RG 59, Central Foreign Policy File 1963, SOC 14-1 US, National Archives; Enclosure to

American Embassy, London, to Department of State, August 28, 1963 (emphasis in original).

95. David Leeming, *James Baldwin* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994), 227-228; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 878-883; Maxwell R. Brooks, "The March on Washington in Retrospect," *Journal of Human Relations* 12 (1964): 80; Martin Luther King Jr., "I Have a Dream," in *A Testament of Hope: The Essential Writings and Speeches of Martin Luther King, Jr.*; James M. Washington, ed. (New York: Harper Collins, 1986), 217-220.

96. American Embassy, London, to Secretary of State, September 5, 1963, RG 59, Central Foreign Policy File 1963, SOC 14-1 US, National Archives; American Embassy, The Hague, to Department of State, September 5, 1963, RG 59, Central Foreign Policy File 1963, SOC 14-1 US, National Archives; American Embassy, Accra, to Department of State, September 1, 1963, RG 59, Central Foreign Policy File 1963, SOC 14-1 US, National Archives; American Embassy, Kingston, to Department of State, August 30, 1963, RG 59, Central Foreign Policy File 1963, SOC 14-1 US, National Archives; Oslo to Secretary of State, August 29, 1963, RG 59, Central Foreign Policy File 1963, SOC 14-1 US, National Archives; American Consulate, Munich, to Department of State, August 30, 1963, RG 59, Central Foreign Policy File 1963, SOC 14-1 US, National Archives; Berlin to Secretary of State, August 29, 1963, RG 59, Central Foreign Policy File 1963, SOC 14-1 US, National Archives; United States Information Agency, "Worldwide Comment on the Washington Civil Rights March," September 6, 1963, pp. 6-8, RG 306, Records of the USIA, Office of Research, "R" Reports, 1960-63, Box 17, Folder R-172-63, National Archives.

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CHAPTER SIX

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