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"Lifting as We Climb": The American Council on Human Rights and the Quest for Civil Rights

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“LIFTING AS WE CLIMB”: THE AMERICAN COUNCIL ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE QUEST FOR CIVIL RIGHTS

GREGORY S. PARKS*

The narrative of African Americans’ quest for racial equality and social justice in the Twentieth Century is typically construed in the context of main-line civil rights organizations—e.g., NAACP, SCLC, SNCC, and the like. However, for decades, black fraternal networks had been helping to lay the groundwork for the major civil rights campaigns that culminated in the Civil Rights Act of 1964. In 1938 Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, Incorporated created the National Non-Partisan Lobby on Civil and Democratic Rights (“NPC”), later renamed the National Non-Partisan Council on Public Affairs. It was the first full-time congressional lobby for minority group civil rights. Throughout the organization’s life, the NPC worked with a range of other organizations that sought similar ends. The NPC was dissolved in 1948. In place of the NPC, Alpha Kappa Alpha established the American Council on Human Rights (“ACHR”) with the help of Delta Sigma Theta, Zeta Phi Beta, and Sigma Gamma Rho sororities as well as Alpha Phi Alpha, Phi Beta Sigma, and Kappa Alpha Psi fraternities. From 1948 to 1963 the ACHR employed the collective resources of its organizations to make recommendations to the United States government concerning civil rights legislation. This piece draws from primary ACHR documents to analyze the organization’s history and works as it lead to the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

* Professor of Law, Wake Forest University School of Law. Thank you to Samantha Berner, LaRita Dingle, Jordan Dongell, Katherine Law, Kimberly Sokolich, and Sarah Walton for their tremendous research assistance. I am also appreciative to faculty at Saint Louis Law School, the University of Georgia Law School, and Vanderbilt Law School for their feedback during faculty colloquia on this paper.

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I. INTRODUCTION

This article is about fraternities and sororities. To say that is surely evocative of images from movies like *Animal House*¹ or *Revenge of the Nerds*,² or more contemporarily, *Old School*³ or *Neighbors*.⁴ To say that

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1. ANIMAL HOUSE (Universal Pictures 1978).
 2. REVENGE OF THE NERDS (Twentieth Century Fox 1984).
 3. OLD SCHOOL (DreamWorks Pictures 2003).
 4. NEIGHBORS (Universal Pictures 2014).

this article is, more specifically, about African American fraternities and sororities—at least for those even vaguely familiar with these groups—might conjure up images from movies like *School Daze*,⁵ *Drum Line*,⁶ or *Stomp the Yard*.⁷ The critical problem with this imagery is that it fails to capture the true essence of why these organizations were founded: to create and prepare a cadre of college-educated, and ultimately professionally successful, African Americans to come together in brotherhood and sisterhood to uplift and lead “the race.”⁸

The first black Greek-letter organizations (“BGLO”s) emerged during the early Twentieth Century. Several local organizations emerged initially and shortly petered-out.⁹ The intercollegiate variety of BGLOs, the ones that would have longevity, first took root in 1906—beginning with Alpha Phi Alpha at Cornell University.¹⁰ From there, Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority (1908), Omega Psi Phi Fraternity (1911), Delta Sigma Theta Sorority (1913), Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity (1914), and Zeta Phi Beta Sorority (1920) were founded at Howard University.¹¹ In the state of Indiana, Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity (1911) and Sigma Gamma Rho Sorority (1922) were founded at Indiana University-Bloomington and Butler University, respectively.¹² Iota Phi Theta Fraternity (1963) was founded several decades later at Morgan State University.¹³ Despite their long history, it is only within the past decade or so that scholars have even begun to pay attention to BGLOs. And, despite the numerous biographies of prominent BGLO members who were “race men” and “race women,”¹⁴

5. SCHOOL DAZE (Columbia Pictures 1988).

6. DRUM LINE (Twentieth Century Fox 2002).

7. STOMP THE YARD (Screen Gems 2007).

8. See Gloria Harper Dickinson, *Pledged to Remember: Africa in the Life and Lore of Black Greek-Letter Organizations*, in *AFRICAN AMERICAN FRATERNITIES AND SORORITIES: THE LEGACY AND THE VISION* 9-10 (Tamara L. Brown et al. eds., 2d ed. 2012).

9. *Id.*

10. See André McKenzie, *In the Beginning: The Early History of the Divine Nine*, in *AFRICAN AMERICAN FRATERNITIES AND SORORITIES: THE LEGACY AND THE VISION* 184 (Tamara L. Brown et al. eds., 2d ed. 2012).

11. HOWARD H. LONG, *THE AMERICAN COUNCIL ON HUMAN RIGHTS: AN EVALUATION* 1 (1954); McKenzie, *supra* note 10, at 185-88, 190-99.

12. LONG, *supra* note 11, at 1-2.

13. *Id.*

14. A “‘Race man’ is a term from the beginning of the 20th century that describes black men of stature and integrity who represented the best that African Americans had to offer in the face of Jim Crow segregation.” Mark Anthony Neal, *Does Denzel Washington Always Have to Represent?*, WASH. POST (Dec. 23, 2007), <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp->

scholars have only begun to explore these BGLO members' connections with their respective BGLOs.¹⁵

This article focuses specifically on a partnership between six of the, at the time eight, major BGLOs to make recommendations to the United States government concerning civil rights legislation.¹⁶ The collective effort of these BGLOs resulted in the American Council on Human Rights ("ACHR"), which operated between 1948 and 1963.¹⁷ Methodologically, this article draws from ACHR primary sources—namely a self-study it conducted in 1954,¹⁸ newsletters, as well as a handful of other internal documents. In section I, the article explores the precursor to the ACHR—Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority's National Non-Partisan Council on Public Affairs ("NPC")—and how it gave rise to the ACHR. Section II explores the ACHR's work from 1948 to 1953 in the areas of employment, housing, and broader civil rights issues like integration, international relations, and voting. Section III investigates the ways in which the ACHR attempted to broaden its reach into African American communities via its public relations efforts. Similarly, section IV investigates how the ACHR did its work, focusing on the local councils in various cities. Finally, section V explores the ACHR's work from 1954 to 1963, when the organization ultimately ended.

[dyn/content/article/2007/12/21/AR2007122101393.html](http://digitalcommons.wcl.american.edu/jgspl/vol25/iss3/2). For biographies of prominent BGLO members who were "race men" and "race women," see MURALI BALAJI, *THE PROFESSOR AND THE PUPIL: THE POLITICS AND FRIENDSHIP OF W.E.B. DUBOIS AND PAUL ROBESON* 16, 17 (2007); DAVID CANTON, *RAYMOND PACE ALEXANDER: A NEW NEGRO LAWYER FIGHTS FOR CIVIL RIGHTS IN PHILADELPHIA* (2010); RAWN JAMES, *ROOT AND BRANCH: CHARLES HAMILTON HOUSTON, THURGOOD MARSHALL, AND THE STRUGGLE TO END SEGREGATION* 234-35 (2010); FRANKIE MUSE FREEMAN & CANDACE O'CONNOR, *A SONG OF FAITH AND HOPE: THE LIFE OF FRANKIE MUSE FREEMAN* 66-67 (2003); DOROTHY HEIGHT, *OPEN WIDE THE FREEDOM GATES: A MEMOIR* 34 (2005).

15. See KENNETH R. JANKEN, *RAYFORD W. LOGAN AND THE DILEMMA OF THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN INTELLECTUAL* 61, 99-106, 175, 234 (1993); Gregory S. Parks, *Belford Vance Lawson, Jr.: Life of a Civil Rights Litigator*, 12 U. MD. L.J. RACE, RELIGION, GENDER & CLASS 320 (2012) (remarking that notable BGLOs have multiple identities that mirror commitments to racial uplift via social, political, and service based action).

16. The organizations consisted of Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity, Sigma Gamma Rho Sorority, and Zeta Phi Beta Sorority. LONG, *supra* note 11, at 1, 11.

17. Robert L. Harris, Jr., *Lobbying Congress for Civil Rights: The American Council on Human Rights, 1948-1963*, in *AFRICAN AMERICAN FRATERNITIES AND SORORITIES: THE LEGACY AND THE VISION* 213-32 (Tamara L. Brown et al. eds., 2d ed. 2012).

18. For a review of the Evaluation's methodology, see *infra* notes 317 to 337.

II. THE FOUNDING OF THE AMERICAN COUNCIL ON HUMAN RIGHTS

At the turn of the twentieth century, seven men—Henry Arthur Callis, Charles Henry Chapman, Eugene Kinckle Jones, George Biddle Kelley, Nathaniel Allison Murray, Robert Harold Ogle, and Vertner Woodson Tandy—came together on the campus of Cornell University, in part to combat the isolation they felt as African American students on a white college campus.¹⁹ Their efforts resulted in the founding of Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity as an organization that would produce race-conscious, African American leaders. As founder Henry Callis noted, "Society offered us narrowly circumscribed opportunity and no security. Out of our need, our fraternity brought social purpose and social action."²⁰

During the ensuing years, the respective eight prominent BGLOs implemented a range of social action initiatives. Generally, each BGLO had established committees—whether temporary or permanent—to focus on political and social issues confronting African Americans.²¹ By way of example, Alpha Phi Alpha focused on registering and encouraging African Americans to vote (1935). Alpha Kappa Alpha implemented programs designed to improve the health of African Americans in Mississippi (1938). Delta Sigma Theta established a Vigilance Committee (1929) that evolved into a Public Affairs Committee (1944). Phi Beta Sigma had an ongoing Social Action program from 1934 to 1938. Zeta Phi Beta focused its attention on the achievements of African American women with its Finer Womanhood Week. Sigma Gamma Rho encouraged character building among African American teens with its Sigma Teen Town (1944).²²

This work was not simply done in isolation. For example, collaboratively, Alpha Phi Alpha, Kappa Alpha Psi, Omega Psi Phi, and Phi Beta Sigma worked to get African Americans integrated into the national defense (1938).²³ This joint effort sought to redress "discrimination against [African Americans] in the armed forces and industry after the outbreak of World War II."²⁴ This effort achieved two major feats. First, it led to the drafting of the Hamilton Fish amendment to the Burke-Wadsworth bill, forbidding racial discrimination in the selection

19. LONG, *supra* note 11, at 1; see CHARLES H. WESLEY, THE HISTORY OF ALPHA PHI ALPHA: A DEVELOPMENT IN COLLEGE LIFE 15, 16, 28 (1996). See generally CAROL KAMMEN, PART & APART: THE BLACK EXPERIENCE AT CORNELL, 1865-1945 70, 84 (2009).

20. WESLEY, *supra* note 19, at xiii.

21. LONG, *supra* note 11, at 2.

22. *Id.*

23. *Id.*

24. *Id.*

and training of draftees.²⁵ Second, President Roosevelt issued an order appointing African American reserve officers.²⁶

In 1938, Alpha Kappa Alpha Founder and Incorporator Norma Boyd proposed a plan for a lobby to the three Washington chapters at the Joint Founders' Day Celebration at Howard University.²⁷ The Non-Partisan Lobby for Economic and Democratic Rights, later renamed the National Non-Partisan Council of Public Affairs ("NPC"), aimed to improve conditions for African Americans through opportunities in public service, education, and employment.²⁸ To accomplish this goal, the NPC encouraged the African American community to fully integrate and increase participation in every aspect of democracy.²⁹ The NPC focused its efforts on keeping African Americans informed by educating them about proposed and pending legislation and encouraging them to communicate with their respective congressmen.³⁰ It also pressed Congress to pass legislative provisions and programs ensuring "the equitable distribution of funds, facilities, and services" in various communities, and to provide the supervision necessary to make sure such policies remained enforced.³¹

Howard University graduate and law student William P. Robinson was appointed as the NPC's first legislative representative.³² With its headquarters established in Washington, D.C., the NPC had great access to both the public and the nation's capital.³³ At the time, it was the first national African American women's organization in America with a "full-time office and a full-time staff devoted entirely to public affairs and paid

25. *Id.*

26. *Id.*

27. MARJORIE H. PARKER, PAST IS PROLOGUE: THE HISTORY OF ALPHA KAPPA ALPHA 1908–1999 195 (B.J. Sessions ed., 1999) [hereinafter PARKER, PAST IS PROLOGUE].

28. *Id.* at 195; LONG, *supra* note 11, at 3; EDNA OVER CAMPBELL, THE AMERICAN COUNCIL ON HUMAN RIGHTS: WHAT IT IS AND HOW IT OPERATES 1 (1959). See generally ACHR: MOBILIZATION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS 7 (1952) (depicting The Joint Convention Committees of 1952).

29. Jeanetta Welch & Kathryn Johnson, *National Non-Partisan Council on Public Affairs*, IVY LEAF (Alpha Kappa Alpha, Inc., Chicago, Ill.), Mar. 1941, at 10 [hereinafter Welch & Johnson, March 1941].

30. *Id.*

31. Norma E. Boyd, *National Non-Partisan Council on Public Affairs—Planning for Tomorrow*, IVY LEAF (Alpha Kappa Alpha, Inc., Chicago, Ill.), Mar. 1944, at 7 [hereinafter Boyd, March 1944].

32. PARKER, PAST IS PROLOGUE, *supra* note 27, at 195.

33. Norma E. Boyd & Thomasina Johnson, *The Non-Partisan Council on Public Affairs*, IVY LEAF (Alpha Kappa Alpha, Inc., Chicago, Ill.), June 1943, at 6 [hereinafter Boyd & Johnson, June 1943].

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for by the membership of the organization."³⁴ The NPC was also the first full-time lobby for the black community in America.³⁵

The NPC covered four areas: (1) information; (2) contacts; (3) presentations for congressional committees; and (4) patronage endorsements.³⁶ Its initial objectives included eradicating police brutality in the District of Columbia and establishing home rule.³⁷ It also pushed for extending the Public Works Program and setting a minimum wage for women in the laundry industry.³⁸ Its office reviewed important bills and sent its findings to Alpha Kappa Alpha chapters and other interested organizations.³⁹ Boyd intended for Alpha Kappa Alpha chapters to serve as representatives in their local political networks.⁴⁰ The chapters' first goal was to strengthen the NPC's capacity for recognition and influence through an effort to register all eligible voters in their communities for the 1940 presidential election.⁴¹

The NPC continued to grow in size and influence following World War II through its participation in passing anti-discrimination legislation in Congress in 1941 and its support of the National Recruiting Drive for Negro Women for the War program and the Farm Security Administration Act.⁴² When the Farm Security Administration was at risk of being abolished, the NPC helped to save it and prevented thousands of African American farmers from becoming "hired hands."⁴³ The NPC also saw the admission of African American women into the Navy.⁴⁴ As one of the sponsors of the National Wartime Conference, the NPC was responsible for bringing in two African American speakers to talk about the lack of

34. Norma E. Boyd & Thomasina Johnson, *National Non-Partisan Council on Public Affairs*, IVY LEAF (Alpha Kappa Alpha, Inc., Chicago, Ill.), Mar. 1945, at 8 [hereinafter Boyd & Johnson, March 1945]. The budget for the organization was \$17,000. LONG, *supra* note 11, at 118. The consistent goal, however, was \$25,000. *Id.* at 121.

35. Boyd & Johnson, March 1945, *supra* note 34, at 8.

36. PARKER, PAST IS PROLOGUE, *supra* note 27, at 195.

37. *Id.*

38. *Id.*

39. *Id.*

40. *Id.*

41. *Id.*

42. *Id.* at 196.

43. Norma E. Boyd, *National Non-Partisan Council on Public Affairs*, IVY LEAF (Alpha Kappa Alpha, Inc., Chicago, Ill.), Dec. 1943, at 8 [hereinafter Boyd, December 1943].

44. *Id.* at 5.

opportunities for Black women in the Navy.⁴⁵ These lobbying efforts were successful and led to the admission of Black women in the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps at a time when the Navy was the only service in the armed forces where blacks served on an integrated basis.⁴⁶

The NPC made great strides in influencing the Legislature as well as establishing projects to improve the lives of African Americans, and especially women, in the areas of housing, labor, and healthcare. With regard to housing, the NPC pressured Congress into upholding the promise made when the Sojourner Truth Housing Project was created and ensured that blacks officially retain the right to live in the housing project as originally planned.⁴⁷ Regarding the Lucy D. Slowe Housing Project for Defense Workers in Washington, D.C., the NPC was able to get the rent lowered from \$8.85 to \$7.00 a week, which led to a savings of more than \$12,000 a year for black women.⁴⁸ In the healthcare and labor arena, the NPC obtained a non-discriminatory amendment to the Nurse Training Act, which led to an increase in the funding appropriated for nurse training.⁴⁹ This was the first and only antidiscrimination amendment in that session of Congress, and it allowed for black nurses in non-segregated areas to have access to training in nearby hospitals.⁵⁰ To protect labor in general, the NPC successfully opposed the Austin-Wadsworth Bill or Draft Labor Bill, because it was unnecessarily aimed at conscripting labor during wartime, which the NPC and other Americans feared would be enforced unfairly.⁵¹

The NPC made other influential moves vis-à-vis Congress on a range of topics. For example, it supported the Federal Aid to Education Act, which provided a raise in teacher's salaries in order to "reduce the inequalities of educational opportunities" and to ensure schools remained open.⁵² The NPC also successfully lobbied for the passage of the Anti-Poll Tax Act, which prohibited charging a fee of any kind as a requirement for voting, as well as an Act that devoted \$30,000 "for a shrine at the birthplace of George Washington Carver."⁵³ After aiding in the passage of the Lanham Act, which allotted \$300,000 for housing grants and \$200,000 for community service, the NPC devoted efforts to a study of the Children's

45. *Id.*

46. *Id.* at 6, 8.

47. *Id.* at 6.

48. *Id.*

49. Norma E. Boyd, *The Non-Partisan Council on Public Affairs*, IVY LEAF (Alpha Kappa Alpha, Inc., Chicago, Ill.), Sept. 1943, at 8 [hereinafter Boyd, September 1943].

50. *Id.*

51. Boyd, December 1943, *supra* note 43, at 7-8.

52. Boyd & Johnson, March 1945, *supra* note 34 at 8.

53. Boyd, December 1943, *supra* note 43, at 8.

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Bureau, which revealed inequities between black and white children.⁵⁴ Additionally, the NPC called a conference of representatives, organizations, and agencies to discuss the improvement of community services for black children by the Children's Bureau.⁵⁵ Also in the education arena, the NPC worked to establish price control for the cost of education and helped with efforts to get a civil rights bill for the District of Columbia.⁵⁶

The NPC cooperated with local and national organizations and agencies whose goals coincided with its own, such as the NAACP, The Urban League, the Congress of Colored Women's Clubs, the American Federation of Churches, the United Office and Professional Workers of America, the National Association of Graduate Nurses, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and Auxiliary, and New York Voter's League.⁵⁷ The NPC's activities included collaborating with local and national organizations and agencies, efforts pushing legislation, distributing publications and information informing sorority members and others of important social issues, and pursuing national integration through the Department of State, the United Nations, and the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).⁵⁸

Along the way, the NPC structure changed. Previously, it had been a lobbyist group; later, a sole member prepared testimony for congressional hearings and reported the results back to the group.⁵⁹ The NPC presented its final report at the 1948 Boule in Washington, D.C.⁶⁰ The NPC was successful in forging relationships with other organizations and agencies, especially other Greek organizations; Alpha Kappa Alpha recognized that the NPC's success depended on support from the sorority, and that it hadn't provided sufficient support for the continuance of the NPC.⁶¹

In 1940, three BGLOs had jointly met in Kansas City, Missouri during their national conventions to consider combining their resources in some legislative initiative.⁶² Nothing came of that meeting, but it may very well have laid the groundwork for future collaboration. In the summer of 1946,

54. *Id.*

55. *Id.*

56. *Id.*

57. PARKER, PAST IS PROLOGUE, *supra* note 27, at 196.

58. *Id.*

59. Norma E. Boyd, *Dear Sorors . . .*, IVY LEAF (Alpha Kappa Alpha Inc., Chicago, Ill.), June 1947, at 18 [hereinafter Boyd, June 1947].

60. PARKER, PAST IS PROLOGUE, *supra* note 27, at 196.

61. *Id.* at 197.

62. Edna Over Gray, *Report of President at Annual Meeting*, CONGRESS & EQUAL (Am. Council on Human Rights, D.C.), Summer 1949, at 1.

Alpha Kappa Alpha leaders met in Detroit with other BGLO leaders in the hopes that they could collaborate, thus amplifying their collective resources.⁶³ By affirmative vote of over two-thirds of the Alpha Kappa Alpha chapters, the sorority, via Supreme Basileus Edna Over Gray, invited the heads of the other seven BGLOs to attend a meeting in Atlanta in May 1947.⁶⁴ To formulate the structural vision for the partnership, Supreme Basileus Gray invited the national presidents of each organization to participate in a meeting in Baltimore in July 1947.⁶⁵ Between January and March 1948 seven of the groups—Alpha Kappa Alpha, Alpha Phi Alpha, Delta Sigma Theta, Kappa Alpha Psi, Phi Beta Sigma, Sigma Gamma Rho, and Zeta Phi Beta—secured approval from their national conventions to join the cooperative program.⁶⁶ In March of that year, the group held an organizational meeting in Baltimore.⁶⁷ The organization was solidified,

63. See LONG, *supra* note 11, at 3; Gray, *supra* note 62, at 1; WESLEY, *supra* note 19, at 283. During Alpha Phi Alpha's General Convention in 1946, fraternity members recommended that the fraternities take the lead in coordinating with other fraternities and sororities on a national social action program for human rights and work to lobby in Washington in order to revitalize and reorganize the National Pan-Hellenic Council. See generally CAMPBELL, *supra* note 28, at 1; ACHR: MOBILIZATION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, *supra* note 28, at 7.

64. LONG, *supra* note 11, at 3; Gray, *supra* note 62, at 2.

65. Gray, *supra* note 62, at 2.

66. *Id.*; LONG, *supra* note 11, at 3, 106. Kappa Alpha Psi initially was not a member but joined the ACHR shortly after it was formed, including Ernest Wilkins, James E. Scott, and Victor Ashe on the ACHR board. See Gray, *supra* note 62, at 3. Omega Psi Phi Fraternity decided not to participate in this joint effort at its 1949 Chicago, Grand Conclave, because the fraternity's leaders believed the ACHR was a "mediocre duplication," presumably of other Civil Rights organizations. Accordingly, it decided to put its financial support behind the NAACP. Letter from J.H. Calhoun to Walter A. White (Dec. 17, 1950) (on file with the *Journal of Gender, Social Policy & the Law*). Phi Beta Sigma ceased to be engaged with the ACHR in 1951. See CONGRESS & EQUAL. (Am. Council on Human Rights, D.C.), Summer 1951, at 1 [hereinafter CONGRESS & EQUAL., Summer 1951] (note the listing of organizations). *Contra* CONGRESS & EQUAL. (Am. Council on Human Rights, D.C.), Fall 1952, at 1 [hereinafter CONGRESS & EQUAL., Fall 1952] (note the listing of organizations). See generally Letter from J.H. Calhoun to Walter A. White (Dec. 17, 1950) (on file with the *Journal of Gender, Social Policy & the Law*).

67. LONG, *supra* note 11, at 3; see Gray, *supra* note 62, at 2 (contending that the meeting was in Washington, D.C.); CAMPBELL, *supra* note 28, at 1. With regard to Kappa Alpha Psi, for example, in December 1948 at a banquet in Windsor, Ontario, Dr. Martin D. Jenkins called upon his listeners to dedicate themselves to "programs of human welfare larger than the social interests of the average fraternity." RALPH BRYSON, *THE STORY OF KAPPA ALPHA PSI: A HISTORY OF THE BEGINNING AND DEVELOPMENT OF A COLLEGE GREEK LETTER ORGANIZATION 1911-1999* 85 (5th ed., 2003). One of the ways that this manifested itself was in the authorization for the fraternity's affiliation with the American Council on Human Rights. *Id.*

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committees were appointed, and Supreme Basileus Gray was elected the first President of the newly formed American Council on Human Rights ("ACHR").⁶⁸ The seventh group secured approval from its body in December 1948 and joined the ACHR shortly thereafter.⁶⁹

The ACHR's constitution provided for complete equality of representation and financial responsibility by each of the constituent organizations.⁷⁰ Per its constitution, the ACHR was to:

Provide a joint and cooperative non-partisan body through which together the member organizations may (1) study questions of domestic and foreign policy and legislation as they affect civic rights and human relationship. (2) Develop and use procedures and means whereby it may best express its opinion on such questions and seek to have enacted, administered and enforced the law effectuating the same.⁷¹

The board of directors included three delegates from each of the member organizations, one whom would always be the national president.⁷² Program proposals were adopted at the June 1948 meeting. Kappa Alpha Psi member Elmer W. Henderson was appointed executive director in July 1948, and the ACHR's national office opened in Washington, D.C., in August of that year.⁷³ Patricia Roberts was appointed the assistant director in March 1949, and the ACHR would be incorporated under the laws of Washington, D.C.⁷⁴

III. THE ACHR AND DIRECT SOCIAL ACTION: 1948-1953

The ACHR's direct social action program focused on a range of issues.⁷⁵ It initially adopted five targets: (1) non-discrimination in employment; (2) non-discrimination in housing; (3) legislation that would lead to (1) and (2), as well as revision of the U.S. Senate's cloture rule in order to facilitate such legislation; (4) connect international issues to the goals of the ACHR; and (5) promote racial integration.⁷⁶ In 1951, the ACHR further detailed

68. LONG, *supra* note 11, at 3.

69. *Id.*

70. *Id.*

71. *Id.*

72. *Id.*; *see also id.* at II. *See generally infra* Appendix I.

73. LONG, *supra* note 11, at 3.

74. *Id.* at 4

75. In a general sense, the ACHR's specific efforts emerged out of the organizations' collective disappointment with the amount of civil rights and progressive legislation included in record leading up to the end of the first session of the 81st Congress. *Civil Rights Can Be Won But Pressure Needed*, CONGRESS & EQUAL. (Am. Council on Human Rights, D.C.), Summer 1949, at 1.

76. LONG, *supra* note 11, at 6. *See generally* ACHR: MOBILIZATION FOR HUMAN

these five targets areas as focusing on: (1) passage of a Fair Employment Practice Act; (2) integration and equality in the Armed Services; (3) passage of an anti-poll tax bill and the safeguarding of voting rights; (4) passage of an anti-lynching bill and measures to end mob violence; (5) ending of discrimination and segregation in Washington, D.C.; (6) integration of public transportation; (7) passage of an anti-discrimination in housing act; (8) passage of a federal-aid-to-education bill with safeguards against discrimination; (9) revision of the U.S. Senate's cloture rule in order to end the filibuster; (10) representation of African Americans in federal appointments; and (11) the end of discrimination in immigration and naturalization.⁷⁷

In turn, this article focuses on (1) employment and government contract issues, (2) fair housing, and (3) broader civil rights issues, including desegregation of the armed forces and African Americans situated within the broader international context.

A. Employment Issues

The ACHR focused its efforts in the employment arena on (1) advocating for fair employment practices, generally; (2) ending discriminatory federal-employment practices; and (3) ensuring that employers who had federal government contracts engaged in non-discriminatory employment practices.

1. Employment Practices

The ACHR's employment program sought to achieve fair employment practices and eradicate discrimination in respect to obtaining a job and advancing within a job.⁷⁸ More specific objectives included creating non-discrimination clauses in contracts between government and industry, creating a fair employment program in the national government, increasing employment of African Americans within the national government, and pursuing the appointment of African Americans in policy-making roles in government.⁷⁹ To realize these goals, the ACHR recommended a multi-pronged approach that addressed both private contracts and governmental regulations.⁸⁰

RIGHTS, *supra* note 28, at 9.

77. LONG, *supra* note 11, at 6; CAMPBELL, *supra* note 28, at 3; *see ACHR and Leading Senators Analyze Civil Rights Failure in Congress*, CONGRESS & EQUAL (Am. Council on Human Rights, D.C.), Winter 1950, at 1. *See generally* ACHR: MOBILIZATION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, *supra* note 28, at 8-9.

78. LONG, *supra* note 11, at 7.

79. *Id.*

80. *Id.*

In the legislature, initial steps toward positive federal regulation began under the Wartime-Roosevelt Fair Employment Practice Committee ("FEPC"), culminating in H.R. 4453 (1949).⁸¹ The ACHR testified before the House in support of this legislation that while employment discrimination was a reality and African Americans were backsliding from the progress that had been made, whites and African Americans could successfully work together.⁸² The ACHR used its own network to contact and persuade congressmen to vote for H.R. 4453.⁸³ They reached out to the Los Angeles local ACHR chapter to persuade Richard Nixon and they contacted Louisville Greek-letter chapters to persuade Kentucky congressmen.⁸⁴ The ACHR contacted ACHR congressmen and encouraged ACHR members to write their own congressmen to ask that they attend the House vote for the FEPC without weakening amendments.⁸⁵ This effort was eviscerated by a McConnell amendment, so that its eventual House passage did little to satisfy the bill's original proponents.⁸⁶ Subsequently, the Senate discussion of the federal Fair Employment Practice Act encountered substantial procedural resistance, eventually falling to a cloture vote in the summer of 1950.⁸⁷ In the end, the Senate did not take up the matter.⁸⁸ In 1949, the Senate amended the cloture Rule 22 by requiring a constitutional two-thirds vote instead of the previous simple two-thirds.⁸⁹ The effect of this amendment was to immobilize any action seeking to end racial discrimination.⁹⁰ The ACHR condemned the rule and instead advocated for a majority cloture vote as the rule instead.⁹¹

2. Federal Employment

The ACHR also pressed for changes to discriminatory federal-employment practices. These efforts targeted the Department of Labor, the

81. *Id.* at 78; *Major Civil Rights Bill in 81st Congress To Prohibit Discrimination in Employment (FEPC)*, CONGRESS & EQUAL. (Am. Council on Human Rights, D.C.), Summer 1949, at 4. *See generally* *ACHR to Press for Passage of the FEPC in January*, CONGRESS & EQUAL. (Am. Council on Human Rights, D.C.), Fall 1949, at 1-2.

82. LONG, *supra* note 11, at 7.

83. *See id.* (utilizing straight telegrams to contact legislators such as then Congressman Richard Nixon).

84. *Id.* at 7-8.

85. *Id.* at 8.

86. *Id.*

87. *Id.* at 9.

88. *Id.* at 10.

89. *Id.* at 8.

90. *Id.*

91. *Id.* at 9.

Housing and Home Financing Agency, the Office of Defense Mobilization, and the Office of Price Stabilization.⁹² The ACHR, acting with other civil rights organizations—e.g., NAACP, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, NCNW—pressed for non-discriminatory employment opportunities, vocational education, and apprentice training.

At the State Department, representatives met with both Secretary Acheson and Director of Personnel of the Department, Raymond T. Martin.⁹³ Conventionally, the State Department had not employed African Americans.⁹⁴ After repeated urgings, the State Department adopted a policy of “expanded Recruitment of Negroes”⁹⁵ and appointed Dr. John A. Davis of Lincoln University, a historically black college, as part-time consultant. The ACHR also took up matters with the Department of Interior, urging the department to: strengthen the fair employment and fair promotion programs within the department, simplify and publicize fair employment procedures, and ensure fair employment officers and officials are fair and sympathetic to the cause.⁹⁶ Similarly in the Department of Labor, the ACHR urged that the department strengthen the fair employment procedures governing the department’s hiring and promotion policies to ensure that effective action may be taken if a discrimination case arose.⁹⁷ Before the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee, the ACHR urged for: (1) withholding certification by the National Labor Relations Board to unions that refused membership because of race or religion, and (2) a ban on the closed shop in cases where unions refused membership based on race or segregated African Americans.⁹⁸

Advocacy work also resulted in the opposition of unfavorable legislation, which was blocked with the assistance of Senator Lehman.⁹⁹ When President Truman included Annabel Matthews in his Federal Fair Employment Board, the ACHR strongly opposed Matthews inclusion because Matthews had voted against the admission of Mary Church Terrell into the American Association of University Women.¹⁰⁰ The ACHR also questioned the board’s operating procedure and called on President Eisenhower to strengthen the power of the board and make its services

92. *Id.* at 11.

93. *Id.* at 12.

94. *Id.* at 11.

95. *Id.* at 12.

96. *Id.*

97. *Id.*

98. *Id.*

99. *Id.* at 13.

100. *Id.* at 12.

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more accessible to those seeking employment.¹⁰¹ Senator Lehman blocked passes of unfavorable legislation that would have impeded promotions of African Americans within the Federal Fair Employment Board. Other actions by the ACHR included: (1) recommending to the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee that racial safe-guards be provided, (2) recommending to the Senate Committee on Finance that it approve additional unemployment compensation benefits in limited cases to workers employed during the national emergency, (3) intervening in the employment protest of a psychologist in the Veterans Administration, and (4) creating a proposal that President Eisenhower should raise the issue of fair employment with state governors so that states could begin to work for fair employment.¹⁰²

In addition, the ACHR made strong recommendations to President Truman to appoint an African American to the Board of Commissioners of D.C., to the Interstate Commerce Commission, to the United Nations as a delegate from the U.S., and to the Point Four advisory committee.¹⁰³ The ACHR was rewarded with the appointment of George Weaver to the Congress of Industrial.¹⁰⁴ The ACHR continued advocating for the appointment of many persons of color to various government positions.¹⁰⁵ The ACHR urged for the appointment of an African American to the Supreme Court and to policy positions in the defense program. Successes included two African Americans selected to the President's Committee on Government Contract Compliance.¹⁰⁶

As part of its efforts in the area of employment, the ACHR's director, Elmer W. Henderson, met with two cabinet officers in the Eisenhower administration during the spring of 1953.¹⁰⁷ During that meeting, Secretary of Labor, Martin P. Durkin, stated that he would ensure fair employment policies in his department, and would continue to support the Contract Compliance Committee's work to develop enforcement procedures for the non-discrimination in employment clauses of federal contracts with private companies.¹⁰⁸ Secretary of the Interior Douglas McKay likewise promised

101. *Id.* at 13.

102. *Id.*

103. *Id.*

104. *Id.* at 14.

105. *Id.*

106. *Id.*

107. *Henderson Holds Satisfactory Talks with New Secretaries of Labor and Interior*, CONGRESS & EQUAL (Am. Council on Human Rights, D.C.), Spring 1953, at 2.

108. *Id.*

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to continue his department's fair employment policies.¹⁰⁹

3. *Government Contracts*

More specifically, in the area of government contracts, the ACHR also advocated to reform government contracts. This effort was particularly focused on ensuring that war-controlled employers engaged in fair contracting arrangements.¹¹⁰ The ACHR advocated for government contracts to contain a non-discrimination provision and to have a mechanism to enforce contract compliance.¹¹¹ Through the efforts of the ACHR's memorandum, meetings, and conferences with President Truman, the President established the "President's Committee on Government Contract Compliance" to improve enforcement of non-discrimination clauses in government contracts.¹¹²

ACHR director Elmer W. Henderson submitted the following recommendations to the Government Contracts Committee to assist them in carrying out President Eisenhower's Order to ensure compliance with non-discrimination clauses in federal contracts with private companies: utilize experience of officials from earlier government commissions; establish an independent locus for receiving complaints; procurement agencies should undertake a study of current practices; informative posters should be developed for display in contract plants; periodic inspection should be used to ensure compliance; public hearings should be conducted where serious violations are found; the question of cancelation or re-negotiation of the contract should be raised immediately where violations are found, and liquidated damages considered; and the committee should employ staff that are sympathetic to the objectives of the Order.¹¹³ Through such memoranda and testimony to President Eisenhower, the ACHR later successfully lobbied for a stronger "Committee on Government Contracts" to improve contract compliance.¹¹⁴ This committee included a member of the ACHR board of directors as a Vice-Chairman.¹¹⁵

B. Housing Issues

On May 20, 1950, the ACHR joined four other organizations in

109. *Id.*

110. LONG, *supra* note 11, at 10.

111. *Id.*

112. *Id.* at 10-11.

113. *Recommendations Submitted on Procedure to Gov't Contracts Committee*, CONGRESS & EQUAL. (Am. Council on Human Rights, D.C.), Fall 1953, at 4-5.

114. LONG, *supra* note 11, at 11.

115. *Id.*

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sponsoring a housing conference.¹¹⁶ Forty national African American organizations were invited.¹¹⁷ During that conference, the national organizations set out to: (1) formulate a blueprint for community action to be conducted by local counterparts in their communities; and (2) formulate recommendations to policy makers of federal agencies in regard to minority considerations in the execution of their programs.¹¹⁸ The organizations reached the conclusion that all actions must be taken with the goal to increase land area open to African Americans and that land developed be unsegregated.¹¹⁹ The ACHR's efforts in the area of housing were aimed at eliminating racial discrimination in America's housing practices.¹²⁰ Its specific agenda focused on: (1) providing sufficient new housing for African Americans; (2) opening housing, particularly public housing, without regard to race or religion; (3) financing the construction and purchasing of homes free from racial or religious discrimination; (4) providing housing for the homeless; and (5) redeveloping slums with a policy of "open occupancy."¹²¹

1. Constructing New Housing

The ACHR faced two great struggles in the fight to better "Negro housing": achieving an adequate housing program and preventing loss in the construction program.¹²² The ACHR set out in the late 1940s to present an estimate of the housing needs of the non-white population to Congress. They estimated 2.4 million housing units would be needed over the next twelve years.¹²³ As a result, Congress authorized 810,000 public housing units, but according to the report, the "Negro community" still faced the problem of getting into the units.¹²⁴ Thus, the ACHR asked that a racial policy be established to "enable Negroes to obtain a fair proportion of the new housing developed."¹²⁵

In the area of constructing new housing, the ACHR had several noted achievements. Executive Director Elmer Henderson wrote to the Housing and Home Finance Agency ("HHFA") shortly after the formation of ACHR

116. *ACHR Joins in Sponsoring Housing Conference*, CONGRESS & EQUAL. (Am. Council on Human Rights, D.C.), Summer 1950, at 6.

117. *Id.*

118. *Id.*

119. *Id.* at 7.

120. LONG, *supra* note 11, at 30.

121. *Id.* at 30-31.

122. *Id.* at 31.

123. *Id.* at 32.

124. *Id.*

125. *Id.*

to propose improvements. In 1949, Henderson testified at the U.S. Senate Committee on Banking and Currency to support housing programs and to express concerns of racial discrimination. Two months later, the ACHR presented the same statement to the House Committee. African Americans, however, were still having trouble getting into housing units. In May 1951, supporters of public housing faced a sharp slash in the 1949 housing program.

In 1951, the ACHR took another step for public housing, after the Korean conflict caused emergency housing problems in defense areas.¹²⁶ The ACHR emphasized that housing should not be limited to immigrants in defense areas, that there should be permanent construction for housing, and that there should be no discrimination against large families.¹²⁷ Unfortunately, however, public housing later faced serious cuts and the ACHR pleaded with public officials “to use [their] influence to restore cuts made in housing appropriation by House of Representatives so that the original goal of 75,000 public housing units may be realized.”¹²⁸

Not getting the response they needed, the ACHR turned directly to President Truman in 1952 to urge that a formal Commission be appointed by the President to appraise housing needs and to make recommendations to the President as necessary.¹²⁹ That same year, the ACHR contacted President Truman as part of the National Housing Conference to plea for a commission on housing needs. The following year, in 1953, a congressional fight developed over the authorized housing units.

2. *Housing People Without Race Discrimination.*

According to the report, “Better Housing for Negroes” would be accomplished to a great extent when more public housing is constructed and the cost of financing is fixed within reach of more people.¹³⁰ In the past, the ACHR supported new public housing without specifically focusing on non-discrimination.¹³¹ This was unsuccessful, however, because issues like redevelopment, slum-clearing, and financing are directly tied to racial barriers.¹³² Thus, the ACHR later made direct pleas to Congress and President Truman for an assurance of non-discrimination in

126. *Id.*

127. *Id.* at 33.

128. *Id.*

129. *Id.*

130. *Id.* at 35.

131. *Id.* at 33-34.

132. *See generally id.*

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public-housing bills.¹³³ These requests were completely ignored.¹³⁴ Part of the thought behind these requests being ignored was that a non-discrimination clause would kill the passage of the 1949 Housing Bill.¹³⁵

This denial was nothing new for the council. The ACHR had previously, on multiple occasions, urged the administration and the Senate Banking and Currency Committee to include a non-discrimination clause in housing legislation.¹³⁶ The ACHR continued their struggle throughout much of 1949 without success. They continued this struggle from 1950 to 1953, making small gains along the way.¹³⁷

3. *Financing Housing for All People*

While working to achieve non-discrimination in public housing, ACHR also argued for financing that would produce "better housing for Negroes."¹³⁸ They tried to achieve this through: (1) clear policy statements prohibiting discrimination in housing financing, (2) denial of financing to any "racially restricted properties," (3) direct governmental loans to builders as well as to veterans' cooperatives, and (4) liberalization of the general rules of financing.¹³⁹ Over the years, the ACHR made several recommendations documenting the needs of racial minorities in housing and financing. This gained considerable attention of the "colloquy between Senator Capehar and the ACHR Director."¹⁴⁰ Over time, the ACHR's efforts began to work. For example, the Federal Housing Administration amended its rules to abandon all racial considerations in mortgage insurance and financial assistance.¹⁴¹

In the area of financing housing, the ACHR had several noted achievements. The "Bricker Amendment" was drawn to establish non-discrimination of both housing and financing.¹⁴² Congress rejected the amendment in 1949 when it approved the General Housing Policy.¹⁴³ In 1953 the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency heard testimony

133. LONG, *supra* note 11, at 36; *see also Civil Rights Can Be Won But Pressure Needed*, CONGRESS & EQUAL. *supra* note 75, at 1.

134. Long, *supra* note 11, at 33-34.

135. *See id.* at 34, 37.

136. *Id.* at 37-38.

137. *Id.* at 34.

138. *Id.* at 40.

139. *Id.* at 41.

140. *Id.* at 44.

141. *ACHR Efforts and Recognition in Federal Housing Progress*, CONGRESS & EQUAL. (Am. Council on Human Rights, D.C.), Fall 1953, at 2.

142. LONG, *supra* note 11, at 36-37.

143. *Id.* at 41.

from Elmer Henderson on the issue.¹⁴⁴ These discussions drew considerable attention from the papers.¹⁴⁵ Congress also took a favorable position on the extension of “advance commitment authority” and authorized the Federal National Mortgage Association to make commitments for up to 17.5 million dollars-worth of mortgage insurance arrangements for constructing low rental housing for minority groups.¹⁴⁶

4. *Slum Clearance and Redevelopment*

Finally, the ACHR had concerns about what would happen to those “cleared” from slum areas and with who would be housed in the redeveloped section.¹⁴⁷ ACHR proposed that (1) preference be given in new projects to families displaced from the area because of slum clearance, and (2) redevelopers be required to write in their contracts a covenant running with the land so that no person could be barred because of race or color.¹⁴⁸ Like before, the ACHR made many attempts to implement its proposed ideas but faced resistance from the legislative and executive branches.¹⁴⁹ Henderson testified that even though the ACHR desired passage of the slum clearance bill, amendments were necessary to protect families displaced from the clearance.¹⁵⁰ Although the ACHR was able to get an amendment added, the “Powell Amendment,” at the Senate committee hearing, the amendment was stricken as result of the Senate-House Conference.¹⁵¹ Thus, the ACHR again turned their attention to executive agencies to try to make change.¹⁵² Eventually, in 1953, the Housing and Home Finance Agency recognized that clearance of slums would have a detrimental effect and would further compromise the housing conditions of racial-minority families.¹⁵³ The resulting policy, however, neither improved nor denied housing for racial minorities.¹⁵⁴

C. *Broader Civil Rights Issues*

More broadly, the ACHR focused its efforts on (1) civil rights issues

144. *Id.* at 41-42.

145. *See, e.g., id.* at 46.

146. *Id.* at 41-42.

147. *Id.* at 47-48.

148. *Id.* at 48, 50.

149. *Id.* at 48-51.

150. *Id.* at 48-49.

151. *Id.* at 49-51.

152. *Id.* at 51.

153. *Id.* at 53.

154. *Id.*

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such as voting rights and access to public accommodations, (2) desegregating the Armed Forces, and (3) situating African Americans' fight for civil rights within a broader international context.

1. Civil Rights

The efforts toward reformation of civil rights were comprised of primarily two movements: (1) legislative goals, including the 1952 and 1953 efforts to amend the Senate cloture rule and progress toward security of person and abolition of poll tax, to include non-discrimination clauses in the federal aid to education bills, and require non-segregation in public accommodations; and (2) advocacy in areas of general welfare, including: social security, housing, rent control, economic and social development, and immigration.¹⁵⁵

The ACHR saw federal legislation as the traditional approach to preventing mob violence and lynching and testified as such before the House Judiciary Committee in 1949.¹⁵⁶ Two years later the ACHR and other groups met with Attorney General J. Howard McGrath to get federal relief of the 1951 Cicero, Illinois riots; Attorney General McGrath promised to convene a grand jury in response.¹⁵⁷

Not all efforts were successful. The ACHR was disappointed with the amount of civil rights and progressive legislation included in record leading up to the end of the first session of the 81st Congress.¹⁵⁸ Of the numerous civil rights efforts made by the ACHR, its housing bill was the only measure passed to date.¹⁵⁹

Moreover, civil rights in Congress took a major step back in March of 1949 when the southern Democrats and a majority of Republicans teamed up to defeat a proposed filibustering amendment.¹⁶⁰ Filibustering has long been used to block progressive legislation (i.e., civil rights proposals) by talking them to death.¹⁶¹ In effort to line up as many senators as possible for a favorable vote, the ACHR wrote each of the 96 senators.¹⁶² Although a major setback, the organization did not view it as fatal one. The ACHR urged stronger efforts be taken to put an end to the device utilized by "rabid

155. *Id.* at 14-15

156. *See id.* at 15; *see also Major Civil Rights Bills in 81st Congress*, CONGRESS & EQUAL., *Supra* note 81, at 5.

157. LONG, *supra* note 11, at 15-16.

158. *Civil Rights Can Be Won But Pressure Needed*, CONGRESS & EQUAL., *supra* note 75, at 1.

159. *Id.*

160. *Id.* at 7.

161. *Id.*

162. *Id.*

anti-Negro southern Senators.”¹⁶³ The ACHR cited the lack of pressure on senators from their home states as a major factor in the filibuster defeat.¹⁶⁴ Thus, the organization expressed the need for energizing the members of local chapters affiliated with them; at the March meeting the ACHR Board recommended that “special . . . attention be given to the formation of Local Councils on Human Rights.”¹⁶⁵

In July 1950, the U.S. Senate succumbed to intimidations of filibustering and gave up on the FEPC.¹⁶⁶ The *New York Times* stated on July 14th: “This does not, of course, mean that the fight should be abandoned . . . eventual victory in this effort is inevitable.”¹⁶⁷

In other areas, the ACHR testimony before the House Committee on Administration focused on poll taxes, but that legislation (like the anti-lynching legislation) died in committee.¹⁶⁸ More efforts were directed toward generating access to non-discriminatory education, which was guaranteed by the U.S. Supreme Court’s interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment.¹⁶⁹ The ACHR sought to end discrimination in education through legislative and judicial means.¹⁷⁰ The ACHR supported Federal Aid to Education with equitable provisions to safeguard minority children,¹⁷¹ yet these efforts could not push a bill to passage by Congress.¹⁷²

The ACHR also sought to end discrimination in public accommodations (i.e., hotels, trains, etc.) and found more success.¹⁷³ Alpha Phi Alpha’s General President, Belford V. Lawson, acting as counsel for ACHR, argued before the U.S. Supreme Court against Southern Railway.¹⁷⁴ The Supreme

163. *Id.*

164. *Local Councils on Human Rights*, CONGRESS & EQUAL. (Am. Council on Human Rights, D.C.), Summer 1949, at 6.

165. *Id.*

166. *Failure of Congress on Civil Rights Scored*, CONGRESS & EQUAL. (Am. Council on Human Rights, D.C.), Summer 1950, at 1.

167. *Id.* at 1, 7 (quoting the *New York Times*).

168. See LONG, *supra* note 11, at 16; see also *Major Civil Rights Bills in 81st Congress*, CONGRESS & EQUAL., *supra* note 81, at 5 (discussing the poll-tax issue in the Senate and Congress).

169. LONG, *supra* note 11, at 16.

170. *Id.*

171. *Id.* at 16-17.

172. *Id.* at 17.

173. *Id.*

174. See *id.* at 17-18 (explaining that the ACHR had a particular interest in the Henderson case because the plaintiff, chief attorney, and associate counsel were largely prominent members of ACHR); see also *Supreme Court Strikes Hard Blows at Segregation*, CONGRESS & EQUAL. (Am. Council on Human Rights, D.C.), Summer 1950, at 1, 8 (1950) (conveying that the Henderson case was largely funded by the

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Court found unreasonable prejudice, and held in favor of the plaintiff.¹⁷⁵ In response, Southern Railway passed internal policies of seating "Negroes with Negroes." Challenged in court again by the same plaintiff, the ACHR's suit pressured the railway to revoke its own policy before a judicial resolution of the matter.¹⁷⁶ The ACHR scored another civil-rights victory against Hotel Phillips, forcing the Kansas City establishment to stop discriminating against Negroes.¹⁷⁷ The ACHR also supported a number of social programs, including: rent controls, improved housing, immigration, and social development.¹⁷⁸ The ACHR testified to the marginalization of African Americans from social security and Congress voted to extend social security coverage to most domestic and farm workers, which greatly benefited the large African American population in those occupations who had previously been excluded from social security coverage.¹⁷⁹ The ACHR also supported better housing and rent control for Americans regardless of race or religion.¹⁸⁰ In the field of immigration, the ACHR criticized a proposed bill that would limit immigration from British colonies including Negro populated countries such as Jamaica and Trinidad.¹⁸¹ The final legislation reflected the ACHR's position of extending citizenship to Japanese aliens and not restricting British colony immigration.¹⁸²

The ACHR also made efforts to abolish segregation and discrimination in Washington, D.C., including a home-rule provision for the citizens of the city.¹⁸³ Resultantly, in 1950, the federal swimming pools in the district announced that they would operate without regard to race.¹⁸⁴ Before the desegregation could take place, a bill had to be passed transferring the pools from the Interior Department to the District Recreation Board and a plan for administering the pools had to be created. The ACHR suggested

treasuries of the Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity and the ACHR).

175. LONG, *supra* note 11, at 17.

176. *Id.* at 18.

177. *Id.*

178. *Id.*

179. *Id.* at 18-19.

180. *Id.* at 19.

181. *Id.* at 19-20.

182. *Id.* at 20.

183. See generally *ACHR and Congress*, CONGRESS & EQUAL. (Am. Council on Human Rights, D.C.), Summer 1949, at 2-3 (discussing issues with regard to segregation and discrimination in Washington, D.C.).

184. See LONG, *supra* note 11, at 20; see also *D.C. Swimming Pools Non-Segregated*, CONGRESS & EQUAL. (Am. Council on Human Rights, D.C.), Summer 1950, at 2; *ACHR Takes Lead in Defeating Pro-Jim Crow Bills in Congress*, CONGRESS & EQUAL. (Am. Council on Human Rights, D.C.), Winter 1950, at 2.

steps for safe use and operation of the pools, helping the desegregation to be successful.¹⁸⁵ Additionally, the ACHR helped stop a bill to transfer the swimming pool operation from going to the House floor.¹⁸⁶ In 1950, the District Commissioners proclaimed that old anti-discrimination municipal ordinances still on the books were in full effect.¹⁸⁷ A southern congressman introduced a bill to repeal these ordinances, and the ACHR staunchly opposed his measure.¹⁸⁸ The ordinances became the basis for litigation, of which the ACHR was a party to two amici curiae briefs.¹⁸⁹ In a unanimous decision, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the measures were ruled valid.¹⁹⁰

The ACHR also worked to improve employment opportunities for African Americans in D.C. with focus on the fire department, the transit company, the United States Park Police, and the appointment of an African American commissioner.¹⁹¹ The ACHR proposed integration in the fire department, but despite support from the District commissioners, the integration was not achieved.¹⁹² The ACHR brought awareness of employment discrimination by the Capital Transit Company and helped resolve the problem of promotion discrimination within the United States Park Police.¹⁹³ The ACHR also supported bills to end segregation and petitioned President Eisenhower to announce non-segregation as the public policy in D.C. and to help enforce the policy throughout the District.¹⁹⁴

2. *Armed Forces*

A major ACHR objective has been to abolish segregation and to assure equal opportunity in the Armed Services.¹⁹⁵ The ACHR proposed removing all traces of discrimination from the armed services, preventing discrimination in industries producing defense materials, and creating a bipartisan joint committee of the House and Senate to help abolish discrimination.¹⁹⁶ One prong in this attack was direct testimony before the

185. LONG, *supra* note 11, at 20.

186. *Id.*

187. *Id.* at 20-21.

188. *Id.* at 21.

189. *Id.*

190. *Id.*

191. *Id.*

192. *Id.* at 21-22.

193. *Id.* at 22-23.

194. *Id.* at 22.

195. *Id.* at 23.

196. *See id.* at 24; *see also Truman Urged to End Army Jim-Crow, Act Against Colonialism*, CONGRESS & EQUAL. (Am. Council on Human Rights, D.C.), Summer

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President's Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services.¹⁹⁷ This was unfortunately met with reactionary moves by southerners.¹⁹⁸ Repeated attachments of pro-segregation amendments to the Draft Bill were defeated, eventually resulting in the assignment of an African American Medical Officer into the previously all white 31st infantry division.¹⁹⁹

By 1951, President Truman's administration had not issued a Fair Employment Practice Order ("FEPO")—"banning discriminatory employment practices by Federal agencies and all unions and companies engaged in war-related work."²⁰⁰ The White House had not given any reason as to why there has been a delay in issuing the FEPO.²⁰¹ Moreover, at a time of Korean War, it arguably needed to be issued before the U.S. defense program became crystallized, and plants were staffed and hiring completed.²⁰²

On February 28, 1951, conferees met with President Truman to discuss major racial problems.²⁰³ During this meeting, the group requested the president take specific action on the following six points:

1. To . . . abolish, immediately, racial segregation in the nation's capital.
2. To appoint qualified [African Americans] on the administrative and policy-making level of the U.S. government.
3. To integrate [African Americans] in all new agencies that are being established and will be established as a result of this emergency.
4. To appoint [African Americans] more widely in the foreign and diplomatic service of [the] county.
5. To issue an Executive Order guaranteeing the maximum use of all manpower in all production efforts irrespective of color, race or national origin in the defense emergency and provide adequate machinery for its enforcement (F.E.P.C.).
6. To abolish . . . racial segregation of [African American] soldiers in the

1950, at 3-4.

197. LONG, *supra* note 11, at 23.

198. *Id.* at 24.

199. *See id.* at 25; *see also* ACHR Takes Lead in Defeating Pro-Jim Crow Bills in Congress, CONGRESS & EQUAL., *supra* note 196, at 2.

200. *Compare Issue The Fair Employment Practice Order*, CONGRESS & EQUAL. (Am. Council on Human Rights, D.C.), Summer 1951, at 1, with Exec. Order No. 8,802, 6 Fed. Reg. 3,109 (June 27, 1941).

201. *Issue The Fair Employment Practice Order*, CONGRESS & EQUAL., *supra* note 200, at 1.

202. *Id.*

203. *Henderson Report on Conference with Truman on Major Racial Problems*, CONGRESS & EQUAL. (Am. Council on Human Rights, D.C.), Summer 1951, at 3.

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United States Army.²⁰⁴

Although the President expressed sympathy and stated no discrimination was in his office, he did not commit himself on any specific proposal.²⁰⁵ However, ACHR Director Elmer M. Henderson felt that the meeting with President Truman was valuable because it put major issues that concern African Americans on the table in front of the President in a constructive manner.²⁰⁶ Henderson also noted a major task to counter-pressure any pressure exerted by the southerners who sit on powerful positions in Congress because the conference alone was not, in his opinion, sufficient to cause any action to be taken on the points raised.²⁰⁷

On April 13, 1951, the Winstead Amendment to the Draft-Universal Military Training Bill that would have allowed inductees to state a preference for service in racially segregated units was defeated.²⁰⁸ However, that defeat had a very narrow margin of 138 to 123.²⁰⁹ In combatting this proposal, ACHR local councils rallied and sent wires and letters to Congressmen.²¹⁰

3. *International Affairs*

In April and May of 1952, Elmer Henderson expanded the ACHR's interest in international affairs when he visited France, England, Germany, Italy, and Switzerland.²¹¹ While on his trip, Henderson investigated the effect of racial discrimination in the U.S. on the perception and standing of our country abroad, the effectiveness of the State Department's informational program in counteracting anti-American propaganda, the use of Point Four funds in non-self-governing areas, and conditions among African American troops stationed in Europe.²¹² Upon his return, after meeting with various European government officials and American officials stationed there, Henderson declared that race discrimination had become a critical issue in international relations and the longer American people refused to act on major problems at home, the more likely the

204. *Id.*

205. *Id.*

206. *Id.*

207. *Id.*

208. *Pro-Segregation Beaten in Draft Bill*, CONGRESS & EQUAL. (Am. Council on Human Rights, D.C.), Summer 1951, at 3.

209. *Id.*

210. *Id.*

211. *Henderson Completes Fact-Finding Visit to Five European Countries*, CONGRESS & EQUAL. (Am. Council on Human Rights, D.C.), Fall 1952, at 7.

212. *Id.*

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United States foreign policy failing would become.²¹³

Additionally, the ACHR constantly sought a close working relationship with the United Nations Commission on Human Rights and UNESCO.²¹⁴ The ACHR was granted "observer status" with the United Nations General Assembly.²¹⁵ The ACHR joined efforts to decry the South African racial segregation.²¹⁶ Work with the U.N. developed several strategies for effective international advocacy.²¹⁷ First, it appears that America's racial discrimination received much more press in England and France than it did in Italy and Germany.²¹⁸ Awareness in Europe of American racial discrimination was met with disapproval and anti-American opinions.²¹⁹ In response, people believed that employment of American racial minorities by the U.S. government would lead to much more effective international awareness.²²⁰ This seemed to be validated by the acceptance of recently integrated American soldiers by German civilians.²²¹ Work with the U.N. led to the conclusion that the ACHR must continue working toward a declaration of human rights, using its influence to abolish the colonial system and informing minorities in the United States of these changes abroad.²²² Finally, the ACHR repeatedly lobbied that the executive department include more minorities in the public affairs staff of certain target countries, England and Italy in particular.²²³ So far, these requests have not been successful.²²⁴

IV. THE ACHR PUBLIC RELATIONS APPARATUS

When the ACHR began to take shape, one function that seemed to have a high degree of importance was the "education-public relations" function of the organization.²²⁵ These seemingly distinct functions, however, were not easily separated, and the ACHR proceeded with the notion that carrying out the education and public-relation functions would often work hand-in-

213. *Id.*

214. LONG, *supra* note 11, at 26.

215. *Id.*

216. *Id.*

217. *Id.* at 27.

218. *Id.*

219. *Id.*

220. *Id.*

221. *Id.*

222. *Id.* at 28.

223. *Id.*

224. *Id.* at 29.

225. *Id.* at 54.

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hand.²²⁶ Through a number of mediums—public meetings, staff-developed informational articles, articles in newspapers and periodicals, and other miscellaneous aspects of education and public relations²²⁷—the ACHR worked to effectively collect and disseminate information during its history.

A. Public Meetings

“Selling social action for civil rights goals and selling ACHR have been key matters in many public meetings.”²²⁸ Meetings have come in a variety of forms, including: a public forum, a panel, and a workshop, as well as formal dinners and receptions.²²⁹ Board members were effective in giving talks in both formal and informal settings, in many places urging the constituent members of the ACHR to “carry out the work of the Council.”²³⁰ Other board members used large gatherings, such as sorority- or fraternity-sponsored events to disseminate the “goals and aims of the ACHR’s program to the broad community.”²³¹ Where the ACHR issues intersect with issues of civil rights, members and leaders often talk extensively about the ACHR program.²³² For example, Executive Director Elmer Henderson gave talks to countless groups around the country, from Greek organization events in Baltimore to the Annual Teacher’s Association Convention in Ohio to the NAACP Banquet in Chicago.²³³

In addition to speaking engagements, the ACHR utilized forums²³⁴ and workshops²³⁵ to “disseminate information and instill attitudes.”²³⁶ These events, generally conducted by ACHR local councils, have dealt with both the role of the ACHR as well as with addressing various human rights problems.²³⁷ Like the speaking engagements, the forums and workshops were conducted all over the country.²³⁸

226. *See id.* (“ACHR activities in the ‘clearing house’ and ‘education’ functions, for sound reasons, cannot be classified in rigid compartments”).

227. *Id.*

228. *Id.* at 55.

229. *Id.*

230. *See id.* (describing when the national president of one of ACHR’s member organizations disseminated this message on tours of his chapters across five states).

231. *Id.*

232. *Id.*

233. *See id.* at 55-57 (listing Mr. Henderson’s numerous speaking engagements).

234. *Id.* at 57-58.

235. *Id.* at 58.

236. *Id.* at 57.

237. *Id.*

238. *See id.* at 57-58 (listing locations of ACHR forums and workshops).

A final, vital method of carrying out the education-public relations program was ACHR dinners. "Each year the American Council on Human Rights presents annual awards for distinguished service to the cause of human rights to those most deserving."²³⁹ The first dinner, held in October 1948,²⁴⁰ and the dinners that followed presented opportunities to "highlight significant civil rights achievement and provide[d] opportunities for far-reaching observations."²⁴¹ At the inaugural dinner, President Harry S. Truman remarked, "[i]t has been particularly gratifying to see the growth of public interest during the year for, in the last analysis, the extension of freedom depends on a change in the minds and hearts of men."²⁴²

A particularly memorable moment was in 1949 when then-Secretary of the Interior Julius Krug declared that all public facilities under the jurisdiction of the Department of Interior would be "open to all on an equal basis," not just "separate but equal."²⁴³ The civil rights dinners served four notable functions in advancing the ACHR's goals, they: (1) honored deserving people and their actions; (2) put a spotlight on civil rights advancements and issues; (3) gained widespread press coverage; and (4) broadened opportunity for African-Americans in the hotels of Washington, D.C.²⁴⁴

The annual conventions of the six ACHR member organizations in December 1952, held in Cleveland, Ohio, was "unprecedented,"²⁴⁵ and the ACHR provided coordination for these conventions as well as two open meetings to be held in conjunction.²⁴⁶ With the objectives of stimulating interest for membership, demonstrating the willingness and ability of Greek-letter organizations to fight for equality and justice, furthering cooperation for specific goals between the member organizations, and providing the first opportunity for mutual cooperation among the members

239. *Id.* at 58.

240. *Id.*

241. *Id.* at 59.

242. *See id.* (remarking also that private organizations such as the ACHR have a large role in working to stimulate public understanding and guiding public and private action).

243. *Id.* at 60.

244. *Id.* at 61.

245. *See id.*; *see also* PAULA GIDDINGS, IN SEARCH OF SISTERHOOD: DELTA SIGMA THETA AND THE CHALLENGE OF THE BLACK SORORITY MOVEMENT 221 (2006) (recounting that in 1952, members of Delta Sigma Theta attended the American Council on Human Rights meeting in Cleveland, in which 3,000 delegates from various fraternities and sororities came to represent their organizations).

246. *See* LONG, *supra* note 11, at 61. *See generally* ACHR: MOBILIZATION FOR HUM. RTS., *supra* note 28.

of these organizations, the ACHR sought to further the ACHR's educational programs.²⁴⁷ The two public meetings included a presentation of an award to Secretary of the Interior Oscar Chapman, accepting on behalf of President Truman,²⁴⁸ as well as a talk by Sir Zafrulla Khan, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Pakistan.²⁴⁹ The outcomes of the meetings in Cleveland were "expectedly satisfying."²⁵⁰ Not only had the members learned more fully about the goals of the ACHR, but also numerous daily and weekly publications had publicized the event, allowing hundreds of thousands of people to learn about the ACHR.²⁵¹ In the end, the convention was "an essential step in the ACHR's program of motivational and informational public relations,"²⁵² spotlighting the fight of the African-American for human rights.²⁵³ Real values were gained toward fraternal goodwill, and the convention even turned a profit.²⁵⁴

The convention adopted four resolutions. The first resolution was to support Senators Ives and Humphrey's move to amend the Senate Rule Number 22 to limit debate to a reasonable time and allow cloture to be imposed by a majority vote.²⁵⁵ This action would reduce the effectiveness of the filibuster, a measure historically used by southern Democrats to prevent civil rights legislation to come to a vote.²⁵⁶ The second resolution was to call for long overdue action from Congress on the issue of fair employment and other civil rights legislation.²⁵⁷ The third resolution was to call on President Eisenhower to work with Congress to enact federal fair employment and civil rights legislation; to include African Americans in policy making positions in his administration; to see that all departments in the federal government adopt fair employment policies; to eliminate segregation in the District of Columbia; and to eliminate segregation in all

247. LONG, *supra* note 11, at 61.

248. *Id.* at 62.

249. *Id.*

250. *See id.* at 64 (listing the topics of the business meetings held at the Convention).

251. *See id.* at 63-64 (quoting the CLEVELAND PRESS, CLEVELAND NEWS, PITTSBURGH COURIER, and describing coverage in COLOR MAGAZINE).

252. *See id.* at 64 (listing approved resolutions, including cloture by majority vote, civil rights legislation, and the appointment of African-Americans by the President).

253. *Id.*

254. *See id.* at 64-65 (noting that "the financial income exceeded expenditures").

255. *Resolutions Adopted at Joint Convention, Cleveland, Ohio, December 27, 1952*, CONGRESS & EQUAL. (Am. Council on Human Rights, D.C.), Spring 1953, at 3.

256. *Id.*

257. *Id.*

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branches of the armed forces.²⁵⁸ The fourth resolution was for ACHR to fully support President Eisenhower and his administration in effectuating these resolutions.²⁵⁹

B. Staff-Developed Informational Materials

The ACHR also distributed printed and mimeographed materials, including its principal publication, *Congress and Equality*.²⁶⁰ The ACHR released publications describing various human rights issues and goals, and publications describing the ACHR's program to achieve the "extension of civil rights."²⁶¹ In addition, the ACHR sought to inform membership about various civil-rights issues through brochures and leaflets. Among these publications was *What the Negro Wants*,²⁶² published in 1952 as a "statement of political objectives," including a federal FEPC, anti-lynching legislation, protection of the right to vote, ending discrimination in the military, and abolishing segregation in interstate travel.²⁶³ Through brochures, the public was informed about the roots, goals, and logistics of the ACHR.²⁶⁴ And through staff memoranda the executive director regularly informed officers about anything from information requests, contests, and disseminating matters of particular interest to councils.²⁶⁵

C. Articles in Newspapers and Periodicals

Aside from printing its own materials, the ACHR has been the subject of hundreds of articles in daily and weekly newspapers, Greek-letter journals, and picture magazines.²⁶⁶ These articles "reflect both good will and recognition of the program."²⁶⁷ Many news stories were motivated by ACHR's own press releases. These releases were sent on "full" and "limited" scale, where some were distributed very widely across the country, while others were only sent to local press depending on the

258. *Id.* at 3-4.

259. *Id.* at 4.

260. *See* LONG, *supra* note 11, at 65-66 (listing topics of *Congress and Equality* publications between Summer 1949 and Spring 1953).

261. *Id.* at 65.

262. *Id.* at 67.

263. *See id.* (including the goal of curbing filibusters among the political objectives).

264. *See id.* (listing the seven brochures and their topics).

265. *See id.* at 67-68 (including a list of matters of particular interest, such as "[a]ction needed now to defeat pro-segregation aspects of the draft bill" and "[l]etter to President Truman urging him to appoint a Negro administrative assistant").

266. *Id.* at 68.

267. *Id.*

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content of the release.²⁶⁸ Newspapers from Atlanta, Georgia, to Tucson, Arizona, and Charleston, South Carolina, to Charleston, West Virginia, all received ACHR press releases and proceeded to publish stories.²⁶⁹

While most publicity was favorable, some writings were unfavorable.²⁷⁰ For example, in August 1950 Stanley Robert criticized the ACHR and Mr. Henderson in a column in the *Pittsburgh Courier*.²⁷¹ Louis Lautier also published a criticism of the ACHR in 1952 in the *Norfolk Journal and Guide* and proposed sending money to the NAACP to improve lobbying efforts.²⁷² In Greek-letter journals, member organizations carried eighty-five articles regarding ACHR, thoroughly covering the action and education programs.²⁷³ Finally, the ACHR has been given attention in other publications such as *Ebony*, *Scoop*, and *Color* magazines, and *Report of the American Council on Race Relations*.²⁷⁴

D. Miscellaneous Aspects of Education and Public Relations

The ACHR used various other means to undertake public relations and education goals. In 1949, the ACHR sponsored a contest on college campuses to choose a slogan that “best epitomized its ACHR’s ideals and objectives.”²⁷⁵ When the display of Confederate flags became prevalent in late 1951, the ACHR undertook a movement to issue thousands of window and car stickers with the message “Our flag is the American flag.”²⁷⁶ This movement resulted in several papers carrying a picture of Howard University’s Gridiron Queen attaching the sticker to a car.²⁷⁷ Among other public relations approaches were: a portable exhibit displaying the purpose and membership of the ACHR; a montage about council activities, providing information about human rights goals to the Department of State; and re-publication of an article for the yearbook of the *Journal of Negro*

268. *Id.* at 69.

269. *See id.* (listing 42 newspapers which use ACHR press releases).

270. *Id.* at 70-71.

271. *Id.* at 70 (“. . . Mr. Henderson’s ill advised [sic] and unwise attack on Senator Ives does not represent the thinking of the rank and file of the college men and women for whom he is spokesman”).

272. *Id.* at 71 (“As a lobbying organization, the council has played second fiddle to the NAACP and other organizations working in the field of civil rights.”).

273. *See id.* at 71-76 (listing all 85 articles in chronological order).

274. *Id.* at 76.

275. *See id.* This contest was won by Miss Willie Lee Martin of Benedict College, whose slogan was “Human Rights—Democracy’s Birthright”.

276. *Id.* at 76-77.

277. *Id.* at 77.

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*Education.*²⁷⁸

The ACHR's education-public relations function was a vital aspect of the organization's operation. Being able to effectively communicate the ACHR's message, instill attitudes in members in the public, and educate members as to the goals and objectives of the ACHR were all achieved through effective education and public relations programs. Through meetings, forums, and dinners, printed brochures and informational packets, news releases and publications, and miscellaneous projects, contests, and programs, the ACHR has found methods to carry out the education-public relations function effectively, in order to advance the objectives of the ACHR.

V. COMMUNITY ORGANIZING AND LOCAL COUNCILS

The original format for local councils was for "each chapter of each member organization [to] establish four local non-partisan committees to serve as a channel for social action and as a connecting link between the central office and local communities."²⁷⁹ Finding this system to be too cumbersome, the executive director recommended the creation of local councils consisting of formal voluntary combinations of the representatives of each chapter.²⁸⁰

The local councils were formed to facilitate cooperation.²⁸¹ The organizations had three main goals. The first goal was to contact nationally-elected officials on legislative initiatives and increase awareness of congressionally significant issues in the local community.²⁸² The second goal was to support movements on the state level.²⁸³ The third and final goal was to execute social action programs to improve human rights in the local communities.²⁸⁴ The local council operation was unique in its diversity and breadth.²⁸⁵ It had councils in a number of cities where member organizations had chapters; there were also a number of chapters belonging to the ACHR member groups and a number of participating

278. *See id.* at 77.

279. *Id.* at 78; *see* ACHR: MOBILIZATION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, *supra* note 28, at 10 (1952).

280. LONG, *supra* note 11, at 78; *Formation of Local Councils Moves Forward*, CONGRESS & EQUAL. (Am. Council on Human Rights, D.C.), Fall 1949, at 1; CAMPBELL, *supra* note 28 at 3.

281. LONG, *supra* note 11, at 78; *Local Councils on Human Rights*, CONGRESS & EQUAL., *supra* note 164, at 6.

282. Long, *supra* note 11, at 78–79.

283. *Id.* at 79.

284. *Id.*

285. *Id.*

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members of Greek-letter organizations.²⁸⁶ The potential for creating local councils spanned 105 cities with chapters of ACHR member organizations.²⁸⁷

Local councils were comprised of delegates from each member chapter that had representation on the ACHR's national Board of Directors.²⁸⁸ Each council elected its own officers, but the ACHR encouraged that officers be elected from various member organizations whenever possible.²⁸⁹

The local councils conducted letter writing and telegraphing, mass meetings and forums, large workshops and small conferences, and participated in testimony at open hearings and court trials.²⁹⁰ Councils were encouraged to engage in these types of activities at the national, state, and local level.²⁹¹ The success of these is demonstrated by the wide press attention they garnered.²⁹² The ACHR's work at the local level was more notable and diverse.²⁹³ The local councils led voter registration drives, raised money for legal fees, and conducted campaigns to integrate schools and other public accommodations, as well as campaigns to get blacks elected to office.²⁹⁴ Councils in Baltimore, Charleston (West Virginia), Chicago, Cleveland, Indianapolis, Kansas City, Los Angeles, Miami, Nashville, New York, Washington, D.C., and Winston-Salem all conducted successful local initiatives.²⁹⁵ The ACHR also worked to achieve national objectives, including those in employment, housing, armed services, civil rights, and international affairs.²⁹⁶

The local council model also had several areas in which it could have been more effective. Chiefly, despite the breadth of potential for local councils, the most active councils there have ever been at one time is thirty-five.²⁹⁷ Additionally, a number of chapters of member organizations expressed interest in creating a local council by writing letters to the

286. *Id.* at 80-81.

287. *Id.* at 80.

288. *Id.* at 81.

289. *Id.*

290. *Id.* at 82. For an example of a Local Council workshop, *see generally Local Council Activity*, CONGRESS & EQUAL. (Am. Council on Human Rights, D.C.), Summer, 1950, at 4-5.

291. Long, *supra* note 11, at 81-82.

292. *Id.* at 82.

293. *Id.*

294. *Id.* at 83-84.

295. *Id.*

296. *Id.* at 84.

297. *Id.* at 86.

ACHR, but many of these councils never came to fruition.²⁹⁸

The ACHR chapters also had a number of problems at the local level. There was a fear that the Attorney General classified the ACHR as "red."²⁹⁹ Some individuals, particularly those who were employed by government entities, worried about the ACHR's disfavor with governmental authorities because of the ACHR's methods and were thus hesitant to be outspoken participants.³⁰⁰ There was also a problem of "scope-creep," or duplication with other established organizations, including local Pan-Hellenic groups, the NAACP, and the Urban League.³⁰¹ However, despite these concerns about duplication of efforts, a council was established in each locality where members raised the concern.³⁰² The local councils also struggled with challenges in conducting their social action program, including: defining the problem and which program objective to choose, defining and executing a strategy to achieve goals, maintaining interest between major national and state initiatives, and publicizing their programs.³⁰³ The ACHR chapters also faced structural issues such as fostering cooperation amongst previously autonomous organizations and local organizers who ignored the national structure of the ACHR.³⁰⁴ Another structural challenge arose when members of local chapters who were not part of the ACHR's member organizations wanted to create local councils.³⁰⁵ Lastly, some councils were concerned about their "inability to get support for local council programs from individual members of local chapters."³⁰⁶ The local councils enjoyed a number of successes and identified several areas for improvement.

The ACHR's operations were a vital aspect to study, specifically considering *how* the ACHR achieved its objectives and goals.³⁰⁷ The Commission focused on three important factors in determining the "how":

1. How well has the ACHR concentrated its activities in the government or in non-governmental enterprises and institutions? Have its activities been directed to national or international problems?
2. What are the methods of the ACHR? Is it a "lone wolf" organization or does it work in concert with others? What are the procedures—

298. *Id.* at 87.

299. *Id.* at 88.

300. *Id.*

301. *Id.* at 89.

302. *Id.*

303. *Id.*

304. *Id.*

305. *Id.*

306. *Id.* at 88.

307. *Id.* at 91.

letter, conference, and testimony or picket line? Are its actions always of a “positive” nature, or does it use the *protest* to a great extent?

3. How does the ACHR operate? Financial support? The office operation, particularly relating to staff, facilities, and equipment?³⁰⁸

A. Areas of Social Action

The ACHR primarily used the federal government as a venue to carry out its goals and objectives.³⁰⁹ Traditionally, the goal was to use the federal government to take action or place prohibitions on certain activity that was believed to be wrong.³¹⁰ The ACHR used each branch of the federal government to assist it.

The legislative branch is responsible for drafting and creating all laws, a power granted to it by the U.S. Constitution.³¹¹ Because of this fundamental power, the ACHR used Congress to discuss various programs of concern, including: “housing, employment, anti-lynching, anti-poll tax, public accommodations, [and] certain areas of general welfare.”³¹² Despite great efforts, it should be noted that during the ACHR’s lifetime at the time of the study, Congress had not yet “been induced to pass any civil rights legislation.”³¹³

The executive branch consists of the President and his cabinet members, who are responsible for carrying out the laws—another power granted by the Constitution.³¹⁴ The ACHR has brought hundreds of matters to the President, his cabinet members, and the agency administration.³¹⁵ Most notably were the discussions with President Truman regarding employment and housing.³¹⁶ Mr. Henderson was also able to communicate with the subsequent President, Dwight D. Eisenhower, although not through personal meetings, but rather through the drafting of memoranda on matters of concern.³¹⁷ Aside from meeting and communicating with the Presidents, the ACHR made great efforts to work with all other members of the executive branch, including testifying before Presidential administration committees and attending conferences with Department of Justice

308. *Id.* (emphasis in original).

309. *Id.*

310. *Id.*

311. *Id.* at 92.

312. *Id.*

313. *Id.* at 94.

314. *Id.*

315. *Id.*

316. *Id.*

317. *Id.* at 95.

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officials.³¹⁸ The ACHR used these opportunities to discuss topics including employment, housing, segregation, discrimination, etc.³¹⁹

Some of the most significant accomplishments of the ACHR took place within the Department of Justice, through the ACHR's participation in litigation. One of the ACHR's proudest moments was when "the Supreme Court agreed with the contention of ACHR (and Alpha Phi Alpha) Counsel Belford Lawson that the Southern Railway unlawfully discriminated against Elmer W. Henderson in depriving him of the right to eat in a railroad dining car."³²⁰ As previously mentioned, the ACHR was also a sponsor in another case against a hotel accused of discrimination; this case ended with an out of court settlement by the hotel.³²¹ Apart from direct involvement in litigation, the ACHR, on numerous occasions, submitted joint brief amici curiae with other organizations.³²² Some of these briefs reached the Supreme Court and others were submitted in landmark cases like *Bolling v. Sharpe*.³²³

The ACHR also used the political parties to help advance their objectives.³²⁴ In both the 1948 and 1952 election years, the ACHR "took its civil rights program to the major political parties in convention."³²⁵ In addition, during the years between conventions, the ACHR "called on the party leadership to live up to the platform pledges and the candidates' promises."³²⁶ During the Republican National Convention, Mr. Henderson made a statement to the Resolutions Committee of the party that included five major recommendations primarily relating to the "elimination of discrimination and segregation."³²⁷ Unfortunately, the ACHR did not have much luck with gaining the Republican party's support, and the party did not include "a strong plank on civil rights or those supporting civil rights to make a strong fight."³²⁸ The ACHR was certainly more successful with the Democratic National Convention, particularly building a strong relationship with Democratic nominee Adlai Stevenson.³²⁹ Mr. Henderson met with Stevenson privately and concluded he was "perfectly sincere in

318. *Id.*

319. *Id.*

320. *Id.* at 96.

321. *Id.*

322. *Id.*

323. *Id.*

324. *Id.*

325. *Id.*

326. *Id.*

327. *Id.* at 98.

328. *Id.* at 99.

329. *Id.* at 100.

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his pronouncement . . . and has given careful study to the subject of civil rights and the role of the Federal Government and the Congress.”³³⁰

Although not as extensive, the ACHR also worked to eliminate discrimination in international relations and used the State Department, the President, and the United Nations to assist in their efforts.³³¹

B. Methods of Operation

The ACHR used two primary approaches for attaining their goals and objectives: individual action and group action.³³² The ACHR was “an independent organization working specifically toward its own objectives and ‘target aims.’”³³³ For example, the ACHR made presentations to a senator regarding improvement of housing financing for African Americans.³³⁴ The ACHR also worked with various other groups to help accomplish their goals. It collaborated with both federally and privately sponsored organizations from all different sectors of its field of work.³³⁵

The ACHR has taken several approaches to the procedures it used within its social action.³³⁶ It used basic procedures such as “writing letters and telegraphing, meetings with other group representatives and conferring with one or two people, and offering oral testimony.”³³⁷ As mentioned above, it has also involved itself in lawsuits.³³⁸ It has, however, avoided action such as “picketing, boycotting overtly, encouraging strikes, ‘waiting lines,’ or ‘sitdown’ movement[s].”³³⁹

One of the ACHR’s most strong-handed moves was its practice to “protest strongly and immediately (1) unsatisfactory appointments and actions of officers of the government, [and] (2) actions prejudicial to human rights.”³⁴⁰ This powerful stance enabled the ACHR to actively and effectively advocate for its objectives.³⁴¹

330. *Id.*

331. *Id.* at 101.

332. *Id.*

333. *Id.*

334. *Id.*

335. *Id.* at 102.

336. *Id.* at 103.

337. *Id.*

338. *Id.*

339. *Id.*

340. *Id.*

341. *Id.*

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C. Means of Operations

The ACHR operated "financially on the basis of contributions from the member organizations and implement[ed] its program by means of a rather small office staff."³⁴² The contributions consisted of seven member organizations, each making an annual payment of \$2,500, paid quarterly.³⁴³ The ACHR maintained one office located in Washington, D.C., and were able to afford all of the other basic necessities for it to properly run with the member payments.³⁴⁴ There were also three staff members, including a director, assistant director, and office secretary.³⁴⁵

VI. THE ACHR FROM 1954-1963: A SNAPSHOT

In March 1954, the Committee on Evaluation released "The American Council on Human Rights: An Evaluation."³⁴⁶ The Committee's report consisted of "an objective appraisal of the organization's work," and was "measured . . . in light of our purpose—the elimination of racial discrimination and segregation in employment, armed services, international affairs, accommodations and transportation, and other areas of civil rights."³⁴⁷ In keeping with this directive, the report was divided into three parts: the first focusing on the history of the ACHR, the second detailing the program and activities of the ACHR, and the third consisted of a summary and evaluation of the findings of the committee as well as recommendations to the ACHR. The discussion of the ACHR'S program was further divided into five areas, namely lobbying efforts in Congress promoting the passage of civil rights legislation, an end to racial discrimination and segregation in housing, educational and public resources programs, the activities of the local councils of the ACHR, and the "how of The ACHR operation."³⁴⁸ The results of the evaluation were presented at the annual board meeting in March 1954, which also saw the election of new national officers.³⁴⁹

In addition to their internal review, the ACHR also conducted an

342. *Id.* at 104.

343. *Id.*

344. *Id.*

345. *Id.*

346. The Commission on Evaluation consisted of Howard Hale Long as Chairman and members Enos S. Andrews, Vivian E. Cook, Patricia Roberts, James N. Saunders, Josephine C. Smith, and Lorraine A. Williams. Paul Cooke served as the Researcher. See LONG, *supra* note 11, at II; see also *infra* Appendix II.

347. LONG, *supra* note 11, at iii.

348. *Id.* at viii-x.

349. *ACHR Board Hears Evaluation Report*, IVY LEAF (Alpha Kappa Alpha, Inc., Chicago, Ill.), June 1954, at 3.

external evaluation of sorts in the form of Elmer Henderson's tour of a plethora of states in various regions of the country. In early 1954 Director Henderson spent six weeks visiting South Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, Texas, Missouri, California, Colorado, Nebraska, Illinois, New York, and New Jersey. Henderson spoke with hundreds of individuals from all walks of life regarding issues such as housing, employment, and civil rights. Significantly, Henderson noted "all over the South there is a belief among both negroes and whites that an end to segregation is inevitable regardless of the outcome of the present school cases before the Supreme Court."³⁵⁰ Henderson also observed "a growing political consciousness among Negroes and a determination to act independently."³⁵¹ Director Henderson made a full report of his findings to the ACHR board at the annual board meeting in March 1954.

By 1955 the ACHR had revamped its campaign to energize voters around civil rights issues for the 1956 general election. Many resources were made available to voters wanting to become more proactive in local, state, and federal politics, such as the Political Action Handbook published by the Friends Committee on National Legislation in 1955. This handbook detailed many ways to effectively participate in the political process, mainly through working with organizations on local and national levels, joining a political party, voting, and maintaining communication with elected officials on subjects of interest. The handbook also provided practical guidance on contacting elected officials, and information on legislative processes, as well as aspects of Congress such as the respective roles and areas of influence of various House and Senate Committees.³⁵²

The year 1956 saw an increased push by the ACHR behind campaigns such as the Registration and Vote Campaign, an initiative backed by the ACHR's board of directors' slogan, "Your Vote is Your Voice."³⁵³ At its annual meeting in March 1956, the board of directors reaffirmed its campaign to get sorority and fraternity members registered to vote.³⁵⁴ To aid this effort, the board released a booklet, *Getting Out the Vote in 1956*, and distributed it to over 250 sorority and fraternity chapters in sixty cities.³⁵⁵ The board also called upon Congress to enact legislation

350. *Observations of Elmer Henderson On Recent Tour*, IVY LEAF (Alpha Kappa Alpha, Inc., Chicago, Ill.), Mar. 1954, at 29.

351. *Id.*

352. FRIENDS COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL LEGISLATION, A POLITICAL ACTION HANDBOOK 8-11 (1955).

353. *ACHR Board Reaffirms Registration and Vote Campaign*, ACHR & EQUAL. (Am. Council on Human Rights, D.C.), Spring 1956, at 1.

354. *Id.*

355. *Id.*

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protecting the right to vote and voter registration.³⁵⁶ The ACHR joined several other organizations in successfully encouraging Congress to reject the Daniel-Mundt-Thurmond proposal to change the electoral college system.³⁵⁷ Although ACHR recognized that a change in electoral system was needed, this proposed legislation would have been "a vote against civil rights" and a "step away from democracy."³⁵⁸ In an attempt to get the citizens' councils and organizations like the Ku Klux Klan under congressional scrutiny, the Washington Alumni Chapter of Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity sent a letter to Representative Scherer of Cincinnati urging investigation of the councils.³⁵⁹ The ACHR's campaign to get the Un-American Activities Council to investigate the councils had not been met with success.³⁶⁰

A new ACHR director, John T. Blue, Jr., was appointed in 1956, assuming duties on June 1st.³⁶¹ The spring 1956 ACHR Bulletin, now renamed *ACHR and Equality*, featured stories on the ACHR's efforts to increase voter registration and awareness of civil rights issues. In particular, the board of directors released a booklet titled *Getting Out the Vote* in early 1956 in preparation for the November 1956 elections.³⁶² The bulletin also reported on developments within the organization such as meetings held with local councils, contact with various government officials, the unanimous reelection of Dr. Nancy McGhee as president of the board of directors of the ACHR, and member fraternity Alpha Phi Alpha's establishment of a commission to study the efficacy of the ACHR. Furthermore, the bulletin featured a piece intended to increase its readers' awareness of measures they could take in order to fight racial discrimination: the Voluntary Home Mortgage Credit Program to fight loan and housing discrimination; the President's Committee on Government Employment Policy to report employment discrimination for government employees; and the Committee on Government Contracts for government contractors who are discriminated against.³⁶³ The ACHR served as a

356. *Id.*

357. *ACHR Board Reaffirms Registration and Vote Campaign*, ACHR & EQUAL., *supra* note 353, at 2.

358. *Id.*

359. *ACHR Board Appoints Blue Director*, ACHR & EQUAL. (Am. Council on Human Rights, D.C.), Spring 1956, at 4.

360. *Id.*

361. *Id.*

362. *ACHR Board Reaffirms Registration and Vote Campaign*, ACHR & EQUAL., *supra* note 353, at 1.

363. *Three Means to Fight Racial Discrimination*, ACHR & EQUAL., (Am. Council on Human Rights, D.C.), Spring 1956, at 3.

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liaison and sponsor for those who wished to file complaints.³⁶⁴ The board of directors also made a concerted effort to centralize the goals and leadership of the ACHR, holding dozens of meetings with local council leaders and other Greek organizations.³⁶⁵ Finally, the spring 1956 bulletin lauded the “substantial” gains made in moving civil rights bills toward passage, many of which were successfully cleared by the House Judiciary Committee and were held in the House Rules Committee; this legislation would represent “substantial gains” in the civil rights movement if passed.³⁶⁶

The ACHR published a specific list of target aims for achievement in the January 1957 issue of *ACHR and Equality*.³⁶⁷ These aims included: amending Senate Rule 22 (which would make it more difficult to filibuster civil rights bills); “seeking legislation that makes Federal aid to schools . . . available only to school districts that do not segregate by race”; and urging President Eisenhower to establish a President’s Committee on Fair Housing.³⁶⁸ The ACHR’s member Greek organizations were largely successful in getting citizens registered to vote for the 1956 elections.³⁶⁹ Local council activities, such as the voter registration efforts of the local Atlanta council, were highlighted, and in order to motivate members, this issue of *ACHR and Equality* contained a detailed list of things to *not* do in order to keep the local councils running (for example, not attending meetings, not offering input, not paying dues, etc.).³⁷⁰ Members and staff of the ACHR continued to press the re-elected President Eisenhower and his administration on matters of employment discrimination, continuing demands began years earlier to take desegregation steps further and permanently end all employment discrimination.³⁷¹ In this vein, the issue also reported on interactions between the ACHR and government officials such as Dr. Ross Clinchy, Director of the President’s Committee on

364. *Id.*

365. *ACHR Board Members and Staff Meet with Local Councils, Other Greeks*, ACHR & EQUAL., (Am. Council on Human Rights, D.C.), Spring 1956, at 2.

366. *Civil Rights Measures “Represent Substantial Gains”*, ACHR & EQUAL. (Am. Council on Human Rights, D.C.), Spring 1956, at 6.

367. *ACHR Board Maps Civil Rights Campaign and Lists Target Aims for 1957 and 1958*, ACHR & EQUAL. (Am. Council on Human Rights, D.C.), Jan. 1957, at 1.

368. *Id.*

369. *Greeks Use Their Potential to Get Citizens Registered*, ACHR & EQUAL. (Am. Council on Human Rights, D.C.), Jan. 1957, at 3.

370. *How to Wreck Your ACHR Local Council*, ACHR & EQUAL. (Am. Council on Human Rights, D.C.), Jan. 1957, at 4.

371. *ACHR Presses Ike’s Administration on Pledges on Employment*, ACHR & EQUAL. (Am. Council on Human Rights, D.C.), Jan. 1957, at 5.

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Government Employment Policy. At the semi-annual board dinner in October 1956, Dr. Clinchy addressed the ACHR board of directors in reference to the progress made by the Eisenhower administration and the challenges that remained regarding equal opportunity in employment.³⁷² Furthermore, members of the Kappa Alpha Psi fraternity met with President Eisenhower's cabinet secretary, the Honorable Maxwell Rabb, in a meeting arranged by the ACHR to express their support for civil rights aims such as integration in schools, voting rights, and an end to racial discrimination in housing.³⁷³

The Civil Rights Act of 1957 was signed by President Eisenhower September 9, 1957.³⁷⁴ The ACHR lobbied extensively, with the director visiting Congress members almost daily.³⁷⁵ In addition to the director's lobbying efforts on Capitol Hill, the ACHR orchestrated a letter writing campaign and numerous press releases.³⁷⁶ The ACHR urged that civil rights not be limited to protecting voting rights, and that the right to trial by jury was unnecessary in the civil rights legislation.³⁷⁷ The Civil Rights Bill of 1957 also authorized the creation of a Civil Rights Commission and appointment of an additional Attorney General to aid in prosecution of civil rights violations.³⁷⁸

The ACHR Executive Committee adopted an expanded legislative program at its November 1957 meeting, which included: amending the Civil Rights Act of 1957 to extend beyond protection of voting rights; providing federal funding for scholarships, particularly in the sciences that would benefit African American students; federal aid for school construction in support of the Powell Amendment; passage of the Udall bill to provide financial assistance to integrated schools; strengthening nondiscrimination policies in all areas of federally funded housing; federal aid to hospitals who adopt non-discrimination policies; federal aid to only those rural libraries that adopt non-discrimination policies; and congressional investigation on citizens' councils and the Ku Klux Klan.³⁷⁹

372. *C-GEP Director Speaks to Board*, ACHR & EQUAL. (Am. Council on Human Rights, D.C.), Jan. 1957, at 1.

373. *Kappa Board Pushes Civil Rights Views to Ike's Cabinet Secretary*, ACHR & EQUAL. (Am. Council on Human Rights, D.C.), Jan. 1957, at 4.

374. *Civil Rights*, ACHR & EQUAL. (Am. Council on Human Rights, D.C.), Dec. 1957, at 1.

375. *Id.*

376. *Id.*

377. *Id.* at 2.

378. *Id.*

379. *Proposed Civil Rights Legislation*, ACHR & EQUAL. (Am. Council on Human Rights, D.C.), Dec. 1957, at 3.

The winter 1957 issue of *ACHR and Equality* also featured an expanded legislative program for the ACHR for 1958. “The Committee voted to support a wide range of legislative proposals and to have persons representing ACHR to testify at every hearing on civil rights legislation or on legislation in any way affecting the Negro.”³⁸⁰ The legislative agenda for the ACHR included the following ten items:

1. Amendment of the Civil Rights Act of 1957;
2. Federal aid for scholarships for minorities, particularly for scientific study;
3. Federal aid for school construction (particularly the “Powell Amendment,” which denies aid to school districts refusing to integrate);
4. Udall bill on school integration (aids school districts seeking to integrate);
5. ACHR Bill on School Aid (ACHR’s own bill to extend federal aid to school districts that lose their State aid when and because they integrate);
6. Housing (particularly public housing, redevelopment, slum clearance, urban renewal);
7. Hospital construction, appropriation, and other Federal aid;
8. Amendment of the Senate Cloture Rule (Rule 22);
9. Rural libraries (funding for libraries that do not discriminate against patrons based on race); and
10. Investigations of Citizens Councils, the Ku Klux Klan, etc.³⁸¹

In 1958, the Washington, D.C. ACHR council compiled and released a guide detailing the non-segregated public accommodations available in Washington, D.C.³⁸² This list of accommodations ranged from hotels to transportation and recreation, from barber shops to restaurants and schools; this bulletin was meant to highlight the non-segregated amenities available in the city, and to support the businesses that had embraced civil rights gains. The bulletin made a point of noting that “the law is on our side,” and that one could expect cooperation from the metropolitan police department in enforcing the laws regarding integration in public facilities.³⁸³

To elaborate further upon the nature of the ACHR and its activities, the Publications Committee of the ACHR released *The American Council on Human Rights: What is it and how it operates*. The brochure, published in

380. *Id.* at 2.

381. *Id.* at 3.

382. *On the Subject of Public Accommodation in Washington, D.C.*, ACHR & EQUAL. (Am. Council on Human Rights, D.C.), Mar. 1958, at 1.

383. *Id.* at 3.

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December 1959, described the ACHR as "a cooperative Social Action program of five major sororities."³⁸⁴ It discussed the founding of the organization, as well as its goals and objectives, and provided answers to a series of "Frequently Asked Questions." Finally, it explained the structure and activities of the ACHR, outlined the organization's plans for 1960, and listed the officers and members of the board of directors at the time.³⁸⁵ 1959 also saw the formal addition of national sorority Phi Delta Kappa to the national council of the ACHR.³⁸⁶

ACHR's Fourth Annual Workshop was held in October 1960 and approximately five hundred participants from diverse regions of the country attended. The theme was "A Political Primer for the 1960' [sic]-Education-Understanding-Action," and Senator and soon to be President-elect Kennedy was one of the consultants.³⁸⁷ The participants voted to "unanimously reaffirm [their] dedication to the democratic ideals which undergird [their] nation," and passed a series of resolutions relating to registration and voting, social action techniques, and an international focus on human relations.³⁸⁸

Funds raised by the ACHR's "Sacrifice for Rights" campaign were put into their newly created Student Emergency Fund to provide scholarships to students who faced hardship due to their participation in sit-ins or other peaceful demonstrations.³⁸⁹ To follow up on issues addressed by President Kennedy at the October 1960 Political Workshop and Leadership Conference, more than forty ACHR leaders met in the capital on January 7, 1961.³⁹⁰ A goal of the meeting was to prepare a position paper concerning voting rights, employment, housing, and education.³⁹¹ Attendees sought to congratulate the President on his use of distinguished African American women in his campaign, and to appoint a committee to assist the President in further employing African American Women in the federal

384. AM. COUNCIL ON HUMAN RIGHTS, THE AMERICAN COUNCIL ON HUMAN RIGHTS: WHAT IT IS AND HOW IT OPERATES 3 (1959).

385. *See generally id.* (describing the ACHR and its goals for the upcoming year).

386. *ACHR Board Meets In Washington*, IVY LEAF (Alpha Kappa Alpha, Inc., Chicago, Ill.), 1959, at 6.

387. *...Among Our National Programs ACHR*, IVY LEAF (Alpha Kappa Alpha, Inc., Chicago, Ill.), Feb. 1961, at 7.

388. *Id.*

389. *Roundup of 1960*, HIGHLIGHTS FROM THE AM. COUNCIL ON HUMAN RIGHTS, (Am. Council on Human Rights, D.C.), Feb. 1961, at 3.

390. *Conference of Leaders*, HIGHLIGHTS FROM THE AM. COUNCIL ON HUMAN RIGHTS, (Am. Council on Human Rights, D.C.), Feb. 1961, at 1, 4.

391. *Id.* at 1.

government.³⁹²

The ACHR published a bulletin of highlights in February 1961 that featured the achievements and general happenings of ACHR members during 1960. It was clear that the 1961 bulletin aimed to emphasize campaigns of sit-ins, and grassroots efforts such as “Write for Rights” letter-writing campaigns and workshops to educate and energize voters. The “Write for Rights” campaign involved citizens writing letters to Congress in support of passing legislation to implement the Supreme Court’s desegregation rulings, as well as seeking additional powers for the Attorney General to pursue civil injunctions “against all violations of civil rights,” and federal action to ensure voting rights for all citizens.³⁹³ A number of Greek and civil rights organizations supported this initiative. The ACHR’s bulletin noted, “[i]ndications are that the ACHR campaign provoked the greatest avalanche of Congressional mail in history.”³⁹⁴ Efforts to support student sit-ins financially through the Student Emergency Fund of ACHR, which established to pay fines, bails, and scholarships to students “suffering reprisals” as a result of their participation in the “Student Sit-Down Movement,” as well as programs to educate voters were at the forefront of the ACHR’s 1960 efforts.³⁹⁵ During 1960 the director of the ACHR, Mrs. Aretha B. McKinley, asked the approximately 50,000 members of the ACHR to “Sacrifice for Rights”; that is, to forego holding formal functions and instead hold fundraising events in order to contribute to the Student Emergency Fund.³⁹⁶

The ACHR also made efforts to communicate with the Kennedy administration regarding the ACHR’s goals and concerns about civil rights progress.³⁹⁷ In the spring of 1961 the ACHR submitted to President Kennedy a list of forty distinguished black women who the ACHR considered to be qualified to serve in policy-making decisions within the government. The list was commissioned by the ACHR and compiled by New York University’s Center of Human Relations under the guidance of Dr. Jeanne L. Noble, president of Delta Sigma Theta.³⁹⁸ The only name

392. *Id.* at 4.

393. *Roundup of 1960*, HIGHLIGHTS FROM THE AM. COUNCIL ON HUMAN RIGHTS, *supra* note 389 at 1.

394. *Id.*

395. *Id.* at 3.

396. *Sororities Asked to Sacrifice Dances, Fancy Clothes to Pursue Rights Fight*, L.A. TRIBUNE, Apr. 8, 1960, at 12.

397. *Conference of Leaders*, HIGHLIGHTS FROM THE AM. COUNCIL ON HUMAN RIGHTS, *supra* note 390, at 1, 4; *Says U.S.A. Could Lose Rights For All: ACHR Director Speaks to NBA*, TRI-STATE DEFENDER, July 23, 1960.

398. *ACHR Recommends Forty Outstanding Women to JFK*, NEW PITTSBURGH

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specifically recommended for a certain position was Mrs. Marjorie McKenzie Lawson, described as "President Kennedy's campaign adviser on Negro affairs"; the ACHR suggested she be appointed to the U.S. Federal District Court in D.C.³⁹⁹ The ACHR said in a statement that "ACHR is . . . disappointed in the fact that very few Negro women have been placed in policy-making positions . . . [T]here is an excellent womanpower potential among the 157,000 Negro women college graduates in this country."⁴⁰⁰

In 1961, the ACHR continued to assist student sit-in protests in the form of financial support. Miss Marie Barksdale, a member of the executive committee of ACHR and executive director of Delta Sigma Theta sorority, made a donation of \$1,000 to the Atlanta Women's Steering Committee. The committee had been formed in response to the sit-in demonstrations in order to "provide guidance and financial aid."⁴⁰¹

In 1962, the ACHR published a fact sheet detailing the important civil rights actions that were taken in the District of Columbia between 1948 and 1962.⁴⁰² The fact sheet, which was broken down into the categories of government, education, recreation, employment, housing, and public accommodations, outlined measures that reduced or stopped segregation and/or discrimination in each category.⁴⁰³ Some of the more noteworthy advances included President Truman's executive order desegregating the military in 1948; the U.S. Department of the Interior's prohibition on segregation of public parks and swimming pools in D.C. in 1949–1950; the integration of D.C.'s public school system in 1954, following the Supreme Court's ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education*; and the end of racial discrimination in restaurants and hotels throughout 1953–1954. Furthermore, in 1957 the U.S. Civil Service Commission ended the racial designation of employees on personnel forms, and in 1961 "Qualified Negroes were integrated in the Federal and District of Columbia governments . . ."⁴⁰⁴ The fact sheet made a point of noting that this integration extended to all levels of government, and particularly to those

COURIER, June 3, 1961, at 9.

399. *Id.*

400. *Id.*

401. *ACHR Contributes to Atlanta Women's Steering Committee*, NEW PITTSBURGH COURIER, Feb. 4, 1961.

402. AM. COUNCIL ON HUMAN RIGHTS, FACT SHEET OF PROGRESS IN CIVIL RIGHTS OF PARTICULAR INTEREST TO RESIDENTS OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA 1 (Edward P. Lovett, ed., 1962).

403. *Id.* at 2.

404. *Id.*

in “policy-making positions.”⁴⁰⁵

In November 1962 the ACHR held its sixth annual Leadership Conference at Howard University Law School.⁴⁰⁶ Subjects such as mobilization of voters in D.C. and Atlanta, where the involvement of black voters culminated in the defeat of the “arch-segregationist” James C. Wilson in the Democratic primary, were the focus of the conference, in addition to issues like state reapportionment.⁴⁰⁷

The ACHR played an ongoing and important role in the fight for civil rights until its dissolution in 1963. By the time it disbanded, it consisted of four member organizations: Alpha Kappa Alpha, Phi Delta Kappa, Sigma Gamma Rho, and Zeta Phi Beta. Alpha Kappa Alpha summed up the decision to dissolve as follows:

In the course of time, the increasing acceptance of responsibility by more widely based groups was reflected in some modifications in the viewpoint of ACHR constituents. . . . These groups, realizing that as the focus and characteristics of ACHR had been modified, its supporters had changed in their approach to problems and in the resources available to them, promulgated the recommendation to terminate.⁴⁰⁸

Throughout its fifteen-year history, the ACHR helped to achieve significant progress in the struggle for civil rights. The activities of the ACHR included campaigns for voter registration and education, mobilization of public opinion in favor of or against pending legislation, and dedicated lobbying of legislators and government officials to promote the passage of laws and implementation of policies that would end racially-based discrimination.⁴⁰⁹ The ACHR also played a role in supporting court cases that would advance civil rights—in particular, the *Henderson* case in which the Supreme Court forbid segregated seating in railway dining cars. Finally, the ACHR also sponsored drives to aid students whose finances had been negatively affected by their participation in sit-in demonstrations. Grants by the ACHR included funds toward the tuition of the young men who took part in the first sit-in in Greensboro, North Carolina. Essentially, the ACHR “played no small part in the swell of the grassroots support for the civil-rights revolt, particularly as it spread among students and other

405. *Id.*

406. *American Council on Human Rights in 6th Leadership Confab*, NEW PITTSBURGH COURIER, Nov. 17, 1962, at 9.

407. *Id.*

408. See Marjorie Parker, *November 22, 1963 Milestone*, IVY LEAF (Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, Chicago, Ill.), Mar. 1964, at 9. Phi Delta Kappa had sought membership in the ACHR early-on, though there were some questions as to whether it had the financial wherewithal to do so. See Gray, *supra* note 62, at 4.

409. Parker, *supra* note 408, at 9.

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popularly based groups."⁴¹⁰ Legislators, college presidents, and other public figures recognized the contributions of ACHR. Paul H. Douglas, a U.S. Senator from Illinois, told the ACHR, "Your objectives aim at the very heart of those denials of democratic rights which not only bar the way to personal advancement, but also weaken the respect for American democracy in other free nations."⁴¹¹ Furthermore, the president of the City College of New York, Buell Gallagher, described the work of the ACHR as "an important contribution to the effort to bring about the day when all people will be accepted on the basis of their own merits as persons."⁴¹²

To mark the organization's dissolution and to distribute remaining funds, the ACHR planned a public reception gala on November 22, 1963. This date was, of course, better known as the day of Kennedy's assassination, and the speakers at the ACHR gala paid tribute to the fallen President and his support for civil rights objectives, in addition to remarking upon the ACHR's achievements. Former Alpha Kappa Alpha Supreme Basileus and ACHR president Marjorie Parker stated:

It is by surrendering one's personal portion of life that the individual becomes part of the vast wonder of unlimited life eternal. And this we would believe not only for our President but for this organization which has been the embodiment of our best dream and the focus of our finest efforts for all these years. As other speakers have noted the dedication of the President to this cause and called upon it to finish the fight in which he has fallen, our commitment to the unfinished struggle for freedom and dignity is no less. . . . So we hold that it is not mere rationalization . . . to say tonight that ACHR is not dead but, because we all continue to be . . . active, functioning, effective supporters and participants in the climactic efforts for freedom in peace and dignity, this organization, like the individual, moves into the larger vastness of eternal life.⁴¹³

VII. CONCLUSION

The ACHR arises within the context of broader initiatives around civil rights on the part of other BGLOs.⁴¹⁴ What distinguished the ACHR's

410. *Id.*

411. THEY SAY: ABOUT THE AMERICAN COUNCIL ON HUMAN RIGHTS 1.

412. *Id.* at 2.

413. Parker, *supra* note 408, at 9, 13.

414. See generally Wendy M. Laybourn & Gregory S. Parks, *Brotherhood and the Quest for African American Social Equality: A Story of Phi Beta Sigma*, 16 MD. L.J. RACE, RELIGION, GENDER & CLASS 2 (2016); Wendy Marie Laybourn & Gregory S. Parks, *The Sons of Indiana: Kappa Alpha Psi and the Fight for Civil Rights*, 91 IND. L.J. 1425, 1425 (2016) [hereinafter Laybourn & Parks, *The Sons of Indiana*]; Gregory S. Parks & Caryn Neumann, *Lifting As They Climb: Race, Sorority, and African American Uplift in the 20th Century*, 27 HASTINGS WOMEN'S L.J. 109, 109 (2016)

work, however, was its breadth of strategies (e.g., lobbying, litigation, and philanthropy), duration (e.g., lasting fifteen years), and ability to unify several large national organizations around a common objective. Its work, strategy, and organization was something that had not been seen before it emerged on the American scene. It's something that has not been seen since. It died out, unsurprisingly, around the same period that the social justice and civil rights initiatives of the other BGLOs also petered out. After the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and the Fair Housing Act of 1968, it can be argued that the civil rights movement itself died out.

If this assessment is accurate, then it is no surprise that organizations and individuals engaged in that movement would have shifted their focus. This history is consequential to African Americans' access to social equality; however, it is not shocking. Herbert Blumer, one of the earliest scholars to study group action—i.e., social movement processes—identified four stages of social movements' lifecycles: (1) social ferment, (2) popular excitement, (3) formalization, and (4) institutionalization.⁴¹⁵ Today, scholars recast those stages as: (1) emergence, (2) coalescence, (3) bureaucratization, and (4) decline. With regard to the last component, "decline," such may take place because the movement succeeded in what it set out to accomplish.⁴¹⁶ As such, in the context of the ACHR, assuming that its membership and leadership believed that the goals of the civil rights movement were achieved in the mid-1960s, success was largely achieved. Thus, it is no surprise that it dissembled.

In light of this history, the question that lingers is whether these organizations, living in the era of Donald Trump xenophobia, retrenchment with regard to affirmative action policies, assaults on the Voting Rights Act, mass incarceration, and police killings, can mount such a concerted effort as they did between 1948 and 1963. Given the Black Lives Matter movement and organizations like the Dream Defenders, can BGLOs be truly relevant, and potentially even transformative, in the areas of social justice and civil rights? In part, the legacies of these groups depend on

[hereinafter Parks & Neumann, *Lifting As They Climb*]; Marcia Hernandez & Gregory S. Parks, *Fortitude in the Face of Adversity: Delta Sigma Theta's History of Racial Uplift*, 13 HASTINGS RACE & POVERTY L.J. 273 (2016); Wendy Marie Laybourn & Gregory S. Parks, *Omega Psi Phi Fraternity and the Fight for Civil Rights*, 6 WAKE FOREST J. L. & POL'Y 214 (2015); Gregory S. Parks, Rashawn Ray, & Shawna M. Patterson, *Complex Civil Rights Organizations: Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, An Exemplar*, 6 ALA. C.R. & C.L. L. REV. 125 (2015).

415. DONATELLA DELLA PORTA & MARIO DIANI, SOCIAL MOVEMENTS: AN INTRODUCTION 150 (2d ed. 2006).

416. JO FREEMAN & VICTORIA JOHNSON, WAVES OF PROTEST: SOCIAL MOVEMENTS SINCE THE SIXTIES 302 (Jo Freeman & Victoria Johnson eds., 2d ed. 1999).

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what they do in the here and now and not at some distant point in the past. However, and more importantly, there is a community of people who need the vast, and long-untapped, resources of BGLOs to begin to hew a way out of no way.

APPENDIX I

Among the first Board of Directors: Bertell Collins Wright (President), Sally Nuby Edwards (Vice President), Laura T. Lovelace (Corresponding Secretary), Evelyn B. Pope (Recording Secretary), W. Henry Greene (Treasurer), Aubrey E. Robinson, Jr. (General Counsel), Emma Manning Carter, Beatrice W. Fox, Edna Over Gray, Dorothy I. Height, Howard H. Long, Patricia Roberts, James E. Scott, A. Maceo Smith, Arnetta G. Wallace, J. Ernest Wilkins, Julia B. Wilson, and Nancy B. Woodridge.⁴¹⁷

Delta Sigma Theta's Bertell Collins Wright was head of the sorority's Public Affairs Committee and was appointed by President Mae Downs to send a letter in the name of Delta Sigma Theta to each member of the U.S. delegation to the conference of the United Nations.⁴¹⁸

Sallie Edwards Johnson was born in Ohio and attended Ohio State University where she received a bachelor's degree in education. After graduation, she briefly taught at Stowe Teachers College for a year before moving to teach high school education in Martin, Tennessee. In addition to her work in education, she attended St. Louis University and the University of Southern California where she studied social work and was a member of the Academy of Certified Social Workers. Johnson was a member of the Zeta Sigma chapter of the Sigma Gamma Rho sorority and served as the sorority's seventh Grand Basileus from 1948 until 1954. While working with the sorority, she encouraged community service work, especially with the YMCA. She was a critical part of helping integration in the YMCA and developed programs for black and white girls. She lived in Hampton, Virginia with her husband until her death.⁴¹⁹

Alpha Kappa Alpha's Laura T. Lovelace was born in Pueblo, California to Henry and Emma Crooms Fife. She attended the public elementary and high schools of Pueblo; she went on to attend Wilberforce University and later received her bachelor's in elementary education at the University of Cincinnati, and further studied at Columbia University and the University of Cincinnati, where she received her master's degree. She was initiated in Omicron Chapter and later affiliated with the Sigma Omega chapter of Alpha Kappa Alpha. She has also been a member of the Beta Upsilon Omega Chapter and advisor to the Beta Zeta chapter. Lovelace was the thirteenth Supreme Basileus for Alpha Kappa Alpha from 1949-1953; her

417. LONG, *supra* note 11, at II.

418. GIDDINGS, *supra* note 245, at 207.

419. See Parks & Neumann, *Lifting as They Climb*, *supra* note 414, at 127 n.123.

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administration and program focus was the Establishment of National Office and Human Rights Foreign Fellowship. She was also a Supreme Parliamentarian that assists the presiding officer in the interpretation of the constitution and bylaws as well as serves as chairman of the Constitution Committee for the 1940 Boule. She was also the Great Lakes Regional Director. Lovelace visited Haiti in 1950 as a representative of "leadership of young American Negro Women" and attended a five-day conference. She also represented Alpha Kappa Alpha on the Board of Directors of the American Council on Human Rights until 1957. Lovelace married Judge William Lovelace (now deceased); together they had one daughter, Janice, and one son, William Jr. Lovelace was employed by the Young Women's Christian Association of Cincinnati as a secretary in health education. She worked as an education teacher at Alabama State College, physical education instructor at Kentucky State College, public school administrator as both assistant principal and principal of West Avondale Elementary School, teacher of English and social studies in Cincinnati public schools, and retired City Council Administrator. She was Cincinnati's director of personnel, administrator of the City Council, and civil service secretary after her career as a school principal.⁴²⁰

Zeta Phi Beta's Evelyn B. Pope was a charter member of the Eta Beta Zeta Chapter of Zeta Phi Beta and a member of the Alpha Zeta Chapter at Salisbury.⁴²¹

Kappa Alpha Psi's W. Henry Greene was initiated into the Xi Chapter in 1923. He was made Polemarch of the Southeastern province at the 20th Grand Chapter in 1930 and Province Polemarch at the 24th Grand Chapter as well as Polemarch of the Eastern Province at the 26th Grand Chapter, where he remained off and on until December 1951. He was made Grand Polemarch in 1953-55. Other roles include leader of the Washington Alumni Chapter, province Polemarch, and Fraternity's chief executive. He was elected to the Grand Board of Directors. Greene received the Elder W. Diggs Award at the Golden Anniversary Grand Chapter in 1961. He was a recipient of Laurel Wreath in 1970. Greene received the first Founders Achievement Award in 1978. He became the Fraternity's first life member and served as chair of the Life Membership Program and the Kappa Alpha Psi Student Revolving Loan Fund. Greene also worked with the

420. See PARKER, PAST IS PROLOGUE, *supra* note 27, at 94-96; see also Laura T. Lovelace, *Former International Presidents*, Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, Inc. <http://www.aka1908.com/about/former-international-presidents>.

421. *Zetas Form Local Chapter Friday Night*, THE CAROLINA TIMES, May 25, 1968, at 3A.

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Washington Urban League and the D.C. Branch of the NAACP. He died on September 19, 1983.⁴²²

Alpha Phi Alpha's Aubrey E. Robinson, Jr. was born on March 30, 1922 in Madison, New Jersey to Aubrey E. Robinson Sr. and Anne Mabel Jackson. His father was a veterinarian and his mother was a homemaker and subsequently became the Assistant State Superintendent for the Negro Adult Education. His father was born in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania and attended University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia and Cornell University for veterinary school. Robinson had three younger siblings, Charles R. Robinson, Spencer M. Robinson, and Gloria Elaine Robinson. He also had a great uncle who was an attorney in Pasadena, California, but who Robinson Jr. did not know very well. Robinson attended Central Avenue Public School for elementary school, and attended junior high and high school at Green Avenue School. Robinson graduated from Cornell University in 1943. From 1943 to 1946, he served in the United States Army. He returned to Cornell for law school and earned his LL.B. in 1947. In 1948, Robinson joined a private practice in D.C. Less than twenty years later, he was appointed to Associate Judge of the Juvenile Court of the District of Columbia. In 1966, President Johnson appointed Robinson to the United States District Court for the District of Columbia, and he became chief judge of that court on September 20, 1982. Robinson also served as General Counsel of the American Council on Human Rights. He served on the Board of Directors of the Family Service Association of America from 1958 until 1968, and was on the Executive Committee of the D.C. Citizens for Better Public Education from 1964 until 1966. He served on the Advisory Council for his alma mater, Cornell, from 1974 until 1980. Furthermore, he taught as an adjunct professor at the Washington College of Law at American University from 1975 until 1983. He married Sarah Payne in 1946, but she died in 1972. He then married Doris A. Washington in 1973. He had two daughters, Paula Elaine Collins and Sheryl Robinson, and a stepdaughter Jacqueline Washington. He also had two granddaughters. Robinson died on February 27, 2000 in Washington D.C. at the age of 77 due to a heart attack.⁴²³

Sigma Gamma Rho's Emma Manning Carter was a board member of the sorority's twenty-first administration (1951-1952) as well as the

422. See BRYSON, *supra* note 67, at 251, 261; WILLIAM L. CRUMP, THE STORY OF KAPPA ALPHA PSI: A HISTORY OF THE BEGINNING AND DEVELOPMENT OF A COLLEGE GREEK LETTER ORGANIZATION 1911-1991 65, 102-03, 119-22, 140-41, 188, 246, 250, 256, 267, 320, 387, 408-10, 413-15, 496-97, 552-53 (4th ed. 1991).

423. See WESLEY, *supra* note 19, at 294-95, 326, 344.

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chairman of the board members of the twenty-third administration (1954-1956). She was chairman of the board members for the 25th administration from 1958-59. She was also a charter member of the Gamma Beta Sigma Chapter of Sigma Gamma Rho. She was Chapter Basileus for the Phi Sigma Chapter.⁴²⁴

Sigma Gamma Rho's Beatrice Wright Fox was born on March 16, 1903 in Cleveland, Ohio, to Walter Wright and Sarah Johnson Wright. She attended Cleveland public schools and completed teacher training at Cleveland Normal School in 1922. She received her B.S. from Cleveland College in 1949 and her M.A. in Education from Western Reserve University in 1958. Fox was the national organizer and Basileus of Zeta Chapter. She was elected Chairman of Publicity at the Seventh Annual Boule in Atlanta, Georgia on December 27-30, 1931. She served as panel-chairman at the Thirteenth Boule in Houston, Texas on December 27-30, 1938. Fox chaired an open forum, "How Does Your Sorority Meet the Needs of Your Community?" at the First Northern Regional Conference in Cleveland, Ohio on May 6-7, 1939. She was a board member for the nineteenth administration from 1948-49. She was the Grand Anti-Grammateus for the 21st administration from 1951-52. Fox served as Cleveland hostess for her chapter, Alpha Lambda Sigma Alumnae Chapter, at the twenty-second Boule in Cleveland, Ohio. She was the Grand Grammateus at the 22nd Administration from 1952-54. Fox was the Blanche Stewart Edwards Awardee at the twenty-third Boule in Memphis, Tennessee from August 17-22, 1954. She was the secretary of the Grand Chapter of Sigma Gamma Rho Sorority in 1954. She was the Grand Grammateus for the 25th administration from 1958-59. She served as Chairman of the National Headquarters Committee in 1961. She also helped organize the Gamma Epsilon chapter on May 19, 1973 in Kent, Ohio, and was present for the Zeta Alpha Chapter installment on March 31, 1973 in Bowling Green, Ohio. She was on the National Headquarters' Scroll of Honor in 1974. Fox married Morris W. Fox on June 30, 1931, but had no children. She was an educator and the first African-American administrator in the Mount Wheatley Association. She became a group leader at the Kingsley Arter Branch of the Phillis Wheatley Association and later, director of the Kingsley Arter Center and Camp Mueller. She also served as advisor on the Association's Junior Board. Fox taught at Mayflower, Orchard, and Doan Schools and later became assistant principal. She became principal of Andrew J. Rickoff School in 1961, but retired in 1973. Fox was active in Mt. Zion Congressional Church, served

424. See PEARL SCHWARTZ WHITE, *BEHIND THESE DOORS—A LEGACY: THE HISTORY OF SIGMA GAMMA RHO SORORITY* 167-68, 327 (Lillie Wilkes, ed. 1974).

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as a church school teacher, superintendent, president of Women's Fellowship, and church clerk from 1978 until her death. She founded the Mt. Zion Congregational Ceramics Class. She died on August 1, 1988.⁴²⁵

Alpha Kappa Alpha's Edna Over Gray Campbell served as the sorority's 12th international president from 1946-49. Her administration's focus was the establishment of a National Office and Endowment Fund. She was the first president of the American Council on Human Rights. She is the Former North Atlantic Regional Director and a member of the Delta and Epsilon Omega Chapters of Alpha Kappa Alpha. Campbell received her B.A. at the University of Kansas and her M.A. at New York University. She became a high school social studies teacher for the public school administration. She was the first female president of the Health and Welfare Council of Central Maryland, Inc., and the first president of the Maryland League of Women's Clubs.⁴²⁶

Dorothy Irene Height was an American educator and civil rights activist who channeled most of her energy on problems faced by African American women including voting rights, education, and unemployment. For forty years, Height was the president of the National Council of Negro Women. In 1994 she was honored with the Presidential Medal of Freedom and in 2004 she was awarded with the Congressional Gold Medal. Dorothy Height was born in Richmond, Virginia, on March 24, 1912, but moved with her family to Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, during her childhood. After receiving a scholarship from the Elks, Height was admitted to Barnard College in 1929; however, she was turned away upon entrance due to an unwritten policy stating that only two black students were allowed in each year. Soon after, Height applied to New York University earning an undergraduate and master's degree in educational psychology. Throughout her life Height was an active member of Delta Sigma Theta sorority, implementing numerous leadership and educational programs. Height began her career at age twenty-five with the New York City Welfare

425. See *id.* at 9, 25-27, 65, 69-70, 72, 121, 125, 145, 167-68, 272, 292, 298; Sigma Gamma Rho Sorority, Inc., *Black History Fact: Soror Beatrice Wright Fox Alpha Lambda Sigma Alumnae Chapter*, FACEBOOK (Feb. 7, 2014), <https://www.facebook.com/sgrho1922/posts/657042784358739>.

426. See *Edna Over Gray Campbell, Former International Presidents*, ALPHA KAPPA ALPHA SORORITY, INC., <http://www.aka1908.com/about/former-international-presidents>; *Soror Edna Over Gray Campbell—Hall of Fame Index*, ALPHA KAPPA ALPHA'S UNFORGETTABLE, UNSUNG SORORS OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT, <http://unsungsorors.aka1908.com/index.php/32-hall-of-fame/342-soror-edna-over-gray-campbell>.

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Department and proceeded to get involved as a civil rights activist, joining the National Council of Negro Women. Height was appointed president of this organization in 1957. Furthermore, during the peak of the civil rights movement, Height organized many programs including, "Wednesdays in Mississippi" which united both white and black women of the north and south, to create conversation and mutual understanding. Height was influential with American leaders including President Lyndon B. Johnson, President Dwight D. Eisenhower, and First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt. Height continued to be a prominent figure of civil rights even in her later years. Height and fifteen other African Americans formed the African-American Women for Reproductive Freedom in 1990. Because of all her successes, Height was a notable guest at President Barack Obama's inauguration on January 20, 2009. Sadly on April 29, 2010, at the age of 98, Height passed away from unspecified reasons.⁴²⁷

Alpha Phi Alpha's Howard Long was born on March 4, 1888 in News Ferry, Virginia. Long earned his B.S. degree in education from Howard University in 1915. He pursued graduate classes at Clark University in Worcester, Massachusetts, earning a M.A. in Experimental Psychology in 1916. After earning his Ph.D. from Harvard University in 1933, Long was the fifth African American to earn a doctorate in psychology. He joined the faculty at Howard in its School of Liberal Arts. Long left his position at Howard to become a commissioned First Lieutenant in Iowa. After, he served in academic leadership positions at Paine College, Wilberforce University, and Central State College. Long became a professor at colleges in Tennessee and Georgia. He later moved to Washington, D.C., to act as an Associate Superintendent of Research for the public school system. Long was initiated into the Beta Chapter (Howard University) of Alpha Phi Alpha. He served as General Organization Secretary, Treasurer, and General President. During his General Presidency, he insisted that the Fraternity adopt a programmatic objective and suggested that education was the most important consideration. His recommendation would later bring to fruition one of the fraternity's signature programs, "Go to High School, Go to College." He also appointed Past General President Charles H. Garvin as the Fraternity's first National Historian. Long served on the fraternity's Committee on Public Policy and chaired both its Commissions on Findings and Re-organization. He was a member of Sigma Phi Pi Fraternity's Epsilon Boule in Washington, D.C. General President Long was married to Ollie Long sometime before 1930. He entered Omega Chapter on February 21, 1957 and is buried in Arlington National

⁴²⁷. See Parks & Hernandez, *Fortitude in the Face of Adversity*, *supra* note 414, at 296-97.

Cemetery.⁴²⁸

Kappa Alpha Psi's James E. Scott was born in Brenham, Texas, on October 6, 1895. Scott transferred from the Delta Chapter to the Zeta Chapter at Ohio State University and also identified as a member of the Nu Chapter. He became the first Vice Polemarch of the Washington Alumni Chapter in 1924. He was also the Grand Vice Polemarch of the Grand Chapter. He was returned to office of Grand Polemarch for a third term at the 30th Grand Chapter. He was elected member of the Grand Board of Directors at the 24th Grand Chapter. He participated in the chartering of the Alpha Phi Chapter at Virginia State College. He was elected Grand Board Member at the Silver Anniversary Grand Chapter and 26th Grand Chapter. He was Grand Polemarch from 1939-1940. He was president of the Board of Directors of the American Council on Human Rights and board chairman in 1951. He was one of the founders and first president of Washington Real Estate Brokers Association. He served as president of the Washington Branch of NAACP and member of the Board of Directors of the 12th Street and Metropolitan YMCA. Scott died on August 11, 1968. His service was on August 14, 1968.⁴²⁹

Alpha Phi Alpha's Antonio Maceo Smith was born on April 16, 1903, in Texarkana, Texas, to parents Howell and Winnie Smith. Smith earned a bachelor's degree from Fisk University in 1924, a master of business degree from New York University in 1928, and did post-graduate work at Columbia University in economics and business. While in New York, he worked as a Red Cap at Grand Central Station and organized an advertising agency based in Harlem. After school, Smith returned to Texas in 1932 and taught business administration in the Dallas Independent School District where he also published the Dallas Express newspaper. In 1933, Smith organized the Western Mutual Life Insurance Company of Dallas. He also worked for the Federal Housing Administration for thirty-four years. Smith joined the Chi Chapter of Alpha Phi Alpha at Meharry Medical College in 1924. He affiliated with the brothers of Eta Chapter (New York, NY); there, he served as house manager and business manager of the chapter's basketball team. He acted as Western Region Vice President, initiating the region's support and involvement in organizations and programs designed to fight racial injustice. Smith served as the

428. See WESLEY, *supra* note 19, at 94, 99, 101, 103.

429. See BRYSON, *supra* note 67, at 17, 19, 27, 31, 49, 51, 55, 57, 64, 74-76, 85, 97, 98-100, 103, 110-12, 156; CRUMP, *supra* note 422, at 45, 49-50, 68, 79-80, 127, 136, 140-41, 161, 173, 176, 179, 182, 186, 210, 236-37, 242, 253, 271, 272, 275, 278, 387-88.

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General Chairman of the Committee on Arrangements for the Fraternity Regional Conference and in the 1940s was the Western Regional Vice President of Alpha Phi Alpha. He served as the 19th General President of Alpha Phi Alpha from 1952 to 1954. Smith was a "moving force" in the Dallas graduate chapter, Alpha Sigma Lambda. Under his administration, the fraternity established its corporate headquarters in Chicago, the Alpha Phi Alpha Building Foundation, and the Education Foundation. Smith was active in other societies; he was the Executive Secretary of the Progressive Voters League, the elected regional Vice President of the National Negro Business League, and he served as the first executive secretary of the Dallas Negro Chamber of Commerce. In fact, he was the only salaried, full time secretary of a Negro Chamber of Commerce in America during that time. In addition to this involvement, Smith helped organize the Dallas Human Relations Commission and the Dallas' Urban League. In 1936, Smith established the Texas State Conferences of Branches, NAACP, which helped lead the attack on Jim Crow. From the 1940s to the 1960s, Smith and the NAACP filed hundreds of lawsuits in Texas and the Southeast. In one notable achievement, Smith and Thurgood Marshall won admission to the University of Texas Law School for Brother Herman Sweatt. He was appointed the first Executive Secretary of the Dallas unit of the NAACP and the Texas County Council of Negro Organizations. Smith also served as co-chairman of the Bi-Racial Committee for the City of Dallas, he was the Chairman of the Southwest Area Y.M.C.A. Council, the local president of the Dallas Urban League, President of the National Alumni Association of Fisk University, and a member of the Board of Directors of Bishop College. Smith was appointed by the Federal Commissioner General as assistant general manager of the Negro Hall of Life and Culture at the Texas Centennial in Dallas, Texas. He was known as one of Texas's leading race men. After his death on December 19, 1977, the Dallas African-American Museum honored Smith by displaying his name at the Annual Fundraiser. In 1985, the city of Dallas named a local high school and federal building after him. Smith was married to Fannie C. Smith. They married on June 26, 1936. He ultimately died in 1977 and is buried in Restland Memorial Park in Dallas, Texas.⁴³⁰

Alpha Kappa Alpha's Arnetta G. McKamey Wallace was born in Knoxville, Tennessee to Lincoln and Charity Malinda McKamey. She attended the campus schools of Knoxville College for elementary, high school, and college. She graduated from Knoxville College cum laude and received her B.S. in foreign languages as well as a B.A. in music; she later

430. See WESLEY, *supra* note 19, at 267, 268; *Smith, Antonio Maceo* (1903-1977), BLACKPAST.ORG, <http://www.blackpast.org/aaw/smith-antonio-maceo-1903-1977>.

attended Tennessee A and I State University for graduate work.

Arnetta Wallace was chapter Basileus and later, the fourteenth Supreme Basileus for Alpha Kappa Alpha from 1953-1958; her administration and program focus was Sickle Cell Research, AKA National History, and International Expansion. She was also the South Eastern Regional Director in 1945 and the first Anti- Basileus in 1948. Wallace was initiated in the Alpha Phi Omega chapter in Danville, Virginia in 1931. She installed the Eta Beta Omega chapter in 1958. Wallace was presented the Liberian award for humanitarianism and made an officer in the "Humane Order of African Redemption" while establishing a chapter of Alpha Phi Alpha in Liberia. She was also Alpha Kappa Alpha's official representative to the White House Conference on Education and the Conference on Minority Community Resources. She received the Religious Service award from the Knoxville Chapter of the national Conference of Christians and Jews in 1987. She married Reverend Robert C. Wallace, Dean of the Chicago Baptist institute (now deceased in 1984). She began teaching for a year in Kentucky and later in Virginia for five years. Wallace worked as a public junior high school music teacher and retired in 1957. She was a member of the Board of Directors of the Knoxville YMCA, member of community and church youth groups and music groups, and was chosen "woman of the year" in both 1950 and 1957. She served as president of the Tennessee Education Congress and national chairman of the National Pan-Hellenic Council, Inc. As chairman, she presided over the 25th Anniversary Convention of the Council. She was a member of the Mayor's Committee on Senior Citizens, member of the Board of Director's Chicago's Youth Services, member of the Board of Managers' of the Council of Church Women of Greater Chicago, and Council of the State of Illinois, as well as a member of the Council's national teams of interpreters of "Assignment: Race." Wallace was a field staff representative of Women in the Community Service in the "War on Poverty." She traveled to Mississippi during the summer of 1962 to participate in "Wednesday in Mississippi." Wallace was also on the board of directors of the American Council on Human Rights.⁴³¹

Kappa Alpha Psi's J. Ernest Wilkins was the 13th Grand Polemarch for Kappa Alpha Psi from 1947-1950.⁴³²

431. See PARKER, PAST IS PROLOGUE, *supra* note 27, at 96; MARJORIE H. PARKER, ALPHA KAPPA ALPHA THROUGH THE YEARS 1908-1988 68-70 (1990); Arnetta G. McKamey Wallace. *Former International Presidents*, ALPHA KAPPA ALPHA SORORITY, INC., <http://www.aka1908.com/about/former-international-presidents>.

432. See *Past Grand Polemarchs*, KAPPA ALPHA PSI FRATERNITY, INC., <http://www.kappaalphapsi1911.com/?page=pastgpm>.

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Nancy Bullock Woolridge McGhee served as the thirteenth Grand Baselius from 1948 to 1953. During her tenure, she chartered the Delta Iota Zeta chapter in Africa. Nancy was born and raised in High Point, North Carolina. She earned an English degree from Shaw University, a master's degree from Columbia University, and ultimately earned her doctorate from the University of Chicago in 1942. Shaw University awarded her a second, honorary doctorate in 1973. Nancy began work as a professor at Hampton Institute in 1945, and went on to become the chair of the English Department. She eventually earned the title of professor emeritus. She was widely involved in a variety of organizations, including the Virginia Humanities Conference, American Council of Human Rights, and the National Council of Negro Women. Dr. McGhee passed away in 1995.⁴³³

Elmer W. Henderson was a government attorney who is best known as the plaintiff in a civil rights case that put an end to segregated dining cars on trains. Henderson was a Baltimore native and attended Morgan State University before receiving a master's degree from the University of Chicago and a law degree from Georgetown University. In 1942, Henderson worked as a field representative for President Franklin D. Roosevelt and his Committee on Fair Employment Practices. In 1955, Henderson would become a lawyer for the House Government Operations Committee. He reached the position of general counsel and would retire in that capacity in 1982. He died in 2001 in Washington, D.C.⁴³⁴

433. See Parks & Neumann, *Lifting as They Climb*, *supra* note 414, at 126.

434. See Laybourn & Parks, *The Sons of Indiana*, *supra* note 414, at 1463.

APPENDIX II

Howard Hale Long was born on March 4, 1887 in South Boston, Virginia. He earned his B.S., in 1915, from Howard University, M.A. in experimental psychology from Clark University in 1916, and Ph.D. from Harvard University in 1933. Long was the fifth African American to earn a doctorate in psychology. He joined the faculty at Howard's School of Liberal Arts, later leaving that position to become a commissioned first lieutenant in Iowa. After his military service, Long served in academic leadership positions at Paine College, Wilberforce University, and Central State College. General He later moved to Washington, D.C. to act as an associate superintendent of research for the public school system. Howard Long served as Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity's Secretary and Treasurer. He also served as its General President. His recommendations would bring to fruition one of the Fraternity's signature programs, "Go to High School, Go to College." General President Long was married to Ollie Long sometime before 1930. He entered Omega Chapter on 21 February 1957 and was buried in Arlington National Cemetery.⁴³⁵

Enos Andrews was active in Kappa Alpha Psi's Philadelphia alumni chapter and was a Provincial Polemarch for the Northeastern Province.⁴³⁶

Vivian Cooke was Alpha Kappa Alpha's First Supreme Anti-Basileus.⁴³⁷

As Delta Sigma Theta's history notes: Many members of Delta Sigma Theta held positions in the American Council on Human Rights. Patricia (Roberts) Harris was in charge of the social action programs for the

435. See CHARLES H. WESLEY, HISTORY OF SIGMA PI PHI: FIRST OF THE NEGRO-AMERICAN GREEK-LETTER FRATERNITIES 330 (1969); CHARLES H. WESLEY, THE HISTORY OF ALPHA PHI ALPHA: A DEVELOPMENT IN NEGRO COLLEGE LIFE 131, 133, 138, 143-44, 147-48, 301, 304, 308, 310, 326 (1939); SPHINX, (Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Inc., Balt., Md.), May 1940, at page after cover page; SPHINX (Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Inc., Balt., Md.), Apr. 1923, at 37; SPHINX (Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Inc., Balt., Md.), Dec. 1916, at 3; SPHINX (Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Inc., Balt., Md.), Oct. 1916, at 14; SPHINX, (Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Inc., Balt., Md.), Feb. 1916, at page after cover page; *Howard H. Long, United States Census, 1930*, FAMILYSEARCH, <https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:XM2S-P4Q>; *Howard Hale Long, United States World War I Draft Registration Cards*, FAMILY SEARCH, https://familysearch.org/search/collection/results?count=20&query=%2Bgivename%3A%22howard%20hale%22~%20%2Bsurname%3Along~%20%2Bgender%3AM&collection_id=1968530.

436. See CRUMP, *supra* note 422, at 207.

437. See PARKER, ALPHA KAPPA ALPHA THROUGH THE YEARS, *supra* note 431, at 273.

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American Council on Human Rights.⁴³⁸ Patricia Harris was born on May 31, 1924 in Mattoon, Illinois as the daughter of a railroad dining car waiter, Bert Fitzgerald Roberts, and Hildren Brodie. She graduated summa cum laude from Howard University in 1945. She did postgraduate work at both University of Chicago and American University in 1949. She received her J.D. from George Washington University National Law Center in 1960, ranked as number 1 out of her class of 94 students. Harris was the first national executive director of Delta Sigma Theta. She married William Beasley Harris, a member of Howard law faculty, on September 1, 1955. Until 1953, Harris worked as the Assistant Director of the American Council on Human Rights. She worked for the U.S. Department of Justice for a brief period before returning to Howard University as an associate dean of students and law lecturer in 1961. In 1963, she was given a full professorship and was named Dean of Howard University's School of Law in 1969 until 1972. She joined Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson law firm shortly thereafter. In 1971, Harris was named director of IBM. She was appointed a full-time professor at George Washington National Law Center in 1982. Her first position in the U.S. government was in 1960 as an attorney in the appeals and research section of the criminal division of the Department of Justice. President Kennedy appointed her co-chairman of the National Women's Committee for Civil Rights in 1963. In 1964, she was elected a delegate to the Democratic National Convention from D.C. She also served as U.S. Ambassador to Luxembourg under President Johnson from 1965 to 1967 and was the first African-American woman to represent the U.S. as an ambassador. In 1972, she was appointed chairman of the credentials committee and member-at-large of the Democratic National Committee in 1973. She was appointed to President Carter's cabinet when he took office in 1977 and served in the American Administration of President Carter as U.S. Secretary of Housing and Urban Development from 1977-1979 and U.S. Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare (renamed Secretary of Health and Human Services) in 1979-1981. She was the first African American woman to serve in the U.S. Cabinet, and the first African American woman to enter the line of succession to the presidency, at number 13. Harris then ran, unsuccessfully, for Mayor of Washington, D.C. in 1982. Harris died of breast cancer on March 23, 1985.⁴³⁹

438. GIDDINGS, *supra* note 245, at 222.

439. See J. DeLaat, Harris, Patricia Robert, in *WOMEN IN WORLD HISTORY: A BIOGRAPHICAL ENCYCLOPEDIA* Vol. 7 14-17 (2000); K. Thompson, Harris, Patricia Roberts (1924-1985), in *BLACK WOMEN IN AMERICA: AN HISTORICAL ENCYCLOPEDIA* 539-540 (1994); LEAN'TIN BRACKS, *AFRICAN AMERICAN ALMANAC: 400 YEARS OF TRIUMPH, COURAGE AND EXCELLENCE* 75 (2012); Patricia Roberts Harris, NAT'L

James Saunders was a charter member of the Mu Lambda Chapter of Alpha Phi Alpha, established in Washington, D.C., on October 1, 1923.⁴⁴⁰

Josephine Smith is a part of the Beta Zeta Chapter of Zeta Phi Beta in Washington, D.C. She was appointed to the Eastern Regional Director position.⁴⁴¹

Lorraine Williams attended Dunbar Senior High School in D.C. and received her A.B. and M.A. from Howard University in 1945 as well as a Ph.D. from American University in 1955. A member of Sigma Gamma Rho, Williams was a member of Phi Sigma Chapter in Washington, D.C. She received the National Scholarship at the twenty-first Annual Boule in Los Angeles, California from August 16-18, 1951. Williams, Sigma Gamma Rho's 1951 National Scholarship winner, received the Doctor of Philosophy Degree from American University. Williams, along with Annie Neville, represented Sigma Gamma Rho at the White House Conference on Children and Youth in January 1960. She was the First Grand Anti-Basileus for the 25th administration from 1958-59 and the Grand Basileus for the 26th and 27th administration from 1959-61 and 1961-62. She received the Blanche Edwards Award in 1962. Williams represented Sigma at the 28th Annual Convention of the National Council of Negro Women on November 13-17, 1963. Williams as a part of the panel, "What Can Affiliates Do to underwrite Civil Rights Efforts," as well as elected Second Vice President in the previously mentioned convention. Williams moderated an open discussion on the Anti-Poverty Program at the 30th Boule. Williams was honored during Negro History Week. Williams was elected Grand Basileus for 1967-1968 at the 31st Boule and again at the 32nd Boule from 1969-71. She was on the National Headquarters' Scroll of Honor in 1974. She was also Chapter Basileus for the Phi Sigma Chapter. Williams married Dr. Charles E. Williams, received her Ph.D., and was a professor at Howard University. She was also Member of the Board of Education Advisors, *New York Times* 1967-69; Editorial Consultant for a Biographical Series, *Black Americans Today for Public Schools*, *The New York Times*, June 1968; Historian-Council of Administrative Women in Education, D.C. Branch 1971-72; member of the

WOMEN'S HALL OF FAME, <https://www.womenofthehall.org/inductee/patricia-roberts-harris/>; Patricia Roberts Harris, FIND A GRAVE, <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=6892469>.

440. See WESLEY, *supra* note 19, at 148.

441. See *Washingtonian is Fayetteville Speaker*, THE PITTSBURGH COURIER, Mar. 11, 1961, at 22.

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Advisory Board-Small Business Center, Howard University. Williams was appointed Professor and Chairwoman of the Department of History at Howard University. She was also the first African-American female Vice President for Academic Affairs at Howard University. She was Director of an Afro-American Institute for secondary teachers under EPDA in the District of Columbia from June 1970 to February 1971. She was also appointed editor for the Negro History Journal in 1973.⁴⁴²

442. See WHITE, *supra* note 72, at 117, 125, 145, 168, 169, 170, 174, 177, 186, 187, 249, 271, 272, 327, 340.