

Bill Tangle
Dear Bill
Dear John

REMARKS OF SENATOR ROBERT DOLE

NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE FUND

MAY 16, 1986

Art
Sam
Ed
Leo
John
James
Robert

THANK YOU BILL. I'M NOT SURE I DESERVE ALL THOSE KIND WORDS, BUT IT SURE IS NICE TO HEAR THEM ANYWAY. SOME PEOPLE ASKED ME BEFORE I CAME HERE IF I DIDN'T FEEL A LITTLE LIKE DANIEL WALKING INTO THE LION'S DEN. I TOLD THEM -- ON THE CONTRARY -- I FEEL HONORED THAT YOU WOULD INVITE ME. AND FAR FROM CONSIDERING THIS BANQUET HALL A DEN, I LOOK UPON IT AS A HOME FILLED WITH OLD FRIENDS AND FELLOW SOLDIERS IN A WAR THAT NEVER ENDS -- A STRUGGLE OF HEROIC MAGNITUDE AND HISTORIC IMPLICATIONS.

I SEE OLD FRIENDS LIKE BILL COLEMAN, ONE OF THE MOST ELOQUENT ADVOCATES FOR FAIRNESS AND JUSTICE EVER TO ENTER A COURTROOM IN THE LEGAL BATTLES OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT. I SEE NEW FRIENDS LIKE JULIUS CHAMBERS, ELAINE JONES, AND LANI GUINIER --

PEOPLE I GOT TO KNOW DURING THE 1982 EFFORT TO EXTEND THE
LANDMARK VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1965 AND WHO I HAVE BEEN PLEASED TO
WORK WITH SINCE THEN ON OTHER ISSUES OF MUTUAL CONCERN. OF ALL
THE STEPS I HAVE TAKEN IN MY PUBLIC LIFE -- AND IT IS A CAREER
THAT SPANS DECADES -- I'VE NEVER BEEN PROUDER THAN IN FIGHTING
FOR AN EXTENSION OF THIS LANDMARK CIVIL RIGHTS STATUTE, AND NEVER
MORE IMPRESSED WITH MY LEGISLATIVE ALLIES.

A State of Mind

I COME FROM KANSAS -- BLEEDING KANSAS IN THE YEARS BEFORE ITS
BIRTH. IT WAS A STATE FORGED IN THE WHITE HOT GLUE OF THE CIVIL
WAR. IT IS A STATE OF MIND AS MUCH AS IT IS A STATE OF
GEOGRAPHY. IN KANSAS, WE'VE ALWAYS HELD THAT THERE SHOULD BE NO
LIMITS PLACED ON A MAN OR WOMAN'S POTENTIAL. WE'VE ALWAYS
BELIEVED IN A FUTURE AS OPEN-ENDED AS THE FAR HORIZON OF A
DISTANT WHEATFIELD AND IN FAIRNESS AS THE ELEMENTAL TEST OF
POPULAR GOVERNMENT.

KANSAS HAS PLAYED A UNIQUE AND IMPORTANT ROLE IN THIS NATION'S DEVELOPMENT AS A LAND OF TRUE EQUALITY AND FREEDOM FOR ALL ITS PEOPLE. IT WAS A KANSAS SENATOR NAMED EDMUND G. ROSS WHO CAST THE DECIDING VOTE WHICH KEPT ANDREW JOHNSON IN OFFICE AND LINCOLN'S DREAM OF RACIAL JUSTICE ALIVE, AT LEAST FOR A TIME. DECADES LATER, IT WAS THE FIRST SENATE MAJORITY LEADER FROM KANSAS, CHARLES CURTIS, WHO HELPED SECURE CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL OF THE 19TH AMENDMENT.

IN 1950, A LITTLE GIRL FROM TOPEKA, KANSAS BY THE NAME OF LINDA BROWN ASKED HER PARENTS WHY SHE HAD TO BE BUSED TWO MILES TO ATTEND AN ALL-BLACK SCHOOL, WHEN HER WHITE PLAYMATES ATTENDED ANOTHER SCHOOL ONLY A FEW BLOCKS AWAY. LINDA'S QUESTION EVENTUALLY FORCED THE COUNTRY TO COME TO GRIPS WITH THE WARPED HYPOCRISY OF THE SEPARATE BUT EQUAL DOCTRINE. IN 1954, THE SUPREME COURT EXPOSED THE CRUEL HOAX OF PLESSY V FERGUSON AND ORDERED THE NATION'S SCHOOLS TO BE DESGREGATED WITH ALL DELIBERATE SPEED.

FINALLY, CONSISTENT WITH KANSAS' HISTORIC COMMITMENT TO THE PRINCIPLE OF EQUAL OPPORTUNITY, THE STATE'S VOTERS HAVE BEEN AMONG THE FIRST TO DISCARD THE PREJUDICES OF THE PAST. ONE MEMBER OF THE KANSAS CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION HAPPENS TO BE THE FIRST WOMAN ELECTED IN HER OWN RIGHT TO THE U.S. SENATE. ANOTHER, I AM PROUD TO SAY, HAPPENS TO BE A DISABLED WORLD WAR II VET.

AS A LEGISLATOR, I HAVE ALWAYS TRIED TO UPHOLD THE PRINCIPLES OF INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM AND RESPONSIBILITY. THE HISTORY OF MY STATE AND THE TRADITION OF MY CONSTITUENCY WOULD ALLOW FOR NO LESS. BASED ON MY UPBRINGING IN THIS RURAL MIDWESTERN STATE, I HAVE ALWAYS TRIED TO HAVE A SPECIAL APPRECIATION FOR THE ROLE OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IN HELPING PROVIDE PEOPLE WITH THE LEGAL AND ECONOMIC TOOLS TO MAKE THE MOST OF THAT FREEDOM AND RESONSIBILITY.

I GREW UP IN A SMALL FARM TOWN CALLED RUSSELL DURING THE DUST BOWL YEARS, WHEN THE WIND BLEW OFF THE DRY SOIL THAT WAS THE STAPLE OF OUR ECONOMY AND BLACKENED EVERYTHING, NOT JUST OUR PHYSICAL SURROUNDINGS BUT AT TIMES, OUR SPIRITS TOO. EVERYONE

WAS POOR THEN. SOME PEOPLE RECOVERED. SOME NEVER DID. AFTER I GRADUATED FROM LAW SCHOOL, I RETURNED TO RUSSELL TO BE THE COUNTY ATTORNEY. MY RESPONSIBILITIES INCLUDED MONTHLY APPROVAL OF WELFARE CLAIMS AND CHECKS. TWO OF THOSE CHECKS WERE FOR MY GRANDPARENTS. PARTLY BECAUSE OF THIS, I AM MORE THAN A LITTLE SENSITIZED TO THE DESPAIR OF THOSE WHO FIND THEMSELVES IN POVERTY AND DESTITUTION FOR REASONS FAR BEYOND THEIR CONTROL.

THAT'S WHY I TRY TO UNDERSTAND THINGS LIKE VOTING RIGHTS AND CIVIL RIGHTS AND ISSUES AFFECTING THE POOR, THE HANDICAPPED, AND OTHER VULNERABLE GROUPS. AND THAT'S WHY I BELIEVE THAT BUDGET DEFICITS CANNOT BE REDUCED SIMPLY BY SLASHING PROGRAMS AFFECTING LOW INCOME AMERICANS. WHEN IT COMES TO GETTING THE BUDGET UNDER CONTROL, I THINK EVERYONE SHOULD BE CALLED UPON TO ANTE UP THEIR FAIR SHARE.

Tax Reform: An Issue of Fundamental Fairness

THAT'S WHY I AM HEARTENED BY THE ACTION THE SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE TOOK LAST WEEK IN APPROVING A TAX REFORM MEASURE THAT WILL MAKE THE TAX CODE SIMPLER AND FAIRER WHILE REMOVING ABOUT SIX MILLION LOW INCOME AMERICANS FROM THE TAX ROLLS ALL TOGETHER. I BELIEVE THE AMERICAN PUBLIC WANTS REAL TAX REFORM. THEY WANT AN END TO SPECIAL TAX RELIEF AT THE EXPENSE OF THE GENERAL PUBLIC. WHAT THEY DON'T WANT IS A MERE SUBSTITUTION OF ONE SET OF LOOPHOLES FOR ANOTHER, PROPOSED UNDER THE GUISE OF REFORM. THEY WANT AN END TO THE DOUBLE STANDARD OF TAXATION FOR WORKING PEOPLE AND TAXATION FOR THE SOPHISTICATED PLANNER AND EXPLOITER OF TAX SHELTERS.

WE CUT TAX RATES IN THE FIRST PLACE TO CREATE INCENTIVES. NOW WE ARE TACKLING THE SECOND HALF OF THE JOB. AS FORMER CHAIRMAN OF THE SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE AND AUTHOR OF A MAJOR TAX REFORM BILL IN 1982, I KNOW HOW TOUGH THAT JOB IS. THE BATTLE OVER MEANINGFUL REFORM HAS BEEN LONG AND DIFFICULT. I AM HOPEFUL CONGRESS WILL COMPLETE ACTION ON A BILL WITHIN THE NEXT FEW MONTHS. BUT THERE ARE STILL MANY VESTED INTERESTS EAGER TO

BE HEARD, TO SMOTHER THE CAUSE OF REFORM WITH SPECIOUS ARGUMENTS BACKED BY HANDSOME CONTRIBUTIONS. BUT SO IT HAS BEEN WITH CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION AND EVERY OTHER PROGRESSIVE MEASURE ENACTED INTO LAW. WE TALK ABOUT FAIRNESS. THIS TAX REFORM BILL PROVIDES A CHANCE TO DO MORE THAN TALK. I HOPE YOU WILL TAKE A HARD LOOK AT THE SENATE EFFORT AND GIVE US YOUR HELP AND SUPPORT.

The Republican Senate: A Strong Record

REPUBLICANS DON'T ALWAYS HAVE HIGH POPULARITY RATINGS WITH MANY CIVIL RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS. SOME OF YOU IN THIS ROOM MAY THINK WE ARE A MONOLITHIC GROUP, INSENSITIVE TO THE NEEDS OF THE DISADVANTAGED AND POOR. OVER THE PAST SIX YEARS, I BELIEVE THE REPUBLICAN SENATE AND INDIVIDUAL SENATE REPUBLICANS HAVE TAKEN A NUMBER OF ACTIONS TO PROVE YOU WRONG -- THE TAX REFORM BILL BEING THE MOST RECENT EXAMPLE.

IN 1982, WE WORKED TOGETHER TO EXTEND THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT FOR AN UNPRECEDENTED 25 YEARS, OVER THREE TIMES LONGER THAN ANY EXTENSION MEASURE PASSED WHILE THE DEMOCRATS WERE IN CONTROL. WE

ALSO BEAT BACK EVERY SINGLE EFFORT TO WEAKEN THE BILL. HOW MANY TIMES DID THAT HAPPEN WHEN EXTENSION MEASURES WERE CONSIDERED BY A DEMOCRATIC-CONTROLLED SENATE?

A FEW YEARS LATER, WE PASSED LEGISLATION DESIGNATING DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.'S BIRTHDAY A LEGAL, PUBLIC HOLIDAY. THAT BILL HAD LANGUISHED FOR 16 YEARS WHILE THE SENATE WAS UNDER DEMOCRATIC CONTROL. LET ME ADD THAT I WAS PLEASED AND PROUD TO HELP MANAGE THAT BILL ON THE FLOOR OF THE SENATE AND TO SERVE ON THE MARTIN LUTHER KING HOLIDAY COMMISSION WITH MRS. KING AND A NUMBER OF OTHER OUTSTANDING AMERICANS.

SENATE REPUBLICANS ARE CARRYING ON IN THE SPIRIT AND TRADITION OF LEGENDS LIKE EVERETT DIRKSEN, JACK JAVITS, AND MAC MATHIAS, THOUGH THE LEADERSHIP OF SENATOR MATHIAS WILL BE SORELY MISSED AFTER HE RETIRES AT THE END OF THE YEAR. I HAVE KNOWN MAC MATHIAS FOR NEARLY A QUARTER OF A CENTURY. I FEEL PROUD TO HAVE CALLED HIM FRIEND AND PRIVILEGED TO HAVE CALLED HIM COLLEAGUE. HE IS A STATESMAN AND MAN OF CONSCIENCE, WHO HAS MADE MONUMENTAL CONTRIBUTIONS OVER THE YEARS TO THE CAUSE OF JUSTICE IN THIS COUNTRY.

BUT MAC IS NOT ALONE AMONG SENATE REPUBLICANS IN HIS DEDICATION AND COMMITMENT. IF HE WERE HERE TODAY HE WOULD TELL YOU AS MUCH. FOR INSTANCE, IF YOU THINK REPUBLICANS ARE ALL OPPOSED TO AFFIRMATIVE ACTION, TAKE A LOOK AT THE FORCEFUL ADVOCACY OF ARLEN SPECTER FROM PENNSYLVANIA ON THIS TROUBLESOME ISSUE. IF YOU THINK REPUBLICANS ARE SELECTIVE IN THEIR SUPPORT FOR CIVIL RIGHTS, TAKE A LOOK AT THE STRONG, CONSISTENT RECORD OF MACK MATTINGLY OF GEORGIA.

IF YOU THINK REPUBLICANS ARE CALLOUS AND INSENSITIVE TOWARD THE NEEDS OF CHILDREN IN POVERTY, TAKE A LOOK AT WHAT SENATOR PAULA HAWKINS OF FLORIDA HAS DONE TO PROTECT SUCH CHILDREN FROM CRIME, DRUGS, AND DISEASE. IF YOU THINK REPUBLICANS IGNORE THE PROBLEMS OF OUR INNER CITIES, TAKE A LOOK AT WHAT THIS STATE'S REPUBLICAN SENATOR, ALFONSE D'AMATO, HAS DONE ON ISSUES LIKE URBAN CRIME, MASS TRANSIT, AND ILLEGAL DRUG PEDDLING.

- 10 -
Reaching Out

WE ARE A COMPASSIONATE PARTY. WE WANT TO BE THE PARTY OF ALL THE PEOPLE. WE WANT TO REACH OUT TO OUR LOST CONSTITUENCY AND RECLAIM WHAT WAS ONCE RIGHTFULLY OURS. I SEE A VAST, UNTAPPED RESOURCE -- MILLIONS OF MEN AND WOMEN WHO WANT AN ALTERNATIVE TO FEDERAL PATERNALISM, WHO WANT A HEALTHY ECONOMY, NOT DOUBLE DIGIT INFLATION; JOBS IN BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY, NOT WELFARE CHECKS. WE MAY DIFFER IN OUR APPROACHES TO THESE PROBLEMS, BUT WE HAVE COMMONALITY IN OUR GOALS. BUT TO REACQUAINT OURSELVES WITH ONE ANOTHER, WE MUST KEEP OUR MINDS AND HEARTS OPEN -- AND TALK.

POLITICAL DIFFERENCES ARE NOT A PROBLEM IN A DEMOCRACY; ONLY POLITICAL INDIFFERENCE POSES A THREAT TO POPULAR RULE. GOVERNMENT MUST LEARN TO REGARD THE GOVERNED AS PEOPLE, AND NOT MERELY OBJECTS FOR NOBLESSE OBLIGE. WHATEVER ELSE WE HOLD, THAT AT LEAST, WILL UNITE US. GOVERNMENT MUST TAKE INTO ACCOUNT ITS PEOPLE'S AMBITION FOR JOBS, DECENT HOUSING, ADEQUATE MEDICAL CARE, AND A CHANCE FOR SOMETHING STILL BETTER IN THEIR CHILDREN'S TIME. IT ISN'T ENOUGH TO SPEND MONEY ON A SOCIAL PROBLEM -- NOT

UNLESS YOU ATTACK THAT PROBLEM AT ITS ROOTS, WHICH ARE POVERTY
AND NEGLECT AND CALLOUS DISREGARD FOR THE DREAMS AND ASPIRATIONS
THAT EXIST IN US ALL.

Conclusion

OVER TWO CENTURIES AGO, THE PHILOSOPHICAL TINKERERS IN
PHILADELPHIA FIRST PROCLAIMED THE NEWS THAT ALL MEN WERE CREATED
EQUAL, ENDOWED WITH CERTAIN INALIENABLE RIGHTS. MY HOME STATE
WAS FORMED OUT OF THE STRUGGLE TO REDEEM THAT PLEDGE. WE'VE COME
TOO FAR TO TURN BACK NOW. WE'VE OVERCOME TOO MUCH TO YIELD
LIGHTLY. NEITHER OUR CONSCIENCE, NOR OUR CHILDREN WOULD PERMIT
IT.



NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.
99 Hudson Street, New York, N.Y. 10013 • (212) 219-1900

5/16/86
NAACP Luncheon
Grand Ballroom
NY Hilton
NY

May 15, 1986

The Honorable Robert Dole
Senate Majority Leader
New York Hilton Hotel
53rd Street and Avenue of the Americas
New York, New York

Attention: Sheila Bair

Dear Senator Dole:

Welcome to New York City! We look forward to seeing you and hearing your address at the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc. (LDF) 1986 Civil Rights Institute.

The others sitting at your table at the luncheon are:

William T. Coleman, Jr., (whom you know),
Chairman of the Board of LDF.

Julius L. Chambers, Director-Counsel, LDF, since July 1984. Mr. Chambers is a native of North Carolina, where he became a partner in the first inter-racial law firm in the South and practiced civil rights law. He was Editor-in-Chief of the Law Review of the University of North Carolina Law School in 1961-62.

Robert H. Preiskel, President of LDF since 1984. He is a graduate of Yale Law School. He is a tax lawyer, partner and co-chair of Fried, Frank, Harris, Shriver & Jacobson in New York City.

William and Gertrude Scheide. Bill Scheide is an LDF Board Member and our most generous individual supporter. He and his wife live in Princeton, New Jersey. Bill Scheide is a musicologist and was the organizer and director of the Bach Aria Group.

Contributions are deductible for U.S. income tax purposes

The NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE & EDUCATIONAL FUND is not part of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People although it was founded by it and shares its commitment to equal rights. LDF has had for over 25 years a separate Board, program, staff, office and budget.

The Honorable Robert Dole
May 15, 1986
Page 2

Mrs. Roy Wilkins is the widow of Roy Wilkins,
the long time Executive Director of the NAACP.

Jack Greenberg is Vice Dean and Professor of
Law, Columbia Law School. He is the former
Director-Counsel of LDF (1961-1984). He argued
approximately forty cases in the Supreme Court
of the United States. He is a founding member
of Helsinki Watch.

Helen Buttenwieser is a lawyer and philanthro-
pist. She was the first woman graduate of New
York University Law School. She is the niece
of Governor Herbert Lehman.

I wish to remind you that LDF is not part of the
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
although it was founded by it and shares its commitment to
equal rights. LDF has had for over 25 years a separate Board,
program, staff, office and budget.

I look forward to greeting you tomorrow.

Sincerely,



Rona Kiley
Institute Coordinator

RK/11
Enclosures

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The "Committee of 100", a voluntary cooperative group of individuals, headed by Bishop Paul Moore, Jr., has sponsored the appeal of the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc. since 1943 to enable the Fund to put into operation a program designed to make desegregation a reality throughout the United States.



IN THE
Supreme Court of the United States

October Term, 1953

No. 1

OLIVER BROWN, ET AL., *Appellants,*

VS.

BOARD OF EDUCATION OF TOPEKA, ET AL., *Appellees.*

No. 2

HARRY BRIGGS, JR., ET AL., *Appellants.*

VS.

R. W. ELLIOTT, ET AL., *Appellees.*

No. 4

DOROTHY E. DAVIS, ET AL., *Appellants,*

VS.

COUNTY SCHOOL BOARD OF PRINCE EDWARDS COUNTY,
Appellees.

No. 10

FRANCIS B. GEBHART, ET AL., *Petitioners,*

VS.

ETHEL LOUISE BELTON, ET AL., *Respondents.*

APPEALS FROM THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF KANSAS, THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF SOUTH CAROLINA AND THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF VIRGINIA, AND ON PETITION FOR A WRIT OF CERTIORARI TO THE SUPREME COURT OF DELAWARE, RESPECTIVELY

**BRIEF FOR APPELLANTS IN NOS. 1, 2 AND 4 AND
FOR RESPONDENTS IN NO. 10 ON REARGUMENT**

CHARLES L. BLACK, JR.,
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WILLIAM T. COLEMAN, JR.,
CHARLES T. DUNCAN,
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CHARLES S. SCOTT,
*Attorneys for Appellants in Nos. 1,
2, 4 and for Respondents in No. 10.*

**32 Years
After
*Brown v.
Board of
Education***

**"The
Changing
Perception
of Race
Discrimination."**

NAACP Legal Defense and
Educational Fund, Inc.
(LDF) Annual
Civil Rights Institute
May 16, 1986
New York City

Luncheon Program

Roger W. Wilkins
Presiding

I

WELCOME	Roger W. Wilkins <i>Journalist</i>
INVOCATION	The Reverend Doctor Samuel D. Proctor <i>Abyssinian Baptist Church</i>
CONVOCATION	Robert H. Preiskel <i>President, NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.</i>
GREETINGS	Julius L. Chambers <i>Director-Counsel, NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.</i>
PRESENTATIONS	THE TWELFTH ANNUAL JOHN WARREN DAVIS AWARD Bobby Marzine Harges <i>of Grenada, Mississippi</i> Earl Warren Scholar at the University of Mississippi School of Law THE NINETEENTH ANNUAL CONSTANCE BAKER MOTLEY AWARD Giji Michelle Dennard <i>of St. Petersburg, Florida</i> Earl Warren Scholar at Stanford Law School

II

SPECIAL LDF AWARDS	Jack Greenberg <i>Vice Dean, Columbia Law School</i>
VOCAL SELECTIONS	Barbara Conrad <i>Metropolitan Opera Company/accompanied by Dinard Smith</i>
REMARKS/ INTRODUCTION	William T. Coleman, Jr. <i>Chairman of The Board, NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.</i>

III

KEYNOTE ADDRESS	The Honorable Robert S. Dole <i>Senate Majority Leader</i>
CLOSING	Roger W. Wilkins

Panel Discussion

The Changing Perception of Race Discrimination

(to begin immediately following luncheon in Sutton North, 2nd floor)

Message from the Director-Counsel



I welcome you to the 1986 Annual Civil Rights Institute celebrating the thirty-second anniversary of the Supreme Court's decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*. *Brown* did more than pave the way for desegregation of public education. It set a moral tone for the country and led to major legal, social, economic and political changes. Today people are accustomed to this new society; they are more appreciative of the rights and aspirations of others who may differ—either in color, sex or religion. In that sense, it does not matter what a president or what a court says. We will never go back to where we were before *Brown*.

But if we no longer have governors barring the school house door, and overt, legally sanctioned exclusion of blacks, we still have major problems, some new but mostly remnants of the past, that demand our continued vigilance and attention.

Problems traceable to historical race discrimination frequently are rationalized today in non-racial terms. Demography and economics, for example, are blamed. Thirty-two years after *Brown*, black children are still in racially segregated schools in some areas with the threat, as in LDF's school case in Norfolk, Virginia, that desegregated systems could revert to segregated schools.

Many blacks have moved to better jobs and closed the earnings gap, but over 30% remain in poverty. And the ranks of blacks in poverty have been growing in recent years.

What can an organization like LDF do about it? We can and must identify the racial factors that create and perpetuate these disparities. We can also develop remedies that address more effectively the root cause of poverty and racial inequalities. This is the historical mission of LDF and remains our mission today. We have to preserve past gains as well as deal with new realities in race discrimination including present efforts to explain it away in non-racial terms. The challenge to LDF that we wish to discuss today is to show the connections between the persistent problems in the black community and race discrimination. We will also review several suggested remedies designed to address the new, more complex and subtle forms of discrimination. The Institute offers an effective public forum for this exchange.

The Institute also provides an opportunity for LDF to say that we stand for what we have always stood for: equality, justice, and tolerance. The fight has been long, and it is by no means over. Past victories and present discouragements cause many to question the necessity or wisdom of continuing our historic struggle. But we are neither discouraged about the present nor pessimistic about the future. We know that we will not only endure present crises, but will ultimately prevail in our efforts to make this society keep its promise and render simple justice to each and every American.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, which appears to read "Julius L. Chambers". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large, stylized "J" and "C".

Julius L. Chambers
Director-Counsel

Presiding

Roger W. Wilkins

*Chairman,
1986 Civil Rights Institute*
Journalist

Currently Mr. Wilkins is Senior Fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies. He is the author of *A Man's Life*, published by Simon and Schuster. He serves on the Editorial Board of *The Nation* and is a contributor to *The New Yorker*, *Foreign Policy*, *Fortune*, *Esquire* and many other publications. He has been a commentator on the CBS Radio Network and the Mutual Broadcasting System. He was a member of the Editorial Board of *The New York Times* and a member of the Editorial Page Staff of *The Washington Post*. From



1966–69 he was Assistant Attorney General of the United States.

Keynote Speaker

Senator Robert Dole

Senate Majority Leader

Senator Dole has taken a leadership role in demonstrating the continued existence of a bipartisan consensus in favor of full participation and equal opportunity for minority citizens. He was the architect of the key amendment to the Voting Rights Act of 1982. With the other principal co-sponsors of the Voting Rights Act, he filed an amicus brief supporting the position of the black voters of North Carolina, a case argued before the Supreme Court by LDF's Director-Counsel, Julius Chambers. Senator Dole has urged President Reagan to retain Executive Order 11246, which requires federal contractors to make good faith efforts to increase participation of females and minorities in their workforce. Senator Dole has shown a genuine commitment to fair enforcement of civil rights laws.



In 1968, Robert Dole was elected to the Senate from Kansas. For two years, he was national chairman of the Republican Party. In 1976, President Ford selected him to be his running mate. Since November 1984, he has been serving as Senate Majority Leader, the Senate's highest leadership post.

Vocalist

Barbara Conrad

Mezzo-Soprano

Barbara Conrad is a star of the Metropolitan Opera Company. A native of Pittsburg, Texas and a graduate of the University of Texas at Austin, Barbara Conrad made her Metropolitan Opera debut as Azucena during the spring 1982 tour and her official "house" debut in *DER ROSENKAVALIER*, which was telecast on "Live from the Met" in the 1982-83 season. That same season also featured her Vienna State Opera debut as Azucena, Laura in *LA GIOCONDA* with the London Symphony Orchestra and a recording of *HAMLET* for London Records. Ms. Conrad first won musical acclaim for her performance in *CARMEN*, which she sang with the Houston Opera and later the New York City Opera. Since then, Ms. Conrad has sung with Lorin Maazel and the Cleveland Symphony Orchestra, the National Symphony at



the Kennedy Center, the Bayerische Staatsoper in Munich, the Brussels Opera and the Frankfurt State Theatre. She also performed in the ABC Television production of "Eleanor and Franklin: The White House Years" as the legendary singer Marian Anderson.

Panel Discussion

The Changing Perception of Race Discrimination

The panel will:

- examine the changing problems, perceptions and attitudes on race discrimination;
- address from their different perspectives whether race conscious remedies are needed in several specific employment and educational situations;
- discuss remedies for the new, more complex and subtle forms of discrimination.

The Panelists



Barbara Black
Chair and moderator
Dean, Columbia Law School



Rex E. Lee
Partner, Sidley & Austin;
Solicitor General of the U.S. (1981–1985)



Drew Days
Professor of Law, Yale Law School;
Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights;
U.S. Department of Justice (1977–1981)



Theodore Mann
Partner, Mann & Ungar;
President, American Jewish Congress



Elaine Jones
Assistant Counsel;
NAACP Legal Defense Fund



Hon. Ernest N. Morial
Mayor, New Orleans (1977–1986)

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This is Who we are and what we do

The NAACP Legal Defense & Educational Fund, Inc. (LDF) is America's principal national civil rights law firm using the American system of laws to defend the legal and constitutional rights of Blacks, other racial minorities and women in the Courts. Many of its cases have been resolved in the United States Supreme Court creating important new principles.

Now in its 46th year, LDF attorneys have won hundreds of court decisions, a significant number on behalf of government employees, and cases to:

- desegregate public education;
 - gain equal access to employment opportunity, housing, voting rights and health care;
 - secure even-handed treatment in the administration of criminal justice.
- LDF also administers two national scholarship and fellowship aid programs:
- Herbert Lehman Education Fund—primarily for undergraduate students choosing to attend southern colleges;
 - Earl Warren Legal Training Program for black law students; and
 - Internships for law students throughout the year and during the Summer.

“I came here...to say to those who support you with funds that their money could not be contributed to a better cause.

“You have fought the good fight and have done so much of the time alone but always within the compass of our institutions. During almost half of that time, I sat on the Supreme Court listening to the arguments of your counsel; reading your briefs, and deciding the cases that never would have reached us for decision had it not been for your participation.

“I came to the Supreme Court...and on arrival found on my desk the briefs in *Brown v. Board of Education* and its companion cases. Only a few weeks later, I heard the arguments of your then counsel, later my colleague, Thurgood Marshall, and the counsel for the several States who were then defending the false doctrine of ‘separate but equal’ which had led millions of black Americans almost to the point of complete despair. During the following years there were few, if any, months in which cases were not presented either by Justice Marshall while counsel or by Jack Greenberg, James M. Nabrit III, or some other member of your legal staff. Every case they brought to us was an important one, and one that affected not only the black population but also every minority group in the nation...

“In all our efforts, we should remember that constitutional protections are more likely to be lost through the indirectness of erosion than through an open assault.

“It has been well said that the words of a constitution mean nothing unless some lawyer has the courage to stand up in a courtroom and fight to give them meaning. That is what you have been doing through the years...”

*Earl Warren
Chief Justice of The United States,
Retired, in an address before the May 15,
1970 Legal Defense Fund Institute on
“The Crisis in American Justice.”*

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The NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE & EDUCATIONAL FUND is not part of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People although it was founded by it and shares its commitment to equal rights. LDF has had for over 28 years a separate Board, program, staff, office and budget.

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