

consequence, when one observes living man, one observes a foreign substance who doesn't fit into the formula, thereby allowing whatever social or political systems that are momentarily operating to take over the center of the stage. The system works, with man distorted to fit within its rigid framework.

What is needed is a displacement of this grotesque "essential" philosophy that ignores the individual with an "existential" philosophy that sees man in terms of time and place. We must stop concentrating on institutions and systems and begin to see man the individual. We must stop knowing **about** the poor, the sick, the disenfranchised. We must begin to know **this** man in the slums who cannot find a job to support his family, **this** 75-year-old widow who dies slowly in some back room, alone and unloved, **this** Negro who cannot vote in Jackson, Mississippi.

And once we have discovered man, then we can proceed to construct new systems and institutions that will have at their heart man himself. These systems and institutions will become extensions of man whose fulfillment should be the purpose for which everything else exists. We must do away with the primacy of such abstractions as "society," "public interests," "private enterprise," or "communism," and instead have a new primacy—the individual human being. This is essential because it is he who suffers from disease, poverty, and ignorance. It is he who perishes in war. Only when individual man becomes the focus of our attention and concern can we do anything for him.

**Systems may perish in order that man might flourish.**

Therefore, when Mr. Johnson contemplates the problems facing us, he mustn't think of them as national, international or even regional problems, he must view them as human problems. This will create an urgency for solution, for no man can witness the suffering of another **man** and remain unmoved. Abstractions never suffer; only man. If this comes about, programs, policies, and all the rest will flow easily; if not we all are in mortal danger.

Mr. Johnson, as President, must lead us, not to the sea, but to the heights. Upon his leadership much depends. But we cannot place the weight of the world on the back of one man; we must all share in this vital revolution. We can all begin by being a little bit more human; we can begin at the beginning, with ourselves.

*"... proceed to construct new systems institutions ..."*

# two reasons to vote no on 14

(the third is your conscience)



## POLITICS:

### *In California They Vote 'Yes' on 'No'*

*Edward W. McHugh worked for the committee to defeat Proposition 14. In this article, he analyzes why his side lost.*

The victory in California of Proposition 14 by a 2-1 margin is considered the "severest setback" to the forces of fair housing since the current phase of the civil rights struggle began.

Other setbacks in fair housing legislation—during 1963 and 1964 in the cities of Berkeley, Seattle, Tacoma, Detroit, Dayton and Akron—are roadblocks in the drive for equal rights.

But, certainly, the overwhelming defeat of California's state-wide Rumford Fair Housing Act is of singular significance—not only because it affects 10% of the country's population, but because the "No on 14" campaign was strongly endorsed, relatively well-financed and backed by a hard-working army of volunteers.

Although widely predicted, the defeat of "No on 14" was a bitter disappointment. But were the reasons for the defeat understood?

Dr. Henry Fuller of Bakersfield, a "No on 14" campaign worker, said, "We put our message before the people, they understood it, and yet they voted against us."

This interpretation has been accepted by nearly everyone. Substantially, it is

By  
Edward  
W. McHugh

*An inquiry into the fate of Prop. 14*

felt that the issue in the Proposition 14 campaign was racial prejudice, and that the forces of bigotry won a thumping victory.

Another theory that may be closer to the truth is found in the amendment itself.

... the rights  
of  
property  
owners ...

Proposition 14 was so phrased as to focus attention on a subject that was peripheral to racial segregation—the rights of property owners.

The ballot title on Proposition 14 read: "Prohibits State, subdivision or agency thereof from denying, limiting or otherwise abridging right of any person to decline to sell, lease or rent residential real property to any person as he chooses."

Assume the following proposition appeared on the 1964 ballot alongside Proposition 14: "The State shall affirm the right of any person to live wherever he can afford to buy or rent, regardless of race, color or creed."

We believe that hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, of Californians would vote for both Proposition 14 and the second proposition without seeing anything incongruous or contradictory about their choice.

Certainly, prejudice prompted a portion of the "Yes on 14" vote. How large a portion cannot be determined. One way to find out would be to place a proposition on the 1966 ballot which would give Californians the opportunity to show that in theory, if not always in practice, they recognize the moral soundness of equal rights.

Such a test might lay some ghosts that are haunting our political leaders. It is widely felt, for example, that Pierre Salinger was defeated because he fought against Proposition 14.

Was Salinger  
defeated  
over Prop. 14?

If this is true, politicians can hardly be blamed for ducking any confrontation of the civil rights issue. Their political lives depend on their ability to gauge public opinion. However, in the case of Proposition 14, no demonstrable issue transfer appears so far as Salinger is concerned.

Considering the results in conjunction with some Assembly and Congressional races, the picture becomes even more haphazard.

The vote totals: Yes on 14—4,526,460, or 65.4%; No on 14—2,395,747, or 34.6%. For George Murphy—3,628,555, or 51.5%; for Pierre Salinger—3,411,912, or 48.5%. Salinger won in 27 counties, Murphy in 31.

Only one county in the State, Modoc, delivered a majority for "No on 14"—by only 12 votes of more than 3,000 cast. If Salinger's endorsement of "No on 14" was a factor in the vote, one would con-

fidently expect him to win in Modoc County. He did not.

In Solano County, Salinger won with 58% of the vote, ten points higher than his statewide percentage. If there is any relationship between his vote and Proposition 14, then Proposition 14 would have been defeated, or at least its margin of victory would have been relatively less. But Proposition 14 won in Solano County with 70%, five points higher than the statewide percentage. At the same time, Democratic Congressman Bob Leggett, a "No on 14" supporter, was beating his Pro-14 opponent 77% to 23%.

There are other illustrations to show that Salinger's defeat may be attributed to several factors, but not to his stand on Proposition 14.

Our elected representatives have little to fear from issue transfer so far as Proposition 14 is concerned. The "yes" vote may not have been prompted by prejudice. Prejudiced persons are inclined to identify those who preach tolerance as evil, and a correlation between the "yes" vote and the candidate vote would be evident.

"the wording  
of a  
question ..."

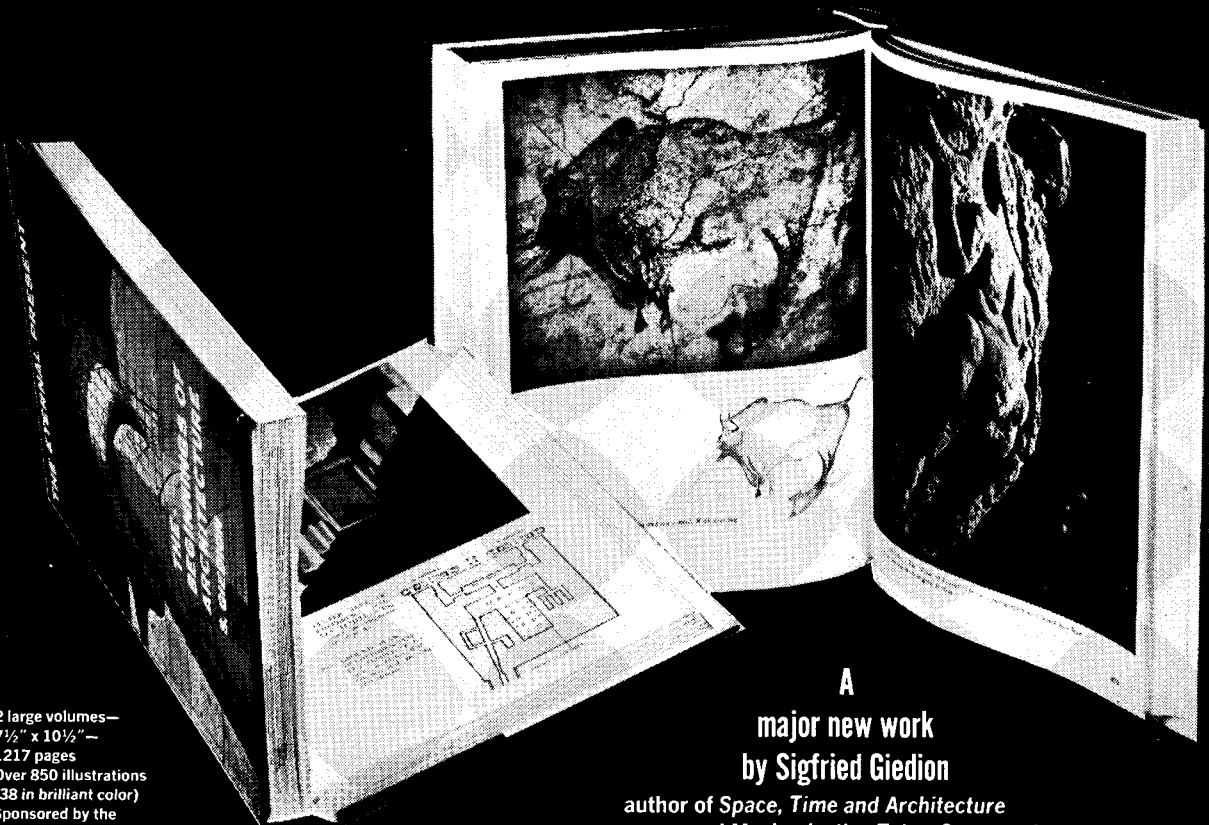
The essence of the alternative theory as to why four and one-half million citizens voted "yes" on 14 is that the wording of a question can be used to influence the answer. For example, the same individual might give different responses if asked these questions: "Do you believe Negroes should be allowed to purchase and own any property they can afford?" and—"Would you like a Negro family to move next door to you?"

The first question is theoretical, a statement of general principle. The second is more personal, designed to elicit any prejudice the respondent may hold.

The question posed by Proposition 14 was even more insidious. While apparently a statement of general principle, it had strong personal implications. The idea that someone could dictate to whom Californians could sell or rent property had not been presented until Proposition 14 came along. Few complaints had been made under the Rumford Act (which Proposition 14 erased), and relatively few citizens were aware of its existence.

The California Real Estate Association and others who advocated Proposition 14 argued simply that the act should be repealed, not because it guaranteed minority rights—but because it allegedly denied certain property "rights." Not one word concerning race problems appeared in "Yes on 14" billboards, brochures, newspaper ads, radio spots and TV spots. Pro-14 literature hammered away at FEPC bureaucracy, "the government octopus forcing its way into the personal affairs

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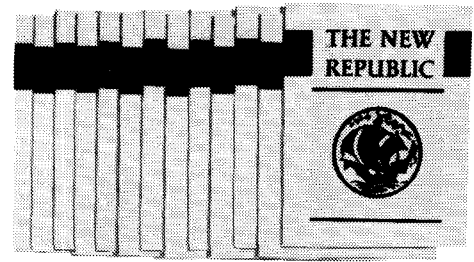
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*“A private, word of mouth campaign . . .”*

of home owners.” The proponents called the Rumford Act “forced housing,” and made the label stick.

At the same time, a private, word-of-mouth campaign was conducted by “Yes on 14” sympathizers. The most effective argument used was the decline in property values that supposedly occurs when Negroes move in. The “No on 14” people clearly showed that this was nonsense.

But, the charge is easy to grasp, the reply hard to explain. The same senses that show that the world is flat are hard to convince that panic selling is subjective, not objective, that ghettos are created for, not by, their occupants.

To fight against Proposition 14 no single argument or theme was powerful enough to carry the campaign, so all were used—moral, legal, economic and political. Unfortunately, they failed to develop the visceral appeal of the “forced housing” and “protect property rights” slogans.

“No on 14” supporters counted heavily on endorsements to pull them through. They were backed by churches and religious leaders; most of the political leaders, including a respectable showing of Republicans; a solid sampling of business and professional leaders, including the Conference of Delegates of the State Bar; and most of the newspapers. The attitudes of community leaders failed to influence the electorate.

The campaign against Proposition 14 was conducted by one of the broadest coalitions ever developed, yet it is clear that it never had a chance to win. The fight was conducted on the enemy’s ground. The wording of the amendment focused talk on the rights of the seller, not on the rights of the buyer. Always on the defensive, the anti-14 fighters were forced to counter simple, vicious charges with complex, scholarly defenses. They had to meet a personalized appeal with moral abstractions.

We cannot conclude that two-thirds of California citizens are bigots merely because they responded affirmatively to arguments of this kind. We believe they will prove they are not, if they are called upon to face the real issue: the right of any citizen to live wherever he can afford to live. This, the moral issue, was side-stepped in Proposition 14.

I hope the California Legislature gives the people the chance to make a clear choice on this question. A constitutional amendment could be passed by the current session, one that will have the effect of erasing Proposition 14 by avoiding semantic traps, and allow the people to see the issue in the proper light.

*“the fight as conducted in the enemy’s ground . . .”*

For instance, a line could be inserted after Article I, Section 1, of the State Constitution so that the section reads: “All men are by nature free and independent, and have certain inalienable rights, among which are those of enjoying and defending life and liberty, acquiring, possessing and protecting property; and pursuing and obtaining safety and happiness. **It is the obligation of the government to secure these rights and they shall not be denied or abridged on the basis of color, race, religion, ancestry or national origin.**”

It is the effect of Proposition 14 to prohibit government action on some aspects of real property transactions. It would be the effect of the new amendment to direct government to protect the rights of buyers, thus restoring the right of the Legislature to act in the field of housing discrimination.

The courts may declare Proposition 14 unconstitutional, in which case a skittish Legislature would have little volition to act. Even so, a new amendment must be passed.

The Legislature should act. It is right morally, legally and from the standpoint of enlightened self-interest.

## LETTERS:

*Tom Dooley,  
Catholics  
and Vietnam*

Sirs:

Robert Scheer is entitled to his opinion on Vietnam and on the relative dangers of Communism, but he is infected with that same virus which weakens most of your staffers and contributors. He lacks balance, judgment and maturity. It is easy to whack away at one side of an issue, particularly if the approach is sensationally “courageous,” possessing all the daring of a little boy writing obscenities in an abandoned outhouse. This type of irresponsible journalism doesn’t make me—as a liberal—feel too secure. It only increases the conservative ammunition and their determination to do battle against us.

Tom Dooley is no saint. I spent some little time with him and found him arrogant, egotistical and Messianic. He travelled on a single jungle path and was intolerant of those who would not share it with him . . . or even of those who did. Nonetheless, I reflect that it was fortunate that he turned his psychosis to