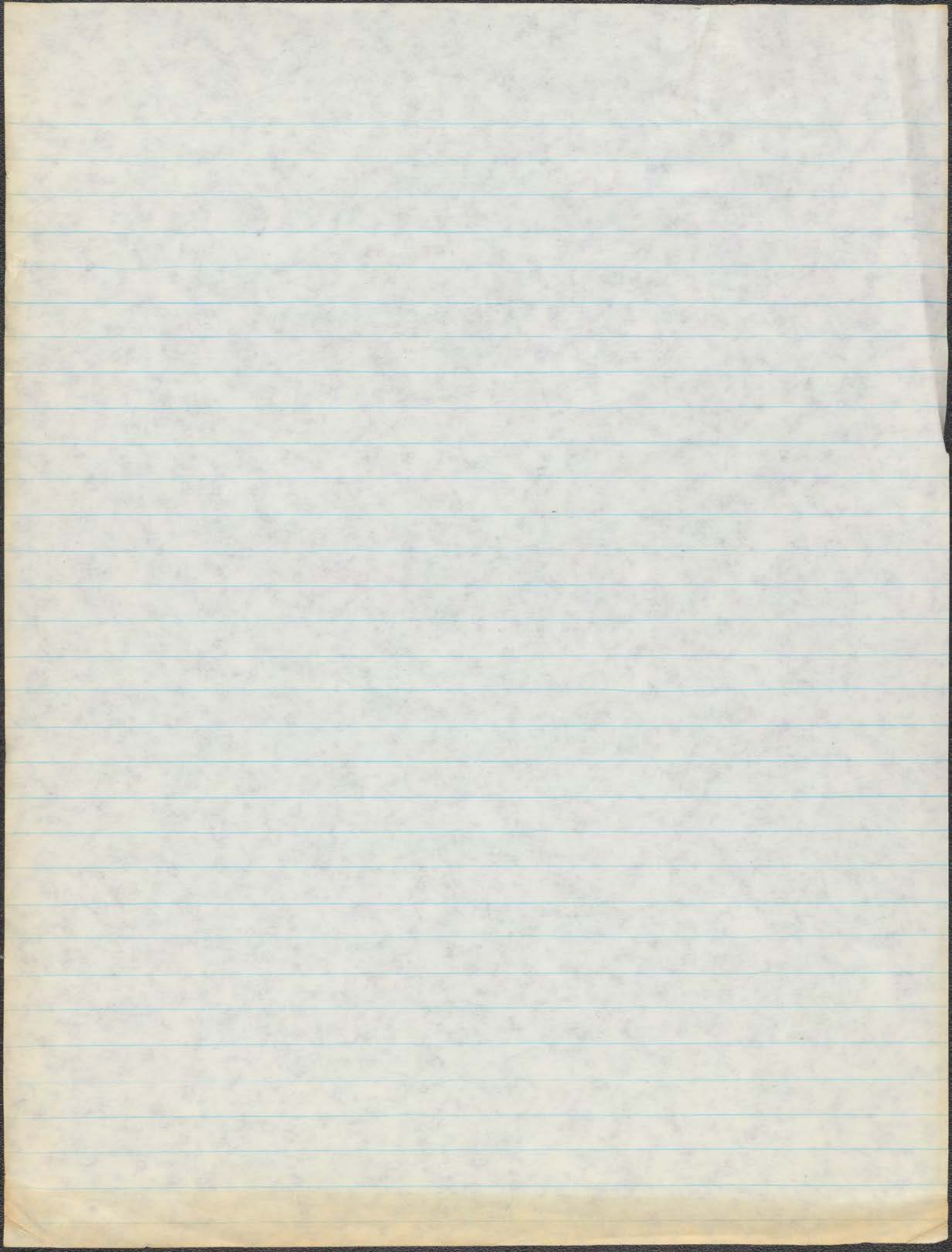


Cover and page 3, page 12





Research and Reference Service

WORLD MEDIA REACTION TO
PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S CIVIL RIGHTS SPEECHES

R-113-63 (A)

June 17, 1963

This is a research report, not a statement of Agency policy

SUMMARY

Praise for President Kennedy's courageous initiative was interlaced with optimism in the world press about the eventual solution of the race problem in the United States. While comment on the President's Honolulu and radio-TV civil rights speeches was almost universally light, it was almost uniformly laudatory. The major criticism was that action was long overdue.

Media comments indicated an intensified awareness of the complexity of the integration problem, but occasionally referred to the positive outlook of American majority opinion and expressed belief that the President's moves will be popularly supported.

News of the civil rights speeches was generally played side-by-side with other racial incidents, and in Africa, at least, the latter appeared to receive more prominence than the former. Editorial comment was limited largely to the major countries and papers.

Strong endorsement of the President's speeches was almost universal. Even the press of Ghana, normally sharply critical of the U.S., grudgingly termed the TV address "forthright, sober and constructive." And a Brazil newspaper referred to it as one of "the greatest services he has rendered his country."

On the other hand, there was a fair amount of criticism in Africa, Europe and in segments of the Indian press of the Administration's tardiness in tackling the race problem. Some European papers indicated that the action should have come earlier, regardless of the political consequences, rather than under pressure. Soviet media said the U.S. Government was limiting itself to "beautiful words and good wishes" and even that only because it feared growing unrest in the Negro community. Cuba refrained from comment.

The first part of the paper is devoted to a general discussion of the problem of the origin of life. It is shown that the problem is one of the most important and interesting in the history of science. The author discusses the various theories of the origin of life, and shows that the most probable one is the theory of spontaneous generation.

The second part of the paper is devoted to a detailed discussion of the theory of spontaneous generation. It is shown that this theory is based on the fact that life is a complex of many different parts, and that these parts are all derived from a common ancestor.

The third part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the evidence in favor of the theory of spontaneous generation. It is shown that there is a great deal of evidence in favor of this theory, and that it is the most probable one.

The fourth part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the objections to the theory of spontaneous generation. It is shown that there are many objections to this theory, but that they are all based on a misunderstanding of the facts.

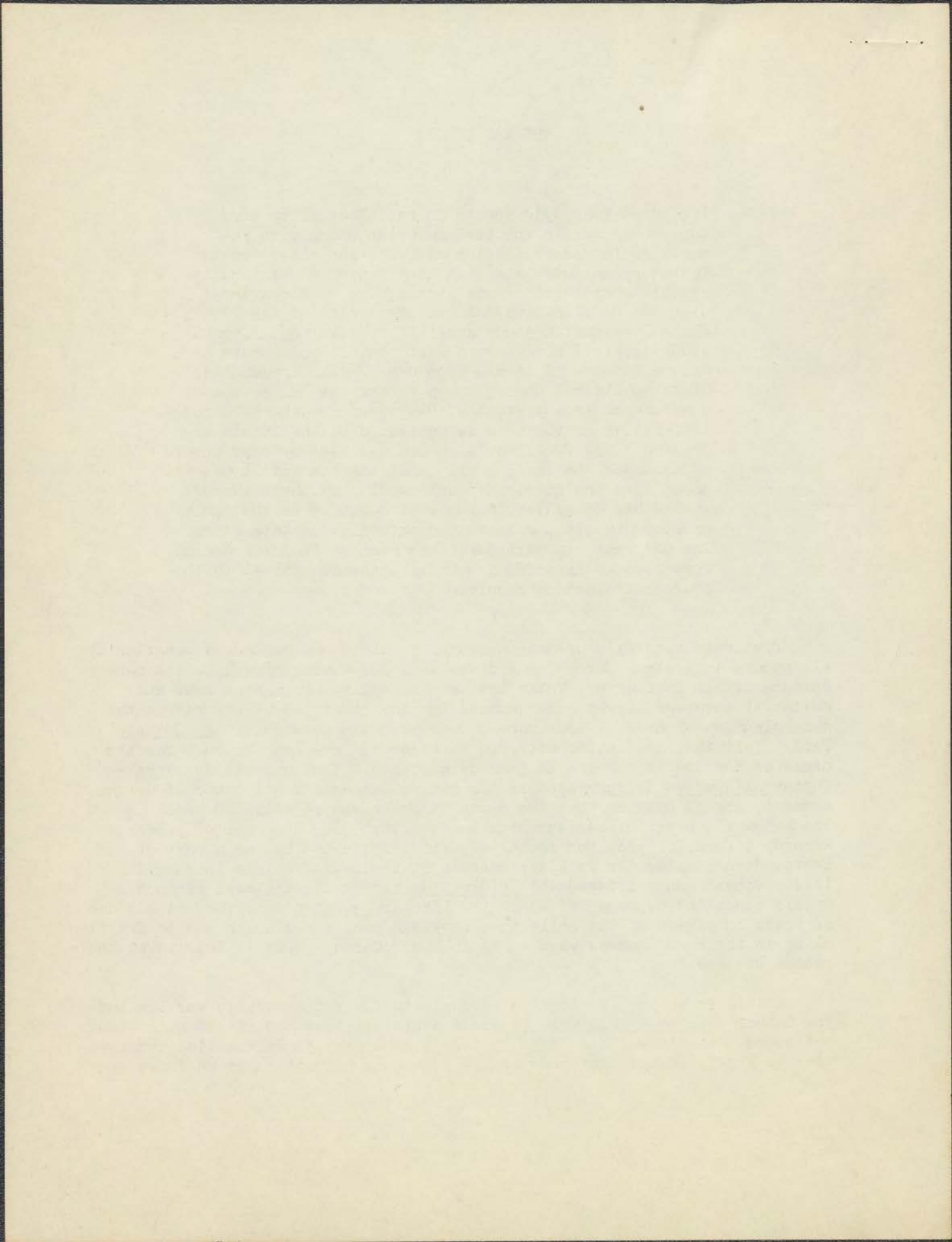
The fifth part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the conclusions of the author. It is shown that the theory of spontaneous generation is the most probable one, and that it is the only one that is based on the facts.

WESTERN EUROPE

President Kennedy's speech on racial equality vied for prominence in the West European press with reports on the assassination of Evers and other events in the racial struggle. In many papers the intensity of this social crisis was highlighted by comparisons with the McCarthy era and the depression of the 1930's. While President Kennedy's call for racial equality was widely praised some papers felt that it would have been more effective if it had been made earlier regardless of the political consequences rather than under the pressure of recent events. Others argued the need for legislative action to give substance to the ideals expressed. The President's speech was seen by many papers as an appeal to the conscience of America and it was hoped that the American people would, by their support, enable him to achieve a peaceful solution to the racial problem despite the increased extremism on both sides. The Congress, in particular its members from the South, were however invariably seen as a serious threat to the progressive action required.

President Kennedy's speech on racial equality was hailed by practically all papers in Western Europe as a courageous and moving appeal to the conscience of all Americans. While the speech received prominent news and editorial coverage it was overshadowed in many countries by reports on the assassination of Evers. Some papers such as the moderate-left Le Combat, Paris, felt that the latter will, in retrospect, have done as much for the cause of the American Negro as Kennedy's speech. The conservative Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung echoing the general non-emotional tenor of German comment, argued however that the death of Evers was an isolated event in the Negroes' overall bloodless march to equality. For a number of papers, Kennedy's forceful plea for racial equality punctuated by the murder of Evers, demonstrated the full seriousness of the racial crisis in American life. Copenhagen's independent Information termed it "the most serious crisis since the depression" while the liberal Guardian described it as "one of those upheavals of the collective American conscience which can be frightening in their suddenness when -- as in the McCarthy years -- fear is at the bottom of them."

Criticism of the President's response to the racial crisis was limited. The Catholic Gazet van Antwerpen, for example, praised the President's stand but added that "it was high time to take such a step." Influential conservative Le Figaro argued that because the President had not taken decisive



measures earlier, there is general scepticism in America regarding the sincerity of his intentions. For this reason the paper believed that his television speech "does not seem to have produced on the public the effect that the White House expected." The labor New Statesman, however, held that with this speech the President "has crossed a moral divide" on the racial issue. The theme that the speech must be followed by concrete action was expressed by a number of papers. Turin's liberal La Stampa felt that the "time has come for the man who in Cuba was able to stand up to Khrushchev to show that he will not let himself be intimidated by a small minority of fanatics out of contact with the realities of our century." Other papers held that because of the dramatic way in which the struggle for racial equality is developing, "the President is condemned to act." (Le Figaro). The complexity of the problem was underscored, however, by the independent Koelner Stadt Anzeiger which stated that "Kennedy has to cope with bigger tasks than had other post-1945 Presidents."

There was some speculation as to the practical outcome of the speech in terms of legislative action. The potential of Congress to obstruct the passage of racial legislation was noted by many papers and some agreed with Le Monde, Paris, that "the plans listed by the President are unlikely to become laws rapidly." For the influential Economist "the factor chiefly favoring the passage through Congress of decisive legislation is the grave prospect of further violence." A good number of other papers however placed their faith in the American people to bring about a peaceful solution to the racial question. Many papers felt that the majority of Americans were opposed to segregation and now that the President had spoken out the country might rally behind him to strengthen his hand in dealing with the problem. Hopes were expressed by such papers as the left-center Frankfurter Rundschau that the President's speech may have served to head off the rise of extremism among both Negroes and whites but some other papers felt that the balance between order and violence was precarious. London's conservative Daily Telegraph echoing the thoughts of others stated: "The skies are dark indeed. The rest of the world can only pray with sympathy and some confidence that decent Americans of all colors will again prevail.... over the blind forces of hatred, violence, unreason and fear which swirl around them."

The first part of the paper is devoted to a general discussion of the problem of the origin of life. It is shown that the problem is one of the most important and most difficult in the history of science. The author discusses the various theories of the origin of life, and shows that the most plausible is the theory of spontaneous generation. This theory is based on the fact that life is a complex of many different parts, and that these parts are all found in the same place, and at the same time. The author also discusses the possibility of life being brought to earth from elsewhere, and shows that this is also a possibility. The paper concludes with a discussion of the future of the study of the origin of life.

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AFRICA

Available reports indicate prominent coverage of the President's TV address in the African media and strong editorial endorsement in several papers. The note of optimism that progress may now be more rapid is sometimes offset by direct or implied criticism that procrastination was too long the rule. The only sharply critical reaction occurred in the Ghanaian controlled media which gave only grudging recognition to the civil rights speech while developing other integration stories into a new emotional attack upon American society. Excerpts from the address appeared in the media of several countries.

The media in several countries have prominently featured the murder of the NAACP leader in Jackson and other Mississippi stories, with several papers noting these as indicative of the challenge to American leadership. Many papers have also reported the University of Alabama story as well as other racial problems.

Prominent press coverage of the TV address is noted in many African countries with several papers using liberal quotes from the text. The strongest editorial endorsement appeared in Nigeria and Algeria. The Nigerian Morning Post (government) said Kennedy "will go down in history as one of the greatest champions of the rights of man that ever lived ... Indeed (he) fights not only his own (segregationist) countrymen but also against all their allies in many lands behind the iron curtain and in South Africa." Le Peuple (FLN) in Algiers featured the murder of the NAACP leader, Evers, but said the speech is "manifest evidence of the profound changes which are going to take place in the social and political life of the U.S. It appears (the President) has decided to go all the way." The FLN paper in Oran, La Republique, pegging its editorial to the "Kennedy Victory in Alabama" said the problem has existed "for a very long time and it was never really desired that it be resolved ... However, Kennedy's position in recent days is categoric and courageous It is certain that segregation in the U.S. will be vanquished finally."

The European controlled Bulawayo Chronicle said "the new note of urgency in the President's voice reflects the mood of millions of Americans suddenly face to face with a problem which can no longer be treated with poultices" or "by sweeping it under the carpet." The whites "must take the initiative and keep up the pressure until the battle is won." Referring to Governor Wallace and the Evers story, the Daily Nation in Kenya said "Kennedy must act ... He must forget the necessity of retaining" the Southern vote in Congress. Es Sabah in Tunisia, also deploring the Evers murder, stressed Kennedy's "honorable stand" and said "we are sure Americans will succeed (in this test for the national conscience) in proving to themselves and the world that they are enlightened."

The sharpest criticism appeared in the Ghanaian controlled media which grudgingly recognized the TV address as "forthright, sober and constructive," while developing a new emotional attack upon the American social system echoing the Communist line that "racialism is inherent in capitalism." The press featured pictures of whites kicking Negroes, accompanied by inflammatory captions, and stated that "fine words are not matched by effective action" by the "Kennedy Administration (which is) the most enigmatic in American history as far as U.S. white-Negro relations are concerned." An Evening News editorial on the Evers murder said the "moral stature of the American nation (is) at the lowest depths" and that the "disgraceful situation demands urgent, drastic extermination rather than crocodile tears and pious platitudes" as reflected in the "slipshod, ineffective manner" of handling the problem "in the selfish interest of capitalist considerations." Recently the press has equated segregation in the U.S. with government-supported apartheid in South Africa and has "proposed" sending a "civilizing Peace Corps" to help "Uncle Sam in his hour of affliction." (The past ten months the controlled media have carried on a vicious propaganda campaign against the U.S.)

Other racial integration developments in Mississippi and elsewhere have taken second place to the Evers story. These events have been only partially balanced by the prominent news coverage and more limited editorial recognition of the University of Alabama story, the Honolulu speech and other Administration efforts.

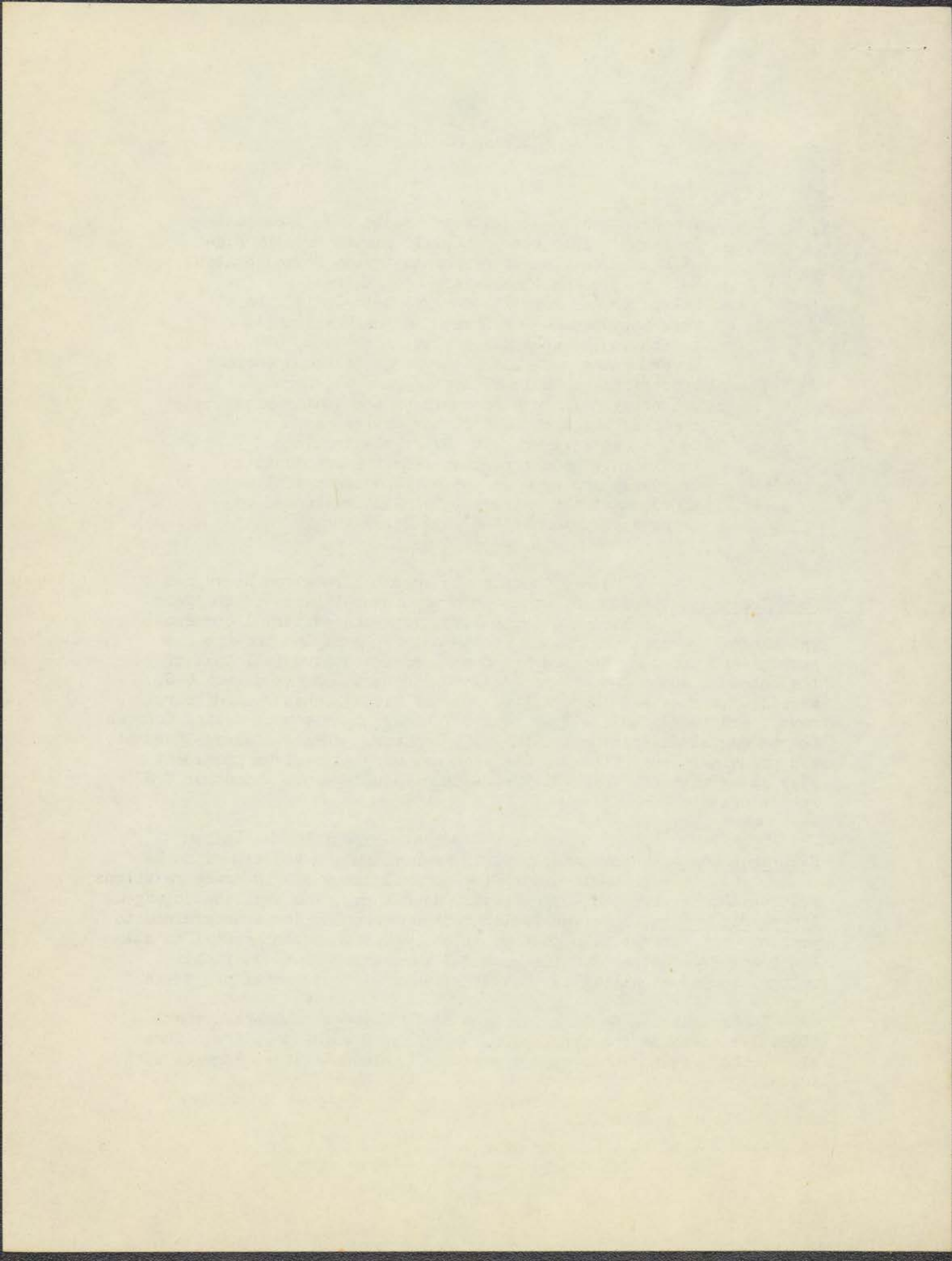
NEAR EAST AND SOUTH ASIA

The President's Honolulu and radio-T.V. speeches on civil rights were generally played side by side with other racial developments in the United States. Editorial comment, however, was limited to a few newspapers in key cities, except in India. Here voluminous comment referred to the President's action in the general context of the U.S. Government's position rather than to the speeches specifically. Editorials, in general, were laudatory, although segments of the Indian press deplored the fact that firmer action had not been taken earlier. The Evers slaying tended to distract much attention from the President's proposals and appeals whereas the successful showdown at the University of Alabama tended to compensate somewhat for this detractor.

News Treatment The President's two speeches received heavy and complete news coverage in most parts of the Near East and South Asia, although editorial comment was minimal, except in India. In Athens, for example, the pro-government, pro-U.S. Kathimerini published almost the full text of the Honolulu speech under the headline "Kennedy Concerned over U.S. Racial Crisis -- Asks Recognition Negroes Civil Rights." And Beirut newspapers headlined the President's Tuesday night speech asking Congress to ban racial discrimination by law. In Cairo, Ankara, Tehran, Karachi, and principal Indian cities, the speeches were also given prominent play along with the University of Alabama developments and other U.S. race stories.

Favorable Comment While editorial comment, except in the Indian newspapers, was somewhat limited and tended to be combined with the general issue of U.S. race relations, that which was reported was generally laudatory. The English-language Athens Daily Post, observed that "President Kennedy seems determined to push his anti-segregation policy, as shown by his recent appeal to all Americans to take part in the peaceful revolution aimed at final recognition of equal rights to all citizens without racial prejudice."

In Karachi, an English-language daily, Leader, commented that "Decisive steps of the type now taken by the President will convince the southern states they cannot practice violence against Negroes with impunity."



Both the Beirut and Indian press applauded the "bold steps" and "daring action" to protect Negro rights. The Lebanese daily Al-Hayat linked the civil rights speech with the Monday speech calling for a "U.S. reappraisal of Soviet policy" and called them "two bold steps that require a lot of courage and determination." And the Indian Telugu-language newspaper Andhra Prabha said "President Kennedy's daring action to protect Negro rights deserves world commendation... He can no longer be an onlooker. The way is hard but a practical man like Kennedy can achieve some results."

The Indian press devoted considerable attention to the U.S race crisis, with comment on the President's speeches interspersed with remarks on the University of Alabama confrontation and the Medgar Evers killing. In Madras, the Mail summarized the situation in an editorial in the same issue that carried news of President Kennedy's appeal and the Alabama developments:

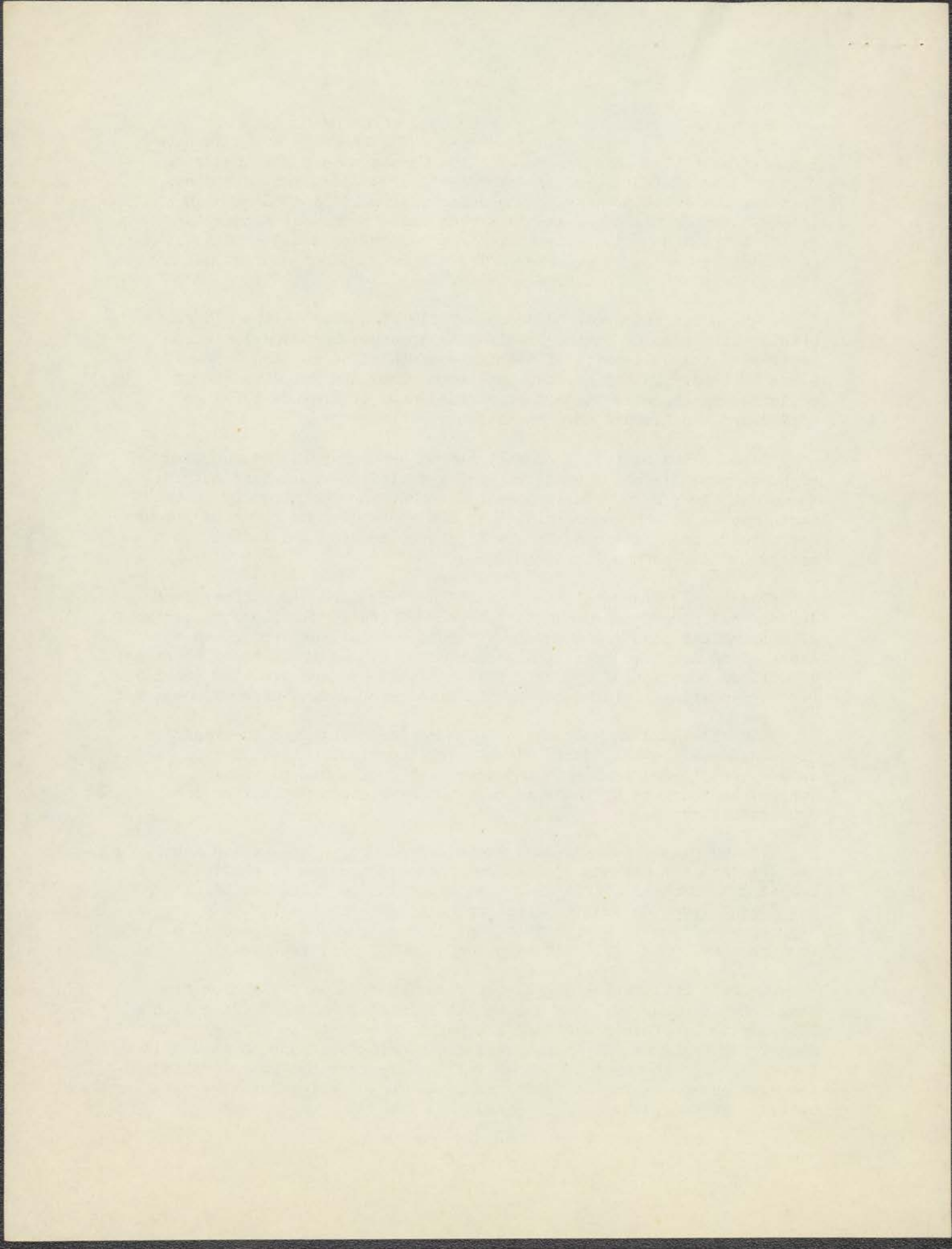
"The United States is an enlightened democracy in the vanguard of human progress and the majority of its citizens will have nothing to do with apartheid. The process of converting the minority in the south may be a long and painful one, but it is obvious that the process has already been set in motion by President Kennedy and that it is a matter of time before it is concluded."

Hindusthan Standard's columnist "Puck" declared that "President Kennedy has earned the plaudits not only of the forward looking sections of mankind but also the accolade of history. The coloured races of America can now take heart that their cause has in their young President a dauntless champion of equality and that while he and his kind preside over the destiny of their country it will never again suffer a setback."

Madras' Tamil-language Nava India declared that the President's "proposed measure will certainly be very important. It will wipe away a blot in American life and eradicate racial discrimination... (which) is contrary to the spirit of the American Constitution and democratic ideals."

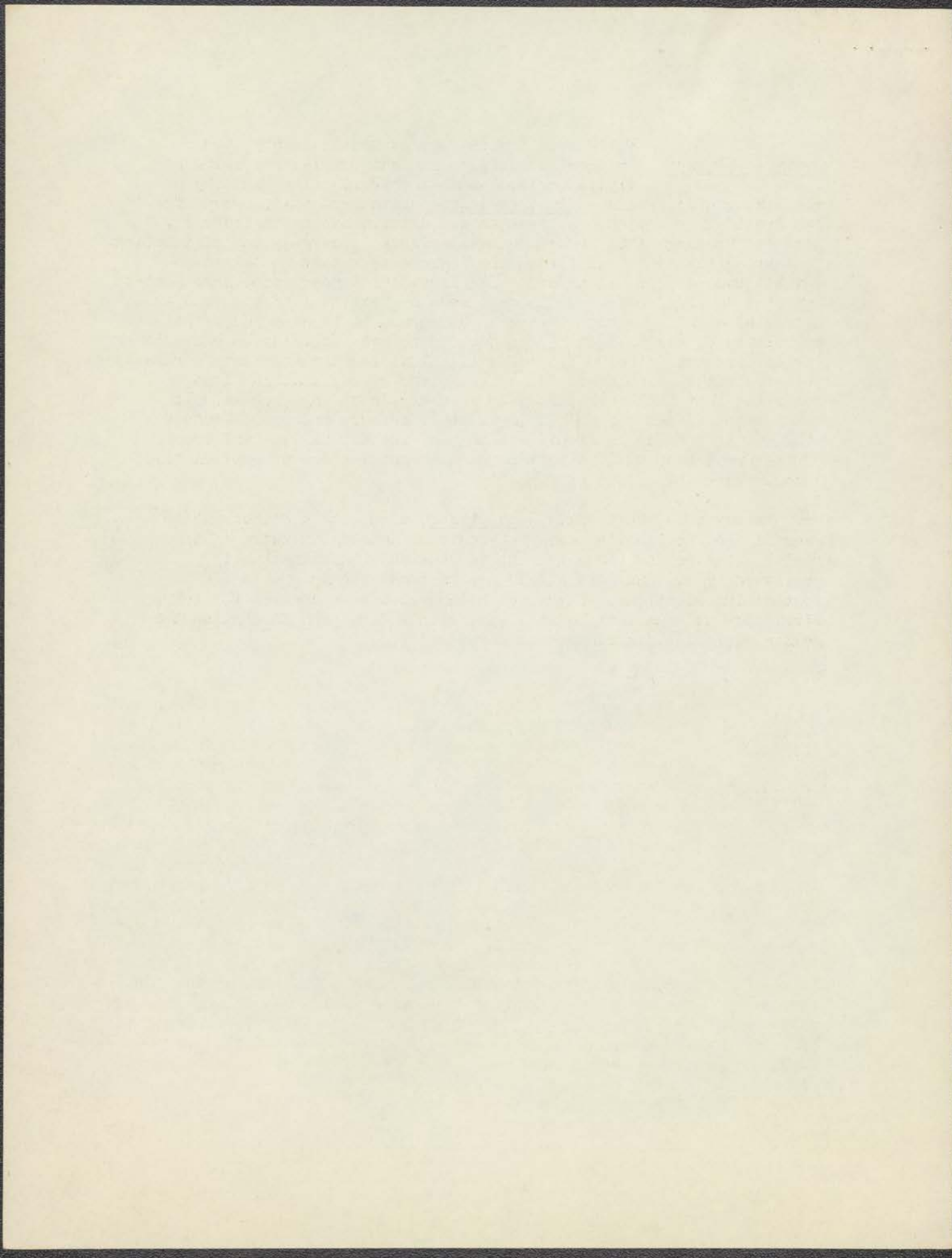
The Bangalore Kannada-language newspaper Prajavani hailed Kennedy's measures as "the beginning of a comprehensive program to eliminate racial discrimination from American national life," and New Delhi's Nav Bharat Times quoted the President's remarks that ultimately the Negroes were sure to win, concluding: "The only right step would be to restore them their civil rights peacefully and constructively."

Cairo's influential Al-Ahram termed the President's action "the best thing Kennedy has done during his political career." It continued: "Kennedy is at present exerting all possible efforts to ward off the danger arising from the Negro population losing all hope of good will toward them on the part of the whites." Elsewhere the paper praised the American press for being the first to denounce the "arbitrary white measures against the colored."



While most Indian comment was laudatory, two influential dailies ran editorials containing an implied criticism of the President's handling of the U.S. racial crisis. Times of India pointed out that, except for the President's action last year to end discrimination in federally assisted housing, "his record on civil rights is largely one of inaction." Commenting that this had forced the Negroes to resort to "direct agitational methods," it added. "Had President Kennedy done some months ago what he now promises to do next week a great deal of violence and bloodshed might have been avoided. Moreover, it is only under the compulsion of events that he has decided to seek legislation prohibiting racial discrimination." The editorial dismissed the President's remarks that the racial problem could not be solved by legislation alone, remarking that "this can surely be said of almost any problem. It remains to be seen how bold a legislative measure President Kennedy will submit for Congressional action, and whether all the influence of the Presidency will in fact be used to put the men on Capitol hill into an agreeable frame of mind."

Bombay's Gujarati daily Jame Jamshed also took a rather narrow view of the President's moves: "President Kennedy is aware of the racial attitude and his eagerness to abolish discrimination is praiseworthy ... But this should not be done with an eye to the forthcoming elections. President Kennedy has a reputation for being firm. Let us hope that he will work with a firm hand to abolish the policy of racial discrimination forever."



FAR EAST

President Kennedy's June 11 civil rights address elicited prominent news coverage, light-to-moderate comment and uniformly laudatory reaction in the Far East press. The tone of running editorial comment so far indicates a deeper appreciation of the complexity of the Negro problem and the vanguard efforts of the President and the Federal Government to bring about genuine equality. A drift away from the predominant response evoked by the Meredith and Birmingham episodes -- the essential failure of the United States to live up to its democratic ideals -- and at least a partial recognition of an eventual solution can now be discerned.

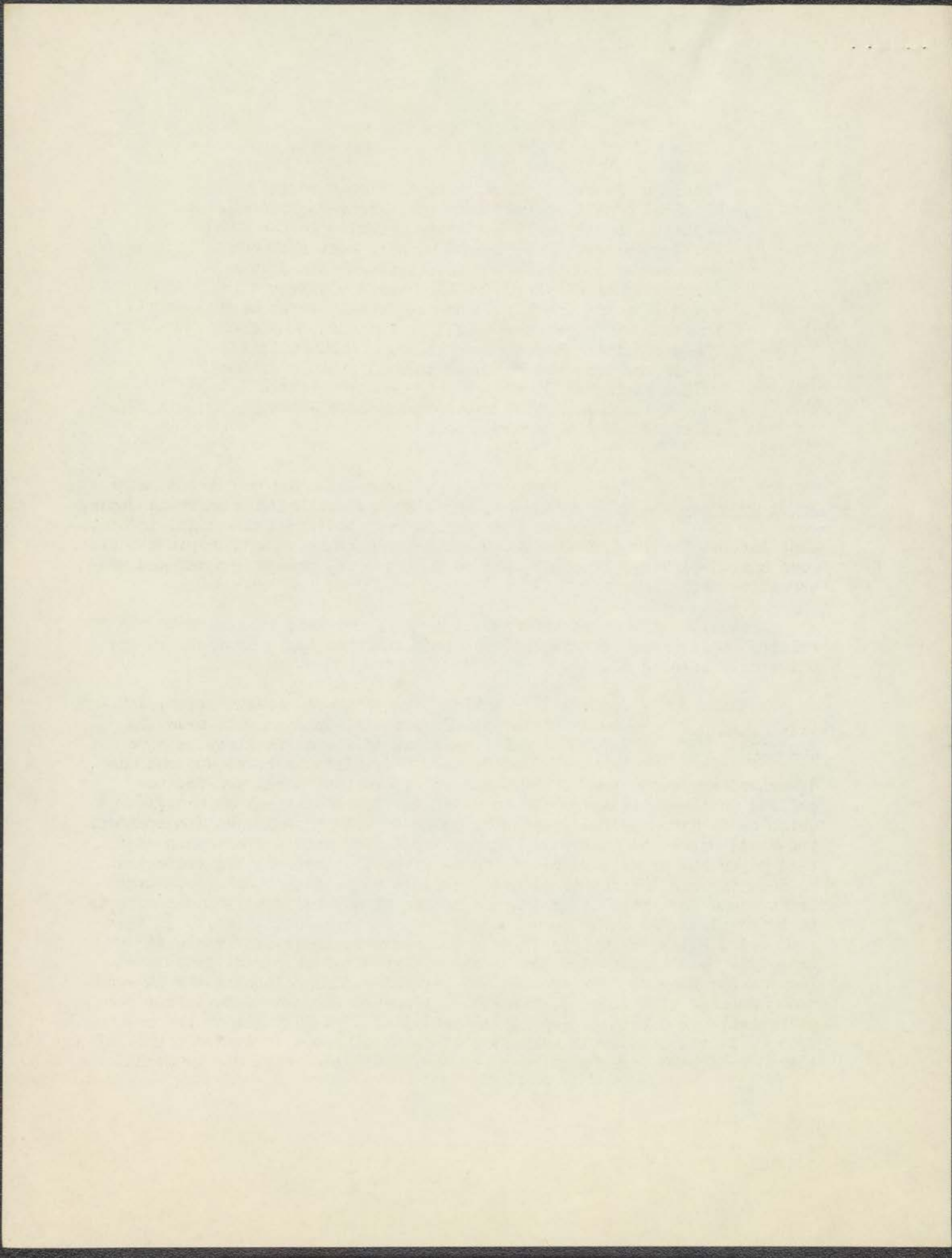
Press Coverage

Press coverage of President's Kennedy's address ranged from prominent news play and editorial comment in Japan, Malaya and the Philippines to virtual oversight in Southeast Asia -- Thailand, Cambodia, Burma and Indonesia. Leftist press outlets were mum, deferring editorial opinion to pro-West, pro-government and conservative media sources.

Area-wide, the press afforded as much if not more treatment to the related Medgar Evers slaying and the enrollment of Negro students at the University of Alabama.

U.S. World Prestige

Japan's influential Tokyo Shimbun (conservative, anti-Communist) typified editorial opinion that eyed the international dimensions of the civil rights strife in the United States: "We laud the President who has described the substance of the issue as an American moral crisis, for calling on the American people to reexamine their national objective which is to defend world freedom." South Korea's Chosun Ilbo (independent pro-West) expressed an equally sanguine point of view: "More than once this paper has urged the United States to settle the racial dispute that is damaging her international prestige. We believe that U.S. government leaders and thoughtful citizens are making steady headway in their efforts to bring final and definite solutions to the racial situation." In the same vein, Malaya's Straits Times (conservative) applauded President Kennedy's reaffirmation of vested Negro rights "which cannot fail to impress the peoples of Afro-Asia who everywhere are following the integration campaign with intense interest." A more sober note issued from the government-owned Korean Republic editorial of June 15: "It is incumbent upon political leaders as well as grassroots citizens to convince themselves that the current desegregation movement is only part of a mighty world

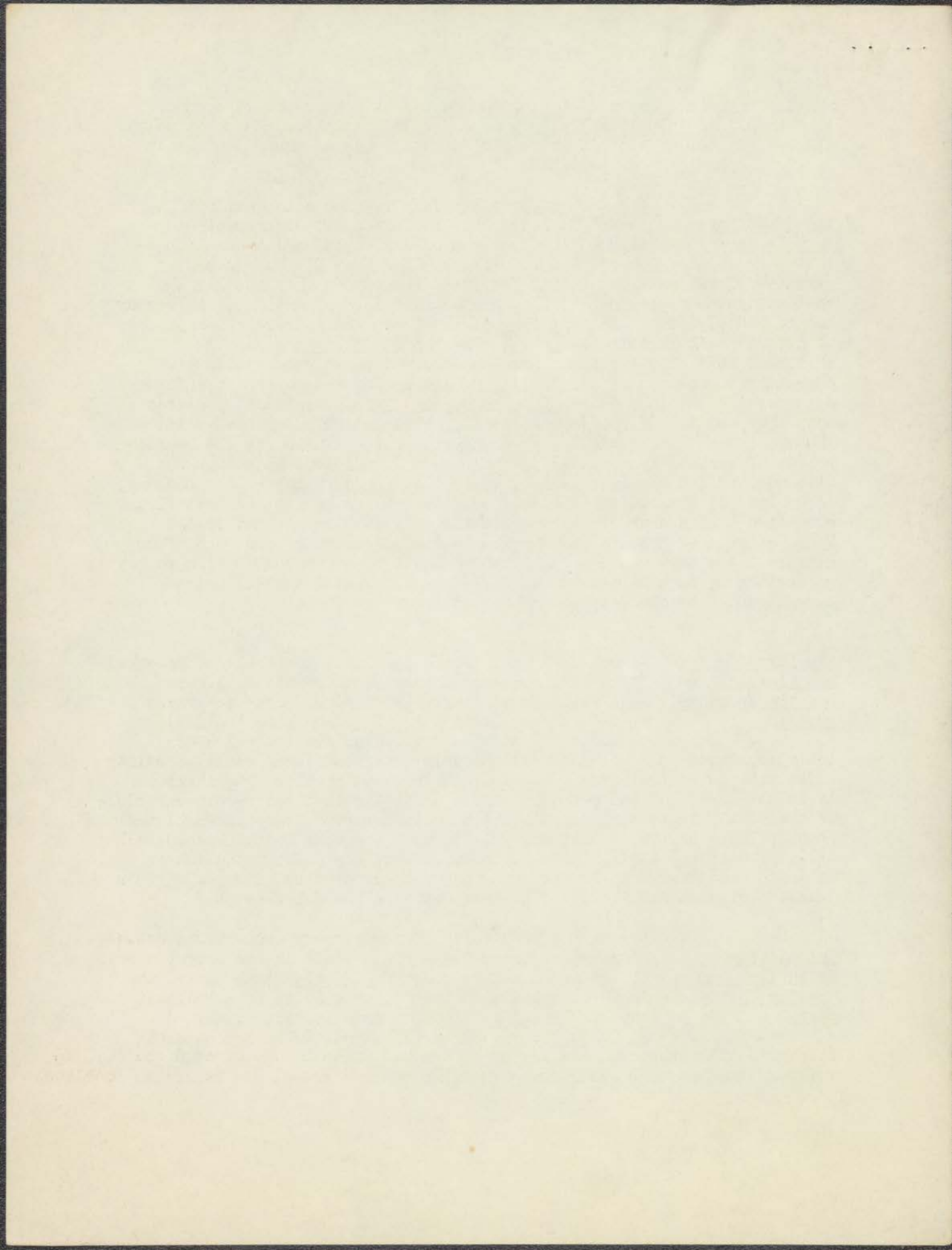


revolution. The people of the United States have been the forerunners of the world revolution. Failure to solve the racial crisis peacefully and satisfactorily constitutes a serious challenge to their leadership in the march of world revolution."

Steadfast Government Leadership Far East press editorials singled out President Kennedy's leadership and steadfast government action as the backbone of any racial solution. Singapore's Chinese-language Sin Chew Jit Pau (conservative), for example, termed President Kennedy "unquestionably the most enlightened president since Abraham Lincoln," asserting that Kennedy had resolutely sided with the Negroes and taken one measure after another to defend their legitimate rights. The Manila Bulletin's June 13 editorial felt that President Kennedy deserved world recognition "for appealing to reason and not failing to invoke federal powers to enforce desegregation." Indonesia's Duta Masyarakat (pro-government) declared that the position adopted by the Kennedy administration on the recent Alabama riots "can be highly valued by those who wish to see the emancipation of mankind from racial prejudices." Prompt federal action was also awarded its share of praise, as in the Straits Times --- "In Alabama, as earlier in Mississippi and Arkansas, federal authority has been firmly committed on the side of Negroes and the Constitution" --- and in the Tokyo Shimbun --- "The reason why the barriers are coming down one after another these days can be attributed to the U.S. government's firm policy persuasion by both white and Negro leaders and social changes being brought about by the peoples understanding of the issue."

The Lag: Government Leadership and the American People A modicum of Far East editorials, nonetheless, reserved judgment on whether the American people have kept pace with the strides prescribed by their government. On this score, Japan's Asahi Shimbun (neutralist) reflected: "Americans who consider the voice of their country in the cold war will readily understand that racial equality under the law is the minimum requisite. The real problem from there on is in the hearts of the people." While admitting that the recent chronicle of the civil rights struggle attests to uninterrupted Negro advance, the Straits Times cautioned that the "reaction of Congress to the President's call to reinforce civil rights legislation and, thereafter, the manner in which ordinary white Americans behave will enter also into the world's judgment of what America is as against what she professes to be."

Catholicism: South Viet-Nam and the United States Two maverick editorials drew cursory comparisons between Buddhist suppression in South Viet-Nam and suppression of the Negro in the U.S. The Manila Times linked the death of Evers with the recent suicide of a Buddhist monk in Saigon in a common humanitarian cause. A Sin Chew Jit Pau editorial suggested that President Kennedy's firm stand on race may stem from his Catholicism, concluding: "... in contrast to Kennedy's enlightened attitude towards racial and religious problems,



President Ngo Dinh Diem of South Viet-Nam is a different type of man. His dictatorial regime is apparently making use of Catholicism as a political tool to ostracize and oppress other religions that do not toe the government line."

Negative and
Communist
Opinion

Non-Communist dissenting opinion -- although not yet available -- will probably be confined to the known bigoted elements. An exception that warrants attention is Nihon (Japan) Hoso Kyoku's radio-T.V. coverage of recent racial developments -- normally objective -- which centered this round on the adverse aspects of discrimination, labeling it as such "a hereditary disease crippling a prosperous giant."

While the Communist press in the Far East has as yet refrained from editorial comment on President Kennedy's civil rights stand, the Peking press has carried those portions of the text that it interprets as proof of "continued demonstrations by the Negro people in the United States, rabid persecution of the Negroes by the racists and Kennedy's admission of the surging discontent of the American Negro people."

LATIN AMERICA

President Kennedy's speech, along with action taken, has been given widespread news treatment, although editorial reaction has been limited to the large dailies of the major countries. The Kennedy Administration's action is widely approved and praised. Mexican interest is most intense. Radio Havana reported the speech without comment.

In Mexico every metropolitan paper gave front-page banner headline treatment and enthusiastic editorial approval to President Kennedy's speech and other actions of the past week. The President was seen as fighting for fundamental human justice and at the same time reaffirming the moral right of the US to leadership of the free world. The only reservation was the expressed desire that token registration of Negro students at US universities be made a universal practice. Excelsior declared: "The triumph of President Kennedy over Governor Wallace is a decisive historical triumph, because it marks the end of the anachronistic and inhuman myth of racial superiority in the United States." La Prensa asked: "Isn't discrimination still at work in the simple fact that only two Negroes have been permitted to register? Something less symbolic and more massive is necessary in order that humanity can again see in the US a leader worthy of the Free World."

In Brazil the press gave favorable and strong support to the Presidential and federal action on the race issue, and several papers likened President Kennedy to Abraham Lincoln. Diario Carioca headed its editorial "Successor to Lincoln" and added: "The President of the United States can count as one of the greatest services he has rendered his country the tireless battle he is waging to wipe out once and for all the stain that shames the history of his people."

In Chile the speech has been reported in the press and on the radio but with minimal editorial comment. Semi-official La Nacion and Catholic Diario Ilustrado gave it prominent coverage. Anti-US Ultima Hora criticized "that stupid error of racial discrimination" in the United States at a time when it is confronted with the "Russian colossus." The Communist and leftist press ignored or gave only scant notice to the speech.

Radio Havana reported the President's speech without editorial comment. The broadcast included the President's admission of "a growing wave of discontent" and that "fires of frustration and discord are burning in all cities of the United States."

CHAPTER 1

The first chapter of the book is devoted to a general introduction to the subject. It begins with a discussion of the importance of the subject and the scope of the book. The author then discusses the various methods used in the study of the subject and the results of these studies. The chapter concludes with a summary of the main points discussed.

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SOVIET UNION

The weekend reporting in Soviet media, dominated by Vostok V and VI, contained virtually no references to the race issue. Previously, Moscow has given only a token response to President Kennedy's civil rights proposals while continuing its attack on "government-sponsored" racism in the U.S. Although receptive to the spirit of the President's Honolulu speech, they read fear into the television appeal. Emphasis had been given to the growing spirit of unrest within the American Negro community and the gestapo-like tactics used to quell it.

The successful flights of Vostok V and VI have virtually driven the race issue from Moscow media. After weeks of high volume on the theme of "government-sponsored" racism in the U.S., the Soviets have turned their attention primarily to their man and woman in space. Also left in limbo by the present Soviet preoccupation were President Kennedy's speeches on civil rights in Honolulu and his television appeal to the American people.

Previously the volume of Moscow's continuing tirade against "government-sponsored" racism in America had diminished only slightly, while the attention given to President Kennedy's proposals to alleviate racial unrest had been small and distorted. Only TASS had reported the Kennedy speech in Honolulu, while the report of the President's television appeal was mentioned infrequently.

The first TASS dispatch on Honolulu reported the significant points of the President's speech and then emphasized the growing impatience of Negro leaders at the "inactivity" of government in the field of civil rights. Moscow commentary said that the speech "testifies to the fact that the American government limits itself to beautiful words and good wishes" when it comes to the question of racial discrimination. The Soviets interpreted the announcement of new administration proposals on civil rights as "conceived by the American government to prevent new mass demonstrations by the Negro population."

A Moscow Domestic Radio report said that the President's television address indicates that the U.S. government is "frightened by the growing scale and sharpness of the American Negroes' struggle

against racial terror and discrimination, and wishes, while it is still possible, to direct this struggle into a favorable channel." Both TASS and the Domestic Service emphasized the President's "forced admission" that legislation alone cannot solve the American racial problem.

TASS and the Domestic Service had also maintained a constant reportage of racial incidents throughout the U. S. An especially heated reaction accompanied the news of the slaying of Jackson, Mississippi, Negro leader Evers. A Moscow broadcast beamed to the United Kingdom reported a "heightening of the Fascist menace. Bands of racists are intensifying armed terror. They are killing Negro leaders and marching storm troop detachments through the streets."

