

INTERRACIAL ACTION

***The Story of Newark's
Business and Industrial
Coordinating Committee***

**A Series of Articles
By Douglas Eldridge**

Reprinted from

The Newark News

This series of articles on the efforts of the Newark Business and Industrial Coordinating Committee to assist Negroes and Puerto Ricans in gaining employment was published by The Newark News in its issues of March 22-26, 1964. These pamphlets have been prepared by The News for distribution by the committee.

1. An Experimental Partnership

After nearly foundering on several occasions, some of Newark's top businessmen and civil rights leaders have set sail together on a unique voyage to find job opportunities for Negroes and Puerto Ricans.

During the last eight months, a growing band of representatives of the business and Negro communities has been busy building, patching and trying to keep afloat a new kind of vessel — christened the Business and Industrial Coordinating Committee.

After battening down some procedural hatches, they have cast off once again—this time in the knowledge that the next few months must tell whether their ship is really seaworthy, and whether its crew can master the shifting winds, skirt the hidden shoals and make real headway through the uncharted waters ahead.

* * *

THE BUSINESS and Industrial Coordinating Committee is a prosaic name for what is believed by many to be one of the most significant efforts ever made in Newark to provide more and better jobs and training for Negroes.

Much is at stake. If this unprecedented partnership succeeds, it could wipe out some persistent pockets of discrimination, relieve joblessness

among Negroes, give new hope to potential school drop-outs, improve race relations, lead the way to business involvement in other community problems and set an example for other cities.

But if both sides don't make the most of this opportunity, and the committee fails — or doesn't show marked success by summer — there could be renewed hostility between downtown business and Negro communities; a deeper-than-ever distrust of peaceful, cooperative efforts; and demonstrations that might disrupt local economic life.

Success is hard to measure. But most BICC participants agree that their biweekly sessions have provided—for the first time in Newark history—a regular channel of communication between business and Negro leaders, and have dispelled much misunderstanding between them. Moreover, the BICC has speeded the hiring of Negroes by some employers, and has scored breakthroughs in finding jobs for nonwhites—but nobody is sure just how many.

* * *

IT WAS REPORTED at the last meeting that 2,604 Negroes and Puerto Ricans had been hired since Aug. 1 by 42 major employers cooperating with the BICC. The non-

whites represented 30 per cent of the 8,670 new workers hired by the companies.

However, only 84 Negroes were hired directly through the BICC's own channels during that period, according to the Urban League of Essex County. But employers in the BICC have accounted for 75 per cent of the league's placements since last summer, and have supplied more than half the 500 job openings — a new record — now in the league's files.

Most business and civil rights leaders agree that hiring of nonwhites has been on the rise during the last year. But since no comparative figures are available for earlier periods, nobody can say how large any increase has been.

Employers have given the civil rights groups in the BICC first crack at trying to fill a wide variety of openings—188 of them in the last two months. There have been jobs for chemists, salesmen, buyers and bank tellers, as well as for laborers, porters and messengers.

In recent weeks the BICC has been hammering out agreements on basic goals and procedures. While trying to find and match good jobs and qualified workers now, it hopes also to develop better

training—both in schools and on jobs—so more nonwhites will qualify for future opportunities.

MOST PARTICIPANTS

agree that the mere survival of the committee all these months represents a sort of success. And while nearly everyone voices mounting dissatisfaction with the pace of progress so far, nearly everyone insists that the BICC is still the best — and perhaps the only — way for the two sides to approach the basic problems together.

The committee has encountered many setbacks, strains and false starts. It has few assets — no official status, no budget, no staff. Until recently, it didn't have a single written rule for membership or operations. And it has run into seemingly impenetrable suspicion and apathy in many directions.

But the committee has had one thing: The support of a slowly growing number of key people in business and civil rights. In its 19 regular meetings since last summer, the BICC has drawn the participation of 29 different firms, including all major department stores and banks in Newark, and some of the biggest employers in the area; nine civil rights organizations, ranging from the most moderate to the most militant; six state and city departments, five private agencies and five labor unions.

The spectrum of opinion represented in the BICC's dialogues is symbolized by the two co-chairmen named by

the group last month — former Assemblyman George C. Richardson, a young aggressive Negro leader, and Charles C. Garrison, vice president of Bamberger's.

THE COMMITTEE came into being almost by accident last July when the Newark Coordinating Council, a civil rights group, threatened to demonstrate against downtown stores if they didn't join the protest against alleged discrimination at the Barringer High School construction site. The stores shunned that controversy, but agreed to develop more jobs for Negroes.

None of the participating organizations has made any formal commitment to the BICC, although there is a tacit understanding that the employers will offer jobs to the committee before putting them on the open market, and that the civil rights groups will present their grievances to the committee before demonstrating against an employer.

Since Thanksgiving some 25 or more members of the BICC have met twice a month at Bamberger's and have compiled these achievements:

- A "jobs available" subcommittee, headed until the last meeting by Mrs. Marjorie Geerlofs, personnel manager of Bamberger's, has made countless calls and visits to employers, and persuaded 55 to cooperate with the BICC. Her group also made the racial survey of hiring — believed to be the

first of its kind ever undertaken in the Newark area.

- A "people available" subcommittee, headed by James A. Pawley, executive director of the Urban League of Essex County, has distributed monthly lists of jobs in an effort to recruit more applicants. In the last two months the Urban League has screened 441 job-seekers, and sent 225 of them to employers — far more than during the entire first half of 1963.

- A public relations committee, headed by Arnold Harris, community relations secretary of the Jewish Community Council, has put 2,000 posters in churches, clubs and stores to notify the Negro community of "New Opportunities in Newark."

- A training subcommittee, headed by Henry Boardman, community relations director for Western Electric Co., has been organizing a speakers' bureau to try to attract more Negro applicants for coming federal training programs.

- An upgrading committee, headed by Eugene Famula, personnel manager of S. Klein on the Square, is drawing up plans for in-plant training programs to be financed by the federal government, and supervised by the Welfare Federation, under the Manpower Act.

BICC members concede that most of their machinery is barely beginning to move,

and it is too early to say whether it can keep moving and can produce results. Most of them readily concede that

no sets of bylaws and no piles of posters will solve any problems.

But most say they are sure

the BICC can make more and faster progress, and they intend to stick with it to see that it does.

2. Some Tangible Gains

"It was a harmonious discussion, and there will be further meetings."

That was about all that anyone was willing to say last July 20 after representatives of five department stores and of the Newark Coordinating Council met for the first time. The atmosphere then was tense with charges and warnings; there was uncertainty and uneasiness about what lay ahead.

A few months later, after the Business and Industrial Coordinating Committee had begun to take shape, many of the participants were still somewhat reluctant to discuss this pioneering effort to find more jobs and training for non-whites. But privately, many of the committee members voiced a great deal of excitement and enthusiasm.

Today, most of the businessmen, civil rights leaders and public officials talk rather freely about the BICC. Most of the anxiety of last summer seems to have faded. There seems to be a quiet confidence that BICC is still a sound and worthwhile venture, and wholehearted deter-

mination to make it stronger and more productive.

* * *
IN RECENT weeks 38 of the persons who have taken part in its workings were asked how far the BICC has come, and where it is going. The concensus:

The committee has made some tangible gains, in the form of jobs offered to Negroes for the first time, and many intangible advances, in the form of shifting attitudes on both sides of the table. It is here to stay, but it must produce more and faster results.

What was most striking, perhaps, was a common commitment to stay with the BICC and make it work — even though almost everyone has misgivings about the way things have gone, and cites various internal and external difficulties confronting the committee.

George C. Richardson, new co-chairman of the BICC, asserts: "I think these fellows are really starting to do a tremendous job of opening the doors. As long as people believe there's hope, the fringe groups will be kept inactive."

And Charles Garrison, vice

president of Bamberger's and co-chairman since August of the BICC, declares: "It's slow and difficult, but this is the only way the thing can be made successful. There is more progress through this method than ever would have been made through demonstrations."

* * *
DEREK T. WINANS, chairman of Essex County Americans for Democratic Action, who served as co-chairman for a pivotal three months before Richardson, says the BICC has provided "the first chance for Negroes and businessmen to work together as equals on any extended basis."

"It's been very enlightening, and it's encouraging that these people even meet at all," asserts D. J. Stevenson, district manager for N.J. Bell Telephone Co. Some early hopes for the committee were too high, he adds, but "this, to us, is the only vehicle to deal over a table in a collective manner with civil rights problems."

"I honestly believe it's the most exciting attempt made in this area at any time," asserts Rev. Edgar G. Thomas

of South Orange, representing the Baptist Ministers Conference. Too much time has been spent on internal wrangling and much misunderstanding lingers yet, the minister said, "but if this doesn't succeed, I don't know what else will."

"It's definitely worthwhile," says John F. Maguire, manager of employment for Public Service Electric & Gas Co. "It's the first thing that's come along where there's a real meeting of the minds. It's making us more aware of our responsibilities, and the minority groups can see what our problems are."

James P. Nesbitt, president of the Independent Unions of New Jersey, calls the BICC "about the most effective committee that I've worked on as far as civil rights is concerned."

CLARENCE HORTON, the chairman of the Negro American Labor Council's Newark chapter, declares: "If the representatives at the BICC put forth a sincere effort, I think this is the machinery to resolve quite a few of our problems. These are good people, and the people who count."

Rev. John W. P. Collier Jr., former chairman of the Newark Coordinating Council, says the BICC has "dispelled a lot of fear and apprehension as to what the other side wanted. The civil rights leaders are seeing that there are friends in business who just needed prodding."

George Birmingham, treasurer of Hahn's, and of the BICC, says that because of

his dealings with the Negro leaders on the BICC "I can sympathize with many of their objectives now, but before hand I couldn't . . . It would be of value to any community."

Raymond Proctor, vice chairman of the Newark-Essex Congress of Racial Equality, says he is "encouraged, but hardly enthusiastic" about the BICC. "It's a tremendous step in the right direction," he says, "but the businessmen have not really been put in the test yet."

Mrs. Marjorie Geerlots, personnel manager of Bamberger's, says the committee "is opening doors and creating opportunities that did not exist before." She told of some businessmen who had tried to steer clear of the BICC a few months ago, but were now some of its most ardent rooters.

"THERE'S BEEN a tremendous effort to get a small result," observes Arnold Harris of the Jewish Community Council. "We'll have to raise our sights and get above this piddling approach," he says, "but we can do something that's never been done before on a serious level."

"The BICC has opened the eyes of a lot of people," says Henry Boardman of Western Electric Co. "Now the civil rights and business leaders are not just names but faces. There is an atmosphere of trying to learn — not of punting and trying to defend ourselves."

Simon Moss, coordinator

of the Youth Career Development Center, characterizes the BICC as a "sort of a conscience agency (which) is moving in the right direction, but very slowly." He adds: "Some companies are inclined to move a little faster because of it."

A few observers are sharply critical. "It seems to be more of a public relations device than a real attack on the root of the problem," says Ralph Zinn, acting director of the Newark Human Rights Commission. "It seems to be just a new sheet to cover a sick patient."

SAMUEL CONVISSOR, administrative aide to Mayor Hugh J. Addonizio, praises the BICC as "a tremendous holding operation," which has helped preserve racial peace and has made both sides more responsible.

But he warns that there is "trouble ahead unless business institutes some real, heartfelt, sincere action." Unless business itself does more soon to hire and train non-whites, says Convisor, "I think we in Newark can look forward to another summer like last year."

Peter Schuyler, executive secretary of the Welfare Federation and secretary of the committee, concludes: "I've talked to people from all over the country, and this is the best plan I've run across. The businessmen are beginning to have some comprehension they didn't have before of Ne-

gro demands . . . They're going back and re-evaluating their own situation . . .

"It's slower and less effective than the civil rights groups would want, but they

are going to get through it results that are not attainable in any other way."

3. The Qualification Problem

Businessmen and civil rights leaders who gather around a conference table in downtown Newark to discuss Negro employment problems have found plenty of work — for themselves, at least.

Members of the Business and Industrial Coordinating Committee, an independent group of key officials from the business and the Negro communities, have kept busy for the last eight months trying to come to grips with a seemingly overwhelming assortment of challenges — ranging from national dilemmas of automation and discrimination, to the purely internal fine points of drafting the committee's constitution.

The biggest immediate problems confronting the committee are finding more employment for Negroes, and more Negroes qualified to fill the openings.

"A FELLOW needs a job, and a job has to be filled—it's as simple as that," said one young civil rights leader on the committee. Many of his fellow members, however, don't think it's that simple. Figures compiled by the Urban League point up the problem:

Employers in the BICC

have offered well over 350 jobs to the committee since last summer, but have hired fewer than 100 of the Negroes who were sent them by the committee. In January and February the employers sent 188 job orders to the BICC, and the Urban League sent 187 Negroes to apply for some of those jobs. Only 32 were hired.

CIVIL RIGHTS leaders cite these figures as evidence that many employers are making a gesture of offering jobs, but have no intention of hiring Negroes. Businessmen cite the same figures as evidence that few qualified Negroes can be found to fill many of their vacancies.

James A. Pawley, executive director of the Urban League of Essex County, said employers can be fussy in their hiring because of unemployment in Newark. It has reached 25 per cent among Negroes, he estimated. In addition, he said, some employers set job specifications unrealistically high, or turn away Negro applicants who are every bit as qualified as the white persons they hire instead.

Raymond Murphy, Jr., associate director of the league, reported some employers offer

to Negroes only the jobs they are least likely to qualify for — such as scientific positions requiring graduate degrees and many years of experience.

Charles Garrison, vice president of Bamberger's and co-chairman of the BICC, warned against emphasis on statistics, since the BICC is only one of many sources of Negro workers. "Openings come and go," he said. "Our job is to open the doors, and then get people flowing through the doors."

"The biggest problem," Garrison said, "is getting job applicants. That will be our biggest problem for some time if this is going to work."

An Urban League report for January underscores that problem too: A total of 280 persons applied to the league for jobs during the month, but nearly half of them—137—were not referred to any employer "because of department or lack of skills." In February, another 561 applied. Only 32 were referred.

ACCORDING TO lists prepared by the Urban League, nearly all BICC job openings require at least a high school education, many require some experience, and a sizable percentage require special edu-

educational, physical or mental qualifications.

Another Urban League official said there is an understandable shortage of skills and interests. "These people have been denied jobs so long they just don't have the experience," he says. "You tell them now that jobs are available and they think you're kidding."

Herbert A. Bergen, director of the State Employment Ser-

vice in Newark, said he had a hard time finding and keeping students in three federal training programs last fall for waiters and waitresses, hospital ward attendants and typists. Fewer than 40 young people completed the three courses, and the federal government is reluctant to set up larger training programs here because of the poor response, Bergen said.

Screening of job seekers

presents another problem, a downtown personnel official said, because the BICC "has no value if it's just going to send numbers and load our employment lines. If they're sending people who aren't employable, the whole thing falls apart."

Pawley agreed: "The simple referral of numbers of people doesn't solve anything, unless they're qualified."

4. A Need for Cooperation

A growing number of business and Negro leaders think they can go places together—but only if more people from both sides climb aboard their new joint committee.

Members of the Business and Industrial Coordinating Committee, which has been trying to overcome some crucial employment and training problems of nonwhites, agree that if the two sides are going to go anywhere, they will have to do it together—sooner or later.

And many of them agree they can go a lot faster and further if they can get a bigger and more active group around the conference table. But participation — on both sides — has been one of the BICC's most nagging problems.

On the business side, Charles Garrison, vice president of Hamberger's and chairman of

the BICC, has appealed publicly and worked tirelessly behind the scenes to enlist more firms. In September, 22 firms were working with the committee; today 55 have agreed to work with it—but so far barely half of them have attended a meeting.

* * *

SOME FIRMS send personnel aides, not policymakers, to the meetings. Others ignore or sidestep the committee, while the department stores, banks and a few major corporations continue to carry most of its burdens.

The Newark Association of Commerce and Industry, chief spokesman for Newark business, has remained aloof—in spite of repeated pleas from Garrison and others for open support—and has avoided involvement in one of the city's biggest problems, civil rights.

Sidney Reitman, president of

the Urban League of Essex County and chairman of the N.J. Civil Rights Commission, observed that "the business community really has not made its commitment . . . there's still a feeling they can get away with tokenism."

Reitman said businessmen must convince the community they are sincerely concerned about it by changing their time-worn practices and putting up money for training programs. "It's a lot cheaper to develop and support programs now than to pay the taxes that will be needed to take care of the crime and welfare problems that will arise later," Reitman said.

Sanford Gallanter, counsel for the Newark Coordinating Council and the Congress of Racial Equality, said business has "the resources, the ability and even the inclination" to tackle the racial problem —

but still lacks a basic understanding of the Negro's needs.

THE BICC, he observes, "has a great future if the businessmen recognize the problem that is boiling below the surface," and take large scale action to combat Negro unemployment. Business, says the lawyer, must either lower its hiring standards, or else train Negroes to meet its standards.

Samuel Convisor, who has represented City Hall at the meetings, said businessmen apparently viewed the BICC originally as "a kind of protective agency," and thought they would be immune from picket lines and boycotts if they joined. That notion, however, was effectively dispelled late last year when the Congress of Racial Equality demonstrated against the Western Electric Co., a leading BICC participant.

Harry Tepperman, general superintendent of Kresge-Newark, discounted the notion that any business that joins the BICC can shirk its responsibilities for long. "Eventually they've got to contribute," he said. "If they're not hiring, we'll know this was just an escape."

And Eugene Famula, personnel manager of Klein's, declared flatly: "This is no hiding place."

ONE DOWNTOWN executive said that businessmen are fearful that involvement in the committee may subject them to pressure to lower their employment standards, or to accept any Negro applicant who is sent to them. Demands by

some civil rights groups for every company to give a full explanation every time a Negro is refused a job have not helped the situation, this official said.

On the other side of the table, participation by civil rights groups has been somewhat small and erratic. At most of the meetings until last month, the civil rights delegation has been outnumbered at least 2 to 1 by the businessmen. Only a few Negro leaders have attended more than a few meetings, and some major groups — notably the Newark NAACP — have only recently begun to notice the committee.

"The very people that we're trying to help are the ones who don't show up and who come late," declared one disgruntled executive.

Civil rights leaders reply that they could not get time off from their jobs to attend daytime meetings, and point out they turned out in full force at the BICC's first evening session March 9. They were still outnumbered by the businessmen, 19 to 15.

FEAR AND skepticism have been apparent impediments on the civil rights as well as the business side. "Some civil rights leaders are afraid they'll be sucked in," observed one Negro minister. And a fellow clergyman remarked cautiously that "I hope this isn't just another gimmick to sidetrack us."

Neither side, it appears, is too happy with the other's performance at the conference table. The most common com-

plaint is that the other side is talking too much and doing too little. But people on both sides concede that each must bear some of the blame for the slowness so far.

Kenneth MacKinnon, vice president of Prudential Insurance Co., conceded that some businessmen go to the meetings "just because it's their job or it's the politic thing to do." But, he says, some of the civil rights groups have "been using it as a sounding board . . . they have talked about everything under the sun."

On the other hand, Raymond Proctor, vice chairman of the local CORE chapter, admitted that "a lot of energy is going to waste in friction" between some civil rights delegates.

But he also charges that some businessmen "just sit there and contribute nothing . . . they're treating this like another board meeting, but it's not — it's a community looking for action . . ."

THE ATMOSPHERE is clouded somewhat by the feeling of many businessmen that nothing they can do will deter certain groups from demonstrating, and the feeling of many civil rights leaders that nothing short of demonstrations will budge certain businessmen.

But Robert Curvin, chairman of Newark-Essex CORE, insisted that in several cases "we would have been demonstrating already if it hadn't been for the BICC." And Garrison said that the apparent inevitability of demonstrations is no

excuse for businessmen to turn their backs on real problems in the community.

Both businessmen and the civil rights leaders have recently stepped up efforts to get more colleagues to the table — and there were signs

of success in a record turnout of 46 at the last session.

Garrison and Mayor Hugh J. Addonizio exhorted 36 businessmen at a private dinner Feb. 25 to do more to help solve racial problems, and to convince the community of

their concern. Meanwhile, some Negro leaders have been recruiting others for the BICC work, and one explained: "If we ever have to pull out of this we don't want anybody to say we didn't do all we could to make it work."

5. Facing the Challenge

The Business and Industrial Coordinating Committee may not seem like much — just a group of business executives and Negro leaders meeting, talking, and planning.

But modest though it is, this pioneer effort to find more and better jobs for Negroes is more than Newark ever had before, and more than many places still have.

No one expects miracles, but many members feel — as one real estate official put it — "it must have a future." Many feel this is Newark's first real chance — and perhaps its last for some time — to begin bridging the chasm between downtown and the neighborhoods.

The civil rights people have put a good many hopes into the committee. They expect a sizeable number of jobs, and soon; after that, they hope, the businessmen will apply their power and prestige to the elimination of some other ills in the community.

THE BUSINESSMEN have put many hopes into the committee, too. Most immediately,

to avoid demonstrations, boycotts and charges of discrimination; beyond that, they hope to find better trained workers, and a more sympathetic public.

Now the question is: Can the BICC survive, and fulfill some of those hopes?

Charles Garrison, vice president of Bamberger's and co-chairman of the committee, declares: "I wouldn't spend the time and energy on this if I didn't feel it's not only going to survive, but serve a purpose."

Derek T. Winans, a young liberal who has been a principal architect of the BICC, predicts that it will be "hugely successful." He says that "the essence of the thing is the flow of jobs, and when they are produced all the frictional elements will disappear."

In its formative stages the BICC could be all things to all participants — from militant Negro leader to cautious executive — but now the fish-or-cut-bait stage is at hand, and the members must somehow reconcile varying views

on where the committee is going.

Presumably the destinations were set in the new by-laws which give the BICC five principal tasks:

"To provide a forum . . . between business, industry, labor and civil rights;

"To place unemployed Negroes and Puerto Ricans in jobs based on their skill and ability";

To upgrade nonwhites now in jobs below their abilities;

To develop new training and retraining programs;

To "work with the civil rights problems . . . other . . . than employment."

BUT SINCE ADOPTING those goals two months ago, the committee has still spent much time on arguments about interpretations and implementations. Most businessmen emphasize the BICC's educational role, although they agree that they are not accomplishing enough by just talking about the problems. Most civil rights people emphasize the job placement role, although they agree they

are accomplishing something by just talking about the problems.

The Newark Coordinating Council, a civil rights group, complained recently to the BICC that it was not "fulfilling its function to provide training and job opportunities to Negroes and Puerto Ricans on a large scale." The BICC is meeting the needs of industry but not of people out of work, it charged.

But at the recent meetings, the businessmen replied that they felt the BICC's main job was to open positions from which Negroes have been excluded. The businessmen said they could not begin to take care of all the uneducated, unskilled Negroes in the city, or solve problems that have baffled much of the nation.

James A. Pawley, executive director of the Urban League, says rights groups that insist the BICC find jobs for the unskilled are "putting politics before realistic, practical approaches." To help masses of unemployed "requires training, motivating and a lot of other things the BICC is not set up to do," in his view.

BUT WINANS and his colleagues in the Coordinating Council contend the BICC can make little headway without its own office and staff to process jobs and people. The task, they say, is too much for any outside agency. However, the Welfare Federation will supply any clerical help that the BICC needs, and Pawley says the Urban League "can handle everything the BICC

can throw at us" in job openings and applications.

Others say the BICC should not try to become another social agency. "We can get done what we need to get done through existing agencies," says Garrison. "Somewhere along the line, the people or the facilities are available."

At the same time members from both sides of the table stress that the BICC came into being only because existing agencies and organizations hadn't licked the problems. The BICC's job, in the view of some key members, is to ride herd on those agencies.

While both sides agree the BICC has a certain peace-keeping value, many members say it should be wary about trying to mediate specific disputes between companies and civil rights groups. However, the new BICC by-laws provide that the committee can serve "as a consultant" in such cases — but only if both sides observe a 30-day cooling-off period while the committee tries to find a solution.

The committee's good offices might be put to the test in the current dispute between the Congress of Racial Equality and N.J. Bell Telephone Co., although neither side has sought BICC intervention. CORE is planning a demonstration against Bell this Saturday — just 19 days after CORE first notified the BICC of the negotiations.

MOST OBSERVERS THINK the BICC will survive in some form, but some think a real showdown is coming soon. The

civil rights leaders say their followers are growing restless, and want dramatic gains before warm weather. The businessmen say they are doing all they can, short of lowering their standards or displacing white workers.

There is little expectation by most observers that either side would walk out on the other unless there is a major and unforeseen blowup. The businessmen will stay, it is reasoned, because they want to be in the good graces of the rights groups; the Negro leaders will stay because they want "the power structure" to bear their case.

Some say the key to success is held by the executives. "The businessmen will have to make a definite commitment," says one young Negro leader. "Industry has got to get out and see these people — it just doesn't understand," says a utility company manager.

Others say the rights groups hold the key. "The Negro leaders must stick with it and follow through on every single thing," says one integrationist. "If it doesn't work, it will be because we couldn't get the civil rights groups together," says a personnel manager.

The BICC's success may never really be known, since no surveys or statistics can ever show its behind-the-scenes effects on management. But its ability to strengthen and to extend the essential ties between businessmen and Negroes during the next few months could well affect the city's social and economic progress for years to come.