

FAIR HOUSING TO BE BACKED BY CARDINAL

Prelate May Visit Council; Bill's Passage Deemed Unlikely

Cardinal Shehan is expected to appear tonight at 7.30 at the War Memorial as the star witness for a city open-occupancy bill sponsored by Thomas J. D'Alesandro 3d, president of the Council.

Mr. D'Alesandro could not positively confirm yesterday that the Cardinal would attend tonight's hearing, but other City Hall sources were confident that the prelate would be present to speak for the bill, for which he has lobbied strenuously since its introduction.

If the Cardinal does appear personally, Mr. D'Alesandro said, it will be the first time in American history that an archbishop has participated directly in the deliberations of any city council.

Passage Seen Doubtful

Other councilmen, however, were skeptical that even the impact of the Cardinal's presence could save the bill in its present form.

Most observers felt yesterday that the bill—which bans discrimination in the sale and rental of all city housing, except for the rental of rooms or apartments in owner-occupied dwellings—will ultimately be defeated, probably by a vote of 13 to 8.

Two similar bills were defeated in the Council last spring, by identical votes of 12 to 8. The only change in the Council's personnel since that time has been the addition of one councilman who yesterday expressed adamant opposition to the D'Alesandro bill.

A telephone poll of members who voted against the bills six
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months ago indicated that none had reversed his position, and that most were as strongly opposed as ever to fair-housing legislation.

Mr. D'Alesandro admitted yesterday that he was going into tonight's single hearing on the bill "swimming against the current." He said he had "heard nothing encouraging yet" from Councilmen who previously opposed fair housing.

He added, however, that he had hopes the parade of religious figures, labor and business spokesmen scheduled to testify tonight would have an effect on the bill's opponents.

Among the religious figures who will appear are: the Rt. Rev. John Wesley Lord, bishop of the Baltimore Conference of the Methodist Church; the Rt. Rev. Harry Lee Doll, bishop of the Episcopal Church in Maryland; Rabbi Abraham Shusterman, rabbi of the Har Sinai Congregation; the Very Rev. John N. Peabody, president of the Maryland Council of Churches; and Frank Kaufman, president of the Baltimore Jewish Council.

Speakers representing the Baltimore Council of AFL-CIO Unions, the Greater Baltimore Committee and the Federation of Civil Rights Organizations are also expected to appear to testify for the bill.

Mr. D'Alesandro has insisted that only one hearing be held on the bill. The hearing was switched from the Council Chambers to the War Memorial in expectation of a large public attendance.

"Early Vote" Sought

The City Council president had earlier contemplated taking a vote on the bill at the single public hearing. Yesterday, he said he hoped for an "early vote," sometime in the next few weeks.

He said he would like to give his colleagues time to formulate and propose amendments to the bill, although he admitted that no one has yet suggested any compromise proposal.

No compromise was suggested yesterday by any of the opponents to previous fair-housing legislation who have been regarded as possible swing-votes on the issue.

Most Council observers have assumed since the introduction of the D'Alesandro bill that there was no possibility any member of the First or Sixth district delegations (South and East Baltimore) would change his previous position and vote for the bill.

Therefore, the three new votes for fair housing required to pass the bill would have to be found among the two members of the Second district, the four members of the Third district and the one member of the Fifth district who did not vote for fair-housing legislation last spring.

On the basis of remarks by these councilmen yesterday, the present bill seems bound to fail.

Councilman Larry S. Best (D., Third), the only councilman elected to the Council since last spring, said yesterday, "My constituency has been flooding me with mail, and it's 99 to 1 against the bill."

He said he would be failing his constituents if he voted for the bill. He added that his own feelings "conform with" those of the

vast majority of letters he has received.

Metropolitan Area Problem

Councilman Frank X. Gallagher (D., Third) vice president of the Council, said his position has not changed since last spring. He said, "I just don't believe in separating the city from the housing market that extends over the entire metropolitan area."

He said he would be willing to support a State bill or a metropolitan bill, but would not be "amendable" to any city law, even with extensive amendments.

Councilman J. Joseph Curran (D., Third), who had been reported several weeks ago to be wavering toward acceptance of the bill, said last night he felt fair-housing legislation on "a purely local basis" would be "imprudent at this time."

He added that he would "look with some favor" on a State-wide bill, but added that city legislation would "hasten the flight from the city" and aggravate the city's "desperate financial plight."

Councilman John A. Pica (D., Third) said he was not only opposed to the bill but planned to speak at length against it. He said that the D'Alesandro bill was designed "to advance the human rights of minority groups" but that, in fact, it would "limit the individual right to own, enjoy and dispose of property."

In the Second district Councilman Clement J. Prucha said he would "prefer not to say anything on this ticklish subject," but emphasized the fact that "I voted against it last time."

Second district Councilman Charles Panuska said he has "an open mind" on the subject and that he is "waiting to see what the amendments are."

Councilman Reuben Caplan said he would "never declare myself as a member of the jury in advance."

However, Mr. Caplan recently told a West Baltimore audience that "I am against the principle of open occupancy," and he indicated yesterday that he has not changed his opinion in the few weeks since he made that remark.

FOES OF BILL ON HOUSING BOO CARDINAL

City Council Shocked At Hearing On Open Occupancy Plan

BY SCOTT SULLIVAN

Cardinal Shehan was booed twice last night by segregationists who came to hear him testify before the City Council in favor of open occupancy legislation.

Councilmen who sat through the crowded three-hour session in the War Memorial Building were visibly impressed with the Cardinal's bearing—and shocked at the rudeness of a large section of the crowd.

"There's something sick about those people," said Councilman J. Joseph Curran (D., Third), whose vote on the controversial housing measure is regarded as a key one.

Prucha Key Man

"However I may feel about the bill," said Councilman Clement J. Prucha (D., Second), who is regarded as another key man in the issue, "I certainly respect the opinions of those men who presented their case tonight."

Cardinal Shehan's appearance, at the very beginning of the meeting, set the tone for much of what followed, as boos and isolated cat-calls greeted most speakers who favored the bill.

More than 2,000 hotly partisan citizens attended the single hearing on the bill. About two thirds of the crowd seemed to favor the ordinance, while the remaining third vocally opposed it.

60 Speakers Heard

Councilman William D. Schaefer (D., Fifth), who chaired the meeting, constantly called for order and silence, as more than 60 speakers paraded to the front of the hall to support and oppose the bill.

There was little actual disorder, as a squad of policemen surveyed the crowd from key spots around the room, but opponents of the bill were quick to jeer when subjects like President Johnson or "world communism" were mentioned.

Cheers from the same quarters met repeated references to "individual rights" and "property rights."

Three-Hour Hearing

Under Mr. Schaefer's ground rules, advocates and opponents



IN FAVOR—Cardinal Shehan speaks in favor of open occupancy legislation at last night's City Council hearing on the proposal at the War Memorial. Part of the crowd booed him.

of the bill were each allowed an hour to make their case, but the hearing dragged on for an hour more—before a gradually thinning crowd—as further speakers asked to be heard.

Joseph Allen, the city solicitor, appeared first to explain the provisions of the bill, which was originally introduced by Thomas J. D'Alesandro 3d, president of the City Council.

The bill, Mr. Allen said, forbids racial discrimination in the sale and rental of all city housing, with the exception of the rental
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of half a two-family home of which the owner occupies one unit, and the rental of rooms in an owner-occupied house.

James W. Rouse, chairman of the Greater Baltimore Committee and "floor leader" for the bill's proponents, then introduced Cardinal Shehan, who appeared at the meeting in the plain black suit of a parish priest.

About half the audience rose and clapped at the Cardinal's entrance, while others booed until Mr. Schaefer silenced them.

The prelate spoke to the councilmen of "the overwhelming persuasive moral argument" in support of fair housing legislation, and warned them against "the explosive potentialities of the ghetto."

He said he favored national or State housing laws, but rejected the idea of a metropolitan law as unrealistic in light of the small Negro populations in the neighboring counties.

Leadership Urged

The Cardinal called on the City Council to give leadership to the counties by passing fair-housing legislation first. "The legislative remedy," he remarked, "must be applied in the areas where the social sickness is most apparent."

He pledged his own support, and that of the Catholic Archdiocese, to help achieve passage of similar laws elsewhere and to support the Council "in what I ask you to do."

The Cardinal was whisked from the hall by city policemen, as the audience once again divided between cheers and boos.

Mr. Rouse followed the Cardinal at the microphone, admitting that the Greater Baltimore Committee had previously opposed similar legislation, but giving it strong backing now on both moral and economic grounds.

St. Louis Case Cited

He rejected the argument that the bill would produce a "flight to the suburbs" and pointed to the case of St. Louis, where similar legislation has, he said, been enacted without ill effects.

Mr. Rouse then introduced the Rt. Rev. Harry Lee Doll, bishop of the Episcopal Church in Maryland; the Rt. Rev. John Wesley Lord, bishop of the Baltimore Conference of the Methodist Church; Rabbi Abraham Shusterman, of the Baltimore Board of Rabbis; the Very Rev. John N. Peabody, president of the Maryland Council of Churches; and Frank Kaufman, president of the Baltimore Jewish Council.

Each of the religious leaders spoke in favor of the bill, both on moral and practical grounds.

Fairness Challenged

Bishop Doll told the council: "The only question of moment is: Is it right that there should be open occupancy? Is it just? Is it honest? Is it fair?" He called on the council to remove "this last great barrier to the recognition that there is but one grade of citizen in this city."

Bishop Lord, who began by saying that he lived in Washington—and was quickly told to "Go home, hen!" by several members of the audience—called racial discrimination in housing "a notorious

mittee that framed Mr. D'Alesandro's bill, as their "floor leader."

Robert V. McCurdy, of the Real Estate Board of Greater Baltimore, spoke first for the opponents, stressing that the ordinance, if enacted, "would make it unlawful for all persons, regardless of color or creed, to exercise the right of free and unfettered disposition of property."

He called the bill a "gross and flagrant flouting of the human right of property disposition" and quoted President John Adams to the effect that "property is . . . as sacred as the laws of God."

Harry N. Berman, of the Apartment House Owners Association of Maryland, said his group opposes the bill despite "terrific pressures from the clergy, labor unions and do-gooders in general."

The most popular speaker among the bill's opponents was the Rev. Robert T. Woodworth, who identified himself as a "humble parish pastor," and spoke out against the presence of so many representatives of the clergy in what he called "a strictly political matter."

Moral Issue Defined

He said the only moral issue present was that of "individual freedom," and noted that "collective control of property" is characteristic of Communist ideology.

He listed a number of issues he thought the Council and Churchmen could more profitably turn their minds to, including: "ban-the-Bible in schools"; "filth in the mass media"; the "protection of Communists here at home"; the "tyranny of excessive taxation" and the "regimentation of restrictive regulations."

Mr. Woodworth, of the non-denominational Open Bible Tabernacle, was loudly cheered on each of the items he listed and at each dig he made against his clerical colleagues.

Samuel J. Selta, of the Maryland Petition Committee, brought along a copy of Webster's Dictionary and read a definition of "communist" as a "negation of all individual rights in property."

He said proponents of the bill would be indignant if told they were backing the cause but—he tapped the dictionary—"That's communism."

Other opponents included Mrs. Faith Gosnell, of the Catholic Anti-Communist League, who said she was "a Catholic who has excommunicated herself" and accused Cardinal Shehan of pursuing a "double career as priest and politician, and he's lousy at both of them."

A. Burke Lego, of the Taxpayers Interest League, discussed "basic freedom of property" and referred to the bill at several points as "the forced housing bill."

scandal in our community" and called for a quick end to such discrimination.

The religious leaders were followed at the rostrum by Dr. Furman Templeton, of the Federation of Civil Rights Organizations; Dr. Arthur Stinchcombe, chairman of the sociology department at Johns Hopkins; and Dominic Fornaro, president of the Baltimore Council of AFL-CIO Unions.

Dr. Templeton spoke with obvious emotion, assuring the crowd that the organizations he represents are "determined" that "this kind of un-American feeling [of discrimination] will not prevail."

Dr. Stinchcombe told the audience that Baltimore's Negro population will increase by 300,000 in the next 15 years, and that that increase must result in a vast enlargement of the "ghetto" unless fair housing conditions are in force.

Opponents of the bill had chosen William J. Rastery, Jr., a former member of the large com-

Letters to the Editor

'Frighteningly Immoral'

Sir: I have just read that a councilman present at the hearing for the open occupancy bill, called Cardinal Shehan's appearance "moral blackmail." My only comment is that such an outlook is frighteningly immoral. To keep morality, and concern for all men out of lawmaking would be the end of justice itself.

Cardinal Shehan's presentation was, however, exceedingly practical in its approach. In his message he urged us to recognize that crowding, unsanitary conditions and deprivation in the midst of our city are unhealthy and threatening to the continuing progress of Baltimore. Forced housing has to a great extent exacerbated these cancerous conditions and will accelerate it if continued. Open housing, allow the Negro to live in every area of the city, so that the ghetto, with its accompanying blight, will begin to dissolve. The Cardinal urged the council not to wait, but to attack the problem now.

On the question of the right of our spiritual leaders to speak out on legislation—it is hard to believe that church and synagogue members want only to hear their clergymen talk of the world to come. Surely their spiritual leadership should be essentially to guide and direct us, together with all our fellowmen, in the world we confront.

Beverly Sokal.

Baltimore.

'Shocking Reality'

Sir: Compliments to *The Sun* for the fair reporting on both sides of the fair housing bill heard before City Council.

Commendation is due the fine ministers representing hundreds of thousands of members who courageously stand behind their convictions in threat of their lives and safety. For centuries we have read that Christian teachings of brotherhood had at one time undergone persecution. But it was shocking reality that the same is happening today in a supposedly civilized society.

The precepts of religious freedom founded this country. Religious rites—if only prayer—are woven through the American life.

One observation made was that the hundreds of thousands of persons being represented by the proponents were those who render helpful services through ministry, labor and education and that those protesting seemed to be protesting only for the sake of being heard and by being present to boo and harass the proponents.

Councilman Schaefer did a good job of keeping order at a rowdy hearing.

(Mrs.) Miriam L. Winborne.

Baltimore.

the ignorant actions of the oppressors, with whom those thirteen councilmen are most certainly in league. . . .

Edward A. Chance.

Baltimore.

'Hardly Qualified'

Sir: Congratulations to the Baltimore City Council for defeating the open occupancy bill. Government control over private property is appropriate in a Fascist or Communist country, not in the United States.

The City Council is also to be commended for rejecting Warren Buckler's appointment to the Community Relations Commission. A man like Mr. Buckler who participates in Communist-inspired demonstrations and consequently aids our enemy in time of war is hardly qualified to hold a public office. Jimmer M. Leonard.

Baltimore.

'Biased Reporting'

X
Sir: Will you please correct your biased news item re Cardinal Shehan and the booing he got at last week's City Council meeting. I was there and he was booed and so were the Protestant and Jewish clergy. Why try to make the public feel that there was more animosity toward the Catholic than other faiths? I wish you would stop your biased reporting in all fields of news. Evelyn Frick.

Baltimore.

Prejudice

Sir: Compulsion is anathema to the American way of life. Compelling people against their will to live with other people with whom they may not choose to live will only bring about a feeling of contempt which will serve to broaden rather than lessen the existing gap between them. Granted, prejudices do exist among different groups of people in our society. These prejudices are often capricious and arbitrary; sometimes deep-seated, even inherited. They can exist for reasons of race, color, national origin, religion; or, between economic groups, such as the so-called snobbery of the wealthy. Prejudice cannot be eliminated through laws, because no one can legislate love. . . .

Beverly S. Moe.

Timonium.

What Freedom?

Sir: The defeat of the fair housing ordinance by the City Council shows to all that the city government is controlled by racism. I challenge the

FAIR HOUSING BILL KILLED IN 13-8 VOTE

Pica Leads Surprise Poll; Body Vetoes Buckler Term

By SCOTT SULLIVAN

The City Council last night voted, 13 to 8, to kill the controversial D'Alesandro fair-housing bill.

In a second major action, the Council rejected Mayor McKeldin's renomination of H. Warren Buckler, Jr., chairman of the city's Community Relations Commission, for a new term on the commission.

All but one of the thirteen councilmen who voted to bury the fair-housing ordinance joined the majority in a 14-to-7 vote against Mr. Buckler.

Although the fair-housing bill had been expected to fail in any case, its sponsors were caught partly off guard last night when opponents moved to have it brought out of committee two or three weeks earlier than Council president, Thomas J. D'Alesandro 3d, had planned.

Pica Led Opposition

Councilman John A. Pica (D., Third) made the motions to bring the bill out of committee and to reject it. Mr. Pica, who is chairman of the Council's executive appointments committee, also led the fight to reject Mr. Buckler's reappointment.

Mr. D'Alesandro, president of the Council and chief sponsor of the housing bill, revealed in debate last night that he had worked over the weekend to stave off an immediate vote on the ordinance.

Mr. D'Alesandro had hoped that a few weeks' grace might permit a buildup of church pressure on several key Catholic councilmen and give the bill an outside chance for passage.

Opponents of the bill obviously feared exactly what Mr. D'Alesandro hoped for, and caucused in larger or smaller groups throughout the afternoon.

Invoked Mayor's Support

In a final effort to save his bill, Mr. D'Alesandro called on Mayor McKeldin a half-hour before the Council met to exert pressure on the bill's opponents.

The Mayor met with Mr. Pica, Mr. D'Alesandro and Councilman Frank X. Gallagher (D., Third), vice president of the Council. Mr. McKeldin asked Mr. Gallagher and Mr. Pica to give the housing bill time and not to block the

Buckler appointment.

But the Mayor's pleas were to no avail.

Minutes before the Council was due to meet, Mr. Pica called a dozen of his colleagues into caucus and emerged grinning.

"We have the votes," he announced.

And he did. On the key vote to
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remove the housing bill from the committee of the whole, those voting aye (in other words, to kill the ordinance) were: Councilmen William Bonnett, James J. Duffy and Joseph J. Staszak (all D., First); Charles Panuska and Clement J. Prucha (both D., Second); Larry S. Best, J. Joseph Curran, Mr. Gallagher and Mr. Pica (all D., Third); Reuben Caplan (D., Fifth) and John J. Hines, Dominic M. Leone and William J. Myers (all D., Sixth).

Those voting nay (in other words, to keep the ordinance alive) were: Mr. D'Alesandro and Councilmen Thomas Ward (D., Second); Walter T. Dixon, Henry G. Parks, Jr. and Maurice Soyphier (all D., Fourth); and Jacob J. Edelman, Leon A. Rubenstein and William D. Schaefer (all D., Fifth).

Fatalistic Certainty

When Mr. Pica made his motion to bring the bill from committee, its advocates argued holly—but with a fatalistic certainty of what was coming—to allow further discussion and debate on the

Mr. Schaefer said: "We all know what move will be made," but he argued that premature defeat of the housing ordinance would be "an affront to the members of the clergy who sponsored the bill, an affront to Mr. D'Alesandro and an affront to the Council itself.

He begged his colleagues to leave the bill in committee at least until tomorrow, in order to allow last minute amendments to be heard.

Again and again, advocates of the bill referred to the boos and catcalls which met Cardinal Shehan when he attended an open meeting at the War Memorial last Thursday to testify for the bill.

Shades Of Nazism

And the two Negro councilmen—Mr. Parks and Mr. Dixon—both expressed visible emotion when they condemned the Pica move as "irresponsible" and "just political."

Mr. Rubenstein decried "the action of a little group in caucus" and recalled the "booming of one of the great religious leaders of the world." Mr. Edelman charged the Pica group with "depriving and denying this body" the right to debate and called the treatment of the cardinal reminiscent "of what happened in Nazi Germany."

The Council president spoke bitterly about his effort to prolong the bill's life, concluding: "When you have the votes, you call the roll and run over everybody. That's what's happening tonight."

As the long roll call on the technical motion ground on, advocates of the bill repeated their bitter remarks, while a few opponents justified their votes.

Recriminations Hurlled

"All the abuse and damage that came on Cardinal Shehan was brought on him by those who urged his attendance at the War Memorial," Mr. Best remarked.

Mr. Pica gave a long, passionate speech, likening the D'Alesandro measure to the actions of "Hitler in 1938 and Fidel Castro now" and yelling that "the bigots of yesterday are in here as the liberals of today."

He charged that sponsors of the

and the American Civil Liberties Union—the Council proceeded in almost identical fashion.

Mr. Pica's motion to accept an unfavorable report on the nomination was immediately attacked by Mr. Schaefer, who asserted that "Warren Buckler has done an excellent job" and that he was being "knocked off because of personal animosity."

Mr. Pica replied that the main reason his committee had voted against Mr. Buckler's nomination was that, as chairman of the local council of the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, he participated in a Washington peace march last November.

The roll call on Mr. Buckler's nomination resembled that on the open housing, with three exceptions.

Mr. Caplan, who had voted against the open housing bill, voted for Mr. Buckler's nomination. Mr. Ward and Mr. Soyphier, who had voted for fair housing, voted against Mr. Buckler.

Pacifism Lambasted

Otherwise, every councilman who had voted against the housing bill also voted against the Buckler nomination.

Mr. Ward gave a long speech, full of historical allusion, in which he explained that Mr. Buckler's marching alongside groups "who were waving Viet Cong flags" was "too much for me."

He said Mr. Buckler was "a political appointment" because he was a Democrat who had supported Mayor McKeldin. Going back to 1940, Mr. Ward charged that Mr. Buckler had supported Wendell Wilkie out of the same pacifist sentiments that led him to go on the Washington march.

Mr. D'Alesandro, along with Councilmen Schaefer and Rubenstein, warned that the Council's action would discourage able citizens to take unpaid jobs on city commissions, but the warnings had no effect on the roll call.

A.D.A. Denounces Action

Immediately following last night's session, Herman E. Weterberg, local chairman of the A.D.A., issued a statement calling the action against Mr. Buckler "shameful and outrageous" and stating that Mr. Buckler should have been considered on his rec-

ord as commission chairman, not his foreign policy views.

The board of directors of the Maryland A.C.L.U. voted unanimously to protest the Council's action on Mr. Buckler, describing it as "a gratuitous insult" and a "disservice to the community."

Mayor McKeldin also issued statements regretting the votes on both fair housing and the Buckler appointment.

And Mr. D'Alesandro, looking dejected as he walked from the Council chambers, said he felt a city fair housing bill has "no chance at all" in the life of this Council.

He added that he intends to introduce a metropolitan area fair housing bill at the next meeting of the Metropolitan Council. Some councilmen who voted against the city bill last night have indicated they would favor a metropolitan bill.

New Bills

At their first session since Christmas recess, councilmen last night introduced a large number of new bills. Among them:

1. A resolution introduced by Mr. Bonnett committing the Council to vote for full Blue Cross payments for all city workers in the next fiscal year. The Council last month cut a budget proposal to pay 100 per cent of Blue Cross for city workers to 50 per cent.

2. An ordinance introduced by Mr. Rubenstein which would set up a permanent committee of the Council to investigate all city departments and agencies.

3. An ordinance introduced at the request of the Maryland Jockey Club removing the prohibition on the use of vacant lots in the Pimlico area as parking lots during the Pimlico race season.

4. A bill introduced by Mr. Pica and Mr. Leone, which would extend the date on which the aged may apply for tax relief from January 1 to April 10.

ordinance were "using people as political pawns," but added that he felt the Cardinal had a right, "like anyone else" to express his views.

Mr. Dixon gave another long speech for the bill, reflecting at one point that, if the bill failed, "we're going to have a few good funerals around here"—a remark that brought Mr. Pica to his feet with another cry of "Hitler!"

Must "Rise Above Itself"

Mr. Parks called on the Council to "rise above itself" and cautioned that "the councilmen are not listening to the sounds in the wind," but were harking only to the voice of "the lunatic fringe."

"We will not be denied," he concluded.

Mr. Caplan, finally, rose to say he resented the implication he was a member of the "lunatic fringe" and to assert that the "honest and sincere opponents" of the bill felt they had "the morality of the situation on our side."

"Personal Antipathy" Charged

In its action on the Buckler nomination—which brought quick and vigorous protests from the Americans for Democratic Action