

**Action Not Affirmed<sup>1</sup>**  
**Chapter 4**

**“Justice, and only justice, shall always be our motto”.**  
**Woodrow Wilson**

*Action Not Affirmed* is a three-act play about the acts of government during Woodrow Wilson’s administration. The two main characters are W. E. B. DuBois and Woodrow Wilson. These two are seen as equal in every thing but the color of their skin. They are spokesmen for their groups. DuBois did not affirm the acts of government ushered in by Wilson.

At the end of the play, commentary is provided. A fresh look at the Wilson-DuBois debate calls attention to the century long debate over affirmative action.

---

<sup>1</sup> This play, written by Deryl G. Hunt, Sr., is based in part on an unpublished manuscript by Lawrence C. Howard and Deryl G. Hunt, Sr. entitled *Praxis: A Cultural Approach to the Study of Public Affairs*.

## Act One

### Hope

Scene: The presidential Campaign of 1912 B The Black Endorsement of Woodrow Wilson

Setting: Living room setting (sofa, arm chair, coffee table, table cloth, books, newspaper)

**Father:** It is strange thing, politics. One never knows who to sleep with. One day a man seems to be your friend and the next three days, when a friend is needed, he cannot be found. On the fourth day, he shows up again.

The presidential campaign of 1912 has long puzzled me. Why did the Negroes endorse Woodrow Wilson and William H. Taft or Theodore Roosevelt for President? Dubois perhaps put it best when he said, The Negro is given a Hobson Choice B he is asked to vote:

1. For a party which has promised and failed. This was the Republican Party led by Taft.
2. For a party which failed and promised. This was Progressive Party led by Roosevelt
3. For a party which merely promises. This was the Democratic Party led by Wilson.

There are three types of parties you must not trust: the party, which promised and failed, the party which failed and promised and the party which merely promises.

Get your promises in writing Son - - No less than three copies signed and notarized by a judge in good standing with the courts.

**Son:** I have heard much about Woodrow Wilson. My history professor thinks very highly of him. He says Wilson was one of the greatest leaders the country has ever had.

**Father:** Mr. Wilson was a great President, son. His greatness, however, was not found in his democratic policies. He was a great man on the international scene. He was great in the eyes of many whites but blacks saw him as a loser.

**Son:** Why the chasm? Was he not President of all the people? Why would Whites see him one way and blacks another?

**Father:** Good question. All good questions deserve an answer. (Pick up newspaper to read.)

(Long Pause)

**Son:** Well?

**Father:** Well what?

**Son:** (Says with sarcasm) The answer.

**Father:** We had better let the Narrator handle this.

**Narrator:** Thank you, sir. Let me set the stage for our discussion.

Negro leaders= endorsing Wilson called for a major shift from the traditional loyalty they had given to the party associated with Abraham Lincoln, Emancipation, and Congressional Reconstruction. That this call for a change emanated from the radical editor of the Boston Guardian, William Monroe Trotter, and also appeared in the pages of the NAACP's The Crisis, edited by DuBois, which in turn makes this event particularly dramatic.

In the campaign, Wilson called for dramatic reforms, a New Freedom for the benefit of the common man. Black, quite naturally, hoped that they, too, were to benefit. But the meaning of words like freedom and reform had a different reference at the time. Blacks had listened to Progressive slogans and found that they were intended to guide changes in the condition of whites and not blacks. The interchange around what Wilson might have in mind during the 1912 campaign reveals a hesitant and ambivalent candidate, constantly pushed by Dubois, who lectured him on freedom should mean.

**Son:** Did you hear that, Dad? Dubois lectured Wilson on what freedom should mean. That's all right!

**Father:** Dubois was in a position to see things from a different view than Wilson. Wilson was an accepted scholar, part president of Princeton University, and a man of the right color.

**Son:** Right color?

**Father:** Yes, Son. Wilson was white and white made a difference in those days. People were openly prejudice against blacks.

**Son:** What about Dubois? Wasn't he qualified? Did they reject him because he was less white than Wilson?

**Father:** Less White? Um (Pause) You got me there. Less White huh? Well, DuBois and Wilson were both scholars. Each man made his mark in history. Wilson as a statement for the country and DuBois as a spokesman for blacks= rights. The only difference between these two was skin color and their perspectives on administration. I'm getting ahead of the story. It=s time for the Narrator.

**Narrator:** The Election of 1912 was not an easy one for Negroes. They courted each of three parties. Lack leaders initially sought to support. Theodore Roosevelt and the Progressive. DuBois was their spokesman.

*(OFFICE SETTING)*

**DuBois:** (signing letter and then calls in secretary) Ms. Margaret, can you come here please.

**Margaret:** Yes, sir. What is it? Is the paper on hot or something?

**DuBois:** No. No. I trying to help the ink dry faster. I need a second opinion. Sit down and tell me what you think of this letter to Theodore Roosevelt.

Dear Mr. Roosevelt. I am proposing that following policy as a plank for your convention:

The Progressive Party recognizes that distinctions of race or class in political life have no place in a democracy. Especially does the party realize that a group of 10,000,00 (ten million) people who have in a generation changed from a slave to a free labor system, re-established family life, accumulated \$ 1,000,000 (one million dollars) of real property, including 10,000,000 (ten million) acres of land, and reduced their illiteracy from 80 to 30 percent, deserves and must have justice, opportunity and a voice in their own government. The Party, therefore, demands for the Americans of Negro descent the repeal of unfair discriminatory laws and the right to vote on the same terms of which other citizens vote. (DuBois, 1968:238)

Sincerely yours, W.E.B. DuBois.

**Margaret:** Sound good to me, but I ain't sure how he gonna to take it.

**Narrator:** And take it, he did not. Theodore Roosevelt would have none of it. He was heard saying that DuBois was a dangerous person.

As for the Republicans and William Howard Taft, blacks were not impressed by the recent appointment of William H Lewis as Assistant Attorney General in early 1911, even though this was the highest post held by a Negro to that date. There were simply too many negatives in the Taft Administration, and most notable among these was his policy to withhold Negro appointments in the South. Taft had been quoted as saying: There is no Constitutional right for anyone to hold office. The question is one of fitness. A one-legged man would hardly be selected for a mail carrier, and although we would deplore his misfortune, nevertheless we would not seek to neutralize it by giving him a place that he could not fill. From this, Taft reasoned that Negroes should no longer be appointed to prominent positions in the South because, he argued, the antagonism created would irreparably undermine their effectiveness.

**Narrator:** (contd.) As for Wilson, DuBois wrote, There are, one must confess, disquieting facts: he was born in Virginia and he has headed a college which did not admit Negroes. DuBois went on: (DuBois still in the office.)

**DuBois:** (*voice is heard in the background as he is seen writing letter*) A man, however, is not responsible for his birth place or his college. On the whole, we do not believe that Woodrow Wilson admires Negroes... no-withstanding such possible preferences, Woodrow Wilson is a cultivated scholar and he has brains (where he keeps them I have no idea). We have, there fore, a conviction that Mr. Wilson will teat black men and their interest with farsighted fairness. He will not belong to the gang of which Tillman, Vardaman, Hoke Smith, and Blease - - the brilliant expositors. He will not advance the cause of the oligarchy in the South, he will not dismiss black men wholesale form office, and he will remember that the Negro in the United States has a right to be heard and considered; and if he becomes President by the grace of the black man=s vote, his Democratic successors may be more willing to pay the black man=s price of decent travel, free labor, votes, and education. ( The Crisis, August 1912) Sincerely yours, W.E.B. DuBois.

(Says out loud) Perfect! (Begins folding paper as Narrator speaks)

**Narrator:** The Crisis warming to Wilson reflected the increasing response obtained behind the scenes. Wilson had made an open bid@ for Negro support. In

fact, on July 16, soon after the Baltimore Democratic Convention, Wilson met with the Reverend J. Milton Waldron and William Monroe Trotter and in effect, stated that he needed and sought Negro support and pledged that if he were elected he would deal with Negroes as he would with other citizens, both in executing the laws and in making appointments. Waldron said that Wilson assured them that Negroes had nothing to fear from a Democratic Congress, and if, by some accident, Congress should enact legislation inimical to the Negro's interest, he would veto such laws. (Link, 1047:90)

Recognizing that something more definitive was required, Oswald Garrison Villard, grandson of abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison and a champion (among whites) of Negro rights, sought a clearer commitment. Wilson was personally friendly with Villard and was indebted to him, for the New York Evening Post, which Villard edited, had given him support both during his gubernatorial race and during his current Presidential bid. On August 13, Villard had a three-hour conversation with Wilson in Trenton. Villard left that meeting delighted by Wilson's pronouncements on the race question.

On August 14, Villard, assuming that full understanding on the Negro question had been achieved, sent Wilson a copy of The Crisis report of the Waldron-Trotter meeting.

**Wife:** (*Yells off screen*) Woody, did you get the copy of The Crisis I left on the table for you? It came special delivery.

**Wilson:** (Sitting down, propping feet up and skimming through the report, then yells) What!! I'm ruined !!

**Wife:** (Wife comes running out with ?-?-?-?) What is it dear?

**Wilson:** Dear, you remember when I had lunch with Oswald the other day? Well, we talk about this and about that. We also talked about the Negro question. I have just read with amazement the Waldron statement. I, of course, said that I would seek to be President of the whole country, and I declared that the Negroes had nothing to fear from a Democratic Congress. On the other hand, I have not promised to veto legislation inimical to the Negro's interest, for I would make no such promise to any listeners any assurance about appointments, except that they need not fear unfair discrimination. (Link 1947:91)

**Wife:** Sounds like you gotta problem. Maybe you need to be telling him and not me.

**Narrator:** Villard, disturbed by the reply, wrote back: (*Villard in office setting*)



**Villard:** I feel very strongly that nothing important can be accomplished among the colored people until we have an utterance from you which we can quote. They not unnaturally mistrust you because they have been told that Princeton University closed its doors to the colored man (and was about the only Northern University to do so) during your Presidency. They know that beside yourself, both Mr. Accoo and Mr. McCombs, are of Southern birth and they fear that the policy of injustice and disfranchisement which prevails not only in the Southern states, but in many of the Northern ones as well, will receive a great impetus by your presence in the White House. Again, as I explained to you, they want some assurance that they will not wholly be excluded from office, office meaning so much to them because the bulk of their race are absolutely devoid of any self-government, even in the smallest matters such as schools and the making of the town ordinances in which they live (Link 1947:91).

**Son:** Father, DuBois really did not want Wilson to be a friend of blacks.

**Father:** Yes, yes he did.

**Song:** "Hope for friendship"?

I am hopeful that you and I will have a relationship

of friendship, O that you and I might fellowship

For we have so much in common

O I am hopeful for a friendship

I need desperately to have a friend in you,

Will you receive my offer to be my friend?

Is there a higher thing that you can offer me?

I am hopeful of a friendship, I have need of fellowship with you

You and I have so much in common

O, that you would be my friend

Can it be, will it be, that you and I will be friends?

For I am hopeful of a friendship, a friendship between you and me

## ACT TWO

### Hope is Lost

*(Scene of worried Blacks)*

Narrator: Wilson received the endorsement of DuBois, and he went on to win the election. Out of the 15,000,000 votes casts, 6.2 million, a minority, went to Wilson. Of this number, 100,000 came from blacks. What he lacked in the general election, he made up in the Electoral College landslide with 435 votes to 88 for Roosevelt and 8 for Taft. More importantly, the Democrats gained control of both house of Congress.

1<sup>st</sup> Man: Now that Mr. Wilson has won the election, will he do right by colored people?

2<sup>nd</sup> Man: Wilson is not that bad. He said he wanted to assure the colored people that should he become President, they could count on him for absolutely fair dealing, for everything by which he could in advancing the interest of our race.

1<sup>st</sup> Man: Talk is cheap. It's his action...or lack of it...which has me scared.

3<sup>rd</sup> Man: Yeah, what is he going to do about that situation in Cleveland where the top scores on the Civil Service exam was a black man, then a Jew, and the third a black man? When the order of the three was known, the position was abolished.

Narrator: The concerns raised by blacks were later proven to be well founded. Congress had no more than convened when a literal flood of anti-black legislation was introduced. The pro-segregationist fervor that had followed the Old Confederacy's return to power in the States mushroomed in Washington. The Democratically controlled Congress began to consider legislation to exclude Negroes from commissions in the Army and Navy and from enlistment in these forces, to prohibit intermarriage and to segregate the carriers in Washington D.C. One resolution authorized the President to acquire territory in Mexico for the forced colonization of Negroes. Most threatening in its administrative implications was a bill that called for Negroes in the Civil Service to be segregated. Surely this was too harsh and punitive in content for a President pledged to be "president of all the people" to accept.

Wilson: (Inaugural address. Blacks listening to the radio)

Our duty is to cleanse, to reconsider, to store, to correct the evil without impairing the good, to purify and humanize every process of our common life without weakening or sentimentalizing it.

The firm basis of government is justice, not pity. These are matters of justice. There can be no equality of opportunity, the first essential of justice in the body politic, if men and women and children be not shielded in their lives, their vitality, from the consequences of great industrial and social processes which they cannot alter, control or singly cope with. Society must see to it that it does not itself crush or weakened or damaged its own constituent parts. The first duty of law is to keep sound the society it serves.

This is the high enterprise of the new day: to life everything that concerns our life as a Nation to the light that shines from the hearth fire of every man's conscience and vision of the right. It is inconceivable we should do it in ignorance of the facts as they are or in blind hast. We shall restore, not destroy... Justice, and only justice, shall always be our motto.

Narrator: The move to transform pre-election promises into tangible results for blacks actually began soon after the November election; however, in the early days of the administration, instead of responsiveness to black needs, a climate of benign neglect prevailed.

*(Scene shifts to segregated work area. Blacks are segregated from white women by screens)*

Worker: Man, we've gone from March to May and still no black nominations have submitted to Congress. Why? Meanwhile, the nation's observing good ol' Mr. President Wilson's unprecedented leadership: he's trying to establish close contacts with the Congressional Party Caucus and the Committee Leadership like Jefferson did. Yeah, and he thinks he's smart by skillfully employing the party as a legislative force. And he calls this the "New Freedom" program. That's why blacks are beginning to fear that their legitimate interest will go unnoticed.

Song: "Hope is Lost"

I thought we would be friends  
You said wonderful things in your correspondence to me  
I thought there was hope for liberation, liberation for the oppressed  
But now I see your deeds, your action is not affirmed  
What you could have done, you did not  
The good that you should have done, you chose otherwise  
O, how I desired for hope, but now hope is lost  
Hope is lost; I put my trust in you  
Yet, I knew, you were prone to fail me

Now I am saddened, because of your deeds  
Your action not affirmed, your action is not affirmed  
That which you have done is grievous indeed  
Hope is lost, your action not affirmed  
Your action not affirmed, your action not affirmed.

Narrator: By far the most bitter blow to Negro hopes for advancement came with the Wilson Administration's move to establish segregation in the Civil Service in Washington. The Subject of Negro-White relationships seems to have come up only incidentally in a Cabinet meeting, April 11, 1913. Albert Burleson, the Southern-bred Postmaster General express his concern to that small closed meeting regarding certain 'intolerable' conditions in the Railway Mail Service.

*(Cabinet meeting scene, members are speaking to each other in utterance)*

Chairman: Is there any more discussion on the segregation issue?

Burleson: Yes, I have something to discuss.

Chairman: Yes, Mr. Postmaster, you are recognized. Please express your concerns.

Burleson: This Negro-White relationship thing has to end. Whites not only have to work with blacks, but we are forced to use the same drinking glasses, towels, and washrooms. I do believe that it is to the advantage of both races to implement a policy of segregation in the Railway Mail Service. *(Members nodding in agreement.)* I suggested this be done in a gradual way, while continuing the employment of Negroes where such "Would not be objectable". The project will begin in only one section of the Federal Service, but I strongly hope that segregation could be promoted in all departments of government. Thank you. *(Members continue discussing the issue in silence.)*

Narrator: If there was any objection to or discussion of Burleson's plans, it was not recorded. But "President Wilson was quoted at the time saying that he desired, above all, to avoid friction in Federal service posts. Having a strong concern about the matter of segregation, Villiard thought it best to visit Woodrow Wilson.

Villiard: Good day, Mr. President. Let's get right down to it. This matter of segregation is not right. Do you realize the extent to which these actions had gone, and the dangers involved? Do you know that you are driving the Negroes to the Republican Party?

Wilson: Oswald, my dear friend, it is true that the segregation of the colored employees in the several departments has begun upon the initiative and at the suggestion of several of the heads of departments, but as much in the

interest of the Negroes as for any other reason, with the approval of some of the most influential Negroes I know, and with the ideal that the friction, or rather the discontent and uneasiness, which had prevailed in many of the departments would thereby be removed. It's as far as possible from being a movement against the Negroes. I sincerely believe it to be in their interest. And what distresses me most is to find that you look at it in so different a light.

I'm sorry that those who interest themselves most in the welfare of the Negroes should misjudge this action on the part of the department, for they are seriously misjudging it. My own feeling is, by putting certain bureaus and sections of the service in the charge of Negroes, we are rendering them more safe in the possession of office and less likely to be discriminated against.

Narrator: This explanation—made to a friend and white supporter—is revealing. Perhaps this was the “fair discrimination” Wilson had alluded to Villard previously. From a black perspective, certainly here was ambiguity that bordered on duplicity, understandable in the paternalism of the plantation, but despicable against the DuBois measure of dignity for free people.

During the same week, Wilson was also responding to Thomas Dixon, author of the *Clansman* and other anti-Negro novels. Dixon was protesting what he labeled as “a Negro to boss white girls as Register of the Treasure”. Wilson replied:

Wilson: (*On the phone*) I do not think you know what is going on down here. We are handling the force of colored people who are now in the departments in just the way in which they ought to be handled. Mr. Dixon, please understand that we are trying- and by degree succeeding- a plan of concentration, which will put them all together and will not in any one bureau mix the two races. This change has already practically been effected in the bureau in which I proposed the appointment of Patterson. Calm down, Mr. Dixon, it would not be right for me to look at this matter in any other way than as the leader of a great national party. I am trying to handle these matters with the best judgment, but in the spirit of the whole country, though with entire comprehension of the consideration which certainly do not need to be pointed out by me.

Narrator: Coincidental with these events, a white group was formed in Washington, D.C. euphemistically called the National Democratic Fair Play Association. Its purpose was to fight to establish segregation in all government offices. These white office seekers cited the fact that of 490,000 workers in Washington, 24,500 were Negro. The group wrote expressing their sentiments to Wilson and to Burleson calling attention to their part loyalty and demanding the jobs that Negroes held.

Song: "Hope is Found" (Hooded people)

That which I have been looking for, for so long  
That which I have desired for so long  
That which is the good and the right thing to do,  
I have found in you  
You are my President; I take delight in you  
There is none so great as yourself

O I have found hope in all my desires  
Bigotry is the root of me and in you, I have found my hope  
When I hope to express myself in all of my diabolical ways  
O you know how we play the game  
We speak with a forked tongue  
But, we mean the opposite of what we say  
We call black white, and we call white black  
But we know the game and what you spoke  
You'll spoken it unto us.

I have found hope, hop in you  
O you will do right; you will surely do right  
Go on, do the right thing  
Make matters as they should be  
Bring me to the top; keep under my feet everything not like us  
I have found my hope; my hope is in you  
Bigotry, is the root of me  
And you have brought it out perfectly  
I have found my hope; my hope is in, in you.

Narrator: The news of screens being erected in the Navy Department, the sending of other Negroes to work in cellars and the "mandatory use of separate lavatories in the Treasury Department" soon leaked. "A signed newspaper article in the Washington Star, August 9, 1913, vouchsafed the information that these separate lavatories were used without protest because of 'fear of dismissal'.

Margaret: Mr. DuBois, have you seen today's Washington Star? It's not good.

DuBois: (*Reading the newspaper*) "Wilson is bringing the punitive power of the organization to be brought to bear on the implementation of the policy. Dismissal, of course, is the bureaucracy's major weapon to assure compliance—and once threatened with it, the whole culture of the organization was transformed. Those who object to the policy will be immediately put in jeopardy and any blacks who acquiesce will be personally humiliated and reduced in status in the eyes of white employees

at whatever level of assignment. (*Puts the paper down, then says*): I believe a phone call is in order.

Narrator: The implementation of this new policy brought an almost immediate protest from black leaders. Once more Dubois lectured the President and leader of the New Democracy on democracy:

DuBois: The perils of ascending to the prejudices of administrators who, in addition to being unaccountable, make policy in a way that is all but unknown, is too much to bear. Policy-making and administration should be separated. "Do you know these things, Mr. Wilson? Do you consent...do you believe...national insult is best? No sane party can ignore 500,000 votes that will be counted.

Narrator: Wilson's response is equally instructive... 'he gave black not reply.' Instead, even in the midst of mounting protests, the Administration demanded and received the resignation of P.B.S. Pinchback whom Taft had appointed Assistant of the New York Customs Service. The act was highly symbolic. Pinchback, from Louisiana, had been elected to both the House and Senate in 1872-73, but was denied his Senate seat after almost "the whole of an extra session of Congress had been devoted to the discussion of the senator-elect's credentials." Pinchback was also referred to as "Governor' by Negroes, because he had served as Governor of Louisiana for 34 days following the impeachment of the former Governor. Moreover, as an administrator in New York, his work had been outstanding. Wilson, in short, was moving relentlessly in the effectuation of the new policy of segregation at every opportunity.

For blacks, Wilsonian administrative practice was oppressive and humiliating. Wilson appointed two (2) blacks to high level government positions, 24 less than accepted in that day as Negro appointment. This same man, however, is crowned, "Father" of the study of Public Administration.

## ACT 3; IT'S A NEW DAY

*(Scene opens with 90's, a picture of whites and blacks together.)*

Narrator: It's a new day. We have moved from the past and now we are in the enlightened 90's. The baseball strike has ended, and the Democrats yet have their man in the White House. Republicans, however, control both houses of Congress. What's on people's minds today: taxes, immigration, deficit spending, and affirmative action. Yes, the great debate in the 90's is affirmative action.

Song: "It's a New Day" (Strike up the band)

2X It's a new day; it's a new day; it's a new day.  
We have marched on; we have marched on, we have marched up the road.  
We have moved from the time of the past and now we are home in the 90's.

It's a new day; it's a new day; it's a brand new day  
The debate yet rages; Affirmative Action is on our mind  
It's a new day'; it's a new day; it's a new day  
This one is; that one isn't; she is; he is not  
What are we speaking about?  
Qualified, unqualified, whether you are black, must be white  
Come now, let me show what is right.

2X It's a new day; it's a new day; it's a new day  
We have marched up the road; we have moved from the past and now we are in the 90's.  
Affirmative Action is the debate; this is what we have to say  
Qualified, unqualified, black, white, yellow, red, who is here to take your place  
It's a new day; it's a new day; it's a new day  
Gains are found in government today, everybody has a chance  
This is the day; this is the way  
It's a new day; it's a new day; it's a new day today.

1<sup>st</sup> Debater: Ladies and Gentlemen, I am here to speak on behalf of the Affirmation Party. We are known throughout the United States as the society that affirms all things. It is with great pleasure that I now affirm the following:

- 1) You can always count on us to do the right thing for the country
- 2) We believe in the Constitution of the United States, and
- 3) The rights of every man, woman, boy and girl in this great country must be protected.

You can count on us to uphold the Constitution and to protect your rights. If you feel any one, and I mean anyone has taken that which is yours, we affirm that our duty is to come to your aid. We affirm all good citizens of the United States. It matters not which group you hold membership to, the only thing that counts is that you have a friend in the Affirmative Party.

Some people misunderstand us because we affirm such things as past inequities. How can a party whose very name is Affirmation, not affirm inequities? We believe every person should be treated equally under the law. We say yesterday is gone and tomorrow is to come. Right now, right now, is what we affirm.

In a one hundred yard foot race, do they give shorter people a 10-yard advantage because they don't measure up to the others in height? No. They start the three-foot man and the six-foot man together. They both have opportunity to win the race. No one is given an unfair advantage over the other.

Let us stand firm in what we affirm. We, the Affirmative Party, affirm the affirmative.

2<sup>nd</sup> Debater: Ladies and gentlemen, you have heard the critical words of the first debater. He does not speak for the good of the country. He seeks only to preserve the way of life of the Affirmative Party. Man should not be judged by what he affirms, he must be judged by his deeds.

I am the spokesman for the Action Party. We look at deeds, deeds and nothing but deeds so help us God. What we have seen over the years is a history of neglect by the Affirmative Party. They have neglected to even look back to see how they got their present status.

Had they looked back, just once, they would have noticed that all is not affirmable. Some actions are too gross to affirm. Should liars be affirmed? What about murderers? How about bigots? These should not be affirmed but they have been and are yet affirmed to this day.

There was a man who put his hope in a member of another party. He said:

- 1) The leader of the Party would treat Mocha men and their interest with farsighted fairness
- 2) He would not belong to the Affirmative Party
- 3) He would not advance the cause of the oligarchy in the South
- 4) He would not seek further means of Jim Crow insults
- 5) He would not dismiss Mocha men wholesale from office
- 6) He would remember the Mochas in the United States have a right to be heard and considered.

And what happened when the man he trusted became President? Did he treat Mochas's interest with farsighted fairness? No! Did he become a member of the Affirmative Party? No! He was already a member. Did he aid in the oligarchy of the South? You can bet your new shoes on it. Did he seek to stem the tide of Jim Crow insults? No way, the man aided and abetted the purveyors of hate. What about wholesale dismissal of black men from office? The 26 Mochas appointed to high office before the man won election was reduced to a measly 2. Did he remember that Mochas had a right to be heard and considered? If he did, he kept it a secret.

This one man's actions sums up the Affirmative Party. Everything he affirmed worked against equity for blacks. We the same spirit at work today in the Affirmation Party. We repudiate that spirit with all this right before God.

Narrator: The debate in the 90's is about affirmative action. From the debaters, you can see this is a sensitive issue. Both debaters approach the matter in part. The first affirmed but did not follow through with right actions. The second judged the acts with little consideration for the motive.

There is a middle ground between these two poles. Which we will we go? Will we go up in love together or will we go down to destruction in hate? The choice is before us. None of us can say we have all right and no wrong? It is time for humble pie. Who shall cease the rhetoric and call for unity among us?

Song: "Which Way do we Go"?

Which way do we go? Are we going forward or backward  
Which way do we go O people of mine  
Which way do we go? Show me the way  
Which way do we go? Do we go forward or backward?

Do we go together or must we depart?  
Which way do we go?  
There are two roads  
One road says: equity, fair play, friendship, unity and love  
It beckons us to come to travel there upon

There is a second road and it says:  
Inequity, foul play, enmity, division and hate  
It also beckons that we travel there upon  
Which way do we go, which way do we go?

Do we go up together, ascending higher in love  
Do we go up together, ascending higher in love

O will we be pulled apart going down to destruction, the destruction of hate, which way do we go?

Which way do we go, which way do we go?  
Equity, fair play, friendship, unity and love or  
Inequity, foul play, enmity, division and hate

2X Which way do we go, which way do we go?

We're at the crossroad; we must go one direction or the other  
Which way do we go, which way do we go?  
Equity, inequity, fair play foul play, friendship, enmity, unity division,  
love or hate  
Which way, tell me, all you people, which way do we go?

2X Which way do we go, which way do we go?