GEORGE W. WESTERMAN PAPERS

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Table of Contents

Biographical Note	1
Scope and Content	6
Provenance	23
Container List	24
Separation Record	121

GEORGE W. WESTERMAN (1910-1988). PAPERS, 1886-1988 (1934-1985, bulk) 115 boxes (58 lin. ft.)

Biographical Note

Journalist, sociologist, and diplomat, George Washington Westerman was a Panamanian of West Indian origin and has been identified with almost every major social, cultural, civic and labor struggle, particularly those affecting people of West Indian descent on the Isthmus, dating to the 1940's. Westerman served as a bridge between Panamanian West Indians, the American managers of the Canal Zone, and the Panamanians. He waged a relentless battle against social inequities and discriminatory racial practices in all fields.

Born in Colon, Panama February 22, 1910 of a Barbadian father and a St. Lucian mother, Westerman, like many other West Indian Panamanians of his generation, had a limited formal education. He attended the Canal Zone Elementary School at La Boca (the West Indian district) between 1916 and 1920 through third grade. From 1920 until 1923 he was tutored by Samuel A. Inniss, one of the leaders in the 1920 strike of West Indian workers against the Canal Zone government. Westerman described himself as being largely self-taught and a prolific reader, especially of history and black literature; he also took correspondence courses. Although he did not marry, he maintained close, active communication with his family, helping many of them pursue their education and career goals, particularly that of Rex Williams, Westerman's nephew and fellow journalist.

Westerman's secretarial and stenographic skills won him clerical jobs on the Panama Canal Zone, which was unusual for a man of West Indian descent. Between 1925 and 1928 he was a messenger and office helper for the Transportation Division of the Supply Department for the Panama Canal Company. From 1928 to 1943 he worked for the Compañia Panameña de Fuerza y Luz (the Panama Power and Light Company) as a typist/stenographer and secretary to the assistant treasurer. He later went on to become the chief of the Steno-Typist section for this same company. From 1943 until 1956 he served as secretary to the superintendent of the National Brewery. It was here Westerman met Ernesto de la Guardia, Jr., future president of Panama (1956-1960). The two men became close political allies.

Westerman's primary profession was journalism. He began his career at age sixteen as the sports contributor to *The Panama American*. He also worked for *The Star & Herald*, a daily, the black weekly *The Workman*, writing under the pen name "The Greek" and was a columnist for *The Panama American* from 1932 to 1941. From 1928 until 1932 he was the sports editor for *The Panama Tribune*, established in 1928 by a group of West Indian workers. This English language weekly, with a circulation of 8000, was the voice of the West Indian community and a vehicle for protesting the denial of social justice to thousands of non-U.S. citizens working for the American government on the Canal Zone. By 1938, Westerman had become associate editor of *The Panama Tribune*, and when the founder, Sidney Young, died in 1959, Westerman purchased the paper from his widow, thus becoming the owner and editor. He wrote an editorial "The Passing Review" at least as early as 1935 and continued to contribute columns to the paper. Due to economic considerations and differences with the military government then in power, the newspaper folded in 1973. Prior to and following *The Panama Tribune's* collapse, Westerman

wrote for other Panamanian newspapers as well as for the American *Miami Herald* and Dix New Media of Ohio. He was a member of the Inter American Press Association, a Latin American and United States professional organization, and served as its regional vice president of the Freedom of the Press Committee from 1964-1970.

Westerman gained national prominence as a tennis player. In 1936 and 1938 he won both the singles and doubles titles in the Panamanian National Tennis Championship under the auspices of the National Olympic Committee, and in 1938 he was a member of the tennis team representing Panama in the IV Central American and Caribbean Olympiad.

Westerman involved himself in many areas which would serve to advance West Indian Panamanians, particularly in the fields of education, labor, politics, and housing. In the area of education, he sought to provide role models for Panamanians of West Indian descent. He collected autographed photographs with accompanying biographical sketches of fifty outstanding African Americans, and presented this gift to the library of La Boca School (his alma mater) where the photographs were placed on exhibit. He was at the forefront in establishing a collection of books written by African-American authors and about African-American life, which led to the creation of the first central library in the Canal Zone Colored Schools. Westerman supported the 1954 language and curriculum conversion policy in Canal Zone schools which affected non-U.S. citizens. This policy mandated a change from an American curriculum in English to a Spanish language curriculum emphasizing Panamanian history and culture. The purpose was to facilitate the transition of students into Panamanian society and citizenship; however the rapid transition to the new curriculum caused many West Indian teachers who could not speak Spanish to lose their positions.

Westerman frequently used cultural programs as a method of fostering pride and educating Panamanian youth about the accomplishments of their African heritage. In 1942 he was one the leading figures in the founding of the Isthmian Negro Youth Congress (INYC), an organization comprised of Panamanians of West Indian descent. He served as director of the Bulletin and wrote the introduction for a pamphlet entitled *An Exhibit on the Races of Mankind*, which the INYC published. In the mid 1940's he chaired the Intercultural Committee of the INYC, bringing top African-American entertainers to perform in Panama, including William Allen, Todd Duncan, Hazel Lawson, Philippa Schuyler, William Grant Still and Florizelle Wilson. The INYC also sponsored the first Negro History Week observance on the Isthmus.

Applying his talent as an impresario, in 1949 he founded and became the director of Westerman Concerts, an agency which sponsored performances in Panama of Marian Anderson, William Warfield, and *Porgy and Bess*, in addition to many other entertainers. He operated this agency until 1956, when other responsibilities became the focus of his attention.

Westerman became actively involved in politics in the 1940's. Using his influence in the community, he organized the membership of the National Civic League to lobby the

Constitutional Assembly to amend the 1941 Constitution. This Constitution had effectively denationalized Panamanian born children of foreign parents by requiring that they pass a test on the history and other aspects of Panama after coming of age before Panamanian citizenship would be granted. Through his editorials and other columns in *The Panama Tribune*, Westerman urged his readers to seek the passage of this amendment. Although his objective had been an amendment which would restore full citizenship, the 1946 amendment only bestowed conditional citizenship to the affected groups. It was not until 1960, with the passage of the "Bazan Amendment" enacted under President Roberto Chiari, that the right of full citizenship from birth was restored. Another issue Westerman protested was the Panamanian Immigration Law of 1948 which forced African Americans and other "prohibited peoples" who wished to visit Panama to pay a deposit of \$500 to guarantee their return to their country of origin. This was in contrast to white visitors who only had to pay a deposit of \$150.

Westerman's full immersion into party politics occurred during the 1956 presidential election when he supported the candidacy of his friend, Ernesto de la Guardia, for president. Westerman joined the National Patriotic Coalition Party and organized the West Indian community to participate in the national election. He was in charge of the employment section of the party and recommended hundreds of West Indians for jobs. He also distributed food, gasoline and other favors to win votes for his candidate. As a reward for this crucial support for his successful election, de la Guardia appointed Westerman a delegate with the rank of ambassador (Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary) to the General Assembly of the United Nations, where he served from 1956-1960.

Westerman was the first Panamanian of West Indian parentage to enter Panama's diplomatic service. His advocacy of minority rights resulted in his serving on the Fourth Committee of the United Nations General Assembly which dealt with independence for non-self-governing territories and the self-determination of emerging African and Caribbean nations. In this capacity, he prepared statements for the independence of South West Africa (now called Namibia) and Togoland (presently Togo). He attended the independence celebrations of Ghana, Cameroon, Chad, Nigeria, Jamaica, and Trinidad and Tobago as well as the presidential inaugurations of William V. S Tubman of Liberia, and John F. Kennedy of the United States. Following the death of Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjold, Westerman was considered, among others, as a candidate for the postition. In 1967 the Panamanian government appointed Westerman Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary in order to achieve diplomatic relations with the new Caribbean nations and to support their admittance to the Organization of American States. He was also appointed honorary Consul to Barbados while in Panama, a position he held in 1968 and 1969.

Westerman's formal attempt to improve the West Indian Panamanian situation in regard to United States-Panamanian relations dates to at least the early 1950's when he appeared before a Panamanian Negotiating Commission in Washington and described racially discriminatory practices on the Canal Zone and treaty violations. Westerman also researched a strongly worded

petition presented to Vice President Henry A. Wallace condemning the dual system under which non-U.S. citizens worked for the federal government. Wallace promised to conduct a personal investigation into the charges made. Using his contacts in the United States, he sought support from politicians such as U.S. Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., who in 1952 read a speech Westerman had given regarding relations between the United States and Panama that focused on some of the tensions between the two countries, into the Congressional Record. Negotiations for the 1955 treaty included discussions concerning discrepancies in wages and retirement plans.

Westerman unsuccessfully sought to gain permission for Panamanians of West Indian descent who wanted to serve in the American military during World War II in exchange for immediate citizenship rights. Beyond Westerman's concerns for improving the conditions and situation of West Indian Panamanians, he clearly saw himself as a Panamanian and worked with all Panamanians on behalf of his country. In 1962 he served with the vice president of Panama on a three-man commission charged with seeking relief from anti-tax haven provisions of a bill then before the United States Congress. The tax haven law encouraged American corporations to invest money in Panama because of the tax incentives, thereby providing about 5000 jobs to Panamanians. Westerman maintained an active correspondence with American officials involved in negotiating the 1967 treaty and with the American ambassador to Panama, the governor of the Canal Zone, and U.S. Congressman Andrew Young concerning several aspects of United States-Panama relations. He also supported a proviso in the 1977 treaty for an increase in rent paid by the United States to Panama.

Labor issues as they affected workers on the Canal Zone was another area in which Westerman exercised his considerable personal and political influence. In the late 1940's *The Panama Tribune*, via Westerman and others, took the initiative in organizing the committee that fought for a new CIO union to represent non-U.S. workers on the Canal Zone to replace a local of the United Public Workers of America, which was reportedly under Communist control. Additionally, he supported a 1960 bill to increase cash relief payments for retired employees of the Panama Canal Company, and was chairman of the Scholarship Committee of the National Maritime Union, which provided scholarships to over sixty children of members to attend any accredited high school in Panama.

Westerman developed numerous contacts in Panama and the United States and utilized his relationships with political and business associates to pursue a variety of business enterprises, most notably the construction of houses, particularly prefabricated homes, for Panama's lower middle class. He also attempted ventures in the food and alcoholic beverages industries, and the minting of coins for numismatists, among others. Although he engaged in these pursuits from the 1950's through the mid-1970's, none was successful.

Westerman wrote numerous pamphlets about United States-Panamanian relations, focusing on socio-economic conditions affecting the people of Panama and the Canal Zone, West Indian laborers on the Canal Zone, treaty negotiations, education, and housing issues, as well as

Panamanian political figures, sports and most significantly, West Indian contributions to the history of Panama. In total he authored thirty-four publications and prepared manuscripts for many more which were not published.

In 1950 Westerman achieved international recognition when he presented a paper about West Indians as a minority group in Panama before the First International Congress of Sociologists and Political Scientists in Zurich, Switzerland. Following that experience, he regularly attended conferences dealing with the Pan-American Highway, mass media in society, blacks in the Americas, immigration, and Catholic women in Panama, among other topics. Westerman travelled in the United States where he gave speeches about the history of West Indians in Panama, business possibilities in Panama, and other timely issues affecting his country. Importantly, he was went on two lecture tours, in 1966 and 1973, in an effort to educate and persuade Americans to support Panamanian rights during canal treaty negotiations.

Westerman served as chairman or treasurer of numerous civic, cultural and educational organizations in Panama, and was a member of many learned societies such as the American Sociological Society and the American Association for the Advancement of Science. He received numerous decorations, awards and citations granted by both Panama and international bodies for a variety of services in the furtherance of human rights and the fostering of international goodwill. In 1953 he was awarded Panama's highest honor, the Vasco Nuñez de Balboa de Panama decoration, and also received an honorary Doctorate of Humanities from Philathea College in Canada, and the Honor of Merit from Haiti. This man of distinction died on August 31, 1988 in the Colon Old Folks Home after a long illness.

Scope and Content

The George Westerman Papers document the numerous and diverse interests of this journalist, sociologist, diplomat and activist, who was deeply immersed in issues relating to practically every issue on the isthmus of Panama, especially those affecting people of West Indian origin, from the 1940's through the early 1980's. The collection consists primarily of personal papers, news articles and administrative files pertaining to Westerman's journalism career, his published and unpublished writings, speeches, conference papers, and material relating to his career as an impresario. Additionally, the collection encompasses his involvement in Panamanian politics, United States-Panamanian relations, especially Panama Canal Treaty negotiations, as well as education, labor, ameliorating conditions associated with racial discrimination, and sports. There is also reference material about various aspects of West Indian life in Panama. Publications or news articles written by Westerman which pertain to a particular subject are housed in folders at the beginning of that series. At the end of several series there is a folder containing publications not written by Westerman. Approximately 20% of the collection is written in Spanish. Some Spanish language material appears in every series.

The Westerman Papers are divided into eighteen series and twenty-four subseries which are arranged alphabetically. The titles, dates and box numbers are as follows:

Title	Dates	Box Numbers
Personal Papers	1897-1988	1-14
Professional Correspondence - General	1941-1984	15
Advocacy	1945-1984	16
Community Organizations	1942-1983	16-17
Conferences	1950-1981	18-20
Diplomatic Career		21-27
United Nations	1956-1983	21-25
Non-United Nations Diplomatic Activities	1957-1983	26-27
Education	1934-1985	28-29
Entertainment Career	1939-1984	29-30
Journalism Career	1928-1983	31-44
Labor	1926-1985	45-52
Panamanian Commemorative Stamp	1951-1956	53
Politics	1886-1986	54-62
Racial Discrimination	1935-1984	63-64
Speeches	1944-1982	65-69
Sports	1920's-1985	70
Subject Files		
Economics	1946-1985	71
Fraternal and Benevolent Societies	1922-1985	71
Health	1940-1983	71

Housing Policies	1954-1972	71
Reference Material - West Indians	1928-1986	72-74
in Panama		
Religion	1928-1984	75-76
United States - Panama Relations	1862-1986	77-92
Administration	1951-1986	77
Alliance for Progress and Agency for International Development	1962-1983	78
Flag Controversy on the Canal Zone and Its Aftermath	1958-1974	78-79
Flags of Necessity	1958-1962	80
History	1862-1985	80
Panama Canal Operations	1913-1985	81
Panama Canal Treaty Negotiations	1942-1985	82-88
Panama Canal Zone	1941-1981	88-89
Pan American Highway	1946-1969	90
Publications	1904-1976	91
United States Congressional Hearings	1950-1979	91
United States Information Service	1965-1967	91
United States Tax Haven Law	1956-1962	92
General	1942-1983	92
Writings	1942-1983	93-115
Published	1942-1983	93-97
Unpublished		98-115

The series PERSONAL PAPERS, 1897-1988 (4.8 lin. ft.) includes numerous versions of Westerman's curriculum vitae, address books, invitations to official events in Panama, correspondence and news clippings regarding his family both in Panama and the United States, and information about his death. There is correspondence with friends such as Anesta Samuels (founder of a Brooklyn based Panamanian community organization called the Dedicators) and Audrey Thorne. This series also contains information about some of the many honors and awards bestowed upon Westerman, both in Panama and internationally from 1949-1984, including the Vasco Nuñez de Balboa Award (1953), the Lewis D. Brandeis Gold Medal Award for "Service to Humanity" (1959), the celebration of "Westerman's Day" by the Dedicators (1968), an achievement award by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People - Canal Zone Branch (1975), and an organization called "Friends of George Westerman" (1982). There are also personal financial records.

Of particular interest are Westerman's "memoranda of record" (1967-1973), which he wrote as a diary or record of important conversations he had with prominent figures on issues of national and international importance, especially United States-Panama relations. The memoranda for 1967-1968, deal with the Panamanian presidential pre-electoral and electoral campaign of 1968, and furnish valuable insights into the complexities of Arnulfo Arias' campaign and the constitutional crisis that ensued in 1968 prior to Arias' overthrow by the Panamanian National

Guard on October 11, 1968. The memoranda of 1969-1973 discuss the early years of the military government and Westerman's opposition to it.

Additionally, there are a large number of news clippings by and about Westerman (1933-1984) which include his columns from the newspaper Panama Tribune. The articles discuss nearly every professional issue and activity in which Westerman was involved, from Panamanian politics, trips abroad, the Canal Zone, labor, housing, the United Nations, race relations, U.S.-Panama relations, to his presentation of speeches, and honors awarded him.

This series also encompasses information about Westerman's numerous business ventures. He devoted the greatest effort attempting to improve housing conditions for West Indian laborers and was involved in several projects to either build or assemble pre-fabricated housing and regular housing in Panama. There are proposals from several companies including Betania Home Ownership Project, Cativa Housing Project, Dalite Corporation, and Philip W. Genovese & Associates, which worked on the Pan de Azucar housing development, as well as building and loan associations (1950's-1970's). Other files document his business attempts in minting numismatic coins, and in serving as a broker for various types of food and alcoholic beverages. This material is arranged alphabetically by type of business venture.

The PROFESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE - GENERAL series, 1941-1984 (.2 lin. ft.) consists of correspondence with Roy S. Bryce Laporte concerning papers he and Westerman wrote and George Schuyler regarding Carl Van Vechten's 1951 visit to Panama. Additional material about Laporte and Schuyler may be found in the Conferences and Journalism and series respectively.

The ADVOCACY series, 1945-1984 (.2 lin. ft.) consists of correspondence with Panamanians living both in Panama and the United States who solicited Westerman's assistance, because of his position and influence, to help them gain employment, obtain visas for entry to the United States, secure housing, scholarships for students, locate "lost" relatives, information about Panama, etc. This series is arranged chronologically.

The series COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS, 1942-1983 (1.5 lin. ft.) encompasses correspondence, administrative files and printed material about thirty-seven community organizations in Panama and the United States, that, for the most part, attempted to further the progress of Panamanians of West Indian descent. One of the three best documented organizations is the Dedicators (a.k.a. Las Servidoras) which was founded in 1957 by Anesta Samuels in New York to build a scholarship fund for Panamanians of West Indian descent who wished to attend college in the United States. Included are correspondence and news clippings regarding the 1968 luncheon held in honor of Westerman, as well as programs for the balls and other activities the organizations sponsored. The records of the Isthmian Negro Youth Congress (1942-1947) include correspondence, programs and news clippings pertaining to performances by such entertainers as William Allen, Todd Duncan, Hazel Lawson, Florizelle Wilson and William Grant Still, which were sponsored by the INYC 's Intercultural Committee, of which Westerman was chairman. This organization also published a booklet entitled An Exhibit on the Races of

Mankind written by Linda Samuels with an introduction by Westerman. The series contains correspondence and reference material concerning the manuscript and lectures Samuels delivered about the contributions made by various ethnic groups worldwide, in addition to bulletins and other publications. The National Civic League was dedicated to promoting the general welfare of children of West Indian Panamanians. The files (1946-1952) document some of the activities with which Westerman was involved, most importantly the efforts to abolish the discriminatory policies of the 1941 Constitution of Panama. There is also material relating to the drive to raise money for Linda Samuels' education at Fisk University. This series is arranged alphabetically by name of organization.

The series CONFERENCES, 1950-1981 (1.2 lin. ft.) consists of papers delivered by Westerman and others at a variety of conferences held internationally and in Panama concerning subjects of worldwide importance. Among the conferences he attended which are represented in the collection are the Congreso Cultura Negra de las Americas (1980), Congreso Nacional de Mujeres Catolica de Panama (1963 and 1975), Congreso Regional de Enfermeras para las Americas (1962), all in Panama City. Representing the Congreso Cultura Negra de las Americas are programs and papers by Jean Casimir, J. G. Evering, Alberto Smith Fernandez, Vera Green, and Abdias do Nasciemento. International conferences he attended include the International Sociological Association in Zurich (files include minutes and abstracts of papers), the Research Institute on Immigration and Ethnic Studies in Washington, D.C., and UNESCO's Meeting of Experts on the Role of Mass Media in a Multicultural Society in Paris. A 1957 interview with Richard B. Moore is included in the West Indian Federation file. The files are organized chronologically.

The DIPLOMATIC CAREER series, 1956-1983 (3.6 lin. ft.) documents Westerman's service as a delegate to the United Nations from 1956 until 1960, and the trips he took representing Panama, as well as his special service to Caribbean nations in the 1960's. The United Nations subseries, 1956-1983 (3 lin. ft.) includes his official statements as a member of the Fourth Committee of the United Nations dealing with non-self-governing territories, especially South West Africa (Namibia) and Togoland (Togo), the latter under French administration. There are statements by other United Nations officials and politicians concerning the Fourth Committee, and by Panamanian leaders who spoke on worldwide issues. The series includes correspondence with officials, statements prepared by UNESCO, and news clippings about Westerman, including his candidacy for Secretary-General following the 1961 death of Dag Hammerskjold. There are invitations to official events and printed material Westerman collected about several African territories seeking independence in the late 1950's-early 1960's. Additionally, this series contains copies of the printed "Provisional Summary Records" of the United Nations General Assembly Fourth Committee for the 11th-15th and the 26th Sessions, as well as summaries of information transmitted to the secretary-general concerning territories in Africa, Asia, the Caribbean and Indian and Pacific Oceans (1956). There is a file on UNESCO's Decade for Action to Combat Racism in which Westerman participated in 1967-1968, after he left the United Nations. Publications about UNESCO, UNICEF, Africa, and the economic development of Latin America can also be found. This part of the series is arranged by format of material.

The Non-United Nations Diplomatic Activities subseries, 1957-1983 (.6 lin. ft.) documents Westerman's diplomatic career after his post at the United Nations had ended. Due in part to his position with the Fourth Committee and his role there supporting the independence efforts of non-self-governing territories, Westerman was invited to the independence celebrations and presidential inaugurations of African and Caribbean countries. Among other events, he attended the independence celebrations of Ghana (1957) which is represented only by a letter, Cameroon (1960), and the inauguration of President William V. S. Tubman of Liberia (1960) whose celebration is represented by invitations, programs, a sermon and addresses delivered by Tubman as well as biographical information about him.

Westerman also attended the independence celebrations of Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, both held in August 1962. Since many laborers who worked on the Panama Railroad and Panama Canal were from Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, letters and statements from various officials, including the former and current presidents of Panama are included in the series, which also contains programs, booklets and news clippings. Additionally, there is documentation on Westerman's appointment by President Marco Robles to the position of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary on Special Mission for the purpose of establishing diplomatic relations between Panama and the Caribbean nations and assisting with their admittance to the Organization of American States. During his tenure as Ambassador, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, and Barbados were admitted to the OAS (1967) and Barbados was admitted to the U.N. (1966).

As a result of Westerman's efforts, Panama maintained a close relationship with Barbados, the home of his father. This series documents the close personal relationship he had with Barbados' first Prime Minister, Errol Barrow, and diplomatic relations between Panama and Barbados. There is information relating to the independence celebrations in 1966 which Westerman attended, as well as Westerman's role in getting Barrow's support for the candidacy of Panamanian Dr. Eduardo Ritter Aislan for the position of Secretary General of the OAS following the retirement of General José A. Mora in May 1968. There is also material concerning Barrow's visit to Panama in February 1967, Westerman's subsequent visit to Barbados in August 1967, and Westerman's appointment as Honorary Consul for Barbados in Panama in 1968 at the request of Barrow. Documentation indicates he resigned the following year because of his frequent trips outside of Panama. In his official capacity as Ambassador, in August 1967 Westerman also visited Trinidad and Tobago, New York and Washington. Files include correspondence, a speech and news clippings pertaining to the independence celebrations, biographical information about Barrow, and news releases concerning Barbados' admission to the United Nations. Barrow's visit to Panama in February 1967 consists of an itinerary, correspondence, and news clippings. Materials related to Westerman's return visit in August 1967 as well as his trips to Trinidad and Tobago and New York include correspondence between Westerman and Barrow regarding postponing a 1968 visit by Barrow to Panama because of political turmoil in Panama. Barbardos' admission to the OAS is documented by press releases, OAS Information Service News Releases and news clippings. This part of the series is arranged alphabetically by name of country.

The EDUCATION series, 1934-1985 (1.4 lin. ft.) contains documents on education in the Canal Zone for the children of West Indians and the general population. The greatest amount of information pertains to Canal Zone schools. Included are a policy manual, annual reports of the Division of Schools (1952-1953), reports and correspondence with the Canal Zone Colored Teachers' Association, and reports and news clippings pertaining to the 1954 language and curriculum conversion mandated for children of Panamanian employees attending U.S. schools on the Canal Zone. The conversion from the English-language American curriculum to the Spanish-language Panamanian curriculum was instituted to facilitate assimilation to Panamanian citizenship and culture.

Files on the Ministry of Education consists of reports to the National Assembly and national plans for education, 1966-1969. The University of Panama folders provide information about the faculty and printed matter about the autonomy of the university. Also, there are a booklet and news clippings about founding a second university in Panama, the University of Santa Maria la Antigua in 1965. Information about the predecessor of the University of Panama, the Canal Zone College, consists of a transcript of an interview held by the Civic Committee with the superintendent of Canal Zone schools about the employment of black instructors, 1950. Westerman served as chairman of this Civic Committee. Additionally, this series contains some of the autographed letters Westerman loaned to the La Boca School Library, the Isthmus' school for West Indians, for an exhibit entitled "Fifty Outstanding Afro-Americans," 1942. This collection formed the nucleus of a library which emphasized books by and about blacks, and Westerman served as secretary of the Library Committee. Administrative files document the opening and growth of this library. Other material pertains to La Boca Normal School and the U.S. government's request to reorganize this high school as a teacher-training and general educational institution at the junior college level, 1949. There are also reports about teachers in the secondary school system, scholarships for students, graduation programs, writings by Westerman and others about education and related news clippings about general education topics in Panama and Latin America. This series is arranged by: Canal Zone schools, Ministry of Education, University of Panama, and general.

The ENTERTAINMENT CAREER series, 1939-1984 (1949-1956, bulk) (1.4 lin. ft.) documents Westerman's career as an impresario for his own agency which he founded in 1949, Westerman Concerts. The agency sponsored black performers primarily from the United States to entertain in Panama. The performers included Marian Anderson, Carol Brice, Emily Butcher, Ellabelle Davis, Dizzy Gillespie, Dorothy Maynor, June McMechen, Philippa Schuyler, Hazel Scott, William Warfield, and Camilla Williams. The series consists of booking files, correspondence, programs and news clippings about the concerts and performers, 1939-1956. There is also correspondence for the Balboa Radio Station of which Westerman was vice president (1958) and correspondence and news clippings about performers Westerman did not bring to Panama, but about whom he collected information. The series is arranged alphabetically by performer.

The JOURNALISM CAREER series, 1928-1982 (5.2 lin. ft.) reflects Westerman's primary occupation and demonstrates how he utilized his position with The Panama Tribune and other newspapers to improve social conditions for West Indians and other Panamanians. The series consists of founding papers of *The Panama Tribune*, stock certificates and correspondence with shareholders and advertisers, financial records and reports about the origins, purposes, and accomplishments of the newspaper. The correspondence of the founder and original owner of The Panama Tribune, Sidney Young, pertains to the operation of the paper, as well as his personal business ventures. In addition, there is personal correspondence and biographical information about Young. The series contains correspondence relating to Westerman's purchase of the newspaper in 1959 from Young's widow. There are letters to Westerman as the associate editor in 1952 (in Spanish) dealing with continuing problems with the printing company, financial matters, and correspondence between Young and Westerman regarding The Panama Tribune's involvement in a struggle against Communist control of a labor union on the Canal Zone. There is extensive correspondence between Westerman and Rex Williams (a.k.a. Joseph Williams), Westerman's nephew who served as the Chicago correspondent. The letters from Williams discuss contemporary issues affecting Panama, his personal affairs, and his support of Westerman's efforts in all his endeavors. Included are a few articles by Williams. There are also articles by other columnists who wrote for The Panama Tribune. Other files deal with the suspension of operations of The Panama Tribune for what was believed to be temporary in March 1973 because of difficulties with the printing company and government restrictions. The series also contains Westerman's weekly editorial in The Panama Tribune entitled "The Passing Review," another column, and articles he wrote, covering the years 1935-1973. The news articles are arranged chronologically.

Westerman contributed many articles for a number of newspapers besides *The Panama Tribune*, during and after the period of its publication. Most notably, Westerman was special correspondent for *The Miami Herald*, Panama Edition in the mid -1960's. He also wrote occasional articles for *The Chicago Daily News, Critica, La Hora, Mundo Grafico, The Nation, Panama America, La República* and *The Sunday Republic*. The latter papers are Panamanian publications, several were Spanish language issues, although Westerman seemed to prefer writing in English for the West Indian community in Panama. Files consist of Westerman's drafts for the articles as well as the actual news clippings and correspondence. There is also correspondence with George Schuyler, the New York editor of *The Pittsburgh Courier*. Additionally, this series contains a list Westerman compiled in 1983 of Panamanian newspapers with brief comments including their political affiliations and leading columnists.

Westerman was a member of the Inter American Press Association and served as the regional vice chairman of the Freedom of the Press Committee from 1964-1970. He attended the annual general assemblies held in various member countries including the United States, and occasionally, the mid-year meetings as well. The records consist of conference proceedings, newsletters and news clippings, a directory of members and correspondence. There are also statements by Westerman and information about President Kennedy's address to the Association in Miami about inter-American relations on November 18, 1963.

The LABOR series, 1926-1985 (1950-1980, bulk) (3.2 lin. ft.) documents the role of West Indian labor, local rate employees and the history of labor unions, all on the Canal Zone. Besides the publications and news articles written by Westerman, this series also contains several of his manuscripts about labor unions. Interspersed throughout the series are clippings that mention Westerman's involvement in labor issues as well as his correspondence. In addition, he also maintained a research file on labor consisting of academic histories written by others concerning West Indian labor in Panama dating to 1850. Various reports include a 1946 paper on alleged discriminatory treatment of Panamanian citizens and West Indian employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Company, an annual report of the Personnel Department (1954), and a study of socio-economic inequities relating to U.S.-Panama affairs on the Canal Zone (1960). Other information relates to labor unions, their formation and problems they dealt with in regard to the AFL and the CIO, as well as collective bargaining, salary and benefit disparities and working conditions of the "local rate" employees as compared to U.S. employees. "Local rate" employees were paid according to the Canal Zone Wage Structure, also known as the Caribbean Wage Scale. This wage scale was established in 1903 and refers to the lower rate of compensation for Panamanian workers ostensibly to prevent conflict with the surrounding Caribbean countries from which local labor was recruited.

The unions represented in this series are Panama Canal Zone Workers' Organizing Committee (PCZWOC) of the CIO, Locals 713 and 900 (also affiliated with the CIO), United Public Workers, the Government and Civic Employees Organizing Committee (GCEOC) and the Panama Canal West Indian Employees Association (PCWIEA). Files of Local 713 pertain to organizing the union and to the expulsion of the UPW from membership in the CIO due to the charge of having communist leanings. The material for Local 900 includes reports Local President Edward Gaskin prepared regarding socio-economic problems affecting Panamanian nationals employed in the Canal Zone and correspondence with John L. Yancey, assistant director of the GCWOC.

Additional papers pertain to the National Maritime Union (NMU), which represented approximately 5000 workers, both American and non-U.S. citizens. There are news clippings and correspondence concerning the efforts of the Canal Zone Central Labor Union and the Metal Trades Council to achieve equality of treatment for Americans and Panamanians working for the Canal Zone Company. News clippings, speeches and other material reflect Edward Gaskin's ongoing involvement with labor issues including his role as staff representative with Government Operations of the NMU. There is a position paper (1976) regarding proposed changes to the Canal Zone Wage Structure and the tropical differential (a monetary incentive established in 1903 to attract American employees to live in unhealthy conditions). Other positions papers propose recommendations regarding labor protection during the 1977 Panama Canal Treaty Negotiations, and the Panama Area Wage Base and Cost of Living Allowance (1981-1984). News clippings about the NMU's opposition to the exportation of Alaskan oil to foreign countries (1983) are also in this series. A file on the NMU sponsored scholarship program for children of NMU members to attend any accredited high school in Panama contains correspondence and news clippings discussing the selection process and winners. Westerman served as chairman of the Scholarship Committee.

About one-half of the series consists of a chronological ordering of documents related to a wide variety of labor issues. The 1950's papers pertain to the Caribbean Wage Scale, the proposal to have a single wage scale for Canal workers (a report by Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. with appendices by Westerman is included). Also, there are annual reports for the Personnel Bureau, and files about the Canal Zone Replacement Program which replaced the Panama Canal Company employees with local rate employees, and information about the working conditions of employees of the United Fruit Company. Material related to Hilton E. Hanna, labor relations specialist who studied labor-management problems in Panama, consists of correspondence, speeches and news articles by and about Hanna. News articles discuss the impact the 1955 Panama Canal Treaty had on wages of the local rate employees. Other news clippings and reports deal with the retirement system for non-U.S. citizens and pensions for local rate employees. There are also reports concerning grievances of U.S. employees.

The 1960's material includes legislation to improve the Cash Relief Act of 1937 regarding benefits to widows of retired employees who had worked in the Canal Zone, and the 25% tropical differential for U.S. employees working in the Canal Zone. The 1970's files contain the transcript of a conference with Ellsworth Bunker and delegates from labor unions in the Canal Zone, news articles about the ways the minimum age law affected Canal Zone workers, results of the Pestillo report about the Panama Canal Company's labor relations with U.S. employees, and news articles documenting the 1976 strike by U.S. employees caused by austerity measures.

The 1980's material includes a report about the Panama Area Wage Base (PAWB), which went into effect in 1979 with the implementation of the 1977 Panama Canal Treaty. The PAWB established a pay system for new local employees based on locally prevailing rates for similar work in Panama. A paper in this series discusses the implementation of the Upward Mobility Program which helped employees reach their highest potential by providing opportunities for advancement according to their abilities. The series closes with a letter concerning the cost of living allowance for U.S. employees. News clippings for each decade have been placed at the end of the file for each decade.

The final part of this series deals with general information about labor on the Canal Zone from 1904 through the 1940's, and consists of photocopies of original documents regarding Barbadians who helped construct the Panama Canal; lists of contract laborers from Barbados, 1904-1913; notes about a silver labor strike on the Canal Zone, 1919-1920; information about discriminatory labor practices regarding the gold and silver roll, 1942-1946; and a report by the rate review subboard.

The series PANAMANIAN COMMEMORATIVE STAMP, 1951-1956 (.2 lin. ft.) concerns the issuance of a U.S. postage stamp in 1951 commemorating the West Indian contribution to the construction of the Panama Canal, an idea first conceived by Westerman in 1947. The series consists of financial and other documents related to the West Indian Stamp Appreciation Committee, material relating to the exercises including invitations, programs and a poster. Westerman's fund raising activities area represented by receipts for donations and ads taken out

in *The Panama Tribune* supplement. There are no original stamps in the collection, however. Additionally, Westerman maintained a collection of First Day of Issue Envelopes, 1955-1966, including order forms from his supplier.

The POLITICS series, 1886-1986 (1946-1986, bulk) (3.6 lin. ft.) documents Panamanian politics dating to the nineteenth century. This series contains a section about the general history of Panamanian politics consisting of copies of constitutions of Panama from 1932-1973, articles written by Westerman, and printed matter about presidents and other individuals prominent in nineteenth and early twentieth century Panamanian politics. Among the papers are documents regarding investments and military debt, 1908-1910. The twentieth century part of the series is arranged chronologically by the dates the politician held office. The balance of the series contains material which, for the most part, was generated at the time the president or military officer maintained power; the term of office is noted in brackets. The first president for whom there are files is Arnulfo Arias Madrid, elected president for the first of several times in 1940, the last occasion being 1984. The files for the early presidents consist of news clippings about the election and campaign literature. The first president for whom there is documentation pertaining to the presidential election is José A. Remón who was the Renovador Party candidate in 1952. The Renovador Party was formed in the 1930's, but had not successfully put a presidential candidate into office until 1952 when Panamanians of West Indian descent were registered to vote. These voters were instrumental in electing Remón into office, and in 1956 they again succeeded with Ernesto de la Guardia, Jr. There is a list of West Indian registered voters of the Renovador Party, and a second list, for the deputy (representative to the National Assembly) elections, showing tabulated votes by party.

Westerman was most closely associated with Ernesto de la Guardia, Jr., president from 1956-1960. Westerman worked for his election via the National Patriotic Coalition Party which is part of the Renovador Party. There are election lists and expense records for food and gasoline which were distributed to party members. As the head of the employment section for this political party, Westerman was a power broker and recommended hundreds of Panamanians, many of West Indian descent, for employment opportunities from 1955 until 1960. There is a daily ledger of requests and letters of appointment signed by de la Guardia. In 1960 he signed a presidential decree for appointments to the Ministry of Public Works, and the list of supporters to whom he gave jobs is included in the series. The files on de la Guardia 's administration include the swearing-in ceremony, his speeches, correspondence with Westerman, news clippings concerning de la Guardia's visit to Haiti accompanied by Westerman, news clippings pertaining to the impeachment petition against de la Guardia headed by his Vice-President Temístocles Diaz, and many other news clippings. Lastly, there are letters and news clippings about a battle between National Guard troops and rebels in Veraguas Province, in 1959.

As a staunch member of the National Patriotic Coalition Party, Westerman collected news articles and lists regarding the 1964 presidential and deputy elections representing many political parties and city council and national assembly elections. He also gathered information about the electoral code reform and Electoral Tribunal. There are news clippings discussing the presidencies of Marco Aurelio Robles and Arnuflo Arias Madrid; Madrid is also represented by

his addresses to the Organization of American States in 1968, and the military junta which ruled the country from 1968-1969. An anti-communist, Westerman wrote articles opposing the Communist Party. Included here is a draft of one of those article, for *The Miami Herald*, and a letter, as well as other writings.

The 1960's in Panama are characterized by the loss of presidential power and the military takeover by Brigadier General Omar Torrijos. Documenting this period is information about the exile of prominent citizens to Guayaquil, Ecuador in addition to testimony of two Panamanian citizens on behalf of the Panamanian Committee for Human Rights before the U.S. House of Representatives. There is a small amount of information about Brigadier General Manual A. Noriega as well as other rulers of the 1980's. This part of the series is arranged chronologically by the presidential administration.

The series RACIAL DISCRIMINATION, 1935-1984 (.8 lin. ft.) documents the many forms of racial discrimination in Panama, affecting the entire country as well as the discriminatory policies of the Panamanian government affecting West Indians and African-American tourists. Information regarding U.S. discriminatory policies impacting life on the Canal Zone is also included.

The series contains Westerman's writings, in draft and published form, discussing his efforts to change several of these discriminatory policies. Through his participation with the National Civic League and news articles he wrote, Westerman was involved in modifying the 1941 Constitution of Panama, which had denationalized people of West Indian descent by revoking the citizenship of individuals born in Panama of foreign born parents within restricted immigrant classes. The 1946 amendment, which Westerman had supported, succeeded in partially restoring citizenship, however the right of full citizenship from birth was not restored until the passage of the Bazan Amendment in 1961.

The Immigration Law of 1948 was another discriminatory law enacted by Panama which was protested by Westerman. The law categorized "prohibited peoples," among them, English-speaking blacks, and specified that tourists of certain nationalities could only visit Panama for 30 days and had to pay a deposit of \$500 to guarantee their return to their country of origin. In contrast, white visitors were permitted to enter Panama for a longer period of time and only had to pay \$150. The series includes correspondence with tourists explaining their difficulties, and news clippings and correspondence discussing Westerman's letter to Panamanian President Remón protesting this discriminatory practice. Articles written by Westerman and others report on the difficulties encountered by Jamaicans and Trinidadians in obtaining visas for short visits.

The series also contains news articles Westerman and others wrote which discuss support for the law granting West Indian Panamanians full citizenship. Several folders deal with discriminatory practices in restaurants in Panama City and contain news clippings, correspondence and statements by President de la Guardia opposing such practices, 1952-1956. Also documented in this series are discriminatory practices imposed by the U.S. government against West Indian workers which also resulted in an inferior education for children of African-American employees

on the Canal Zone, 1937-1938. Material documenting such practices includes a discussion of Westerman's 1950 speech about the mass media presented in Switzerland and Washington, and U.S. military records regarding incidents on the Panama Canal Zone in 1940 and 1971. Several publications and news clippings from 1940-1948 complete this series.

The SPEECHES series, 1944-1982 (1.8 lin. ft.) encompasses the many speeches Westerman delivered in Panama and the United States, as well as several interviews. Topics he spoke about involve United States-Panama relations, including tensions which sparked the Panama riots of January 1964, the history of basic changes in Canal policies governing relations between the two countries, and the tax haven law of 1962. There are several addresses concerning the history and contributions of West Indians in Panamanian society, and blacks of Hispanic traditions in Panamanian society, (i.e. blacks transported directly from Africa or Spain to Latin America). Religion, Panamanian economics, and Westerman's acceptance speeches for awards presented to him, and other subjects about which he spoke are included. Among them is a statement he made in 1946 before the House Committee on Un-American Activities denying Communist infiltration of a Panamanian labor union. Westerman's speeches at colleges, universities, professional and civic organizations, as well as churches and other religious institutions can be found in this series. During his years as a United Nations delegate he spoke before the Texas legislature, the Carnegie International Center, and business associations, among other institutions. In 1966 he was on the lecture circuit sponsored by the National Cash Register Company and delivered presentations throughout Ohio to various civic organizations. On a 1973 United States lecture tour, Westerman was a speaker for the Hubert Humphrey Lecture Series at Macalester College in St. Paul, Minnesota, and also travelled to various colleges in California and Ohio. Files for both lecture tours include his speeches, correspondence concerning tour arrangements and related matters, and news clippings. The series includes duplicates of some of the statements he made during his ambassadorship to the United Nations pertaining to independence for non-self-governing territories; a complete set of these statements can be found in the Diplomatic Career-United Nations series. The series has been arranged chronologically.

The series SPORTS, 1920's-1985 (.4 lin. ft.) deals with some of the many organized sports played in Panama with a focus on West Indian athletes. A scrapbook of news clippings documents Westerman's years as a tennis champion (1936-1938), and correspondence discusses his coverage of other tennis players in *The Panama Tribune*. A day honoring baseball manager Stanford Graham in 1949 which Westerman helped coordinate is documented by correspondence and news clippings; boxing is represented by a scrapbook of news clippings (1920's) and Westerman's news articles about Al Brown and Harry Wills. Correspondence and news articles discuss the Central American and Caribbean Olympics in which Panamanian athletes participated in 1959 and 1970, as well as additional sports. Printed matter, particularly news clippings comprise the bulk of this series. The majority of these articles are from Panamanian newspapers, some were clipped from United States and Jamaican papers.

Material which Westerman collected because of his broad interest in Panamanian affairs affecting West Indians but which he himself did not play an active role in achieving particular goals, have

been placed in a SUBJECT FILES series. These subseries within this series are: Economics; Fraternal and Benevolent Societies; Health; Housing Policies; Reference Material - West Indians in Panama; and Religion.

The Economics subseries, 1946-1985 (.2 lin. ft.) consists of reports dealing with the industrialization and economic growth of Panama, and the country's public debt, as well as news articles Westerman wrote about Panamanian economics.

The subseries Fraternal and Benevolent Societies, 1922-1985 (1967-1983, bulk) (.4 lin. ft.) consists of anniversary and other programs and news clippings concerning these societies in Panama. Of interest are news clippings and correspondence regarding the successful protest by the Canal Zone Government against the "White only" membership policy of the Elks of the World on the Canal Zone, 1971-1974. The series is arranged alphabetically by name of society.

The Health subseries, 1940-1983 (.4 lin. ft.) consists of news articles written by Westerman about Gorgas Hospital on the Canal Zone and other hospitals in Panama, as well as health related issues. There are also statistics of various illnesses and reports other writers prepared about conditions in and the history of the Hospital Nicholás A. Solano and the Gorgas Hospital.

The subseries Housing Policies, 1954-1972 (1954-1957, bulk) (.4 lin. ft.) consists primarily of Westerman's published study, *Urban Housing in Panama and Some of its Problems* (1955), originally entitled "The Shame of Panama's Housing," and published and unpublished reports Westerman used as a resource for his investigation of housing problems and prefabricated houses. The resources consider public housing issues in the United States and other parts of the world.

The subseries Reference Material: West Indians in Panama, 1928-1986 (1.2 lin. ft.) consists of published and unpublished material by Westerman and others. The works, both academic studies and literary, consist of photocopies of chapters of books, manuscripts, bibliographies, and news clippings. Examples of the material are Michael Conniff's manuscript Black Labor on a White Canal: 1903-1981 with Westerman's editorial comments, as well as a book of literature edited by Sidney Young entitled Isthmian Echoes, and news articles about second and third generation professionals.

The Religion subseries, 1928-1984 (.8 lin. ft.) consists of programs and other printed material, news clippings, correspondence, and writings by Westerman and others regarding various denominations. Included are biographical sketches and a manuscript about many of the religions and denominations practiced in Panama. These include the Episcopal Church, Judaism, Catholicism, and the Salvation Army. The series is arranged alphabetically by name of religion or denomination.

The UNITED STATES-PANAMA RELATIONS series, 1962-1986, (1941-1985, bulk) (6.8 lin. ft.) provides extensive documentation on the problems and cooperation between these two countries in the operation of the Panama Canal. The series also deals with the numerous changes which have taken place both in Panamanian society and in U.S.-Panamanian relations in

the areas of politics, trade, transportation, American foreign aid, and day-to-day social issues, among others. The files in this series consist selected materials that Westerman collected pertaining to issues that interested him. The subseries are as follows: Administration, Alliance for Progress and Agency for International Development, Flag Controversy on the Canal Zone and its Aftermath, Flags of Necessity, History, Panama Canal Operations, Panama Canal Treaty Negotiations, Panama Canal Zone, Pan American Highway, Publications, United States Congressional Hearings, United States Information Service, United States Tax Haven Law, and General.

The subseries Administration, 1951-1986, .2 lin. ft. consists of official reports and other material dealing with the administration of the Panama Canal. Included is information about the Colon Free Zone, an international trade zone established in an area contiguous to territory under the jurisdiction of the United States. The Colon Free Zone provides investors with free trade privileges and tax concessions as well as advantages to foreign companies which manufacture, process, warehouse, package and label cargo for world distribution. The files include rules and regulations, explanations of the tax advantages, and a position paper written by José Bazan, Second Vice-President of Panama, 1948-1965. Additionally, there is information about the Panama Canal Company, a corporate agency of the United States government which operated the waterway until the treaty of 1977. The material consists of by-laws, press releases, notes, reports and news clippings, 1951-1979. Following the 1977 treaty, the Panama Canal Commission, another United States government agency, became responsible for the operation of the Canal. The new treaty called for a board of directors composed of Americans and Panamanians which was the first step in preparing the Panamanian government to take over the management of the Canal. Documentation for the Panama Canal Commission consists of an annual report, a directory and news clippings.

The subseries Alliance for Progress and Agency for International Development, 1962-1983 (2 folders) consists of printed matter regarding American foreign aid to Panama. Included is the news clipping of the text of President John Kennedy's 1962 speech in which he discussed achievements of the Alliance for Progress, which was established by his administration.

The subseries Flag Controversy on the Canal Zone and its Aftermath, 1958-1974 (1960-1964, bulk), .8 lin. ft. consists primarily of clippings from Panamanian and American newspapers dealing with the controversy which ensued when Panamanian citizens demanded that their flag fly beside the American flag in the Canal Zone as visible evidence of Panama's titular sovereignty over the Zone. Although the 1904 treaty had never ceded Panamanian ownership of the Canal Zone to the United States, it was only as the result of demonstrations by Panamanian students in November 1959 that the government of President Dwight Eisenhower agreed to fly the flag on the Zone, a practice which would continue into the Kennedy and Johnson administrations. The anti-American resentment was caused by anger over Panamanian dependence on the neocolonial relationship between the two countries. There are also clippings that discuss the 1964 riots caused by "Zonians," Americans living in the Canal Zone, who burned Panamanian flags. The riots resulted in the death of twenty Panamanians and the destruction of property. Diplomatic relations between the two countries were suspended as U.S. Canal Zone policies were questioned

by both governments. The continued pressure by Panamanians on the U.S. government eventually led to the negotiation of a new treaty under President Lyndon Johnson.

The subseries **Flags of Necessity**, 1958-1962 (1 folder) concerns the government policy of registering merchant ships in foreign nations for the purpose of reducing taxes and fees for international companies in their respective countries. The material consists of news clippings and a speech regarding flags of necessity in Panama and printed matter about this policy in Panama and other nations.

The **History** subseries, 1862-1985, (.3 lin. ft.) consists of printed matter about the history of United States-Panamanian relations and discusses the Panama Railroad as well as the Panama Canal, among other topics.

The subseries **Panama Canal Operations**, 1913-1985, (.3 lin. ft.) pertains to the operation of the Canal and includes information on numbers and measurements of vessels using the Canal, the economics and politics about its operation, an address by a former governor of the Canal Zone, and a bibliography of writings about West Indians involved in the construction of the Panama Canal. This subseries also contains information about plans for a new canal, with material consisting of reports and news clippings discussing the advantages and disadvantages of constructing a new canal to take the place of the outmoded one. The location and whether it should be a sea level canal are discussed. Additionally, there are several studies regarding increasing the tolls (1954 and 1967), with material in the form of reports, press releases and news clippings.

The subseries Panama Canal Treaty Negotiations, 1942-1985 (2.4 lin. ft.) deals with over forty years of treaty negotiations. Each decade ushered in new administrations from both the United States and Panama and new negotiations regarding the takeover of the Panama Canal by Panama. The impetus for new discussions and the issues brought forth can be followed in detail in this subseries. The documentation is primarily in the form of news clippings, however, Westerman's statements and articles can also be found here, as can reports discussed in the Congressional Record, copies of treaties negotiated but not necessarily signed, correspondence and speeches. The internationalization of the Panama Canal is discussed, and there are copies of the Congressional Record and news clippings pertaining to the role of Leonor Sullivan, Chair of the U.S. Subcommittee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, who emphasized economic cooperation and the need for Panama to be less economically dependent on the U.S. There are also statements and other documents relating to American negotiators and government officials Ellsworth Bunker, Daniel Flood and Henry Kissinger.

The subseries **Panama Canal Zone**, 1941-1981, (.7 lin. ft.) covers a variety of issues and activities occurring in the Zone including education, a proposal for the Trans-Isthmian Highway, security, the Congress of Latin American Civic Councils, and prayer breakfasts Westerman attended in Panama and Washington, D.C. The prayer breakfasts involved a mixture of military, civilian, organizational leaders, businessmen, diplomats and government officials who met annually to pray for solutions to myriad problems confronting the United States. Files also

pertain to the United States Armed Forces Southern Command, whose goal was to defend the Panama Canal over the years, and its pullout beginning in 1974. The governorship of the Canal Zone is discussed in correspondence and remarks prepared by the United States ambassadors.

The subseries **Pan American Highway**, 1946-1969, (2 folders) consists of reports and news clippings explaining the history of the Pan American Highway. Also discussed are the long-standing difficulties of constructing a highway through Darien, Panama, an area of mountainous topography and almost impenetrable jungle, that in 2002, was still the last remaining portion of road to be completed for the Pan American Highway.

The **Publications** subseries, 1904-1976, (.5 lin. ft.) includes a variety of publications that do not relate to specific themes in this series. Other U.S.-Panama publications pertaining to particular topics can be found in their respective subseries. Included in this subseries are the First Annual Report of the Isthmian Canal Commission, a book commemorating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the completion of the Canal, *Panama Canal Review* (1953-1981), *Panama Spillway* (1964-1982), and *La Tierra Dividida by* Gerstile Mack.

The subseries **United States Congressional Reports**, 1950-1979 (.7 lin. ft.) contains information on hearings on a wide variety of issues other than the Panama Canal treaties. Included are hearings held by the House of Representative's Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations relating to the Department of the Army's appropriations for 1954; the Senate Subcommittee on American Republics Affairs; the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations; the Subcommittee on the Panama Canal of the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries; and by Representative Daniel Flood who opposed Panamanian sovereignty over the Canal and the Canal Zone. There are also statements by Canal Zone governors; Canal Zone employees' testimony about labor issues; and information concerning financing the Canal. Included is correspondence between Westerman and the U.S. Representative from Harlem, Adam Clayton Powell, regarding his role in Panamanian politics as well as his political career (1950-1972).

The subseries United States Information Service, 1965-1967 (3 folders) contains press statements and addresses by U.S. Ambassador Charles W. Adair, Jr., primarily about issues and events in the United States and U.S.-Panama relations.

The United States Tax Haven Law subseries, 1956, 1961-1962, (1961-1962, bulk) (.2 lin. ft.). deals with the tax loophole that allowed hundreds of American companies to set up subsidiaries in Panama to conduct business in international trade without having to pay taxes on the profits, either to Panama or the United States. In 1962 the Kennedy administration proposed to close this loophole which would have caused the loss of some 5000 jobs held by Panamanians and an estimated \$12 to \$15 million revenue for Panama. Westerman served as a member of a Panamanian commission which opposed the anti-tax haven provisions of the bill that was before Congress. The papers consist of correspondence between Hubert Humphrey and other United States elected officials, American corporate executives and others lobbying against the proposed tax changes to keep the tax haven laws. Reports by Westerman and others as well as news clippings provide detailed information from the Panamanian perspective.

The General subseries, 1942-1983 (.2 lin. ft) includes material dealing with relations between the United States and Panama, which do not fall within the other subseries. Of special interest is Westerman's correspondence from 1942 regarding Panamanians of West Indian descent who wished to served in the U.S. armed forces during World War II in exchange for immediate U.S. citizenship rights. There is also correspondence about a breakfast given in honor of Ralph Abernathy, an official visit of U.S. Congressman Andrew Young to discuss the establishment of a Martin Luther King Center for Peace, Equality and Justice, and correspondence between Westerman and American officials. Additionally, this series includes news clippings by or mentioning Westerman, and information about the national Bipartisan Commission on Central America, and bibliographies on the Panama Canal, black history and West Indians in Panama.

The final series WRITINGS, 1942-1982 (10.8 lin. ft.) is divided into two subseries, published and unpublished. A prolific writer, Westerman wrote about nearly every aspect of Panamanian West Indian life in which he was involved. He wrote both in English and Spanish, with some publications appearing in both languages. The container list for this series serves, in essence, as the bibliography of Westerman's published and unpublished writings; however, it does not contain his articles or his essays which appeared in newspapers. These have been filed at the beginning of the appropriate series as have duplicate copies of his publications. Contained in the Published Writings subseries, 1942-1979, (2 lin. ft) are pamphlets Westerman wrote, and if available, the manuscript, related correspondence, research material and notes. He authored pamphlets related to West Indian labor on the Panama Canal Zone, United States-Panama relations, education, and the history of West Indians in Panama, among many other subjects. The Unpublished Writings subseries (8.4 lin. ft.) consists of the manuscript, correspondence, research material and notes. Included is his most significant unpublished manuscript entitled "Fifty Years of West Indian Life on the Isthmus of Panama (1903-1953)." There are numerous drafts for some of the more extensive chapters on such topics as religion, the history of the labor force on the Panama Canal and the development of labor unions, West Indian contributions to the national life of Panama, sports, and cultural aspects of West Indian life in such fields as fraternal and benevolent societies. Some of the research material Westerman used for writing this manuscript can be found in other series with his writings on the same or similar subjects. This 548-page manuscript consists of several complete versions and revisions of particular chapters. The manuscript originally was written in the 1950's, then in the late 1970's and early 1980's Westerman and his colleagues attempted to get it published, without success. According to rejection letters from publishers, the sheer length of it and the 1950's encyclopedic writing style precluded the possibility of finding a publisher for it in its present form. There are also two boxes of writings by Westerman for which the title of the writing is unidentified. The Published Writings are arranged chronologically by date of publication and the Unpublished Writings are arranged alphabetically by title.

Provenance

Gift of Mrs. Ruth Russell and Family, September 5, 1989 SCM 88-59 Processed by Janice Quinter, 2002

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
1		PERSONAL PAPERS
	1-3	Curricula Vitae
	4	Biographical Information re Journalism Career
	5	Biographical Information - Death, 1988
	6	Interviews, 1947-1959
	7	Education - Grenville Kleiser's Personal Mail Course in Practical English, n.d. Employment
	8	Panama Canal Company, 1928
	9	Compaña Panameña de Fuerza y Luz, 1936-1945
	10	National Brewery, 1947-1949
	11	United Nations, 1978
	12	Travels Abroad and Dates from 1937-1973
	13	Travel Documents, 1937-1959
	14	Passports, 1937-1974
	15	Application for a Barbados Passport, 1968-1969
	16	Autograph Albums (2), 1932-1951
	17	Membership and Identification Cards and Certificates, 1931-1973
	18	Westerman's Business Cards
	19	Business Cards of Other Individuals
	20	Address Books (2)
2	1	Address Books (2)
	2	Address List - New York City Residents
	3-4	Unidentified Lists
	5	Invitations, 1937, 1949-1982 Scrapbook - "Album de Recuerdos" - Invitations
	6	1949-1953
	7	1954-1955
	8	1956
	_	Family
	9	Genealogy
	10	Reynolds, Dorothy S Tribute, 1976
	11	Smith, Llewelyn C Death, 1965
	12	Smith, Mildred Westerman - Tribute, 1976
	13	Springer, Bertley N. and Edna Ethel Westerman - 50 th Wedding Anniversary, 1966
	14	Springer, Bertley N Funeral, 1975

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
2		Springer, Ethel C.
	15	1943-1960
3	1	Correspondence, 1958-1962
	2	Death, 1962
	3	Death, 1962-1963
	4	News Clippings re Death, 1962
	6	Smith, Edna Westerman - Death, 1981
	7	Springer, George C., 1943-1957, 1978
	8	Springer, Leroy Oswald, 1957-1961
	9	Westerman, Geneva Sybil, 1953
	10	Westerman, George Benjamin and Marie Josephine Bridget - Marriage Certificate, 1897
	11	Westerman, George Benjamin - Death, 1960
	12	Westerman, Rosina Maria - Death
	12	Certificate, 1935
	13	Williams, Edward T. (E.T.) - Death, 1965
	14	Williams, Estella, 1959, 1964
	15	Williams, Winston, 1956-1983
	16	Williams, Rex (Joseph Edward), 1953-1985
	17	Various Members, 1956-1979
		Correspondence
		Friends
	18	Murray, Florence, 1947-1949
	19	Ruth, 1968
	_	1075 1001
4	1	Samuels, Anesta, 1975-1984
	2	Thorne, Audrey, 1960-1970
	3	Wood, Maria Louisa, 1974-1981
	4	1930-1939
	5	1940-1947
	6	1950-1959
	7	1960-1969
	8	1970-1986
	9	Acquisition of Westerman's Papers Bancroft Library University of California Borkelov 1979
	10	California, Berkeley, 1978 Elton C. Fax re Boston University Library, 1976-1977
	11	Friends of Amistad, 1976
	12	Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, 1976
	± 2	

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
4	13	Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, 1961-1962
		Honors and Awards
	14	La Boca Occupational High School "Wall of Fame," 1949
	15-16	Vasco Nuñez de Balboa of Panama, 1953
	17	Philathea College, Ontario, Canada, 1957, 1965
	18	Labor Temple Fellowship, 1958-1959
	19	National Business and Professional Council - Honorary President, 1958
	20	Louis D. Brandeis Gold Medal for "Service to Humanity," February 4, 1959
5	1	Caribbean League of America, December 23, 1959
	2	Order of Distinction and Merit of the Liberian Government, 1960
	3	Aurora Lodge No. 523, I.B.P.O.E., Panama, 1960
	4	College of Baseball Umpires of Europe, 1960
	5	"Manuel Amador Guerrero" of Panama Grand Cross - Decoration, 1960
	6	Integrity Lodge No. 917, New York, 1961
	7	Pan American Council - Honorary Membership, 1963
	8	Municipal Council of Panama, May-July, 1965
	9	Order of Odd Fellows, Central American District, August 7, 1965
	10	Maleantes del Istmo, S.A., February 21, 1966
	11	Panama Canal Company - Ambassador of Goodwill, February 25, 1966
	12-13	Westerman's Day Celebrated by Panamanians in New York - Las Servidoras, June 1968
	14	Federal Employees Friendship Club, 1969
	15	Pacific Area Installation Command, May 1971
	16	Certificates and Seals, 1972, n.d.

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
5	17	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Canal Zone Branch - Achievement Award, 1975
	18	Rotary Club of Panama, 1977-1986
	19	Black History Week, February 16, 1978
	20	Today's Artists, Inc., San Francisco, March 1978
	21	Union Nacional del Negro Panameño, 1979
	22	República de Panama - Junta Techica de Periodismo, 1980
	23	B'nai B'rith Irving Zapp de Panama - Reunion Cena Mensual con Señoras, September 21, 1981
	24	Friends of George Westerman - Recognition and Awards Luncheon, 1982
	25	Union del Nacional del Negro Panameño, 1983
	26	Panama Canal Commission - Honorary Public Service Award, 1984
	27	News Clippings and Addresses, 1957-1965
	28	Parvin Fellows Program - Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University - Bellagio Study-Conference Center, Rockefeller Foundation, 1973-1976
	29	Medical Information, 1958-1988 Financial Records
	30	Panama Mutual Self-Help Association - Prosperity Savings Society, 1930
	31	Mortgage, Rent, 1936-1938, 1954-1963
	32	Bankbooks, 1948-1953
6	1	Chase Manhattan Bank - Chemical Corn Exchange Bank, and Others, 1953-1978
	2	Personal Loans, 1955-1966
	3	Life Insurance, 1957
	4	Bank Loans, 1959-1972
	5	Personal Loans - General, 1973
	6	Fortunato Personal Aid Association, n.d.
	7	Property Statement, 1975
	8	Press Statements, 1953 Memoranda of Record
	9	1967-July 1968
	10	August-October 1968
	11	November 1968-1969

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
6	12	1967-1978
7	1 2 3-4 5 6 7 8 9	News Clippings By and About Westerman 1933-1945 1946 1947 1948 1949 1950 1951
8	1 2-5 6-7 8-9	1952 1953 1954 1955
9	1-2 3-4 5-6 7-9	1956 1957 1958 1959
10	1 2-3 4-6 7-9	1959 1960 1961 1962
11	1 2-3 4-5 6-8	1962 1963 1964 1965
12	1-2 3-4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11	1966 1967 1968 1969 1970 1971 1972 1973 1974-1976

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
13		Business Ventures
	1	Airport - Trinidad and Tobago, 1970
	2	Barbados, 1974 Coins
	3	Franklin Mint and Government of Guyana, 1969-1970
	4	Paramount International Coin Corporation - Many Countries, 1966-1972
	5	Mint - Paramount International Coin Corporation and Bank of Jamaica - Legal Agreement, 1968
	6	R.J. Cahill and Company - Many Countries, Oscar B. Haufstadter, 1969-1970
	7	Sprink and Son Ltd. and Government of Trinidad and Tobago - Legal Agreement, 1966-1969 Food
	8	Bananas - Intercontinental Development Corporation - Max Miller, 1959
	9	Dehydrated Ripe Banana Powder, 1959-1962
	10	Beef and Shrimp - Owen James, 1981
	11	La Naranjilla, 1957-1959
	12	Sugar - Rex Williams et al., 1963, 1975
	13	Rice, Sugar, Wheat, etc Francisca Law, 1974
	14	Flour Mill, 1958 Housing
	15	Betania Home Ownership Project, 1955
	16	Building and Loan Association - Proposal for Organization and Operation, 1955
	17	Building Material, 1969, 1978
	18	Cativa Housing Project, 1972-1975 Dalite Corporation (Canada) Ltd.
	19	Joseph Goldberg - Correspondence, 1960
	20	Contract Between Dalite Corporation and Duncan Thorne - Dalite Corporation of British Guiana, October 1960

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
13	21	American Guiana Development Corporation, 1960-1961
	22	President Eugene Last - Correspondence, 1960-1961
	23	Visit to Jamaica, 1961
	24	Dalite Corporation (Canada) Ltd., 1961-1965
	25	Dalite Company of Delaware, Ltd Bank Account, 1962-1963
14		Philip W. Genovese and Associates
	1	Various Projects, 1964-1966
	2	Pan de Azucar and Other Housing
	_	Projects, 1965-1966
	3	Various Housing Projects, 1965-1966
	4	Isthmian Enterprises, Inc., 1961
	5	National Maritime Union, 1966
	6	Pilot Housing Project, n.d.
		Various Projects
	7	1953-1971
	8	1965
	9	ca. 1966
	10	Miller, Max, 1957-1959
		Westum International Corporation
	11	1965
	12	1954-1981
	13	Architectural Drawings
	14	Writings re Low Cost Housing, ca. 1957
	15	Resort in Barbados, 1963-1964
	16	Rum Distribution, 1961-1962
	17	Shoe Manufacturer - Intercontinental
		Development Corporation, n.d.
	18	Whiskey Distribution, 1962, 1974
15		PROFESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE - GENERAL
	1	Anderson, Marian, 1964-1965
	2	Bryce-Laporte, Roy S., 1968-1984
	3	Schuyler, George with Carl Van Vechten, 1951
	4	De Tejeira Otilia Arosemena, 1952-1977
	5	Yearwood, J. Homero E. D., 1977-1978
	6	1941-1959
	7	1960-1984

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
16		ADVOCACY
	1	Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores, 1945-1946
	2	1947-1955
	3	1956-1959
	4	Harmodio F. Morris, 1959
	5	1960-1969
	б	1974-1984 COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS
	7	Accion Reivindicadora del Negro Panameño, 1978-1979
		American International Academy
	8	Harry S. Cohen, 1954-1972
	9	Membership Ceremony, 1958-1959
	10	Nathan A. Reid and Walter C. Watson -
		Membership Induction, 1961
	11	Rosa America Tason and Guillermo Young -
	12	Membership Induction, 1963
	12	Rabbi Moses D. Sasso - Membership Induction, 1964
	13	Robert J. Fleming - Honorary Award, 1967
	14	Las Amigas de la Caridad, 1956-1967
	15	La Asociación Afro-Panameña, 1972-1973
	16	Asociación Cristiana de Jovenes (YMCA) de Panama, ca. 1966
	17	Asociación de Profesionales, Obreros y Dirigentes de Ascendencia Negra, 1978-1979
	18	Asociación Panameña de Ayuda Mutua, n.d.
	19	Asociados y Unidos Para Desarrollo, March 4, 1976
		Barbadian Progressive Society of Panama,
	20	1942-1967
	21	1976-1981
	22	British West Indian Welfare Association, 1945-1947
	23	Brown's Infirmary Volunteers, 1979
	24	Centro Cultural y Juvenil "Haifa," 1963
	25	Club Altamíra, 1975-1982
	26	Committee for Human Rights, 1976-1977 The Dedicators
	27	Correspondence and News Clippings 1959-1967

Вох	<u>Folder</u>	
16	28	Luncheon in Honor of Westerman, 1968
	29	1969-1982
		Programs
	30	1963-1972
	31	1973-1982
	32	Twenty-fifth Anniversary - News Clippings, 1978
	33	Instituto para la Formación y Aprovechamiento de Recursos Humanos, 1983
	34	International Boy Scouts, 1949 Isthmian Negro Youth Congress
	35	Correspondence, 1942-1946
	2.0	Entertainment
	36	Allen, William and Todd Duncan,
		May 1945
	37	Lawson, Hazel and Florizelle Wilson
	38	Correspondence, 1944 Westerman - Articles, 1944
	39	Programs, 1944
	40	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
	41	News Clippings, 1944 Robeson, Paul, 1945
	42	Still, William Grant, 1939-1951
	43	White, Portia, January 28, 1946
	44	An Intercultural Program, September-
		October 1946
	45	Rockwell Glee Club, October 15, 1946
	46	Potential Entertainers - Correspondence, 1945-1946
	47	Scholarship Committee, 1943
		An Exhibit on the Races of Mankind
	48	Correspondence re Manuscript and Lectures, 1945-1946
	49	Manuscript and Reference Material
	50	News Clippings re Lectures, 1946
	51	Finances - Statement of Operation,
		1944-1946
17	1	Financial Records, 1944 Bulletin
	2	January 1943-April 1946
	3	November 1942-April 1945 (Bound)
	4	August 1943-May 1944 (Bound)
	-	

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
17	5	Biographical Material Which Appeared in Bulletin
	6	Financial Reports, 1946-1947
	7	Publications
	,	In Memoriam The Tribute of a Sorrowing Group on the Passing of the Late Franklin Delano Roosevelt by Westerman An Exhibit on the Races of Mankind By Linda Samuels [in English and Spanish], 1945-1946
	8	Isthmian Reception Committee, 1934 Junta Femenina de Beneficencia,
	9	1948-1971
	10	Bulletins, 1947-1972
	10	National Civic League
	11	Correspondence and Financial Records,
	11	1944
	12	Correspondence, 1948-1952
	13	Comité Pro-Mejoras del Retiro de Matías Hernández, 1950
	14	President's Report, 1952
	15	Linda Samuels Scholarship Purse,
	15	1946-1948
	16	Scholarships - Linda Samuels and Others, 1948
	17	News Clippings, 1948-1951
	18	Honors - Westerman, ca. 1949
	19	Publications by Westerman - A Study of Socio-Economic Conflicts on the Canal Zone and A Minority Group in Panama, Correspondence and Newsclipping, 1949-1950
	20	Bulletin - Civicagrama, 1951
	21	National Urban League, 1950-1954
	22	Pacific Camera Club, 1961
	23	Panamanian Americans in Action, 1979
	24	Panamanian Cultural Action Committee, 1973
	25	Panama Mutual Self-Help Association, 1941-1942
	26	Panama Task Force, 1978
	27	Panamanian West Indian Heritage
	28	Pan Caribbean Research Centre, 1974-1980

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
17	29	Radio Balboa, 1958
	30	Sociedad de Amigos del Museo Afro-Antillano de Panama (Afro-West Indian Museum), 1979-1985
	31	Sociedad Hindostana de Panamá, 1984
	32	Society for Study of West Indian Heritage on the Isthmus of Panama, 1976
	33	Special Rio Abajo Fire Relief Committee, n.d.
	34	Union Nacional del Negro Panameño, 1979-1981
	35	United Societies Association, 1956
	36	Women's Activity Club, 1973
	37	Welfare Council of West Indian Societies, n.d.
	38	Proposed Organization of a National Community Development Foundation, 1957, 1968
18		CONFERENCES
	1	American Missionary Association - Institute of Race Relations, 1960
	2	American Council on Human Rights Workshop - Third - Howard University, October 17, 1959
	3	British West Indies Conference, 1947
	4	Caribbean-American Social, Economic and Cultural Conference, 1959
	5	Conference of Public Service Organizations of the Western Hemisphere, 1960
	6	Conferences of the International Executive Council of the International Police Association, 1963
	7	Congreso Catolica de la Vida Rural - Tercer, 1955
	8	Congreso Continental de Empleados Púbicos - Primer - Caracas, Venezuela, 1961 Congreso Cultura Negra de las Americas, Segundo - Panama City
	9	Programs and Review, 1980
	10	Papers by Jean Casimir and J.G. Evering, Jr., 1980

Box	<u>Folder</u>	
18	11	Papers by Alberto Smith Fernandez, Vera Green, and Abdias do Nascimento, 1980
	12	Papers by Nicomedes Santa Cruz, Juan Materno Vasquez and Martin P. Jameison, Villiers, 1980
	13	News Clippings, 1980
	14	El Congreso de Panama de 1826 - Publications, 1956
	15	Congreso del Negro Panameño - Primer - Atlapa, Panama, September 10-13, 1981
	16	Congreso del Negro Panameño - Segundo - Altapa, Panama, 1983
	17	Congreso Internacional Sobre el Negro Afro -Latinoamericano - Panama City, 1971
	18	Congreso Nacional de Mujeres Catolicas de Panamá - Primer - Panama City, January 10-13, 1963
	19	Congreso Nacional de Mujeres Catolicas de Panama - Segundo - Panama City, November 13-16, 1975
19	1-2	Congreso Regional de Enfermeras para las Americas - Sexto, 1962
	3	Congress of Anthropology, Archaeology and Ethnohistory - Second, Panama City, 1979
	4	Inter-American Congress of Municipalities, 1956
	5	International Sociological Association Constituent Congress - Oslo, Norway, 1949
	6-7	First World Congress of Sociology and Political Science, Zurich, Switzerland, 1950
	8	First World Congress of Sociology and Political Science - Zurich, Switzerland - News Clippings,1950
	9	Second World Congress of Sociology Liège, Belgium, 1953
	10	International Studies Association - 19 th - Research Institute on Immigration and Ethnic Studies, Smithsonian Institution Programs, Correspondence and News Clippings, 1978

<u>Вож</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
19	11	Paper by Carlos Guillermo Wilson, 1978
	12	Instituto Nacional de Cultura, Panama City, 1973
	13	Jamaica National Export Corporation, Panama City, 1974
	14	Jewish Forum - Proposal for Conference, 1957
	15	Military Medical Conference of the Americas, Panama Canal Zone, April 23, 1968
20	1	Organization Of American States, Panama City, July 19-22, 1956
	2	Pan African Congress - Sixth - North American Region Planning Conference - Kent State University, Ohio, 1973
	3	Pan American Festival, Eighth - Southern Illinois University, April 10-15, 1961
	4	Pan America Highway Congress - VII - Panama City, August 1-10, 1957
	5	Reunion Tecnica Interamericana en Vivienda y Planeamiento - Primera, October 1956
	6-7	UNESCO - Meeting of Experts on the Role of Mass Media in a Multicultural Society, 1969
	8	"The Mass Media Must Help Reach Consensus on Positive Social Actions," 1969
		U.S. Conference of Panamians - First Panamanian Cultural Action Committee, Brooklyn
	9	1974
	10 11	Correspondence and Notes, 1974 West Indian Federation, 1957
21		DIPLOMATIC CAREER United Nations
	1	Publication by Westerman, 1958
	2	News Articles by Westerman, 1958-1967
	3	Westerman - United Nations Appointments, 1956-1960

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
21	4	Westerman Expense Account Receipts,1957 Statements by Westerman - General Assembly
	5	12 th Session, 4 th Committee South West Africa and Togoland Under French Administration, November-December, 1957, October-December, 1958
	6	12 th Session, 4 th Committee Non-Self-Governing Territories, October 17 & 31, 1957, November 4 & December 3, 1957
	7	12 th and 20 th Sessions, 4 th Committee, 1957
	8	12 th Session, 4 th Committee - Racial Discrimination, December 3, 1958
	9	13 th Session, 4 th Committee - "Question of South West Africa," October 9, 1958
	10	Non-Self-Governing Territories, November 29, 1958
	11	Non-Self-Governing Territories, 1959
	12	1960
	13	"U.N. Security Council Meeting in Panama Reviews Vital US-RP Pending Issues," October 17, 1973
	14	Proposal Dealing with Oppression of Thirteen Million Negro Citizens of the U.S.A., n.d. Correspondence
	15	Brooks, Angie, 1969
	16	Diaz, Abraham (Secretary of the National Commission of UNESCO in Panama), 1958
	17	Schwartzberg, Berthe, 1960-1964
	18	Washington, Val J. 1960-1963
	19	General, 1956-1961, 1979
	20	UNICEF - Statement, Reports, 1950
	21	General Assembly, 13 th Session, 4 th Committee - Memoranda, etc. Non-Self-Governing Territories, 1957-1959
		+,0, +,0,

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
21	22	UNESCO Statements on Race and Racial
	22	Prejudice, Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, 1964-1968
	23	Working Group - Regional Cooperation within the Social Sciences: Latin America and the Caribbean, February 9-12, 1982 Westerman - Candidate for Secretary-
		General
	24	Correspondence, 1961
	25	News Clippings, 1961
	26	Press Releases, 1956-1968
	27	Questionnaire on Slavery and Servitude, 1950
22		Statements By:
	1	Aquilino Boyd, Minister of External
		Relations of Panama - General
		Assembly - Panama Canal,
		November, 1956
	2	Andrew Cohen of the United Kingdom -
		General Assembly - 4th Committee -
		Non-Self-Governing Territories,
		December 1958
	3	A. Hilaly of Pakistan - General
		Assembly - 4th Committee, Non-Self-
		Governing Territories, December 1958
	4	Eduardo Espinosa y Prieto, Mexican
		Ambassador - General Assembly, 4 th
		Committee, Non-Self-Governing
	_	Territories, November 1959
	. 5	M. Rasgotra (India) to the Committee on
		Information from Non-Self-Governing
		Territories, February 1960 Statement and Biographical Information
	6	Zelma George to U.N. Special Fund,
		Technical Assistance and Assistance
		to Newly Independent Countries, 1960
	7	W.V.S. Tubman President of Liberia -
	,	Address - General Assembly, 16 th
		Session, 1961
		Debaton' Taor

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
22	8	Canadian Delegation re Various Issues - General Assembly - 17 th Session, 3 rd Committee, 1962
	9	Juan Antonio Tack re Panama Canal - General Assembly - 18 th Session, 1973
	10	Aristides Royo - President of Panama - General Assembly, 36 th Session, 1981
	11	Jorge E. Illueca - Vice-President of Panama - General Assembly, September 20, 1983 Invitations to Events
	12	1957-1958
	13	1959
	14	1960
	15	1961
	16	News Clippings, 1957-1965
	17	News Clippings about Westerman, 1956
	18	Press Releases and Biographical Information on Westerman, 1957-1960 News Clippings about Westerman
	19	1957
	20	1958-1959
23	1	1960-1964, 1973
	2	Westerman's Visit to California as Delegate, 1957-1958
	3	United Nations Day - Suggestions for Speakers, 1962
	4	Cameroons - Correspondence re Independence, 1959-1960
	5	Chad - Gabriel Lisette, Vice Premier, 1959
	6	Ghana - Kwame Nkrumah, President, 1957-1960
	7	Guinea, 1959
	8	<pre>Ivory Coast - Felix Houphouet-Boigny, Premier - Address and Biography, 1959</pre>
	9	Madagascar - Philbert Tsiranana, President - Address and Biography, 1959
	10	Namimbia - Liberty - Declaration of Panama, 1981

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
23	11	Senegal - Léopold Sédar Senghor - President - Writings and News
	12	Clippings, 1960-1961 Togoland - Independence Day and Assassination of President Sylvanus Olympio, 1959-1963
24	1	Provisional Records of Meetings General Assembly 11 th Session - Togoland Unification, September 1956
	2	Roundup of the 11 th Regular Session, November 1, 1956-March 8, 1957 11 th Session, 4 th Committee
	3	Provisional Summary Record of the 550 th -559th Meetings [in Spanish], November 15- December 1, 1956
	4	Provisional Summary Record of the 551 st -560th Meetings, November 22-December 1, 1956
	5	Provisional Summary Record of the 560th-565th Meetings [in Spanish], December 3-7, 1956
	6	Provisional Summary of the 561- 573rd Meetings, December 4-7, 1956
	7	Provisional Verbatim Record of the 597th-598th Meetings, November 27, 1956
	8	Provisional Summary Record of the 626th-635th Meetings,
	9	February 11-16, 1957 Provisional Summary Record of the 616th-625th Meetings, February 1-8, 1957
	10	Provisional Summary Record of the 616 th -619 th Meetings [in Spanish], February 2-5, 1957
	11	Provisional Summary Record of the 620th-629 th Meeting [in Spanish], February 7-12, 1957

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
24	12	Provisional Summary Record of the 626 th -635 th Meetings, February 11-16, 1957
	13	Provisional Summary Record of the 630 th -639 th Meetings [in Spanish],
	14	Provisional Summary Record of the 636 th -647 th Meetings, February 14-23, 1957
	15	Provisional Summary Record of the 640 th -649 th Meetings [in Spanish], February 21-25, 1957
	16	Provisional Verbatim Record of the 663 rd -666 th Meetings, February 28-March 1, 1957
	17	Provisional Summary Record of the 663 rd -665 th Meetings [in Spanish], February 28-March 1, 1957 11 th Session, 4 th Committee
	18	Provisional Verbatim Record of the 666 th -667 th Meetings [in Spanish], March 1-4, 1957
	19	Provisional Verbatim Record of the 667 th Meeting, March 4, 1957
	20	Provisional Verbatim Record of the 668 th Meeting, March 8, 1957
	21	Provisional Verbatim Record of the 668 th Meeting [in Spanish], March 8, 1957 12 th Session, 4 th Committee
	22	Provisional Summary Record of the 525 th , 672 nd , 687 th and 690 th Meetings, October 19- December 4, 1957
	23	Provisional Summary Record of the 704 th -705 th Meetings, November 19-December 5, 1957
	24	12 th Session, 4 th Committee "Report of the Trusteeship Council Covering the Period for 15 August 1956 to 12 th July 1957," 1957

<u>Box</u>	Folder	
24	25	"Report of the Trusteeship Council Covering the Period for 15 August 1956 to 12 th July 1957" [in Spanish], 1957
	26	13 th Session, 4 th Committee "The Future of the Trust Territories of the Cameroons Under United Kingdom Administration," March 13, 1959
	27	14 th Session, 4 th Committee Draft Report - Question of South West Africa, November 5, 1959
	28	14 th Session, 4 th Committee Provisional Summary Record of the 971 st -972 nd Meetings, December 2-4, 1959
	29	14 th Session, 4 th Committee Provisional Summary Record of the 977 th -982 nd Meetings, December 2-7, 1959
25	1	15 th Session Provision Verbatim Record of the 926 th -933 rd Plenary Meetings, November 28-December 2, 1960
	2	15 th Session, 4 th Committee Provisional Summary Record of the 1039 th and 1039a th Meetings, November 9-10, 1960
	3	26 th Session, 4 th Committee Provisional Verbatim Record of the 955 th Meeting, October 6, 1971
	4	Minutes - Incomplete, 1958
	5	U.N. Economic and Social Council - U.N. Children's Fund, October 8, 1956
	6	U.N. Security Council, Verbatim Record of the 756 th Meeting, December 12, 1956 Publications
	7	"A Petition to the United Nations on Behalf of 13 Million Oppressed Negro Citizens of the United States of America," 1946

CONCULING		
<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
25	8	"Non-Self-Governing Territories: Summaries of Information Transmitted to the Secretary General During 1956" Central African Territories [in English and Spanish], 1956
	9	East African Territories [in English and Spanish], 1956
	10	Southern African Territories [in English and Spanish], 1956
	11	West African Territories [in English and Spanish], 1956 Asian Territories [in English and
	12	Spanish], 1956 Caribbean and Western Atlantic
	13	Territories [in English and Spanish], 1956
	14	Indian Ocean Territories [in English and Spanish], 1956
	15	Pacific Territories [in English and Spanish], 1956
	16	Other Territories [in English and Spanish], 1956
	17	"Special Study on Educational Conditions in Non-Self-Governing Territories" [in English and Spanish], 1956
	18	"Report on the Trusteeship Council Covering the Period from 23 July 1955 to 14 August 1956," 1956
	19	"United Nations Publications 1955," 1956
	20	"Issues Before the Eleventh General Assembly: International Conciliation," November 1956
	21	8 th Session "Report on Economic Conditions in Non-Self-Governing Territories, 1957
	22	General Assembly, 11 th Session - Non- Self-Governing-Territories with Comments by Westerman, 1957
	23	Non-Self Governing Territories - General Assembly, 12 th Session, 4 th Committee - Statements and

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
25	24	Reports, October 22-December 4, 1957 "Background Paper on Chapter XI of the Charter Concerning Non-Self-Governing Territories," April 1, 1957
	25	Delegations to the United Nations, November 1956-September 1958
	26	"Journal of the United Nations, October 18-November 1957, December 2-5, 1959
	27	"United Nations Review" - Cameroons, November 1959
	28	"United Nations Review - Congo, November 1960
	29	"Seminar Participation of Women in Public Life," 1960
	30	Economic Development of Latin America, 1960-1961
	31	Africa and the United States: Images and Realities - 8 th National Conference - U.S. National Commission for UNESCO, October 22-23, 1961
	32	United Nations Review - Death of Secretary - General Dag Hammarskjold, October 1961
	33	UN Chronicle - Africa, 1984
	34	Panama Canal, 1977
	35	General Information, 1945-1978
26	1	Non-United Nations Diplomatic Activities Asociacion Consular de Panama, 1960-1969 Barbados
	2	Contribution toward Establishment of Old People's Home in Colon for British West Indians, 1964
	3	Independence Celebrations - November- December 1966, 1966-1968
	4	United Nations Membership Admission, December 1966
	5	Election of Errol W. Barrow as Prime Minister, 1966, 1971 Visit of Prime Minister Errol W. Barrow of Barbados to Panama - February 23-26, 1967

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
26	6	1967-1968
	7	1967
	8	News Clippings, 1967
	9	Westerman's Visit to Barbados, Trinidad and Tobago, and New York - 1964 and August 1967, and 1969, 1964-1969
	10	Westerman's Appointment and Resignation as Honorary Consul of Barbados, 1967-1969
	11	Admission to Organization of American States (OAS) - October 1967 - OAS Information Service News Releases, 1966-1968
	12	Cameroons - Independence Celebration, 1960
	13	Ghana - Independence Celebration, 1957 Jamaica
	14	Independence Celebration - Programs, 1962
	15	Independence Celebration - IX Central America and Caribbean Games, 1962
	16	Independence Day Celebrations, 1972-1983 Jamaica and Trinidad & Tobago
		Independence Celebrations
	17	Correspondence, Programs, and Printed Matter, 1961-1962
	18	News Clippings, 1958-1963
	19	Printed Matter, 1962
	20	Admission to OAS, 1964-1967
27		Liberia - Inauguration of President William V.S. Tubman
	1	Invitations, 1960
	2	Programs, 1960
	3	Biographical Information, 1959-1960
	4	Sermon and Address, 1960
	5	West African First Summit Meeting, 1959

Concarner	ПТВС	
<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
27	6	Organization of American States - Background Information re Panama, 1956-1969
	7	Panama - Human Rights Day, 1967
	8	United States - Inauguration and Death of President John F. Kennedy, 1961-1963
28		EDUCATION
	1	Publications - Westerman, 1942-1954
	2	News Articles - Westerman, 1946-1970 Canal Zone Schools
	3	Manual of Policies, Regulations and Procedures, ca. 1952 Division of Schools - Annual Reports,
	4	1952
	5	1953
	6	Canal Zone Colored Teachers' Association - Report and Correspondence, 1942-1943
	7	Canal Zone Teachers, 1953-1976
	8	Canal Zone Colored Schools - Spanish for the Junior High School, Grades 7 and 8, n.d.
	9	Reports and Bulletins, 1944-1948
	10	Spanish Language, 1946, 1974 Conversion of Schools and Tuition Increase
	11	News Clippings, 1953-1956
	12	1954-ca. 1972
	13	Report Submitted to Canal Zone Governor by W. E. Potter by the Commission Appointed to Make a Survey of the Canal Zone Latin American Schools Educational System, 1956-1968
	14	Superintendents' Reports, 1946-1950 Reports
	15	"Education in Territories and Outlying Possessions of the United States," by Charles F. Reid, 1934-1941
	16	"Canal Zone Schools: Dualistic But Not All Bad," by Alda A. Harper - Correspondence, 1973-1978

Contain	er Tier	
<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
28	17	Article - "Development of the Canal Zone Schools," by Lawrence Johnson, ca. 1936
	18	"The Pioneers in C.Z. Education" - Column in <i>Panama Tribune</i> , by A. E. Osborne, 1948
	19	News Clippings, 1943-1975 Ministry of Education
	20	Memoria Que el Ministro de Educación Presenta a la Honorable Asamblea Nacional, 1966
	21	National Plan for Education (Provisional), 1969
	22	Plan Nacional de Educacion 1969-1983, 1969
	23	1956-1985 University of Panama
	24	Faculty, 1957-1963
	25	Presidents' Graduation Addresses, 1959-1965
	26	Printed Matter re Autonomy of University, 1962
	27	Estadistica Universitaria (University Satistics), 1956-1966
29	1	Pamphlets, 1958-1965
49	2	News Clippings, 1958-1984
	3	University of Santa Maria de la Antigua 1965-1968 Canal Zone College
	4	Request to Employ Black Instructors in Junior College - Westerman - Committee Chair, 1947-1954
	5	Accreditation, Course Outline, 1976, n.d.
	6	Academia Panameña de la Historia, 1949
	v	La Boca School Wall of Fame Westerman's Donation - "Fifty Outstanding Afro-Americans"
	7	Letters, 1941
	8	Administration, 1942, 1949
	9	La Boca Junior High School - Commencement Program, 1942

Container	List	
Dow	<u>Folder</u>	
<u>Box</u>	<u>roraer</u>	
29	10	La Boca Normal School - U.S. Aid Requests, 1942-1949
	11	La Boca School Library Opening, 1942-1945
	12	La Boca Normal Training School, 1961, 1977 La Boca Normal Training School, System
	13	Statistics on Panama's Educational System, 1962
	14	Teachers - Ulysses G. Lee and Bernardo A. Lloyd, 1955-1969
	15	Students/Scholarships, 1953-1983
	16	Students - Report Cards, 1980-1983
	17	Graduation Programs, 1966-1967
	18	Notes by Westerman
		Writings
	19	Westerman and Others
	20	"Education in Panama" By Delia Goetz,
		1948
	21	La Educacion en Panama, By Otilia
		Arosemena de Tejeira, 1958
	22	"Antillean Pioneers in Panama: Migrant
		Education and Social Change,"
		by Patricia Gill Murphy, 1983
		News Clippings
	23	1948-1959
	24	1960-1969
	25	1970-1985
		ENTERTAINMENT CAREER
	26	News Articles by Westerman,
		1964-1967
		Westerman Concerts
		Anderson, Marian
	27	1946-1969
		Tour Arrangements,
	28	1946-1951
	29	1951
	30-31	News Clippings, 1951
	32	Brice, Carol, 1945, 1950-1951
		Butcher, Emily
	33-34	1949
	35	Tribute, 1973 La Boca Alumni Chorus, 1975-1979
	36	La Boca Alumini Chorus, 1979 1979
		Davis, Ellabelle
	37	1946, 1951
	38	Press Book, 1951

<u>Box</u>	Folder	
29		Eckstine, Billy
	39	1953
	40	1954
30	1	Gillespie, Dizzy, 1956 Maynor, Dorothy,
	2	Correspondence, 1946-1950
	3	Press Book, Programs, 1947-1950
	4	Press Book, News Clippings, 1950
	5	News Clippings, 1950
	J	McMechen, June
	6	1948-1949
	7	News Clippings, 1949
	8	Pankey, Aubrey
		Panama Tribune, 1942-1949
	9	"Porgy and Bess," 1955
		Schuyler, Philippa
	10	Correspondence, Programs, 1951-1956
	11-12	News Clippings, 1952-1953
		Scott, Hazel
	13	1947-1949
	14	1949-1954
	15	News Clippings and Press Stories, 1949
	16	Vaughn, Sarah, 1956 Warfield, William
	17-18	1953
	19-20	News Clippings, 1953 Williams, Camilla
	21-22	1949
	23	News Clippings, 1949
	24	Order of Concerts - List, 1956
	25	Correspondence, 1954-1955
	26	Programs, 1948-1955
	27	Cash Book, 1944
		Entertainment and Culture
	28	Programs, 1944-1980
	29	Schola Cantorum Choral, 1939-1940
	30	Balboa Radio Station, 1958
	31	Banda de Musica Concordia - 30 th Anniversary, 1965
	32	Franklin, Cynthia Brown, 1975-1980
	33	Rose, Gilbert, 1960
	34	News Clippings, 1945-1984

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
		JOURNALISM CAREER
31		Panama Tribune
J +	1	Board of Directors, Shareholders' Lists,
		1931-1959
	2	Contracts and Agreements, 1935
		Stock Certificates
	3	1935-1936
	4	Refunded in Full, 1936
	5	Correspondence with Shareholders, 1937-1965
	6	Receipts for Loan Certificates, 1936-1937
	7	Advertising Contract, 1931
	8	Advertisements - Correspondence with Clifford Sewell, 1946
	9	Advertising and Loan, 1947
	10	Advertising - S.S. Koppe and Company,
		Ltd., 1950-1969
	11	Advertising, 1959
	12	Advertising, 1962-1978
	13	Advertising Rates, 1935-ca. 1970
32	1	Administration of Newspaper - Notes, 1935-1936
	2	Administration of Newspaper, 1949-1963
	3	"Its Origin, Purposes, Accomplishments
		and Impact," 1962-1963
	4	Brief History, 1973
	5	Suspension of Publication, 1973-1975
		Financial Records
	6	Subscriptions, 1956-1976
	7	1949-1980
	8	Printing Costs, 1950-1951
		Sydney Young
	9	Editor, Isthmian Echoes, 1928
		Correspondence
	10	1935-1947
	11	1949-1959 Personal, 1946-1950
	12	Personal Business Ventures,
	13	Correspondence re Jamaica, 1946-1948
	- 4	Personal Correspondence with Howard
	14	Campbell, 1947-1948
	15	Biographical Information, 1934-1959

COllegan	CI 222	
<u>Box</u>	Folder	
32	16	Sydney Young and George Westerman - Purchase of Newspaper, 1959
	17	Sydney Adolphous Young Park in Fahama City Inauguration and Bust, 1966-1967
	18	Correspondence - Associate Editor (George Westerman), 1938, 1946-1956
33	1-2	Letters - Associate Editor (George Westerman), 1952
	3	Correspondence - Editor (George Westerman), 1959-1982
	4	Rosenthal, Rickey - United Nations Correspondent - Correspondence, 1959-1968
	5	Severo, Richard - New York Times Correspondence, 1973 Williams, Rex Correspondence,
	_	1958-1960
	6	1961
	7	1962-1964
	8	1965-1970
	9	7 100 Py 1960-1971
	10	"Report on Editorial Staff Conference,"
	11	1947
	12	Westerman - Administrative Memoranda, 1959-1967
		Articles by Other Columnists
	13	uadley Carmen, 1971
	14	Tamieson Jack (Ernest J. Jamieson, Si.)
	1-1	- "Drops and Turnovers," 1949-1961
	15	Rogers, Vance, 1954
	16	1048-1971
	17	West Indian History Review, 1947-1948
	18	Captions - West Indian History Review and Others, 1947-1952
34	1 2	Panama Tribune Awards and Praise, 1950-1965 "Passing Review" - Dates of Publication - 1953-1956, 1956

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
34	3	Articles re France's Overseas Colonies, 1958-1969
	4	Article re Geoffrey Holder, 1959
	4 5	Photographic Captions, 1959, n.d.
	5 6	Scholarship Fund for Wilbert McKinnon,
	ь	1961-1962
		Death of President Kennedy - Memorial
		Issue of Newspaper
	_	Correspondence, 1963
	7	1963-1964
	8	Correspondence - Invitations, 1964-1967
	9	American Newspaper Publishers Association
	10	Foundation - Awards, 1967
		Westerman's Press Cards, 1970's
	11	Fund for Children's Hospital, n.d.
	12	Fund for Children & hospesse,
		Panama Tribune
35		"Passing Review" by Westerman
33	1	1935
	2	1936
	3	1937
	4	1938
	5	1939
	6	1940
	7	1941
	8	1946
	9	1947
	,	And Other Articles by Westerman
	10-11	1948
	12	1949
	12	
		Panama Tribune
36	1	1950
		And Other Articles by Westerman
	2	1951
	3	1952
	4	1953
	5	1954
	6	1955
	7	1956
		Panama Tribune
2.7	1	1957
37	τ.	·

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
37	2	And Other Articles by Westerman 1958
	3	1959
	4	Editorials by Westerman, 1959
	5	"Passing Review" - by Westerman,
	6	Editorials by Westerman, 1960
	7	"Passing Review" and Other Articles by Westerman, 1961
	8	Editorials by Westerman, 1961
	9	"Passing Review" and Other Articles by Westerman, 1962
	10	"Passing Review" - by Westerman, 1963
	11	Editorials by Westerman, 1963
	12	"Passing Review" - by Westerman, 1964
	13	Column, 1964
38		Panama Tribune
		"Passing Review" - by Westerman,
	1	January-June, 1965
	2	July-December 1965
	3	Editorials By Westerman, 1965
		"Passing Review" and Other Articles by
		Westerman
	4	January-June 1966
	5	July-December 1966
	6	Column, 1966
		"Passing Review" and Other Articles by
		Westerman
	7	January-June 1967
	8	July-December 1967
	9	Editorials by Westerman, 1967
	10	"Passing Review" and Other Articles by
		Westerman, 1968
	11	Editorials by Westerman, 1968
	12	"Passing Review" and Other Articles by Westerman, 1969
	13	Editorials by Westerman, 1969
	14	"Passing Review" and Other Articles by Westerman, 1970
39		Panama Tribune
	1	Editorials by Westerman, 1970
	2	"Passing Review" - by Westerman, 1971

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
39	3	"Passing Review" and Other Articles by Westerman, 1972
	4	"Passing Review" - by Westerman, 1973
	5	"Passing Review" and Other Articles by Westerman, n.d.
	6	Draft of Articles, 1928 Drafts of Articles by Westerman "Passing Review"
	7	1936-1939
	8	1948
	9	1950's
	10	1967
	11	"Passing Review" - Clarence R. Laing, 1969
	12	"Israeli Supplement," 1963
	13	Draft of Articles by Westerman - "Passing Review," n.d.
	14	Chicago Daily News - Article by Westerman, 1967
	15	Critica - Articles by Westerman, 1962-1966
	16	Dix News Media - Special Correspondent - Drafts of Articles by Westerman, 1976-1981
	17	<i>La Estrella de Panama -</i> Press References, 1973
	18	La Hora - Article by Westerman, 1962
	19	Howard News Syndicate, 1960 <i>Miami Herald</i> - Panama Edition
	20	Westerman as Special Correspondent, 1965-1972 Drafts of Articles by Westerman - Special
		Correspondent
	21	1962-1964
	22	1965
	23	Re Episcopal Church, 1965
	24	May 1-July 20, 1966
40	1-2	1966
	3-4	1966-1967
	5	1967-1968
		Articles by Westerman - Special
		Correspondent - News Clippings

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
40	6	1965
	7	June-September 1966
	8	October-December 1966, 1968
	9	Mundo Grafico - Articles by Westerman, 1951-1955
	10	The Nation - Articles by Westerman, 1951-1956
	11	Newday - Article by Westerman, 1962
41		Panama American
	1	Articles by Westerman, 1946-1947
	2	<i>Diario Independiente -</i> Articles by Westerman, 1953-1955
	3	Correspondence, 1972
	4	People's Voice - Draft of Article by Westerman, 1947
		Pittsburgh Courier
	5	Draft of Article by Westerman, n.d.
	6	George Schuyler - Correspondence, 1934-1956
		News Clippings
	7	1950
	8	1950-1959, 1977
	9	La República - Articles by Westerman, 1978-1984
		Star & Herald
	10	"The History of the Panama Star and Herald" - by Albert V. McGeachy, 1972
	11	Articles by Westerman, 1955-1982
	12	Articles by Other Correspondents, 1926-1931, 1960's
	13	Sunday American - Articles by Westerman n.d.
		Sunday Republic Drafts of Articles by Westerman
	14	Editorials, 1982
	15	Editorials, 1983
	16	Re Marcus Garvey, 1983-1984
	17	Articles by Westerman, News Clippings,
	- ·	1982-1985 Drafts of Articles by Westerman -
		Editorials
	18	1984

<u>Вож</u>	Folder	
41	19	1984-1988
11	20	Drafts of Articles - Unidentified Newspapers, 1977 and n.d.
	21	Newspaper Syndicate of Panama - Directory of Foreign Correspondents, 1959
	22	Dubois, Jules (Journalist) - Obituary, 1966
	23	Panama's Newspaper Technical Seminar, 1966
	24	Press Censorship in Panama, 1966-1974
42	1	Westerman as Journalist - News Clippings, 1941-1968
	2	Journalism - General Information - "History of the Star & Herald: 1849-1978," 1978
	3	Earl V. Newland - Articles - Various Newspapers, 1970-1982
	4	La Prensa - Attack on Newspaper, 1981
	5	"Newspapers of Panama as of October 7, 1983," 1983
	6	Westerman's Miscellaneous Notes, n.d.
	7	Miscellaneous Lists, n.d.
	8	Journalism Conferences, 1966
	9	Journalism - General Information, 1945-1983
	10	Inter-American Congress of Working Newspapermen's Organizations, 1960
	11 12 13-14 15 16	Inter-American Press Association VIII General Assembly, 1952 XVI Annual Meeting - Proceedings, 1960 XVII Annual Assembly - Proceedings, 1961 XVII General Assembly, 1962 Mid-Year Meeting, 1963
		XIX General Assembly - Proceedings, 1963
43	1-2	Mid-Year Meeting, 1964
	3	XX General Assembly - Proceedings, 1964
	4	Westerman Appointed Member of Board of
	5	Directors, 1964
	6	Statement by Westerman re U.S R.P. Flag Controversy, ca. 1964
	7	Committee on Freedom of the Press, 1964-1970
	8	XXI General Assembly - Proceedings, 1965
	9	XXII General Assembly - Proceedings, 1966
	2	

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
43	10 11	Charter, By-Laws and Rules, 1967 XXIII General Assembly and Mid-Year Meeting, 1967
44	1 2 3 4 5 6	XXIII General Assembly, 1967 Board of Directors - Directory, 1967 Correspondence, 1969 News Clippings, 1963-1970 XXX General Assembly, 1974 Panama Tribune Membership Certificate, n.d.
45		LABOR
	1	Westerman's Writings Publications, 1951-1952 News Articles
	2	1944-1959
	3	1960-1971
	4	Unpublished Manuscript "Working Conditions on the Panama Canal as of August, 1949", 1949 Drafts
	5	Untitled, 1948
	6	"Canal Zone Labor Unions and Associations Supporting Non-U.S. Citizen Workers," n.d.
	7	"West Indians Make History on Isthmus of Panama" - Fragment, n.d.
	8	CIO, n.d.
	9	GCEOC-CIO Local 900, n.d.
	10	History of Labor Recruitment for Panama Canal Construction, n.d.
	11	Panama Canal Commission, n.d.
	12	Salary Rates, n.d.
	13	"Strike of Silver Laborers," n.d.
	14	Labor Unions for Non-U.S. Workers on Panama Canal Zone - Fragments
	15	"Statement of Governor Clarence S. Ridley," n.d.
	16	Fragments
	17	Notes
	18	Report and Correspondence with Robert P. Burroughs, 1960

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
45		Academic Histories re Labor on the Panama
	19	Canal Zone Carles, Rubén D., Jr "Evolution of Employment and Salary Policies in the Canal Zone and Economic Development of Panama," 1976
	20	Davis, Raymond A "The Role of West Indians on Labor Competition and Organization on the Canal Zone," 1978
	21	Newton, Velma E. "Policy and Impact of Historical Labour Emigration from the West Indies to Panama, 1850-1914," 1978
	22	Springer, George - "A History of Labor Organizations Among Local-Rate Employees on the Canal Zone," 1951 Reports
	23	"Force Report of the Panama Canal-Panama Railroad Company, 1946
	24	"Report to the Governor of the Panama Canal" by Frank J. McSherry, 1946
	25	Annual Report of the Personnel Bureau, 1954
	26	Labor Report of Republic of Panama by David S. McMorris, 1949
	27	"A Study of Socio-Economic Complaints Relating to U.SPanama Affairs in the Canal Zone," 1960
46	1	United Public Workers - CIO Local 713 Panama Canal Zone Workers' Organizing Committee - CIO Local 713 - Organizing Committee - Harvey Stroudt, 1939, 1947- 1948
	2	Memoranda, 1939-1950
	3	News Clippings and Draft of Article, 1946-1954
	4	Correspondence, 1948-1950
	5	CIO vs Panama Tribune - Joseph Sachs & Augustus Hinds - News Clippings, 1948-1949
	6	Policies, 1948-1949

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
46	7	Burke, Cespedes - Ex-Recording and Corresponding Secretary, 1948, 1963-1970
	8	Sachs, Joseph - News Clippings, 1949
	9	Westerman's Interview of Cecil Hall - Financial Secretary-Treasurer of Local 713, 1950
	10	Expulsion of UPW from CIO, 1950 Government and Civic Employees Organizing Committee - CIO Local 900
	11	Reports and Correspondence - Ed Gaskin - President, 1950-1955
	12	News Clippings, etc. 1950-1977
	13	1951
	14	Brief in Support of Proposals by Local 900 re Economic Problems of Local Rate Workers in the Panama Canal- Railroad Organization, 1951
	15	1950-1958
	16	Government & Civic Employees Organizing Committee - CIO Local 907, 1954-1984 Panama Canal West Indians Employees Association (PCWIEA)
	17	Annual Reports, 1926-1937
47	1	Annual Reports, 1938-1953
	2	Report - "Working Force of the Panama Canal" by Major R.E. Wood, ca. 1920
	3	1936-1944
	4	"Sam Whyte Triangle" - Tribute to Founder of PCWIEA Including Speech by Westerman, 1965-1966 Government and Civic Workers Organizing Committee and Other Unions
	5	AFL Allows Blacks to Join, 1929
	6	"A History of the Panama Canal Metal Trades Council," 1939
	7	American Federation of Labor Supports Improved Working Conditions, 1949-1950
	8	UPW-CIO - Expulsion of Max Brodsky, Regional Director from Panama - News Clippings, 1949
	9	CIO, 1948-1959

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
47	10	Government and Civic Workers Organizing Committee - CIO - John L. Yancey, - Correspondence, 1950-1951
	11	Chapter from Westerman's Manuscript "Fifty Years of Est Indian Life on the Isthmus of Panama, 1903-1953" - Government and Civic Employees Organizing Committee - CIO," n.d.
	12	AFL-CIO Collective Bargaining, 1956
	13	Labor Unions and Organizations, 1977
	14	Canal Zone Central Labor Union - AFL-CIO - Testimony Before Panama Canal Subcommittee of the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee re Panama Canal Treaty, 1979
	15	Panama Canal Zone Workers' Organizing Committee - CIO - Union Meetings, 1939
	16	Panama Canal Zone Workers' Organizing Committee - CIO, 1939-1940 National Maritime Union
	17	Correspondence, 1946, 1966-1968
	18	Canal Zone Central Labor Union - Metal Trades Council - Equality of Treatment for Americans and Panamanians of Panama Canal Company, 1948-1955
	19	Edward Gaskin, Columnist, Panama Tribune - Correspondence, News Clippings and Address, 1950-1985
	20	Scholarship Committee, 1967-1985
	21	Brief re Historical Background of Qualification Requirements for Teachers of Canal Zone School Prior to Establishment of Latin American Schools, 1967
48	1	National Maritime Union AFL-CIO Local 900 - Statements and News Clippings re Canal Zone Labor Policies, 1974-1979
	2	Position Paper on February 17 Proposals of the Canal Zone Civilian Personnel Policy Coordinating Board, April 9, 1976

Вож	<u>Folder</u>	
48	3	Position Paper on the Proposed Change to the July 4, 1976 Amendment to Wage Base Cutoffs By the Canal Zone Civilian Personnel Policy Coordinating Board, September 15, 1976
	4	Report of President Shannon J. Wall's Comments at NMU Delegates Meeting, January 28, 1977
	5	"Recommendations of the NMUA, AFL CIO Before Panamanian Treaty Negotiators on Labor Protection for Canal Zone Workers," May 10, 1977
	6	Panama Canal Treaty - List of Assurances, 1977
	7	Statement, ca. 1977
	8	Press Releases and News Clippings re Wages, 1979
	9	"Joint Statement of Position of the Metal Trades Department, NMUA, and International Organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots AFL-CIO," ca. 1980
	10	Panama Area Wage Base and Cost of Living Allowance, 1981-1984
	11	NMU Presidential Elections, 1983
	12	Alaska Oil, 1983
	13	Department of Labor, ca. 1983
	14	Message from Shannon Wall, President [in Spanish]
	15	Press Releases, 1975-1985
	16	News Clippings, 1964-1969
	17	News Clippings, 1973-1987
	18	Printed Matter - Twentieth Anniversary, 1983
		Labor - 1900-1949
	19	Barbadians Who Helped Build the Panama Canal - Correspondence, 1904-1912
	20	Recruitment of Labor, 1906-1909
	21	Notes on Skilled Labor on the Panama Canal, 1909
	22	List of Contract Laborers Shipped by Dr. John Hutson from Barbadoes for Service with the Isthmian Canal Commission, 1911-1913

<u>Вож</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
48	23	William Stoute - Notes and Articles on Labor Disputes of Union Canal Workers, 1920
49	1	Demonstrations and Silver Labor Strike on the Canal Zone, 1919-1920
	2	Silver Employees' Death Benefit Association, 1933-1946
	3	"Superannuation Compensation for Certain Employees of Panama Canal," 1937
	4	Correspondence, 1939-1940
	5	News Clippings, 1939
	6	Identification Cards for Clubhouse and Commissary Privileges, 1940-1942
	7	Hiring Jamaican Workers, 1940
	8	Draft for Expression of Panama Canal and Compliance with War Department (McCarran Amendment), 1941
	9	Discriminatory Practices, 1942-1946
	10	Executive Orders, 1943-1946
	11	Rates of Pay on the Silver Roll, 1943
	12	Correspondence, 1943-1945
	13	Isthmian Goodwill Arbitration Committee, 1944
	14	Central Labor Office Program, 1944-1947
	15	Special Report by Rate Review Sub-Board, 1944-1945
	16	Department Wage Board - Minutes of Meeting, 1945
	17	Wage Differential, 1945
	18	Caribbean Wage Scale, 1947-1951
	19	Panama Canal Zone, Panama Railroad Personnel List, 1949
	20	Retired West Indian Workers - Broadcast, 1949
	21	Safety Zone, 1949
	22	News Clippings, 1940-1949 Labor - 1950's
	23	Letter by Westerman to U.S. Secretary of Defense, 1950
	24	Correspondence re Income Tax for Federal Employees in Canal Zone, 1950

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
49	25	Suspension of Caribbean Wage Scale (McCarran Rider), 1950-1951
	26	McCarran Amendment - Ineffective, n.d.
	27	Single Wage Scale for Canal Workers - Report of Adam C. Powell, Jr. with Appendices by Westerman, 1950-1958
	28	List of Government Employees and Salaries, 1951
	29	Canal Zone Replacement Program - Replaces Panama Canal Company Employees with Local Rate Panamanians, 1952-1955
	30	United Fruit Company, 1952-1954
50	1	Canal Zone Police Lodge, ca. 1953 Hanna, Hilton E., Labor Relations Specialist
	2	News Clippings, 1953
	3	Correspondence, Speeches, 1959, 1961
	4	News Articles by Hanna, n.d.
	5	Recognition of Panama's Independence Day as Legal Holiday for Panamanian Employees, 1954-1955
	6	Personal Bureau Annual Reports, 1955-1958
	7	Personnel Statistics, 1956, 1958
	8-9	Panama Canal Treaty - Affected Wages of Local Rate Employees, 1956
	10	Equal Wage Bill, 1956-1958
	11	Silver Employees' Death Benefit Association - Annual Report, 1954-1959
	12	Canal Zone Merit System, 1958-1969 Retirement Issues
	13	Panama's Non-Citizen Retirement System, 1950-1958
	14	National Association of Retired Civil Employees - News Clippings, 1952-1953
E 1	1	Pensions for Local Rate Employees, 1953
51	1 2	Canal Zone Retired Workers Association, 1956
		U.S. Employees
	3	Grievances for U.S. Employees in Canal Zone, 1950-1956

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
51	4	Subcommittee on Labor and Labor- Management Relations - Senate Reports,
	5	1952 Benefits for U.S. Employees - Treaty of Mutual Understanding and Cooperation, 1955-1958
	6	Burke, Cespedes - The Forgotten Silver Workers, 1950
	7	News Clippings, 1950-1959 Labor - 1960's
	8	Cash Relief Act of 1937 - Proposed Legislation to Amend H.R. 10511 - Includes Letter from Adam Clayton Powell, 1944-1946, 1959-1964
	9	Disability Cash Relief Act - Proposal for Increase - H.R. 5511, 1963
	10	Cash Relief Benefits Bill - H.R. 5990 - Correspondence, 1965-1966 U.S. Employees
	11	Career Opportunities for Professional Nurses with the Federal Government in the Canal Zone, 1960
	12	Canal Zone Government, 1960-1962
	13	1960-1967
	14	Canal Zone Pilots Association, ca. 1963
	15	History of 25% Differential in Canal Zone for U.S. Citizens - News Clippings, 1966
	16	"La Carrera Administrativa Como Medio Para Asegurar la Continuidad y Eficiencia de las Funciones Administrativas Regimenes Sustitutivos y Transitorios del Servicio Civil," 1962
	17	Workers from Barbados - Westerman's Visit to Barbados, 1964
	18	Case re Harassment - Dorothy De Leon, 1964-1968
	19	Training Course for Metal Workers - Seating Arrangements and Representatives, 1960's

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
51	20	Asociación de Mujeres Contadoras de "Diez Años de Labor" - Edicion de Aniversario, ca. 1966
	21	Vocational Training Center - Needs Assessment, 1960's
	22	Salaries, 1963
	23	Canal Zone Government - Panama Canal Company - Wage Averages, 1969
	24	Non-U.S. Citizen Employee Benefits - Salary Increase, 1969
	25	Deed Poll and Employees' Resumes, 1968
	26	News Clippings, 1960-1969
		Labor - 1970's
52	1	Correspondence, 1970-1983 Panama Canal Disability Cash Relief Act - Widows Bill - H.R. 7517
	2	1970
	3-4	Thanksgiving Program on Behalf of Widows of Panama Canal Old Timers, 1970
	5	Unidentified Speech, 1970
	6	Recommendations for Employment - by Westerman and Others, 1972-1974
	7	Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker and Delegates From Various Labor Unions in the Canal Zone - Transcript of Conference, 1973
	8	Minimum Wage Law Affecting Canal Zone Workers, 1973-1974
	9	Panama Canal Worker Trainee Program, 1973-1974
	10	Ralph Metcalf, Chairman Panama Canal Subcommittee - U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 1975
	11	Pestillo Report re Canal Zone Employees, 1975
	12	Labor - Management Relations in the Federal Service, 1975
	13	Statement of Various Labor Unions, ca. 1975

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
52	14	Cecilio V. Reynolds, Non-U.S. Employee - Correspondence re Lack of Retirement Rights, 1975-1976
	15	Strike by U.S. Citizen Employees Caused by Austerity Measures - Newsclipping - Miami Herald, 1976
	16	Strike by U.S. Citizen Employees Caused by Austerity Measures, News Clippings - Star & Herald, 1976
	17	"A Tribute to the Canal Construction Workers," 1977
	18	"Revista Bodas de Cristal 1963-1978," 1978
	19	Panama Canal Company/Canal Zone Government - Personnel Bureau - Administration and Statistics, 1978
	20	Panama Area Wage Base, 1979
	21	Employment Conditions Under General Omar Torrijos' Administration, 1979
	22	News Clippings, 1970-1979 Labor - 1980's
	23	Panama Area Wage Base Study, 1980
	24	Panama Area Wage Base - Attempts to Abolish - News Clippings, 1981-1987
	25	Upward Mobility Program, 1981-1982
	26	Cost of Living Allowance - U.S. Employees, 1983
	27	Assistance to Latin America and the Caribbean, 1983-1984
	28	Documentary Film - Diggers 1983-1985
	29	News Clippings, 1980-1985
53		PANAMANIAN COMMEMORATIVE STAMPS West Indian Commemorative Stamp
	1	West Indian Stamp Appreciation Committee, 1951
	2	West Indian Stamp Appreciation Exercises, 1951
	3	First Day of Issue Envelopes, 1955-1956
54		POLITICS
- -		General History
	1	News Articles by Westerman, 1954-1971

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
54		Constitutions of Panama
	2	1932-1946
	3	1952-1957
	4	1961-1969
	5	1972-1973
	6	Lists of Presidents of Panama
	7	Gaceta Oficial - Newspaper, 1886, 1903
	8	Miscellaneous, 1887-1985 Correspondence
	9	1907-1911
	10	Letter to Samuel Lewis, 1909
	11	Reports, Memoranda, 1924
	12	Speech by Gasper Octavio Hernandez Before Tombs of the Fathers of Independence of the Isthmus, November 3, 1914
	13	Untitled Essay re Nationalism by Carlos Alberto Mendoza - ca. 1956
55	1	News Clippings, 1973-1978
	2	Dr. Juan Mendoza, Presidente del Estado de Panamá - Ernesto Castillero R. &
		Juan Antonio Susto, 1976
	3	Porras, Belisario - First Vice- President, 1981
		Mendoza, Carlos Antonio - President
	4	100th Anniversary Celebration of Birth
	-	News Clippings and Program, 1956
	5	Publication by Westerman, 1956
	6	Publications About, 1956
	7	Publications About, 1976-1981
	8	Carlos A. Mendoza y Su Generacion by
	•	Baltasar Isaza Calderon, 1982
	9	Valdes, Ramon M President - Speeches Delivered on His Installation, 1916
	10	Arias, Tómas, 1977
	11	Porfirio Meléndez, by J. P. Villani
	± ±	Alandete, 1954
	12	Lorenzo, Victoriano - General, 1971-1973
	33-	Alfaro, Ricardo J First Vice-President
		News Clippings by and about
	13	1948-1968
	14	1970-1971

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
56	1	1972-1982
	2	Madrid, Arnulfo Arias - President [1941], 1940-1941
	3	News Clippings - General, 1946
	4	Correspondence - Westerman, 1953-1978 Jiménez, Enrique A President [1945-1948]
	5	1945-1949
	6	"Open Letter to President Enrique A. Jiménez By George Westerman" re Racial Discriminatory Practices against Tourists, 1947
	7	Partido Liberal Renovador, 1945-1952
	8	Candidates, 1947-1955
	9	Madrid, Arnulfo Arias - President [1949- 1951], News Clippings, 1950-1951
	10	Panamanians of West Indian Origin Holding Political Office, 1951-1958
	11	Citizenship Amendment, 1950-1967
	12	National Patriotic Coalition Party List of Supporters, Mainly West Indians, 1952-1956
	13	Renovador Party - Election - List of Registered West Indian Panamanian Members, 1952
	14	Elections for Deputy - Tabulated Votes by Party, 1952 Remón, José A President [1952-1955] Presidential Candidate
	15	Election - National Patriotic Coalition Party - List of Supporters, 1952
	16	Election - Tally Sheets, Legislator's Attendance Sheets President
	17	1953-1955, 1967
	18	150 th Anniversary of Independence of Haiti, 1953-1954
	19	Mrs. Cecilia P. de Remón, 1954-1967
	20	Panama Progresa, 1954
	21	Paredes, Francisco Arías, 1953-1955 Espinosa, Ricardo M. Arias - President [1955-1956]
	22	Hemispheric Meeting of Chief Executives in Panama, 1956

<u>Box</u>	Folder	
56	23	La Gestión Presidencial de Don Ricardo M. Arías E. by Carlos Alberto Mendoza, 1982
57		de la Guardia, Jr., Ernesto President [1956-1960]
	1	Biographical Information by Westerman, 1956
	2	Biographical Information, 1956-1959, 1983 Presidential Candidate - Election
	3	Correspondence with Westerman, 1953
	4	Correspondence, 1955
	5	Westerman - Correspondence with Others, 1955
	6	1955-1956
	7	National Patriotic Coalition Party List of Supporters, Mainly West Indians, 1956
	8	Lists, 1956
	9	Candidate Voter List for Panama
	10	National Patriotic Coalition Party - Expenses, 1956
	11	National Patriotic Coalition Party - Expenses, 1956
	12	Expenses and Lists, 1956
	13	Gasoline Distribution, May 12-13, 1956
	14	Flash, 1955-1956
	15	News Clippings, 1955
	16	Speeches, 1955-1956
	17	Correspondence with Westerman, 1957-1959
	18	Westerman - Correspondence with Others, 1956-1959
	19	President-Elect Visit to Haiti Accompanied by Westerman, Presidential Aide, September, 1956
	20	Committee Organizer - Estela de Dollander - Correspondence, July 1956
	21	President Swearing in Ceremony, 1956

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
58	1	Correspondence, 1957-1959, 1963
	2	Correspondence and Administrative Policies, 1957
	3	Emergency Distribution of Food, July 23-24, 1957
	4	Statement by Westerman, ca. 1959 National Patriotic Coalition Party - Political Patronage
	5	Daily Ledger - Job Requests, 1955- 1956
	6	Correspondence and Lists, 1955-1956 Political Patronage
	7	Recommendations and Appointments, 1955-1956
	8	Recommendations and Appointments, 1956-1959
	9	Recommendations for Employment, 1958-1959
	10	Recommendations for Employment, 1959-1960
	11	Political Appointments, 1958-1959
	12	Presidential Decree for Appointments to the Ministry of Public Works, 1960
59	1	Impeachment Petition Against de la Guardia Headed by Temistocles Díaz, 1957
	2	Mrs. Mercedes Galindo de la Guardia, 1956
	3	President-Elect - News Clippings, 1956
	4	News Clippings, 1957-1958
	5	News Clippings, 1959
	6	Arías, Ricardo Madrid - Second Vice-President, 1955-1959
	7	News Clippings - General
	8	Estudio de Ingresso y Gastos de los Familias Obreras en Panama - Flow Chart, n.d.
	9	Rebel Attack in San Francisco de Veraguas, Panama, April 1959
	10	Election for Deputy, 1959-1960
	11	Articles by Westerman, 1965-1969

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
59	12	General Correspondence - Westerman, 1960-1968
	13	Communists in Panama - Westerman's Draft of Article for <i>Miami Herald</i> , Letter, Other Writings, News Clippings and Notes, 1961-1966 National Patriotic Coalition Party
	14	Correspondence and Lists, 1955-1959
	15	Elections - Lists, 1960, 1964
	16	Third National Convention - 1960, 1959-1960
	17	Recapitulation of National Elections of May 8, 1960, 1960
	18	Elections - Presidential and Deputy, 1960
	19	Presidential and Other Elections - News Clippings, 1959-1960 Chiari, Roberto Francisco - President [1960]
	20	Legislative Commission, 1960-1961
	21	Television Interview, 1961 News Clippings,
	22	1960-1962
60	1	1962-1964
	2	Paredes, Francisco Arias - "Comite Pro- Peregrinacion a Don Francisco Arías Paredes," 1960
	3	Electoral Code Reform and Electoral Tribunal, 1958-1970
	4	Electoral Tribunal and Elections - News Clippings, 1960-1970
	5	National Patriotic Coalition Party - Fourth National Convention - Westerman and Alfred C. Crichlow - Delegates, 1963
	6	Presidential Elections, 1963-1964
	7	Presidential Elections - Arias Madrid, Arnulfo - Essay, 1960's National Assembly Elections National Patriotic Coalition Party (Partido Coalicion Patriotica Nacional),
	8	1964 May Huertematte 1964
	9	Max Huertematte, 1964 Thelma King, 1964
	10	Illerilla Mille, 1904

<u>Box</u>	Folder	
60	11	National Liberal Party (Partido Liberal Nacional) - Alfredo Ramirez, 1964
	12	National Opposition Alliance - Juan de Arco Galindo, 1964
	13	Third National Party (Tercer Partido Nacionalista), 1964 Panama City Council Elections
	14	Revolutionary Isthmian Party (Partido Istmeño Revolucionario) - John E. Hall G., 1964
	15	Third National Party - Leroy Husband, 1964
	16	1964
		Deputy Elections
	17	Dipal Party - Alejandro Stephens, 1964
	18	Nationalist Party (Partido Nacionalista) - Hector Spencer, 1964
	19	Renovador Party - Roy Wesley, 1964
	20	National Liberal Party (Partido Liberal Nacional), 1964
	21	National Progressive Party (Partido Progresista Nacional), 1964 Robles, Marco Aurelio - President [1964- 1968]
	22	1964-1966
	23	1967-1968
	24	Estela de Shalom - Consul-General in Jamaica - Presentation to Queen Elizabeth, February 1965 Impeachment, March 1968
	25	Position Paper of Panameñista Party re Johnson-Robles Agreement - "How Long Will the Country be Deceived?" ca. 1967
	26	Impeachment, March 1968 Madrid, Arnulfo Arias - President [1968]
	27	Candidate's Acceptance Speech - Westerman's Newspaper Articles, 1967
	28	Election - News Clippings, 1967-1968
61	1	Address to Organization of American States and News Clippings, 1968
	2	Ouster from Office, 1969-1970

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
61	3	Elections - Results - Electoral Tribunal and National Meeting, 1968
	4	Military Junta, 1968-1969
	5	"Lluvias, Bombas yLlanto" in <i>Blanco y</i> Negro, Magazine, December 6, 1965
	6	Chinese Ambassador to Panama J. L. Huang - Addresses, 1967
	7	News Clippings - General, 1968 Torrijos, Omar - Brigadier General [1969-1981]
	8	Correspondence, 1972-1973
	9	Exile of Prominent Citizens to Guayaquil, Ecuador, 1976-1979
	10	Testimony of Winston Robles and Eusebio Marchosky on Behalf of Panamanian Committee for Human Rights Before U.S. House of Representatives, 1977
	11	Death, 1981-1983
	12	News Clippings, 1971-1979
	13	General, 1970-1973
	14	Local Elections, 1972
	15	News Clippings - General, 1974
	16	Junta Comunal de Rio Abajo, 1972-1978, ca. 1978-1980
	17	Lakas, Demetrio B President [1969-1978] 1978
	18	Royo, Arístides - President [1972-1982], 1978-1982
	19	Correspondence re Otilia Arosemena de Tejeira, 1974
	20	de la Espriella, Ricardo - President [1982-1984], 1982-1984
	21	Illueca, Jorge - President, [1984], 1982- 1984
	22	Noriega, Manuel A Brigadier General [1983-1989], 1983-1986
	23	Madrid, Arnulfo Arias - President [1984], 1984
62	1	Barletta, Nicolás Ardito - President [1984-1985], 1984
	2	Fernández, Alberto Smith - "Blacks, Unity and Politics 84," 1984

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
62	3	Coordinadora Civilista Nacional Unidos Siempre, 1985
	4	News Clippings - General, 1980-1982
	5	News Clippings - Gallup Opinion Poll, 1981-1982
	6	News Clippings - General, 1983
	7	News Clippings, 1983-1986
63		RACIAL DISCRIMINATION
	1	Publication by Westerman, 1950
	2	News Articles by Westerman, 1948-1968
	3	Westerman - Drafts of Writings, n.d.
	4	Manuscript, n.d.
	5	News Clippings Mentioning Westerman, 1950-1971
	6	<pre>Interview of Westerman by Tomlinson Todd, President - Institute of Race Relations, July 1947</pre>
	7	U.S. Citizenship Status of Inhabitants of Panama Canal Zone, 1935
	8	Restriction of Educational Facilities in Panama Canal Zone - Children of African American, 1937-1938
	9	U.S. Anti-Discrimination Bill re Defense Contracts, 1942 Correspondence
	10	1945-1976
	11	Westerman's Letter to St. Clair Drake, 1952
	12	Westerman - Discriminatory Practices on the Panama Canal Zone - Correspondence and Press Releases, 1950-1953 Panamanian Citizenship
	13	Denationality Law of 1941, 1940
	14	Denationality Law of 1941, Westerman's Draft, n.d.
	15	Panamanian Citizenship Including Bazan Amendment, 1940-1961
	16	Assimilation Policy, 1950-1958, ca. 1977
	17	Nationality Law, 1953-1959
	18	Correspondence, 1955

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
63	19	Policy of Employment of African Americans on the Panama Canal Zone - Reaction of the NAACP, 1941-1942
	20	Complaints About Racial Discrimination Against Panamanians on Panama Canal Zone, 1942-1945 Panamanian Immigration Law
	21	Westerman's Letter to President Jimenez, 1947
	22	Panamanian Immigration Law Including Panamanian Tourist Visa, 1947-1953
	23	Panamanian Tourist Visa, 1947-1967
64	1	Visa Restrictions for Jamaicans and Trinidadians - Westerman's Articles, 1963
	2	U.S. Immigration and Nationality Act, 1952-1968 Discrimination on the Canal Zone - U.S. Military
	3	1940-1975
	4	1971 Incidents at Restaurants
	5	Atlas Beer Garden, 1952 "Sky Chef"
	6	1955
	7	Incidents at Restaurant Exposed by Alfred Gerald, 1957
	8	Maxim's Cocktail Lounge, 1956
	9	Address by Federico Smith - Debate, 1976-1978
	10	National Socialism (Nazism), 1979-1981 Publications
	11	Boletín Latino Americano del CIO, 1949-1952
	12	Articles by John Biesanz re Race Relations, 1950-1951 News Clippings
	13	1940-1949
	14	1950-1959
	15	1960-1969
	16	1971-1979
	17	1980-1984

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
65		SPEECHES
	1	Speeches for National Reform of the Constitution, 1942
	2	1943
	3	"Solicitud de Reforma de las Disposiciones Constitucionales Vigentes Sobre Nacionalidad Formulada a la Honorable Comisión Codificadora de Panama" - Liga Civica Nacional, July 19, 1944
	4	"U.SCaribbean Relations" - National Writers Conference, July 14, 1947
	5	"U.S. War Bases in Panama" - Interviews - New York City, 1947
	6	United States Military Bases in Panama - Radio Addresses, January 1, 1948
	7	House Committee on Un-American Activities - Statement by Westerman re Denial of Communist Infiltration in a Panamanian Labor Union, February 13, 1948
	8	"Segregation, Commissaries, Housing and Employees," ca. 1948
	9	Untitled, ca. 1940's
	10	Presentation Ceremony of Local #900, GCEOC-CIO, July 23, 1950
	11	First International Congress of Sociology and Political Science, - UNESCO, Zurich, Switzerland - Delivered at Trinity Methodist Church, October 1, 1950
	12	Untitled, ca. 1950
	13	Untitled, ca. 1950
	14	"Group Relations in Panama and the Canal Zone," ca. 1950
	15	"Sore Spots in United States-Panama Relations" - Inter-American Press Association 8 th Annual Meeting - International House, Chicago, October 16, 23 and 30, 1952
	16	Panama New York Civic Committee - New York Grand Street Boys' Club, September 26, 1953
	17	Press Statement at the Embassy of Panama re Discriminatory Policies in the Canal Zone, 1953

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
65	18	"West Indian Blacks in Panamanian Society," ca. 1953
	19	Canal Zone Schools - Rotary Club of Panama, March 18, 1954
	20	Coalicion Patriotica Nacional , November 10, 1956
	21	American International Academy, New York, December 5, 1956
	22	Fragments, ca. 1956
	23	"Business Possibilities in Panama" - New York Council of Business and Professional Men - Times Annex, New York, February 20, 1957
	24	To United Nations Committee - United Methodist Church, Austin, Texas, March 3, 1957
	25	United Nations - Hofstra College, Hempstead, New York, March 19, 1957
	26	"Activities of the United Nations" - University Methodist Church, Austin, Texas, March 26, 1957
	27	"Economic Development in Panama and its Opportunities for Foreign Investors" - University of Texas, Austin, March 26, 1957
	28	To Texas Legislature - Austin, Texas, March 28, 1957
	29	Chicago, May 1957
	30	Statement to Panamanian Journalists and Tourists - New York Port Authority, October 7, 1957
	31	United Nations - Non-Self-Governing Territories, October 17, 1957
	32	United Nations - "Text of Declaration on the Future of Togoland Under French Administration," November 15, 1957
	33	United Nations - Cameroons under British and French Administrations, December 3, 1957
	34	Address Before the Speakers' Club of New York on its 50 th Anniversary, Times Annex, December 17, 1957

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
65	35	"Ideals of the United Nations Cited" - Pacific Town Hall, Los Angeles, California, December 19, 1957
	36	"A Progressive Administration" - Pacific Town Hall, Los Angeles, California, December 19, 1957
	37	Press Interview at Statler Hotel, Los Angeles, California, December 20, 1957
	38	Remarks at Luncheon by Golden State Insurance Company of Los Angeles, California, December 23, 1957
	39	Interview - Lew Irwin, Radio (KPOL) Commentator and Telecaster (KADC), Los Angeles, California, December 26, 1957
	40	"Declaracion Ante La Junta de Supervisores del Condado" - Municipal Room, Los Angeles, California, December 27, 1957
	41	"Panama Speeds Work on Completion of Pan- American Highway," ca. 1957
66	1	United Nations - Kol Shearith Israel Community Hall, Panama - News Clippings Only, January 28, 1958
	2	Interview - The New York Age, October 12, 1958
	3	"Salute to Free Hungary" Meeting - Program Only, October 22, 1958
	4	"Brotherhood" - Labor Temple Fellowship Brunch - Carnegie International Center, New York, November 30, 1958
	5	United Nations - Racial Discrimination on the Panama Canal Zone [in Spanish], December 3, 1958
	6	National Business and Professional Council, - Times Annex, New York, December 17, 1958
	7	Untitled - Albert Einstein Institute, ca. 1958
	8	"Race Relations on the Isthmus of Panama, 1958

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
66	9	"Good Neighbors on the Isthmus of Panama" - Manhattan Civic Club, New York, January 27, 1959
	10	Westerman - Recipient of 1959 Louis D. Brandeis Gold Medal for "Service to Humanity" - City Hall, New York, February 4, 1959
	11	First Annual Exposition of the Negro in Business and Culture - Chicago, Illinois, May 14, 1959
	12	Broadcast - Station WHA - University of Wisconsin, May 16, 1959
	13	Statement at Philadelphia Festival - Music of the Western Hemisphere, September 27, 1959
	14	"Political Leverage for Economic Security" - American Council on Human Rights - Washington, D.C., October 17, 1959
	15	"Education in Panama" - Delaware State College, November 24, 1959
	16	"The Other Side of U.SPanama Relations" - New York Export Managers Club and New York Chapter of International Advertising Association, New York, December 8, 1959
	17	<pre>"Educational and Political Trends in Panama" - St. Francis College, Brooklyn, New York, December 9, 1959</pre>
	18	Remarks by Westerman - Caribbean League of America - Award Ceremony with President Ernesto de la Guardia, December 23, 1959
	19	Statehood of Alaska and Hawaii, 1959
	20	Interview - <i>New York Amsterdam News,</i> ca. 1959
	21	"The Feast of Tishri and its Call to Dedication," ca. 1950's
	22	Untitled, ca. 1959
	23	Address Delivered at the British West Indian Welfare Association's Welcome Service in Honor of George Vaughn, New British Ambassador to Panama, First Isthmian Baptist Church, Colon, Panama, July 10, 1960

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
66	24	Address Delivered at Panama's Methodist Church's Welcome Service in Honor of George Vaughn, New British Ambassador to Panama, July 18, 1960
	25	U.SPanama Relations - Curundu Civic Center, 1960
	26	Untitled ca. 1960
	27	Investment Opportunities - Fragment, ca. 1960
	28	"Panama at a Glance" - Research Institute of America, New York, February 7, 1961
	29	"Views on Latin America" - Excerpts of Address - Research Institute of America, New York, February 7, 1961
	30	"Views on Latin America" - Freemasonry on the Isthmus of Panama" - Integrity Lodge No. 917, February 14, 1961
	31	"The Panama Canal and U.SPanama Relations" - Yale Law School - Commencement Address, February 17, 1961
	32	American International Academy - Investiture Ceremony of Nathan A. Reid and Walter C. Watson at Kol Shearith Israel Community Hall, Panama City, April 18, 1961
	33	Knights of St. Paul - Cristobal, Canal Zone, June 18, 1961
	34	Address Delivered at Los Amigos del Pueblo Social Club - Panama City, Panama, July 2, 1961
	35	Eulogy - Memorial Service of Arthur Francis Nightengale, Archdeacon - St. Paul's Church, Panama City, August 4, 1961
	36	"Women Meet the Challenge of a Changing Society" - Las Amigas de la Caridad Fourteenth Anniversary Luncheon - Colon, Panama, August 13, 1961
67	1	American International Academy - Investiture Ceremony of Vice President José D. Bazan of Panama - Royal York Hotel, Toronto, May 4, 1962

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
67	2	U.S. Tax Haven Bill - Cristobal-Colon Rotary Club, Colon Strangers Club, May 24, 1962
	3	United Nations - Parasio Gymnasium, Panama, October 24, 1962
	4	Investiture Ceremony of Prime Minister John P. Robarts - Ontario, Canada, December 19, 1962
	5	"Pan Americanism" - ca. 1962
	6	"Un Panameño En Israel," June 1963
	7	Justice Lodge of Elks - 36 th Anniversary Balboa, Canal Zone, Panama, August 14, 1963
	8	"United Nations Activities" - Balboa Lions Club, October 24, 1963
	9	Golden Jubilee Celebration of Rabbi Moses D. Sasso - Virgin Islands, W.I., July 1, 1964
	10	St. Thomas Rotary Club, July 2, 1964
	11	American Friends Service Committee - Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, July 1964
	12	Commemoration of the Republic, 1964
	13	Improved, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks of the World - Aurora Lodge 523 and Jasmine Temple 323 - 40 th Anniversary Celebration - Colon, Panama, February 8, 1965
	14	"Constitutes Symbol of Social Justice" - Awarded 'Key to the City' by Colon Civic Council, July 17, 1965
	15	Address Delivered to Group of Visiting U.S. School Teachers Under Auspices of Pan- American Institute Social Science Department, July 1965
	16	Christ Church Academy - Commencement Address - Colon, Panama, December 22, 1965 National Cash Register Co Sponsor
	17	Correspondence and News Clippings, 1966
	18	"An Alliance of Partnership, Not One of Paternalism," 1966
	19	"The Enlarged Purpose of Serving the Nation - University of Panama," 1966

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
67	20	"Factores Sociales y Economicos de Panama," 1966
	21	"Socio-Economic Factors in Panama's Development," 1966
	22	"U.S. Goodwill Earns Greatest Dividends in Latin America," 1966
	23	"Women Meet the Challenge of a Changing Society" - Centerville Women's Club, Dayton, Ohio, September 28, 1966
	24	"Why is the Church in the World" - World Day of Prayer - St. Luke's Cathedral, Panama, February 10, 1967
	25	"United States-Panama Relations" - National Cash Register - Sponsor - Rotary Club, Dayton, Ohio,
	26	Isthmian Negro Press, October 1, 1967
	27	"The Universal Declaration of Human Rights" - Colon Bahai Center of Panama, December 10, 1967
	28	Las Servidoras, ca. 1968
	29	Panama Rotary Club, 1960's
	30	"West Indian Contributions to Isthmus: A Most Essential Element of Panama's Progress" - Fragment, ca. 1960's
68	1	"The Security Council in Panama," April 1973 U.S. Lecture Tour Hubert Humphrey Lecture Series
	2	"U.N. Security Council Meeting in Panama Reviews Vital U.SPanama Pending Issues," - Macalester College, St. Paul, Minnesota, October 17, 1973
	3	Macalester College, St. Paul, Minnesota - Correspondence, June 26- November 27, 1973
	4	Macalester College, St. Paul, Minnesota - News Clippings, October 14- November 26, 1973
	5	California University, Fresno - Correspondence, News Clippings, June 26-December 6, 1973

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
68	6	The College of Wooster, Ohio - Introductory Comments Made by Raymond E. Dix, October 29, 1973
	7	The College of Wooster, Wooster, Ohio - Correspondence, News Clippings, April 21- November 26, 1973
	8	Ashland College, Ashland, Ohio - Correspondence, News Clippings, October 19-November 28, 1973
	9	University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio - Message to Journalism Class, November 6, 1973
	10	"Basic Changes in Canal Policies Governing U.SR.P. 1914-73 Relations", October-November, 1973
	11	Tour Arrangements, 1973
	12	Statement of Traveling Press Seminar - Center for Inter-American Relations at Panama Union Club - Auspices of Chamber of Private Enterprises, May 24, 1974
	13	"Panama Canal Policy Changes Governing U.SR.P. Relations During the Period 1914-1974" - Indiana University, Latino Awareness Seminar, August 1, 1974
	14	"Blacks in the Panamanian Culture," February 14, 1975
	15	Fellowship of Reconciliation - Episcopal University Center, February 6, 1976
	16	Dan A. Pagenta - Panama Rotary Club - Holiday Inn, Panama City, Panama, April 28, 1976
	17	"The History of the West Indians on the Isthmus of Panama," May 17, 1976
	18	"Report on the Hemisphere" - Latin American Seminar - Auspices of School of Journalism and Inter-American Press Association, Ohio State University, May 21, 1976
	19	"Brotherhood" - Cathedral of St. Luke, Ancon, Canal Zone, October 1, 1976
	20	Statement to National Committee on American Foreign Policy - El Panama Hotel, Panama City, November 2, 1977

Container	LISC	
Вох	<u>Folder</u>	
69	1	Open Letter on Ratification of Panama Canal Treaties Submitted to Senate Majority Leader Robert C. Byrd, November 12, 1977
	2	"Constraints and Contributions of West Indian Immigrants in the Historical Development of Panama" - Research Institute on Immigration and Ethnic Studies - Smithsonian Institution, February 24, 1978
	3	"Migration of West Indian Workers to Panama" - Auspices of Smithsonian Research Institute on Immigration and Ethnic Studies - Smithsonian Institution,
	4	"For an Enduring Canal Partnership" - Auspices of Institute of International Studies and Institute for Study of Social Change - University of California, Berkeley, March 13, 1978
	5	African Heritage, Ca. 1970'S
	6	Untitled - Second Congress of Black Culture in the Americas, March 21, 1980
	7	"Private Enterprise in Central America and Panama," Houston, Texas, January 28, 1981
	8	B'nai B'rith Irving Zapp Society of Panama, November 18, 1981 Friends of George Westerman Committee, New York City, April 25, 1982
	9	Friends of George Washington Committee, New York City, April 25, 1982
	10	Untitled - Jamaican Benevolent & Protective Society, August 29, 1982
	11	Invitations Not Accepted, 1947-1967
70	1 2	Publication by Westerman, 1950's Baseball - Stanford Graham Day - Correspondence and News Clippings, 1949 Baseball - News Clippings, 1949-1956, 1984
	3 4	Boxing "The Life of Al Brown" - Article by Westerman - Correspondence, 1929

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
70	5	Harry Wills - Article by Westerman, n.d.
	6	Season Ticket, 1945
	7	News Clippings, 1970-1985
	8	Scrapbook, 1920's
	9	Horse Racing - West Indies Federation Classic - News Clippings, 1958-1963
	10	Marksmanship - Riflemen - Article by Westerman, n.d. Tennis
	11	Westerman and Others in Tournaments - Correspondence and News Clippings, 1930-1931, 1937
	12	Scrapbook re Westerman, 1936-1938
	13	Tenis en Panama y Centro America -
		Magazine and News Article by Westerman, 1968-1982
	14	Track - News Clippings, 1965
	15	Fourth Central American and Caribbean Olympiad - Correspondence and News Clippings, 1934-1936
	16	Central American and Caribbean Olympics - News Clippings and Program, 1954, 1962, 1970
	17	Deportivo - Suplemento, 1955
	18	Petition for a Playing Field, 1959
	19	Pan American Games - Correspondence and News Clippings, 1959, 1970
	20	Olympics - News Clippings, 1964-1984
	21	General - News Clippings, 1955, 1973-1985
71		SUBJECT FILES Economics
	1	News Articles by Westerman, 1964-1966
	2	Two Addresses - Other Authors, 1952-1957
		Reports
	3	"Compras de Arroz en Cascara," 1953
	4	"Further Industrialization in the Republic of Panama," 1955
	5	"Informe Que el Gerente del Banco Nacional de Panama Presenta a la Asamblea Nacional," 1955

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
71	6	Central American Organizations Advancing Economic Integration and Growth of the Isthmus, 1960-1964
	7	Promotion of Tourism in Panama, 1966
	8	Sindicato de Industriales de Panama (SIP), 1966
	9	International Financial Center in Panama, 1974
	10	Report - "Panama's Public Debt: 1978- 1983," 1979
	11	News Clippings, 1946, 1957-1985
		Fraternal and Benevolent Societies
	12	Ancient Order of Foresters, 1960-1984
	13	Barbadian Progressive Society, 1961-1981
	14	Edith Cavell Friendly Society, 1972
		Elks of the World
	15	1950-1974
	16	"White Only Policy" Attacked by Canal
		Zone Government, 1971-1974
	17	Independent Order of Odd Fellows, 1932-1971
	18	Independent United Order of Mechanics Friendly Society, 1922-1983
	19	Jamaican Provident and Benevolent Society, 1952, 1983
	20	Knights of St. John, 1966-1980
	21	Masons - Grand Lodge of Scotland,
		1949-1981
		Rotary Club
	22	1967-1975
	23	1976-1985
	24	Speech by Bruno O. Winkler on Rotarian
		Volunteers Abroad, 1968
	25	St. Peter's Church Mutual Benefit Society, 1954
	26	Shriners, 1964
	27	Sojourners' Benevolent Friendly Society, ca. 1969-1976
	28	Wesley Methodist Men's League, 1973

Container 2250		
<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
71		Health
7 1	29	News Articles Written by Westerman,
		1959-1983 Westerman's News Article re Gorgas
	30	Hospital, 1966
		Day each C
	31	"Las Grasas Comestibles" by Leonor Jump,
	31	1940
	32	"Contraloria General de la Republica
		Dirección de Estadística y Censo,"
		1954 National Assembly - Decree to Amend
	33	Social Security, 1958
	34	paramed IIntitled Ca. 1959
	35	poporte - "In Análisis de las Condiciones
		Sociales de 50 Pacientes Egresados del
		Hospital Nicolás A. Solano," n.d. Hospitals in Panama, 1965-1966
	36	News Clippings, 1957-1983
	37	Program - Club Health Bureau, 1976
	38	11052
		HOUSING
	39	Publications by Westerman, 1955
	40	Correspondence, 1954 Jack Jamieson's Comments re Westerman's
	41	Housing Study - Urban Housing in
		Danama and Some of its Problems, 1955
	42	Name Clippings re Westerman's Studyband
	42	Prefabricated Houses, 1954-1957, 1960's,
		1984
	43	Government Study, 1957-1959
	44	Organization of American States - First Interamerican Meeting of Experts on
		wanging and Planning, 1956
	45	Mosting of Experts on Financing of Housing
	45	and on the Integration of the Bulluing
		and Building Materials Industries in
		Central America and Panama, 1957
	46	Cleveland Public Housing, 1960-1961
		Reports "Orientation of Technicians in Housing
	47	Economics, Finance, and Market
		Analysis," 1956

## Polder 1	Container List			
Latina - Panama," Unión Panamericana, 1956 49 United Nations Planning Activities for Housing in Panama by Alfred Alcock [in English and Spanish], n.d. Publications 50 Chicago Panorama and Public Housing, 1952 51 Problems of Housing of Social Interest - Pan American Union, 1953 **Home to Suit All Needs" - British Guiana, 1955 52 "Home to Suit All Needs" - British Guiana, 1955 53 Planificación Urbana y Regional en Panama - Unión Panamericana, 1955 54 Housing Responsibilities: A Report to Averell Harriman - New York State Division of Housing, 1956 55 Financing of Housing and Community Improvement Programmes - United Nations [in English and Spanish], 1957 56 Training for Town and Country Planning - United Nations, 1957 **I Might as Well Move to the Moon" - A Case Study on Housing Discrimination and a Legal Manual - by Horacio D. Lewis, 1972 58 West Indians: West Indians in Panama Publications by Westerman, 1950-1980 Westerman - "Material Being Compiled for Documentary on West Indian Life on the Isthmus of Panama," 1970's Westerman - "For a More Unified Panamanian Nation," ca. 1979 Westerman - "Chronology of West Indian Community in Panama," n.d.	<u>Вож</u>	<u>Folder</u>		
United Nations Planning Activities for Housing in Panama by Alfred Alcock [in English and Spanish], n.d. Publications Chicago Panorama and Public Housing, 1952 Problems of Housing of Social Interest - Pan American Union, 1953 "Home to Suit All Needs" - British Guiana, 1955 Planificación Urbana y Regional en Panama - Unión Panamericana, 1955 Housing Responsibilities: A Report to Averell Harriman - New York State Division of Housing, 1956 Financing of Housing and Community Improvement Programmes - United Nations [in English and Spanish], 1957 Training for Town and Country Planning - United Nations, 1957 "I Might as Well Move to the Moon" - A Case Study on Housing Discrimination and a Legal Manual - by Horacio D. Lewis, 1972 News Clippings, 1946-1964 West Indians: West Indians in Panama Publications by Westerman, 1950-1980 Westerman - "Material Being Compiled for Documentary on West Indian Life on the Isthmus of Panama," 1970's Westerman - "Chronology of West Indian Nation," ca. 1979 Westerman - "Chronology of West Indian Community in Panama," n.d.	71	48	Latina - Panama," Unión Panamericana,	
1952 Problems of Housing of Social Interest - Pan American Union, 1953 "Home to Suit All Needs" - British Guiana, 1955 Planificación Urbana y Regional en Panama - Unión Panamericana, 1955 Housing Responsibilities: A Report to Averell Harriman - New York State Division of Housing, 1956 Financing of Housing, 1956 Financing of Housing and Community Improvement Programmes - United Nations [in English and Spanish], 1957 Training for Town and Country Planning - United Nations, 1957 "I Might as Well Move to the Moon" - A Case Study on Housing Discrimination and a Legal Manual - by Horacio D. Lewis, 1972 News Clippings, 1946-1964 West Indians: West Indians in Panama Publications by Westerman, 1950-1980 Westerman - "Material Being Compiled for Documentary on West Indian Life on the Isthmus of Panama," 1970's Westerman - "For a More Unified Panamanian Nation," ca. 1979 Westerman - "Chronology of West Indian Community in Panama," n.d.		49	Housing in Panama by Alfred Alcock [III English and Spanish], n.d. Publications	
"Home to Suit All Needs" - British Guiana, 1955 Planificación Urbana y Regional en Panama - Unión Panamericana, 1955 Housing Responsibilities: A Report to Averell Harriman - New York State Division of Housing and Community Improvement Programmes - United Nations [in English and Spanish], 1957 Training for Town and Country Planning - United Nations, 1957 "I Might as Well Move to the Moon" - A Case Study on Housing Discrimination and a Legal Manual - by Horacio D. Lewis, 1972 News Clippings, 1946-1964 West Indians: West Indians in Panama Publications by Westerman, 1950-1980 Westerman - "Material Being Compiled for Documentary on West Indian Life on the Isthmus of Panama," 1970's Westerman - "For a More Unified Panamanian Nation," ca. 1979 Westerman - "Chronology of West Indian Community in Panama," n.d.		50	1 952	
Guiana, 1955 Planificación Urbana y Regional en Panama - Unión Panamericana, 1955 Housing Responsibilities: A Report to Averell Harriman - New York State Division of Housing, 1956 Financing of Housing and Community Improvement Programmes - United Nations [in English and Spanish], 1957 Training for Town and Country Planning - United Nations, 1957 "I Might as Well Move to the Moon" - A Case Study on Housing Discrimination and a Legal Manual - by Horacio D. Lewis, 1972 News Clippings, 1946-1964 West Indians: West Indians in Panama Publications by Westerman, 1950-1980 Westerman - "Material Being Compiled for Documentary on West Indian Life on the Isthmus of Panama," 1970's Westerman - "For a More Unified Panamanian Nation," ca. 1979 Westerman - "Chronology of West Indian Community in Panama," n.d.		51	- Pan American Union, 1953	
Panama - Unión Panamericana, 1955 Housing Responsibilities: A Report to Averell Harriman - New York State Division of Housing, 1956 Financing of Housing and Community Improvement Programmes - United Nations [in English and Spanish], 1957 Training for Town and Country Planning - United Nations, 1957 "I Might as Well Move to the Moon" - A Case Study on Housing Discrimination and a Legal Manual - by Horacio D. Lewis, 1972 News Clippings, 1946-1964 West Indians: West Indians in Panama Publications by Westerman, 1950-1980 Westerman - "Material Being Compiled for Documentary on West Indian Life on the Isthmus of Panama," 1970's Westerman - "For a More Unified Panamanian Nation," ca. 1979 Westerman - "Chronology of West Indian Community in Panama," n.d.		52	Guiana, 1955	
Averell Harriman - New York State Division of Housing, 1956 Financing of Housing and Community Improvement Programmes - United Nations [in English and Spanish], 1957 Training for Town and Country Planning - United Nations, 1957 "I Might as Well Move to the Moon" - A Case Study on Housing Discrimination and a Legal Manual - by Horacio D. Lewis, 1972 News Clippings, 1946-1964 West Indians: West Indians in Panama Publications by Westerman, 1950-1980 Westerman - "Material Being Compiled for Documentary on West Indian Life on the Isthmus of Panama," 1970's Westerman - "For a More Unified Panamanian Nation," ca. 1979 Westerman - "Chronology of West Indian Community in Panama," n.d.		53	Panama - Unión Panamericana, 1955	
Improvement Programmes - United Nations [in English and Spanish], 1957 Training for Town and Country Planning - United Nations, 1957 "I Might as Well Move to the Moon" - A Case Study on Housing Discrimination and a Legal Manual - by Horacio D. Lewis, 1972 News Clippings, 1946-1964 West Indians: West Indians in Panama Publications by Westerman, 1950-1980 Westerman - "Material Being Compiled for Documentary on West Indian Life on the Isthmus of Panama," 1970's Westerman - "For a More Unified Panamanian Nation," ca. 1979 Westerman - "Chronology of West Indian Community in Panama," n.d.		54	Averell Harriman - New York State Division of Housing, 1956	
Training for Town and Country Planning - United Nations, 1957 "I Might as Well Move to the Moon" - A Case Study on Housing Discrimination and a Legal Manual - by Horacio D. Lewis, 1972 News Clippings, 1946-1964 West Indians: West Indians in Panama Publications by Westerman, 1950-1980 Westerman - "Material Being Compiled for Documentary on West Indian Life on the Isthmus of Panama," 1970's Westerman - "For a More Unified Panamanian Nation," ca. 1979 Westerman - "Chronology of West Indian Community in Panama," n.d.		55	Improvement Programmes - United Nations [in English and Spanish], 1957	
Case Study on Housing Discrimination and a Legal Manual - by Horacio D. Lewis, 1972 News Clippings, 1946-1964 West Indians: West Indians in Panama Publications by Westerman, 1950-1980 Westerman - "Material Being Compiled for Documentary on West Indian Life on the Isthmus of Panama," 1970's Westerman - "For a More Unified Panamanian Nation," ca. 1979 Westerman - "Chronology of West Indian Community in Panama," n.d.		56	Training for Town and Country Planning - United Nations, 1957	
72 West Indians: West Indians in Panama Publications by Westerman, 1950-1980 Westerman - "Material Being Compiled for Documentary on West Indian Life on the Isthmus of Panama," 1970's Westerman - "For a More Unified Panamanian Nation," ca. 1979 Westerman - "Chronology of West Indian Community in Panama," n.d.		57	Case Study on Housing Discrimination and a Legal Manual - by Horacio D. Lewis, 1972	
Publications by Westerman, 1950-1980 Westerman - "Material Being Compiled for Documentary on West Indian Life on the Isthmus of Panama," 1970's Westerman - "For a More Unified Panamanian Nation," ca. 1979 Westerman - "Chronology of West Indian Community in Panama," n.d.		58		
News Articles Written by Westerman, 1960- 1964 6 Aguilera, Rodolfo, Jr 50 Miles of Heroism (A Narrative of the Canal), 1961	72	2 3 4 5	Publications by Westerman, 1950-1980 Westerman - "Material Being Compiled for Documentary on West Indian Life on the Isthmus of Panama," 1970's Westerman - "For a More Unified Panamanian Nation," ca. 1979 Westerman - "Chronology of West Indian Community in Panama," n.d. News Articles Written by Westerman, 1960- 1964 Aguilera, Rodolfo, Jr 50 Miles of Heroism (A Narrative of the Canal),	

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
72	7	Alfaro, Olmedo - El Peligro Antillano en la America Central: La Defensa de la Raza - One Chapter of Book, 1925
	8	Arosemena, Jorge - "Los Panameños Negros Descendientes de Antillanos: "¿Un Caso de Marginalidad Social?," 1974
	9	Castillo, Luis A. Diez - Los Cimarrones y los Negros Antillanos en Panama, 1981 Conniff, Michael L Black Labor on a White Canal: Panama, 1903-1981
	10	Correspondence and Westerman's Editorial Comments, 1980-1986
	11	Incomplete Manuscript
	12	Manuscript Fragments
	13	Fortune, Armando - Three Articles
	14	Fray, Lloyd - "Social Contributions" - Commencement Address, News Clippings, 1946-1972
	15	Gaskin, Edward A Blacks Played Significant Role in Improving Life on the Isthmus of Panama, 1983
	16	Gooding, Earl - The West Indies at the Crossroads - Correspondence, 1982-1985
	17	Harris, Louis K "Panama" - Chapter in Unidentified Book, n.d.
	18	Herrera, José de la Cruz - "Haiti - EslavismoNegritud," n.d
	19	Herzfeld, Anita "Limon Creole and Panamanian Creole: Comparison and Contrast - Progress Report," ca. 1980
	20	Lewis, Lancelot S "The Negro in Panama (Black Labor in Panama, 1850-1914)" Dissertation, 1974 McNeil, Dorothy May - "Traduccion de la Correspondencia Epistolar de los Emigrantes Antillanos en el Istmo de Panama" - Thesis
	21	1982
	22	Photocopies of Original Letters, [1892-1896]

COllegation	<u>-</u>	
<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	_
73	1	Paz B., Sadith Esther - "The Status of West Indian Immigrants in Panama from 1850-1941" - Incomplete Thesis, n.d.
	2	Susto, Juan Antonio - Sebastian dose López Ruis - Médico y Naturalista
	3	Tannenbaum, Frank - "The Destiny of the Negro in the Western Hemisphere," ca. 1946
	4	de Tejeira, Otilia Arosemena - "La Inmigracion Antillana en Panama", 1946-1947
	5	Tinnin, Oleta - Review of Towards the Afro-Panamanian's Contribution by C. L. Barton, ca. 1980
	6	"Outstanding Women of Panama" - Newspaper Column in Star and Herald, 1975-1976
	7	Population Statistics, ca. 1940
	8	"Colon Fires," ca. 1940
	9	West Indian Contributions - Manuscripts,
		News Clippings, 1946-1951
	10	"Caracteristicas Socio-Economicas de
		Panama," ca. 1940
		Literature
	11	Smith, Elmer S Poems, n.d.
	12	young Cidney Ed Isthmian Echoes, A
	12	Selection of the Literary Endeavors of the West Indian Colony in the
		Republic of Panama, Ca. 1928
	10	Denomanians in the United States -
	13	"Vesterday and Today - Poems IIOM
		Danama " Celebration of Panama s
		Independence from Spain, 1972-1973
	7.4	News Clippings re English Language
	14	1077 1007
	15	Panamanian Emigration Losses Worldwide -
	12	ctatistics Ca. 1976-1978
	16	Outstanding West Indian Women -
	10	Westerman's Letters Soliciting
		- c
		Second and Third Generation Professionals
	17	Businessmen, 1959-1982
	18	Doctors, 1958-1979

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
73	19	Economists and Engineers, 1950-1979
	20	Educators, 1976-ca.1981
	21	Lawyers and Policemen, 1959-1979
	22	Miscellaneous, 1953-1976
	23	De Monlouis, Wilma Butcher - Musician, 1981
	24	Cooper, Emerson A Biographical Information, 1976-1983
	25	Haughton, James G Biographical Information, 1966-1971
	26	Black History Celebrations in Panama, 1976-1978
	27	Comments about West Indians From Alumni of Paraiso Junior High School and Paraiso High School, Canal Zone at Commencement Exercises, ca. 1978
	28	National Black History Week, 1982
	29	Bibliography - Perez-Venero, Alex - Before the Five Frontiers, 1978
	30	Bibliography from Afro-American Folk Culture and Articles by Armondo Fortune Loteria, 1978
74	1	Bibliographies on West Indians, n.d.
, -	2	Publications, 1956-1980 News Clippings
	3	1941-1959
	4	1960-1987
	5	Miss Panama - Gloria Karameñites, 1979-1980
	6	Miscellaneous
75		Religion
	1	Publication by Westerman, 1952
	2	News Articles by Westerman, 1959-1967
	3	African Orthodox Church, 1946-1947
	4	Baptist Church, 1949-1972
	5	Church of Christ Scientist, 1975-1976
	6	Christ Church by the Sea, 1945-1965 Episcopal Church St. Paul's Episcopal Church

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
7 5	7	Archdeacon Arthur F. Nightengale - Retirement, 1952, 1976
	8	Correspondence, Writings and News Clippings, 1952-1984
	9	Consecration of New Church, 1967
	10	Tribute to Dorothy S. Reynolds - Chorister and Organist, 1976, 1982
	11	Missionary Service, 1963
	12	Missionary Diocese, 1966-1974
	13	Conference, 1966-1967
	13	Statement of Panamanian Episcopal Conference on Canal Zone Treaty, 1975-1976
	15	Diocese of Panama - Diocesan Study/Program, 1982
	16	Political Conference, 1984 Programs
	17	1937-1977
	18	1976-1984
	19	"The Messenger," 1947-1977
		Judaism
	20 21	Embassy of Israel, Panama, 1962-1963 B'nai Brith, 1980-1981
76	1 2 3	Printed Matter, 1951-1977 News Clippings, ca. 1965-1977 Methodist Church, 1978-1983 Muslims, 1986
	4 5	National Council of Churches of Christ In the U.S.A Declaration of the Delegation to Panama, 1975
	6	Dr. Francisco Javier de Luna Victoria y Castro, 1928-1963 Carlos A. Lewis
	7	Ingtallation as Auxiliary Bishop, 1965
	8	Installation as Auxiliary Bishop - News Clippings, 1964-1966
	9	Carlos A. Lewis, Bishop - Commemorative Book, 1966
	10	St. Vincent de Paul, 1957-1984
	11	News Clippings, 1949-1975

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
76		Salvation Army
	12	1953-1987
	13	Fund Raising, 1962, 1972
	14	News Clippings, 1949-1983
	15	Seventh Day Adventist Church, 1953-1978
	16	United Gospel Church, 1965-1975
	17	"My Argument Against Christianism" -
		Manuscript by Andrel Lawson, n.d.
	18	Various Denominations, 1962-1984
77		UNITED STATES-PANAMANIAN RELATIONS
	1	Publications by Westerman, 1945-1976
		General
	2	News Articles by Westerman,
		1949-1964
	3	News Articles by Westerman,
		1965
	4	News Articles by Westerman,
		1966-1981
	5	Articles Mentioning Westerman, 1952-1967
	6	Westerman - Press Statement, 1953
	7	Westerman's Column (<i>Panama Tribune</i>), 1962
	8	Panama Canal Zone - News Clippings -
		Articles by Westerman, 1977-1979
		Administration
	9	Colon Free Zone, 1948-1965
	10	Panama Canal Company
		Press Releases, 1951-1959
	11	Documents and Notes, 1952-1959
	12	Report - Recommendations, 1954
	13	Proposed Trans-Isthmian Highway Within
		Canal Zone, 1955
	14	Congressional Record, 1957
	15	News Clippings, Printed Matter,
		1959-1960
	16	Annual Reports, 1961-1969
	17	By-laws, 1964
	18	"A Conceptual Plan to Phaseout the
		Latin American Communities," 1974
	19	General Information re Panama Canal and
		Panama Canal Zone, 1977
	20	Report of Economic Mission to Panama, 1979

Вож	<u>Folder</u>	
77	21 22 23	Panama Canal Commission Annual Report, 1981 Directory, 1983 News Clippings, 1981-1986
78	1 2	Alliance for Progress and Agency for International Development Alliance for Progress, 1961-1968 Alliance For Progress - Panama Conference - Speeches by Alfredo
	3	Alemán and Robert M. Sayre, 1966 AID, 1965-1974, 1983 Flag Controversy on the Canal Zone and its
	4	Aftermath News Clippings, Letter from Westerman, 1958-February 1960 News Clippings
	5 6 7 8	February 1960 April-September 1960 1962 Round Table Discussion, July-August
	9 10-15	1963 News Clippings 1963 January 1964
79	1-2 3 4-6 7 8 9 10	January 1964 January & April 1964, 1966 & 1977 February 1964 March-December 1964 Letter to José D. Bazan, June 29, 1964 Anniversary of 1963 Riots, 1964-1974 Press Releases, 1964 "Report on the Events in Panama January 9-12, 1964" - Prepared by the International Commission of Jurists [in English and Spanish], 1964
80	1 2	Flags of Necessity, 1958-1962 History Illustrated History of The Panama Railroad by F.N. Otis - Excerpts "All Aboard for Panama" by Elena Vinadé

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
80		Ronan, 1862 & n.d.
	3	"The Panama Canal" by Alfred Arias, 1914
	4	Final Report of the Joint Commission and the President of the Republic of Panama under the Treaty Ratified 1904, 1920
	5	"Message from the People of Panama to the People of North America" - Comments by Domingo H. Turner. In English and Spanish, 1933
	6	Canal and Railroad History with Columbia and Panama by Paul A. Bentz, 1937
	7	Writings - Various Authors, 1939-1971
	8	Panama Railroad, 1945-1955
	9	"Antecedentes Historicos" - History of the U.S. in Columbia and the Isthmus of Panama - Statements from the United States. In Spanish, 1953-1954
	10	History of Slavery in Panama - News Clippings, 1954-1956
	11	John S. Seybold - Governor of Canal Zone - Accomplishments of Administration, 1956
	12	Address by Max Heurtematte to New York City - Mayor Robert Wagner, 1957
	13	Reminiscencias de los Primeros Años de la República de Panama - 1903-1912, 1958
	14	"The 1947 Conciliatory Formula" by Victor F. Goytía, 1960
	15	Two Articles re Medical History of Panama by Haskell H. Ziperman, 1971-1973
	16	"FDR and Panama" by John Major, ca. 1978
	17	History of the Canal Zone Police Division, 1904-1982, 1982
	18	"The Panama Canal: The Contributions of Walter Reed and William Gorgas," n.d.
	19	News Clippings Pre-1940 History, 1940-1949
	20	1946-1956
	21	1960-1979
	22	1971-1977
	23	1981-1985
	24	Miscellaneous, n.d.

<u> Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
81		Panama Canal Operations
		Panama Canal Tolls
	1	Study, 1954
		Increase
	2	1961-1965
	3	1967
	4	1973-1976
	5	"Measurement of Vessels for the Panama Canal" - Extracts by Emory R. Johnson, 1913
	6	Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Program, 1939
	7	Publications - Basic Information about Panama Canal, 1957-1972
	8	Miscellaneous, ca. 1960-1983
	9	Economics and Politics, 1962-1982
	10	Westerman - Manuscript Draft - Financial Information, ca. 1963
	11	Report on Survey of U.S. Government Programs and Activities in Panama, 1974
	12	"The Panama Canal" - Address by David S. Parker, Governor of Canal Zone, n.d.
	13	Bibliography on West Indians in the Construction of the Panama Canal, n.d.
		News Clippings
	14	1945-1958
	15	1960-1968
	16	1973-1976
	17	1981-1985 Plans for New Canal - Sea Level Canal
	18	1956-1967
	19	1964-1968
	20	1974-1982
	21	1967-1983
82		Panama Canal Treaty Negotiations 1940's
	1	Lease of Defense Sites Agreement Between the U.S.A and the Republic of Panama, 1942
	2	1943-1946
	3	News Clippings, 1948

Container	List	
<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
DOX		
82		1950's
02	4	Westerman's Letter to St. Clair Drake, 1952
	5	Westerman's Statements re Negotiations, 1953-1955
	6	Informes de la Mision Negociadora, 1953-1954
	7	U.S. Senate Hearings, 1955
	8	Treaty of Mutual Understanding and Cooperation. In English, 1955
	9	Tratado de Mutuo Entendimento y Cooperacion. In Spanish, 1955
	10	Statement of Panama Negotiations of Treaty Benefits, 1955
	11	U.S. Congress Bill for Conveyance of Property and Fiscal Adjustments, 1956
	12	Extracts from Congressional Record, 1959
	13	News Clippings Los Criollos y la Cita con la Patria, 1953
	14	1951-1954
	15	Senate Committee Reports on 1955 Treaty, August 1955
	16	1955-1956
	17	Articles by Westerman, 1957
	18	Round Table Discussion on Interoceanic Canals, 1957
	19	1957
	20	1958-1959
		1960's
83	1	Internationalization of the Panama Canal, 1960
		News Clippings
	2	1960-1961
	3	1962
	4	1963
	5	Westerman's Writings, 1964
	6	Report, 1964
	7	News Clippings, 1964-1965
	8	Correspondence, 1965-1968

Concarner			
<u>Вож</u>	<u>Folder</u>		
83	9	Leonor K. Sullivan - Chair of U.S. Subcommittee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 1965	
	10	Interview with Thaddeus Holt - Deputy Under Secretary of the Army, 1965	
	11	Interviews and Speeches by Advisors, 1965	
	12	Closing of U.S. Military Bases in Canal Zone, 1965-1966	
	13	National Council of Exterior Relations - Manifest, 1966	
	14	Leonor K. Sullivan - Chair of U.S. Subcommittee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 1966-1976	
	15	News Clippings - Articles by Westerman, 1966-1967	
	16	News Clippings, 1966	
	17	Congressional Record, 1967	
	18	Internationalization of the Panama Canal, 1967	
	19	Press Releases, 1967	
	20	Reports, 1967	
	21	"Draft Briefing Paper on Panama Canal" by Unidentified American, ?1967	
	22	Praise and Opposition - News Clippings, 1967	
84		News Clippings	
Ŭ-	1	American Press, 1967	
	2	Panamanian Press	
		Critica, 1967	
	3	El Día, 1967	
	4	La Estrella de Panama, 1967	
	5	Expreso, 1967-1968	
	6	La Hora, 1967	
	7	El Mundo, 1967	
	8	El Panama América, 1967	
	9	Panama Tribune, 1967	
	10	La Prensa, 1967	
	11	Star & Herald, 1967	
	12	1967	
	13	1968	

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
84		1970's
04	14	News Clippings, 1970
	15	Publications, 1970-1972
	16	"Negotiations of New Panama Canal
	10	Treaties: Background and Pros and Cons." 1971
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		0.0.11.7 -2.7

<u>Box</u>	Folder	
85	14	"Las Negociciones Sobre el Canal de Panamá y la Declaración de los Ochos Puntos" By Juan Tack and Henry Kissinger, 1974
	15	U.S. Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker, Negotiator, 1974
	16-17	U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, 1974
	18	Statements and Address by Henry Kissinger, 1974
	19	News Clippings - Articles by Westerman, 1974
	20	Views of Panamanians re Treaty Issues, 1974
	21	<i>Tlatelolco</i> , 1974 News Clippings
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	23	American Press, 1974
	24	Panamanian Press, 1974
	25	Latin American Press, 1974
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	4	"List of Attendees - Panamerica Tour," ca. 1975-1976
	5	"Libre Examen de la Gestion Negociadora," 1975
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	8-9	American Press, 1975
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		U.S. Catholic Conference of Bishops, 1976
	13	Internationalization of Panama Canal, 1976
	14	Printed Matter, 1976

Container hisc			
<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>		
0.6		News Clippings	
86	15	American Press - Miami Herald, 1976	
	16-17	American Press, 1976	
	18-19	Panamanian Press, 1976	
		Westerman- Letters, 1977	
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	7-9	American Press, 1977	
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	15	President Carter's Visit to Panama -	
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<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
87	17	Congressional Record - Senate, February 28, 1978
	18	Congressional Record - Senate, March 6, 1978
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	20-21	American Press, 1978
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	24	Congressional Record - House of Representatives, January 15, 1979
	25	Panama Canal Act of 1979 - To Provide for the Maintenance of the Panama Canal Under the Panama Canal Treaty of 1977, January 15, 1979
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	9	Panama Canal Treaty Negotiations, n.d.

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
88	10	Panama Canal Zone Governorship - Crede Calhoun - Retiring Canal Zone Official, 1947
	11	Correspondence, 1954-1979 Governorship Joseph S. Farland
	12	American Ambassador to Panama - Correspondence, 1961-1963
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	14	U.S. Ambassador to Panama - News Clippings, 1963-1964
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	25	Statements Made by Max Heurtematte and Others Commending Westerman for Stating Problems, 1952
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	3	Pacific Service Center, 1956-1957
	4	Draft of a U.S. Bill re Security of Canal Zone, 1957
	5	Notes and Concept Paper, 1962-1973, n.d.

CONCATHER	1100	
<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
		- · · · - · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
89	6	News Releases, Newsletter, Letters, 1967
	7	Curundu Community Center, 1970
		U.S. Military
	8	Westerman - Writings
	9	News Clippings, 1942-1947
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	13	"The United States Southern Command" by General W.B. Rosson, 1974
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	22	1952
	23	1954-1959
	24	1960-1967
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	27	1975-1985
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<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
0.0		Pan American Highway
90	4	Darien Gap - News Clippings, 1946-1969
	1 2	Pan American Highway Congress - Reports,
	2	1956-1957
	3	Informe del Sub-Comite del Darien, 1957
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	11 11	1977-1981
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	12	Tareas - Journal, July-August 1975
	13	They Carved the Earth in Two, 1982
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	20	Subcommittee of the Committee on
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		Relations, 1955-1959
	22	Committee on Post Office and Civil
		Service, 1957
	22	Adam Clayton Powell Correspondence, 1950-1970
	23	COTTERPORACIOC, 1900 1970

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
90	24	News Clippings and Printed Matter, 1950-1972
	25	Representative Daniel Flood, 1957-1975
	26	Senate Committee on Foreign Relations House of Representatives, Committee on Foreign Affairs, 1950-1973
	27	Canal Zone Employees' Testimony, 1966
	28	Canal Zone Governor Robert Fleming's Statement, 1966
	29	Augustus F. Hawkins, 1966-1972
	30	Leonor K. Sullivan - Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 1970-1974
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	32	Subcommittee on Panama Canal of the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, 1975
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	9	1961
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Container	птве	
Box	<u>Folder</u>	
91	11	March 1962
7 ±	12	April 1962
	13	May-June 1962
	14	1962-1965
		a1
92		General
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<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
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	E	Published Version, Edited by
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	7	Published Version - Introduction by Westerman, June 1946
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	12	U.S. War Bases in Panama (1942-1947)
	10	Manuscript, 1948
	13	Manuscript, 1948
	14	Manuscript, 1948
	15-16 17-19	Manuscript Drafts
	17-19	
94	1	Original Drafts of Chapter
	2	Correspondence with Publishers, 1948
	3	Manuscript and Correspondence - Republication, 1973-1975
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		the Panama Canal Zone
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		Zone
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<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
94	11	Notes and News Clippings, August 1951
	12	Blocking Them at the Canal (Failure of
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		Published Version, May 1952
	13	Arthur Francis Nightengale: The Departing
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	14	Sore Spots in United States-Panama
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	15	American-Panamanian Relations In Crisis, March 1953
	16	Fifty Years (1903-1953) of Treaty
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	10	Writings About Mendoza not by
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96	1	Publications About Mendoza,
<i>-</i> -		Memorials, Reference Material
	2	Reference Material

COMCUMENT		
Box	<u>Folder</u>	
96	3	News Clippings About Book and Mendoza, 1956, 1981-1982
	4	Correspondence, 1957
	5	Thesis on Nationalism, by Carlos
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		Los Inmigrantes Antillanos en Panama
	18-19	Manuscript [in English], 1978
	20	Manuscript [in English], 1978
	4	Manuscript [in English], 1979
97	1	Annotated Draft of Manuscript [in
	2	English]
	3	Published Version [in Spanish], 1980

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
97	4	Published Version [in Spanish],
97	4	Annnotated, 1980
	5	Final Manuscript [in Spanish], 1979
	6	Manuscript [in Spanish], 1979
	7	Manuscript with Editorial Markings [in Spanish]
	8	Annotated Manuscript [in Spanish], 1979
	9	Annotated Manuscript [in Spanish], 1979
	10	Correspondence - 1977, 1981
98	1	Incomplete Manuscript [in Spanish]
90	2	Manuscript Fragments [in English]
	3	Manuscript Fragments [in Spanish]
	4	Incomplete Manuscript [in English]
	5	Draft for Chapter "Religion" [in English]
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	11	Essays About Book [in Spanish]
	12	Correspondence re Publication of Book,
	12	1979-1982
	13	News Clippings re Publication of Book, 1980-1981
	14	Westerman's Statement of Appreciation - [in English and Spanish]
	15	Correspondence re Legal Issues, 1980-1981
	16	Friends of George Westerman - "An Evening with George Westerman," 1980-1982
	17	Correspondence re Editing Book, 1981
	18	Reviews by Rex Williams and Others, n.d.
	19	Book Order Forms, 1980
	20	Book Party - Fund Raising, 1981

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
98	21	"Altamira Must Continue as a Tower of Strength and Stability Among Us" - In Club Altamira 30 th Anniversary Program, 1982
	22	National Maritime Union of America AFL CIO 20 Years in Panama - Edited by Westerman and José Felix Amador, 1983
	23	Manuscript, 1983
	24	Request for Copies of Publications, 1962- 1976
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	8 - 9	"The Negro of Hispanic Traditions in Panamanian Society" - Incomplete Draft, ca. 1954
	10	Reviews of Manuscript, 1944-1945
	11	Manuscript, ca. 1974
	12-13	Various Versions of Manuscript, ca. 1954
	14	"Bolivar y Pétion, Su Benefactor" - Manuscript [in English and Spanish], n.d.
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	16	"Carta Abierta Dirigida al Presidente Enrique A. Jiminez," 1947

<u>Box</u>	Folder	
99	17	"La Catedral de Panama Construida con el Dinero del Hijo de un Esclavo," n.d.
	18	Collier's Magazine - Response to Article re Segregation, ca. 1953 "Constraints and Contributions of West Indian Immigrants to the Historical Development of Panama" - Conference
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	23	"Contra Discriminacion Racial," ca. 1982-1983
100		"Cross Currents at the Cross Roads"
	1	Manuscript
	2	Early Draft and Reference Material
	3	Early Draft
	4	Early Draft
	5-6	Fragments
	7	Correspondence re Publication 1965-1977
	8	Financial Sponsors of Book Project
	9	Printed Material re Panama Canal, 1975-1977
	10	"Dedicated to the Builders of the Panama Canal"
	11	"The Denationalization Law" (A Political, Economic and Racial Reaction) - Essay
	12	"Don Francisco Xavier de Luna Victoria y Castro," n.d.
	13	"Education in Panama" Essay, n.d. Drafts of Manuscript, News Clippings and Notes, ca. 1962
	14	Essay, n.d.
101		"Fifty Years of West Indian Life on the Isthmus of Panama (1903-1953)
	1	Most Complete Manuscript

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
		"Fifty Years of West Indian Life on the
		Isthmus of Panama"
1.00	1	Pages 1-119
102	2	Pages 120-227
	3	Pages 228-331
	4	Pages 332-420
	5	Pages 421-529 and Bibliography
	6	Project Outline of Manuscript
	7-8	?Earliest Draft of Manuscript
	9-10	Early Draft of Manuscript
103	1-2	Incomplete Annotated Manuscript
	3-7	Manuscript
	8-9	Manuscript
	11-12	Manuscript
104	1	Incomplete Draft of Manuscript
	2-4	Annotated Manuscript
	5-7	Annotated Manuscript
105	1	Manuscript
	2	Manuscript
	3	Incomplete Manuscript
	4	Incomplete Manuscript
	5	Incomplete Manuscript Draft for Preface
	6	Manuscript Draft for Chapter
	7	"Migration and Population Aspects"
	8	Early Draft (Fragment) for Chapter "Religion"
	9	Manuscript Draft for Chapter "Religion"
		Manuscript and Research Material for
		Chapters
	10	"Religion - American Episcopal
	10	Church"
106	1	"Religion - Roman Catholic Church"
_00	2	"Religion - Wesleyan Methodist
		Mission"
	3	"Religion - The National Baptist Church"
		*

Вох	<u>Folder</u>	
106		"Fifty Years of West Indian Life on the Isthmus of Panama (1903-1953)
	4	Research Material for Chapter "Religion - The Christian Mission"
	5	Manuscript Drafts for Chapter "Religion - The Seventh-Day Adventist Church"
	6	Fragments for Chapters "Religion - The Salvation Army - 1953" and "Religion - Watch Tower Bible and Track Society"
	7	Manuscript and Research Material for Chapter "Religion - Various Missions"
	8	Research Material for Chapter "Religion - Baha'i"
	9	Drafts for Chapter "Education - Canal Zone"
	10	Fragment for Chapter "Education - Panama"
	11	Manuscript - Chapter 4 - "Consolidation of Zone Life and Panama's Reaction: 1914-1929"
	12	Annotated Draft for Chapter "Health Conditions" Drafts for Chapters
	13	"Panama Canal West Indian Employees Association"
	14	"Canal Zone Workers Organizing Committee - CIO" - Early Draft
	15-16	"Canal Zone Workers Organizing Committee - CIO"
	17	"United Public Workers of America - CIO"
	18-19	"Government & Civic Employees Organizing Committee" "Government and Civic Employees Organizing Committee - CIO"
	20	"Canal Zone Workers Organizing Committee - CIO" and "Government and Civic Employees Organizing Committee"

COLLEGE		
Вож	<u>Folder</u>	
107		"Fifty Years of West Indian Life on the
107		Isthmus of Panama (1903-1953)
	1	Draft for Chapters
		"Community Organizations, Lodges and
		Fraternal Societies" and "Canal
		Zone Workers Organizing Committee -
		CIO"
	2	Abstract of Record for Noel Delancy
		Austin - CIO Organizer
		Manuscript for Chapters
	3-4	"American Federation of Labor"
	5	"West Indian Folk Culture on the
		Isthmus of Panama" "Community Organizations, Lodges and
	6	Fraternal Societies"
		"Fraternal and Benevolent Societies"
	7	Research Material re Elkdom for Chapter
	8	"Fraternal and Benevolent
		Societies"
		Draft for Chapter "West Indians in the
	9	Isthmian Field of Music"
	10	Fragments of Chapters on Music and
	10	Unidentified Chapter
	11	Incomplete Draft for Chapter "Sports"
	12	Draft for Chapter "Assimilation"
	13	Manuscript Fragments and Reference
	13	Material
	14-18	Manuscript Fragments
		Correspondence re Publication of
		Manuscript
	19	A-I, 1955-1982
	20	K-W, 1966-1981
	21	More Friends of George Westerman,
		1981-1982
	22	Friends of George Westerman - They
		Carved the Earth in Two - Recognition
		and Awards Luncheon, 1982
	23	Correspondence, 1981
		"For a More Unified Panamanian Nation"
100	1-2	Manuscript, ca. 1978
108	3	Annotated Manuscript, ca. 1978
	5	<u>-</u>

001100		
<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
108	4	Draft - "Need for an Effective and Unified Panama," ca. 1978
	5	Incomplete Manuscript, ca. 1978 "Gaspar Octavio Hernandez: The Bard of Santa Ana"
	6	Manuscript, September 1957
	7	Manuscript, January 1960
	8	Manuscript, January 1965
	9	Manuscript - Fragments, Research Letters, and Copies of Hernandez's Writings, 1918-1947
	10	Manuscript - Fragments
	11	Biographical Information,
	- -	Bibliography, Speeches, and
		Prologue for a Book by Simon Eliet, n.d.
	12	Biographical Writings about
		Hernandez, n.d.
	13	Correspondence with Publishing Companies, 1959-1961
109	1	Monument to Honor Gaspar Hernandez, 1950-1959, 1976
	2	News Clippings re Hernandez, 1955-1973
		"Glimpses of West Indian Negro Life on the Isthmus of Panama and the Role of the Isthmian Negro Press"
	3	Manuscript, ca. 1950
	4	Annotated Manuscript, ca. 1950
	5	"El Gobierno Nacional, Gran Propulsor de la Educacion del Pueblo Panameno" - Manuscript, n.d.
	5	"Father Xavier," n.d.
	7	"Five Years Ago" - [Assassination of Martin Luther King], 1973-1982
	8	"Gold Men and Silver Men" - Essay, n.d.
	9	"Good Neighbors on the Isthmus of Panama," n.d.
	10	"Hastie, William H."
	11	"Historical Notes of West Indians on the Isthmus of Panama" - Essay

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
109	12	"A History of Labor Organizations Among Local-Rate Employees on the Canal Zone," n.d.
	13	"Housing as a Social Problem," ca. 1955
	14	"Isthmian Negro Press"
	15	"Japan" - Incomplete Fragment, n.d.
	16	"Migration of West Indian Workers to Panama" - Essay, n.d.
	17	"Nationality is a Natural Right," ca. 1942
	18	"Need for an Effective Integrated Panama" - News Clipping, 1968 "Negro America and Fifty of Her Outstanding Offspring"
	19	Complete Manuscript, 1943
	20	Manuscript
	21	Incomplete Manuscript
110	1-4	First Draft of Manuscript "Negro America and Forty of Her Outstanding Offspring"
	5-8	Research Correspondence, 1941-1942 "Negro America and Fifty of Her Outstanding Offspring"
	9	Research Material and Fragment of Annotated Manuscript
	10	Research Material and Notes
	11	Research Material
	12	Correspondence with Publisher, 1943
111	1	"The Negro In Poetry" - In "Grand Review of Negro Poets," May 20, 1947
	2	"Open Letter to President Enrique A. Jiminez," November 18, 1947 "Panama Challenges U.S. Rights in Canal Zone"
	3-4	Manuscript, 1976
	5	Manuscript Draft, ca. 1974
	6	Correspondence with Publishers, 1976-1977
		"Panama was Almost Ready"
	7	1948-1949
	8	1949

<u>Box</u>	Folder	
111	9	"Panama's Second National Exhibition" - Essay, n.d.
	10	"Panamericanismo," n.d.
	11	Poems, n.d.
	12	"Portobelo," n.d.
		"The Problem of West Indian Offspring in Panama (A Study of Relationships Between Ethnic and Cultural Groups in a Cosmopolitan Setting)"
	13	Manuscript, December, 1944
112	1-2	Annotated Manuscript, ca. 1946
	3	Correspondence with Publishers, 1945-1950
	4	"Relations with the Catholic Church" - Manuscript [in English and Spanish], n.d.
	5	"Schooling in the Republic" and Other Titles - Manuscripts and News Clippings, 1946-1957
	6	"Schools in Panama" Manuscript Draft, News Clippings and Notes, 1954-1957 "The Self Determination Concept and the U.S. Posture"
	7	Manuscript Draft and Reference Material, 1970
	8	Reference Material, 1967-1970
113	1	"The Shame of Panama's Housing" - Manuscript, May 1955
	2	"Some Minority Problems in Panama" - Essay
	3	"Solicitud de Reforma de las Disposiciones Constitucionales Vigentes Sobre Nacionalidad Formulada a la Honorable Comisión Codificadora de Panama" - by Westerman et al., July 19, 1944
	4	<pre>"Spanish in Canal Zone Schools" - Essay, n.d.</pre>
	5	"El Trabajo del Ejercito de Salvacion en el Istmo" - Essay, n.d.

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
113	6	"Treaties Affecting the Isthmian Canal"
113	7	"Una Labor sin Precedente a Favor de la
	•	Educacion Nacional, " n.d.
	8	"The University of Panama" - Essay, n.d.
	9	"La Vivienda Como Problema Social," n.d.
	10	"West Indian Federation," 1952-1958
	11	"West Indian Labor Judged and Immortalized"
	12	"West Indian Life on the Isthmus of Panama" - Material Compiled for SCN Documentary
	13	"The West Indian Negro on the Isthmus of Panama" - Manuscript, n.d. "West Indians Make History on Isthmus of Panama"
	14	Manuscripts, ca. 1977
	15	Manuscript
	16	Manuscript Draft, ca. 1977
	17	"Who is a Zonian," n.d.
	18	"Working Conditions on the Panama Canal Zone as of August 1949" - Essay, ca. 1950
	19	Untitled Manuscript re Comparative Slavery, n.d.
	20	Untitled Manuscript re African History, n.d.
	21	Untitled Manuscript re Tennis, n.d.
	22	Untitled Manuscript re United States- Panama Relations - Post-World War II, ca. 1960 Proposed Publications
	23	Untitled, 1954
	24	"The Institution of Advanced Cultures" - Chapters for Proposed Book -
	25	Correspondence, 1954-1955 Journal of the Barbadian Museum and Historical Society, 1977
	26	Textbook on African Countries - Editing and Distributing, 1977-1978
	27	Panamanian-West Indian Heritage Association, 1983
	28	Rejected Manuscripts - Correspondence, 1976

George Westerman Papers - page 120

<u>Box</u>	<u>Folder</u>	
114		Unidentified Writings
115		Unidentified Writings

MANUSCRIPTS, ARCHIVES AND RARE BOOKS DIVISION SEPARATION RECORD

The following items were removed from:				
Name of Collection/Papers George W. Westerman Papers				
Accession Number SCM 88-59 MG 505				
Donor: Ruth Russell and Family				
Gift_X Purchase				
Date received: 1988				
Date transferred: 1988-2004				
The item(s) listed below have been sent to the division indicated, either to be retained or disposed of there. Any items that should receive special disposition are clearly marked.				
Schomburg Research and Reference:				
Books, pamphlets, magazines newspapers, and other printed material relating to blacks in				
Panama, the West Indies, Africa, and to African Americans.				
1 map - "Mapa particular del golfo e isthmo del Darien (copied in1890 from an 1884				
original map)				
Schomburg Art and Artifacts Division				
1 poster - Al Brown, boxer				

Transferred by: Janice Quinter, Diana Lachatanere, and Berlena Robinson

Date: <u>1988-2004</u>