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by Helen Fuller

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Southerners and Schools

I—The Defiant Ones in Virginia

THE STATE that has borne the brunt of the "massive resistance" campaign against the Supreme Court is preparing to retreat. Gov. J. Lindsay Almond and Attorney General Albertis Harrison have sent word to the six other states of the old Confederacy which have made no move to comply with the 1954 school desegregation decision to count Virginia out. Watch out for falling rocks and know that Virginia has gone to prepare a safer place for you, the message said.

These other six "massive resisters" will be in no hurry to accept the invitation. In time they will follow as they have done so often in the past, but there is no reason to rush. Defiance of the Nine Men is as popular as ever. Most white people in the Deep South firmly believe as their political leaders and newspapers, with few exceptions, have told them unceasingly for four years that:

The Supreme Court decision on the schools was unconstitutional;

The federal government is interfering illegally with the right of the states to run their own schools;

Desegregation is not inevitable. If they resist long enough and hard enough, the Court will change its stand.

And most of them also believe it would be preferable to shut down schools rather than desegregate them—at least for a while.

Having created this solid body of opinion, the Deep South politicians will follow it until forced to do otherwise. And it will be months or, for most of the other six states, years before the federal courts will rule on the constitutionality of their resistance statutes and thus create pressures to change course.

In Virginia, however, the final blow to "massive resistance" is expected to fall at any moment (possibly before this article appears in print) in the form of a court ruling declaring unconstitutional the laws which closed nine schools in three cities last September to prevent desegregation. The state itself has asked the

Virginia Supreme Court to review these laws. And in a separate federal court action a group of Norfolk white parents are suing state and local officials for depriving their children of the equal treatment to which they are entitled under the 14th Amendment: their children are locked out of school while Negro and white children in other Norfolk schools attend classes as usual.

If, as most lawyers anticipate, these cases establish that the state cannot legally close one of its public schools without closing them all, "massive resistance" will soon become an ugly phrase. For Virginia officials have learned in four short months what trouble too much resistance can bring.



"Massive resistance" in Virginia did not come about by popular demand. Outside of the Black Belt area—south of the James River—the general disposition after the initial shock of the 1954 Court opinion was to prepare to accommodate to it. This was Governor Stanley's first reaction. And the influential *Richmond News-Leader's* first editorial after the decision said in effect "we must find a way to adjust to it . . . if the Court gives us 10 years, we can do it."

But in midsummer 1954 things changed. Black Belt Virginia—which has only one-sixth of the people (half Negro) but supplied all four leading candidates for Governor in 1956 and dominates the legislature—decided to fight. A delegation of several hundred from the Southside called on the Governor. A mass meeting at Petersburg, with all Congressmen and delegates from the area present, declared defiance and set to work circulating every county board of supervisors in the state: "If you don't want Negroes in your schools, write the Governor." Sixty-one county boards did. Senator Byrd, who until then had been silent, declared himself on the side of the resisters, whereupon *News-Leader* Editor James Kilpatrick marched to the head of the procession, which he has been leading ever since, writing editorials which keep the Black Belt inflamed and which read like memoranda of instruction to the Governor and the legislature, loaning

HELEN FULLER, a Southerner by birth and education, has recently completed a survey trip through the Southern states.

THE SOUTH: 1954-1958

STATES DESEGREGATING AS ORDERED:

Delaware, District of Columbia, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, West Virginia.

STATES DIVIDED OR DELAYING:

Arkansas, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas.

STATES RESISTING:

Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Virginia.

fire-eating editorial writers to other editors when segregationist sentiment needs refueling in their territory, and exhuming the discredited Doctrine of Interposition upon which the "massive resistance" laws were based.

But though "massive resistance" was not of popular origin, the mass of Virginians willingly followed where Kilpatrick and the Byrd men led. Even when it appeared that schools would be closed as a result, most people remained passive. Last spring and summer in the three towns where shutdowns were scheduled for September, efforts to organize parent protests failed miserably. A few weeks later, when children were actually shut out of school, many of those same parents were ready to join local Save-the-Schools Committees, but the general public in the rest of the state still remains relatively unconcerned. "People don't get riled up until it hits right at home," those who have been hit explain.

Since September, however, there has been an important shift. Although it still is not respectable to advocate desegregation, it has become acceptable to stand for public education (Virginians understand the unspoken implication: "even if we have to let in a few nigras"). This is largely because influential state organizations which were neutral have now come to the defense of the schools. At its state meeting in November the Congress of white PTA's refused to support massive resistance and voted for local option (555-553). The Virginia Educational Association (white teachers and administrators) called on the legislature to promise that the public schools would stay open. The State League of Women Voters did the same.

Courageous individual clergymen are getting more support from clerical hierarchies. All Episcopal vestries in Virginia in October read from their pulpits a pastoral letter from the House of Bishops stating the Christian objection to segregation. (But only one vestry complied with the church's request that all of them pass concurring resolutions of support.) In almost every vestry, however, there are now teen-agers who have attended the non-segregated youth camps the Virginia Diocese has spon-

sored for the past five summers who do support the House of Bishops view.

The Baptist General Association of Virginia meeting in November refused Governor Almond a vote of confidence for his handling of the race question, and gave one instead to the president of the Southern Baptist Conference, the defeated "moderate," Rep. Brooks Hays. And even the staid Virginia Council of Churches tries to act as a deterrent force on massive resistance extremists—mindful that politicians say the only force the Byrd machine fears is the clergy.

A succession of daily papers, led by the Norfolk *Virginia-Pilot* and the *Roanoke Times*, have rejected massive resistance as a futile approach. And the *Richmond News-Leader* and *Times-Dispatch* have now joined them.

But much more disturbing to those who hold out for defiance of the Court are the signs that industry is not happy with what is happening to the schools.

When Save-the-Schools Committees from 15 communities gathered in Richmond on December 6, 1958, to form a state-wide organization, one of those present identified himself as the vice president of a new General Electric plant in Central Virginia (annual payroll: \$5 million). He was there to see what could be done to keep the schools in his area open. If they closed he expected to lose at least one-fourth of his key employees—most of whom come from outside the state and could not be replaced under the circumstances.

Sperry-Rand in Charlottesville has already experienced what GE dreads. And Melpar, Inc., the largest employer in Northern Virginia, reports that it was having trouble holding electronics engineers and technicians even before closing threatened because of low standards in the schools.

But happy or not to be in Virginia those firms are there, and they are paying taxes, which Virginia badly needs. Norfolk banker Harry O. Nicholls broke sadder news to the Governor's Advisory Council on the Virginia Economy at a recent meeting. (Economic development was second only to continued school segregation in Almond's 1956 platform.) Mr. Nicholls reported that not a single new industry had settled in Virginia this year, although new industrial investment in North Carolina—whose token but "good faith" start toward desegregation has received court approval—totalled \$250 million in 1958.

THE ELECTION returns in 1958 contained more food for thought.

Early on the morning after November 4, Governor Almond called sleepy-eyed reporters into a downstairs room of the Capitol to hear his version of the outcome. It was "a great tribute to Senator Byrd" and "a mandate of the people to continue 'massive resistance' to the Supreme Court's decision on the schools." (Only half a million of Virginia's 3.6 million people had voted, but

that was normal in the state with the smallest average voter turnout in the country.)

Senator Byrd had been unopposed for reelection until three days before the filing deadline, when a lady doctor announced as an independent because "somebody should oppose the man who plans to close the public schools." The fact that 120,000 Virginians, almost one-third of the total, had voted for Dr. Louise Wensel (whose name many of them saw for the first time on their ballots) the Governor explained away by pointing to a Negro precinct which had gone "two votes for Senator Byrd and 274 votes for *the woman*." (Even if every Negro in the state of Virginia with a paid-up poll tax had turned out for Dr. Wensel, that would have accounted for fewer than 50,000 votes.)

WHAT was interesting was the increase in the anti-Byrd vote—in Negro and white precincts alike—where "massive resistance" had closed or threatened to close the schools. Between the 1952 and 1958 Senatorial elections the anti-Byrd vote had increased from 17 percent to 34 percent in Charlottesville; from 29 to 40 percent in Norfolk; from 25 to 48 percent in the 10th District of Northern Virginia, where Arlington and Alexandria schools are scheduled to close next; and even rose .6 percent in Warren County (Front Royal), next door to Senator Byrd's apple empire along the Blue Ridge Mountains.

This was a long way from signalling the end of the regime that has ruled Virginia for 40-odd years. But the returns carried a warning, as the Governor acknowledged to the assembled reporters: "The trouble is that many people, more or less dedicated to constitutional principles, are not willing to make a sacrifice. They finally say, 'Well, we have fought as long as we can. Now let's turn around and run the other way.'" Clearly some people who had been all for "constitutional principles" before their children lost their schools were now ready to run the other way. But many more in the same situation were not yet concerned enough to walk to the polls.

One reason was the emergency system of private classes that is operating in Charlottesville, Norfolk and Front Royal. The mothers who had been expected to revolt after Johnny had been underfoot all day for a week or so actually have not suffered too much from that. Most of the displaced children are either attending the make-shift part-time classes in such places as the Daughters of the Confederacy Museum (Front Royal), the First Baptist Sunday School or somebody's pine-panelled rumpus room, or have been entered in regular schools elsewhere.

But there are other frustrations. Mothers are bored with chauffeuring: four nine-year-olds on one block in Charlottesville go to classes in four different parts of town.

One parent whose basement is being used for a Fifth



Prodigal father

Grade says he didn't expect it to be so long—his light bills are killing him.

Many Norfolk parents are pinched to pay the private school tuition; others suffer to see their children being drawn into jobs which they almost certainly would not give up to return to high school now if it reopened.

Regular teachers in the emergency classes in Charlottesville are upset by the lack of contact with one another. Substitute teachers who are filling in want to get back to their own families.

High school juniors and seniors worry about getting into college—or having to stay in school an extra year to get a diploma. Naturally few recreation rooms have science lab equipment, and the lowered level of instruction generally must be obvious even to the student who prefers the emergency school because there is no law that says you have to go if you don't want to.

Towns, as well as parents and children and teachers, are affected. The traditional cleavage between those who value education and those who do not deepens, since those who are most opposed to education are also the most opposed to desegregation. Church congregations take sides for and against ministers with opinions on separation of the races. Members have been dropping out of Christ Episcopal Church in Charlottesville since it became the first church in town to open its doors to the segregated emergency classes. And Front Royal Baptists talked loudly of running the Reverends Stagg and

Fox out of town for opposing the closing of the high school.

Norfolk and Charlottesville have certain built-in stabilizers that help absorb such shocks. White people there are accustomed to seeing Negroes on the buses and in the libraries, in some graduate schools and nursing in hospitals. As cosmopolitan centers they have regular contact with people who do not practice segregation. Norfolk enjoys the benevolent effect of a constructive newspaper and Charlottesville that of Mr. Jefferson's University.

But Front Royal—and towns like it all across the South—have little experience of anything but the segregated way and few institutions to help them adjust to new ways. When the federal court ordered the Warren County white school to admit 17 Negroes, therefore, the shock waves gathered volume as they spread.

ABOUT 200 Negro families live in Front Royal (pop. 8,115). One-hundred-fifty of their breadwinners work in the big American Viscose plant which employs about 2,000 from the town. The plant is almost 100-percent organized by the Textile Workers' Union, AFL-CIO, and since 1948 the Negroes have met and voted with the white members, although they usually sit on the side or in the balcony. They used the union social hall for their parties, and the union voted special funds every year to buy pigs for Negro 4-H boys to raise and to pay \$24-per-month for the last 10 years to sponsor a Negro religious program on the radio. Two years ago the union threatened to withdraw its contribution from the local Little League baseball team unless it agreed to let the Negroes play. Once the local included a Negro member in a union dinner and seated him next to a leading doctor who had never sat down to table with a Negro before. "We were making progress," the business agent, Chuck Leadman, says.

The union had been making social progress too. From being the object of bricks and scorn when they began to organize Viscose in 1940, union officers have advanced to election to the city council and the hospital board, and were now consulted by plant officials as equals.

It was embarrassing, therefore, when 17 Negro students, supported by the union's Negro members, filed suit for admission to the white high school in Front Royal.

When Leadman learned about the suit from the papers, he and some others drove to Richmond to explain to NAACP attorney Oliver Hill that he should call it off, and when Hill politely refused they went home sizzling. After all they had done for the Negroes! And what risks they had run of antagonizing their new friends in the community! By the time they returned, Leadman was saying: "We don't intend to let the colored man come in and kick us around. We are now ready to fight them as hard as we worked for them before. . . . I have broke

with them because I am convinced they have not earned the right to support. . . . What we have to do to stave off integration we will do it. . . . If the colored want to travel this road, they can travel it alone."

Then on September 12 the Governor ordered Warren County High closed. Opinion on whether it was better to follow state or federal law on desegregating the schools had been about 50-50 in Front Royal up until then, good reporters say. But that began to change. Billy Armstrong, the local Byrd organization leader, passed the word that if Warren County didn't "stick with the team" there might be reprisals: maybe the legislature would overlook Warren on some appropriations.

Visitors came to town from the White Citizens Councils and the Defenders of State Sovereignty and street-corner groups began to talk learnedly of "mongrelization" and "communization"—and to accuse the few ministers who questioned closing the school of both.

The volume went higher when Jack Hamilton came to town. After Almond closed the Front Royal school, *News-Leader* Editor Kilpatrick suggested to the *Northern Virginia Daily*, which serves the area, that the local paper could use more editorial punch. To provide it he would let them have the son of his managing editor, a fiery, young arch-segregationist with a Patrick Henry style. That same week Jack Hamilton took over and began, as one resident describes it, "to really whip it up."

The voice of the moderates was scarcely audible in Warren County after his Baptist congregation threatened to fire Reverend Stagg for questioning massive resistance. And it fell completely silent after the local manager of the Viscose plant tentatively suggested they petition the state to return control of the high school to the town and met only hostility.

After that things moved fast. Eager to show that the union stood with the community against its Negro members, TWU leaders put through a \$1-a-week wage check-off to pay for private classes for the locked out white students (amounting to \$1,600-\$1,700 per week, 50 percent of the total budget). Leadman suggests that Senator Byrd may have been of some help in arranging through the head office of Viscose in Philadelphia for the company to perform this unusual service.

Subscribers and advertisers expressed their disapproval of editorials in the weekly *Warren Sentinel* condemning the school closing by cancelling subscriptions and ads (the largest department store later found that this was not popular with its charge account customers who also value schools and put its ads back in the paper.)

Front Royal slowly froze into a policy of non-recognition of its Negro citizens. And today no white worker in the Viscose plant will speak to a Negro, and the company is being urged to bar Negroes from the cafeteria and canteen they have always shared. It is understood, however, Leadman says, that "nobody is going to get clobbered." The 150 Negroes in the plant are standing

together—except for one who took the floor in union meeting to say he was tricked into signing the petition for admission of the Negro students to Warren High. Not many of the others come to the union hall any more.

There is talk of an economic boycott by the whites against any merchant who employs a Negro. The stated goal: to run them out of town.

Meanwhile the county is rushing work on the new Negro high school that is going up to have it ready for next fall—in case the Negroes are still there.

And the Negroes say they are not about to go.



Facing up to all these difficulties "massive resistance" has brought, the leaders in Richmond have resolved in the future to model themselves more after Gen. "Foxy Joe" Johnston—who slowed Sherman's march through Georgia to a walk by skillful defensive drives which spared his troops—than after Gen. John Bell Hood—who lost the battle for Atlanta by persisting in "senseless" attacks along Peachtree Creek until his entire force was spent. If they can't prevent desegregation forever, perhaps they can delay it at least a lifetime by litigation.

Virginia's leaders are currently thanking the Supreme Court for showing them what they believe is a way to do that. They see in the Court's sustaining of the Alabama Pupil Placement Plan a way to preserve *most* of their all-white schools for years, while shifting to the local communities the onus of countenancing what desegregation proves necessary to keep the federal law away from the door.

The Alabama Plan, which Governor Almond expects to recommend to a special session of the legislature when the present resistance laws are finally overthrown, is far more sophisticated than the patently absurd Doctrine of Interposition on which "massive resistance" is based. Instead of declaring war on the Court as Virginia did, Alabama proceeded to repeal every section of her constitution and statutes referring to segregation and enacted a new law to perpetuate segregation in the schools which contained no mention of race or color whatever. Under it, local school boards were simply empowered to assign students to schools according to a long list of criteria including health, suitability, adequacy, home environment and possible effects of the student's admission—but not race. Needless to say, no Negro has been assigned to a white school since the Placement Law has been in force. But there is nothing unconstitutional on the face of it, as the Supreme Court said on November 24.

With embellishments, it is this plan on which Virginia intends to make her next stand. One important addition Governor Almond contemplates is some kind of state tuition grant system to provide those who prefer to attend segregated private schools the money with which to do so. To increase the chances for court approval, the grants would be available to any student, white or

FROM THE *Richmond News-Leader*

1955

"In May of 1954, that inept fraternity of politicians and professors known as the United States Supreme Court chose to throw away the established law. These nine men repudiated the Constitution, spit upon the tenth amendment, and rewrote the fundamental law of this land to suit their own gauzy concepts of sociology. If it be said now that the South is flaunting the law, let it be said to the high court, *you taught us how.*"

1958

"This newspaper has concluded, in the light of recent events, that new defenses are urgently needed. If Virginia is to avoid defeat—if we are to be spared the awful tragedy of violence and race hatred that would result from integrated public schools to which there was no workable alternative—then we must prepare ourselves for speedy abandonment of a legal position that cannot be held much longer."

colored, but there is little reason to believe that such an obvious subterfuge will get by for long. The scheme has immediate attractions, however. It would be an important sop to the Black Belt legislators who will kick and scream that the pupil placement plan is bending the knee to the Court. ("I'm afraid," says one legislator who wants to keep the schools open, "that if a vote were held in the Assembly today, it would eliminate public education. But Almond is a smart man and he may be able to feel his way through this thing and convince the Assembly his approach is the only way out.") It would also help conceal the fact that if Virginia administered the placement law in good faith, she would in reality be taking the path of token compliance for which her officials vilify North Carolina and Tennessee every day.

To further show his serious intention that private segregated schools are meant to be the main attraction and the slightly desegregated public schools only a side show to please the courts, the Governor will most likely request authority to sell unused schools as surplus to provide buildings for private schools, and to repeal compulsory public school attendance laws so as to provide pupils for the private schools.



It is fitting that Virginia, which pioneered in "massive resistance," should lead the search for a way out of the constitutional impasse that doctrine has produced. Watching her progress should give some clue as to when the Deep South will finally surrender—as it must eventually—on the *principle* of public school segregation. The *practice* of desegregation, of course, will be farther in the future.

The "New Negroes" in Alabama

"IT'S JUST a question of who gets tired first, our side or the niggers. And it won't bother us a bit to spend the next generation in court," the lawyer said.

The "New Negroes"—cast in the mold of Martin Luther King—one meets in all the cities of the Deep South are no less resolute in their own cause.

It is strength matched against strength, with the Negro gathering confidence and determination by the day. And nowhere, everyone agrees, will the test be longer or more exhaustive than in Birmingham.

At the moment the contest there looks very one-sided. Everything is working for those who would pay any price to preserve segregation in the schools. Birmingham's largely industrial population (40 percent Negro), low in income and low in education, would face the possible closing of public schools—for a time—with greater equanimity than other cities of the region. A young city, founded only in 1870, Birmingham lacks deep cultural roots to steady it in times of change. And perhaps as a result, in the last 10 years the city has permitted the police free use of extra-legal methods against those who show any tolerance for integration.

Mail tampering by the police led to a federal conviction in 1955. Private interracial gatherings are customarily broken up by squad car officers with no warrants for search or arrest. Acts of violence go unpunished. The white press has reported 22 bombings and four cases of arson against Negro homes or churches in Greater Birmingham since 1947. Not a single arrest occurred, however, until last summer when Negroes caught two white men near a dynamiting and beat them up; the police arrested the two later in the hospital.

Compared with their peers in New Orleans or Atlanta, the "power structure" of Birmingham—known since Populist days in Alabama as the "Big Mules"—are lacking in financial courage and imagination. More interested in economy (they fought building a new city hall for years after the old one was condemned as a fire trap) than in growth (no new industry employing more than 1,000 workers has come to Birmingham since the war), they fail to see what sacrificing schools for segregation could cost the city.

The two daily papers are totally unreconstructed.

There are no effective voices of moderation. Those trade union leaders who have tried to talk reasonably about the Supreme Court position on the schools have found themselves in trouble when they came up for reelection. The state president of the Alabama AFL-CIO rode out such a storm (among other things he was accused of sneaking union funds to the NAACP), but race-baiting has become the accepted lethal weapon in factional union politics. White unionists had a large share a year ago in electing as city commissioner of police and education the most violent racist in Alabama politics, Eugene "Bull" Conner. Hayes Aircraft workers wrote Walter Reuther threatening to pull out of the UAW unless he stopped attacking segregation. And few Negroes attend union meetings any more.

The only faint sounds of respect for the Supreme Court ruling on segregation come from the clergy. The two manifestoes issued by the overwhelming majority of Atlanta ministers in support of compliance with the law respecting public schools evidently have pricked the consciences of some in Birmingham. A significant number of clergymen have condemned the bombings from the pulpit; a smaller handful make no secret of their belief that segregation is sinful. But a Birmingham manifesto on the order of the Atlanta declaration does not appear possible.

The men who dominate the Birmingham Ministerial Association are pastors of the oldest and biggest churches who have negotiated with businessmen in the building of their \$3-\$4 million plants for so long that they have come to think like them. And courage has not been synonymous with the Association. Last spring when there was an attempted bombing of the Beth-El Jewish Temple, the Ministerial Association met in special session to issue a strong condemnation. Two months later when a second attempt was made to blow up the Bethel Negro Baptist Church, presided over by Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth who had led the move to abolish segregation on buses, the Association had nothing to say. (When a meeting to protest was requested, it was refused on the ground that some members disliked Shuttlesworth personally.)

On the white side of the fence in Birmingham everything is running smoothly for the segregationists who are moving merrily along toward 1960, heating up race hatred to help carry Alabama for an Orval Faubus States' Rights ticket.

But in the longer run they have the likes of F. L. Shuttlesworth to deal with.



White people in Birmingham who are inclined to sympathize with Negro aspirations for equal treatment generally do not include the Rev. Frank Shuttlesworth, pastor of the Bethel Baptist Church, in their expressions of good will. He "stirs the others up," they complain, "gives them ideas." Which is true. But except for Shuttlesworth the day of some token recognition of race equality in Birmingham would be much farther off than it is today. His critics can't cry "outside agitator" or "Northern influence," for Frank Shuttlesworth has rarely set foot outside of Alabama in all his 37 years.

Born in Montgomery, the slight, soft-spoken but extremely self-confident young preacher grew up on the outskirts of Birmingham where his stepfather worked in the mines at Oxmoor. After graduating from Rose-dale High School, he married almost immediately, got a clerical job on the Air Force base at Mobile and started raising a family. In Mobile, Shuttlesworth began taking night courses at a Baptist seminary five miles away at Pritchett. That made him want to go back to school so much that in 1947 he quit his government job and moved his wife and three children to Selma, Alabama, where he entered Selma University, another Baptist institution. He did odd jobs at night and his wife worked, too. He stood first in his class. The next year he began preaching at a rural church 10 miles from Selma, and a few months later another little church at Potter's Station "called" him to be their pastor, too.

When the Shuttlesworths moved to Montgomery the next fall, in 1949, so that Frank could attend a college—Alabama State—which could award him a certificate to teach, he commuted the 50 miles back to Selma each weekend to tend his two rural flocks. And when the big Selma First Baptist Church lost its pastor the next spring, it was Shuttlesworth they called to replace him. He moved his family into the parsonage and went back to school.

When he received his A.B. at Selma University, he started commuting to Montgomery to complete the work for his teaching certificate, and after he got it he taught happily in Dallas County, an intransigent island of Confederate philosophy, for two years ("That was before I got into civil rights.")

In March, 1953, the Bethel Baptist Church called Reverend Shuttlesworth to North Birmingham where he did get into such things. In 1955, he took a hand in a long-standing effort to get Negro officers appointed to

the city police force. Reverend Shuttlesworth persuaded 77 other Negro ministers to sign a petition, and he began knocking on doors at City Hall to find out why the delay on what every public administration study of Birmingham had recommended. "That was when I found out that the Southern white man can smile like he means 'yes' when he means 'hell, no'." City officials had actually promised to put Negro police on in 10 days when Emmet Till was killed. "I knew then there was just going to be a fight."

In recognition of what he had done on the police matter, the Birmingham chapter of NAACP invited Reverend Shuttlesworth to make the Emancipation Day speech on January 1, 1956. His talk on the three P's—Patience, Persistence and Perspective—made a big hit. He joined the NAACP then and as membership chairman had helped to build the local group to more than 3,000 when in June an Alabama circuit judge enjoined the NAACP from further activity in the state. "Nobody can explain how we felt that day they outlawed us, except it was like the day President Roosevelt died. Everybody went around asking everyone else, 'What are we going to do now?'"

"A few days later I happened by Arthur Shores' (local counsel to the NAACP) office on some other business and found a number of them sitting there asking each other what the NAACP could do. 'Gentlemen', I said, 'it is time the masses got in this struggle. . . . I have decided to stake my all on the altar and call a mass meeting.' I did, and that day we organized to attack segregation in Birmingham."

Shuttlesworth visited Montgomery where the bus boycott was on. And when the Supreme Court in December ruled that segregated seating on the Montgomery buses was illegal, he decided that it was time to move in Birmingham. On December 20 his people petitioned the city to rescind the segregation rules; otherwise, they warned, Negroes would "ride the buses unsegregated." On Christmas night, the Bethel Church parsonage was destroyed by a bomb; Shuttlesworth, his wife and children and a guest were slightly injured. But the next morning, as planned, Negroes seated themselves in the "white" (front) sections of buses and 22 were arrested. Shuttlesworth himself sat in the front seats of two buses and reported to the police that he had done so, but was not arrested for violating the segregation laws; he was, however, given a ticket for driving his car without a license. The following day he called off the massive non-violent defiance: "We have accomplished our purpose in getting these people arrested" and so requiring a legal test of the segregation laws.

(During the two years since the Christmas bombing the Shuttlesworth home and the Bethel Church have been under constant guard. Not by the police—they have never offered protection although detectives sit in Shuttlesworth's congregation every Sunday—but by vol-

unteers on regular shifts. One is always on duty in a shack back of the new parsonage that was built across the street from the church. Another guard keeps watch over the church from a high porch that has been added to a house across the way. When Shuttlesworth has to leave town overnight, someone stays in his home in his stead.)

An effort to test segregation in the waiting rooms of the railroad station soon after proved harder. Two Negroes, husband and wife, seated themselves in a room marked "Interstate and White Passengers" in the Terminal Station, and were arrested and jailed for daring to do so. When they brought suit in US District Court to test their rights, however, the police court charge against them was withdrawn in time to permit Federal Judge Seybourn Lynne to dismiss their petition because it had become "hypothetical."

That September Shuttlesworth took two of his children and two others to a white school to enter them on opening day. He was beaten by a mob outside the building, and the children were turned away. But suit was filed to test the constitutionality of the Pupil Placement Law which Alabama had passed in 1957 as her answer to the Supreme Court on desegregation. That suit was lost last November 24 when the Court refused to find the Placement Law unconstitutional on its face. But the next order of business on Shuttlesworth's personal calendar is to find another way to reopen the question of the law's legality.

Shuttlesworth had planned to press ahead on desegregating the public parks in 1958 too. A suit was to have been filed on November 18, but as it happened that day Shuttlesworth was in jail and his lawyers were busy. He and 17 other Negroes had been arrested in "white" seats in the buses again to test a new segregation ordinance.

These excursions are not without plan. Shuttlesworth believes that there must be attack along with resistance. It is not enough, he says, to refuse peace on the white man's terms; Negroes must take the initiative. "They should *ask* for the repeal of segregation laws even if they are not ready to file suits." And they should not pause between attacks. Timing is all important. And it is better to be ahead than behind. "Eisenhower always catches the bull by the tail rather than the horns and so gets tail results."

At first there were those among the Negroes who thought Shuttlesworth was too bold. The older preachers always had found it more comfortable to stir the fire with a long-handled poker. But there is no "vocal" opposition to his strategy now. The Negro ministry in Birmingham, like the teaching profession, is becoming younger. (Between one-third and one-half of the ministers could now be called "young.") They and the whole Negro community have felt delight in finding "that the Southern white man is not nearly the bugabear

they thought he was" and in seeing Shuttlesworth give "Bull" Conner as good as he is given. And since January, 1957, the movement in Birmingham has gained status from alliance with other cities in what is called the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Martin Luther King, Shuttlesworth, C. K. Steele of Tallahassee and T. J. Jemison of Baton Rouge founded the new organization somewhat to the annoyance of the NAACP. The group has repeatedly denied that any rivalry exists, but Shuttlesworth does not shy away from expressing their difference in approach. He speaks with deep sincerity of the debt owed to the NAACP for preparing the ground for what is happening in the South today. The experience of Southern Negroes in the war, the Supreme Court decision on the schools, and the work of the NAACP produced the "New Negroes," and the NAACP should not be rated least of the three, he emphasizes. Shuttlesworth honors its work so much that he intends to take out a life membership when he gets the money. But the NAACP, in his view, "hasn't revised its policies to keep up with modern trends." Any organization that is "more class than mass" can not be truly effective now. "It is only through the masses, spiritually organized and committed to non-violence, that you are going to get the devotion and fervor it takes to go ahead. . . . It takes masses to meet massive resistance." The NAACP will probably be needed again "to put on the brakes," but there is no occasion to apply the brakes now, Shuttlesworth points out, "when the car isn't even moving."

The burden now must rest on the Southern Negro. There are liberal whites who would like to help, "but it is too dangerous for them. The bombings prove that." The federal government could help end segregation sooner, Reverend Shuttlesworth adds, but if it doesn't use its powers more forcefully than it is doing now, whether the Civil Rights Act has a "Section 3 or a Section 10, won't make any difference." He scorns the Civil Rights Commission for compromising with the State of Alabama on the matter of subpoenaing registration records. Compromise is no good, he says: "Where did the Missouri Compromise and the Wilmot Proviso lead but to the Civil War?"

Frank Shuttlesworth does not try to conceal his pride in his new-found gift of leadership. He frankly takes credit for firing the minds and imaginations of Birmingham Negroes to claim their rights. And he considers it a personal triumph that after 2½ years and 33 mass meetings his following is not discouraged. They come as often as they are called together, and they give whenever they are asked.

The main thing, he says, is to keep on keeping on. "The Alabama situation is like a rock you know is hard. You keep pounding and chiselling and it probably won't break with the stroke you expect, but it will fly wide open with one you didn't."

The Segregationists Go North

THE STATES of the Deep South are shifting their strategy of "massive resistance" from defense to attack. They will lose their leader, Virginia's Governor Almond, on January 19 (Robert E. Lee's birthday) if the courts, as expected, on that day declare void the laws Virginia passed to evade the 1954 decision desegregating the public schools. But the six remaining Confederate states which have refused to take even one step toward compliance with the 1954 Court order are resolved not to go Virginia's way without much more of a struggle. There is plenty of fight left in the Eastlands, the Russells, the Talmadges and the young fire-eating Governors of Alabama and Georgia. And they are now about to take the battle into enemy territory. A second battle of Gettysburg is about to begin, this one to be fought with the techniques of psychological warfare, aimed at the public outside the South, the Congress and conservative leaders in both major political parties. Object: to win sympathy for the segregationist view behind the enemy lines, support for curbing the powers of the Supreme Court by law, and agreement to nullify the New Reconstruction of 1954 as the Compromise of 1877 nullified Reconstruction before.

The first task—making common cause with new allies outside their region—the New Confederates approach with great zest, for most of them sincerely believe that down inside most people outside the South feel toward the Negro about the way Southerners do. The trouble, they feel, is that the average person above the Mason-Dixon Line doesn't understand how fair and kind—how separate but equal—the South is willing to be. The misunderstanding comes, they further believe, largely because of the "paper curtain" which the Northern press has placed around the South; "all they print is the gory stories." "Lay your case before the American people," Senator Eastland recently assured the convention of the Mississippi Farm Bureau Federation in Jackson, "and you will be surprised to find how similar their opinions are to those of your own." And so the massive resisters have decided to tell the rest of America "just the honest story," "with no Bilbo business."

This Southern campaign to convert the North, East and West will not be of the order of magnitude of a Billy Graham Crusade, but it is well-organized and well-

financed. Some states have already allocated public funds to propaganda bureaus which are pouring out pamphlets and "fact sheets" on the shortcomings of the Negro and the Supreme Court. Over the Great Seal of the State of Louisiana, the Joint State Legislative Committee, headed by Sen. W. M. Rainach, who speaks for the Louisiana White Citizens Councils in the legislature and is a leading candidate for Governor next year, has printed as a full-page advertisement in *The New York Herald-Tribune* a message addressed "To the People of New York City" on "The Position of the South on Race Relations" (See p. 11). The Committee subsequently "distributed several thousand tear sheets of the ad to key officials, publications and organizations throughout the United States," Senator Rainach says. "And after running out of all the tear sheets except a handful, we reprinted the ad in mail sheet form and distributed several thousand of these sheets also."

Senator Eastland is urging that the other defiant states go and do likewise. Citing the *Herald-Tribune* ad as an example of the wise use of public funds, Eastland told the Farm Bureau convention that "the Southern people have got to lay their case before the nation, and we must use our tax money to get the job done."

There are leaders in all six bitter-end states who agree. Out of Alabama has come a new "Putnam Letter Committee," headed by James E. Simpson, leading Birmingham Dixiecrat and lawyer for some of the biggest of Alabama's "Big Mules." The Committee's purpose is to publicize a beguiling "Dear Mr. President" letter, signed by Carleton Putnam, a Northerner who has spent many years as an airlines executive in the South. The "Putnam Letter," has already been published as a large ad in *The New York Times* and is to be placed in newspapers all over the country. Arguing that the Court decision in the school case is personal opinion, not law, and that equal protection under law is not a right in the United States but a social privilege, the Letter declares:

Neither the North, nor the court, has any holy mandate inherent in the trend of the times or the progress of liberalism to reform society in the South. In the matter of schools, rights to equal education are inseparably bound up with rights to freedom of association and, in

To The People of New York City

The Position of the South on Race Relations

Recent tragic events in the integrated schools of Washington, D. C., Kansas City, Little Rock, and your own New York City, suggest that an accurate presentation of the views of Southern people on the race question might receive sympathetic consideration in the North and might even contribute to the solution of a problem in which we are now all concerned.

A PROBLEM UNIQUE WITHIN OUR NATION

Here in the United States, we are witnessing an unprecedented attempt by certain white and Negro leaders to force the Negro people of our country to abandon their own culture and mores, lose themselves physically and culturally within other races, and commit racial suicide.

Meanwhile, outside of the United States, every dynamic racial group in the world proudly promotes its own culture. In view of their examples, should we not look twice before we leap?

In looking, we do not propose here to review the influences behind the "integration" movement. (For detailed analysis of a major influence we recommend that you review "Subversion in Racial Unrest," a documented study recently released by this Committee). Rather, let us here consider the logic of the movement and its ultimate effect on a country that we all love and cherish.

THE AMERICAN MAJORITY: A BLEND OF HOMOGENEOUS PEOPLES

You may ask: Doesn't this great country of ours represent a melting pot of different races? From a scientific standpoint, the answer is an unequivocal—NO!

The vast majority of this nation represents a blending of like peoples of common European ancestry, rather than a mixing of divergent races. But the energy and vitality which made America a great nation arose neither from racial self-idolatry nor racial suicide — it was an outgrowth of a passionate love of individual liberty, balanced by a sense of justice and individual responsibility which makes this liberty possible. On such a foundation, a new nation was created, capable of winning and retaining the love and loyalty of peoples of different races, different cultures and different religions.

WHAT ABOUT THE AMERICAN NEGRO?

We in the South think of our colored friends as Negro Americans, rather than as American Negroes. The normally cordial relationships between Southern white and colored people are regulated by a set of conventions or customs, the product of years of experiment and experience in adjusting to a bi-racial society.

RACIAL PATTERNS--A COMMUNITY MATTER

These customs vary widely from state to state and indeed from community to community. Until May 17, 1954 each community in the South was a laboratory in which many of these customs were being constantly examined and revised to meet changing conditions. Each community adapted itself to the problems which confronted it.

It is significant that all of the communities in the South and, indeed, many of the communities in the North, agreed that separation of the races in the fields of elementary and secondary education was essential.

THE SOLUTION NORTH AND SOUTH

This method of adjustment, which has been loosely referred to as "Segregation", enabled both the Negro and white people in the South to overcome the devastating effects of the War Between the States and pile up a record of progress second to none in history.

We believe it will, in practice, enable our Northern friends to adjust themselves to the more than one-half of the Negroes in this country who will live in the North by 1980.

A DANGEROUS PARALLEL

Now we are told that this is all wrong — that each community must conform to one unvarying racial pattern — complete integration — prescribed and enforced by a central governmental authority. But, the disastrous results of this policy are causing Americans to ask themselves: **Is forced racial integration the answer?**

At one time the belief was prevalent that all must attend the same church to prosper in the next world, as well as in this one. Many futile attempts of powerful groups in Europe to force their religious views on others only succeeded in dividing the continent into hostile camps. Ghastly wars and senseless massacres occurred in the conflicts over the rights of mankind to individuality, **this time in the field of religion.**

Today peoples of different religions may attend different churches without "degradation" or "psychological injury" to their personalities. Indeed, no one questions the right of a great religion to prohibit non-members from participating in certain of its rituals or partaking of its sacraments. **"Experience keeps a dear school, but fools will learn in no other!"**

THE BEACON OF THE FUTURE

The trend to differentiation, racial and religious, represents a natural law, as well as a basic human right. Any attempt to force a rigid conformity in such matters of human relations must inevitably result in a repetition of the deadly European pattern of religious conflict.

Upon the establishment of workable race relations hinges the very fate of our great country. In the Talmud is a saying to the effect that **time may, in some situations, resolve problems which cannot be solved by human intelligence at the moment. Now is the hour for Americans of all races to heed the wisdom of this counsel.**

**The Joint Legislative Committee
State of Louisiana
Baton Rouge**

the South at least, may require that both be considered simultaneously. (In using the word "association" here, I mean the right to associate with whom you please, and the right not to associate with whom you please.)

The Putnam Committee raises funds privately for its promotion. But Florida legislator William H. Reedy shares Eastland's view that such projects are public business. He proposes a program of Southern aid to federal education on the Southern view, to be supported by appropriations of \$1 million per year from each state participating. "The South must sell its ideas the way Hollywood producers sell starlets," Reedy says. And the Conference of Southern Governors has invited him to its next meeting to discuss details.

(Georgia's Sen. Richard Russell is for educating the rest of the country to Southern problems, too, but he would let those on the receiving end pay for the privilege. He promises us a bill this year to provide federal aid to Southern Negroes who wish to move to states with smaller Negro populations in order "to give each state an equal share of the race problem.")

THE FUNDS the South is willing to invest in enlightenment of the North are supposed to yield dividends this very year in the form of aid toward passage of the Smith bill to curb the Supreme Court.

First introduced in 1955, HR 3—which would repeal the long-standing doctrine of federal preemption and place primary jurisdiction in the state courts unless specifically withheld by Congress—passed the House last year by a large majority of Southern Democrats and conservative Republicans (241-155). In the end-of-session confusion the Senate defeated it by only one vote. Rep. Howard Smith (D, Va.) has reintroduced HR 3 in the new Congress and because of his position as chairman of the powerful Rules Committee should be able to push it through the House again, even though the measure has lost supporters because of Republican casualties in the November election. For the same reason the new Senate should be more opposed to passage of HR 3 than the old, but the foes of the Court are also vastly more determined.

The Smith bill of itself is an important Southern objective, as a symbol of antagonism to the Court's leadership in forcing the segregation issue in the most direct way since Reconstruction days. But even should passage fail again, a close hard-fought decision would be worth the price of the propaganda effort required to produce it. A lengthy battle over the court curbing measure in advance of consideration of new civil rights enforcement legislation—which Southerners could easily manage with their command of traffic through their committee chairmanships—would contribute to their larger objective: preventing the Congress from adding the force of its approval to the position of the Court on desegregating public schools "with all deliberate speed."

At all costs the massive resisters must prevent reenforcements from reaching the Judiciary, which stands today as the lone leader in the New Reconstruction. The murmurs of encouragement to the courts which have risen faintly from the Department of Justice and the ill-calculated relief offered by the President in the Little Rock affair hardly qualify as major assists. Congress, in effect, has remained neutral. And it is imperative for those who defy the Court to keep it that way. Lyndon Johnson helped a lot by taming the new Senate a few hours after it walked into his cage, and so leaving the filibuster in good working condition. But a hard-fought, even if finally losing battle to punish the court for its recent conduct would offer invaluable opportunities to make sure that Congress does not suddenly decide to get behind the Supreme Court. In the midst of debate and backstage maneuvers there is always room for wheeling and dealing. When the vote is close, trades can sometimes be made which change other close votes on other days. In such a situation the South's polished professionals would surprise everyone if they walked out of the cloakrooms without a stack of IOU's payable when federal enforcement of school desegregation became the question before the house.

If the states which shout "Never!" can prevent the 86th Congress from passing legislation supporting the Court, they will be free to attempt the next huge step in their plan for total escape from the toils of the New Reconstruction: Persuade the reformers to give up. Historically, this is not so far-fetched as it sounds. The ephemeral historic importance "of such earlier landmarks as the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, the Dred Scott decision of 1857, the Civil Rights Act of 1866 and 1875, the Fourteenth Amendment of 1867, or, for that matter, the Volstead Act of 1919—all of which were in some degree nullified by events or public sentiment—should remind us," Vann Woodward, the leading historian of the American Reconstruction period remarks. ". . . how precarious are the fortunes of American statesmanship when it operates against the mass opposition of a significant section of the country."

"Reconstruction," Professor Woodward observes,

affords the most extreme example in our history of an all-out effort by the majority to impose its will upon a recalcitrant and unwilling minority region. . . . In spite of the relative weakness and helplessness of the resistant South, in spite of the determined idealism of the Northern reformers . . . the fact is that the great experiment ended in disillusionment and default. The gains made on paper were never fully implemented in practice, or they were eroded away by compromise, concession and "interpretation." Apathy and indifference replaced the original idealism of the reformers. It was the will of the defeated, discredited and, for a time, helpless South that prevailed in the end.



Atlanta Is Different

THE MANNER in which the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals and a special Federal District Court in Norfolk chose to celebrate Robert E. Lee's birthday this year (January 19) has changed things for the South.

The "little bit of integration" which will surely result from the orders outlawing the Virginia brand of "massive resistance" to the 1954 Supreme Court decision on segregation in the schools will make compliance easier in the states where that has been the course. North Carolina and Tennessee will be relieved of jeers from their neighbors about their faithlessness to the white man's cause. (Only a few weeks ago former Governor Tuck of Virginia was expressing public sympathy for the poor people of North Carolina whose leaders lacked the gumption to stand up to the Supreme Court as Senator Byrd and Governor Almond were doing.) And additional towns and cities in those states will be willing to try "token" integration if Norfolk and Charlottesville and Alexandria are trying it too.

Farther south, also, this can happen. The considerable sentiment for integrating a "pilot school" to test limited "voluntary" desegregation which already existed in Miami, Florida, is strengthened. Gov. Leroy Collins has warned that the state's pupil assignment law won't stand up in the courts forever if it is used to bar Negroes from white schools completely. "We must be prepared to accept some desegregation, somewhere, sometime," says the Governor who has visions of representing the moderate South on a national Democratic ticket. And the cosmopolitan community of Miami, led by men who know that racial tensions can be bad for business, may decide to make the sacrifice. What has happened in Virginia should make that decision easier to swallow for the majority of Miamians who oppose integration but want a peaceful, prosperous community.

But the January 19 Virginia court decisions will not temper defiance in the other five Confederate states which have refused, along with the Old Dominion, to take one voluntary step to obey the Supreme Court. Too many political lives are now staked on keeping schools segregated. The new young Governors Georgia and Alabama inaugurated this month won out in contests during which extravagant promises were made. (Georgia's Ernest

Vandiver even pledged to use state troopers and guardsmen to keep the schools segregated after his opponent seemed to be causing trouble with the charge that Vandiver was "soft on segregation"; Vandiver, he said, had permitted Negroes and whites to be served barbecue in the same line at a political rally in Thomason.)

This year's campaign for Governor of Louisiana, with the leader of the White Citizens' Councils, State Sen. W. M. Rainach, as the man to beat, will be in the same groove. And both Senators Sparkman (Ala.) and Russell (Ga.) know what could happen to them in 1960 if they display the slightest doubt that it is better to close the schools than desegregate them. (Former Gov. Marvin Griffin, who did so much to egg on Orval Faubus, is searching for grounds on which to challenge Russell.)

It is politically necessary for defiance to go on in the Deep South. But the January 19 decisions in Virginia leave only one way open—a hard way. The laws passed since 1954 to give Southern Governors the power to close individual schools rather than desegregate them when ordered are now useless. To close one school without closing all is to deny some children their right to equal protection under the 14th Amendment, the federal Court has ruled. All that is left to try is the far more difficult expedient of creating a "private" segregated system of schools to take the place of the public ones. In the case of Virginia the Court has ruled that the state must maintain unsegregated public schools (how adequately supported is another matter), but it also grants the right of a state to make tuition grants to pupils who prefer to attend other schools (including segregated ones) provided that the funds for those grants are appropriated especially for this purpose and not taken from public school monies.

Georgia's new Governor was ready with bills to put such a system in operation—complete with tax deduction privileges for those who contribute to private education—the day the Virginia opinion was announced. (A team of Georgia lawyers had been conferring with officials in Richmond beforehand.) The "private" school tuition grant is undoubtedly to be the South's new second line of defense now that the battle of Richmond is lost.

For states like Mississippi, South Carolina and Ala-

bama there is no particular hurry in preparing the new position. Thanks to the restraint of the NAACP, hard-core black belt areas are not the object of early suits to force school desegregation. White leaders there have plenty of time to plug away at the larger tasks of building sympathy for their point of view on race matters in the North, East and West, blocking support for the Supreme Court school opinion in Congress, and preparing the ground for a strong states rights third-party effort in 1960 (see *NR*, January 26, 1959).

But it is much later in Georgia and Louisiana, where federal court orders to admit Negroes to white schools in Atlanta and New Orleans are expected before the new term begins next September. In both places the emergency could be met with comparative ease by rescinding laws restricting state support to segregated schools and allowing the two cities to decide for themselves whether to shut their schools or take in a few Negroes. But in both places, although the opposition would not be inconsiderable, the likelihood is that the schools would remain in operation if there were a referendum on the question of desegregated schools or no public schools. And for that reason there is no inclination in the capitals of either state to take the local option way out. No other Georgia or Louisiana city, town or hamlet would vote as Atlanta and New Orleans might today. But one small instance of integration, the politicians have learned, lets the steam out of the whole issue—not with a whoosh, but by slow leak. (Just look at North Carolina and Tennessee!)

For practical reasons, therefore, Deep South politicians cannot back down before 1960. For such equally practical reasons as money, buildings, teachers and taxpayers suits it is hard to imagine anything like a workable system of segregated private schools ready for operation in Atlanta and New Orleans by the time the courts have ordered them to cease operating segregated public schools. And the practical result can only be that more than 100,000 children (1/3 Negroes) in Atlanta and 86,000 (more than 1/2 Negroes) in New Orleans may find themselves without schools next year, as Virginia children have this year. That is, unless the cities affected can force the states to cut them free from the laws which require defiance to the bitter end.

ATLANTA is the first Southern city to become greatly exercised about the possible loss of its schools far ahead of the time it might occur. Virginia, remember, was not concerned until after the fact. But though the decision of the Federal District Court in *Calhoun v Latimer, et al*, the case testing segregation in Atlanta public schools, will come late next summer at the earliest, the subject of the schools was already the number-one news story in Atlanta last November.

The reasons are several. Most important is the fact that Atlanta has—and has had for 22 years—a mayor

with remarkable foresight. Bill Hartsfield has made Atlanta the leading city of the region—replacing Richmond, the recognized Southern capital for so long—by anticipating what roads, schools, parks, airports and other facilities were required to make it so and arousing in its citizens the same pride he feels in the city. He can see ahead now to what Atlanta would be like if its schools were shut down, and he does not intend to have his fifth—and probably final—term as mayor end on a sour note, if there is any way to prevent it. He has taken pride too in the fact that race relations are admittedly better in Atlanta than elsewhere in the Deep South. Rural Georgians who have moved to Atlanta and industrial jobs in recent years, however, resent the mayor's insistence on fair play for the Negro and expressed their hostility in his last re-election. Hartsfield won his 1957 primary by only 3,000 votes. Many times that number of Negro votes were cast—and Hartsfield was solid in Negro wards. Some human gratitude may underlie his concern that Atlanta consider the school question coolly.

A good chance to start the city thinking early came when a local lawyer, Morton Rolleston, Jr., ventured the opinion last November that Atlanta should be preparing to sell her school buildings to private parties in line with state plans to prevent desegregation. Months in advance of the time he had expected an open move to abolish the schools, the mayor was ready with a prompt and pithy answer. Closing the schools was unthinkable, he said, and Atlantans should have a chance to vote on whether they wanted public schools (desegregated) or no public schools.

The mayor's blast at Rolleston set off bursts of fire in his support. His years of good government have built up reservoirs of public confidence. So it was not the job it would have been in most cities to organize the manifestoes of support for Hartsfield's position which quickly came from 311 ministers and rabbis, 419 Atlanta doctors, two-thirds of the Emory University faculty, Agnes Scott professors, the local chapter of the Scientific Research Society of America and Parent-Teacher Associations all over the city.

Few communities have so effective a group of public-minded professionals to rally them in time of need. In almost daily touch with one another in their regular businesses of the law, journalism, merchandising, advertising, banking, social work, the ministry and education, their lines of communication extend to Negro leaders of the city as well as City Hall. "You hear a lot about the closing of the lines of communication between the races since 1954," one Negro leader says, "but it isn't true here. Even if the schools were closed I don't think the existing channels for bringing white and Negro leaders together when needed would be broken. Some superficial ones would be. We might not be meeting with the church ladies so often to discuss race relations, but with the experienced and sophisticated whites we have

moved into a deeper level of communication that would last."

Atlanta opinion makers, now alerting the city to the danger to the schools while there is still time to protest, have far more positive forces to work with than a similar group — if it existed — would have in any other Southern city. In Editor Ralph McGill and the *Atlanta Constitution* the city has a constructive voice almost unique in the South. McGill's front-page editorials after May, 1954, were the first to warn where massive resistance would lead. They are still about the wisest, most illuminating writing one can read in the South—and the most comforting to the much-abused Southern moderates who, McGill says, will rise again. ("They have learned the difference between frustration and defeat.")

The city of Atlanta, like the state, has an uncommon interest and pride in its educational system. Since the early days of this century when public education was exceedingly meager, progress has been great in Georgia. Fifty-three percent of the total state budget now goes for schools. This amounts to three times as much for schools as Georgia's total budget 15 years ago, and local expenditures are on top of that. State money pays only one-third of Atlanta's school bill; the balance is financed from local taxes. So large an investment is not tossed away lightly.

The fact that Atlanta is a hub city, with thousands of branch offices and a daily flood of visitors from other states with non-Southern ways gives it metropolitan values. ("People are always coming through Atlanta on the way to some other place. But you have to deliberately set out to go to Birmingham and Nashville and Memphis.") Atlanta, under Mayor Hartsfield, has courted the outsiders—for their trade—even when this has meant some bending of local custom. (Georgia laws forbid the sale of mixed drinks in public places, but Atlanta's better hotels serve cocktails without subterfuge. The "wool-hat" boys in the legislature make a big to-do about it every year or so, but Mayor Hartsfield says how can you expect Big City people to bring their conventions to Atlanta unless it acts like the regional capital it is?)

As a university center for more than 50 years, Atlanta has a large pool of high-quality Negro leadership. These educated men and women create a different, more acceptable image of the Negro than white people in most other Southern cities see. A Negro professor of history was elected over a white candidate to the Atlanta City Democratic Committee not long ago. Due to the pioneering of men like A. T. Walden, who began the practice of law in the city 40 years ago when Negroes were not even welcome in the courtrooms, strong interracial business contacts exist. Negro executives of the Citizens' Trust Company, working with fellow members of the Federal Reserve System in leading white banks like the Fulton National and First National, have nego-

tiated financing for millions of dollars worth of Negro housing. Atlanta Life and Southeastern Fidelity, two large Negro insurance companies, have helped obtain more such mortgages through their contacts with white companies in the same fields.

All of these forces are working to save the public schools by persuading the legislature to cut Fulton County free from state laws which prevent compliance with the Supreme Court. But the strongest potential force in the community has not chosen to make itself felt. The so-called "power structure"—the name commonly applied to the ruling business groups by the knowing ones in every Southern city—has not had the urge to assert its political power on behalf of the schools. The Mayor has called more than one meeting of the financial giants—Georgia Power, Coca-Cola, Rich's Department Store, Ford and General Motors branch managers, and the bankers and insurance mortgagers—to try to arouse them to head off the crisis in the schools, but though agreeing about the damage that closing the schools would do, they claim that their former political influence with the state government has evaporated.

True, they say, they once had enormous power over elected officials through the legal retainers and campaign contributions they conferred. But that was when Georgia's Governors in the 'thirties had to run the state on a budget of \$30 million. Today's Governor has access to well over \$300 million per year, generated by sales taxes and the new prosperity of the region, and is not dependent upon the "power structure" as his predecessors were. But it is also true that when its influence was at its height the "power structure" was reluctant to test it in the field of race relations.

Nevertheless, the present campaign to rally the city to the support of the schools has produced impressive results. By good publicity techniques, for example, a routine speech to the PTA of Spring Street Elementary School was turned into the kickoff of a sizable "Save Our Schools" movement. Two days after Hartsfield's initial attack on the "sell the schools" proposal, Fulton County Representative M. M. ("Muggsy") Smith, a beloved Georgia Tech football star 30 years ago and a Presbyterian deacon ever since, told an audience which overflowed the school auditorium why he agreed with the mayor and would fight for local option in the legislature. His words were on every radio and television station an hour later, and hundreds of "We Want Public Schools" stickers were ready for the audience to paste on their cars that night. The next morning, mothers from neighborhoods all over Atlanta gathered downtown to plan rallies in their schools similar to Spring Street's. Someone had been alert enough to have pamphlet reprints of "Muggsy" Smith's speech of the night before ready by 10 a.m. for the ladies to take home and distribute.

The spark has spread in Atlanta. The Fulton County grand jury called on the Chamber of Commerce to set

up a bi-racial commission to ease the tensions which are likely to grow as time for the school segregation decision approaches. The Chamber says it is not the proper body to do so. But a dozen civic groups have now joined to create such an interracial citizens' committee in the near future.

Concern for Atlanta's schools, however, stops at the Fulton County line. The war between Atlanta and the state of Georgia assures the city of little sympathy or consideration at the Capitol. Under the Georgia County Unit System, Fulton County with its 571,600 people has no more power in state affairs than Troup County, with a population of 54,700.

Since 1917, votes cast in each of Georgia's 159 coun-

ties are counted under a system which gives the average voter outside of Fulton County 11.5 times as much voting power as a resident of Fulton. And as more Georgians move from the rural areas to the city the inequality becomes even greater. (In 1920 Fulton County contained 8 percent of the total population of Georgia but wielded only 1.5 percent of the voting power; in 1948 Fulton had 14.6 percent of the population, but still only 1.5 percent of the voting power.)

Governor Vandiver and Senators Russell (his uncle by marriage) and Talmadge (his associate in business) can afford to ignore Atlanta's wishes and preserve the segregation issue for 1960, and it seems that this is what they intend to do.

New Orleans Knows Better

WITH THE SURRENDER of Virginia, the present-day war against the Supreme Court is actually over, but word of this, as in Andy Jackson's day, may not reach Louisiana until after a second Battle of New Orleans has been needlessly fought. Those Louisiana leaders who see a third-party states' rights bolt in 1960 as the final desperate way left to nullify the 1954 decision desegregating the schools need the drama of a pitched battle if they are to win the Governorship this year, and through it control of the state Democratic Party machinery before the 1960 convention.

Lawyers on both sides of *Bush v. Orleans Parish School Board*, the New Orleans public school desegregation case under appeal for three years, anticipate that a final ruling will come before the next September term. If, as there is every reason to expect, Federal Judge Skelly Wright then orders the New Orleans School Board to admit some Negroes to some white schools, the way will be open for the extremist White Citizens' Councils to make school segregation the central issue in the Governorship election in December. What happened when this occurred in Alabama and Georgia in 1958 will most likely recur in Louisiana in 1959. The other candidates, taunted by the spokesman of the WCC, will outpromise each other on the lengths to which they will go to preserve segregation, and Louisiana will wind up with a Governor committed in advance to closing the public schools, as the new Governors of Georgia and Alabama are today.

New Orleans would be the first to suffer and, if allowed to choose for herself, would probably, like Atlanta (see *NR*, Feb. 2, 1959), accept some Negroes into the white school system rather than relinquish public schools entirely. But like Atlanta, New Orleans is at the mercy of the Governor and the legislature. Although Louisiana has no discriminatory County Unit System like Georgia's, Orleans Parish is definitely a minority voice in state government (with 600,000 people out of 2.7 million, who cast 165,000 out of the 617,000 votes for President in 1956). It is only one of three separate and nearly equal parts: "the North, the South and The City

—New Orleans," as Harnett Kane explained so well in *Louisiana Hayride* some years ago:

The South is the Louisiana of earlier stories, though altered somewhat by economic trends: the land of the swamps and the bayous, of liquid French and semi-liquid topography, an area of alluvial enriched soil that "grows where you stick your finger in it." Its people are fishermen, trappers, sugar and rice workers; and plantation owners are still powerful figures.

The North is another land, another people, the red hills and the red necks. The soil is dry, hard, thin, the kind over which a man may break his back and yet not make a living. Its population are small farmers, country store-keepers, small town clerks. They are so-called Anglo-Saxons with little mixture of race.

The South is tolerant, easy-going, Catholic. The North is tight-lipped, grim-eyed, Puritan, Protestant. Between the "hard-shelled Baptist country" and the "soft-shelled crab land" are barriers of economics, of race, of creed. In each want . . . is differently accepted. In the North it has brought cankering hatred; it has meant lynchings of Negroes, membership in organizations of dissent, anti-Papism, anti-liquor, anti many things. In the South it has meant volatile debate, perhaps; but that has ended in quiet if regretful assumption of the burden, with a shrug and an "Eh, bien!" South Louisianans have seldom tortured the blacks or one another. They have been inclined to orthodoxy in politics and have often accepted New Orleans and what it stood for, to them, while the North coldly rejected the scarlet witch.

A rule to herself, then, remains New Orleans. . . . No Atlanta, no city of Southern go-getters, she is still the place of good food, good times, good manner of living; still the place wicked (mechante is the proper word) and happy in her wickedness. She draws much of the wealth from the rest of the state and from her trade territory in adjoining states. In her business area center the financial resources of the lower valley of the Father of the Waters, and the control of these resources. The South has distrusted the North, the North has hated the South; speaking strictly, of course, of Louisiana. Both, however, have feared New Orleans.

And they fear New Orleans today, with good reason, as a chink in the wall of "states' rights" defiance of the Supreme Court. "New Orleans should have been the leader in peaceful integration in the South," a Jesuit leader in the city for 20 years explained to me on a quiet Sunday afternoon.

We have had a steady mixing of races and cultures since the first French settlers came. Our Catholic culture is Latin, not Irish, a difference in terms of tolerance. People from all over the world who swarm through here teach us cosmopolitan ways, and our daily trade contacts with Latin America are as close as those with Houston and Mobile.

New Orleans has never had tight residential restrictions. No Negro section of town was more than four blocks from a white one, until new suburbs were built up after the war (private builders following the public housing pattern now build them all-Negro or all-white). And New Orleans Catholics are accustomed to sitting beside Negroes in church. (There are 14 Negro Catholic parishes in the city but there is lots of mixing of races for Sunday Mass. The present Archbishop has insisted on no segregation in services and gets it, at the great St. Louis Cathedral as elsewhere.)

Certainly there is a tendency in New Orleans to go along with non-Southern ways. The community has given in, slowly but finally, on every one of the federal court decisions which have been chipping away at segregation in the city for years: admitting Negroes to the golf links, the public library (which had Negro branches but did not admit colored to the Central Library), the new New Orleans branch of Louisiana State University, to all seats in the public buses, and finally and most recently, to all the recreation facilities of the city. "When change does come, nothing happens."

Naturally this is exasperating to the WCC, which has sunk a lot of time and money in its missionary work among the heathen New Orleanians. "What's the matter with you white people?" the chairman of a suburban WCC group in Gentilly asked the audience at a meeting last autumn. "Aren't you interested in the preservation of the white race? To me the whiteness God put in me is the supreme thing in me." WCC membership in New Orleans, he went on to say, "is very low" (falling from an estimated high of 30,000 a year ago), and the lack of concern people showed when the buses were desegregated last Memorial Day "very surprising." (The WCC had advertised the race violence that would surely occur if "white" and "colored" signs were removed from street cars and buses and had alerted listeners to its regular Sunday night telecasts to report all incidents to the Council. Ten days after the buses were peaceably integrated the program announcer sadly remarked that he would report on trouble on the buses as soon as someone sent in an account of some.)

THE TV program helps draw crowds for WCC mass meetings and informs people of which "moderates" are entitled to anonymous telephone calls the next week. Its listening audience is large, but tucked in among the true believers are probably a few superficial amusement seekers. The night I caught the show, after a rousing chorus or two of "Dixie" Dr. William Lee Erwin, dentist-chairman of the New Orleans Council, rose beneath a banner proclaiming "Remember Little Rock" to give us the "Segregation News" roundup. Flash: "Nixon Girls Transferred to All-White D.C. School"; "Earl Warren Portrait Barred from Federal Court House in Los Angeles as Controversial"; "Eastland Says Only Five More Votes Needed to Curb Supreme Court." Not as rousing as the show I heard about where Erwin held in his hand a book used in the New Orleans public schools which "preached integration" and quoted volume and page. (The mad chase to check the reference revealed that the volume was a text in the field of education and the page made favorable reference to the "integrated curriculum.") Enough to keep you coming back for more. But not quite enough to inspire New Orleanians whose ancestors observed the motto "Understand and Live" to go out and look for trouble on the buses.

But in another way the WCC has been very effective in New Orleans. Few "moderate" voices today are raised in support of upholding the law as interpreted by the Supreme Court. There were a number soon after the 1954 decision. But then several ministers were fired and more were warned to hold their tongues. The legislature took care of the educators by including in its massive resistance package one bill providing for dismissal of any school employee advocating integration or expressing an opinion about it. The New Orleans Chamber of Commerce fired its press agent for signing a petition in support of LSU professors who defended the Court. And a campaign of harassment by anonymous phone calls began. The result is stillness in New Orleans.

THERE is no organized effort—as in Atlanta—to encourage people to think in advance of what the loss of the public schools would mean to them and to make their views known. To be sure, only half as many parents are concerned: almost 50 percent of New Orleans children are in private schools. But there is no organized defense of the schools by Protestant clergy or professional men and women, and most Negro leaders in New Orleans seem more interested in their personal political organizations than in matters of principle. The press—an anemic force in New Orleans life—gives its readers no hint that there is cause for concern about the future of the schools.

Even the conduct of the Roman Catholic Church has been influenced by unrelenting WCC warfare against "moderation" in any form. The strong constructive influence for Christian brotherhood exercised by Arch-

Oh no!

bishop Rummel in the 20 years of his office has flagged in the last three years, seemingly because of division on the race question within the Church. Repeatedly, in pastoral letters quoting Papal Encyclicals, the Archbishop has dubbed segregation "a mortal sin," and in 1956 he announced that parochial schools would soon be desegregated. The plan was to begin with the lowest grades—as in Nashville—and gradually work upward. Parochial schools are so crowded that the number of Negroes admitted would have been small and could have been selective. But before the plan could go into effect, an Association of Catholic Laymen publicly took issue with the Archbishop. Its leader was the moving force behind the statewide WCC, Deep Delta Boss Leander Perez. Quoting the Pope's Encyclical back at the Archbishop, the association said it could find no specific statement that segregation is immoral. The Archbishop ordered the association's members to disband or be excommunicated. They disbanded their organization. But in a newspaper ad, signed by 90 men who contribute generously to paying the Archbishop's bills, they challenged his authority and appealed to the Pope. (The Pope, of course, has never acknowledged their letter, but the challenge stands.)

The Orleans Parish parochial schools remain segregated—although Catholic schools in the majority of Southern cities are not. And so the diocese has missed the opportunity to serve as a powerful example of peaceful compliance with the law. (The Church schools themselves, however, teach the immorality of race discrimination, according to the pastoral letters, and a New Orleans college teacher says, "I can see the difference in the attitudes in my social problems course between sophomores from the public high schools and the Catholic highs.")

Only the "power structure" of New Orleans business and finance appears to be beyond reach of the WCC. They have no congregations or clients to consult or fear, and their main preoccupation is to keep New Orleans the flourishing center of a growing state. The forward-looking "reform" Mayor, deLesseps S. Morrison, whom they have kept in office for 13 years, looks coldly on anything that might sully the image of the modern progressive city he has helped create. The mayor, the chief of police, and the superintendent of schools are determined that there will be no mob rule in New Orleans. (The police have been professionalized under Mayor Morrison: the assistant chief says in cases of violence his force is trained to crack skulls, no matter what color.) And past experience indicates that coordination between city officials and the judiciary is such that they will succeed in keeping the peace—when and if desegregation of the schools is ordered.

Judge Skelly Wright—the man who will decide the school case—has an excellent sense of timing. He chose the evening before the long Memorial Day weekend, when the city would be on holiday, to order the end of

segregation on New Orleans buses. And before he acted, motormen had special instructions on what to do and 75 plainclothesmen on 24-hour duty had been assigned to ride the buses or trail them in cars in case of trouble. When regular riders boarded the following Monday, "mixed" seating was a *fait accompli*. (The WCC leader in the legislature, Sen. W. M. Rainach, could not stir interest in a "seatmate bill," requiring the first occupant of a seat to give his permission for another to join him. Today older Negroes usually sit in the back where they always did; older white women up front sometimes get up and stand when Negroes sit beside them; but most younger people of both races pay little attention to each other as they jostle about in between.)

It will be hard for the WCC to make New Orleans into another Little Rock. Their candidate, W. M. Rainach, head of the State Joint Legislative Committee, is not likely to be swept into Baton Rouge as easily as Faubus won his third term in Arkansas. Louisiana has something approximating a two-party system in its traditional bi-factionalism (Long and Anti-Long), and there will be plenty of competition for the job Governor Earl Long must relinquish under the state's one-term law. Among those who show strong interest in running are Mayor Morrison, former Governors Jimmie ("You Are My Sunshine") Davis and Robert F. Kennon, the present Secretary of State Wade Martin, State Auditor Bill Dodd, Superintendent of Schools Shelby Jackson, Highway Chief Richardson and Congressman Otto Passman. Most of these men are members of the new United Democrats of Louisiana, established to head off any bolt from the national party this year, and conceivably through it they could agree on one man—or at most two—to take on Rainach in the first primary. Past history, however, argues against this. The Long faction would never allow their old foe, Morrison, to represent them on the ticket. And within the Long faction there are dozens who aspire to succeed the Governor. It would not be to Long's interest to pick any one over the others since he will need all their support to get the top job back for himself four years from now.

In a field of more than three, Perez believes his man has a good chance to get into a run-off. Certainly, as the UDOL knows, there is danger he could be right. A private poll recently made by a group respected for accuracy indicates that if Faubus were running for President on a states' rights third-party ticket today, he would carry Louisiana. (Only 28 percent of those polled in Orleans Parish would vote for him, but 59 percent of North Louisiana would.) The proper manager might be able to translate that Faubus popular sentiment into a Rainach victory, and Perez's followers say that he is the man who can do it.

Firmly in alliance, behind the scenes, with the "best people" who head the WWCs in North Louisiana, Perez has been undisputed boss of Plaquemines and St. Bernard

parishes in the Deep Delta since the early 40's (an early ally of Huey Long, he is still using and improving upon the Kingfish's methods). No one in Louisiana politics denies Perez's power to do as he will with the votes of this rich region of offshore oil and minerals, fur and fishing. Charges of voting irregularities are commonplace. In Plaquemines parish, the voting "registrar" keeps no office hours; he seeks out the citizens he chooses to have register and passes by those he does not favor. Those who appear to vote need show no receipts to do so and are not checked off any list to prevent enthusiastic reappearances at the polls.

Local, state and federal officials have repeatedly confessed their impotence to deal with Plaquemines' carefree ways; the US Department of Justice has investigated the area after almost every election for 20 years, and nobody has gone to jail yet. (In 1944, when "reform" Governor Sam Jones named a replacement as sheriff of Plaquemines displeasing to Perez, it took 600 soldiers of the State Guard to break through the road blockade, complete with flaming gasoline, which stood in the new man's path into the parish. Last year Perez's spiritual leader, Archbishop Rummel, met with the same kind of respect for superior authority when he named a Negro priest to the Bend Mission in Perez territory. The parishioners barred the priest; the Archbishop closed the church; the church stayed closed until a white priest was sent as a replacement.)

Accusations recur that Perez has used his position as Attorney-General of Plaquemines to obtain off-shore oil and mineral concessions for himself and his friends, but no one has ever produced the evidence. Obviously money is not one of Perez's problems, however, and if his supply of local funds runs dry, he doubtless can tap old friends—offshore oil and otherwise—from the Byrd-for-Presi-

THE SOUTH: 1954-1959

States Desegregating as Ordered:

Delaware, District of Columbia, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, West Virginia.

States Divided or Delaying:

Arkansas, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia.

States Resisting:

Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina.

dent Committee, which he helped organize in 1944, and the Dixiecrat Party, of which he was a prime mover in 1948. Senator Eastland of Mississippi, a close friend, has been known to help out in times past with information from his Internal Security Subcommittee on Perez's opponents. Certainly Perez's and Rainach's friend and neighbor, Orval Faubus, can be counted on to drop over for a few personal appearances.

Whatever the outcome, the kind of campaign the WCC will wage for Governor in 1959 will mean money in the bank for the Faubus-for-President ticket in Louisiana in 1960—and less freedom of action for whoever is Governor when the school crisis comes in New Orleans.

Nashville—First Steps Firmly Taken

IN THE CAPITOLS of the Deep South not many cheers go up at mention of the names Kefauver, Gore and Clement. These three "Golden Boys" of Tennessee politics—who as national rivals regard each other with mutual suspicion—are held in equal disregard for refusing to defy the Supreme Court and, what is worst, proving it possible for Southern politicians to turn their backs on massive resistance without having the voters turn their backs on them.

Aside from Lyndon Johnson who as Majority Leader was excused by his Southern colleagues from taking a regional stand, Kefauver and Gore were the only two Southern Senators who did not sign the 1956 Southern Manifesto against the Court decision desegregating public schools. And Governor Clement that same year called out the state police and the National Guard to prevent mobs from interfering with desegregation at Clinton, Tennessee, and the next year encouraged the Mayor of Nashville to take strong measures against hoodlums who sought to prevent Negroes from entering Nashville schools. Nevertheless Senator Gore won reelection in 1958 by a 3-2 margin over an opponent who tried to make the Southern Manifesto the issue. Senator Kefauver seems in a strong position to withstand a similar assault in 1960. And Governor Clement succeeded, narrowly, in picking his successor, under Tennessee's one-term law, in last summer's primary. ("All the other candidates were running against me," Mr. Clement says.)

This is not the kind of news that Deep South "eternal defiance" leaders like to have get around. Nor is there any more cheer for them in reports of what is happening where the law is being obeyed.

You don't meet many people in Nashville who fail to remind the visitor that this is the "Athens of the South," and they show you a model of the Parthenon, left over from the 1898 Centennial celebration of the state's admission to the Union, to prove it. More tangible evidence is the comparative ease with which Nashville has begun desegregation of her public schools. And now that the fury of September, 1957, is fading from memory, there is a good deal of pride that this is so.

Thirty-four Negro first- and second- graders are now attending five Nashville schools which were all-white

two years ago. Eleven of them entered the first grade last year in spite of riots, led by John Kasper and his followers outside several of the schools and dynamiting of one (the Hattie Cotton School in East Nashville). Twice as many Negro parents were willing for their children to pioneer in mixed classes this year, and at least three times as many are expected to apply for transfer to the white schools next term.

Parents, teachers, pupils and administrators report Nashville's experience to date a success. Which shows the wisdom of those who picked Nashville for an early legal test. Nashvilleans have been exposed to more enlightenment and Christian tolerance than most other Southerners. There are 10 colleges and universities—Negro and white—in the city. Baptists, Methodists and the Churches of Christ make their regional headquarters and publish most of the South's church and Sunday school literature there.

Negro and white colleges in Nashville maintain an exchange library service; Negroes attend graduate courses at Vanderbilt, Peabody, Scarritt, Maryville and the University of Tennessee School of Social Work; white students go to Fisk University and Meharry Medical College. Parochial schools are desegregated. Both races can belong to the local League of Women Voters, AAUW, Academy of Medicine, American Nurses Association and National Association of Social Workers. Whites have served with Negroes on the boards of local colleges and settlements for a generation. And Nashville is one of the few Southern cities with housing and eating facilities for interracial meetings—various campuses have had them for 10 years or more.

The city has lifted race barriers on the municipal golf courses and at the public library and the railroad station without incident. And more recently, before pending suits could come to trial, the transit system was quietly integrated. Ads for Pepsodent and Wildroot were simply pasted over the signs on the insides of buses which had read "colored this end" and "white this end."

But "up to the time the school decision came, only women and do-gooders had thought much about integration," one of the leading do-gooders says, "When it grew clear that we couldn't avoid the issue any longer

without jeopardizing the schools, however, some of the really substantial men in the community became concerned." (The Nashville Community Relations Conference had conducted a campaign to get these men into action: "We sat around a table one day and parcelled out the names of 200 of our leading men, 15 apiece. Then we called on them and explained why they should help get the school board to make plans for carrying out the orders of the Court.")

WHEN the important men in the community took over, there was a series of meetings with school officials where board members were given the assurance that "so long as they acted in good faith a number of fairly substantial people would back them up." And when Superintendent of Schools Bass devised a plan he believed would work and would be acceptable to the federal court, they did. Bass, who has since retired, comes from a rural county in northwest Tennessee where white supremacy views prevail; he himself strongly disapproves of integration. But he is first of all a dedicated school man. He integrated the school system's teacher committees when it became clear that white and Negro teachers would benefit from interchange. And when it was definite that Nashville could not have schools and segregation, he developed a plan to desegregate one grade at a time and fought for it. (After he had dispersed a howling white mob with a passionate speech on opening day in 1957, Mr. Bass remarked that "If ever a crowd needed education it is that one.")

The fact that the young federal judge who made the decision on the Nashville school case, Judge William E. Miller, is so highly respected strengthened the hand of Mr. Bass and his supporters. The fact that the sensible people were getting sound guidance from the Nashville Tennessean helped too. And the work which Negro leaders in PTA and other groups did to prepare parents for the differences they would face in the desegregated schools greatly eased tensions. But the reason that Nashville did not become another Little Rock was that her elected officials were not Faubuses.

When the opening day crisis came in Nashville, Governor Clement had already had his trial by fire. On a late summer morning the previous year he had called a meeting on the verandah of the Governor's mansion to discuss the urgent matter of the rioting at Clinton set off by John Kasper and White Citizens Council visitors from Alabama and elsewhere. Should he or should he not answer the plea of the mayor of Clinton for state troops to bring the mob under control? To do so obviously involved the political risk of seeming to go to the aid of the federal courts against the local segregationists. Present that morning were his wife, his father, several members of his cabinet, the adjutant general, the chief of highway police and his preacher. The Governor asked his preacher, the pastor of the McKendree Methodist

Church, where Clement has taught a men's Sunday School class for years, to lead them in prayer; then he asked each one to give his advice. Before the meeting broke up Clement had ordered 50 highway patrolmen and a division of the Guard into Clinton. But the Governor took the precaution to order that no state troops were to set foot on school grounds. No child was to be escorted to school. This left him with a persuasive defense to use in the next campaign—as he did. He had been acting solely to preserve the peace—not to enforce integration. And he restored law and order in Clinton.

Some point out that Governor Clement, barred from running for reelection, was free of any immediate campaign inhibitions—and that what he did effectively advanced his position on the national stage where his ambition now centers. He explains that his respect for law and order—growing out of his training as a lawyer, as an agent for the FBI, and in the Christian religion—allowed him no choice. But whatever the reasons, his immediate, forceful action established a precedent for his friend, Mayor Ben West, to follow when the peace was threatened in Nashville.

When the 1957-58 school year opened on September 9, Mayor West was in the East, presiding over a meeting of the American Municipal Association of which he was president. A lawyer, with a liberal record in the State Senate, Ben West has been reelected mayor for 8 years. When he left home, there was not much thought of serious trouble. True, John Kasper was back in Nashville after serving time in prison for his performance at Clinton. And for two months he and Fred Stroud, an ousted Presbyterian minister who had set up a church of his own, had held almost nightly meetings agitating the least literate white parents to boycott the schools. But the police were not prepared for what happened that Monday morning.

MOBS gathered at most of the schools where Negro children were entering the first grade. Rocks and insults were hurled. Cars raced through the streets bearing KKK signs and Confederate flags. The police responded in feeble confusion. That night the Kasper crowd gathered on the capitol steps for a pep meeting, and a little after midnight a charge of dynamite went off in the Hattie Cotton School where one Negro child had enrolled the morning before.

Mayor West flew home at once, and by the next morning police had orders to crack down. When the mobs appeared at the schools again police stood in the doors to bar their way. Known agitators were taken into court, and the Mayor sought injunctions against the ringleaders. Judge Miller issued temporary—and later permanent—restraining orders against Kasper and nine others, forbidding them to interfere with school desegregation. And the worst was over.

"As it worked out," one reporter relates, "the dynamit-

ing was to the advantage of the city. It happened at night when no one was hurt, and it woke people up. Most of Nashville just didn't want to face up to what the Supreme Court had said, either for it or against it. And it took the lawlessness to solidify the lawful element."

The "lawful element" and Mayor West have been in firm control in the 16 months since. (Although there are Tennessee liberals who place West in the class with the admirable Mayor Hartsfield of Atlanta, cynics in the Negro community suggest that their growing political power may have something to do with the excellent service. The flight of whites to the suburbs has been so massive that today about 30 percent of Nashville proper is Negro and more than half of the 30,000 Negroes eligible are registered to vote. Two Negroes have served on the City Council since before 1954 and there is now a Negro member of the school board.) When Jackie Robinson came to Nashville recently to address an NAACP rally, for example, the Mayor gave him a police escort to and from the airport and the keys to the city.

In the schools there is every sign of intelligent professional planning. A mental health specialist who is giving close attention to the desegregated schools told me he is impressed by the degree of protection the Negro children receive. "Every teacher and principal seems to be operating quietly but with extreme care to see that the Negro children get a strictly fair deal." And mothers in the Negro PTAs also report that from what their children say the principals and teachers are making a real effort.

No one with whom I talked in Nashville, Negro or white, questioned that the first grade was the place to begin—if there had to be a small beginning. (Few Negro leaders, however, believe that there was any need to do less than desegregate the whole school system at one time: "The city could have stood the shock.") Sex questions don't complicate matters in the lower grades, white parents say in explaining their preference. There isn't the problem of different levels of preparation that complicates things later on, and prejudices haven't had time to incubate in first-grade minds, others say.

The first-grade class I visited without prearrangement two days before Valentine Day seemed to bear out the latter. In fact it looked more like a shot from an NAACP documentary than the real thing. How had the mixing of races worked out, I asked the perfect Central Casting Model of a first-grade teacher? Why, just fine. No trouble at all. Some of the other teachers had asked how she was going to seat them and she worried about that but decided to let the children sit wherever they chose, just as she always had. They mixed up naturally. Did the whites and coloreds treat each other any differently, now that they had been together awhile? Well, come in and see. The children were having their mid-day rest, each on his own cot. Tacked all around the wall were

paper sacks, each with a name printed on it, which had hung there all week. Everybody had made valentines and delivered them to those they liked. "Go bring your sacks, children, and show our visitors your gifts." Nobody had been short-changed.

One Negro boy, whose family income bracket had permitted him two years of kindergarten — above the reach of most in this school — is the accepted leader. That day he had brought the family encyclopedia to answer some questions that had come up the day before about butterflies.

The classes with Negro pupils play apart from the others so there is little opportunity for older children to create incidents with the little ones. And the few Negro children in Nashville who have experienced contact with white classmates, by all reports, are unshaken by it thus far. But this is not true of the parents.

A young Negro social worker, employed by the Junior-League-financed Mental Health Center, has interviewed the families of most of the first-year Negro children. The parents, she says, felt that the children were not aware of any special tension or excitement. The first days at school were so novel, so overwhelming, that the mob turmoil had made no special impression. The children adjusted. But some of the parents couldn't. Two of the mothers whose children entered the desegregated schools had to have doctor's care; one still does. Some mothers were too frightened by the crowds on opening day to take their children to the new school three blocks away and instead went back to the all-Negro school 15 blocks distant. (The young lady who conducted the study—and is bringing it up to date at present—is an interesting study herself. Educated in the Nashville public schools and the state Negro college, she became excited about mental health work when she held a clerical job in the Los Angeles Mental Health Department for a short time. Family reasons took her back to Nashville, and the Tennessee University School of Social Work accepted her as the only Negro in the class of '54. She works in the Mental Health Center now on an equal professional basis, with white as well as Negro cases she does not feel restricted in her friendships or have the desire to look outside the South for a job. When her youngest child starts school next year, she is not sure whether she will go to the nearby white school or the more distant one where her brother is enrolled: "I will have to find out more to know whether the white school is a better one.")

The experience with the "stair-step" plan of desegregation in Nashville is good so far as it goes. But it doesn't go very far. All except 34 of the 1,300 Negro children still attend all-Negro schools. The great majority will remain there because of residence even when desegregation extends to all grades. And that will be made more certain by improving schools in Negro neigh-

borhoods (the city has built four new Negro schools in the last five years and made additions to two others) and further segregating Negro housing (two \$20,000-\$30,000 all-Negro developments have gone up in the suburbs, and federal Urban Renewal projects are resettling displaced families in all-Negro areas.)

But far more are eligible for hitherto white schools—which would be more convenient—than are entering them. 126 Negroes were eligible by residence to enter the all-white schools in 1957 when only 19 did. And eight of the 19 dropped out, most of them in the first three ugly days, leaving only 11 to finish the term. The Nashville branch of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), a small interracial group of Martin Luther King's followers, made a study to find out what happened to the other 115. "CORE members reported the first-grade approach made it hard if not impossible for many families to take advantage of integration," they state.

Mothers with babies or pre-school children usually depend on an older child to escort the 6-year-old to and from school. Sending the children to different schools would require the mother to accompany the first-grader. She would then have to leave the very youngest at home alone, or else hire a baby-sitter twice a day. The problem is tougher when both parents have jobs.

Aside from the practicalities, some 6-year-olds quite naturally wanted to go to school with their older brothers and sisters. More than one parent said, "If I could send all my children to the neighborhood school, they would go—but not the first-grader, alone."

Some specific answers parents gave when questioned were:

1. "I have an older child in the Negro school and my first-grader needs his protection."
2. "I am not well, so I am keeping my child out of school the first week."
3. "The child is not well enough to go and register."
4. "We are planning to move to another community within Nashville."
5. "I don't want to make my child a guinea pig."
6. "When these folks get off the school grounds and quit threatening on the telephone, I'll send my child to the integrated school."

An NAACP leader estimates that at least 50 of the families who did not choose to transfer to the white schools were restrained by the fact that the older children in the family had to continue in their former schools. Others say the violence and threats of Kasper's followers were the greatest deterrents. And they point to the increasing number of transfers this year and to the fact that only two of the group entering in 1958 have dropped out—and one had expected in advance to move to Ohio during the term. Some emphasize the fact that school district lines were redrawn shortly before the first Negroes were admitted (to bring the number eligible

down to the paltry 126, the critics say) and many parents were confused about where their children were entitled to go (school officials are accused of making no effort to clear up the confusion).

White segregationists see in the small proportion of eligible Negroes who have transferred to the white schools proof that Negroes want segregation as much as they do. NAACP spokesmen, and most other Negro leaders as well, say it merely proves that less than full desegregation won't work. NAACP lawyers have attached a brief to this effect to an appeal challenging the present Nashville desegregation plan now pending in federal District Court.

Not even the Federation for Constitutional Government, Nashville's more sedate version of the White Citizens Councils, really feels it worthwhile, however, to agitate for anything less than "stair-step" desegregation anymore.

But Nashville is not Tennessee. And the rest of the state traditionally reserves the right to disagree with "Athens." Tennessee, as V. O. Key explained in his definitive work *Southern Politics*, "is a narrow ribbon of real estate stretching from North Carolina to the Mississippi."

From Bristol in the far northeast to Memphis in the southwest about equals the distance from Hartford, Connecticut, to Cleveland, Ohio. Tennessee's far western counties are but northward projections of Mississippi; its eastern mountain counties share both the topography and the spirit of western North Carolina and southwestern Virginia. Between West Tennessee and East Tennessee lies Middle Tennessee, a fertile bowl, sometimes called locally the "dimple of the universe," whose principal city is Nashville.

And the diversity in geography has produced a distinct difference in political behavior, going back to the Civil War. "The dispute over slavery and secession," Key says, "forged Tennessee partisan alignments into a form that has persisted to this day."

Slavery was both unprofitable and displeasing to the people of the mountains of East Tennessee. The plantation system never flourished in the hills and the small farmer who tilled his own land could take no stock in the theory of slavery as a divinely ordained institution. Even less was he disposed to defend the slave property of his planter neighbor to the west.

In 1861 East Tennessee had few slaves and was unionist; West and Middle Tennessee held slaves and Confederate sentiments. . . . Twice—in February and June, 1861—they voted against secession, but the slave interests of West and Middle Tennessee took the state out of the union. . . .

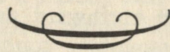
Today East Tennessee harbors many Republicans while Middle and West Tennessee are Democratic strongholds.

All these differences will stand out again when the other three big cities of the state face the decision con-

cerning the schools which Nashville has had to make. Knoxville, on the eastern border (capital of TVA territory, university center, with an enlightened city government backed by a sizable labor and Negro vote) will probably accede with reasonably good grace to a court order to desegregate when it comes (perhaps next fall).

Memphis, in the extreme southwest, next door to Mississippi, will find it much harder to accommodate. But the fact that there are few mixed neighborhoods in the city and Memphis' large middle class places a high value on the public school system should help soften the blow. (The city's colleges and the *Memphis Press-Scimitar* would also have a benign influence.)

Chattanooga, on the Alabama-Georgia border, will take any desegregation order far harder. A town of the very rich and the very poor, Chattanooga has a minute middle class and a large Ku Klux Klan. Many of the latter are "Georgia commuters" who work in Chattanooga but live across the state line and look to Talmadge and Atlanta and not to Nashville for direction. And the racist feelings ingrained in them from that source are encouraged daily by the destructive *Chattanooga Free Press*. (The opposition *Chattanooga Times*, owned by the *New York Times* Ochs family, which has urged toleration of the Supreme Court school decision, lost 10,000 subscribers last year.)



WITH ALMOST no local organization Albert Gore's strongly segregationist opponent for the Senate, former Governor Prentice Cooper, swamped Gore in Chattanooga in 1958. In that same primary, promising the voters to put up the kind of battle to preserve segregation they seemed to want, attorney Ralph Kelley was elected to represent Chattanooga in the state legislature. And since the General Assembly convened in January he has introduced bills to change the school laws written in Governor Clement's term to make it far more difficult for other school boards to go even as far as Nashville has gone toward compliance.

Support for the Kelley bills is reported to be growing, and the Governor, Buford Ellington, who was elected last year by less than 9,000 votes over a violent segregationist, Andrew "Tip" Taylor, says "If the bills reach my desk, I'm probably obligated to sign them because of campaign promises." However, his friends believe Ellington will change his mind when he hears from the attorney-general. Lawyers for the state who have studied the proposed laws fear that "if the Kelley bills are enacted, the courts may look at all our school bills and declare them all part of a package to maintain segregation in defiance of the Supreme Court's 1954 decision and throw them all out." In that case, all would be confusion—a confusion welcome to the "Tip" Taylors of Tennessee who badly need an issue on which to oppose Kefauver's re-election in 1960 and Clement's aspirations to that seat or to return to the governor's chair in 1962.

Deliberate, Yes—Speed, No

THIS YEAR the balance will tip against "massive resistance" to the Supreme Court's 1954 order to desegregate public schools. In late 1958, four and a half years after the decision, four of the 11 states of the old Confederacy were complying with it—in their fashion. Seven remained defiant. The division became six to five after the courts opened Virginia's school doors in December. And next fall, when Dade County admits Negroes to a Miami, Florida, elementary school, the balance will shift to seven to four — with compliers leading.

But don't expect more such quick capitulations. The Deep South states, from South Carolina to the Mississippi, have dug in for the duration. Most of the men elected to high office in those states last year won because they promised to keep Negroes out of the schools. Such sure-fire vote-getting issues are rare, and they intend to keep this one hot as long as they can. Segregationist leaders with a more objective view see bigger things to be gained by delaying the final surrender: a chance in 1960 to try a long-shot plan to nullify the decision of 1954; and time for the North, East and West to experience the effects of the mass migration of Negroes which, without much notice, has already nationalized the race question.

To them, the delay is more important than the cost. If it is necessary to close all the public schools to prevent desegregation they are willing to do it, and most of their constituents would back them up—for a while. It is impossible to tell how long most people would be content to do without public schools. But probably not as long as Herman Talmadge, who says "Forever." The leaders seem sure that they could organize and begin to operate private schools, supported by state tuition grants to pupils, before the parents' patience expired, and the successful Front Royal boycott of the desegregated Warren County High School has strengthened their confidence. But a preliminary study of the economic consequences of liquidating public education, made by University of Vir-

ginia Professor Lorin Thompson, shows that this would be a slightly larger job than most enthusiasts for the substitute system yet confess:

A few facts taken from the annual reports of the Superintendent of Public Instruction and other state reports show the magnitude of the problem in quantitative terms. First of all the total value of all school property in Virginia in 1957 was reported to be \$576 million. Of this amount \$524 million represented sites and buildings, \$42 million furniture and equipment and just under \$10 million represented school buses. . . . The total net debt owed by the city and county school boards is in excess of \$200 million and current annual expenditures are more than \$200 million. . . . It is sheer speculation as to what proportion of the value each community might recover from the sale of its surplus school building sites, furniture and equipment. One thing is certain, the bond holders would have in excess of \$200 million owed them and would require immediate settlement. . . . If school buildings were sold to private school groups the financial underwriting necessary for the acquisition of property now valued at approximately \$600 million would be a most substantial undertaking. Long established private schools have not found it easy to borrow money for new facilities. . . .

This, of course, is but one of the many complications that would arise, and unquestionably, even with the best of luck, the private school plan would mean a gigantic educational loss to the state. With great effort, however, determined men might make such a substitute limp along well enough to mollify public distress for a few years—long enough for the last-ditch segregationists to try two desperate gambles.

Ever since Rutherford B. Hayes won the election of 1876 over Samuel J. Tilden in the Electoral College (185-184), minority political blocs have dreamed of being the balance of power in another such coup. Loyal Dixiecrats have dreamed of it since 1944. By holding out

their combined electoral votes in a tight Presidential contest, States Rights Southerners picture themselves deciding the contest and naming their price, as their Confederate granddaddies did, when by the Compromise of 1877 they elected Hayes and committed him to freeing the South from the 14th Amendment.

This vision now haunts even such pragmatists as Herman Talmadge. "It's the only way we can fight back, build a counter-force to match the NAAPC [sic], and let the parties choose between us," he says earnestly. "And until the South can do that, we won't get anywhere." How many electoral votes would it take? "Well, it is theoretically possible that Georgia's 32 votes alone could be decisive—if the election was close enough, but we might get together as many as 75 to 80." (The votes of Georgia, South Carolina, Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi and Louisiana total 150). Who would organize it? "Those young Governors of Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina are the ones to do it. Georgia has a law setting the electors free to vote as they please, regardless of party—it was put on the books while I was Governor. So has Alabama. And I think Arkansas has, or is getting one. Mississippi would go along with us, I think."

Then in the unusual event that Nixon and Stevenson—or any other pair of nominees—had run and failed to get a majority of the electoral votes, not including the 75-80 votes the Talmadge-Faubus contingent was holding out, the segregationists would be sitting in the catbird seat. What would your terms be then, I asked Talmadge? "I would run it like an old-fashioned Jewish fire sale—take bids." Whichever party agreed in advance to the Compromise of 1961, freeing the South a second time from observance of the 14th Amendment, would win the Presidency in 1960.

If it turns out that the American electorate does not cooperate, the bitter-enders will need to buy more time. For then they will have to fall back on their final contention that the rest of the country does not really want to practice racial equality any more than does the South. Senator Russell's proposed bill to speed the process of dispersing the Negro population more evenly over the US by federal subsidies to Southern Negroes who volunteer to move to areas where fewer Negroes live has been taken by many as a cynical joke. But he and hundreds—if not thousands—of other Southern opinion makers sincerely believe that ignorance more than anything else accounts for the Northern position on segregation. And they wait impatiently for the rest of white America to wake up to what they are sure will be the disillusionment of living at close quarters with the Negro.

White segregationist leaders think the demographic facts are working for them. They cite a recent study of Negro migration made at Princeton University: "There were more Negroes in the North in 1950 than in all the

Confederacy at the time of the Civil War. . . .

The trend is clearly seen when the five Southern and the five Northern states with the largest Negro populations are contrasted. In 1910, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and Virginia had a Negro population of 4.5 million; in 1960, 4.6 million.

In 1910 Illinois, Michigan, New York, Ohio and Pennsylvania together had only 566,000 Negroes; in 1950, 3.2 million. These five Northern states absorbed half the national increase in 40 years, while the five Southern states absorbed little more than a thirtieth of the increase.

In recent years this trend has been accelerating. In the decade between 1940 and 1950, the Negro population declined slightly in the five Southern states while the five Northern states absorbed 54 percent of the national increase. California, Florida and Texas absorbed an additional 22 percent.

Because of this massive migration North and West from the rural South "the stereotype of the Negro as a toiling sharecropper is becoming as antiquated as that of the slaves in the cotton fields," the Princeton study points out. "A new stereotype is evolving, though, and it is that of the lowest tenth living in squalor and disorganization in teeming slums . . . the problems of social and economic retardation that were products of the life in the rural South have been transferred to the metropolitan areas of the North."

Segregationist strategists count on the transfer of this burden to produce new allies in Congress against extending federal guarantees of civil rights. If it takes a while for white Northerners to learn where their self-interest lies, the Southern segregationists are willing to wait—and suffer an under-educated generation of children as the price.

IN THE seven states of the old Confederacy which have chosen the course of token accession to the authority of the Supreme Court the interest of the leaders is in making social change as painless—and as slight—as possible. They consider grandiose schemes to prevent the inevitable a waste of everybody's time. But they are no less resolved than the Talmadges to stick to the old way of doing things wherever they can. And as time goes on, Southern ingenuity will no doubt produce some interesting maneuvers for evading the Supreme Court's intent in the case of *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (May 17, 1954).

These states are giving immediate priority to setting up a court-proof plan for subsidizing private schools with public money. All of them have black-belt areas which would revolt against any state administration which failed to provide such an alternative to desegregated public schools. But in any case more private schools are needed as safety valves in the long transition period ahead. Many localities are quietly doing what James F.

Byrnes advised five years ago. Fearing the verdict his former colleagues of the Supreme Court were about to hand down, Mr. Byrnes told his fellow South Carolinians that "to meet this situation we are forced to do now what we should have been doing for the past 50 years." Making "separate" facilities for Negroes "equal" was what he had in mind. (South Carolina the previous year had reported current expenditures per white pupil double those for Negroes—\$195.50 and \$98.14 respectively. And that ratio prevailed generally throughout the South.)

The states have not kept separate records on educational spending for the two races since 1954, but almost everywhere one travels across the South there are new Negro school buildings under construction or recently completed. School boards and taxpayers view this as one of the most practical ways to limit desegregation. Negro children may choose to stay in a Negro school rather than transfer to a white school if the former is more modern and attractive than the latter, they believe. In Charlottesville, Virginia, this was reported to be the case. And Front Royal expects it to prove true when a new Negro school opens there next fall.

Where there are no new buildings to attract Negro children to the schools where whites wish them to go, gerrymandering is accomplishing much the same purpose. In most communities a little judicious fiddling with the boundary lines of school districts produces the desired black-and-white pattern. Most Southern cities had taken this step well in advance of 1954. Others are adjusting district boundaries to follow the color line.

IN older communities where whites and Negroes live mixed in together by custom dating back to slave days more drastic remedies are required. Officials in these places laughingly explain that they have a long way to go to catch up with the North in segregating housing. And a good deal of catching up is being done. White banks which never granted credit for Negro housing before are financing middle-class Negro developments in the suburbs—new and modern, but segregated. The Federal Urban Renewal Program is transplanting more Negroes from mixed downtown areas to segregated projects on the outskirts. As Southerners grasp the central fact in the recent report of the Commission on Race and Housing, signed by such men as Henry Luce and Elliott Bell—that housing policy currently dominates the whole issue of segregation in the US—they will act on it to construct a more solid foundation for segregation. But in the process, many Negro families will move from unspeakable squalor into homes from which children can more easily make the transition to desegregated schools when the time comes.

All this suggests for the future a very "deliberate" rate of speed toward desegregation. And if the task of

bringing about compliance with the law respecting the schools remains—as it is now—the concern of only one of the three branches of the federal government, it will indeed be a slow process. The Judiciary, lacking the active support of the Legislative and Executive departments, is necessarily limited in power. It must proceed case by case, school district by school district, to determine where good faith compliance is not forthcoming.

It may take years to define the tests of good faith with respect to the Alabama Pupil Placement Law, which now becomes central to the litigation over the schools. Because the Court ruled that law was constitutional on its face, other states have adopted similar statutes as an escape route from the 1954 order. Judgment on the constitutionality of these measures will hinge on how they are generally applied, not on any one case. And if it takes as long to determine "good faith" in the case of admission of Negroes to schools as it has in their admission to duty as jurors, it will be quite a while. *Neal v. Delaware*, establishing the rights of Negroes as jurors, was decided by the Supreme Court in 1880, and cases arising from that decision are still coming through the courts.

There is little reason either to believe that desegregation will gather momentum as it goes. Fisk University sociologist Dr. Herman Long writes that:

positive policies toward desegregation do not easily and naturally diffuse from one area to another. The established ways of doing things, custom and habit, tend to create resistances which segment the changed situations and cause them to stand relatively independent of each other.

He comments as an aside that desegregation has not "diffused" even from the golf course where he has played for several years to the rest of the all-white park which surrounds it.

There are those who see "diffusion" as a greater force than Dr. Long does. But few who have studied recent events in the South share commentator Chet Huntley's view that segregation would disappear more rapidly if the NAACP ceased its legal attacks on the institution. It is hard to find a single significant example of voluntary desegregation which has occurred without legal action or threat of it. And if "deliberate speed" is construed as less than the next hundred years, "diffusion" won't produce change in time for that deadline.

But there are other forces that may speed things up in the South. Congress could—and may—decide to give its moral support to the position taken by the Supreme Court. (Sen. Paul Douglas' proposed Civil Rights Act of 1959, embodying Section III as deleted from the Civil Rights Law passed last year, is not likely to receive favorable consideration. But some compromise between the President's and Sen. Lyndon Johnson's much more modest proposals can probably be passed if Senator John-

son puts his mind to it.) Or another President two years from now could decide to exercise the authority of his office in that direction. Either or both could vastly change the outlook—and could have at any time since May, 1954.

Even if the courts are left to enforce the 14th Amendment virtually alone, however, there will be changes in the South which can make that task less unbearable. The mass migration of Negroes in the past 10 years has been within the South as well as outside it, and always to the city. The number of Negro farmers in the South declined 17.1 percent in the four years from 1950 to 1954, until by 1954 there were only 160,000 farms operated by Negro sharecroppers in the South. And as they move to the city, rural Southern Negroes begin to vote. As the Negro vote climbs in city after city, the interest of elected officials in enforcing civil rights grows, as Atlanta, Knoxville, Nashville and New Orleans demonstrate.

Negro leaders in these and most other cities of the South are aware that the vote is the ultimate power and are giving increasing priority to registration and voter education through the churches as well as through the NAACP and fraternal organizations. One of the first activities Martin Luther King inaugurated when he was called to his church in Montgomery was a weekly meeting to instruct church members in the techniques of registration and voting.

Today the Southern Regional Council estimates there are 1.2 million Negroes on the voting rolls in the 11 Southern states. This represents a steady growth of suffrage since white primaries were outlawed in 1944. And if Negro voting increases proportionately with Negro migration from the farms to Southern cities, pressure on elected officials to get on with desegregation will mount substantially.

UNIVERSITY of Alabama political scientist Donald Strong reminds us, however, that the recent rate of growth in the Negro vote may not continue. He wonders whether "we have not perhaps reached a temporary plateau in the move toward re-enfranchisement of the Southern Negro."

In its unvarnished form, the proposition is that in most areas of the South, a Negro with political consciousness, who really wants to vote, can overcome the relatively mild obstacles in his way. Similarly, in the rural black belt the obstacles are so formidable and the number of politically-conscious Negroes so relatively few that it is hard to foresee a substantial increase in registration in the near future.

Strong says that part of the problem of increasing the number of voters is that of overcoming indifference to politics on the part of many. "If all extra-legal obstacles to Negro voting could suddenly be swept away, Negroes would not rush to the polls," he states. It was not,

after all, until 36 years after women had been given the vote, in 1916, that they voted in substantially the same numbers as men. He draws another analogy with various immigrant groups, and says only when these had produced their own lawyers and prosperous merchants were they able to command a respectful hearing in politics. "Negroes, too, must develop a corps of middle-class leaders with substantial education and economic independence of whites. . . . Despite the progress of the past decade, it is probable that the second million votes will come harder."

Yet, it is certain that the migration from the country to the city will mean better schools for the Negro and more income too as a rule—which will contribute toward developing more competent leadership for the continuing test of strength which will go on for years.

But the Southern Negro is only one aspect of a vast change in prospect. "The South is no longer the Economic Problem Number One of the Nation," Walter Prescott Webb, the Texas historian whose book, *Divided We Stand*, inspired Franklin Roosevelt's Southern Economic Committee in depression days, pointed out in an address last year comparing 1950 with 1930. "In many ways," Professor Webb says, "it looks like the Number One economic opportunity."

The South today has a latent industrial trinity that may be as potent in the future as coke and coal, limestone and iron have been in the past. The South has a complete monopoly on one of these, more than half of the second, and about one-half of the third. This trinity is hydrocarbons, sulphur and water which exist together along the Gulf Coast. They are the basis of the petrochemical industry which is already concentrated in that area and growing at such a rate that no one can calculate its future. The North has no sulphur and less than five percent of the hydrocarbons. In this new chemical trinity it has nothing but water . . . industry is coming from all corners . . . to all parts of the South, promising to make the Gulf Coast a golden crescent. Not only is industry coming, but people are coming too. . . . The South that formerly exported its talent and imported its capital is now importing talent and exporting capital. . . . The New England textile factories are moving to Virginia and the Carolinas. To Dallas came airplane factories and all their trained personnel, whole trainloads. The petrochemical companies line the Gulf Coast. The depletion of the Mesabi Range may transfer much of the steel industry to the South to use the baser ore, and to receive that which will come up from South America.

Twenty thousand new corporations were formed in the South in 1957. And the percentage of income derived from manufacturing in the South that year increased by five percent, compared to three percent for

the country as a whole.

All of this points to more urbanization. (The region is now about half urban and half rural). The South which has never had a city of a million should have half a dozen in less than 10 years. In that same span every good-sized town will be tied in with hundreds of others through the new federal highway network which will give the South almost 250,000 miles of new roads, 40,000 miles of superhighways, bringing tourists and new ways of looking at things. "The bright lights of the

highway cloverleafs will shine on the Ku Klux Klan before they can get five miles away from a cross-burning. And anyway the new roads will give the Kluxers so many places to go they won't be bothering people out of idleness," one Southern optimist observes.

In the next decade the South will rapidly take on the look of the rest of the country. And when it accepts the fact that it is bound by the same laws, it can join the rest of the country in searching for answers to race problems.

Generalizations about race hate pattern
for hate

1. high % of Negroes
2. high % of poor whites
3. agitation of either a Kasper or S.C.
4. urban - non
5. cosmopolitan - non
6. church - negative attitude

about The New Republic . . .

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