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DECISION CON
Beginning May 17, 1954

November 23, 1959

NECHYEU NOVAL 139 MENIKAL FILES

Dear Mrs. Landis:

The President has asked me to acknowledge your letter to him of recent date and enclosures.

Your interest in writing and expressing your point of view is appreciated.

Sincerely,

E. Frederic Morrow Administrative Officer Special Projects Group

Mrs. Mary Landis
Route l. Box 50
Escondido, California

lrs

Con- inter of and Mi. Eisenhauer: Samehow 2 Jul you were be interested in reading what a Promient Sauthern Judge. Jam P. Brady - and Kev. James P. Dies Line to say Start Lyngalian & Roseit which in the Sauther My mathers' father Was fame in Matchey, miss. hil my fathers' Jether in Bermingham. alerama. So you can understand our. Tresident Why same of yeal as me do abesti Earl Warrens Law of the Land which I believe **BEST AVAILABLE COPY**

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Straight Thinking on Justice, Brotherhood and Equality

A SURVEY OF THE RACIAL ISSUE

Rev. James P. Dees Statesville, North Carolina

Edutor's note: The address which appears herewith was recently made by Rev. Dees before a local civic body. The speaker is Rector of the Trinity Episcopal Church... Statesville, North Carolina.

JUDGE HENRY W. GRADY, the great Southern statesman, once said: "If I die. I die serving the South, the land I love so well. Father fell in battle for it. I am proud to die talking for it." We need in the South today more men of Judge Grady's caliber

I want to thank you all for your kind invitation to be here with you tonight to share with you my thoughts on one of the most crucial issues facing our southland today, and not only the South, but more and more the North as well, and the entire world — the issue of race

We read of stirrings in England and South Africa and in the East; and we may be sure the implications of this problem are worldwide.

Tonight I would like to try to give you an over-all survey of the problem of segregation-integration as I see it; and in doing this, I necessarily will have to deal with the various phases of it in a very summary fashion.

As many of you know, I consider myself to be a segregationist. I would like very hastily to summarize for you the principal reasons why I am a segrega-

First. I believe that segregation is in accord with the Divine Will of God as manifested in the Created Order. God created the races separate and distinct and, according to the Good Book, hath determined "the bounds of their habitation," and I think that tampering with His Creation is a violation of His Will.

We see segregation in the natural order among the birds. the fish, etc. It is unnatural to try to force an unnatural state of being. We will not take time to labor the point further.

Second: I believe that the current proponents of integration are advocates of total integration, not just integration of the schools and churches; these are just the first steps. They would integrate

the two races completely; I do not think there is any question of this.

And total integration will result in racial amalgamation through intermanriage; and amalgamation will bring with it a consequent disintegration of both races — both White and Negro and the South of the future would consist of one mixed race and a mulatto

There is no question in my mind but that this is the ultimate consequence of the actions of the integrationists, and many of them will confess that this makes no difference with them. I could name some of them, Priests in the Episcopal Church, ministers in the Methodist Church .. This I cannot abide.

Third · I am a segregationist because I believe that segregation serves the best interests of both the White and Negro races in the South. There is no question in my mind about this

The Communist Party

I would like now to make a hasty survey for you of the vast forces that are aligned against us in this issue, to give you some conception of why you must arouse yourself and become concerned about this issue, that we bestir ourselves that integration be not forced upon us. These forces are terrific; but so can be the resistance of determined Southern-

I am of the opinion, from all that I have read, that the Communist Party is the force that is at the bottom of it and provided the initial impetus. A few days ago I received a communication from a research group in Texas, in which was the following statement (which sums up, pretty well I think, the origin of this issue):

Israel Cohen, British Communist, wrote in 1912 "We must realize that our party's most powerful weapon is racial tension. By propounding into consciousness of the dark races that for centuries they have been oppressed by the whites, we can mold them to the program of the Communist Party.

"In America we will aim for subtle victory While inflaming the Negro minority against the whites, we will endeavor to instill in the whites a guilt com plex for the exploitation of the Negroes

"We will aid the Negroes to rise in prominence in every walk of life, in the professions, and in the world of sports and entertainment. With this pres tige, the Negro will be able to intermarry with the whites and begin a process which will deliver Amer

The Communist Party adopted this program 1928 Throughout the South this program was circu larized and it has been the basic policy of the Communists in America from that day until this People in high places are being duped into doing the will

I believe that the Communist Party's program as outlined above is behind the entire integration movement, whether the people in the various walks of life who are working for integration recognize it or not. As the above quotation says, they "are being duped into doing the will of the Communists."

The following, reportedly, is taken from the Library of Congress, which quotes the Daily Worker, May 26, 1928, page six:

The Communist Party considers it as its historic duty to unite all workers, regardless of their color, meaning the white race, of course." The negro race must understand that capitalism means racial oppression and Communism means social and racial equali-

It then proceeds to list some of its demands, some of which I will mention:

Abolition of the whole system of race discrimination

Full racial equality

Abolition of all laws which result in segregation of Negroes.

The law shall forbid all discrimination agains Negroes in selling or renting houses

Abolition of laws forbidding intermarriage persons of different races.

Abolition of all laws and public administration measures which prohibit, or in practice prevent Negro children or youth from attending general public schools or universities

The NAACP

We are all acquainted, of course, I am sorry to say, with the NAACP (Na- | to commit themselves to strengthen further the efforts

tional Association for the Advancement of Colored People) and its objectives. I have no question whatsoever in my mind but that the ultimate objective of the NAACP is complete amalgamation of the races as a final consequence of free intermanniage and integration of all social structures, Churches, schools, everything.

They have set the year 1963 as the time when this goal shall have been accomplished, and their slogan is "Free by '63" Attorney General Eugene Cook of Georgia has at great length exposed the Red Front records of many of the NAACP leaders

It is utterly amazing to look out on the Ecclesiastical scene and see how the religious bodies are supporting the integration movement.

The National Council of Churches

The National Council of Churches has involved itself to a considerable degree, and I consider the National Council of Churches to be one of the greatest threats today to the White South of the

The newly elected President of the National Council of Churches, Dr. Edwin T. Dahlberg (See September 1958 Defender, page 8), has acted a number of times in the interests of known Communists, Earl Browder being among the number for whom he reportedly has interceded

At the meeting of the Fourth General Assembly of the National Council of Churches in St. Louis recently, the assembly passed the following, which is an excerpt from a resolution concerning integration:

The General Assembly of the National Council of Churches reaffirms at this time its renunciation of the pattern of racial segregation, both in the churches and in society, as a violation of the Gospel of love and human brotherhood

This General Assembly commits itself, and urges the member churches and all of their constituencies, and to increase the work of the churches, national, regional and local, to achieve as soon as posssible a non-segregated society

The commitment of the National Council of Churches could not be any

The National Council of Churches and the North Carolina Council of Churches are working together and with member churches, probably in the Church that each of you who is here belongs to, to achieve, as the NCC says in its resolution, "as soon as possible a non-segregation society.

I cannot help but observe how well the Churches outside the South know how to handle the South's racial situation. It is now commonly known as the "racial problem." It was not a "prob-lem" until the Communist Party and integrationist friends stirred it up and made it a "problem."

The Negro race was making more progress than any race ever in a like circumstance, or in any circumstance. I mention the religious entities merely because they are a tremendous force pushing integration.

Justice, Brotherhood and Equality

I would make some observations about the philosophy or theology of these religious integrationists. Their key words are Justice, Brotherhood and Equality. I have dealt with these terms as used by integrationists elsewhere at length, and cannot take time here.

Suffice it to say that I see no Justice in destroying a people's race, either White or Colored.

This term "Brotherhood," as used by the integrationists, is misused. There is no true Brotherhood for the Christian except Brotherhood in Christ; and Brotherhood in Christ does not demand racial destruction; rather it seems to me it should demand the preservation of racial integrities.

here And as for Equality: there is no such

thing as equality anywhere on earth, save that we all have equal rights in the dispensation of Justice under both Divine Law and Civil law; and in receiving Justice under the law, both human and Divine, we are not all deserving of the same treatment because of our inequalities. We should deserve what we get; and we should get what we deserve.

We are not all equal, either as individuals or as races; and our rewards, or proceeds of justice, should be in accordance with our merits and not dictated by Judicial fiat.

Justice should be equal for all indeed, but it should be dispensed according to merit, and not without regard for ment. Equal dispensing to all, which is the cry of the "equalizers," is to deny justice due operation.

Justice should not be made blind through the cluttering up of basic issues by the clamoring of pious phrases. You cannot make equality by judicially ordering equality. This is so apparent that argument seems superfluous. It should be self-evident

The Supreme Court

Since we have been talking about Justice and Judicial fiat, we might spend a little time here on the Supreme Court.

We hear the cry of the many integrationists that what the Supreme Court says is the law of the land. There are many expert legal minds, however, (and with them I agree) that say that the Supreme Court is supposed to interpret law that already exists and not to make new law, as it did in the instance of the integration decree.

The Court has taken the law into its own hands and has presumed to make new law, and, idiocy of idiocies, based its decision, not on any established law but on the sociological opinions of some pink foreigners imported into this Country to write a book on the subject.

The lack of qualifications of the Nine

Men on the Bench have been to a great degree exposed. Some of them have never been judges at all, including the Chief Justice himself.

The Constitution does not give these men the authority to make law, and, consequently, they ought to be impeached. There are a number of organizations throughout the Country today dedicated to this end.

Senator Eastland

The Southern Manifesto, signed last year by Southern Congressmen, accused the Court of usurping legislative authority. Senator Eastland (of Mississippi) said recently:

The greatest single threat to our Constitution is the presently constituted Supreme Court of the United States In fact, the Court, by its decisions, has aided the cause of Communism

He quotes Thomas Jefferson as saying:

It has long been my opinion, and I have never shrunk from its expression, that the germ of dissolution of our Federal Government is in the Constitution of the Federal Judiciary

An irresponsible body working like gravity by night and by day, gaining a little today and a little tomorrow, and advancing its noiseless step like a thief, over the field of jurisdiction until all should be usurped from the States and the government of all be consolidated into one

The Senator says: "Jefferson's apprehension of yesterday is today's reali-

A Tragic Situation

The Court is gaining in disrepute all over the Country, according to my observations. The Greensboro Daily News ran a news item a short while ago headed "High Court Becoming Unpopular;' and in it the following was stated:

One gets a daily reminder of how unpopular our modern, liberal Supreme Court has become. Congress is being urged to do something, maybe several things, about the Court

Today there is resentment over the actions of the Court, an emotion that has no relation to sectionalism, parochialism, or geography ...

At the moment a lot of people are dedicated to the idea of unpacking the Country's supreme judicial body They want to see the powers of the Court curbed and, in the interest of law enforcement, some late rulings of the Court rectified

Mr. Robert Morris, Chief Counsel for the Senate's Internal Security Sub-committee, says the following about the Court decisions:

The fact of the matter is that all these Court decisions, and these Administrative decisions, have created among devoted intelligence officers, prosecutors, internal security officials and Congressional staffs, demoralizing sense of frustration and despair. There is more hopelessness today than I have ever experienced before in all my days in Washington

I made the following statement some time ago in reference to the Court and its interpreting the law, and I am of the same opinion still:

It is one thing to interpret the Constitution in the light of changed conditions, as long as basic principles of law are recognized and adhered to lt is something quite different to ignore these basic prin ciples, including the intent of the framers of the Constitution at the time it was written, and to capriciously read out of it or into it whatever you see fit to and to capriciously use it to enforce your own current political or sociological opinions

Legal Opinions

These irresponsible men on the Supreme Court are wreaking havoc with the law. Lawyers tell me they can tell you what the law is today, but they don't know what the Court will say it is tomorrow.

Dr. Beverly Lake, a noted lawyer in Raleigh, said some time ago, before the North Carolina State Bar:

My eath is an eath to support the Constitution of the United States, not an oath to accept the sociological and psychological assumptions of the United States Supreme Court It is not an oath to urge my neighbors to acquiesce meekly in repudation of their heritage and betrayal of their posterity.

We could go all night discussing the Court, but we have other things to take up. Suffice it to conclude with that, in my opinion, these august men have perjured themselves and ought to be im-

Senator Herman Talmadge, in a

speech in Richmond, Virginia February 28th, said, as quoted from the Augusta Courier for March 17th, 1958:

The stacking of the Supreme Court to destroy the public school system has brought about and encouraged murder, rapes, riots, assaults, and suicides in the public schools of the nation. And as to the latter part, Talmadge said the people of Georgia and the people of Virginia have no thought of turning their children over to the Supreme Court for "psychological experimentation"

The Liberal Press

We who stand for segregation have had much to contend with from the liberal press throughout the State and, indeed, throughout the Nation.

The press generally, by and large, except in local instances, I believe has been heavily prejudiced toward integragration.

But gradually the truth about applied integration is begining to break through the "News Blackout," as it has been called; and the evil effects of integration in New York City, Washington, D.C.. Chicago, Kansas City and St. Louis are beginning to spread around the Country. They could bottle up the truth of such deplorable conditions only so long.

A committee in Louisiana tried a short while ago to present their position to the North. In order to break through the "News Blackout" in the northern press, they had to pay \$3,500.00 to run a full page advertisement in the New York Herald Tribune to tell the people in New York the true story of the South's position. They felt the northern press wouldn't carry it unless it was paid to. This is a sad commentary on the press.

Senator Eastland commented on the press, "It's, of course, unfortunate that we will often be forced to tell our story in paid advertising because of distortion of facts by news media of the North and East." (The Citizen's Council, March 1958)

I believe that we are beginning to get

a true picture of the racial news now. I am very thankful indeed for the unbiased presentation of the news by the U.S. News and World Report and the American Mercury, and I commend them to you.

Foundations

Large foundations are behind the integration movement Senator Eastland has the following to say in a speech made in Jackson, Mississippi, concerning the organizations espousing integration:

Time will not permit me to list the organizations and groups who back, support, cooperate with and direct the NAACP. In general, they are church groups, radical organizations, labor unions and liberal groups of all shades of Red They run from the blood red of the Communist Party to the almost equally Red of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U S A

Never in the history of this Country has there been such a campaign as they now wage against us Children are indoctrinated in the schools. Students in college are brainwashed

The Foundations and other groups, with tremendous sums of tax-exempt money, are financing this drive in a big way. The facts show that most of the money the Foundations spend goes into the field of civil rights and the promotion of the doctrine of racial amalgamation.

Senator Eastland says, "The Ford Foundation is the largest and most generous of the Foundations dedicated to establishing social equality between the black and white races."

Other Foundations mentioned by Senator Eastland are the Carnegie Foundation, The Carnegie Corporation. The Marshall Field Foundation, The Rosenwald Foundation, The Rockefeller Foundation. and The Dorothy and Louis Rosenteil Foundation.

"Gradualism"

Before coming to my conclusion, I would like to recall a few observations that Senator Eastland made in his Jackson Day speech about our present situation generally, and about the current doctrine of "Gradualism" in particular:

The present condition in Which I South finds itself is more dangerous than Reconstruction. It is more insidious than Reconstruction. There was no attempt to have interracial schools during Reconstruction.

It is more dangerous in that the present Court decisions are built on gradualism to induce us to agree or to force us to comply step by step

In Reconstruction there was the attempt to force the hideous monster upon us all at once. Our ancestors rallied and stopped it. Its weakness then was that they attempted to enforce it all at once. It will take special precautions to guard against the gradual acceptance, and the erosion of our rights through the deadly doctrine of gradualism.

Thus far in what I have had to say to you I have tried to show in the main the great extent of the conspiracy to undermine the integrity of the white culture and destroy the white and Negro races in the South.

We are combatting the racial propaganda of the Communist Party, the National and State Council of Churches, many Christian denominations. and all integration-minded preachers (and they are legion). the NAACP, the money of many of the large foundations, the liberal press, the liberal elements in the political parties who are seeking the Negro block vote, and so on and so on.

These vast forces are determined that the integration-amalgamation social philosophy shall prevail. And it will prevail unless the white people in the South and the Negroes who are true to their race, will get their backs up and say that it shall not prevail

We have an obligation to ourselves and to our children to see to it that what has happened in Washington, D.C. and in the integrated schools of New York and elsewhere does not happen here. We have a solemn obligation to maintain the heritage handed down to us by our fathers.

Judge Walter B. Jones of Montgomery, Alabama. says:

Today, I can think of no more imperative and compelling duty, no greater moral obligation, resting upon the people of the South, and particularly of

Southern White leaders, they to resist the integration of the races in the South with every weapon we can forge in the arsenal of law and reason

The vast weight of public opinion in the South and in North Carolina is with us. I'm inclined to think that eighty per cent or more of the people in this State are solidly for segregation, and now more so than ever.

Negroes Oppose Integration

I am advised by reliable Negro leaders that the Negroes themselves, to a great extent, do not want integration; they do not want their children going to mixed schools, nor do they themselves want to give up their Negro Churches and go to White Churches.

We believe that segregation contributes to the best interests of both races. One Southern Negro leader, Marcus Garvey, has stated their case aptly. saving. "To be a Negro is no disgrace. but an honor, and we do not want to become white."

If we are going to maintain segregation in the South, then we have to organize and fight. We are going to have men and women who are not afraid to stand up and be counted.

Practically everybody you talk with in the South, even some publicly considered to be integrationists, says that he doesn't want integration. but too many people don't have the backbone to stand up and fight for a heritage that our fathers died for. They are afraid

If integration comes in this State, it will come because men don't have the strength of their convictions to stand. They are afraid.

Without voicing a protest, they will stand aside and let the National Council of Churches carry out its program to "achieve as soon as possible a nonsegregated society."

They will let the NAACP and its sympathetic organizations force their schools to integrate, and see their chil-

dren going threagh the "blackboard jungle."

An Appeal

I appeal to the responsible men of Statesville and throughout the South, men who are in positions of responsibility and trust, and public leadership, who believe in passing on to your children the white society that you have received. to take a stand and work with groups that are here dedicated to the perpetuation of the white race and to the white South.

If integration comes, there will be no turning back. If you believe in preserving your children from amalgamation, do not stand on the sidelines and let someone else do your fighting for you.

If you are a man, then stand like a man for what you believe in. Help some organization dedicated to our cause. Become identified with it, and contribute to it. You cannot do much by yourself.

Our crying need in our State today is for the organization of the people who believe in the preservation of the white South. The fact that we are not organized has been one of the greatest sources of hope to the integrationists.

The integrationists in this State and in the Nation are organized with organ-

ization upon organization. We must fight organization with organization.

We must stand united and you who are leaders and intellectuals in this community should not stand back and let your fight to preserve the white South be carried on by radicals who will discredit your cause.

A Challenge

Get in this scrap yourself and give of your wisdom and help and good guidance. because preserving your race and the white South is a worthy effort and should not be beneath your dignity.

I would be ashamed if I thought that I were not doing all that I could to preserve my children from the horrors that children are experiencing in integrated schools.

If you are a responsible person, then you should shoulder your responsibility and not leave it for somebody else to shoulder. You should take a stand, and make your stand felt. Are not your children, and is not our southland, worth it?

Of course they are, and if you don't think so, then you are not worthy of them.

Give your time, your money, your energy. Stand up and be counted!

Defender Pamphlet No. P-117
A SURVEY OF THE RACIAL ISSUE



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SEGREGATION AND THE SOUTH

Address by

JUDGE TOM P. BRADY

of Brookhaven, Mississippi

Delivered to the

COMMONWEALTH CLUB
OF CALIFORNIA

at San Francisco
on OCTOBER 4, 1957

The Commonwealth Club has been addressed by seven United States Presidents beginning with Theodore Roosevelt, and by many of the distinguished leaders of this and other nations.

This address was broadcast over 14 California Radio Stations

Judge Tom P. Brady

The author of the book "Black Monday" is a past Vice President of the Mississippi Bar Association, and is now serving his second term as Cricuit Judge of the 14th Judicial District of Mississippi.

Judge Brady was born in 1903 in Brookhaven, Mississippi, and has lived there all his life. For the past 20 years he has practiced law in Brookhaven. He was graduated from Lawrenceville Preparatory School, Lawrenceville, New Jersey; received his B. A. degree at Yale University, and his law degree at the University of Mississippi. He taught sociology at the University for two years. These facts are shown in "Who's Who in the South and Southwest."

Judge Brady has been one of the South's foremost spokesmen for states' rights and racial integrity and is famous for his scholarly, dignified presentation of "The Case for the South."

Segregation and the South

It is indeed an honor to be invited to address the distinguished membership and guests of the renowned Commonwealth Club of California.

I have been invited to speak on SEGRE-GATION AND THE SOUTH, and I have been requested to do in twenty-seven minutes that which cannot adequately be done in several hours. I will do my best to present the case for the South and I know you will give me a fair hearing. I shall try to be objective, but if I fail in this regard, I assure you that I can and will be truthful. I earnestly hope that no one will be offended. I shall remember that I am your guest, but let me assure you, I will not sacrifice truth on the altar of courtesy.

Integration is defined by Webster: "To bring together the parts of; to give the sum total of; V. I. to pass from a complex and unstable state to one relatively simple and stable." It means, therefore, a blending or flowing together.

Segregation is defined by Webster: "To separate or set apart from the others or from the rest; to isolate." It is essential that you realize that in the twelve Southern States segregation means something quite different from what it means in the other States. In the South, segregation is something more than a definition in a dictionary. It is something more than securing the Negro's block vote. Segregation in the South is a way of life. It is the means whereby we live in social peace, order and security. It is the guarantee whereby our wives and children are afforded the common decency and protection which is essential if any harmonious relationship is to exist between two different races. Segregation exists not merely because we prefer it, but because we must maintain it. Self preservation, the first law of life requires that we do so. It is our shield and bucklerour refuge, our fortress. It is the first commandment and not the last.

Ninety-eight per cent of both races prefer segregation. Integration is urged by the NAACP, a few Southern mulattoes, Northern Communist-front organizations and leftwing labor groups who would use the unsuspecting Negro as their tool. It does not work any economic hardship nor deprive the Negro of any of his constitutional rights.

I want you to distinctly understand that the South does not hate the Negro. I dare say you know little, if anything about the true Southern Negro. Among the finest characters I have ever known are Negroes. There is a great deal of genuine affection and understanding between the races. We have lived harmoniously together with a minimum of violence and bloodshed. We have nurtured the Negro, taught him, provided for him, educated him and endeavored to make of him a worthwhile citizen. The Negro has made great strides and the Southern white man is largely responsible for these advancements. In Mississippi, and in other Southern States, Negroes who have desired to do so have become well educated and wealthy. Millionaires are included in this group. This group has among its numbers doctors, lawyers, teachers, business men, insurance executives, merchants and plantation owners. There is no field of economic endeavor which has been barred to the Negro. It is only in the social sphere that the barrier is raised.

There are many reasons why the Southerner must refuse to permit integration with the Negro in the social planes of our life. Time will not permit analysis of all of them, but the basic ones can be enumerated. First, the high percentage of Negroes in the South is of gravest importance, and constitutes one reason. The national average which the Negro bears to the white man in America is only 10%. In Mississippi, however, it is 45.3%, in Georgia and South Carolina it is 38.8%. The great State of California has but 4.4%. The State of New York, that yearns so for the welfare of the Negro in Mississippi, has but 6.2%; New Jersey 6.6%; Pennsylvania 6.1%, and Oregon has but eight-tenths of one per cent. Montana and Nevada have twotenths of one per cent and South Dakota has one hundreth of one per cent, or 275 Negroes. In the States of New York, Illinois and Pennslyvania and New Jersey, where so much turmoil and strife have arisen over the desegregation of the public schools, where mass demonstrations of violence have taken place, just as they have in Tennessee and Arkansas, if these States had 45.3% of their population Negro, I shudder to think what violent clashes would have taken place between the Negroes and whites. If, in San Francisco

County, California, as in many counties in Mississippi and other Southern States, the Negroes outnumbered the whites five and six to one, I wonder how willing you would be to have complete educational and social integration.

There is, as every honest socialist knows, a distinct correlation between the degree of segregation of the races and the numerical strength of the Negro. The reason is obvious. If in the South the Negro was permitted, as he is in some Northern States, to obtain the ballot by simply reaching 21 years of age, it would mean that no qualified white man in many counties throughout the South could ever hold public office. It would also mean that in the halls of Congress, seats now held by competent white representatives would be held by ignorant, incompetent Negroes.

While I regret that I must do so, I must nevertheless comment upon some of the intellectual and moral aspects of the reason why the South must remain socially segregated. The average vocabulary of the Negro in the South consists of approximately 650 words. I hesitate to estimate the I. Q. of the average Negro of the South, since the Federal Government refused to give me the results of the intelligence tests given in World War II and in the Korean conflict. he NAACP objected to the furnishing of this information. I can, however, safely say that based upon the tests which are available from World War I, and from personal experience, there is a vast gulf of difference between the I. Q. of the Negro of the South, as well as in America, and the average white man. It is because of an inherent deficiency in mental ability, of psychological and tempermental inadequacy. It is because of indif-ference and natural indolence on the part of the Negro. All the races of the earth started out at approximately the same time in God's calendar, but of all the races that have been on this earth, the Negro race is the only race that lacked mental ability and the imagination to put its dreams, hopes and thoughts in writing. The Negro is the only race that was unable to invent even picture

An exhaustive study of the program and results of integration in the schools of Washington, D. C., which the NAACP and other left wing groups fostering integration said would be a model for the rest of the United

States to follow, clearly reveals that the average white student who was integrated in the class room with the Negro has been retarded two to three years in his educational progress. Therefore, it is not to the best interest of America that the white children, particularly in certain congested sections, be retarded three years in their educational advancement. Never forget that the left-wing socialist groups are forever grading down, never grading up the intelligence, the industry and the genius of this country! They wish to equalize, thereby reducing to a low minimum the intelligence of America. There is certainly less than one per cent of the white people of the South who would ever agree to marry a Negro. Miscegenation has largely taken place, I am glad to say, North of the Mason-Dixon line, and whatever laxity which has heretofore existed in Southern mores permitting clandestine relations between Negroes and whites has almost entirely disappeared. The rule is now hard and adamant. This is taboo in the South! We presently do

not fear miscegenation. The main objection to social integration of the races in our schools or elsewhere by Southerners is for moral reasons. I again repeat, there are exceptions to the rule, and among the finest citizens I have known are numbered Negroes. They are, however, exceptions. In a remarkable treatise, "WHERE IS THE REIGN OF TERROR?" by Representative John Bell Williams of Mississippi, published in the Congressional Record on school integration in Washington, it is succinctly shown that the white boys and girls of Washington were subjected to unspeakable vulgarity, immorality and filth. The truth is often brutal, but I must speak it! As revealed in this exhaustive study, objectively made, the white children of Washington, D. C. were retarded two to three years in their educational advancement. The obscenity, vulgarity, immorality and brutality which came about requires the constant maintenance of policemen in the halls and corridors of many of the schools. Obscene pictures and notes were placed on the desks of white girls by Negroes. The radiators, stairs and halls were utilized as rest room urinals by Negroes. The carrying of concealed weapons, the vicious aggravated assaults, the actual rape and attempted rape of white girls and even teachers are some of the results found in this model example of what integration in our high schools can produce. Make no mistake about this, the Southern fathers and mothers are not going to permit their daughters to be humiliated or insulted by Negroes, or by anyone else! They are not going to permit their daughters to have to resist the lewd advances of Negro boys. They are not going to permit their sons and daughters to be subjected to the abysmal vulgarity of Negro children who are urged to take every possible advantage of the white children. Possibly, I cannot speak for the South, but I can speak for Mississippi, and I tell you this, we have already, by constitutional amendment, authorized our legislature as other Southern States will do, to abolish the public schools if the Negro and white children are ever integrated therein. Make no mistake about it, we will abolish our public school system and establish private schools for our white children, and we will still provide and see that the Negro is educated separately. It will cost dearly, but we will do it.

Few isolated assaults with deadly weapons have taken place in either white or colored schools in Mississippi. Such assaults are numerous in Washington, Chicago, New York and other cities where the Negro and white children have been integrated.

The Negro, in so far as sex is concerned, is not immoral, he is simply non-moral. He merely follows his natural instincts. The pregnancies and illegitimate births which have occurred in schools in Washington are not abnormal, they are merely astounding! The high percentage of veneral diseases among the Negro children is tragic. In the South, we have not and do not punish the Negro except in rare instances for desertion, illegitimacy or bigamy. To have two or more common law wives along with a legal wife is not unusual for Negro men. The white race is now on the verge of forever abolishing incest. The Negro is still far behind. In the South, we punish the Negro for incest and there are now on my Docket, as is frequently the case, indictments against Negroes who have begotten children by their daughters. We cannot count for nought the natural indolence and indifference of the Negro's nature. We cannot disregard his utter disregard for the laws relating to theft. We cannot overlook his proclivity for drunkeness and dope addiction. We cannot overlook his natural tendency to immorality and violence

and subject our children to the terrible consequences resulting from such traits through integration. In California, the Negro constitutes 4.4 per cent of your total population, yet 19 per cent of all crimes committed in California were committed by Negroes. In the State of New York, the Negro constitutes only 6.2 per cent of the total population, and yet 40.1 per cent of the prison population of New York is Negro. In Mississippi, the Negro constitutes 45.3 per cent of the population and commits 73.4 per cent of the crimes. In the District of Columbia, the Negro's mecca of America, according to the 1950 census, the Negro constituted 35 per cent of the total population, and the Negro prison population is 70 per cent, or twice the ratio of Negro population to that of white population. This is a national disgrace. The District of Columbia has more Negro convicts than either Louisiana, or Mississippi, Arkansas, Alabama, Florida, Texas, Kentucky, or Maryland.

Experienced Southern officials and honest sociologists with experience on the subject, point to the presence of segregation as one of the principal contributions to the low incidence of crime in the Southern States. "They are firm in the conviction that segregation serves as a restraint on the exercise of imagined license, which the Negro confuses with liberty."

The most completely integrated city in America is our national capitol. Let us see what integration has produced for the citizens of Washington where, since 1940, the Negro population has increased by 186,000 and the white population has increased by 9,000. Since the last census of 1950, it is estimated that Negroes compose almost 45% of Washington's adult population, and 71 per cent of the public school population. Yes, the Supreme Court's order to stop discrimination and to embrace the Negro race was issued from a city which had already tried it with what result. In 1955, as disclosed by the Honorable Evetts Haley of Texas, of every seven murders committed in Washington, six were by Negroes. Of every eight cases of rape, seven were committed by Negroes. Of every five burglaries, four were committed by Negroes. Of every twenty juvenile crimes, nineteen were committed by Negroes. Of every forty-one cases of venereal diseases, forty were Negroes. Desegregation has come home to roost. It comes

[8]

with ironic justice to roost in the city of the Supreme Court itself—Washington, D. C.

Segregation is but one distinguishing characteristic of the South, it has other attributes. The South is the citadel of conservatism. It is a bastion for constitutional government. For years Mississippi and the entire South have been gravely concerned over the socialist trend of our Federal Government. Beginning with the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt, the South viewed with alarm the birth of the welfare state, and the growth of the 130 odd Communistfront organizations which nourish it. The South has constantly disapproved the prodigal give-away program to the Communist and socialist countries abroad. It resented the competing by the Federal Government with private industry. It deplored the tolerance shown the Communist and left-wing groups in America. None of these stimuli, however, were sufficient to precipitate a genuine "grass roots" movement, but Mississippi, South Carolina and Louisiana did boldly cry protest in 1948, when these States walked out of the National Democratic Convention in Philadelphia, organized the States' Rights Party, nominated and voted for Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi as its presidential and residential nominees. The conservative constitutional people of the United States had an opportunity then to vote for two men who were bitterly opposed to the gradual socialization of America and the destruction of the sovereign rights and powers of the fortyeight states by a totalitarian inclined Federal Government. Our stand provoked only ridicule and abuse. It was only when the Supreme Court of the United States, on May 17, 1954, handed down the infamous Black Monday decision that the people of the South realized that the "die was cast", that the "Rubicon had been crossed", and that they had no alternative except to organize completely and resist the ultimate result of that illegal, sociological and unconstitutional decision.

Thus it was the Citizens' Councils were born. It is the medium whereby the South proposes to and will nullify this illegal decision. The Citizens' Council is the counterpart of the old New England Town Meeting. Membership, however, is selected and restricted. The Citizens' Council is a good

cross-section of that City or County it represents. Among its members are lawyers, doctors, ministers, industrialists, merchants, employees, farmers, plantation owners and laborers. Jews, Catholics and Protestants alike become members when they subscribe to an oath of non-violence and pledge to support in every legal way possible the maintenance of segregation and preservation of the rights of the States of this Union. We have no Ku Klux Klans in Mississippi, no John Kaspers, and we want none. The Klan is negligible in the South.

There are in Mississippi 362 Councils with approximately 85,000 members. Throughout the South, there are more than 300,000 Council members. Each Council is completely autonomous and has obtained from the State a Charter. There is moreover, in each State a board of directors which represents every Council in that State; and there is a southwide co-ordinating agency in which eleven of the twelve Southern States are represented, known as the Citizens' Council of America.

The Citizens' Council paper has a circulation of 65,000. It is sent into every State of the Union and is placed on the desk of every State Legislator and important public official. Every high school library receives it. Every member of Congress and the personnel of many Federal Agencies likewise receive this paper.

Primarily, the Councils are dedicated to the preservation of segregation and the sovereign rights of the States of this Union. They are opposed to the communizing and socializing of our labor organizations, churches and schools. The Citizens' Councils are determined to do everything within their power to prevent the broadening of the powers of the executive branch of our Government, and the usurpation by the judiciary of powers vested solely in Congress. They are determined to resist the enormous and unwarranted pressure which is brought to bear on both major political parties and on all branches of our Government by the left-wing minority groups. The Councils will resist to the bitter end the porposed welfare state and its destruction of the obligations and liberties of the citizens of this country. Above all, the Councils are dedicated to non-violence and have prevented lynchings and mob action in the South. The Councils firmly believe that within the confines of the true constitution

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of this Government and within the Constitutions of the respective States, an orderly, peaceful and legal means exist whereby these objectives can be secured and maintained.

Though there are many facets to the movement to completely integrate the Negro in the South, the basic cause we know is of world wide Communist origin and design. In 1910 four white persons and one Negro founded the NAACP in New York City. They were Wm. M. Walling, a Russian-trained revolutionary; Mary Ovington White, and Oswald Garrison Villard, a socialist and descendent of a Civil War Abolitionist; Dr. Henry Moskowitz; and W. E. B. DuBois, its present Negro "Honorary Chairman" with not less than 72 citations of Communist, Communist - front and subversive activities entered against his name.

The president, executive secretary, special counsel and chairman of the board of directors of the NAACP; eleven of its twenty eight vice presidents, its treasurer, twenty eight of its forty seven directors—and many other associates are cited in the files of the Un-American Activities Committee or designated by the Attorney General as affiliated with or participating in Communist, Communist-front, fellow-traveling, or subversive organizations.

We realize that the drive for complete integration of the races in the South is but a small segment in the over-all plan to first socialize and then communize America. Positive proof of this can be found in the Communist Party's National platform adopted on May 25, 1928, which included every demand for Negroes which is now found in TARGET FOR 1963, a pamphlet published by the NAACP in 1956, giving its program and objectives. The Communist have decided that every adult Negro in the South shall be franchised so that the Negroes will hold a large number of the seats in the State Legislatures and will occupy the Southern seats in Congress. The report of the National Committee of the Communist Party of October 5, 1955, concluded with this advice: "Pass civil rights legislation! End segregation! Full equality for the Negro peoplenow!"

The February number of the Red magazine, PARTY VOICE, said, "Victory would mean desegregation, majority rule and Negro representation. Victory would mean the re-

placement of the Dixiecrat delegations to State and National Legislature by spokesman for the Negro people, labor and poor farmers."

What would happen to the country if the twenty-four Southern United States Senators were replaced by ignorant Negro and Communist labor leaders. I cannot help but wonder how the rights of Californians and the people of all the States would fare if the seats of the United States Senate which have been filled by men such as Cordell Hull, James F. Byrnes, Walter George, Harry Byrd, Bankhead, Thurmond, Ellender, Lyndon Johnson and James Eastland were usurped by Communist Negroes or labor leaders. What would happen to this country if the hundred odd Southern members of the House of Representatives of Congress were replaced by Angelo Herndons and Reverend Kings. It is a fact that Communist sympathizers and left-wing organizers, founded the NAACP and largely control it. It is indisputable that the Communist groups have infiltrated some of the labor unions, our colleges and our churches, and are all chanting for integration. A war is being waged by them to capture the American mind. The South above all other sections of the country has stubbornly resisted and fought these groups which are communizing our Government. The NAACP knows this labor knows this, and the Communists know this, and we are, therefore, the target of their resentment and unending hate. We have grown accustomed to the misrepresentation, vituperation and abuse that is daily heaped upon us by Northern left-wing news media and vote hungry socialist politicians. We can take it, because we are waiting for that day, and believe that it is not far distant, when conservative Americans will unite and all constitutional, liberty loving citizens in this country will rise up in our defense and join hands with us in waging our lonely fight to protect and preserve America from Godless Communism!

A. Phillip Randolph, a Negro and a vice president of the AFL-CIO, and director of the NAACP, outlined the methods to be used in organizing the white and the Negroes in unsegregated unions in the South in his publication, THE MESSENGER. He wrote, "The time is ripe for a great mass movement among the Negroes, revolution must come; we mean a complete change in the organiza-

tion of society, the capitalist system must go and it's going must be hastened by the workers themselves; a bullet is sometimes more convincing than a hundred prayers, sermons, protests and petitions; we are especially thankful for the Russian Revolution—the greatest achievement of the Twentieth Century."

Two of the Communist aims calculated to destroy the conservative South have been accomplished. First, the infamous illegal Black Monday decision of May 17, 1954 outlawing segregation in the schools. The second great victory for the Communist is the Civil Rights Bill recently enacted by Congress on August 29, 1957. This bill inaugurates a Second Reconstruction Era in the South. As Congressman William Colmer has said, it will affect, however, not only the South because the sovereign rights of every State in the Union have been violated. This iniquitious act, like a loaded pistol, is aimed at the South which has contributed so much to the foundation and perpetuation of our Republic." "It is not the South, the Democratic Party or the Republican Party which will suffer the most. The real victim in the tragedy which was concluded will be the Republic itself, for once the trigger is pulled, the freedom and basic rights of all sections of this country will be further curtailed. The powerful arm of an already powerful Federal Government will be further stretched out into every metropolitan center into every town and hamlet of this great country, North, South, East and West, for the further regimentation of our citizens. This could well be the final step next to achieve the goal of the true proponents of this legislation—the complete destruction of the sovereignty of the States and the centralization of all power of the people in one strong centralized Government under the dome of the capitol in Washington." As R. Carter Pittman of Georgia has written in his splendid booklet "The Broken Constitution," "As we in the South once more pass into our garden of Gethsemane, thence to bear our social judicial cross, we plead with our brothers to the North and to the West not to let their sympathy and understanding be limited by latitude or longitude." We will fight the good fight, we will run the straight race, we shall not resort to violence. We condemn and deplore these sporatic acts of violence which have occurred in the South and in the North. We will fight within the confines and powers of our respective State Constitutions and the Constitution of the United States.

If this country is to be saved from Communism, as Carter Pittman has said, "It must be saved by the white people of the South and West. We did not ask for this burden, but we will bear it. Our Yankee friends to the North and East may not want to be saved, but they should be saved too, and also the white and the Negro race. Let it be known, however, that we in the South do not intend to obey men, however exalted their seats or black their robes or hearts. We intend to obey the laws of God and to obey the laws of this country which are made in accordance with our Constitution. We will live as free men, or die as becomes the descendants of those who died that we might live in the freedom to be different, with the liberty to be left alone." Finally, so that there may be no vestige of doubt in your mind how we feel regarding segregation, I now fervently say, "Dum vivamus tum segregabimur et post mortem-Deo volente, etiam nunc sic erit," which literally translated means, "As long as we live, so long shall we be segregated, and after death, God willing, thus it will still be! Though you may not agree with what I have said, it is indeed a great honor and sacred right for you to have permitted me to say it.

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ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS' COUNCILS
Greenwood, Mississippi





FOR FURTHER INFORMATION

WRITE TO THE

EDUCATIONAL FUND OF THE CITIZENS' COUNCILS GREENWOOD, MISS.

READ AND PASS ON



WE NEED YOUR HELP

We hope you can make a contribution to the Educational Fund which will be used to

(1) Publish and distribute nationwide factual literature presenting the case for states' rights and racial integrity

(2) Initiate a movement to enter the national propaganda media such as the national press services, television, radio, national publications and the motion picture industry.

Our auditors believe contributions will be deductible from your income tax. Every effort will be made to get this tax-free status, and we believe these efforts will be successful

G.F.

December 17, 1959

Dear Marianne:

The President has asked me to acknowledge and thank you for your letter to him.

Your interest in writing and expressing your point of view is appreciated.

Sincerely.

E. Frederic Morrow
Administrative Officer
Special Projects Group

Marianne Ennis
15 Allen Drive
Milledgeville, Georgia

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Jour friend and fallow citizen, marianna comma comma 15 allen Drive

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RECEIVED JAN 9 1960 CENTRAL FILES

January 8, 1960

Dear Mr. Berry:

Receipt is acknowledged of your letter of January fourth to the President and enclosure.

Sincerely,

E. Frederic Morrow Administrative Officer Special Projects Group

Mr. T. L. Berry 2127 Barberry Drive Dallas II, Texas

lrs

Dallas, Texas January 4. 1960

President Eisenhower

I want you to read the editorial 'Strickly Personal' in this 12/14/59 issue of the Augusta Courier and if you can understand why we of the south do not want to mix out blood with that of the Negro which is inevitable with integration.

T. L. Berry 2127 Barberry Drive Dallas,11, Texas



THE AUGUSTA COURIER

Be Not Content With The Appearance of Things, But Look For The True Meaning

Vol. 2

THE AUGUSTA COURIER, DECEMBER 14, 1959, AUGUSTA, GA.

No. 639

Neither Vandiver, Legislature Will Yield To 'Rastus' McGill, Or Other Race Mixers

Ominous Storm Warnings Flying Over The United States, Senator Russell Tells St. Andrews Society Of Savannah

Communism At Home And From Abroad, National Bankruptcy The Two Deadly Foes

Senator Richard B. Russell says "ominous storm warnings are now flying over this land in which we live."

In a speech delivered at the annual dinner of the St. Andrews Society of Savannah at the DeSoto Hotel, in Savannah, Georgia, on November 30, 1959, he warned the nation and further said.

"They are warnings that can be ignored and disregarded only at grave peril to our freedom, our way of life and our survival as a nation."

Two Great Threats

He listed the two greatest threats to
our constitutional government and individual freedom to be:

 Communist aggression from abroad and at home.
 Threatened bankruptcy of the na-

tion.

And in this connection, he said:
Our prosperity is a great tribute to
the initiative and ingenuity of the Amencan people and to the genius and opportunity of the American free enterprise system. Working together, the
people and system have made the United States the richest and most powerful nation in the world.

Heritage As Free Men
But we Americans should never forget that there is another ingredient in our national life that is more valuable and precious than all our material wealth put together. This is our heritage as free men.

That heritage of liberty and freedom didn't just happen. It was won for us through sacrifice of patriots and made secure by the collective and enduring wisdom of the Founding Fathers who gave us a government founded on a written Constitution. It is that Constitution which is the guardian of our liberty, the watchdog of our freedom and the custodian of our sacred rights In essence, it is the fountainhead of all our remarkable progress.

But despite our rich heritage and our great progress, ominous storm warnings are now flying over this land in which (Continued on Page 2)

STRICTLY PERSONAL

By ROY V. HARRIS

(Reprinted From THE AUGUSTA COURIER of January 9, 1956) The Negro problem in America today isn't new.

Neither is the viewpoint of Southerners new. The Southern viewpoint today very nearly approaches the viewpoint of Abraham Lincoln and most of the leaders of Lincoln's day.

The Southern idea did not develop in the South nor with Abraham Lincoln.

The Southern idea anti-dates Lincoln, Toombs and the men of that age by several thousand years.

This idea developed in the very cradle of human existence. The ancient Egyptians were seeking an answer to this problem more than five thousand years before America was even discovered.

Anywhere from five to fifteen thousand years before the discovery of America the learned men of Egypt were of the same opinion as those of us who believe in segregation today.

As a matter of fact, their ideas were far more drastic than ours.

This story was written by Harris Dickson.

This idea is developed in an article appearing in an issue of THE SATURDAY EVENING POST of April 27, 1907.

Dickson develops the idea that originally human history began in the valley of the Nile. It was inhabited by both white people and by the Negroes.

Here it was that the white man and the Negro were equal. They started off on a basis of equality with the same advantages and the same disadvantages. Here's how Dickson puts it:

(Continued on page 2)

ARE YOU INTERESTED IN YOUR SCHOOL?

The next few months are going to be critical times for the public school system.

During this time we are going to be writing about the schools. We are going to try to give the school people in this State the best advice we have and the best information we can find.

Next week, we are going to give some advice to the school teachers and the school authorities in Georgia.

Why not donate a year's subscription to your school library so that the Courier will be available to the teachers and the students in your school?

It would be of great service to them.

Let us hear from you.

THE AUGUSTA COURIER 1300 Southern Finance Building Augusta, Georgia

(Subscription rate—\$4.00 per year)

Governor Has 1 Of 2 Choices To Throttle NAACP's Effort To Desegregate Schools

Neither Governor Ernest Vandiver, nor the legislature, will yield one whit to the demands of "Rastus" McGill and his Atlanta cohorts to abandon Georggia's traditional position with regard to segregated schools.

From a survey made among the members of the legislature, it can be safely predicted that the legislature will stand pat.

In his campaign for election, Governor Vandiver said:

No Race-Mixed Schools

"Not a single child of yours, nor one of mine, will be required to attend a racially mixed school in Georgia during the next four years."

In this resolve, Vandiver stands pat. The NAACP instituted a suit in Atlanta to force the board of education to order racially mixed schools in the city.

Upon a hearing, Judge Frank Hooper gave the board of education until December to submit to him a plan for integrating the Atlanta city schools for his approval, and, after it has been approved by him, to be submitted to the Georgia legislature when it meets in

Legislature Will Stand

It is anticipated that Judge Hooper will approve some kind of plan to be submitted and then that it will be submitted to the legislature by the Atlanta board of education when the legislature meets.

The legislature will stand by its traditional position and will not back down in the face of a court order from Judge Hooper.

That poses a question: Will Judge Hooper order integration in the schools in the City of Atlanta when he knows that it will mean the closing of the schools in the city?

Last summer he emphatically stated that he would not close up the schools in Atlanta last September.

(Continued on Page 4)

AUGUSTA COURIER THE

He who spares no class of men is angry at no person, but the vices of all.

> 1300 Southern Finance Building, Augusta, Georgia

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SUBSCRIPTION RATE:

Published Weekly by The Courier Publishing Company,

"Re" - Segregation Is Latest Problem

The problems, and the headaches, that confront integrationists-once they succeed in putting over their race-mixing-seem to increase, not decrease, as the days go by.

Take, for example, the large headache that must have developed for the School board of the Littlefield, Texas, school when a delegation of Negroes, headed by a Negro preacher, asked the Board to build a Negro elementary school, and to return the children in the elementary grades to segregated schools.

Their spokesman very carefully emphasized that it was not that they were opposed to integration, and that they were not asking for "re-segregation" in the high schools. It was just that they wanted their children that were in the elementary grades to go to an all-Negro school because in integrated schools, these children suffered in their social relations.

No action was reported to have been taken on the Negroes' request and no interest seems to have been aroused in any Board member to ask the Negro leader to explain why the Negro students in the integrated high schools did not, also, "suffer" in their social relations.

But there you have it! Negro children suffer from integration, and, when the Negroes come to that realization, the Negroes, the NAACP and the Communists notwithstanding-regardless of how they may try to gloss it over-want segregation just the same as do the white people.

The question is-Will the schools and the Courts, when confronted with this problem from the Negroes' standpoint, be more considerate of the Negroes, and permit the schools to be returned to a segregated basis?

Or will they admit that the original "sociological" reason given for holding that segregation is unconstitutional-that it makes Negro children unhappy and feel inferior to be forced to associate with each other-was not the real reason, after all, for their Black Monday decision? Will they force the Negroes to attend integrated schools against their will just as they have forced white children to attend integrated schools against their

The Communists have known, all along, that integration will not work in the South, and their efforts to force integration were to stir up trouble and racial strife. Just what the Supreme Court had in mind by trying to force integration should be made plain when we see how they resolve this latest question.

STRICTLY PERSONAL

(Continued from Page 1)

"Human history begins in the valley of the Nile. Equatorial Africa, occupied by Negroes, has been vaguely known to Europeans for about four centuries; that portion occupied by Egyptians has a recorded history variously estimated at from five thousand to seventeen thousand years before Christ. Throughout this staggering antiquity we catch an occasional glimpse of the Negro, described in the writings or sculptured on the Egyptian monuments, always as a savage, always as a slave.

'God planted the Egyptian and the Negro side by side, in that fabled valley, with equal opportunities. The earth was new; all things lay before all men. No man could borrow from his neighbor, because his neighbor had naught to lend. No man could learn from his neighbor, for his neighbor had naught to teach. Here was the virgin earth, fresh and moist from the hand of the Creator. There was the mysterious sea; and far away in the shining spaces of the night lay the uncounted stars with their lessons spread. All of these were to be studied, all were to be conquered. The door of hope stood broadly open, and no color-line

"There were no tyrants in those days, no masters and no slaves; there was neither riches nor poverty. Nothing had been preempted, nothing patented; there were no Jim-Crow cars, everything was equal.

But with this beginning on a basis of equality, what happened?

Dickson again paints us an accurate picture:

"Mark the lapse of a few centuries. The achievements of Egypt can scarcely be catalogued, they are so versatile and so magnificent. The Egyptian had erected constitutional government, created the kingly dignity and safeguarded the people's rights. He was skilled in medicine, and wrote works on astronomy, architecture, anatomy - fragments of which remain to this day. He had built cities which are yet the wonder of mankind; he had devised an elaborate system of religion, he had harnessed the Nile, reared the pyramids and measured the stars.

"But the Negro's jungle was still a jungle. He had no government, no cities, no learning; he had no clothing, no arts, no aspirations. He had dreamed no dreams, hoped no hopes, indulged no visions. He had (Continued on Page 3)

Communism At Home And From Abroad, National Bankruptcy The Two Deadly Foes

(Continued from Page 1)

we live. They are warnings that can be | our survival as a nation.

Danger To Freedom

The most obvious danger to our freedom and our security stems from the ever-present threat of Communist aggression from abroad. It is a danger that has been made more awesome by frightening evidence that Russian technology and scientific know-how have pulled ahead of us in the deadly space and missile race.

In recent months, there have been a few hopeful signs that our Russian adversaries wish to bring about an easing of international tensions and a relaxation of cold war pressures. This nation -ındeed, all mankind - welcome these signs if they are genuine and sincere.

But it would be a mistake of fatal proportions to accept a few soft words and friendly smiles from Khrushchev and Company as clear proof that the Communist leopard has changed its spots and abandoned its quest of world domination. We must have concrete deeds and specific actions in order to test Khrushchev's sincerity.

Supreme Urgency

It is, therefore, a matter of supreme argency that the United States continue to maintain a strong and alert defensive system capable of protecting our the standing of our entire economy. national security and preserving our freedom.

must we re-double our efforts to head raiding the public purse. off Russia's crash program to achieve supremacy in the development of missiles and rockets.

and power. To deal with them on any other basis would be to court national suicide.

Communist Threat

Though the communist threat is grave and pressing, it is by no means the only danger that imperils our nation and our free institutions. There are others that have their origin within our own country and from some of our own people.

One of these is the specter of runaway government spending, an unmanageable public debt, and the general fiscal chaos that is casting a grim shadow over the Federal Government in Washington today.

We now have a stupendous public debt of more than \$285 billion — the Next to national defense, interest on the some \$1.8 billion dollars. debt alone is the largest single item of federal expenditure.

Operated At Deficit

The Federal establishment has operated at a deficit every year except five sınce 1930. Though two wars and a depression made some of this unavoidable, a dangerous tendency seems to be developing that accepts deficit financing by the Federal Government as normal and necessary. It most assuredly is

Everyone knows that a private business that consistently operates in the red and sinks deeper and deeper into debt will sooner or later wind up in disaster and ruin. But for some inexplicable reason, some people in high places who ought to know better refuse to recognize that the same thing can happen to the Federal Government.

There is, of course, one fundamental ignored and disregarded only at grave difference between fiscal irresponsibiliperil to our freedom, our way of life and ty in business and fiscal irresponsibility in the Federal Government. In business, the people who get hurt by fiscal irresponsibility are those directly involved in the venture. But, in government everyone gets hurt.

> The terrible toll of foolish spending policies and irresponsible deficit financing in Washington is becoming increasingly evident.

Inflation, High Taxes

It has fostered and fed inflation and cheapened the value of the dollar.

It has resulted in higher and higher taxes and has saddled generations yet unborn with an inherited indebtedness of staggering proportions.

It has put the Federal Government into fields that should be left to private enterprise and extended federal controls over an ever-widening circle of our everyday lives.

It has penalized the provident by robbing them of their savings and inflicted hardships on the aged by depreciating their retirement and pension benefits. It has deluded the wage earner with illusions of wealth that always vanish in the light of advancing prices.

Economy Injured

And it has seriously weakened the financial underpinning, the stability and

Yet the spenders go on demanding more and more blood from the Ameri-We must not be lulled into a false can taxpayer. Each session of Congress sense of security on the flimsy basis of sees the introduction of a new batch communist propaganda. Particularly of socialistic spending proposals for

This question of fiscal irresponsibility is not a partisan issue. Both of the great political parties have their share of The Communist rulers pay lip-service spenders, and both have men who sinto peace, but they respect only strength cerely seek to restore fiscal sanity to the Federal Government.

> There is, in fact, as much difference in the political and fiscal views of Senator Goldwater and Senator Javits in the Republican Party as there is between Harry Byrd and Hubert Humphrey in the Democratic Party.

Runaway Spending

During the last session of Congress, a start was made toward bringing the Federal budget into balance and putting a lid on runaway spending.

The Administration, perhaps out of shock over the \$13 billion deficit incurred the previous year, submitted a budget to Congress for the current year that was barely balanced at around \$77. billion. Congress, I am gratified to reequivalent of about \$1600 for every port, succeeded in trimming the Adman, woman and child in the nation. ministration's estimated expenditures by

> The steel strike and other imponderables may spoil the opportunity of achieving a balanced budget in the current year. But at least we are on the right track.

Eternal Truths

The worst thing in my opinion that could happen is that the white people of the South should stand in opposing factions, with the vast mass of ignorant or purchasable Negro votes between. If the Negroes were skillfully led and leaders would not be lacking -it would give them the balance of power -a thing not to be considered. The Negro would be forever in alliance with that faction which is the most desperate and unscrupulous.

> -Henry W. Grady The Great Editor of The Atlanta Constitution.

Protection Of Soil Is Sound Investment, Senator Russell Says

Soil, Water Research **Facilities Dedicated** At Watkinsville By **Famous Georgian**

WATKINSVILLE, GA., Dec. 4 -Senator Richard B. Russell declared here today that money spent in conserving and improving soil resources is a sound investment in the future of the

But the Georgia Senator said in spite of the tangible result of present conservation programs, there are some who would "scuttle this great program forthwith if they had their way. These sel-. fish and narrow individuals contend that the Government has no business help-, ing to conserve the resources of the country."

"If we can afford to spend billions of dollars developing the resources of foreign countries, surely we can afford to spend a few million dollars in conserving the resources of our own," he said.

Research Facilities

Russell was the principal speaker at ceremonies dedicating the new soil and water research facilities at the Southern Piedmont Conservation Station here in Watkinsville. Russell praised the Watkinsville Station and pointed out that it had developed a number of major soil and water conservation practices that are now being carried out throughout the Piedmont area of Georgia, Alabama and South Carolina.

As Chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Agricultural Appropriations, the Georgian has played a major role in obtaining funds for the station and the new facilities. He has long been a leading conservation advocate in Congress.

In his prepared speech, Senator Russell continued his criticism of the Republican Administration's handling of the nation's farm program. He also hit at efforts of the Administration to reduce the Agricultural Conservation Pro-

"Fortunately, Congress so far has been able to thwart Benson's attempts to starve-out the ACU program. We have, in fact, been able to increase the amount of money the Secretary (Benson) recommended for the conservation program for six of the eight years he has been in office.

Soil, Water Program

Russell pledged his continuing effort in the fight to maintain an effective program of soil and water conservation in the country. He pointed out that Georgia is one of the leading states in conservation work with six out of every ten farmers participating in an organized soil conservation district.

Senator Russell also declared:

"It is impossible to overstate the urgent importance of soil and water conservation to the future welfare and prosperity of our entire nation.

"There are some people who tend to regard soil conservation as a matter that relates only to farmers. Nothing could be further from the truth. Conservation affects the lives of every man, woman and child in the country regardless of where they live.

"It is true that those who live on the land are the immediate custodians and to even the most short-sighted members stewards of the soil. But the land pro-vides the food and fiber to feed and "During the past session of Congress, tivity unlimited. In the United States "do-it-yourself" program."

STRICTLY PERSONAL

(Continued from page 2)

desired nothing, planned nothing, executed nothing in any wise more intellectual than the accomplishments of the gorilla - except his crude superstition, a form of serpent-worship which no white intelligence has ever yet been able to understand.

"His sole place in history is the one accorded him by his enterprising neighbor-a driven slave sculptured upon the resting-place of kings.

"Left alone, contented in his jungle, he had progressed backward and become a feeder upon human flesh, a polygamist, without religion, family ties or morals. He was the investor and promulgator of slavery, the patentee and proprietor of cannibalism-these being the twin institutions which he had contributed to human progress.

Now here in the land of the Nile both the Negro and the white man started. No race of people in antiquity developed and made the progress as did the Egyptians.

There were centuries and maybe thousands of years during which they developed a civilization which is incomprehensive to us today. Even today we have not been able to determine how they built the pyramids. Even with all of our machinery and engineering and skill and know-how, the pyramids could not be built today.

They developed the art of preserving the human body and how they did it is still a mystery to us.

Yet, during all of this development, the Negro contributed two things to the history of mankind:

- 1. Human slavery.
- 2. Cannibalism.

Now the history of Egypt tells us what will happen to America if the races are integrated here. They had racial deviates in the days of the Egyptians. They mixed the white and the Negro blood and you know what happened to the wonderful civilization developed by the Egyptian people.

Dickson tells us that the Egyptian of antiquity deplored the mixing of the Negro blood with the Egyptian. Dickson quotes the Egyptians of complaining thusly:

The large number of black women found in the harems of the rich, and even in the huts of the common people, quickly impaired the purity of the race, even among the upper classes of the nation, and the type began to resemble that of the Negro tribes of Equatorial Africa; the language fared no better in the face of this invasion, and the written character soon became as corrupt as the language. The taste for art decayed technical ability began to deteriorate. The moral and intellectual standards declined, and the mass of the people showed signs of relapsing into barbarism.

This is what happened to the Egyptians, the most cultured and refined country of antiquity.

Continuing, Dickson said:

"This was not a new story, even in those faint, far centuries. Mark Twain would possibly explain this striking similarity by charging those ancient Egyptians with plagiarizing Vardaman's Rabid Idea.

The Negro started neck-to-neck with the Egyptian in the valley of the Nile. He helped to build the Temples of Rameses, he polished the columns of Karnak, he toiled at the hundred gates of Thebes. But he gained no more conception of those colossal works than did the donkeys which helped him drag the stones.

"He touched with his hands, he heard with his ears, with his eyes he beheld the material things about him, but no comprehension of the spirit which reared those massive monuments ever penetrated his skull Then, as now, perhaps, he merely watched the sun dial for five o'clock to come, and listened for the foreman's voice, 'It's time to knock off.' He had done his day's labor, and no more.

"Under the lash of Egypt he could build the pyramids; without a higher intelligence to guide him he builds a hut of poles.

"The story of man ran on. The Assyrians conquered Egypt, the Persian dynasty followed, and fell; the Hebrews came, and went their way. These peoples taught the Negro nothing of arms, of science or of the moral law.

"Phoenician galleys, with sails of royal purple, floated past on restless explorations; the Negro gained no knowledge of commerce or navigation. Mighty Carthage rose, dominated the maritime world, and fell beneath the steel-tipped wrath of Rome; but neither Carthagmian nor Roman had a lesson for the Negro. Northern Africa shook with the tread (Continued from Page 4)

the business of conserving the soil is prominent Republican Senator argue everybody's business.

Bountiful Land

"The bountiful land that has brought the rich blessings of plenty to this and preceding generations of Americans must go on feeding and clothin, count-

less generations of future Americans.

"This simple fact should be apparent

clothe everybody in the nation. Thus, I was shocked and appalled to hear a that we should curtail spending for conservation activities because of our present farm surpluses.

> that can be turned on and off at will thing. The farmers who cooperate in like a water spigot. It is a continuing the district organization do so because job—and a vastly important one.

Fertility of Soil

"The truth is that the fertility of the individually.

today, there are between 500 and 600 million acres of land suitable for farming – about three acres per person to feed and clothe our present population of 180 million.

"Thanks to the natural richness of our land and the resourcefulness of our farmers, the current needs of our pre-sent population are being met. We have, in fact, the good fortune to know the blessing of abundance rather than the curse of scarcity.

"But it would be a fatal mistake to assume that the present situation will continue indefinitely. We are a growing country. Each year, the sun shines on an additional three million Americans. By as early as 1975, we are expected to have a national population of 225 million or more.

Solemn Obligation

"Those Americans of the future must depend on the land they inherit from us to sustain them. We have a solemn obligation to see that it does.

"Here in Georgia, we are living up to that obligation to conserve the land for ourselves and for those who will follow us. In virtually every phase of soil and water conservation, our state is setting a challenging pace for the Southeast and, for that matter, the entire na-

"Georgia was one of the first states to enact legislation to enable landowners to organize and operate their own soil conservation districts. As a result, every acre of land in the state is now covered by one of the 27 Soil Conservation Districts. Six out of 10 Georgia farmers are cooperating in planned conservation programs for their land.

Last Fiscal Year

"In the last fiscal year alone, Georgia farmers cooperating in conservation districts established for the first time 233,-000 acres of conservation crop rotation and planted 231,000 acres of cover crops, 144,000 acres of pasture and almost 260,000 acres of trees. In addition, they built 1,250 new farm ponds and established almost 1,000 acres of terraces.

"This remarkable record has been due in no small measure to the unselfish leadership of the supervisors of Georgia's conservation districts.

"These men serve without pay. Yet their reward is far too valuable to be measured in terms of dollars. Theirs is the deep, inner satisfaction that comes with the knowledge that they are meeting their responsibilities of today for the children of tomorrow

Georgia Is Fortunate

"Georgia is indeed fortunate to have men of this caliber to lead, direct and supervise the conservation movement in our state.

"Another key member of the conservation teams are the trained conservationists who provide the essential technical assistance to implement farm plans and practices. These dedicated men provide the know-how and expert touch that makes the program a success.

"One appealing aspect of this program is that it is entirely voluntary. No "Soil conservation is not something one is forced or required to do anythey recognize they can do better together what would be difficult to do

"It is an outstanding example of a

Brings Bedlam Integrated Housing Plan In Illinois Town

Deerfield Citizens Register Protests About Proposal With City Council

Bedlam is footloose in Deerfield, Illi-

Deerfield is a town of eight thousand population fifteen miles Northwest of

The threat to move ten or twelve families of Negroes into this area has produced chaos, confusion and bedlam of every kind in this community.

Deerfield is a residential community where people with homes ranging from twenty-five to forty thousand dollars live. It is adjoining the Lake Forest area which is one of the richest of the welloff suburbs along Chicago's North shore

Building Plan Fought

No Negro has ever lived in Deerfield.

A development corporation recently bought fifteen acres in Deerfield and secured a permit to build fifty-one homes in a subdivision where the average sales price will be thirty thousand dollars.

After the permit was secured and work begun, the developers announced that they were going to sell ten or twelve of these homes to Negroes.

Immediately, the people of Deerfield swamped the city hall in protest and blaming the developers for not advising the city commission of their intentions

before the permit was granted.

Village Trustees

The Board of Village Trustees is now studying the situation and trying to find a way out, but the developers have the entire area over a barrel.

Chicago has had much trouble with the Negro situation in the past few years. This trouble has been on the South side of Chicago and this is the first attempt that the Negroes have made to force their way into residential areas on the North side and along the Lake

As a result of the migration of the Negroes into the South side, white peo-ple have moved out and they have moved into the North shore area to escape the Negroes.

The people of Deerfield now feel that they will be faced with the possibility of sacrificing their homes and moving to another neighborhood or standing still and suffering the ravages of an integrated community.

Feeling Kuns High Feeling is running high in Deerfield and the white people there are up in

It remains to be seen how far they will go in their opposition to this migration of the legroes into this all white area.

The people who have built and bought homes in this area felt secure and thought that they would never be faced with the prospects of a Negro invasion. All-White Schools

They felt that they were guaranteed that their children would be able to go to all-white schools and would not be forced to mix with the Negro children. As a result of this all-white area, the big development in the homes of the middle and upper classes of the people in the Chicago area has been in these all-white areas.

It can readily be imagined the consternation that reigns supreme in those areas now.

Their homes, their schools, their churches and their neighborhoods are threatened with destruction.

Employed the second that is not a

STRICTLY PERSONAL

(Continued from Page 3)

of Genseric's hordes returning from the pillage of Rome; the Negro gaped at the marching myriads without rousing his ambition or stirring his pulse.

"Conquering Moslems swept westward along the Mediterranean, crossed into Spain and subjugated it. They bore the Koran in one hand, the sword in the other, building new empires and spreading a new civilization. They left enduring marks upon the entire Western world-except upon this changeless Negro

"New nations came out of the North, white savages from German forests, who beat down the barriers of Rome and overran the world. Crusaders flaunted their banners along the shores of Africa. Bonaparte fought his modern gladiators in the shadow of the pyramids. The Negro watched them all, and remained as he was.

"The black man reappeared in history again and again, but only as an article of unholy commerce. Virginia enacted the first recorded laws in restraint of the slave trade which was promptly vetoed by successive Kings of England.

"The American Colonies won their independence. A second war was fought, and the white man freed the black.

Throughout these sixty turbulent centuries history knew nothing of the Negro, and the Negro knew nothing of history. He had contributed nothing to the onward march, and gained nothing from it. All the peoples of the world had blazoned their names upon the great book of the world's

"Humankind passed through sixty centuries of bloodshed, convulsion and tutelage-the leaven to make it wise and free. But all these centuries of change left no impress upon the stolid and changeless Negro. Immutable as the graven sphinx he stood stock-still, wondering at these restless nations who dreamed their glittering dreams, beyond his comprehension. Of all created things he alone escaped the universal uplifting, the world-wide betterment. As he was in the beginning, so is he now. For six thousand years he had bred and multiplied his jungle. That was

And there you now have a picture of the Negro in the land of the valley of the Nile. He had an even start with the Egyptian and after thousands of years the Negro wound up where he started.

And as Dickson said, "As he was in the beginning, so he is now . . . For six thousand years he had bred and multiplied his jungle. That was

But there is one thing that the Negro accomplished in Egypt. When the black woman found her way into the harems of the rich and the poorer people wallowed on the floors of their dingy huts with them, they impaired the purity of the race and the type began to resemble that of the Negro tribes of Equatorial Africa.

With the mixing of the blood, art decayed, technical ability deteriorated, moral and intellectual standards declined and the masses of the people began relapsing towards barbarism.

The Negro contributed nothing to the intellectual or moral development of the Egyptians. Yet, when he mixed his blood with the Egyptians he destroyed the greatness that was Egypt's.

If this retrogression began in Egypt by the admission of black women to the harems of the rich and by the wallowing on the floors of the dingy huts by the poor, what do you think will happen to this country when you begin to integrate the white and Negro races by forcing the boys and girls of both races to mix together at an early and tender age?

When this begins the purity of the races of the race of the American people will be impaired and the American people will relapse again in the direction of barbarism just exactly as the Egyptians did.

Already, we are reading about some famous Negro actor or Negro athlete or entertainer living with a white wife. Occasionally we read about a white man with a Negro wife

In times past some of our wealthy have been intimate with bright mulattoes living in Negro quarters. Some of our poorer people have mixed with them in the shanties.

The mixing in the past has been enough to make the blood of both

races impure in a small percentage of the population.

But when we permit the racial deviates to force the integration and the mixing of the two races in childhood then we are bound to see a general mixing of the races and the people of America go the way of the ancient learned Egyptians.

It is a foul thing the racial deviates are doing when they attempt to force the integration of the races.

The only hope of America is that there will be enough white people in the South and in other sections of the country to ban themselves together and to stand like the Rock of Gibraltar and say that it shall not happen here.

The future of race and the future of the country depends upon the courage of the people to do this very thing.

Become Slum Areas

and convert beautiful homes and beautiful residential areas into slum areas infested with filth and crime

Deerfield, Illinois

And it all brings home to us one ques-These people have watched the hordes tion: How long will it take the people of Negroes move into the South side of Illinois and the other Northern states and destroy community after community to recognize that the only way the Negro and white races can live together in the same towns and communities in They are now fighting this plague in a state of peace and harmony is under the Southern system of segregation.

Governor Has 1 Of 2 **Choices To Throttle NAACP's Effort To** Desegregate Schools

(Continued from page 1)

Native-Born Georgian Now, will he close the Atlanta schools next spring, next September, or will he close them at all?

It is the prediction of THE AUGUS-TA COURÎER that it will be up to Judge Hooper.

And it is a fearful decision for a judge to make. Judge Hooper is a native-born Georgian and has lived in Atlanta and Decatur all his life.

He knows how wrong the Supreme, Court decision is. He knows what an order, in effect closing the schools in Atlanta, would do to the city and to the state.

Knows The Consequences

Being a Southerner, Judge Hooper knows the fearful consequences of race mixing and the destruction that falls in its wake.

Now, what will he do?

Under the present law, Governor Vandiver will be faced with one of two

- 1. He can close each white school individually as Negroes are admitted, or,
- 2. He can close all of the schools, both white and colored, in the city of At-

It is not known which he would do if he is forced to make a decision between the two choices.

'Rastus' McGill, HOPE

There are several arguments in favor of both. If integration is tried in one school in Atlanta he could close that school, and then they would be segregated again. If the judge ordered Negroes to be admitted to another white school, he could close that one, and on indefinitely.

Should he close all the schools in Atlanta it would force "Rastus" McGill, "Abandon HOPE, Inc.," and other organizations in Atlanta, to start putting the pressure on the Negroes to get back in their own schools, in order to save the school system of the city.

If all of the schools are closed, the white people will be so mad with the Negroes and the NAACP until it would . be unsafe for Negroes to get out of the Negro areas in the City of Atlanta.

So, whether we are headed for a headon conflict between the state government and the federal courts rests upon the decision of Judge Frank Hooper.

The Communist Conspiracy:

"Remember that the real strength of Communism lies in the underground part of the conspiracy in this country. The official Communist Party of card-carrying members has, in all probability, never had more than 90,000 members at any one time, and the Communists themselves say that it is merely the periscope of the submarine.'

-Revilo Pendleton Oliver, Professor of Classics, University of Illinois Urbana, Illinois

(م) سلمه G.F.

January 8, 1960

RECEIVED

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GENTRAL FILES

Dear Miss Chestnut:

The President has asked me to acknowledge your letter to him of January third.

Your interest in writing and expressing your points of view is appreciated.

Sincerely,

E. Frederic Morrow Administrative Officer Special Projects Group

Miss Aurora Chestnut 347 High Street Richmond, Kentucky

lrs

give :

Aurora Chestnut 347 High Street, Richmond, Ky. Jan. 3,1960

PRESIDENT EISENHAUER, THE WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Dear Sir,

I wish to call this editorial, page 2, to your attention. I consider it fair-minded. $\times \subset III \cap 2$

I consider it fair-minded.

XEF 7-3

I am in favor of making Puerto Rico into some kind of a U.S. State, though not quite like our other States, because Puerto Rico speaks a foreign language. I fear that if it is allowed to become independent, the communists will gain control and will establish bases there. We remember what nappened to Cuba, after we freed it!

mperhaps we can find some tactful way to limit immigration from Puerto Rico because the natives speak a foreign language. Surely we have the right to insist that their migrants should at least learn our language and basic civilized customs before they are allowed to come to this country. We can take the honest attitude that it is cruel to let them come in and flounder about preposterously, as this paper describes.

When I was in high school, I corresponded in Spanish with a girl in Puerto Rico- San Juan. She wrote in English, seemed to be quite nice. It is not fair to the nice people in Puerto Rico to give their country (or is it a territory?) the reputation it is winning in this country, due to a mass migration of the unprepared, even though Puerto Rico tries (in its own way) to prepare the immigrants. If we set up a stricter standard, they will arrive better prepared or will become discouraged and will not arrive. Personally, I wish they could think up a way to train and employ them in their own country so they wouldn't come to this one in such large numbers, since this country was largely founded by Western Europeans, principally the English, whose language we have inherited.

Please read the marked item on page 3. "Inter-racial Blood transfusions between White and Negro races are dangerous it." It is medically dangerous to give Negro blood to a White man.

Even more surprising, it is 8 times more dangerous to give a White man's blood to a Negro. "Dr. Scudder is a blood specialist." We should be mighty careful to avoid such transfusions or intermarriage between these racial groups. Segregated schools and churches help to prevent such intermarriage, etc. I consider segregation a courtesy. Dr. Scudder would consider it a necessity.

Sincerely, Aurus Chestnut

1/7



Dedicated to the maintenance of peace, good order and domestic tranquility in our Community and in our State and to the preservation of our States' Rights

Vol. 5 No. 3

OFFICIAL PAPER OF THE CITIZENS' COUNCILS OF AMERICA — DECEMBER, 1959

Jackson, Mississippi

negroes can beep Winter and of hegher

Outlook Is Black--

D. C. Is **'Second** Harlem'

Washington, D. C, capital city of the U S., is fast becoming a Negro community.

This frank warning came from a study committee composed of prominent Washington civic leaders, appointed to look into problems of juvenile crime and dependent chil-

Other reports released during the past month show Washington faced with a mounting crime rate, soaring welfare payments, the loss of upper-income white residents, and continued Negro inability to absorb education, even in the city's "showcase" integrated schools.

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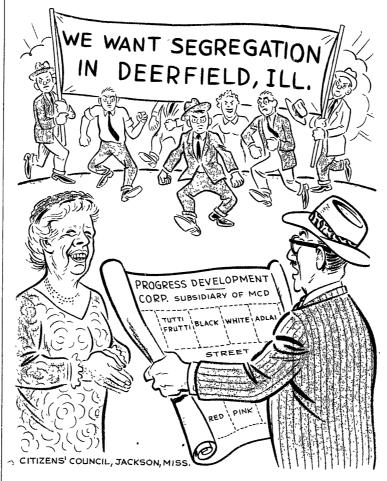
Latest reports show that the District of Columbia population is at least 53 per cent Negro, compared with only 36 per cent in 1950. Between 1950 and mid-1958, an estimated 142,000 whites fled to the segregated suburbs. Of this number, 120,000 were in the pro-

number, 120,000 were in the productive 18-44 age group.

A steady increase in the Negro birth rate—with or without benefit of clergy—has added almost 100,000 Negroes to the population in the past

"As each year passes," Rep. James C. Davis (D-Ga.) remarked "our

Charge Of The White Brigade!



To Stay All-White, Despite MCD Scheme

"Neighbors verbally clawed at each other last night as the village stumbled through another stormy session on the problems of this all-white community faced with the possibility of a racially integrated housing development."

Did this happen in the "prejudiced" South? Heavens, no. There aren't any all-white communities in the South. The above is from an eye-witness account of a citizens' meeting in Deerfield, Ill., a prosperous suburb of Chicago, in the state of those great advocates of brotherhood, tolerance, etc., etc., Adlai Stevenson and Sen. Paul Douglas.

It seems that an outfit called Progress Development Corp, Illinois subsidiary of Modern Community Developers, Inc., had snuck in, in the quiet of the night, and started a housing project, Floral Park, of 51 homes in the \$30,000 price class. So far, so good. The trouble is, the developers neglected to mention the minor fact that 10 or 12 homes would be sold to Negroes. When this word got out, the egg really hit the fan.

"People are disturbed," said with a substantial threat to property values." erty values."

There were rumors that efforts would be made to quash the project through rezoning or other legal devices. Some clergymen were reported weicoming the project, however, as a test of "interracial understanding" Deerfielders understood only too well.

Irate citizens mobilized practically over-night. Construction

Norris Stilphen, village manager. to God. Maybe in Floral Park the "We have been receiving many phone calls. It is not something that more a delighted to see that people are delighted to see. It has opposition. We are faced cidence, Mr. Kaplan also happens to

> Adlai Stevenson, once active in Adlai Stevenson, once active in left-wing political circles, has hailed MCD, calling it "... as sensible and intelligent an approach as I can imagine." He is well represented in the deal by two of his law partners, John W. Hunt, who is vice president of Progress Development Corp., and W. Willard Wirtz, a board member of MCD.

Outlook Is Black-- Charge Of The White Brigade! Deerfield Determined

D. C. Is **'Second** Harlem'

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A steady increase in the Negro

birth rate—with or without benefit of clergy—has added almost 100,000 Negroes to the population in the past

"As each year passes," Rep. James C. Davis (D-Ga.) remarked, "our nation's capital grows more and more to resemble a second Harlem.'

The study group urged Washington leaders to "stop looking the other way and face this situation before it gets out of hand. These facts mean that the character of the Washington population is changing. This is a fact that needs to be squarely faced."

The group's report continued:

The group's report continued:

"Just as it would be unfortunate for Washington to be a city of all-white residents, so would it be unfortunate for this nation's capital to become identified, in the eyes of the world, as the single urban center in the United States predominantly occupied by Negroes."

This report drew praise even from the Washington Post, a staunch supporter of forcible integration. The Post called the report "heartening," and said it "looks candidly at a community problem which cannot be responsibly ignored—the flight to the suburbs and the changing racial character of the capital."

"Although there is now no sub-

"Although there is now no substantial Negro migration into Washington," the Post declared in a Dec. 3 editorial, "there is such a large-scale migration of white residents out of the city—such a migration, in par-ticular, of white residents under 45 years of age—that the District is on the way to becoming a vast ghetto."

(Editor's Note—We find it an encouraging sign of the times that even the Washington Post now concedes that an area populated pre-dominantly by Negroes soon becomes-in the Post's own wordsa ghetto. Pardon our smug expressions, but now we've seen almost everything!)

The Post editorial goes on to urge 'the restoration of balance . . . the kind which will enlarge the number of self-supporting, tax-paying, law-abiding citizens who will contribute to the community's growth."

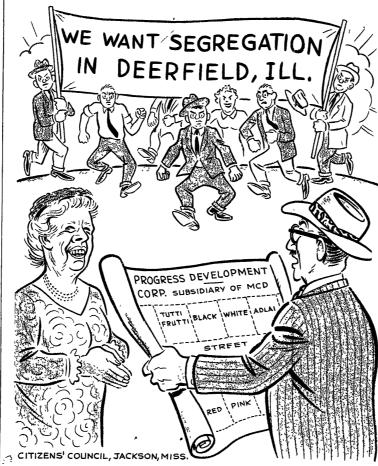
(Editor's Note-Stop the presses! Does the Washington Post mean to infer that its favorite Negroes are NOT "self-supporting, tax-paying, law-abiding citizens"? Seems that way to us. Careful, now, or one of these days they'll write something nice about the South!)

The committee urged whites to "stop their flight to the suburbs," but offered no alternative plan for

coping with the race problem. Meantime, the FBI crime report cent increase in Washington's crime rate, while registering a 6 per cent drop for other cities of similar size during the first nine months of this

(See D. C., p. 4)

Charge Of The White Brigade!



New York Warned To Expect More Negroes, Puerto Ricans; 4 Million Predicted By 1980

form between 18 and 20 per cent of the region's population. Estimates put the projected 1975 population of the New York metropolitan area at 20 million persons.

Dr. Handlin said that although 11/2 million Negroes and Puerto Ricans now live in New York City, the sur-rounding suburban areas can expect much of the future influx of black

The Handlin report, which fol-lowed a 3-year study, is entitled "The Newcomers: Negroes and Puerto Ricans in a Changing Metropolis." It is predicted that "the great ma-

ority" of Negroes and Puerto Ricans "will continue to live in cohesive settlements," surrounded by their own

Dr. Handlin stated flatly that welfare agencies can expect business to boom. He said Negroes and Puerto Ricans "are likely to continue to depend more on governmental services for education and welfare than did earlier immigrants."

"These people are especially vulnerable to the dangers of the city," Handlin said. "There is a genuine, and ominous, possibility that they will remain so in the future.

"If they do, the people of the New York metropolitan region will have to meet the calamitous social costs created by the actual and potential delinquency of a large part of the population.

While the city itself has had more than a century's experience in dealing with such problems, Dr. Handlin forsees the greatest danger in "the outlying communities, unequipped by tradition or history to deal with such questions, and inclined to believe that they do not really exist.'

Dr. Handlin said suburban areas may find themselves suddenly overwhelmed by the consequences.

mental and physical illness.

Also, Dr Handlin noted, both the Puerto Rican and the Negro migrant to New York have kept one foot back home. "This does not contribute to a sense of belonging," he added.

"Negroes, and to only a slightly lesser extent Puerto Ricans, are slow to enter trade, to become entre-preneurs. They have wasteful spend-ing habits and are prone to debt. This is often attributed to ethnic causes," the report continued.

To meet the problem, the reportfinanced by the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations—urged the elimination of color identity, and equalization of job opportunities, education, housing and family stability. It added "The color problem is uppermost in the minds of Americans today It is a major barrier to the assimilation of Negroes and Puerto Ricans

The changing racial pat 50 per cent, to 310,000, while the white population showed a drop of 9.3 per cent. The borough's public school enrollment is 21.3 per cent Negro and 13.1 per cent Puerto Rican.

Juvenile delinquency occurs at a ower rate in Brooklyn than in Manhattan, where Negroes and Puerto Ricans are found in greater numbers. But the Brooklyn rate is higher than nearby predominantly-white areas.

As an immediate solution to at least one important aspect of the race problem, more New York parents are sending their children to private schools

A recent boast by public school officials that "only 14 known narcotics addicts" are enrolled in classes this fall apparently failed to impress concerned parents. Even

(See NEW YORK, p. 4)

To Stay All-White, Despite MCD Scheme

"Neighbors verbally clawed at each other last night as the village stumbled through another stormy session on the problems of this all-white community faced with the possibility of a racially integrated housing development."

Did this happen in the "prejudiced" South? Heavens, no. There aren't any all-white communities in the South. The above is from an eye-witness account of a citizens' meeting in Deerfield, Ill., a prosperous suburb of Chicago, in the state of those great advocates of brotherhood, tolerance, etc., etc., Adlai Stevenson and Sen. Paul Douglas.

It seems that an outfit called Progress Development Corp Illinois subsidiary of Modern Community Developers, Inc., had snuck in, in the quiet of the night, and started a housing project, Floral Park, of 51 homes in the \$30,000 price class. So far, so good. The trouble is, the developers neglected to mention the minor fact that 10 or 12 homes would be sold to Negroes. When this word got out, the egg really hit the fan.

"People are disturbed," said Norris Stilphen, village manager.
"We have been receiving many phone calls. It is not something that people are delighted to see.

It has opposition. We are faced it has opposition. We are faced it has opposition and the same of the s with a substantial threat to prop-be a prominent director of the NAACP. erty values.'

There were rumors that efforts would be made to quash the project through rezoning or other legal devices. Some clergymen were reported welcoming the project, however, as a test of "interracial understanding." Deerfielders understood only too well.

Ir at e citizens mobilized practically constitution.

tically over-night. Construction jolted to a sudden halt on the experiment in tolerance" when the Deerfield building commissioner ruled that work done so far did not

meet specifications.
A spokesman for the upset citizens said many residents feel they were hoodwinked because village officials.

Stockholders are integrated—naturally. Or perhaps unnaturally would be the more nearly accurate term They run the scale from Sen. Joseph S. Clark of Pennsylvania to Negro editor and NAACP enjoy a sufficiently in-Defender. May these soul-mates live maximate the policy. happily ever after.

In a progress report to stockholders, MCD advises: "... where no local builder is ready to break the stereotype of all new housing for whites only, MCD can set up a wholly-owned subsidiary to build." wholly-owned subsidiary to build. An MCD brochure enlightens us further by asking: "What is inte-grated housing?" and answers, "Truly integrated housing is available to persons of all colors and creeds, with an occupancy pattern reflecting this democratic principle."

Revealing exactly the kind of alien democracy" being promoted, MCD. part of the city is revealed in a recently-released population study of Brooklyn Since 1950, the Negro population in Brooklyn has increased by North is the pattern of the social radical, bluntly delivers itself of the following solemnty: "A root cause of school in the pattern of the social results of the social radical, bluntly delivers itself of the following solemnty: "A root cause of school in the pattern of the social radical, bluntly delivers itself of the social radical North is the pattern of residential segregation. The time for justice in housing is past due. We cannot afford the cost in wasted human and financial resources, in lost stature in a world two-thirds non-white."

As early as February, The Citizens' Council knew that the Chicago project was on the boards. And we have watched with interest to see whether the so-called integrated North

have watched with interest to see whether the so-called integrated North was going to swallow this particular dose of togetherness. Now we know.

They prefer apartheid. And how! It is most enlightening to lift the corporate veil of MCD and see just who is doing good to whom.

We learn that MCD was founded by no less a personage than one Kivie Kaplan—of the Boston Kaplans, that is—where the Lodges speak only to the Cabots, and the Cabots speak only

Adlai Stevenson, once active in left-wing political circles, has hailed MCD, calling it "... as sensible and intelligent on approach as I can intelligent an approach as I can imagine." He is well represented in the deal by two of his law partners, John W. Hunt, who is vice president of Progress Development Corp., and W. Willard Wirtz, a

Serving on the advisory committee of MCD are a number of individuals who are certainly no slouches when it comes to "interrelatedness" or "inter-A spokesman for the upset citizens groupedness' or whatever you want said many residents feel they were hoodwinked because village officials had no information on the interracial nature of the project when they issued son, Jackie Robinson and naturally Residents of the New York City metropolitan area are on notice that by 1980, the Negro and Puerto Rican population of the 22-county region will jump by 60 to 75 per cent.

A report published Nov. 30 by Harvard historian Oscar Handlin said that within the next 20 years, Negroes and Puerto Ricans will form between 18 and 20 per cent of the region's population. Estimates

Louis Martin of the Chicago Daily fectious interrelatedness to effectually

No wonder the avant-garde of ly. As time goes on and the full facts come to light, we'll wager they will wish they'd never stole at all. MCD stole into Deerfield so quiet-

Although hoodwinked once, the Deerfielders were not ones to wink at (See DEERFIELD, p 2)

<u> Kararararara</u> **SEASON'S GREETINGS!**

We would like to take this opportunity to extend sincere greetings of the Holiday Season to our many readers and friends across the nation.

To the many among you

who sent us cards and letters, our warm thanks. We wish it were possible to write each of you personally, but we're sure you'll under-stand if we take this means

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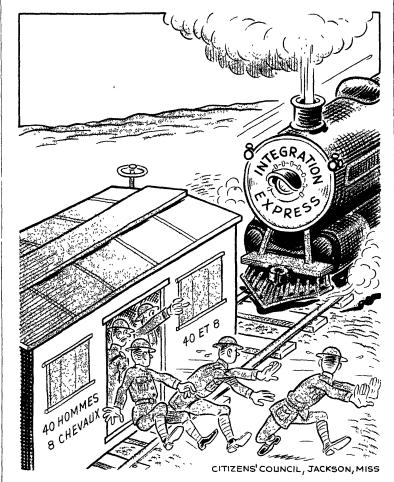
The North Sees The Light

(Editor's Note—Recently, more and more Northerners have been waking up to the realization that the North has a race problem of its own; a problem far more acute than the one facing the South. Gradually,

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A Northern attitude which is becoming more typical by the day was recently expressed by Alexander F. Jones, executive editor of the Syracuse, N. Y., Herald-American. We reprint Jones' editorial not because we agree entirely with what he writes—there are many points to which we take

Collision Course!



community, too," he commented later. "We can't just blame conditions and let it go at that."

That is the case, exactly, so far as I am concerned.

The U. S. Constitution guarantees rights to all citizens, but not included in those liberties is the privilege of flouting the law and committing

Furthermore, no citizen has the privilege of pointing to the color of his kin and the character of his dwelling as an answer to why he murdered innocent children in a playground.

More harm is being done to the cause of the law abiding, responsible Negro by racial Negro agitators, who harp on his rights and completely ignore the responsibilities of citizenship, than any other one factor.

And for an example of the type of Puerto Rican we are getting in the United States contrast them with the Hawaiians.

Hawaiians are a mixture of Polynesians, Japanese, Chinese, Filipinos Caucasians.

Yet, who ever heard of gangs of Hawaiians roaming the U.S. city streets like wild animals?

They are peace-loving people, who are law abiding and ambitious and

Report From **Tennessee**

By Richard Burrow, Jr.

The Tennessee Advisory Committee to the race-agitating Federal Civil Rights Commission has been unable to give much moral support to the NAACP program

Plagued with numerous resigna-tions, the state group reportedly now consists of five or six integrationists. One of the two Negroes on the integrated committee is a sup-porter of the Communist-tainted Highlander Folk School.

Another of the original Tennessee members who quit the committee earlier this year was W. Percy Mc-Donald, Jr., Memphis attorney. After finding out what the committee was expected to do and what its objectives were, McDonald emphasized "I don't care to be identified with it (the committee) in any manner, shape or

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Memphis—O. Z Evers, Negro postal clerk and NAACP trouble-maker, received official notice from the Post Office Department that he has been fired for political activity. Evers has indicated that he intends to fight the dismissal.

A newspaper poll by the Tennessee

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A Northern attitude which is becoming more typical by the day was recently expressed by Alexander F. Jones, executive editor of the Syracuse, N. Y., Herald-American. We reprint Jones' editorial not because we agree entirely with what he writes—there are many points to which we take exception—but, rather, to give our Southern readers a first-hand opportunity to be eyewitnesses to the gradual emergence of an enlightened North. The full text of Jones' editorial follows.)

Juvenile crime increased 8 1 per cent in 1958 in the United States,

The worst records, according to the figures, were in the large cities where the local statistics show the increase in juvenile crime was almost in direct ratio to the added Negro and Puerto Rican population.

It is a sad thing, and a matter that is being suppressed in most northern cities, but the fact is that the best argument for segregation is the crime record in Negro centers and the fact that education standards are set back dangerously where there is integration.

And it is equally true that the best argument for Puerto Rican In-dependence is that the U. S. could then put a quota on immigration to this country and stop the flow of the scum of the San Juan slums into American

This is no racial creed, or attempt to arouse prejudices.

It is intended as a challenge to Negro and Puerto Rican leaders to devote stronger efforts to instilling a greater degree of social responsibility

According to one account, in in newly arrived southern Negroes in northern cities and in Puerto Rican groups just deplaned on the mainland.

There is a great hue and cry from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People that Negroes are treated like second

The point is that a man is rarely treated like a second class citizen

The point is that a man is rarely treated like a second class citizen unless he acts like one.

There are hundreds of thousands of first class Negro citizens in northern cities who are equal in every way to the whites. And their children are ununity "(Twelve, mind you.)

equal in every way to others in school.

They are proof that social responsibility need not have anything to do with the color of anyone's skin.

But it is also a fact that when the present type of Negro and Puerto Rican newcomer moves into a city district it quickly becomes a slum and crime figures soar.

If the same number of Scandinavian newcomers moved into that district it would not become a slum. In fact, values would increase and improve-ment associations would be formed overnight.

The facts in this situation have been ignored too long and social welfare organizations and indeed the public attitude toward social responsibility and discipline of youth has become so lax that young criminals sneer at the

Today police are hard put in dealing with Negro and Puerto Rican gangs. If they use night sticks, they are charged with "police brutality" and mobs form to free the prisoner.

This happened in New York's Harlem recently when police arrested a in the integration crisis, said on the drunken Puerto Rican woman.

The nation was shocked by the murder of two white boys in a New York City playground by a gang of Puerto Rican hoodlums who have since been revealed as sneering, arrogant, garbage can scrounging little punks who grinned vacuously for the cameras as the funeral processions of their victims passed the police station where they were held

I remember well how Sergeant Mike Tuohy at the "back of the yards" police station in Chicago used to take punks like that down to the basement and apply a length of rubber hose.

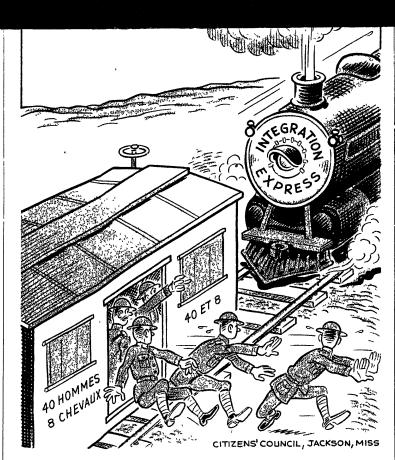
When they came upstairs they were not good subjects for pictures. There were no "to hell with the police" sneers. More likely than not they were paroled to Father Sheil—now Bishop—and one violation and Sergeant Tuohy took over again.

Police are being badgered by racial groups, mostly Negro and Puerto

Rican, to the point they are often afraid to act. In Washington, where the population is now 54 per cent Negro, muggings, murder, rape and robberies have increased to the point where the nation's capital has one of the worst crime records in the country—and its fully integrated schools have fallen two to three years behind former standards. A total of 26 police officers were attacked in July alone.

Rep. Charles Diggs, Jr., a Michigan Congressman, and himself a Negro, saw a gang of Negro thugs beating an officer recently and sought to stop it. He fled when one of them advanced on him with a knife.

"I know there are certain conditions which produce this kind of antisocial attitude, but we need more responsibility on the part of the Negro



community, too," he commented later. "We can't just blame conditions and let it go at that."

That is the case, exactly, so far as I am concerned

The U. S. Constitution guarantees rights to all citizens, but not included in those liberties is the privilege of flouting the law and committing

Furthermore, no citizen has the privilege of pointing to the color of his skin and the character of his dwelling as an answer to why he murdered innocent children in a playground.

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And for an example of the type of Puerto Rican we are getting in the nited States contrast them with the Hawaiians.

Hawaiians are a mixture of Polynesians, Japanese, Chinese, Filipinos

Yet, who ever heard of gangs of Hawaiians roaming the U. S. city treets like wild animals?

They are peace-loving people, who are law abiding and ambitious and make excellent citizens. They have pride of race, pride of their homes, pride in their accomplishments.

And they never create slums.

Laws, democracy, and the Christian spirit can do just so much for any

In the end their own character and efforts tell the story.

Deerfield Halts MCD

(Continued from Page 1)

hoods twice. Once the cat was out of the bag, they rallied 'round with a speaking for and against the project zest that might well excite the envy Many were frequently interrupted by

The developers had their chance to explain their plans in what was described as another "jeer-filled meeting." Opposition was based on several factors - fear of lowered property values, anger that the project was being forced on the community, concern that one integrated development would bring more, unhappy earlier relations between Negroes and individual Deerfield residents, and outright dislike for

Harold C. Lewis, River Woods Road, who had been elected to head a committee to advise the village board basis of what the committee had learned so far, the people of Deer-field are resentful of the manner in which the program for integration has been brought to the village. He said residents don't like the idea of "forced integration.

Lewis urged residents not to panic and throw their houses on the market. "There won't be much of a market for homes in Deerfield" anyway until this issue is settled,'

Theodore Repsholdt, a history teacher at Highland Park High School, which Deerfield students attend, said he wanted to go on record in favor of the project. "Since I am teaching your children, I thought you "Since I am should know how I stand," he said.

There were shouts from the audience that he should be fired.

(Editor's Note—One moment of silence, while we all shed a tear for academic freedom in Deerfield.)

Repsholdt was followed by others jeers, applause and shouts.

According to one account, more than 500 residents, "watched by television cameramen and reporters for the second straight night, (remember Clinton, Tenn.? — Ed.) packed the the second straight night, (remember were already lowered. "I was of-Clinton, Tenn.? — Ed.) packed the Deerfield Grammar School to air their only 24 hours after announcement of the project leaked out," he said.

> Another argued, "I don't think any-one who would want to be a part of Deerfield and who we would want would move into these houses." Others objected that they weren't consulted see if they wanted to be a part "of this experiment" and they wanted to know how Negro occupancy would be controlled. "How do we know this project won't expand into other sections of the town?" asked

A real estate agent estimated that Deerfield home values would drop 12-million dollars.

but you don't see them in the same nest" The first woman replied, "They don't live in the same nest, but they do live in the same tree." The second retorted, "I beg to differ. They just don't mix."

The same real estate agent who said property values would drop 12-million dollars cried out, "If the people who are pushing this development have any religion in their souls, how can they go before God knowing they have stirred up hatred in me and many of you toward Negroes that wasn't there before?"

Another man shouted, "I happen to work with these people (Negroes), but I don't want to live with them. If I have to move further out to get away, so help me God, I will."

A final speaker accused the developers of "community wrecking."

The result of community feeling, as graphically evidenced by meetings like this, was an 8 to 1 victory for segregation in an unofficial poll. By Richard Burrow, Jr.

The Tennessee Advisory Committee to the race-agitating Federal Civil Rights Commission has been unable to give much moral support to the NAACP program.

Plagued with numerous resignations, the state group reportedly now consists of five or six integrationists. One of the two Negroes on the integrated committee is a supporter of the Communist-tainted Highlander Folk School.

Another of the original Tennessée members who quit the committee earlier this year was W. Percy Mc-Donald, Jr., Memphis attorney. After finding out what the committee was expected to do and what its objectives were, McDonald emphasized. "I don't care to be identified with it (the committee) in any manner, shape or

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Memphis—O. Z. Evers, Negro postal clerk and NAACP trouble-maker, received official notice from the Post Office Department that he has been fired for political activity. Evers has indicated that he intends to

A newspaper poll by the Tennessee Federation for Constitutional Government in Memphis during October showed that less than 5 per cent of those answering the poll favored racial integration at Memphis State Uni-versity. Approximately the same numper were willing to pay taxes to support integrated institutions.

Perhaps more revealing of the strength of public opinion is the fact that 93 per cent of those polled favored calling on Governor Buford Ellington to use the state's police powers to maintain segregated

Of more than 4,000 citizens polled, 3,507 opposed MCD's Floral Park interracial experiment, while only 460 favored it. 56 expressed no opinion. Embattled Southerners will draw great encouragement from this overwhelming evidence of white solidarity in the North.

In typically high-minded disregard for the wishes of the majority, a group favoring "tolerance and democracy," and calling itself the Deerfield Citizens for Human Rights (how familiar that sounds—Ed.) said the poll "has no bearing on the legality of the issue involved, which is the fact that Deerfield is going to be an integrated community." One is moved to ask, Whose democracy:

The social gospeleers were not slow to apply their inimitable brand of Christian brotherhood to the situation. One Deerfield clergyman charged that To an argument of a woman proponent that "God made all of us," another woman replied, "God also made the bluebird and the blackbird,"

To an argument of a woman proponent that "God made all of us," to the vigilantes." Another said opponents of the MCD project have stirred up a "climate of hysteria."

(Editor's Note - Forsooth, brethren, we thought those terms were reserved for white conservative Southerners.)

In an earlier, halcyon day in March, 1959 A.D. (ante-Deerfield), to be exact, MCD president Morris Milgrim wrote this gem of bland optimism: The conscience of the community stands against segregation. It is ready or major changes in the pattern.

After their rude encounter with reality in the suburbs of Chicago, Sir Milgrim and his NAACP top-brass might as well pick up their black and white building blocks and depart for the socio-athylic dream world whereas the socio-ethnic dream world whence they came. We learn they have big plans for Washington, D. C. All we can say is they'd better hurry. Soon there won't be any white integratees left for them to experiment on.

To the staunch citizens of Deerfield we say, "Welcome to the fray. Keep a stiff upper lip—organize to the hilt—and DON'T GIVE AN INCH!"

Welfare Officials Want More 'Cash For

Despite the heavy strain on tax-1 payers of the ever-mounting cost of welfare payments" to Negroes and Puerto Ricans in Northern big cities, the nation's top welfare officials have heard plans for even greater expenditures soon

But in the face of the obvious fact that ambitious schemes for providing into law. "cradle to grave security" are aimed Secret primarily at attracting minority bloc votes, the Negro who is New York City's welfare commissioner charged that critics of socialistic "welfare" programs are merely giving vent to their hostility against Negroes, Puerto Ricans and other minority groups

More than 1000 persons attended the biennial conference of the American Public Welfare Association in Washington Dec. 2-5. They heard predictions of establishment of a "cradle to grave security" program in the U. S. within the next 10 to 25 years.

The plan was outlined by four Soal Security experts — Charles I. chottland of Brandeis University, a The Schottland of Branders University, a former administrator of the Social Selection of the Social Selection of the Social Selection of the Social Selection of the AFL-CIO; Eveline M. Burns of Columbia University, and "father-figure" This, he said, is un
The secretary explained that many area now cut off funds from unweld the woman's current the state's high schools and colleges meet once each year in the State Capitol, serving as Senators and Rep
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The secretary explained that many area now cut off funds from unweld the state's high schools and colleges high schools and colleges had the state's hig Burns of Columbia University, and "fath Wilbur J. Cohen of the University of just. Michigan. Their suggestions for socialism came during a program marking the 25th anniversary of the Social Security program

However, the Congress which originally established Social Security in 1934 would be hard put to identify tricia W. Rabinowitz, an associate protheir modest venture with present-day fessor at the University socialistic plans. The program was first conceived as a method of pro-

But compare this with the Dec. 3 predictions of the four experts They mothers are "unskilled, uneducated agreed that during the next 10 to 25 and unwanted, often Negro girls who

throughout the U. S., with states no longer allowed to set their own

schedules of payments. Persons seeking relief will no longer have to prove that they have been residents of a state or city

about "creeping socialism," but this is probably the first chance most of us have had to actually see it

creep!) The secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare promised the association to ask Congress next month to start enacting the plan

Secretary Arthur S. Flemming said he will seek Congressional approval of a plan under which the Government would provide medical care to the aged, infirmed and handicapped. (The first step in the approach outlined above—Ed.)

Flemming also proposed a giant research program on "the causes of juvenile delinquency, unmarried mothers and absent fathers"

(Editor's Note-Flemming's last proposal seems to indicate that these days, at least, the wages of sin are pretty high!)

fessor at the University of Michigan

She attacked critics of the increasviding for the needy aged, and for those temporarily out of jobs through no fault of their own. that critics often forget that unwed years:

--Welfare payments will be uniform in school."

received poor vocational counseling in school."

(Editor's Note-One might wish that these unwed mothers were even more "unskilled and unwant-ed.")

A new approach to answering criticism came from James R. Dumpson, a Negro, who is welfare commissioner for a certain length of time. (This makes it real convenient for politicians. They can recruit a traveling retinue of riff-raff, move them abuses are really "attacks on minority

St Louis welfare director J. P.

delphia and Boston.

Mississippi Students **Blast High Court**

Condemnation of the 1954 U.S.

resentatives.

necessary. The condemnation resolution de-plored the "unlawful assumption of

Inter-Racial Blood Transfusions Are Dangerous, Doctor Reports

A recent report on the danger of giving white blood to Negroes for blood transfusions between the white 20 years without having seen any ill and Negro races has received con-Lynes complained that a government siderable attention in the Northern

Lynes complained that a government agency is "discriminating" against some of his "clients" by charging higher monthly rentals to unwed mothers in public housing projects. He said he thought the plan was aimed at cutting down on such tenants in the projects.

Opposition to welfare payments to mothers of illegitimate offspring was also reported by officials from Philadelphia and Boston.

Siderable attention in the Northern press.

The report was made by Dr John Scudder of Columbia University. In essence, Dr. Scudder, in his November report to the American Association of Blood Banks, said that despite it "sounding wrong socially," there is a medical danger involved in the actual mixing of the blood of the white and Negroid races.

Thus, the danger of transfusing

Thus, the danger of tranfusing blood from different races — long denounced as racist propaganda and old wives tales, has actual scientific support.

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and absent fathers"

He said he would probably also recommend legislation eliminating all residence requirements for Federally-ing for aid to illegitimate or dependent children "on the basis of need only."

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Condemnation of the 1954 U. S. Supreme Court integration decision passed Mississippi's Twelth Youth York, a group of genetic "authorities" from Dr Scudder's own Columbia University, the "Seminar on genetics and the evolution of man," placed in a white man's blood stream.

A short while ago, Newsweek magatine to the nation and in foreign countries. The Mississippi bill cited authorities as having pronounced the sickle-cells in Negro blood as being harmful if placed in a white man's blood stream.

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plored the "unlawful assumption of power" by the Supreme Court in its 1954 decision and requested that the Supreme Court reverse its decision and return the "inalienable rights of self-government to the government to the governm

effects. Dr. Scudder's report said flatly, however, that there are inherent dangers in inter-racial transfusions. In other words, it is medically dangerous to give Negro blood to a white man. Even more surprising, it is 8 times more dangerous to give white blood to a Negro.

Dr Scudder's findings created a great stir in South Africa, where the question of interchange of the two bloods is an extremely dangerous and

touchy subject.
In 1958, a bill was introduced into old wives tales, has actual scientific support.

No sooner had Dr. Scudder's report to label blood by race. This, too, evoked a similar response from across

"It's an old sociological premise and a widely held medical belief that human beings around the globe are 'blood brothers' and that the same general types of vital fluid course through the arteries of all

men, regardless of race or color.

"Last week an eminent blood specialist flatly rejected the literal

theory of blood brotherhood. . ."
The significance of Dr. Scudder's findings cannot be talked out of existence, no matter how much socio-logical and quasi-medical jargon is

How Much 'Good' Do The Do-Gooders Do?

A YWCA national student group has written all 50 state attorneys general and school superintendents, urging the officials "to encourage and extend the process of school integration."

The National Student Council of the YWCA also called on its affiliates in colleges and universities throughout the nation "to work for understanding, support and implementation" of the 1954 U. S. Supreme Court school integration decree.

(Editor's Note-Since the YWCA is supported by membership dues and contributions, and since many Southerners are interested in the organization, we are reproducing the letter below. This is done in order that readers who are contributing to the YWCA program might know more fully the manner in which their money is being used. The November issue of this paper listed the YWCA as one of the 74 groups supporting Civil Rights bills.)

Here is a photographic reproduction of the YWCA letter received by Mississippi attorney general Joe Patterson:

Despite the heavy strain on taxpayers of the ever-mounting cost of "welfare payments" to Negroes and Puerto Ricans in Northern big cities, the nation's top welfare officials have heard plans for even greater expendi-

But in the face of the obvious fact that ambitious schemes for providing into law. "cradle to grave security" are aimed Secret primarily at attracting minority bloc votes, the Negro who is New York City's welfare commissioner charged that critics of socialistic "welfare" pro-grams are merely giving vent to their hostility against Negroes, Puerto Ri-

cans and other minority groups.

More than 1000 persons attended the biennial conference of the American Public Welfare Association in Washington Dec. 2-5. They heard predictions of establishment of a "cradle to grave security" program in the U. S. within the next 10 to 25 years.

The plan was outlined by four Social Security experts — Charles I. Schottland of Brandeis University, a former administrator of the Social Security experts — The secretary explained that many former administrator of the Social Security explained that many former administrator of the Social Security explained that many former administrator of the Social Security explained that many former administrator of the Social Security explained that many former administrator of the Social Security explained that many former administrator of the Social Security experts. curity program; Nelson H. Cruick-shank of the AFL-CIO; Eveline M. Burns of Columbia University; and "father-figure." This, he said, is un-Wilbur J. Cohen of the University of Michigan. Their suggestions for socialism came during a program marking the 25th anniversary of the Social Security program.

socialistic plans. The program was first conceived as a method of providing for the needy aged, and for those temporarily out of jobs through no fault of their own.

But compare this with the Dec. 3 predictions of the four experts. They agreed that during the next 10 to 25

—Welfare payments will be uniform throughout the U. S., with states no longer allowed to set their own schedules of payments.

-Persons seeking relief will no longer have to prove that they have been residents of a state or city
for a certain length of time. (This makes it real convenient for polifrom city to city, control elections, and all the time the taxpayers foot

These

Every family "that does not have children, mostly black) will be

-The Federal Government will proareas "where there is not enough work for all? to cities and towns "that need more workers." (What kind of workers? Probably the kind who arrive two days before an election, vote as they're told, collect their relief checks, then move on to another town where there's an election coming up, and which Washington suddenly and conveniently decides "needs more workers."—Ed.)

-A system of socialized medicine will be established.

—Social Security payments will increase at least 50 per cent, and bers of Negroes have migrated. extended to still more people.

A clue as to the way this program will be pushed came from Professor Burns, while discussing socialized medicine. She explained that "We shall surely see medical care for the aged added by the Government before too long, and I cannot believe that within 25 years, many people will not be asking why a policy that is good for those whose productive life is also for child who are the producers of the future."

(Editor's Note - Doctors please note the above! We have all heard

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about "creeping socialism," but this is probably the first chance most of us have had to actually see it creep!)

The secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare promised the association to ask Congress next month to start enacting the plan

Secretary Arthur S. Flemming said he will seek Congressional approval of a plan under which the Government would provide medical care to the aged, infirmed and handicapped. (The first step in the approach outlined above—Ed.)

Flemming also proposed a giant re-search program on "the causes of ju-venile delinquency, unmarried mothers

and absent fathers. He said he would probably also recommend legislation eliminating all residence requirements for Federallyfinanced relief programs, and provid-ing for aid to illegitimate or depend-

paramour is living in the home as a "father-figure." This, he said, is un-

(Editor's Note—Flemming's last proposal seems to indicate that these days, at least, the wages of sin are

pretty high!)
Unwed mothers were defended at However, the Congress which originally established Social Security in 1934 would be hard put to identify their modest venture with present-day lessor at the University of Michigan School of Social Work.

She attacked critics of the increas-ingly-popular Federal aid program which enables unmarried mothers to profit from their moral lapses, saying that critics often forget that unwed mothers are "unskilled, uneducated and unwanted, often Negro girls who received poor vocational counseling in school."

(Editor's Note-One might wish that these unwed mothers were even more "unskilled and unwanted.")

A new approach to answering criticism came from James R. Dumpson, a Negro, who is welfare commissioner for New York City. Dumpson told ticians. They can recruit a traveling retinue of riff-raff, move them abuses are really "attacks on minority

These attacks reflect disapproval of the bills, while the bums collect their relief checks.—Ed.)

Levery family "that does not have a wage earner" (i.e., unmarried mothers with assorted illegitimate whild are mostly bloked will be a supposed by the collection of the "misbehavior" of minorities, and represent a "punitive" attitude by attempting to "discredit the program which serves the minorities," "he charged.

Furthermore, Dumpson said, critiaided by the Covernment "as a cism of welfare programs, particularly matter of right rather than of charity."

The Federal Government will provide money to move persons from areas "where there is not enough"

aid to unwed mothers, is a "reflection of the feeling of guilt on the part of the public" for neglecting the social problems of minorities.

Dumpson admitted that 60 per

cent of the relief cases in New York are Negroes and Puerto Ricans. He said there are 134,000 relief cases in New York City, representing a total of 336,000 persons, and requiring a city welfare budget of 300 million dollars a year. He boasted that only one out of eight Negroes in New York City is on relief, along with one out of seven Puerto

He added that New York and Rhode Island are the only states which will be established.

---Unemployment pay will be increased, extended, and made availthat criticism for "subsidizing immorable for "far longer" than the pres-ent 26 weeks.

Hat criticism for substitution ality" by paying benefits for illegiti-mate children is mounting, particularly

> A similar report came from Chicago. Raymond M. Hilliard, director of the Cook County Public Welfare Department, said Negroes constitute 89 per cent of the 105,000 persons supported by welfare payments for illegitimate children.

"Take illegitimacy and the color of skin, mix them together, and you get a sort of witches' brew," Hilliard explained. He said Chicago is experiencing a mass exodus of mid dle-class white families into the suburbs, while the city proper is filling up with Negroes.

St Louis welfare director I. P. agency is "discriminating" against some of his "clients" by charging higher monthly rentals to unwed Scudder of Columbia University. In ants in the projects.

Mississippi Students **Blast High Court**

Condemnation of the 1954 U.S. Supreme Court integration decision passed Mississippi's Twelth Youth Congress this month in Jackson, meet"authorities" from I

only token opposition.

The resolution, introduced by Howard Owen Leach of the University of Mississippi, passed both houses of the annual Youth Congress by a near-unanimous vote.

Student delegations from each of Capitol, serving as Senators and Repesentatives.

During the session, they pass what-ever resolutions and bills they deem

necessary.

The condemnation resolution de-

A recent report on the danger of giving white blood to Negroes for blood transfusions between the white 20 years without having seen any ill and Negro races has received con- effects. Lynes complained that a government siderable attention in the Northern

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denounced as racist propaganda and old wives tales, has actual scientific support.

In Washington, a Negro doctor, head of a national organization of Negro physicians, denounced Dr. Scudder's report as "unscientific ra-

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In New York, a group of genetic "authorities" from Dr. Scudder's own Columbia University, the "Seminar on genetics and the evolution of man," said the only criterion that should be used is whether the blood itself in of the right type and not form. is of the right type and not from port in an article entitled "Blood whom it came.

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"Last week an eminent blood specialist flatly rejected the literal theory of blood brotherhood.

The significance of Dr. Scudder's findings cannot be talked out of existence, no matter how much sociological and quasi-medical jargon is self-government to the sovereign states gress, or reserved to the states or to offered to screen the real meaning of the blood specialist's report.

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The National Student Council of the YWCA also called on its affiliates in colleges and universities throughout the nation "to work for understanding, support and implementation" of the 1954 U. S. Supreme Court school integration decree.

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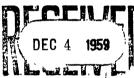
600 LEXINGTON AVENUE NEW YORK 22, N. Y PLAZA 3-4700

National Student Young Women's Christian Association of the U.S.A.

CABLE EMISSARIUS, N Y

November 30, 1959

Attorneys General and State Departments of Education in the 50 States of the United States of America



BLAIR H DANZOLL Wheaton College CONNIE L MILLIKEN Lindenwood College SUZANNE E PIERCE Beaver College

Chairman Administrative Com MRS WILLIAM GENNE

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Ruth Shinn Leadership Developmeni Jean M. Whittet Program Development CELESTINE L SMITH, ED D
Consultant in Human Relation

Annie-Kate Gilbert National Support HELEN BAIRD
Administrative Assistant

President, National Board

MILDRED H ESGAR General Secretary (elect) EDITH M LERRIGO

The National Student Council of the YWCA at its annual meeting at

College Camp, Take Geneva, Wisconsin, gave serious and thoughtful consideration to the situation in our country which deprives many of our young people of equal opportunity for adequate education. Out of this concern the Council voted that this letter be sent to Attorneys General and Departments of Education in all states.

Because our Christian faith compels us to be concerned about human relations in our nation, we are deeply troubled about the crisis in American education. We, therefore, as a national body, wish to go on record as continuing our support of the 1954 Supreme Court decision regarding desegregation of the public schools, and we are calling upon our college and university Associations throughout the nation to work for understanding, support and implementation of this decision. Ours is more than a passing interest. As Christians and students we feel strongly that public education must be preserved as a democratic institution.

We believe resistance to the Supreme Court decision imposes serious limitations on public education for individuals in elementary, secondary and higher education. We recognize that while state-enforced segregation remains in only a few places in our country de facto segregation still exists in virtually every state in our union. We therefore urge all those who carry responsibilities for leadership and decision in government and education to expend every effort to bring present practices in communities into harmony with the new national educational goal. We further urge that where there is what now seems to be only token integration every effort be put

forth to encourage and extend the process of school integration.

We know that you are concerned with this grave question. We would appreciate your suggestions of ways in which we could support your efforts to secure equal opportunities for all in American education.

Yours very truly

Vice Chairma

Vice Chairman

YWCA

(Continued from Page 1)

one city official said he "knew the figure has to be higher." No one explained why the presence of 14 known addicts in classes is per-

New York Times reporter Sam Pope their children in private schools despite the cost.

"In most places in the United ceptable In the city, however, the private school has come to be more of a necessity than a luxury in the minds of a great many of these

"Those who cannot get their children into a private school or who cannot afford the cost are leaving the

"The biggest factor in the situation is the recent influx of Negro and Puerto Rican pupils in the public schools Many middle-class white parents object to having their children plunged into an atmosphere of slum children who . . . start out from a completely different and much 'lower level of manners and

of New York University's Center for NAACP promptly called a mass meet-Human Relations and Community Studies as saying:

"Between 1950 and 1957, New York City lost a white population of about

Brewer continued, "He described the 'newcomers' as 'Puerto Rican or Negro in ethnic background, of heavily lower-scale socio-economic status the old school this September, deand not accustomed to large-city ways manding that it be torn down and

"In simpler language, they have the manners and habits of underprivileged slum dwellers . parents with a different background fear for the manners, the morals and even the bodily safety of their children if they are exposed to that atmosphere.

Brewer again quoted Dr. Dodson on Manhattan public school enroll-ment figures for the 1957-58 school year Dodson said the enrollment was 35.7 per cent Negro, 33.6 per cent Puerto Rican. and 30.7 white and

York Two Unwed Mothers Jailed For California Welfare Abuses

over abuses in the state's relief pro-

gram for unwed mothers.

An incident in Pittsburg, Calif.-Brewer wrote recently that middle-class New York families are enrolling war-old women drew jail terms as a near San Francisco-received nationresult of their extra-marital activities. One of the women had given birth to 6 illegitimate children and has States, including New York's suburbs," since added a set of twins, making a Brewer wrote, "middle-class white parents find the public schools acillegitimate offspring. Each has been receiving welfare checks from Contra

> tion as democratic. But when these parents come up against the probthe city's public schools, they are likely to avoid them for their own children, whether through private schools or through flight to the suburbs.

> "One school worker remarked wryly: 'It is easier for a liberal to live up to his ideals in Teaneck than it is in Manhattan these

Even in the suburbs, schoolmen are having their troubles with Negroes. In New Rochelle, N. Y., the board of education proposed building a new elementary school at a cost of Brewer quoted Dr. Dan W. Dodson more than one million dollars. The ing, with executive secretary Roy Wilkins commuting from Harlem to lead

the protests.

Basis of the NAACP complaint is that the new school would be built 750,000, and gained an ethnically-identifiable Negro and Puerto Rican population of about 650,000." that the new school would be built in the same location as an outmoded structure, where 192 per cent of the pumils are Negroes pupils are Negroes

Wilkins and 400 other Negroes said the Negro pupils sent to white schools elsewhere in the prosperous suburb New Rochelle's elementary schools are zoned on racial lines, and many are almost completely segregated.

Welfare problems are also coming nn for attention in New York of late. Columnist Jim Bishop says 35,000 illegitimate children are born in New York City each year, and "under the law, shame is sanctified by money."

Bishop wrote that the city's welfare department is so big that it now has 8500 employees in 17 centers around the city "so that no one has to walk far to go on relief."

Concern is mounting in California Costa county, with the combined total ver abuses in the state's relief pro-\$21,042.

To get the checks, the women had to declare that they couldn't locate the fathers of the children. But investigators found out that the fathers-some of them, at leastcontinued to be quite friendly with the two women. That's why the babies kept piling up.

The two unwed mothers were haled into court and convicted of obtaining money under false pretenses. The judge put both women on probation, and ordered them to have no more relations with men to whom they were not married, and to have no more children without benefit

Both welfare "clients" found the probation terms entirely too restrictive. They disobeyed the judge. He sentenced one woman to 6 months in jail, the other to a 2month term.

The San Francisco Examiner obare "providing a lifetime free ride gressiveness for the shiftless, the worthless, the promiscuous, the dissolute and the wishful this criminal-all at the tax expense of decent citizens.

The paper pointed out that California is spending nearly 154 million dollars this year on aid to needy children (i.e., illegitimate), 13 times greater than 13 years ago, and more than the states of Pennsylvania, Michigan and Massachusetts combined. In San Francisco, the program cost more than 71/2 millon dollars this year-22 times greater than 13 years ago.

Noting that the program encouriges fathers to dodge their responsibilities and promotes promiscuity, the Examiner cited figures showing that 86 per cent of San Francisco's cases involve runaway fathers, while at least 50 per cent of the children on the city's welfare rolls are illegitimate. This, the paper said, "has become a soft touch for untold thousands of chiselers, actually creating the malfunctions of desertion, illegitimacy and divorce

"The evils of the program have been allowed to grow wild in California," the paper continued, "so much so that undesirables are actually streaming into the state to blithely reproduce their kind, like cuckoo birds, in the nest of

D. C. Is **'Second**

(Continued from Page 1)

year. Washington rape cases soared 26.4 per cent to a total of 67, aggravated assault rose 8.7 per cent to 2156, and housebreaking, larceny and

auto theft also were on the increase.

The report spurred Commissioner Robert E. McLaughlin into action He proposed adoption of an antilostering ordinance to keep juvenile loafers off the streets at night.

The ordinance would hold parents and guardians responsible for allowing their children on the streets between 10 p.m and 6 a.m, and would provide a maximum penalty of a \$300 fine or 90 days in jail.

McLaughlin also announced that a veteran Scotland Yard police sergeant, Terrance P Cahill, has begun work with the Washington police department. Cahill will train dogs for Washington's new "canine police corps" He spent 27 years on the London police force, the past 10 as an instructor at the dog training center.

Washington's police dogs will be The San Francisco Examiner observed that such welfare programs ing, with emphasis on the dog's ag-

> (Editor's Note - Pardon our wishful thinking, but we sure hope at least one of those police dogs is color blind. We can hardly wait for a dog to grab one of Washington's Negro hoodlums by the seat of his purse-snatchin' pants! The NAACP would no doubt go into court, but perhaps the SPCA could be persuaded to provide separate-but-equal counsel for the dog. What a problem for the Supreme Court! Everyone knows it's political suicide to be against dogs!)

And, while Washington's dogs are going to school to learn "aggressiveness," Washington's schools are still going to the dogs.

November figures show that Negroes are steadily increasing their enrollment figures, while white children continue to move to the segregated suburbs. Total enrollment figures for both elementary and high schools show 90,403 Negroes and only 27,481 white students — or 76.7 per cent Promise.

Negro and 23.3 per cent white.

For elementary schools alone, the Negro percentage is even higher. Because of their rising birth rate, Negroes comprise 80 6 per cent of grade school enrollments, with a scant 19.4 per cent of the pupils white. There are now 62 726 Negroes in the ele-

By contrast, Wilson high school —where 1354 whites and 4 Negroes are enrolled—had students in the top three tracks, but none in the bottom "remedial basic" track.

The darkening D. C. school picture has evoked hundreds of "letters to the editor" by Washington residents. A recent glance at the city's news-papers produced several examples of disappointed "moderates" wondering what had happened.

A doctor wrote: "There were many white natives, like myself, who sincerely believed segregated education was unjust, inefficient and uneconomical. We moderates believed integration of our schools could be accomplished with social justice and humane consideration for all.

"Instead of balanced integration, however, wherein neither white nor colored children were overwhelmed in a racial sense, against their will. we now have overwhelming of the new white minority-with no administrative remedy.

"There has been an inflexibility of uncompromising insistance that proesting white minorities remain overwhelmed in the classroom. Among the protestants are those who, rightly or wrongly, object to their daughters and granddaughters being denied at least the equal fellowship of their own race.

"And among those overwhelmed whites are those who sincerely wanted to make integrated education work. It has been a hopeless battle because of the policy of the public school administration to hold boundaries more sacred than offended human aspirations. In the name of the Negroes' principles, we whites now are denied concessions we regard as sensible and not un-Christian.

"The organized and now-dominant Negro majority is determined to accomplish by political pressure that which should be done only by common consent and intelligent com-

"No other place in our nation affords the opportunity to prove that Negroes, if given their h u m a n rights and political responsibilities, can be trusted to provide the justice they were once denied. This is the only voteless community where colored citizens can impose

explained why the presence of 14 known addicts in classes is permitted.

New York Times reporter Sam Pope Brewer wrote recently that middleclass New York families are enrolling their children in private schools despite the cost.

"In most places in the United States, including New York's suburbs," Brewer wrote, "middle-class white parents find the public schools ac-ceptable. In the city, however, the private school has come to be more of a necessity than a luxury in the minds of a great many of these

"Those who cannot get their chil-dren into a private school or who cannot afford the cost are leaving the

"The biggest factor in the situation is the recent influx of Negro and Puerto Rican pupils in the public schools Many middle-class white parents object to having their children plunged into an atmosphere of slum children who . . . start out from a completely different and much lower level of manners and

Brewer quoted Dr. Dan W. Dodson of New York University's Center for Human Relations and Community Studies as saying:

"Between 1950 and 1957, New York City lost a white population of about 750,000, and gained an ethnically-identifiable Negro and Puerto Rican population of about 650,000."

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Brewer again quoted Dr. Dodson on Manhattan public school enroll-ment figures for the 1957-58 school vear. Dodson said the enrollment was 35.7 per cent Negro, 33.6 per cent Puerto Rican, and 30.7 white and

Public school enrollment in New York totals 967,957, Brewer said, but private schools can accomodate only about 42,000 pupils.

Of the city's 137 private schools, many are Catholic and Jewish, where "enrollment is based largely on re-ligious considerations," Brewer noted. There remain about 50 schools with a capacity of 14,000 students.

"There is intense competition for those relatively few places," Brewer added, even though costs average about \$1000 per pupil annually.

Case histories cited include a professional man of moderate income. His wife said they kept their two boys in private schools "reluctantly, but of necessity," even when their income was at a level that made the fees a real burden

The wife explained that the local public school was only 10 per cent white, with large numbers of Puerto Ricans who spoke little English. She said she and her husband, although "not racially prejudiced," refused to let their boys be members of a small minority among children from a much lower cultural and economic level.

Other private school patrons included an education professor who said public schools couldn't keep discipline; and a literary couple who considered public schools inadequate. Some families said they moved to the suburbs because of the school situa-

Brewer drew these illuminating conclusions:

"The private school problem aftects a relatively small part of the city's population, but this group is keenly interested in the education of its children and it can be expected to provide a high proportion of valuable citizens once they are educated.

"Those who are hit hardest are intellectual and professional families with high standards of education and relatively low income. Among them are the university teachers, artists, writers, editors, newspaper men and less prosperous among doctors and lawyers.

"Persons outside these circles and outside the education field are inclined to attribute the private school ambition to snobbery or 'status-seek-ing' Investigation shows, however, that the causes and motives are far more complex

"The group most involved is largely liberal in its thinking and favorable to public school educa-

over abuses in the state's relief program for unwed mothers.

An incident in Pittsburg, Calif.near San Francisco—received nation-wide attention last month. Two 24year-old women drew jail terms as a result of their extra-marital activities. One of the women had given birth to 6 illegitimate children and has since added a set of twins, making a total of 8, the other had mothered 4 illegitimate offspring. Each has been receiving welfare checks from Contra money under false pretenses.

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Even in the suburbs, schoolmen are having their troubles with Ne-groes. In New Rochelle, N. Y., the board of education proposed building new elementary school at a cost of more than one million dollars. The NAACP promptly called a mass meeting, with executive secretary Roy Wilkins commuting from Harlem to lead

Basis of the NAACP complaint is that the new school would be built structure, where 92 per cent of the pupils are Negroes.

Wilkins and 400 other Negroes said the new building would perpetuate segregation. The NAACP picketed the old school this September, de-manding that it be torn down and the Negro pupils sent to white schools elsewhere in the prosperous suburb. New Rochelle's elementary schools are zoned on racial lines, and many

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It costs 16 cents to give away a
dollar to the 336,000 welfare 'clients.'

Anyone can join the club," Bishop "All a man needs is a New York address and, in 24 hours, he can fill out a welfare application and arrange an interview with a field

welfare department wants to talk about ethnic groups," observing that New York City has "more racial tension than I have seen the hills," the Chronicle says the hills into Control Co Bishop noted that "No one in the sion than I have seen anywhere in the South."
"Negroes and Puerto Ricans make

up 70 per cent of all relief cases," Bishop wrote. "A number of them must ask for relief because the labor market has a low-scale wage for Negroes and Puerto Ricans, and much better one for white Europeans. Most Puerto Rican heads of families cannot get more than \$1.05 per hour anywhere in New York."

(Editor's Note-But we thought New York was a veritable land of milk and honey for migrants, particularly those fortunate enough to be of darker complexions. At least, that's what they've been telling us! What are all of the alphabetical agencies doing about this? Let's have a report!)

Bishop continued: "The exploita-tion of Puerto Ricans and Negroes has gone so far that one welfare department official said that if all the Puerto Ricans were persuaded to return home at once, the New York labor market would collapse If this 1s true, then the \$1.05 per hour is 20th Century slavery, with the slaves living off the plantation.

"Puerto Ricans were not told, before flying to New York, that the city has racial tensions and ingrown animosities. The politicians and the educators speak loftily of brotherhood, but it is so rare that some groups award plaques for evidences of it."

Bishop reported frequent clashes between Negroes and Puerto Ricans. 'Many Negroes do not like Puerto Ricans and will move out of a neighborhood if they move in," he noted. "Resentment among the Puerto Ricans is now so hot that it is dangerous, in some sections, for a Negro to walk The police are only a short step this side of fear when they move into a Puerto Rican slum area to make an arrest

To meet New York's growing crime problem, a special force of 75 uniformed patrolmen, all over 6 feet tall Legion commander is successful, the and under the age of 30, has been 40 and 8 would lose its right to use recruited for assignment to trouble the American Legion's name, and inareas. The unit, known as the Tactical Patrol Force, will get special duty between 6 p.m. and 2 a.m.

ity, with the combined total since 1953 amounting to an incredible

To get the checks, the women had to declare that they couldn't locate the fathers of the children. But investigators found out that the fathers—some of them, at least—continued to be quite friendly with the two women. That's why the babies kept piling up.

The two unwed mothers were haled into court and convicted of obtaining The judge put both women on probation, and ordered them to have no more relations with men to whom they were not married, and to have no more children without benefit of

Both welfare "clients" found the probation terms entirely too restrictive. They disobeyed the judge. He sentenced one woman to months in jail, the other to a 2month term.

The San Francisco Examiner observed that such welfare programs are "providing a lifetime free ride for the shiftless, the worthless, the promiscuous, the dissolute and the criminal—all at the tax expense of decent citizens.

The paper pointed out that California is spending nearly 154 million dollars this year on aid to needy children (i.e., illegitimate), 13 times greater than 13 years ago, and more that the new school would be built in the same location as an outmoded San Francisco, the program cost more than 7½ millon dollars this year-22 times greater than 13 years ago.

Noting that the program encourages fathers to dodge their responsibilities and promotes promiscuity, the Examiner cited figures showing that 86 per cent of San Francisco's cases involve runaway fathers, while at least 50 per cent of the children on the city's welfare rolls are illegitimate. This, the paper said, "has become a soft touch for untold thousands of chiselers, actually creating the mal-functions of desertion, illegitimacy and divorce.

"The evils of the program have been allowed to grow wild in California," the paper continued, 'so much so that undesirables are actually streaming into the state to blithely reproduce their kind, like cuckoo birds, in the nest of

responsible society.
"Unless this new form of monster cut down to size," the paper rarned, "it will devour not only the public purse but those officials who allow it to grow unchecked.

Meantime, the San Francisco Chronicle has published reports from Berkeley, home of the University of California, that a wave of Negro

The whites are retreating to the hills," the Chronicle said, "or over the hills into Contra Costa county. A Berkeley municipal judge disclosed that "one-third of the children now entering Berkeley's schools are Ne-

(Editor's Note — With all due respect to California, it is entirely fitting that the state which gave Earl Warren to the nation be permitted to share fully in the vast and joyous benefits of the Warren-Myrdal plan, under which white is black and black is white, and where one plus one equals three and a

Legion Chief two Sues 40 And 8X Over Racial Ban

The nationally-known 40 and 8 may be divorced from its parent organization, the American Legion, because of its refusal to admit Negro members.

Court action was taken by the Legion's national commander, Martin B. McNeally of Newburgh, N.Y., after representatives of the fun-making 40 and 8 refused to budge from their historic position of allowing whites only to join the

subsidiary of the Legion.

McNeally said the "white only" clause was illegal, and instituted court proceedings to test the legality of the

Representatives of the 40 and 8 said the clause was legal and that only the national convention of the 40 and 8, which normally meets during the national convention of the American egion, can change the restrictive

clause The 1959 national convention of the 40 and 8 in Minneapolis last summer reviewed the clause and voted to allow it to stand. But Mc-Neally acted on his own initiative, in an attempt to force his views.

If court action instituted by the Legion commander is successful, the

The Negro Legioneures could form think own. Legion. without litterness

gravated assault rose 8.7 per cent to 2156, and housebreaking, larceny and auto theft also were on the increase

The report spurred Commissioner Robert E. McLaughlin into action. He proposed adoption of an antiloitering ordinance to keep juvenile loafers off the streets at night.

The ordinance would hold parents and guardians responsible for allowing their children on the streets between 10 p.m. and 6 a.m., and would provide a maximum penalty of a \$300 fine or 90 days in jail.

McLaughlin also announced that a veteran Scotland Yard police sergeant, Terrance P. Cahill, has begun work with the Washington police department. Cahill will train dogs for Washington's new "canine police corps." He spent 27 years on the London police force, the past 10 as an instructor at the dog training cen-

Washington's police dogs will be specially trained in tracking and seizing, with emphasis on the dog's aggressiveness.

(Editor's Note - Pardon our wishful thinking, but we sure hope at least one of those police dogs is color blind. We can hardly wait for a dog to grab one of Washington's Negro hoodlums by the seat of his purse-snatchin' pants! The NAACP would no doubt go into court, but perhaps the SPCA could be persuaded to provide separate-but-equal counsel for the dog. What a problem for the Supreme Court! Everyone knows it's political suicide to be against dogs!)

And, while Washington's dogs are going to school to learn "aggressive-ness," Washington's schools are still going to the dogs.

November figures show that Negroes are steadily increasing their enrollment figures, while white children continue to move to the segregated suburbs. Total enrollment figures for elementary and high schools show 90,403 Negroes and only 27,481 white students — or 76.7 per cent Negro and 23.3 per cent white.

For elementary schools alone, the Nagro percentage is even higher. Because of their rising birth rate, Ne groes comprise 80.6 per cent of grade school enrollments, with a scant 19.4 per cent of the pupils white. There are now 62,726 Negroes in the elementary grades—a gain of 4030 from last year. The present 15,091 white pupils is a drop of 1595 from the 1958 level.

Despite the increase in Negro enrollment, segregation of Washington schools is on the increase. Nearly half of the city's 159 public schools have 10 or fewer students of the opposite race from the majority; 21 schools are all-Negro, 3 are all-white. The report lists 123 schools as predominantly Negro, with 36 mostly white.

Washington Superintendent of Schools Carl F. Hansen said the added Negro enrollment was expected, because whites are moving to the suburbs while Negroes must generally remain in Washington be-cause of what Hansen called "very artıfıcial barriers.'

Hansen refused even to comment however, on a suggestion that the whites might be leaving Washington because of forced integration of the schools.

While Hansen continues to paint a glowing picture of the success of school integration in Washington, his own figures present cause for dispute of his assertions.

Washington operates on a so-called "4-track" plan, with students being grouped by ability. Hansen said about 35 per cent of the city's senior high school students are in the two top groups—but he refused to give told. Currently, checks to unwed racial breakdowns Further figures mothers total some 2½ million dollars showed that all four tracks were in operation at 7 of the 10 senior high to very dull or retarded.

In the remaining 3 high schools, however, Hansen's report was most revealing. There were no students enrolled in the "honors sequence" -the top track—at Cardozo and Dunbar Highs. Cardozo has 1208 Negroes and 2 whites; Dunbar is attended by 859 Negroes and no whites.

groes are enrolled-had students in the top three tracks, but none in the bottom "remedial basic" track.

The darkening D. C. school picture has evoked hundreds of "letters to the editor" by Washington residents. A recent glance at the city's newspapers produced several examples of disappointed "moderates" wondering what had happened.

A doctor wrote: "There were many white natives, like myself, sincerely believed segregated education was unjust, inefficient and uneconomical. We moderates believed integration of our schools could be accomplished with social justice and humane consideration

"Instead of balanced integration, however, wherein neither white nor colored children were overwhelmed in a racial sense, against their will, we now have overwhelming of the new white minority—with no administrative remedy.

"There has been an inflexibility of uncompromising insistance that protesting white minorities remain over-whelmed in the classroom. Among the protestants are those who, rightly or wrongly, object to their daughters and granddaughters being denied at least the equal fellowship of their own race.

"And among those overwhelmed whites are those who sincerely wanted to make integrated education work. It has been a hopeless battle because of the policy of the public school administration to hold boundaries more sacred than offended human aspirations. In the name of the Negroes' principles, we whites now are denied concessions we regard as sensible and not un-Christian.

"The organized and now-dominant Negro majority is determined to ac-complish by political pressure that which should be done only by common consent and intelligent compromise.

"No other place in our nation affords the opportunity to prove that Negroes, if given their human rights and political responsibilities, can be trusted to provide the justice they were once denied. This is the only voteless community where colored citizens can impose their will and have the all-out support of our non-elected political overlords.

'At present, Negro leadership has failed in its duty toward the new minority—we, the white natives who refuse to abandon our birthplace. Most letters, however, were far less "moderate" than the doctor's. A oon-to-be refugee in suburbia wrote:

"The unsympathetic treatment of whites in our public schools since integration used to be a subject that concerned me deeply. However, this situation is now one of mere academic interest to me. I have decided to follow my many friends and move my family to an area where my daughters can attend public school without being racially overwhelmed. My two school-age daughters are in a school that is now over 85 per cent Negro, and this is certainly my most pressing reason for leaving the District of Columbia."

Washington's welfare problems also continue to mount. Unless something is done to counteract current trends there may be 40,000 children on District welfare rolls by 1970, a welfare group was warned. In the past seven years, there has been a 200 percent increase in the number of children getting welfare checks, and there could very well be a further 200 per cent increase by 1970, workers were told. Currently, checks to unwed

The President's Committee on schools, indicating that these 7 schools Government Contracts — set up to had students ranging from very bright supervise forced race-mixing on Federal projects throughout the nation— is now occupied with a problem which is literally on its own doorstep. A Negro steelworker claims he has been turned down for work on several Federal projects because of his race. His recent complaint concerns a construction job now underway to extend the east front of the Capitol building.

I am not apposed to Social security for the aged. It seems to me that the welfare agencies should make some lains of an arrangement to make marriage ceremonies when popular, so as to slow down illigitimacy among her better than such anoth illigitimacy which dowled dentity to dildren.

— aurere Chestrust

January 13, 1960

RECEIVED JAN 1 4 1360 CENTRAL FILES

Dear Mr. Day:

The President has asked me to acknowledge your letter to him of January seventh.

Your interest in writing and expressing your point of view is appreciated.

Sincerely,

E. Frederic Morrow Administrative Officer Special Projects Group

Mr. Clarence H. Day 2903 Milledgeville Road Augusta, Georgia

Sincerely,

Your interest in writing and expressing your point of view is appreciated.

The President has soled me to acknow to acknow acted your latter to him of January

Dear Mr. Day:

January 13, 1960

JAN 1 4 . JOO CENTRAL FILES

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Jan 12 1960

2903 Milledge mil Ce 11h

My Ersenhover, On NSA.

Sear Mr Oursident.

and read in the papers, is Pinil Right, Jon and Jam Narchern Amatars, longuemen, the litterny Turned, and defend judges, Dum to thing no our but the negros hore any right-lefterially in the Dorch, you talk I equally yet you march white girls in frate Rock, whiso by balliers with Jish bayout, while your dalliers with Jish bayout, while your dalliers time a few negro thelen to orbord in government automobiles.

Regardless of what a veryor want, all he has to do is go to a desiral Judge, and get in

has to is go to a Federal Judge, and got in when you want good, hunting you love Done When you want to wlax, But, and play goes you have done donet to when you and your administration serves determined to play goes the white deeple of the Good, with there shiring Kindy had negro's, why?

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3000 Ad

We have some well rand, Chan, Frank Vignow, Hory are respected, hished and well traded in the Bout, Hun is some vignor Twould racher associate with than Donne Low type White prople I down, but I fall as bouch & ought to be able to free my associates, and not hors our Phillim be facered by an government to mix and Mingle With every wind down to the lowers, Han Afrak of Sichalors in acher Counties. as bring a terrible thing, yet am Dugerin Court is dictating what we must do him What's the war of having our state Rymounta dives, I try Can't do any thing for the states I mad of Jayolai in the J.V. and Radio, Weel il-masks om wonder when are the money gors, that the naaco. Boats of having. I donker yn will ever ser shis, but ynn upublican Aufume Cours, has land hater in the traits of the Donaham white drope, not do much against the mass, but your Marchen Liberal and Vali orrking agetars Harries It Day

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JAN 1 9 - 360

CENTRAL FILES

January 15, 1960

Dear Mrs. Ellis:

The President has asked me to acknowledge and thank you for your letter to him of January eleventh.

Your interest in writing and expressing your point of view is appreciated.

Sincerely,

E. Frederic Morrow Administrative Officer Special Projects Group

Mrs. Cora Ellis Cedartown, Route 3 Georgia

LRS

and the same

1-13-60

Con lite gration

1.637 (2.8. Title)

cedartown ga Pt 🕏

washington dc

dear mr eisenhower we are southern peoples an proud we are. we are god loven an trusten, an decent an proud harted an try our best to do rite in every way we like our colord people an treat them rite we have always lived here together an got a long alrite they tended to their buisness an we tended to ours there was no trouble but there will be trouble if you mix the children in school an you no it as well as i do you no just a fiew words from you would stop the whole thing you are a man with for site enough to no what will hapen if if goes on there is some of our children that dont care much boys an girls you no an the nigers is the same way an it will only cause trouble you have seen enough to no what it will cause we have enough half breedes now its a dirty shame t think they ought to have schools as good as ours but why mix them they they can be taught in the colord school as good as they can in the white if they have to have help they generly get it i cant under stand why any white person would want such thing you are a good president i think you have filled the place well idont think any body could have dun any better than you an your stafe have dun but i think we oughto to take care of our children in the time of it get your bible an look for mingled people in the dictionaryit will tell whareb, to find it in the bible, if god had ment for us to mix he would made us all black or white one we may be trash but we believe in stayn white i hope i havent annoyed you i guess the garbeg will get this any way

sincerely
mrs cora ellis
cedartown ga

C.E.

January 19, 1960

Dear Charles:

The President has asked me to acknowledge and thank you for your letter to him of January twelfth

Please be assured he understands the reasons that prompted your letter. He is doing everything he can to help bring about a moral climate in this country so that America can be advanced toward the goal of equal opportunity for all, regardless of race, color or creed Patient, persistent effort toward goals which we know to be right will make our society a better one in which to live.

Sincerely,

E. Frederic Morrow Administrative Officer Special Projects Group

Mr. Charles Bruno, Jr 333 Lebanon Street Melrose 16, Massachusetts

Re: Integration

333 Lebanon St. Melrose 46, Mass. 1/12/59.

Dear Mr President,

A am a white boy with a question on his mind; and I'm osking if it

could possebleg be answered. -fam in Figh Ichool and I cenderstand and read about the present day inlergiration perblem"; Bet what puzzles me is why is there such a probler. In the constitution et says (in actecle XIV section 1) that "No state shall Maker or enforce any lace which shall abridge The privaleges or immunities of eitizens of the United States; nor shall any state deprive any person of. Life, LiBerty or property ete (Coold you please answer This For the?)

Hours truck, Charles Bruno Jr.

G.F.

January 26, 1960

Dear Mirs. Sweeney:

The President has asked me to acknow ledge your letter to him of January twenty-third and enclosure.

Sincerely,

E Frederic Morrow Administrative Officer Special Projects Group

Mrs. Hilda Sweeney 1209 - 34th Street, N. W. Washington, D. C.

Jespengton De 1-23-60 Honorable Prisidino Sincline This slep of Saper out of The star read it still you and the supream court want to give these savages equal right put them on the livel of The white people. I walk That some way were night from work san a white nurse The same thing can happen to me That aid These boys tis to back That continue like This mont huppen to some of the suprem court cheldren then mady there would be something else done, to bit safe for a white Person to walk on street after dark, where are all of your

brains that this kind of stuff is
over looked, never in This world,
tome then savages.

The freschient stated on The

That he him say reads all his
mail that is a laugh he never
sees these letters and but he gets.

Thousands of there all most like

This one.

Lincerety.



Sergt. Olin A. Maxfield looks over a chain police say was used by a juvenile gang in beatings of other teen-agers. Ten members of the gang have been arrested.—Star Staff

Police Arrest 10 Youths In Gang Chain Beatings

police in connection with a these two boys were whipped series of beatings administered with a 3½-foot chain. with fists and chains to other | Police have recovered the youngsters.

the youth aid division, said four on the wrist.

of the youths were arrested Three of the boys attend last Friday in connection with Phelps Vocational School. The an attack on two colored boys ones arrested on January 15 outside Kelly - Miller Junior implicated the Chers, police High School. Three others said. Another key who adwers arrested in their homes mitted being involved in the about 6:30 a.m. today in con-beatings surrendered to police nection with beatings of white today. students at Southern avenue Police said one of the teen-

ary 8.

Today two more boys, 15 and The first two incidents, po-16, were arrested at Phelps lice reported, were the result Vocational School in connection of an episode in which some

with the Maryland offense. when one white boy and two white girls from Maryland Park parently had nothing to do with Junior High School were at- the original incident. acked on the street on their way home from school. The white boy fought back and the girls escaped without injury.

Later that day, about 3:40 p.m., one white boy was at-tacked at East Capitol street and Southern avenue by 20 colored boys. Police said the colored youths were all between 15 and 17 and that some of them participated in both attacks. The victim in this case had 18 stitches taken in his head and suffered a broken nose. Detective Miles said he was beaten with a heavy chain.

A third attack occurred the same night about 11 o'clock. on Eastern avenue at the District line when a lone white boy was beaten with a chain.

This boy suffered severe head cuts and was treated at Prince

Georges County Hospital.
On January 13, the gang waited in the 5000 block of Blaine street N.E., outside the

Ten colored youths, mem-kelly-Miller School, and acbers of a teen-age gang called cused two colored students of the Untouchables, have been rounded up by Washington pelled. Detective Miles said

chain. It is described as hav-Detective Herman Miles of ing a loop so it can be carried

and East Capitol street and in agers has been charged with the Maryland Park section of assault with a dangerous weap-Prince Georges County on Jan-on. Four have been charged

th the Maryland offense. White youths roughed up a colored boy. The youths who vere injured in retaliation ap

G.F.

January 28, 1960

RECEIVED

JAR SU 1990
CENTRAL FILES

Dear Mrs. Wall:

12

The President has asked me to acknowledge your letter to him of January twenty-fourth.

Please be assured your expression of good wishes to the President and Mrs. Eisenhower is appreciated.

The good wishes are reciprocated to you and your son.

Sincerely,

E Frederic Morrow Administrative Officer Special Projects Group

Mrs. M. M. Wall
Post Office Box 8482
Battlefield Station
Jackson 4, Mississippi

Jan 24/1940

Moresident:
This will prophy be the last letter 4 will enter while you.

You are the only man of ever whole you.

Lever whole or voted the first him y have ever been to stay —

one town longe enough.

One town longe inough.

One town

much blood shal in my life time that it was just freaking my heart. For three years is did nothing but seems of those and I was on the progress Change. Being of Southern birth I will be one of the last to say I believe in entergrandors It would be against my believe. I have entergrandors It would be against my believe. I have know children to go I school my only child in 35 years old and a handy cap this of which mans a great deal to him mans a great deal to him.

I hope you and Mrs lisenhows Much happiness through out the rest of your lines. Very sinceare Mrs M Wall.

P.O. Box 8482 Battlefield Station Jackson 4, Mississippi Control of the second

February 2, 1960

Dear David:

The President has asked me to acknowledge your letter to him of January twenty-fourth.

The Supreme Court decision dealing with non-discrimination in admissions to public schools is now the law of the land and could be changed only by a constitutional amend=ment, even assuming that a constitutional amendment should appear to be desirable.

As you know, the Supreme Court of the United States held, when the issue was raised before it, that it is a denial of the equal protection of the laws for a state to refuse to admit a student to any public school solely because of the student's race or color.

It is the duty of the President to uphold the Constitution and the laws of the land.

Sincerely,

E. Frederic Morrow Administrative Officer Special Projects Group

Mr. David Sherman 2637 Bristol New Orleans 14, Louisiana

Variableman 2037 Bristot Men D. Gennery Sa. January 24/1960

Wear Mr. President, This is the first time that I have ever withou you. although you may met be able to read my letter I week you the best of cheers for a new year. although my opinion may not be great would like to give itany way. almost svery day in Latin class we have a discussion on interpretion. It is my openion that I the Mayors are getting a chitig unting rate. But I do not think that the Theory was in the Ikw lods and reca according a ditty deal. We built there or a much ment parks of their some plus a golf & olive and med we allow them in city purch. They where I have which is ealist aliques the Mayor as to solved in a branch new Jr. - Do Hage School while we go to a school which is whout therety years phi would she to know it's

the Meyers would like to interestate and what you coold would do if they tried or is it install a local Godorvinent. Respectfully yours, Waved Sherman

The document

February 11, 1960

Dear Mr. England:

The President has asked me to acknowledge your letter to him of January thirty-first and enclosure. Your interest in writing and sharing your views is appreciated.

We should like to point out that the Supreme Courtruling of 1954 did not interfere in the right of a
state to set up and operate its public school system.
The ruling was to the effect that in the operation of
any public school, the privilege of equal opportunity
could not be denied to any American, regardless of
race, color or creed.

The President deplores the difficulties that have arisen, but at the same time is mindful of his duty under oath to uphold and defend the Constitution and the laws of the land.

Sincerely,

E. Frederic Morrow Administrative Officer Special Projects Group

Mr. L. Kenneth England 1439 - 43rd Street Belv. Heights Birmingham 8, Alabama

Birmingham Post-Herald

A SCRIPPS-HOWARD NEWSPAPER - TELEPHONE FA 3-5381 . W. H. METZ Vice President

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® "Give Light and the People Will Find Their Own Way"

PAGE 6 -

Saturday, January 30, 1960

Ike Stands with Jefferson

The shift in basic philosophical doctrine between our two great political parties was emphasized in President Eisenhower's address to the GOP dinners.

In defining Republican principles, the President was preaching the traditional political faith of the Jeffersonian Democrats-that government is best which governs least.

He might have added that Republican adherence is by no means unanimous: nor have all Democrats abandoned the faith. Both are split with so-called "liberal" factions struggling for centralization in Washington and "controls" over the lives of citizens.

Such a trend was anticipated by Jefferson in his statement that "the natural progress of things is for liberty to yield and government to gain ground"

President Eisenhower set himself against the tide, saying:

-Personal, political and economic freedoms of the individual are his most precious possessions and they are inseparable. If any one of these is lost, all others must disappear.

-Government must refrain from unnecessary meddling in the daily, normal problems of living and working.

-We are opposed to those extremists who argue that the Federal Government

should become the master mechanic of our economy-with sweeping authority to tinker with the free processes of the competitive enterprise system.

-Power belongs to all the people, and citizens should never permit its excessive concentration in any hands-industrial combines, labor groupments, or even government.

-Already too much power and responsibility - and tax money - have drifted to Washington.

It was natural, since the dinners were political rallies, that most of the address should be of an at least mildly partisan nature. But, in these expressions of fundamental principle, there was nothing to which an old fashioned Democrat could not subscribe

The issue Mr. Eisenhower defines is more important by far than any of the immediate, detailed items of public policy he discussed. Upon its determination depends whether we shall preserve what he aptly termed "the most productive system ever devised," or permit liberty to yield to the steady encroachments of the welfare-police state.

It is a pity the President and his attorney general do not practice what he preaches in dealing with so called "civil rights."

THE THE THE

h 1439 43 nd St, Belv. Hyta, Birmingleum 8, ala. January 31, 1960 Mr. dwight d. Eisenhouer President of the United States The white House Washington, D. C. Dear Mr & resident: Hoften wonder if the annuage citizen should write to our government leaders, since me are not organized and not affiliated with fressure groups, & in too much to hope that you will read These lines, but, at keart, & shall have done my fart ar an american. I am enclosing an edetarial which appeared yetslenday in The Birmingham Part Kerald. Please note the excerteta taken from your address recently to the J.D. T. dinners. These fundamental truther rahiele you enmitted are accepted by Vall americans, irrespective of faity. you speak of these great truths - and then dack the temerity to carry them out. For example, ruly do you appoint such men to high places?— I refer to Chief Justice Warren and attorney seneral Rogkri, bølle of whom are political offertunists and are medaling in the affairs of the several states. We in the South, as in other Restions of this Republic, are inexarably Rights. When mr. Regers, or any atter vale-conscious sager-beauers, sus seeds other rights (as you stated) must P. S. at least & home tried

L. Kinneth ENGLAND

Dear Mrs. Harris:

The President has asked me to acknowledge your letter to him of March eighth. Your interest in writing and expressing your point of view is appreciated.

The President is well aware of difficulties which have arisen. A great deal of patience is called for so that a better moral climate may be achieved in our society.

Sincerely,

E. Frederic Morrow Administrative Officer Special Projects Group

Mrs. W. J. Harris
Route #3
Rock Hill, South Carolina

lrs

Negroes Invade S. C. Drive-In

Swinging Sticks Hit Cars

Ruckus Follows Cross-Burning

COLUMBIA, S. C.—(P)—Racial unrest near a Negro college was punctuated before dawn Saturday by a cross-burning, a scattered exchange of brickbats and an invasion by about 50 stick-swinging Negroes of a drive in restaurant

Negroes of a drive-in restaurant.

At least two cars at the white drive-in were battered by shouting, club-wielding Negroes. An unidentified white woman in one car reportedly was injured by flying glass.

Four Negro students at Allen University were arrested about 15 minutes after the drive-in incident at 3:45 a.m. They were released without charge about noon in custody of college officials. Police Chief L. J. Campbell said there was no evidence to indicate they took part in the melee.

Two patrons of Mac's Drive-In told police the invading Negroes shouted, "We're going to take over this place."

The ruckus lasted only a few minutes. The Negroes fled without entering the restaurant itself and no damage was done to drive-in property. A Negro cook was the only male employe there at the time.

G. A. Toms, a newspaper composing room employe, said he gunned his car away from the parking lot as soon as he saw the oncoming Negroes. The right front window of his car was broken.

Elwood Lewis told police the windshield and the right and left windows of his automobile were shattered by Negroes with sticks, bricks and bottles.

A cross was burned on Allen University property about two hours before the drive-in disturbance. The campuses of Allen and Benedict College, another church-supported Negro institution, are located two blocks from the drive-in,

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Some Camintegration

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Route #3
Rock Hill, S.C.
March 8,1960

Dear Sir:

I know you are verry bussy. We are faced with verry serious problem of segregation. Our races seem to be living in peace with each other, until the matter of desegreation came up. In this part of the country the negroes have better schools than the white children.

If the white and negroes were ment to mixed I believe they would have been borned mixed in the begening. I dont think any white person in their right mind would want their children or grand children marying a negro instead of white person.

It doesn't seem right for the white people to have their eating places taken away from them. Neither would it be right for the white people to take the negro schools and public places away from them. Each race is provided with their own schools churches. I cant understand why someone would want to stir up trouble trying to change things from the way they were. Communist woul like to stir up this trouble among the races. I am sure with your help this can be worked out until the races can live in peace as they were. And each be happy in their own schools and resturants.

Yours truly

Mrs W.J. Harris

G.F.

June 24, 1960

Gentlemen:

It is not the policy of this Administration or the Federal Government to "force integration" upon anyone. It is my belief that you are referring to the Supreme Court decision and the various school cases that have been decided in the past five years.

What the Court has said is that an American citizen cannot be denied admission to a public school because of race, color or creed.

Sincerely,

E. Frederic Morrow Administrative Officer Special Projects Group

Mr. D. L. Gibson Mr. J. W. Knox Post Office Box 352 Livingston, Texas

EFM/lrs

P. 0. Box 352 Livingston, Texas May 2, 1960

June 24, 1960

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President, Dwight Eisenhower Washington, D. C.

Mr. President:

This is to advise that the People of the State of Texas, at the last General Election, voted against Integration by a majority of Five to One.

Since we are a democratic country and the majority rules, why is integration being forced upon us?

Please advise.

Yours truly,

G.t.

August 19, 1960

Dear Mrs. Nicolosi:

The President has asked me to acknowledge your letter to him of August tenth. He wishes you to know that your interest in writing is appreciated and your comments have been noted.

The May 1954 ruling of the Supreme Court that public schools could not refuse admission to a citizen because of race has been a difficult one for some areas of our nation to accept. This, of course, is understandable. However, our society will be a better one when through adjustment to the growing needs of our citizens and education we learn to face the realities of our times and work them out together.

The President sends all good wishes to you and your family.

Sincerely,

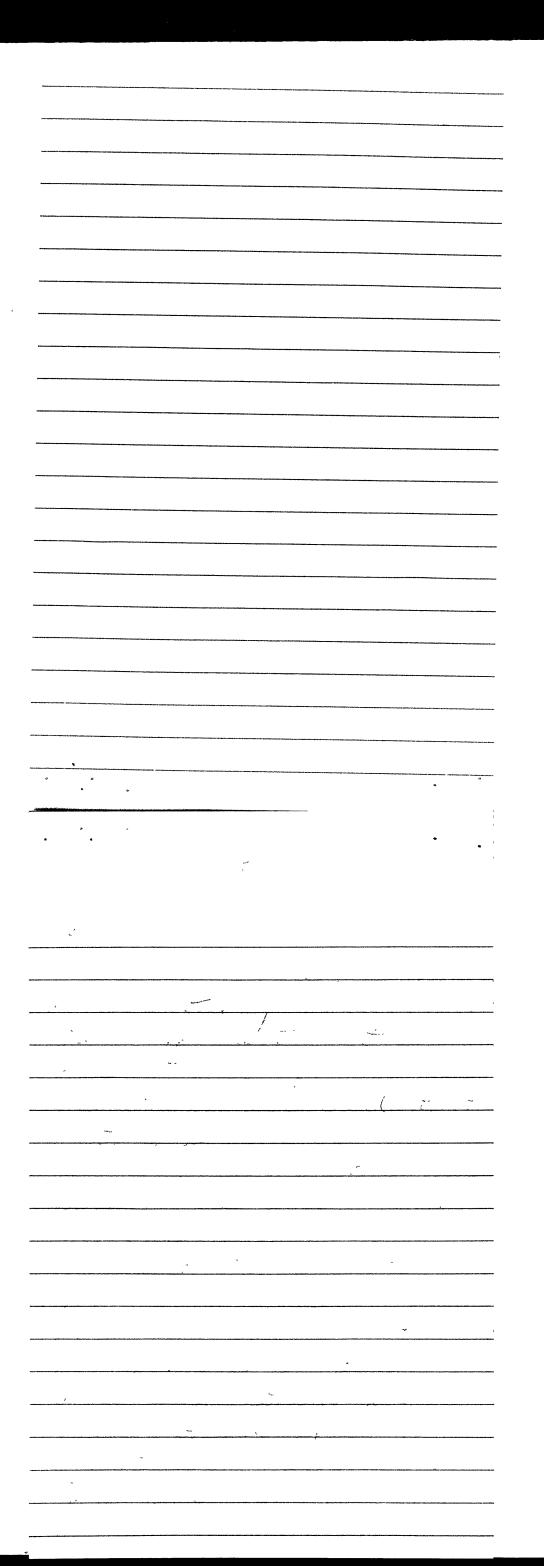
E. Frederic Morrow Administrative Officer Special Projects Group

Mrs. A. J. Nicolosi 5931 Pershing Houston 33, Texas

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GF.

SEP 2 6 1960 SENTRAL FILES

September 24, 1960

Dear Mr. Simmons:

Your letter of July twenty-ninth to the President has just been handed to me for reply. The President wishes to thank you for your interest in writing as you did and wants you to know that your comments have been carefully noted.

There is, of course, no reason why citizens of any of the states cannot express their desire in respect to any issue that arises in our nation. In connection with the 1954 ruling of the Supreme Court that admittance to a public school cannot be denied an American citizen on the basis of race, color or creed, this ruling cannot be denied because it is in effect. We are well aware of the difficulties involved, but again we have to remember that it is the duty of the President to uphold the Constitution and laws of our land.

You will recall the ruling did not require immediate compliance but it does require compliance within a reasonable time.

Sincerely,

E. Frederic Morrow Administrative Officer Special Projects Group

Mr. W. J. Simmons
Editor, The Citizens' Council
813 Plaza Building
Jackson, Mississippi

Copy for: The Rev. James P. Dees

Refers to President's speech at Convention particularly that portion dealing with the challenge to Khrushchev to accept worldwide referendum whereby each nation votes its choice between communism and democracy.

Feels individual States in Union should be given the same opportunity to vote its choice between segregation and integration.

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THE CITIZENS' COUNCIL

Official Paper of the

CITIZENS' COUNCILS OF AMERICA

July 29, 1960

W J SIMMONS EDITOR

813 PLAZA BUILDING FLEETWOOD 2-4456 JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI

President Dwight D. Eisenhower Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

In your address before the Republican National Convention at Chicago, you proposed a world-wide referendum, whereby each nation might choose for itself whether it wishes to be free, or whether it wishes to be Communist. Your dramatic proposal met with an approving ovation from the vast audience.

While the free world views with apprehension the threatening advance of international Communism, the South views with equal apprehension the threatening advance of racial integration at home.

Mr. President, does the South not merit at least the consideration accorded foreign nations?

Surely then, in the light of the proposition you so ably stated at Chicago, there can be no objection from men of genuine good will for each state of this Union to determine for itself, in a nation-wide referendum, whether its citizens may enjoy the freedom to choose their own associates, or whether they must be compelled to integrate without regard to race, creed or color.

Your able leadership is therefore earnestly sought to implement such a referendum, as an equable solution to the racial strife being forced on our great region.

Respectfully yours,

W. J. Simmons

Editor

The Citizens' Council

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G.

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Trinity Episcopal Church Statesbille, N. C.

THE REV. JAMES P. DEES, Rector ' 421 Walnut Street

September 29, 1960

Mr. F. Frederic Morrow Administrative Officer Special Projects Group The White House Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Morrow:

I want to thank you for your kind letter and the copy of the letter to Mr. Simmons. It is gracious of you to concede that citizens of any of the states are free to express their desire in respect to any issue that arises in our nation. Of course this freedom is guaranteed in the First Amendment of the Constitution, but then as you know the Constitution isn't held in too high a regard in these days by some people. I call your attention for instance to Amendment 10 which reserves all powers to the States that are not specifically granted to the federal government in the Constitution. You are quite aware, I am sure as I am, of the flagrant disregard for this Amendment in our times, and as for the 14th Amendment, it is construed as the individual judge or the individual person looking at it in our times cares to construe it. I do appreciate your conceding to us the rights that are guaranteed in the Constitution.

You referred in your letter to Mr. Simmons that it is the duty of the President to uphold the Constitution and the laws of our land, and you seem to equate Courts: decisions with the Constitution and the laws of our land. I am a student of political theory, to some extent, and when I went to school some time ago I was taught that the laws of the land were made by legislative bodies or were elements of the constitutions of various political entities, and that no court could make a law, but that it rather had as its function the responsibility for interpreting the law. I recall no place in all of my former training that indicates that a judicial body can make the law. In the light of the foregoing I will appreciate it if you will refer me to that Legislative Act or to that element of the Constitution under which the Supreme Court gave out its May 17th, 1954, decision.

Concerning the question of Civil Rights generally, I would like to refer you to the section dealing with the subject in Senator Barry Goldwater's book, THE CONSCIENCE OF A CONSERVATIVE.

I am enclosing for you a copy of an address which I gave in Savannah, Georgia, last May 17th. I will appreciate any constructive criticism that you have to make of this address, and if you find yourself in contradiction with any parts of it I will appreciate your expressing yourself to me in regard to same at length. I will of course expect you to undergird your remarks with established political and legal theories and not your own personal observations.

Yours very truly,

JPD:hk

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A QUESTION OF INTENT

The States, their Schools and the 14th Amendment

STATEMENT OF DAVID J. MAYS BEFORE A SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE MAY 14, 1959

A QUESTION OF INTENT

THE STATES, THEIR SCHOOLS
AND THE 14TH AMENDMENT

Reprinted and distributed as a public service by The Virginia Commission on Constitutional Government, as the second in a series of vital statements on State and Federal relations.

"THE fundamental principle of constitutional construction," the authors of *American Jurisprudence* have written, "is to give effect to the intent of the framers of the organic law and of the people adopting it."

And this authoritative reference work, citing many authorities, finds it settled by high authority "that in placing a construction on a Constitution or any clause or part thereof, a court should look to this history of the times and examine the state of things when the Constitution was framed and adopted, in order to ascertain the prior law, the mischief, and the remedy."

The Supreme Court of the United States acknowledged this polestar of constitutional construction during arguments on the School Segregation Cases. In June of 1953, after the issues had been once argued, the Court scheduled further argument the following December. The Court wanted to hear historical evidence that would show the intentions of those who proposed and approved the Fourteenth Amendment, with respect to the Amendment's effect upon racial segregation in public schools. But in May of 1954, when the Court handed down its opinion, this evidence was found to be "at best, inconclusive."

The interested reader may judge for himself, from the state-

The interested reader may judge for himself, from the statement that follows, whether the evidence presented to the Court was in fact "inconclusive." The author of this statement, Mr. David J. Mays, is chairman of the Virginia Commission on Constitutional Government; he has served as president of the Virginia Bar Association, chairman of the State Library Board, and member of the executive committee of the Virginia Historical Society. His two-volume biography of Edmund Pendleton won the Pulitzer Prize for biography in 1952.

A QUESTION OF INTENT

THE STATES, THEIR SCHOOLS
AND THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT

A QUESTION OF INTENT

A Statement Before the Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments, United States Senate

DAVID J. MAYS



R. Chairman and members of the Committee,
I am David J. Mays of Richmond, Virginia,
and appear in my capacity as Chairman of
the Virginia Commission on Constitutional
Government, whose purpose is to bring to
the attention of our people basic concepts

relating to the Constitution of the United States.

I am grateful for the opportunity of appearing before you

in connection with Senate Joint Resolution 32.

Since many arguments have been and will be made concerning this Resolution, I believe that I can be of most use to you in confining myself to the historical background of the Fourteenth Amendment, and more particularly to the interpretations placed thereon by the Congress and by the States at the time of its ratification. The source of this information is the legal brief prepared by my law office and the counsel with whom we were associated in the School Cases decided

by the Supreme Court of the United States in 1954. This résumé clearly demonstrates that the court did not follow the interpretations placed upon the Fourteenth Amendment by the Congress and the States at the time of its adoption, and that action is needed to restore the meaning of the Amendment as it was understood for nearly a century.

THE EFFECT OF THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT UPON RACIAL SEGREGATION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS, AS INTERPRETED BY THE CONGRESS

The starting point in any such discussion is the Civil Rights Act of 1866, since it was designed to cover the same field as the Amendment. The bill provided:

That there shall be no discrimination in the civil rights or immunities among the inhabitants of any State or Territory of the United States on account of race, color, or previous condition of slavery; but the inhabitants of every race and color... shall have the same rights to make and enforce contracts, to sue, be parties, and give evidence, to inherit, purchase, lease, sell, hold and convey real and personal property, and to full and equal benefit of all laws and proceedings for the security of person and property, and shall be subject to like punishment, pains, and penalties, and to none others, any law, statutes, ordinance, regulation, or custom to the contrary notwithstanding.¹

When the bill came before the Senate, there was some concern on the part of Senator Cowan, Pennsylvania Republican,

that it would end segregation in the schools;² but he was assured by Senator Trumbull, of Illinois, the bill's patron, that it affected only civil rights.³ When the bill reached the House, the floor leader, Mr. Wilson of Iowa, Chairman of the Judiciary Committee to which the bill had been committed, stated in opening the debate:

What do these terms mean? Do they mean that in all things civil, social, political, all citizens, without distinction of race or color, shall be equal? By no means can they be so construed... Nor do they mean that ... their children shall attend the same schools. These are no civil rights or immunities.⁴

And he repeated that assurance later in the course of debate.⁵ The Civil Rights act is important in this discussion since it referred to the "full and equal benefit of all laws," which could mean nothing less than full protection.

The resolution proposing the Fourteenth Amendment had been introduced before the Civil Rights Act and both were before the Congress at the same time. There is nothing in the proceedings of the House Committee that considered it to indicate that school segregation was discussed, and there is nothing to that effect in the majority and minority reports that came from the Committee. Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, one of the strongest advocates of the Amendment, did not indicate that it went beyond the Civil Rights Act. His position was that the Amendment was necessary since "the first time the South with their copperhead allies obtained control of Congress the Civil Rights Act would be repealed." He was anxious to put the Civil Rights Act beyond the reach of transient congressional majorities.

In the midst of the debate on the Amendment in the House the Senate passed "an Act donating certain Lots in the City

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of Washington for schools for colored children in the District of Columbia." And another statute was enacted to provide for equitable apportionment of school funds to Negro schools.8

The Congress would hardly have taken such a course in the midst of the debates over the Civil Rights Act and the Fourteenth Amendment had it been thought that they barred segregation in the public schools. Moreover, when the Congress codified the laws relating to the District of Columbia in 1874, it specifically preserved the mandatory segregation requirements enacted in 1866. These statutes remained in effect until declared unconstitutional in *Bolling* v. *Sharpe*, 347 U.S. 497.

THE EFFECT OF THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT UPON RACIAL SEGREGATION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS AS INTERPRETED BY THE STATES

ALABAMA rejected the Fourteenth Amendment in 1866.¹⁰ After its government was reorganized under Federal military rule, the Amendment was ratified without debate (1868).¹¹ A new constitution was adopted in the same year without reference to segregated schools although there is evidence that it was recognized that segregation would be practiced.¹² The Legislature, less than a month after its ratification of the Amendment, adopted a general school law requiring segregation.¹³ Obviously, the Legislature saw no conflict between the Amendment and the school statute. The next constitution (1875) made segregation mandatory.¹⁴

Arkansas at first rejected the Amendment.¹⁵ Committee reports in both houses of the Assembly stated objections in

detail, but there is no indication that the Amendment was thought to affect segregation.¹⁶ The same Assembly specifically required it.¹⁷ The Amendment was ratified in 1868 by a military Legislature, which then directed the State Board of Education to set up segregated schools.¹⁸

California never ratified the Amendment, but its Assembly must have concluded that it did not ban segregation in the public schools, since the statutes requiring segregation in 1863 and 1864 were repeated in 1866 and 1870.¹⁹

Connecticut abolished school segregation in 1868,²⁰ but there is nothing to indicate that the Amendment was in any way related to the statute. Of course, this was not a grave issue in that State since it had only 9,668 Negroes according to the 1870 census.

Delaware did not ratify the Fourteenth Amendment until 1901. At that time its constitution, adopted in 1897, required segregation.²¹ Certainly, Delaware did not consider the Amendment in contravention of its constitution.

FLORIDA ratified the Amendment in 1868,²² and in the same year adopted a new constitution under pressure of the Reconstruction Act.²³ Nothing was said about school segregation, although there was quite a cross section represented in the Assembly: 23 Democrats, 13 carpetbaggers, 21 scalawags and 19 Negroes.²⁴ It is true that Florida prohibited segregation by statute in 1873;²⁵ but, according to the Florida Attorney General, the statute was not enforced, and in the constitution which became effective in 1887 segregation was required.²⁶ There is no affirmative evidence that the Amendment was considered to have outlawed school segregation.

Georgia ratified the Amendment in 1870.²⁷ The same Assembly passed the first statute establishing a public school system and it expressly required segregation.²⁸ The Governor was a Republican and a majority in both houses were Republicans, but they defeated an amendment to eliminate the segregation provision.²⁹

ILLINOIS ratified the Amendment in 1867.³⁰ There is nothing in the official publications or in current newspaper accounts to indicate any intention to affect public schools. The Superintendent of Public Instruction reported (1865-1866) that no schools were provided for Negroes since the law did not contemplate their mixing with the whites.³¹ In his next report he stated:

The question of co-attendance, or of separate schools, is an entirely separate and distinct one, and may safely be left to be determined by the respective districts and communities, to suit themselves. In many places there will be but one school for all; in many others there will be separate schools. This is a matter of but little importance, and one which need not and cannot be regulated by legislation.³²

The Illinois Constitution of 1870 required compulsory education, but made no reference to segregation.³³ The Governor, in his message to the Assembly, urged statutes to implement the Constitution, and said:

The question whether children of different complexions shall be admitted to and instructed in the same school is one of mere local and temporary interest, and may be safely left to those who vote and pay the taxes.³⁴

The constituted authorities of Illinois obviously thought that the Fourteenth Amendment did not wipe out segregation in the schools. Nor did Illinois bar segregation in its schools until 1874.³⁵

Indiana adopted the Amendment in 1867.³⁶ None of those advocating adoption suggested that segregation in the schools would be affected. Under the School Law of 1865, there was no provision for Negro pupils.³⁷ In 1869, however, the statute was amended and separate schools were provided for Negroes.³⁸ The debate was extensive, but there was no suggestion that the Fourteenth Amendment was violated.³⁹ Segregated schools were made permissive by statute in 1877.⁴⁰ In 1874, the Supreme Court of Indiana rejected the argument that the Fourteenth Amendment was violated by school segregation statutes, citing the action of Congress in maintaining segregation in the schools of the District of Columbia.⁴¹ It did so again in 1926.⁴²

Iowa's constitution barred school segregation before the adoption of the Amendment, according to its Supreme Court. 43 After the adoption of the Amendment, an effort was made to segregate the schools, but the Iowa Supreme Court held this violative of Iowa statutes. The Fourteenth Amendment was not mentioned. 44

Kansas ratified the Amendment in 1867.⁴⁵ The same Legislature in the same year authorized segregated schools in the cities of the second class;⁴⁶ and, in 1868, authorized such schools in cities of the first class.⁴⁷ Except for one adverse vote in the house, action on the latter was unanimous.⁴⁸ Except for the period 1876-1879, segregated schools were maintained until the *Brown* decision.⁴⁹

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Kentucky rejected the Amendment in 1867⁵⁰ and never again considered it. There is nothing to indicate that the Amendment affected that decision. The Legislature obviously thought the Amendment was not related to school segregation since it established separate schools for Negroes that same year.⁵¹ And the Constitution of 1891 required segregated schools.⁵²

Louisiana rejected the Amendment unanimously in 1867.⁵³ Reconstruction caused the 1868 Legislature to be composed mostly of Negroes who adopted the Amendment by a wide margin.⁵⁴ That same year a constitution was adopted barring school segregation.⁵⁵ Several members gave reasons for their votes, but none mentioned the Fourteenth Amendment.⁵⁶ Riots followed, and no effective schools were established while the 1868 Constitution was in effect.⁵⁷ In 1879 a new Constitution was adopted requiring school segregation.⁵⁸ There is no affirmative evidence that the people of Louisiana thought that the Amendment affected segregated schools.

Maine never had segregation, and its Negro population in 1870 was only 1,606, about one-quarter of one percent of its population.

Maryland never ratified the Amendment.⁵⁹ In his message of submission, the Governor did not mention the Amendment;⁶⁰ nor did the lengthy report of the Joint Committee on Federal Relations to which the Amendment was referred.⁶¹ Maryland adopted a new constitution in 1867 and it did not require segregation in the schools. But the debates in convention make it clear that the delegates did not think the subject required discussion, much less prohibition.⁶² When a comprehensive school system was set up by statute in 1868, it provided for separate schools for the races.⁶³ All of this

was contemporaneous with the early history of the Fourteenth Amendment and clearly shows that Maryland thought it had no application.

Massachusetts prohibited segregated schools by statute in 1855,64 and its adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment throws no light. The Governor reviewed the Amendment in detail but made no reference to its application to schools.65

MICHIGAN passed a statute in 1867 providing that "all residents of any district shall have an equal right to attend any school therein." 68 The Supreme Court of Michigan construed this as permitting Negroes to attend white schools. The opinion made no reference to the Fourteenth Amendment. 67

Minnesota abolished segregated schools in 1864,68 and throws no light on our problem. Minnesota had only 759 Negroes in the 1870 census.

Mississippi at first rejected the Amendment out of hand.⁶⁹ Reconstruction followed and the provisional Governor, a Major General of the U. S. Army, compelled ratification.⁷⁰ Segregation was not mentioned in the Constitution of 1868,⁷¹ nor in the 1870 statute setting up a school system.⁷² However, the Republican Lieutenant Governor recognized that the statute accomplished segregation in effect, since in a speech to the Senate he said: "If the people desire to provide separate schools for white and black, or for good and bad children, or large or small, or male or female children, there is nothing in this law that prohibits it."⁷³ The schools established under this statute were nearly always segregated,⁷⁴ and segregation was expressly required by statute in 1878.⁷⁵ The Mississippi Legislature that ratified the Fourteenth Amend-

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ment, dominated as it was by Republicans and former slaves, did not consider that ratification made school segregation unlawful.

Missouri ratified the Amendment in 1867,⁷⁶ but no reference to schools is found in the proceedings. It has been consistent in maintaining segregated schools: The Constitution of 1865,⁷⁷ and statutes enacted in 1865, 1868, 1869 and 1874.⁷⁸ Segregation was again required by the Constitution of 1875 without debate,⁷⁹ and subsequent statutes laid down the same requirements in 1879, 1887, and 1889.⁸⁰

Nebraska was admitted to the Union in 1867 and immediately ratified the Amendment.⁸¹ While the first school statute, enacted in 1867, made no reference to segregation, ⁸² the Legislature specifically declared against segregation at the University of Nebraska when it was established two years later.⁸³ There is nothing in the record to indicate that school segregation was thought to be required by the Amendment. Nebraska had only 789 Negroes in the 1870 census, and the matter of racial mixing gave no concern.

Nevada ratified the Amendment in 1867.84 The same Legislature provided for segregated schools.85 There was a minority report by the committee that recommended this legislation, but there is nothing to indicate that the division of opinion was caused by the Amendment.86 In 1872, the Nevada Supreme Court held that a particular statute providing separate schools for Negroes was invalid under the Constitution of Nevada though not under the Fourteenth Amendment.87 The dissenting opinion stated:

The case of relator was sought to be maintained on the ground that the statute was in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. I fully agree with my associates that proposal of counsel is utterly untenable.

So there was unanimity only to extent of agreeing that the Amendment had no application to segregation.

New Jersey ratified the Amendment in 1866.88 Although when the Democrats got control of the Assembly in 1868 they rescinded that action over the veto of the Governor, and stated numerous objections to the Amendment, none of them related to its effect upon the school system.89 New Jersey never had mandatory school segregation by law, but in 1868 the State Superintendent of Schools interpreted the statute to permit segregation,90 and there was no amendment of the statute until 1881, when segregation in the schools was abolished.91

New York ratified in 1867. Plant long permitted separate schools for the races. In 1864, as part of the general revision of the school laws, local authorities were empowered to establish separate schools for Negroes, And this act was continued in effect in subsequent codifications. Authorities in some localities took advantage of the act and maintained separate schools. Although the New York Constitutional Convention of 1867 adopted a strong resolution on civil rights, there was nothing said about abolishing school segregation. Efforts were made over a period of more than thirty years to have school segregation statutes declared unconstitutional in the New York courts, but in each case the court refused.

North Carolina ratified in 1868.98 A new constitution,

adopted that same year, did not expressly require segregation, but the Convention adopted a resolution asserting that the interest and happiness of the races would be promoted by separate schools. This convention, it will be observed, was dominated by the radical Republicans who recognized the validity of segregation statutes. Within two weeks after ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment, the Assembly adopted a joint resolution asserting that it was the duty of the Assembly to adopt a system of free public schools, but that the races should be separated. Accordingly, legislation was adopted to carry out that purpose, and segregated schools were thereafter maintained under law until North Carolina was recently required to integrate by force of Federal court order.

Ohio ratified in 1867.¹⁰⁸ No mention was made in those proceedings of school segregation. The following year, a resolution was passed by both Houses rescinding its previous action.¹⁰⁴ Again, no mention of school segregation. Ohio had a long record of segregated schools. A statute providing schools for Negroes was enacted as early as 1831.¹⁰⁵ Others were enacted in 1847 and 1848.¹⁰⁶ In 1860 separate schools were required where there were more than thirty children in a school district.¹⁰⁷ In 1874 separate schools were authorized in the discretion of local authorities,¹⁰⁸ and this provision was codified in 1880.¹⁰⁹ Segregation was not barred by statute until 1887.¹¹⁰

Oregon ratified in 1866¹¹¹ and rescinded in 1868.¹¹² There is no mention of school segregation in either record. Nor was any segregation statute passed. Oregon had only 346 Negroes in 1870 and there was no problem.

Pennsylvania ratified in 1867.¹¹⁸ The debates are preserved, and there are some references to segregation, but it is not clear that the Legislature believed that school segregation was involved. Subsequently, however, the Legislature did make it clear that the Fourteenth Amendment did not affect school segregation, since it required separate schools in Pittsburgh in 1869,¹¹⁴ and did not abolish school segregation until 1881.¹¹⁵ Meantime, the constitutionality of segregation had been upheld in the courts.¹¹⁶

Rhode Island ratified in 1867,¹¹⁷ but school segregation had been abolished by statute in January, 1866.¹¹⁸ The Fourteenth Amendment, therefore, was never involved.

South Carolina in 1866 unanimously rejected the Amendment for one vote in the House. 119 Then came Reconstruction, followed by the adoption of a constitution (1868) which abolished segregation in the public schools. 120 Three months after the convention adjourned the Fourteenth Amendment was ratified.121 There is nothing to indicate that the Amendment was a factor either in the Convention or the Legislature. Even though the radical element was then in control in South Carolina and had abolished segregation by law, its Governor, a Brigadier General, United States Army, advocated that in practice the races be separated in the schools, and that the ultimate solution of the problem be left to time. 122 The Legislature followed his advice and never set up the system of schools contemplated by the framers of the Constitution, but something "very different." ¹²³ In 1870, a Massachusetts Negro was named the first Superintendent of Public Education. He submitted a report to the Legislature which contained recommendations from local school authorities, twelve of the thirteen reporting advocating segregation.¹²⁴ In practice, there

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was little integration. When the Superintendent ordered integration for the School of the Deaf, Dumb and Blind, it closed down, and remained closed until it was reopened three years later on a segregated basis. Efforts to integrate the State University also failed.¹²⁵

Tennessee ratified the Amendment in 1866 after some members were put under arrest to make a quorum. Efforts were made by the opponents to except various State rights from its operation, but no one seemed to consider it necessary to make exceptions to cover segregation in the public schools. The same Legislature which ratified the Amendment amended the school law (March 5, 1867) to require segregated education in Tennessee, 127 a statute which the Republican Governor referred to in his second inaugural address as "wise and desirable." In 1870, school segregation was written into the constitution, 128 and reenacted in a further amendment to the school laws in 1873. They have remained segregated until our day.

Texas at first rejected the Amendment.¹³⁰ Both House and Senate committees on Federal Relations filed long reports opposing ratification, pointing out that the Amendment might give the Negroes the vote, the right to serve on juries, to bear arms, etc.; but no one seemed to think it necessary to mention segregation in the schools, which was not enumerated among the objections.¹³¹ Then came Reconstruction and ratification of the Amendment in 1870.¹³² Again, there is no record of any reference to schools. The 1869 Constitution required establishment of a free school system, but segregation was not mentioned.¹³³ The same Legislature that ratified the Amendment enacted a statute which left it to the localities, "when in their opinion, the harmony and success of the schools re-

quire it, to make any separation of the students or schools necessary to insure success..." The report of the committee that recommended adoption made it plain enough that it was intended to establish segregation on the local level. Segregated schools were required by the 1876 Constitution, and that requirement has been continued.

Vermont ratified in 1866.¹³⁷ Throughout the proceeding no mention was made of the school problem. But Vermont seems never to have had segregated schools, and it had no problem since it had only 924 Negroes in 1870.

Virginia refused to ratify in 1867. There were no favorable votes in the Senate and only one in the House. There was no mention of public schools in the proceedings. Ratification followed Reconstruction in the 1869-70 session of the Legislature. In 1869, a constitution was adopted which made no reference to segregated schools, but in 1870 the same Legislature which ratified the Fourteenth Amendment provided for segregated schools and resisted every effort to strike this provision from the school statute. On Virginia's statute books this has been the law ever since.

West Virginia ratified in 1867,¹⁴¹ and the same Legislature only six weeks later adopted a statute providing that "white and colored persons shall not be taught in the same schools..." ¹⁴² In 1872 a new constitution was adopted. It required segregation in the schools, ¹⁴³ and West Virginia has continued that provision ever since.

Wisconsin ratified in 1867.¹⁴⁴ There was no reference in the proceedings to segregated schools, but it was immaterial anyway since Wisconsin never had segregation in its schools, and in 1870 had only 2,113 Negroes to segregate.

CONCLUSION

The foregoing summary seems conclusive that the Congress which initiated the Fourteenth Amendment did not believe that it barred segregation in the public schools, and that in not one of the thirty-seven States that considered the Amendment is there substantial evidence to indicate that the Amendment was deemed such a prohibition.

The Supreme Court of the United States on March 20 of this year decided a case involving an interpretation of the Amendment by a careful examination of the constitutions of the several States at the time of the Amendment's adoption, and felt bound thereby.145 It, therefore, approves that method of interpretation. However, all of the material above cited and more, was supplied to the Court in the School Cases, but was held by it to be "inconclusive." 146 Surely we have the right respectfully to differ when the evidence is so overwhelming and irrefutable.

There are only two possible ways of restoring the original meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment: by the reversal of its position by the Supreme Court itself or by action of the Congress and orderly amendment. The first seems out of the question since the Court has adopted the policy of committing new justices to the rule laid down in the School Cases as they take their places on the bench.¹⁴⁷ The remedy, therefore, is in the hands of Congress alone.

Again, I wish to thank you gentlemen for the opportunity of appearing before you.

ES

NOTES		
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2. Ibid., p. 500.	27. Ga. S. J. (1870) v. I. 74; Ga.
3. <i>Ibid.</i> , p. 600.	H. J. (1870) 74.
4. <i>Ibid</i> ., p. 1117.	28. Ga. Public Laws (1870) 49.
5. <i>Ibid.</i> , p. 1294.	29. Ga. H. J. (1870) 449.
6. <i>Ibid.</i> , p. 2459.	30. Ill. S. J. (1867); Ill. H. J.
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8. 14 Stat. 216 (1866).	31. Report of Superintendent of
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15. Ark. S. J. (1866) 262; Ark.	35. Ill. Rev. Stat. (1874) Ch. 122,
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19. Cal. Stat. (1863) Ch. CLIX,	356, 444.
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23. Fla. Const. (1868) Art. VIII,	43. District v. City of Dubuque, 7
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55. La. Const. (1868) Art. 135. 56. Journal of La. Const. Conv. J 1868, pp. 200-01.

57. Annual Rept. of La. State Supt. of Public Education (1874) LII-LXXVI; idem (1875) 40-73; Idem (1877) IV.

58. Art. 224; cf. Art. 231. 59. Actually, Maryland ratified the Amendment after this statement was prepared. The Governor ap-

proved the resolution of the General Assembly on April 28, 1959. 60. Message of the Governor of Md. to the Legislature of 1867, p.

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THE VIRGINIA COMMISSION ON CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT TRAVELERS BUILDING RICHMOND, VIRGINIA.

Below are some observations on the address, THE DESTROYERS, given by the Rev. James P. Dees in Savannah, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Dees:

...I think your speech is magnificent...
Sincerely yours,
Tyre Taylor

(Mr. Taylor is an attorney in Washington, D. C., and is General Counsel for the SOUTHERN STATES INDUSTRIAL COUNCIL.)

Rev. Dees has indeed made a powerful case for the use of interposition by the governments of the Southern States against federal usurpation of States Rights in the racial field. I believe a wide distribution of his address would help in bringing public opinion to the point that interposition would be utilized successfully in a number of Southern States.

Sincerely, W. M. Rainach

(Mr. Rainach is a member of the Louisiana Legislature and a former candidate for Governor.)

Dear Brother Dees:

I want to tell you again, I think your speech is about the best thing that I have ever read or heard on the subject. It is a masterpiece.

Regards, L. K. Roberts

(Mr. Roberts is a merchant of Savannah, Georgia.

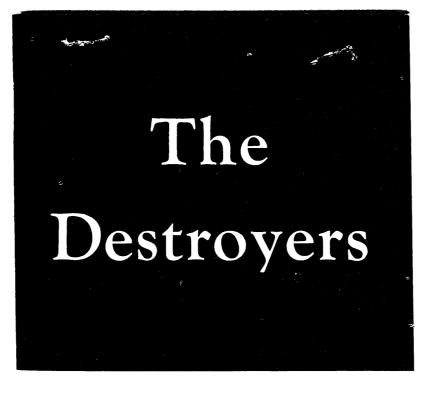
Dear Mr. Dees:

You have covered much territory in this fine address, presenting a wealth of data on the general subject. Your remarks on Interposition are particularly pertinent, especially at this time of crises in public education in several Southern States.

Sincerely yours, Hugh G. Grant

(Mr. Grant is a former member of the State Department and United States Minister to Albania and Thailand (Siam)).

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Noted Episcopalian Clergyman

Makes Telling Observations

Concerning the U. S. Supreme Court

THE U. S. SUPREME COURT, DESTROYERS!

Some Observations and Conclusions

An Address by the

REV. JAMES PARKER DEES

Statesville, North Carolina

to

The Citizens Council

and

The States Rights Council

Savannah, Georgia

Of the several observations that I have made on the racial and Constitutional crises that have been circulated nation-wide several times, the observations in this present address, I feel, are by far the most pertinent and significant and point up with greater clarity the seriousness of our present situation.

JAMES P. DEES

THE DESTROYERS

I suspect that I stand, in my social and political philosophy, pretty much where most of you stand. I believe in the preservation of our national sovereignty. America is the greatest nation on the face of the earth today, notwithstanding the areas of weakness that have developed within the past twenty or thirty years I believe in Constitutional Government. I believe that the writers of the Constitution said what they meant, when they drafted the Constitution, and that they meant what they said, and that what they said and meant is the basic law of the land I believe in the preservation of racial integrities. Every person is better off for having a race and people of his own in which he can grow and develop to his fullest maturity physically, mentally, morally and spiritually. Whoever, before the past ten years or so, heard of anyone extolling the virtues of a polygenetic people as being the equal of a people that have refrained from indiscriminate racial mixing I pass over this hurriedly; it has been explored for you before. I believe in the preservation by the States of the rights that have been reserved to them in the 10th amendment of the Constitution The State is the political area for the program of education, welfare, etc. I believe in the preservation and the buttressing of the Free Enterprise system, the system of capitalism, and the

inviolableness of private property rights vested basically in the individual owner, to be violated by the State only for cases of extreme emergency and not at its whim and caprice, as is currently so prevalent. The system of Capitalism has shown by its fruits, the production of goods and of a high standard of living, that it is vastly superior to any other form of economic system and is desirable, even aside from the fact that it preserves under its system the maximum of freedom for the individual citizen.

THE SCOPE OF THE RACE ISSUE

I suspect that all of you here, as I am, are dreadfully concerned about current efforts to induce racial integration, which will lead to racial amalgamation, which will lead to a Negroid or mulatto culture in the South and finally throughout our country We all know by now, or should know, that the Negro organization is primarily concerned not about merely gaining equal rights under the law for the Negro, it is concerned with forcing total race mixing, with the Negro's sitting down with and among members of the White race, placing their children with our children, attending the same hotels, eating in the same restaurants, sitting with you in the theaters, living in your neighborhood, through the bloc vote to run your government, sit with you and your children in buses,

trains, airplanes, and so on and so on. In its pamphlet **Target for 1963**, that Negro organization names specifically its goals in regard to Public Accommodations:

"hotels, restaurants, theatres, bars, movie houses, barber shops

AND

such recreational facilities as skating rinks, bowling alleys, golf courses, tennis courts, parks and playgrounds."

They intend to use federal law to force an employer to hire a man to any position, without regard to race Quoting from the pamphlet further, we find,

"The NAACP proposes to step up its drive to enlarge employment opportunities for Negro workers. We shall continue to push for enactment of FEPC laws at the state and local levels as well as by the Congress of the United States..."

They will compel you to hire Negro employees whether you want to hire Negro employees or not. And concerning the attack on segregated schools, the pamphlet states,

"This attack will be stepped up in order to wipe out the last vestige of segregated education by (January 1, 1963)."

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OMINOUS SYMPTOMS

I am sure that many of you saw the report in the February 1st issue of Augusta Courier that the legal head of the Negro organization plans to step up its program to demand full-scale and massive integration of the public schools. Until now they have been trying to get their foot in the door wherever possible with their so-called "token" integration Now they plan to step up their program in demanding massive integration. The NAACP has always stated that it is not satisfied with token integration and would not put up with it. And they have stated always that their objective was not merely race mixing in the public schools, but in every phase of life. The right to mix is a social right, and not a civil right; and the right to mix has its counterpart the right not to mix if people or races do not want to mix.

Of one thing we are certain The races of the earth are not equal. They are not equal mentally, morally, nor are they the same in any number of ways physically, and when you mix a lower with a higher, then you drag down the higher. Whether the white race is higher or not, we of the white race do not want the culture, the mores, etc., of the white race to be made to approximate that of any other race through an indiscriminate social and race mixing. We see ample evidence of what we

fear in Brazil, in Egypt, and in India. In the mixed schools of our nation's capital, we witness the utter collapse of academic standards and discipline over the students.

THE COMMUNIST MENACE

I am sure that all of us here are informed of the fact that our chief adversaries in the racial crisis are not the over-zealous and misguided leaders of the Negro organization, but rather the agents of International Communism. And from such observation of the subject, I am of the opinion that the forces of International Communism are centered, not across the sea in Moscow, but in these United States, in New York City. I have read much to the effect that the Bolshevik Revolution was financed by Wall Street money. Incidentally, I read recently that one observer had evidence to indicate that the major object of Khrushchev's visit to this country last fall was not to put the American people to sleep with his peace talk and co-existence rubbish, but to get money to bolster his sagging economy. If this is true, and I suspect it is, I hope and pray that our financiers on Wall Street will not give the murderer of Budapest any help for he intends, as he says, to bury us.

There are millions of Americans today, some of them outright Communists, some of them avowed "fellow travellers," or Pinks, some of them styled

"liberal intellectuals," do-gooders, humanists, and many of them good and forthright, patriotic but misinformed American citizens, (and I suspect that the vast majority fall into this class of good, patriotic, but misinformed American citizens), who are aiding and abetting in the Communist offensive, under the titular head of the murderer of Moscow, to destroy the Free World Let all take heed Let us not be dupes, and let us not be duped. We have been warned. Take heed. Let us not be so stupid as to be promoters of programs that have as their end the slave labor camp or the firing squad, or worse, the torture and mutilation experienced by the patriotic Chinese when the Russian Bear descended. In passing, let me observe, being an Episcopalian, that 205% of the Episcopal Priests in the American Church, 1,411 Episcopal clergymen, have Communist or Communist-front affiliations of some sort, according to an investigating committee headed by M. Lowman known as the Circuit Riders of Cincinnati, Ohio And the Episcopal clergy are not alone among the ministers of the various denominations that have been painted with a Red brush. An Episcopal clergyman had the brass to write me some time ago the following quip: "Breathes there the minister with soul so dead, that never hath been called a Red." I guess he thought he was being funny.

This same organization, Circuit Riders, Inc., of

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Cincinnati, is in the process now of publishing a 2 volume alphabetical list of 6,000 college, university, and theological seminary educators who have public records of aiding Communist causes.

LOOK AT THE COURT MEMBERSHIP

I would like to come now to the main subjects that I would like to talk about for a little while tonight, and those subjects are the Supreme Court, referred to commonly now as the Warren Court, and Constitutional Government If I had time, I would like to go into the background of the nine men who presently constitute the supreme tribunal of our land, but I have so many other things I want to cover that I must forego doing so I commend to those of you who might be interested in the subject the book Nine Men Against America, by Rosalie M. Gordon. I cannot resist the temptation, though, to present to you some observations about a few of the gentlemen, as revealed in this book. Hugo L Black is one of the Justices occupying the Supreme Court Bench. According to Miss Gordon's account, Black's "previous judicial experience consisted of 18 months as a police-court judge." She states that "it was easy for him to tell (an) audience at Occidental College in 1949 that the only answer to communism was the Welfare State." She reminds us that Douglas "has gone outside the Court to plug

for the admission of Red China to the United Nations and for American recognition of Red China." Felix Frankfurter, we are told, is the son of Austrian Jewish parents who emigrated to this country in 1894, when Felix was 12 years old and settled on New York's lower East Side." We are told that "despite a total lack of judicial experience, or even any experience in the practice of law," he received an appointment to the Supreme Court. In this book we are told that Earl Warren was an amazing appointment. "For the first time in forty-three years, a man with no previous judicial experience was named directly to the post of Chief Justice of the United States. Warren's background was wholly political." Miss Gordon says, "So far as can be determined, Warren's appointment was the first occasion in our history when a president cited an appointee's political views as his reason for naming him to the chief justiceship. The President said Mr. Warren was a 'middle-of-the-roader'.' She also indicated that Earl Warren was appointed to the Supreme Court bench as a political pay-off. Everybody should read this book, Nine Men Against America, and know the caliber and the backgrounds and the social and economic and political philosophies of these men who occupy the bench of the highest Court in our land. At the time of the rendering of the Black Monday decision, this book tells us, their total previ-

ous judicial experience, including their previous service on the Supreme Court Bench, amounted to only thirty-seven and a half years, and this included Black's eighteen months of service as a police-court judge. I dare to suspect that there is not a State Supreme Court in our land today whose members are not better qualified from experience and training to render judicial service to their country, than are these robed in nine black robes in Washington.

HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL RETRO-SPECTIVE

Let us now come to the root of the matter, the root of our argument with the Supreme Court. Let us, in a nutshell, relieve ourselves of the basic propositions on which we stand and on which we believe the integrity of our government stands.

At one time, on these shores of North America, the people were divided into thirteen separate States, with thirteen separate governments. These States came together and drew up a Constitution in which they set up a central government. They delegated certain powers to the Federal Government, and they reserved ALL OTHER POWERS for themselves. They set up the three branches of the Federal Government, the Legislative: Congress, which was to make the laws; the Executive: the

President, who was to execute the laws that Congress made; and the Judicial: the Courts, whose role was that of handing down decisions regarding disputes under the existing law. The original states, in setting up the Federal Government, feared the potential accumulation of power by the central Government at the expense of the rights of the individual citizens and the States of the compact, and they thus defined in no unmistakable terms the limits of those Federal powers in the Constitution and in the Bill of Rights, the First Ten Amendments. The Tenth Amendment states, "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

Again, let me emphasize: the powers of the central government are confined to only those powers specifically given to it by the Constitution, by the contract, by the compact between the States and between each State and that central agency which it set up. And it stated specifically, the supreme law of the land was that which was designated in this contract, the Constitution. The Constitution was the supreme law, the legislative branch was to make further law within the bounds set by the Constitution, the President was to execute, and the Judiciary was to render decisions concerning disputes arising pertinent to estab-

lished law. The Constitution sets up spheres of rights and powers, and it sets up safeguards for the preservation of basic rights and powers of the contracting parties, the States and the people of these States. The Constitution is the framework, the skeleton, the authority, the foundation, for our body politic.

THE COURT CURRENTLY IN ACTION

Now it is our contention that the Supreme Court, the Warren Court, is defying the Constitution, is violating the Constitution, is destroying it to all intents and purposes, and in so doing it is destroying in effect our very framework of government, and in so doing, is undermining all areas of rights, social, economic, State, individual and legislative guaranteed in that historic document. They have arrogated to themselves the right not only to interpret the law but to make the law, and then interpret the law they make as they see fit to In my opinion, they are undermining every vestige of States' Rights and individual rights, even the protection of your home against unwarranted search and seizure, and are striking even at the moral right and responsibility of the people and the States to maintain standards of public decency and morals within their borders. I will elaborate on this point later on. The hue and cry that has been raised and is being raised against the unwar-

ranted usurpation of power by the U. S. Supreme Court is nationwide, but the Supreme Court goes bluntly and arrogantly on its way, irresponsive to protests, irresponsive to the demands of the people in places high and low that it confine itself to the restrictions placed upon it by that agreement consented to by the States that set it up and placed restrictions on it, the Federal Constitution.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE COURT

Let us look for a few minutes at what some of our nation's leaders have had to say about that august tribunal, the final arbiter of matters judicial, the Supreme Court that is supposed to be men learned in Constitutional law, disciplined jurists who can interpret the law that is duly made by duly constituted legislative bodies. I have press reports that state that Senator Barry Goldwater, a Republican from the State of Arizona, speaking to a group of Republicans in Jackson, Mississippi, said that he considered Earl Warren, Chief Justice of the United States, to be a Socialist and unqualified to head the Supreme Court. He further declared that he told President Eisenhower that he did not like the appointment of Warren because "he (Warren) hasn't practiced law in twenty-five years, has never been a judge and is a Socialist.'

In a Washington dateline of July 3, 1959, Senator Sam Ervin "attacked the U. S. Supreme Court

today for what he said was allowing personal notions to influence its law-making decisions. The Southern Democrat said he and other Senators virtually stood alone against the Supreme Court when the school integration decision was made in 1954, but said now 'we are joined by many others who now confess that the condition has reached alarming proportions.' Ervin said in his weekly Washington report that the storm over recent Supreme Court decisions has reached national proportions. He said the high court 'continues to assume lawmaking powers and to substitute its personal notions for law.' 'The powers of the states, executive branch and the congress have been usurped,' Ervin charged." I don't know how much plainer it could be stated, and it is the truth.

THE COURT AND THE COMMUNIST CONSPIRACY

There have been many charges that the Warren Court has aided the cause of Communism. There is no doubt of this in the minds of vast numbers of people. To quote Senator Ervin again, according to a UPI release, "Senator Sam J. Ervin, Jr (D-NC) charged Sunday night that the Supreme Court is soft on communism. . . . Ervin, a member of the Senate Judiciary Committee and a former justice of the North Carolina Supreme Court, said recent decisions of the high tribunal "practically made it impossible"

to convict anyone who advocated the overthrow of the government by force and violence. . . . Ervin said the court under Chief Justice Earl Warren has ignored precedent and has substituted the personal notions of its members for law.'" We read in the Greensboro Daily News of June 30, 1959 an AP report that "The Supreme Court today ruled out the government program for security screening of civilian workers in defense plants"

In the June 10, 1958 issue of the Congressional Record, Congressman Albert H. Bosch of New York caused to be inserted an editorial from the New York Daily News, which stated, in part, the following:

"The future of the Nation is endangered by the things the Warren court has been doing to United States rights and practices ever since Earl Warren became Chief Justice by appointment of President Eisenhower in 1953.

"What these nine men (most of them poorly qualified to sit on the Nation's highest bench) have done for the criminal Communist conspiracy is well known.

"They have knocked over 42 States' antisedition laws, gutted the Smith Antisubversive Act of 1940, made what the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy called fifth-amendment Communists eligible to

practice law in any State, and sprung dozens of Reds from jail or the threat of jail.

"The net result of the long string of pro-Communist decisions is that it is harder than ever before for the Government to combat the Red conspiracy to overthrow that same Government and make slaves of all Americans except Reds."

THE COURT AND PUBLIC IMMORALITY AND FILTH

There are many people who feel that the Supreme Court has violated the rights of the States and is fostering public immorality in its decisions knocking down State bans on lewdness, obscenity, indecency, etc. In an address over the Manion Forum Radio Network July 26, 1959, Senator Eastland spoke of the lack of self-restraint that characterizes our present highest tribunal. He said "An unbridled Court can and has literally uprooted the very foundation of the Republic. The Supreme Court has constituted itself as a super-legislature annulling, amending, changing and rewriting at will the statutes and laws enacted by the Congress."

"Time and time again the Court has invaded the area and emasculated the power delegated under the

Constitution to the Executive Branch of the Federal government.

"In decision after decision, the Court has given aid and comfort to the Communist conspiracy and struck down laws and regulations, Federal and state, designed solely for the protection and security of the country.

"The former proud and sovereign states have been reduced to a condition of mere vassalage by the Court's decrees.

"Dean Manion, time will not permit me to review at any length the cases and areas which illustrate the scope and depth of judicial usurpation as it now exists. I do want to discuss just one area in which I know you, and all decent citizens of this country, are vitally interested — public morality.

"In 1952 a picture titled "The Miracle", produced in Italy, was offered for exhibition in New York. It was barred from public exhibition on the basis that the picture was "sacrilegious." It was condemned from both pew and pulpit as an affront to decency and public morality."

"Cardinal Spellman termed it 'a vile and harmful picture, a despicable affront to every Christian, a vicious insult to Italian womanhood,' and said that 'we, as guardians of the moral law, must summon you and all people with a sense of decency to refrain from seeing it and supporting the venal purveyors of such pictures'

"In regard to this picture, the Supreme Court said:

'We hold only that under the First and Fourteenth Amendments a state may not ban a film on the basis of a censor's conclusion that it is sacrilegious.'

"Thus the Supreme Court cracked the door, overturned precedents and established Constitutional doctrine, and began its advance over the field of jurisdiction as related to public morality."

WIPES OUT CONTROL OVER FILTH

"Where in 1952 the Court confined itself to giving 'sacrilege' constitutional immunity, on June 29, 1959, in the case of Kingsley International Pictures Corporation v. The Regents of the University of the State of New York, it destroyed completely the right of a state to protect the people, and particularly the children, from filth, immorality, obscenity, indecency and sin in the content of motion pictures offered for exhibition. In regard to a picture titled 'Lady Chatterley's Lover,' the Supreme Court said:

'What New York has done . . . is to prevent the exhibition of a motion picture because that picture advocates an idea — that adultery under certain circum-

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stances may be proper behavior. . . . The state, quite simply, has thus struck at the very heart of constitutionally protected liberty.'

"So now it is a 'Constitutionally protected liberty' to urge adultery upon the people and youth of this Nation. Presumably the decision would be the same with respect to the right to urge bigamy, or sodomy, or miscegenation, or homosexuality, or even rape, or any form of moral or sexual perversion

"With this decision the Supreme Court achieved revolution in the field of Constitutional law as applied to public morals and decency."

Under the AP dateline, Washington, December 14, we read again, "By a vote of 8-1, the Supreme Court today struck down a Los Angeles ordinance making it a crime for a bookseller to have obscene literature on his shelves." In the Charlotte Observer on Wednesday, November 13, 1957, an AP release informs us, "The Supreme Court Tuesday dealt movie censors another blow. Citing one of its own decisions which said 'sex and obscenity are not synonymous,' the Court struck down a ban by the Chicago Police Censor Board on 'The Love Game,' a French film. It did so without hearing the customary oral arguments. The action reversed a decision of the U. S. Court of Appeals in Chicago which had upheld the ban on 'The Love Game'."

How disgusting, how utterly repugnant to the Christian conscience, can the highest tribunal in our fair land get! How much longer will an outraged citizenry accept their distasteful opinions as the "law of the land".

THE COURT AND STATE SOVEREIGNTIES

We observe what the Honorable James C. Davis, U. S. Representative from Georgia has to say about some of the Court's actions in a broadcast on the Manion Forum Network on July 19, 1959. He says, "The Court in such cases as the Flaxer Case, the Sacher Case and the Yates Case, has seriously handicapped the Congress of the United States in its efforts to investigate and run down Communist activities through its proper committees.

"That Court has not only placed its stamp of approval upon Communists thumbing their noses at Federal and state courts and at Congressional and state legislative committees attempting to protect the people against Communism — it has also tied the hands of state courts and officials who were trying to protect their citizens, and particularly their boys and girls against obscenity and the teaching of such filth as that adultery is desirable and should be promoted under some circumstances.

"Yet, up to this point, the Court has gone unhindered in its program of destroying state sovereignty

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"The Communists know that the destruction of state lines carries with it the destruction of state sovereignty — that the destruction of state sovereignty and the establishment of centralized bureaucracy means destruction of individual liberty and freedom.

"That is why every Communist, every fellow traveller and every well-wisher of Communism supports every movement against state sovereignty and in favor of centralized power. It makes the Communists' objective of taking over our Government easier.

"The rank and file of our people, who actually constitute an unorganized majority, must organize to save state sovereignty. If we do this, we shall keep our country strong."

MORE CHARGES OF COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN THE COURT

The Louisiana jurist, Judge Leander H. Perez, of New Orleans, is quoted in the Augusta Courier of June 1, 1959 as saying that "the Communist influence now dominates the Supreme Court of the United States . . . Judge Perez analyzes the record of several members of the Supreme Court to establish his charges."

MORE OF COMMUNISM

I am sure that many of you have seen the pamphlet issued by The Independent American of New Orleans. It asks the question, On whose side is the Supreme Court? It tells how the present members of the Court voted on issues involving Communism. It states that Hugo L. Black, who has been on the Court since 1937, has voted in favor of the Reds in every one of his decisions concerning them. Frankfurter has voted in their favor in 77 percent of his decisions; Douglas, 95 percent; Burton, 46 percent; Earl Warren, 92 percent; Harlan, 58 percent, and Brennan, 90 percent. Over 75 percent of the decisions of a majority of the members of the court, this pamphlet states, have been in favor of the Reds. This seems to indicate something to me and what it indicates is not good. The pamphlet states, "In the four and a half years that Warren has been Chief Justice, the Court has, in 30 out of 39 cases, sustained the position advocated by the Communists."

MAY 17, 1954: THE SUPREME COURT DECISION — "THE LAW OF THE LAND"

Let us get around now to the Supreme Court decision of 1954 which in effect states, we are told, that "the law of the land" is that children must be educated in racially integrated schools. That decision

actually did not state that our children must be educated in racially integrated schools, but this is the interpretation given it by the NAACP, and the Courts have implemented this interpretation in its consequent decisions: that children must be integrated in racially integrated schools.

Now let us go back here a little bit and ask the question, on what law does the court base this decision? The original decision was based on no law at all, and not even on legal precedent of any kind, but simply on the assumptions of the social-philosophy of a foreigner imported into this country to write a book on the subject, a Swedish Left-winger. Since then, the Federal Judiciary has latched onto the Fourteenth Amendment as a basis for it. In doing this, they have distorted the intent of the 14th Amendment as it was when it was passed. The 14th Amendment, we feel, was passed illegally in the first place. Ten southern States first rejected it. and then they were compelled to pass it at the point of a bayonet. But even accepting its legality, it was never intended by its framers and endorsers, both North and South to designate that racially segregated schools were not in accord with it, and this is amply demonstrated in the booklet "A Question of Intent, — The States, Their Schools and the 14th Amendment," prepared by Hon. David J. Mays for the Court in the School Cases. The evidence is overwhelming and irrefutable. This statement is available from the Virginia Commission on Constitutional Government in Richmond.

The Federal Judiciary has gotten itself out on a limb. There is no law stated in the Constitution nor made by any proper legislative body that states that school integration is the law of the land. Karr Shannon, in the booklet, Integration Decision Is Unconstitutional, says that after that infamous Black Monday decree, Governor Timmerman wrote Eisenhower as the chief executor of the law, and asked him specifically what law stated that racial school integration was the law of the land. His answer was an astonishing amount of silence.

Let us look at the May decision from another angle. Until that Monday in May, 1954, the law of the land, as recognized from the intent of the framers of the Constitution and by legal precedent, was that segregated schools were in accord with it, the law of the land. I repeat, until May 17, 1954, segregated schools were considered unquestionably to have been operated in accord with the fundamental law of the land. And then suddenly, on that fateful Monday in May, the fundamental law of the land becomes changed.

Who changed this fundamental law of the land? The Supreme Court did, so it is averred. What?! The Supreme Court changed the fundamental law

of the land?! This is news. The Supreme Court has the power to change the fundamental law of the land?! If it has the power to change, then it has the power to make the fundamental law of the land. Now, pray, show me where in the Constitution the power is delegated to the Supreme Court to make the law of the land. If it is not delegated to it specifically in the Constitution, then the Supreme Court does not have the power. If it does not have the power to do so, and that power specifically conferred, then what it presumes to expound as the law of the land has no legal basis, and if it has no legal basis, then it is null and void, and if it is null and void, then the States don't have to obey it, because it is without any legal foundation. It becomes then merely the notions (as Senator Ervin says), the social theories, opinions, prejudices of these men who happen to sit on the Court bench, and who would force their notions, social theories, opinions, prejudices, down our throats, willy nilly, at the point of bayonets In taking this position, I am not defying the law of the land. I am standing on my basic rights guaranteed to me and to the State in which I live. It is the Supreme Court whom I consider to be defying the law of the land, or rather of illegally usurping from the people and their duly constituted legislative assemblies the right of making the law of the land in their arrogating to themselves in this high **— 28 —**

handed fashion the assumption that they have the right of making the law of the land.

These nine men dressed in black robes who were on the bench at the time of the rendering of the infamous 1954 decision, according to Karr Shannon, had had a total of only nine and a half years of judicial experience prior to their appointment to the high court, and of these nine and one-half years, one and one-half had been served by Hugo Black as a police-court judge, a fact so insignificant that no note even is taken, of course, in his biography given in the Congressional Directory of 1959. Justice Minton, we are told, had eight years. The remaining seven had none at all. And so you may see to some extent now my reasons for questioning the judicial capacity of this court in comparison with that of any State Supreme Court in our land.

SOME CONSEQUENCES OF THIS DECISION

Let us digress a minute and then come back to this point that we stress, that the Court presumed to make law, which it had no power to do, and therefore is to be considered null and void. Let us look at some observations that have been made concerning the consequences or ultimate goal of such decisions, and in particular this 1954 decision.

General Sumter Lowry, in a talk to the UDC of

Tampa, Florida, October 15, 1958, as reported in their periodical says:

"The strategy behind this degree was to establish the precedent that the Federal Government can control the school system, forcing the people to accept this fact and then to move in on all other fields of local control reserved to the States and communities, thereby completely destroying the 10th Amendment. The issue of integration, with all of its emotional appeal, was selected to crack open and destroy our constitutional rights. KEEP ALWAYS IN MIND that integration is only the first step in A MASTER PLAN TO TAKE AWAY ALL OF OUR FREEDOM AND LIBERTY."

The result obviously, would be the equivalent of the Communist police State. General Lowry continues:

"Now the conspirators who wish to destroy our nation well know if you mix people of different color in marriage, and if you infuse the blood of fourteen million negroes into the blood stream of the white American, you will breed a mongrel race, neither white nor black, and the history of the world shows that when a nation becomes mongrelized, it dies."

And General Lowry says further,

"If you throw little white and colored children of both sexes together on an intimate social relationship from the time they are five or six years of age, it can end at only one place with or without the benefit of marriage."

Judge L. A. Grayson, in a talk before the Florida

UDC Convention on October 14, 1958, quoting former Governor Caldwell, as reported in the UDC Magazine, said,

"We are now in the early stages of Judicial Tyranny— and this is so because the lawyers and the Bar Associations have been unwilling to stand up and be counted as fighting Americans dedicated to the Freedoms and Liberties supposedly guaranteed in the Constitution. And, in view of all the clap trap to the effect that a Supreme Court decision is the Supreme Law of the Land and ought not to be criticized, let me hasten to say two things: First, a Supreme Court decision is not the Law of the Land and, second, when the Supreme Court violates the Constitution, it should be criticized without stint and without fail."

I could go on and on quoting and stressing these points, but I don't see how the points that I have been making could have been stated any more plainly and any more firmly. Before closing this section, let me hark back to and repeat General Lowry's statement, his dire warning:

"The issue of integration, with all of its emotional appeal, was selected to crack open and destroy our constitutional rights. Keep always in mind that integration is only the first step in a master plan to take away all of our freedom and liberty."

FIRST CONCLUSION: THE MAY '54 DECISION — NO LEGAL VALIDITY

Now as you will have observed, it is our contention that this so-called judicial decision, known popularly

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as an unconstitutional decree, is without any foundation in the basic law, and, being without any foundation in the law, it is extra-legal, and is therefore null and void and of no effect. It is, as Senator Ervin indicates, an expression of the personal sentiments of men who happen to occupy the Supreme Court Bench. Do we have to obey a court decision that has no foundation in the law, that is rendered by a group of men, though they be judges, who have no authority to say what they are saying? I ask you, do we? I repeat again, it is my contention that I am not defying the law of the land. I am merely standing on my basic rights, and these men on the Supreme Court bench are usurpers, usurpers of my rights and of my State's rights. as the Hon. Hamilton A. Long, constitutional lawyer of New York says. These men on the bench are usurping the power to make the law, and as usurpers, they have exceeded the powers delegated to them by the constitution, and are acting merely as private citizens of the United States, whose contentions have no more legal validity than anybody else's. If this is so, then do we have to obey these decrees? It is my contention that, according to the Constitution properly interpreted, we do not.

Well now, having arrived at this point, where do we go from here? This point might become pretty hot Assuming that the Court has erred, that its

decisions under consideration are extra-legal, where do we go from here?

THE SECOND CONCLUSION: "... THE ONLY ANSWER"

My thinking is in accord with a number of other Southern minds more learned in the law than mine, and they are of the opinion that *Interposition* is the only answer.

What is Interposition? In effect, it is the interposing of a State's sovereign rights and powers between a State and the people of the State and the unconstitutionally assumed prerogative of a branch of the Federal Government to destroy or take away that State's powers and rights. This, I think, is the only answer. Other answers have been suggested. Let me deal with these others hastily and then come back to this doctrine of Interposition.

The first possible resolution of the problem that comes readily to mind is the impeachment of the offending Justices. But I am in agreement with Senator Eastland's remark that, the disposition of the Senate being what it is, to quote him verbatim, "impeachment is scarcely a scare crow." The suggestion is made that we curb the court's powers with federal laws and Constitutional Amendments. Let me say summarily that in my opinion, we have too many ultra-liberals and Red-fronters in Congress

to be able to get anything effective passed soon enough to get any relief in this way. Also, the fear of offending minority groups slows Congress down, and endless haranguing over amendments make effective relief too slow in coming this way. Furthermore, with the Supreme Court bursting out at the seams in a different place all the time, you can never catch up with them with patches. secondly, if they will violate the Constitution, what assurance do you have that the same men of the same liberal-social philosophies won't violate the amendment to the amendments. Some have recommended limiting the term of office for Federal judges, but I think that this life term is so ingrained in our system that it will be a long time being replaced, if ever, and I can put no hope in this method.

And so I come back to the contention that Interposition is the only answer. Interposition, as it is being promoted now, is a statement by a State legislature to the effect that it considers some action by the Federal Government or arm thereof to be an infraction of the rights and powers reserved to the State when it approved the Constitution, and which the Constitution guarantees to the State, and the action being an infraction of its rights guaranteed to the State by the Constitution, it is therefore null and void and of no effect within the borders of the State. This is nothing but what is right, and

is what the state legislature and Chief Executive should see is done to protect the people and the State from an overly-centralized Federal Power which seeks to destroy local self-government in an unconstitutional and high-handed fashion. Interposition is merely the logical consequence of "Massive Resistance", of which we have heard so much. It is Massive Resistance, which is popular resistance, or the resistance of the people as a whole, expressed in legislative action by the State legislative branch, and executed by the Governor as the law in that State. Legislative bodies and the Chief Executive, I say, have the obligation to demand of the Federal Government that it respect the rights of the States guaranteed by the Constitution, and this is the only way to do it. The people who are groaning under Judicial oppression in the state should not have to wait until another arm of the Federal Government, which may not be concerned very much about the internal affairs of that State. gets around finally to doing something, if ever, to relieve that State of the consequences of the exercise of an unconstitutional usurpation of power. Its action well may take too long, and it well may be ineffective, and it might not be concerned to give any relief anyway And in the meantime, the people suffer tyranny, abominable, insufferable, personal despotism at the hands of a group of men, before whose decisions we contemplate on General Lowry's

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words, "... integration is only the first step in a master plan to take away all of our freedom and liberty."

INTERPOSITION AMENDMENTS PASSED

Since the handing down of the Black Monday decision, every southern state except North Carolina, to her shame, has passed resolutions of interposition. Anyone desiring a copy of these resolutions may get them from the Federation for Constitutional Government of New Orleans. Every State except North Carolina has passed them; and since then the states seem to have forgotten about them. By Act No 42, special session, 1956 the Alabama Legislature enacted a resolution of interposition declaring therein:

"That until the issue between the State of Alabama and the General Government is decided . . . by a suitable constitutional amendment . . . that the Legislature of Alabama declares the decisions and orders of the Supreme Court of the United States relating to separation of races in public schools are, as a matter of right, null, void, and of no effect; and the Legislature of Alabama declares to all men as a matter of right, this State is not bound to abide thereby."

As Mr. Drew L. Smith, member of the Louisiana Bar, New Orleans, says in his statement, *Interposition, The Neglected Weapon*,

"Interposition is . . . not to be used to defy Federal power, but to contain that power within its proper

constitutional limits, so that our State sovereignties may be preserved as the best guarantee of our constitutional freedoms in this great Republic."

This doctrine of Interposition is not new It is about as old as our Republic During the War between the States, a northern State court was called upon to decide the constitutionality, not of a Supreme Court decision, but of an act of Congress. The Wisconsin Supreme Court handed down its decision, for which I am indebted again to Mr. Smith, and from which I quote in part:

"To yield acquiescence in, and support to, every power constitutionally exercised by the Federal Government, is the sworn duty of every State officer, but it is equally his duty to interpose a resistance to the extent of his power, to every assumption of power on the part of the Federal Government, which is not expressly granted or necessarily implied in the Federal Constitution."

INTERPOSITION INVOKED SUCCESSFULLY

To date, Mr. Smith tells us, the doctrine has been invoked three times recently in the South in the race issue. In Texas, a Federal Court ordered integration in Mansfield High School. Governor Shivers, as many of you may recall, sent the Texas Rangers to escort the Colored children out of the school, and issued the statement from which I quote, "Should the resulting actions . . . be construed as contempt of the federal courts, I respect-

fully suggest that the charge should be laid against the Governor and not the local people". To this date, as a result of the Governor's act of interposition, no negro children have entered the Mansfield High School. Interposition has been invoked in two other instances by southern states, and it has stood up in both instances.

WRONG TACTICS

I think that generally the tactics employed by the South to escape the consequences of the Black Monday decision are wrong. They are wrong primarily in that they concede that the Supreme Court has the authority to do what it is doing The tactics of the South so far have been employed in a delaying action. We have set up fences here and there only to have them struck down by the NAACP and the Federal Judiciary when they get around to it. Schools continue to be integrated all over the South. So far it has been only token integration. The practice of token integration is only a step in the direction of the Negro organization's goal of massive and total integration. One cannot but wonder if the Federal Courts are not in collusion with the scheme. A prominent Negro lawyer of Richmond, Virginia stated some time ago when a public school system was being evaluated, that it did not make any difference what facts were revealed in the investigation, that the Federal Courts would decide in their

favor anyway Are we to continue to back down before these forces that are wrecking education, race relations and the framework of Government?

Some time ago I wrote one of our Southern Governor's as follows:

"I feel that our efforts to circumvent the Supreme Court's decision is a mistake. This leaves their position unassaulted. We should not allow ourselves to be pushed all over the countryside by what I consider to be a gang of constitutional corrupters. If we will stand against them head-on, I am confident that the nation will rally behind us because of the basic rightness of our stand. Up until now the South, in its opposition to the Court, has been sparring with it in its efforts to evade the Court's decrees. The states should stand squarely on their rights and put the Supreme Court on the defensive for what we consider to be its violation of the Constitution."

Interposition is the only answer.

A PLAIN STATEMENT OF FACT

Davis Lee, the Negro editor, put the issue pretty succinctly for us when he wrote in his June 28, 1959 issue:

"The decision of a Federal Judge in Atlanta, who ruled that the segregation of the races in schools there is unconstitutional and the decision by a Federal Court of Appeals that all of the laws enacted by Arkansas to prevent integration, are unconstitutional, means that no state can prevent integration in its schools legally

"We pointed out a long time ago that these Southern states are wasting time and taxpayers' money enacting a lot of useless laws to circumvent the United States Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954. Any amendment or revision of a state constitution, even by the vote of the citizens, to circumvent that decision, will be ruled unconstitutional. Any state law or series of laws, enacted for that purpose will not stand."

And there you have it

Davis Lee is right.

And further on Davis Lee states, "For some reason the South has failed to realize that the United States Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, was not based on any Constitutional grounds."

THE ONLY ANSWER

And where do we go from here. There is no where to go except to the Doctrine of Interposition. The Doctrine of Interposition has held up before, and, in my opinion, it is the only thing that offers us any hope now if we are going to continue to operate public schools for the welfare of all the people, white and colored alike.

I pray of you People, stand up for your rights.

Get your legislature to enact an adequate statement of interposition.

Get a Governor who will enforce it, who will demand that the sovereign rights and powers which the States reserved to themselves in the Constitution be recognized.

If the Southern States will do this, then I am convinced that we will win the day. Nationwide public opinion is rallying now strongly to the South's position. Every state is jealous of its inherent rights. People in every State are becoming more and more aroused over seeing that our Constitution and our white culture be preserved. But we must stand firmly, and we must stand together. The sources of government is in the people, and I believe that the people, so constituted, will have their way. They always have had, when they had the backbone to demand it

As I intimated when I began this address, I am sure that I haven't told most of you anything new, but if I have been instrumental in helping you to see more clearly the issues involved, and if I have helped you to crystalize your thinking, and to strengthen you in your convictions, and to help you to a course of action, then I am grateful



Since the time when I prepared the foregoing elements of this address, new developments have taken place in the school racial issue, which I consider to be of greater significance than any since the insti-

sitution of the litigation that resulted in the Black Monday decision of May 17, 1954 Let us look at these latest developments.

On April 6, 1960 according to the Augusta Courier of April 25th, the Negro organizations filed suit in the federal courts at Chattanooga, Tennessee, "to force massive race mixing in the public schools of Chattanooga The law suit asks for integration of all of Chattanooga's schools and not just a part of them. The suit does not ask for 'token' integration, but asks for the full integration of the entire twenty-six thousand school children of the city. The suit goes further. It also asks that Negro and white teachers and principals be mixed. They are not satisfied with having Negro principals and teachers in their own schools, but they are asking that the white and Negro teachers and principals be scrambled up just as they propose to scramble up all of the twenty-six thousand children"

Similar legal action, which I consider to be a part of the total and overall Southern strategy of the Negro organization, has been started in North Carolina in two places. The Greensboro Daily News of April 30th (1960) carried the following news release: "Parents and guardians of 161 Durham Negro children filed a suit in federal court here yesterday for an order directing the Durham School Board and its members to operate schools on a 'non-racial'

basis. The suit also asks for an order to prevent the assignment of principals, teachers, and other school personnel to the Durham schools on the basis of race and color . . . the suit lists Thurgood Marshall of New York City, chief counsel for the NAACP, as an attorney in the case. In addition to naming the board as a unit, the suit is directed against individual board members and (the superintendent of the Durham City Schools . . . The parents and guardians said a reorganization plan should include the assignment of pupils, principals, teachers and other school personnel and the drawing of school zone lines on a non-racial basis."

And in Greene County of North Carolina, according to the Greensboro Daily News of May 6th, similar litigation has been begun by the NAACP showing Thurgood Marshall and another lawyer, Jack Greenberg of the NAACP's New York staff, and C. O. Pearson, their "chief legal counsel in North Carolina," asking "the Court to restrain the county from operating a compulsory bi-racial school system, from continuing "to maintain a dual scheme or pattern of school zones based upon race or color," from assigning pupils, teachers and other school personnel on the basis of race or color." These three suits apparently, mark the beginning of the final grand push by the Negro organization to force total and massive racial integration in the schools of the South.

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Every southern community has a vital interest in the outcome of these suits. It is my opinion that the NAACP feels that it has the sympathy of the federal courts in these suits, or they would never have begun them. I am sure that they feel that the way is cleared for them to press these cases through to a successful conclusion. And when they do, as I strongly suspect they will, and when the Supreme Court acts, then the last legal bulwarks providing in any degree for separate schools in the entire South will be destroyed and there will be virtually anarchy, to put it mildly, in the field of public education

The NAACP plans now to ram massive school integration down the throat of the South using the decrees of the Federal Judiciary and of the U.S. Supreme Court in particular, to accomplish it for them. They anticipate that all temporary defenses, token integration efforts, pupil assignment plans, tution grants for segregated schools, all defenses, will be scuttled utterly by the forthcoming Supreme Court decisions This last phase of their program has been begun. Look at it, I bid you and tremble at it They intend to bring about, as they say, the total integration of pupils, principals, teachers and other school personnel and the drawing of school zone lines on a non-racial basis." They have called their shots with the Supreme Court before, and I am confident that they are confident now

People of the State of Georgia and of the South, do not put any trust whatsoever in piece-meal or partial or token integration nor in any scheme of tuition grants for private schools. The Negro organization will not be appeased by token integration, and they will not let any laws to evade total and massive integration stand.

THE INTERPOSITION OF THE STATES' SOVEREIGN RIGHTS IS THE ONLY ANSWER. I remind you, the hour is late. I pray that it is not too late

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REV. JAMES PARKER DEES
Pastor of Trinity Episcopal Church
Statesville, North Carolina

Supreme Court Rulings Not Law Of Land, Senator Talmadge Tells The U.S. Senate

Effort Of Radicals To Classify Opinion Gives Big Lie To Mixers' Contention

The contention that the Supreme Court's rulings are the "law of the land" is false, foolish and an insult to the peo- law neither requires nor admits concur- English language. ple's intelligence, according to Herman rence. Talmadge, United States Senator from

he said that if a decision of the Supreme Court were the "law of the land" that the court itself would be bound by it own decisions

the Senate was then debating an amend- made. ment to the civil rights act which attempted to make the Supreme Court decision the "law of the land".

An Insult To People

The language of the amendment, which provides that officials and citizens should support "the Constitution as interpreted by the Supreme Court of the United States", is a gross insult to the intelligence of every American, according to Talmadge.

Here are some of the things he said The inherent fallacy of the contention ed by two facts:

First, each of its decisions is handed down under the heading: "Opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States",

Second, it does not consider itself bound by its own decisions.

In The School Cases

According to the Legislative Refer-

The great Chief Justice John Marshall made the point crystal clear when he

"Courts are the mere instruments of the law and can will nothing . Judicial power is never exercised for the purpose of giving effect to the will of the judge always for the purpose of giving effect to the will of the

Rules By Trickery

"law of the land" is clearly demonstrat- upon which the premise of these amend- be such. ments can be sustained, that is, that state and local governments are obliged to legislation should be placed on the law in specific cases applying to them.

the pending amendments attempt to legislation to expand the authority of by the Chairman, George Washington.

change the responsibility of all govern- the Commissioner of Education to draw In the school cases which are at is- ment officials on all levels from support- up plans for the integration of all pubsue here, for example, the introductory ing the Constitution of the United States lic schools-North as well as South-and words of the Court's decision are: "Mr. to supporting-in the language of the to give the Attorney General power to Justice Warren delivered the opinion of amendments - "the Constitution as in-force compliance with those plans the Court" The other justices "conterpreted by the Supreme Court of the through federal court orders. United States" is a gross insult to the I think it is elemental, Mr. President, intelligence of every American who can that one may concur in an opinion but understand the plain meaning of the proposed title the nose of the camel.

To hold that "State and local governence Service of the Library of Congress, ments and agencies which had relied dent, that if a decision of the Supreme parties to implementing litigation is to appointed official on the federal level. Court were the "law of the land" that ignore the clear meaning of the Consti-Court itself would be irrevocably bound tution and to deny the unmistakable For further evidence of his contention, to follow its decisions once they are intent of the dedicated patriots who framed it.

Admission of Falseness

that the Court's school decision is the "law of the land" is knocked into a cocked hat by the very fact that the author of the pending amendments finds it necessary to attempt to effect it as such by the congressional enactment herewith proposed.

If that decision were the "law of the land", Mr. President, it would not be Therefore, Mr. President, there exist necessary for Congress to have to conthat the Supreme Court's rulings are the no moral, legal or constitutional grounds sider passage of a law declaring it to

The semantic legerdemain by which of the 87th Congress with a demand for

Today, Mr. President, we see in this Tomorrow we will find the camel in the tent with us.

Mr President, I cannot bring myself the Supreme Court has overruled its upon the 'separate but equal' doctume to believe that it is the desire of a maspeech on the floor of the Senate and own decisions over the years of our existence as a nation at least 106 times. the elimination of segregation in their power over the future of education in I think it goes without saying, Mr. Presipublic schools" even though they are not this country should be handed to any

Right of 12 States

The principle of state and local control of public education is well established by both law and precedent. Congress has reaffirmed it in granting "ex-Furthermore, Mr. President, the claim clusive control" over educational institutions to the last 12 states admitted to the Union.

> The right to provide education in accordance with local needs, attitudes and circumstances was clearly left in the hands of the states and the people by the framers of the Constitution

Madison's Journal of the Constitutional Convention relates that, during a discussion of what would be placed in the hands of the Federal Government and what would be left to the states and the I predict, Mr. President, that if such people, some member asked whether the provisions as proposed would leave comply with Supreme Court decisions legislation should be placed on the law education to the states. The only diseven in the absence of specific decrees books of the nation by this Second Sections of the point, according to Madision of the 86th Congress, we will find cussion of the point, according to Madiourselves confronted at the First Session of the 87th Congress with a demand for lenged, was an answer in the affirmative

NORTH CAROLINA DEFENDERS of STATES' RIGHTS, Inc.

National Integrity, Constitutional Government, Racial Integrity States' Rights, Individual Liberties, Private Property.

3361/2 South Salisbury St.

RALEIGH, N. C.

P. O. Box 1613

September 16, 1960

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The Hon. Wilson Warlick Newton

North Carolina

Dear Judge Warlick:

I was distressed to read recently in the newspapers of your order to the School Board at Burnsville that they integrate their schools. I would like to ask you to advise me of the legislation or constitutional law on which you base this decision. I readily recognize the hardship that the children of the negro parents in the Burnsville area were subjected to in traveling to and from Asheville, and I am of the opinion that something should be done to alleviate this hardship, but I feel that whatever my opinion concerning the humanitarian issues involved, that in the final analysis when a Judge hands down a decision it should be based on Law and not on humanitarian interests or personal opinion. As has been said so often in recent months, this government should be a government of law and not of men. I will appreciate your citing me the Law on which your decision was based. I do not recognize judicial decisions per se as being law, as I do not feel it is the prerogative of the judiciary to make the law, That function lies in the hands of legislative bodies. I am enclosing for you a copy of an address which I made in Florence, South Carolina last February, and in Savannah last March 17th. It has been hailed widely throughout the south and it has been given very extensive distribution. I call it to your attention.

I feel that both you and I are trying to do what is best in the interest of our country. I feel, however, that you have stepped outside your authority in presuming to hand down a decision of this sort, that is within the jurisdiction of the States and of the State Courts. I shall appreciate your giving my queries your attention and letting me hear from you. If I am basing my conclusions on some false presuppositions I will be greatly indebted to you if you can advise me concerning them.

Kindest regards to you and personal good wishes.

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

JPD:bb

Yours very sincerely,

Rev. James P. Does 421 Walmut Street Statesville, N. C.

~

September 24, 1960

SEP 23 1900 SEMIRAL ELLES

Dear Reverend Dees:

In response to your letter of August eighth and enclosure, we are sending you herewith a copy of our reply to Mr. Simmons' letter of July twenty-ninth.

Sincerely,

E. Frederic Morrow Administrative Officer Special Projects Group

The Reverend James P. Dees Rector, Trinity Episcopal Church 421 Walnut Street Statesville, North Carolina

lrs Enclosure

Trinity Episcopal Church Statesbille, N. C. /

THE REV. JAMES P. DEES, Rector 421 Walnut Street

August 8, 1960

President Dwight D. Eisenhower Washington D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

You will note the enclosed letter which was sent to you by Mr. W. J. Simmons of Jackson, Miss. I wish to state that I heartily endorse this letter.

Yours very sincerely.

,

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Official Paper of the

CITIZENS' COUNCILS OF AMERICA

W J SIMMONS EDITOR

813 PLAZA BUILDING FLEETWOOD 2-4456 JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI

July 29, 1960

President Dwight D. Eisenhower Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

In your address before the Republican National Convention at Chicago, you proposed a world-wide referendum, whereby each nation might choose for itself whether it wishes to be free, or whether it wishes to be Communist. Your dramatic proposal met with an approving ovation from the vast audience.

While the free world views with apprehension the threatening advance of international Communism, the South views with equal apprehension the threatening advance of racial integration at home.

Mr. President, does the South not merit at least the consideration accorded foreign nations?

Surely then, in the light of the proposition you so ably stated at Chicago, there can be no objection from men of genuine good will for each state of this Union to determine for itself, in a nation-wide referendum, whether its citizens may enjoy the freedom to choose their own associates, or whether they must be compelled to integrate without regard to race, creed or color.

Your able leadership is therefore earnestly sought to implement such a referendum, as an equable solution to the racial strife being forced on our great region.

Respectfolly yours,

Eleminone. J. Simmons

The Citizens' Council

DEC 110

December 5, 1960

Dear Mrs. Fverson:

The President has asked me to acknowledge your letter to him of November sixteenth.

The Supreme Court ruling of May, 1954, was to the effect that admittance to a public school could not be denied an American citizen on the basis of race, color or creed. In sections of our country where there is a large diverse population this ruling has brought about tensions which have been difficult. Social mores of long standing are not easily broken. However, the ruling must be obeyed, and in the long run the combination of education together and the necessary social adjustments will make our country stronger.

The President thanks you for your expression concerning his service.

Sincerely,

E. Frederic Morrow Administrative Officer Special Projects Group

Mrs. C. Donald Everson
Silverside Drive
Baton Rouge, ! ouisiana

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and a second of a

MRS C. DONALD EVERSON
SILVERSIDE DRIVE
BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA

Movember 16, 1960

The President of the United States Washington, D.C.

Man Sir,

In all humility and a treve fleshing of no one else left to ask 2 write to ask upon to explain to me and others of our state what is happeining to use why the will of the majoraly no longer has any meaning 2 have read the constitution of no where can I find any justification for not aluding by the will of the people. There we use explaining to people. There we use explaining to you the oniginal intent of the authors of the constitution. I'm certain if they had thought the

Systeme laws would ever set to the sociological status of a state, they would have either specifically given or denied them that right. They & men in 1860-70 said & means civil as contained in the constitution of only as stated in the constitution. The leastly of that document lies in the fact that nothing is means to be encounted or implied, yet those Judges was said, in effect-that means a states internal affairs.

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MRS C. DONALD EVERSON SILVERSIDE DRIVE BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA

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a sid not intend to ramble. a mainly wished to exercise my right of petition to and you to help our paight - settle now or in January. Time them reasons to love & have faith

MRS C. DONALD EVERSON SILVERSIDE DRIVE BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA

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Thank your for your lucellust stable eight years quidance pour land.'

Respect feelly have be buerson.

G.F.

RECEIVED
DES 13 1960
SENTRAL FILES

December 9, 1960

Dear Commander Pharis:

Receipt is acknowledged of the resolution of the Johnson-Brown Post No. 1736, Veterans of Foreign Wars, in respect to integration of public schools in New Orleans recently submitted to the President.

Sincerely,

E. Frederic Morrow Administrative Officer Special Projects Group

Huey P. Pharis, Commander

Johnson-Brown V.F.W. Post No. 1736

Alexandria, Louisiana

lrs

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RESOLUTION (P)

WHEREAS, the constitution of the Veterans of Foreign Wars forbids us as a group to indulge in politics; and

WHEREAS, the recent events in our State, namely the forced integration of the public schools in New Orleans, is more than politics; and

WHEREAS, this is something that is being forced on the majority by the minority; THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, That we, the members of Johnson-Brown Post No. 1736, Veterans of Foreign Wars, who have followed the American Flag around the world, defending that flag, the Constitution of the United States and our republican form of government, maintain that those ideals which we fought for, suffered for, and many died for, are worth preserving now, more than ever before.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the Johnson-Brown Post No. 1736, Veterans of Foreign Wars, go on record as deploring the action of the Federal Government enforcing integration in our schools and disregarding the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution which specifically states, "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That we recognize that the forced integration of our schools was ordered by the United States Supreme Court, a body that was formed to administer justice and interpret our laws, not to make our laws, which is a direct violation of Article III, Section 2 of our Constitution.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That we, the members of Johnson-Brown Post No. 1736, Veterans of Foreign Wars, go on record commending the actions of the Governor of Louisiana, the Senators and Representatives of Louisiana, and the State Superintendent of Education, who have fought so hard to preserve our way of life.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, and to the Governor, Speaker of the House of Representatives, President Pro Tem of the Senate, and the Superintendent of Education of the State of Louisiana, and that a copy be presented to the Veterans of Foreign Wars Mid-Winter Conference to be held in Shreveport on December 3 and 4, 1960.

This resolution respectfully submitted by Joseph E. Nicotre, Senior Vice Commander, Department of Louisiana, Veterans of Foreign Wars, and members of Johnson-Brown Post No. 1736, and adopted this 16th day of November, 1960.

Huey P. Pharis, Commander

Johnson-Brown V.F.W. Post No. 1736

Alexandria, Louisiana

Attest:

Harold Gauthier, Adjutant

Johnson-Brown V.F.W. Post No. 1736

Alexandria, Louisiana

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