

RACIAL AFFAIRS

**NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS SERVICE
WITHDRAWAL SHEET (PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARIES)**

FORM OF DOCUMENT	CORRESPONDENTS OR TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
1. Memo	Byrce H. Harlow to Sherman Adams re segregation in the National Guard (6 pages) <i>NAC Range 4/10/63</i>	12/1/55	X (WE/DOD)

FILE LOCATION

EISENHOWER, DWIGHT D.: Records as President, White House Central Files (Confidential File), 1953-61

**Subject Series,
RACIAL AFFAIRS**

RESTRICTION CODES

- (A) Closed by Executive Order 11652 governing access to national security information.
- (B) Closed by statute or by the agency which originated the document.
- (C) Closed in accordance with restrictions mentioned in the donor's deed of gift.

March 24, 1956

MEMORANDUM FOR MRS. ANN WHITMAN:

The Attorney General gave the President a proposed revision of the Attorney General's civil rights statement. The President still expressed concern that the program proposed would be regarded in the southern states as an extension of Federal power. He stated that, notwithstanding his concern, the proposed program was perhaps the best that could be devised under the circumstances, and told the Attorney General to go ahead with it if he wished.

There was discussion as to how the President would handle press conference questions concerning the Attorney General's program. The President said that he had already, in previous press conferences, covered the items included in the program.

Despite the President's acquiescence, it was the feeling of Governor Adams and myself that the statement should not go up unless and until the President was more convinced in his own mind that it was the right thing to do. The Attorney General remained with the President after Governor Adams and I left the office. When the Attorney General came out, he reported that the President had given the proposed statement a complete okay.

Gerald D. Morgan

gdm/ mcr

Policy for Morgan

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

December 1, 1955

MEMORANDUM FOR GOVERNOR ADAMS

SUBJECT: Segregation in the National Guard

The Administration is impaled on the horns of a dilemma -- segregation in the National Guard. Bills are pending in the House to abolish such segregation. The Department of Defense has been requested to report on these bills. The proposed report, as submitted to the Budget, would oppose the legislation in these words:

This Department considers that the withholding of funds from the National Guard units, not in active Federal service, because the Federal practices and policies are different from those of the several States, could seriously reduce the effectiveness of those units to the detriment of our national security.

The Department of Defense therefore favors a continuance of the present policy which subjects National Guard units and personnel to all Federal regulations with respect to anti-discrimination and non-segregation while they are in active Federal service but permitting those matters to be determined by the States until their units are ordered into active Federal service.

I have intercepted the report because during the debate on reserve legislation last session, the President stated in a press conference (June 8, 1955) that segregation should be dealt with directly, not indirectly as was then proposed. These are the President's words:

My own feeling about legislation is a simple one. If you get an idea of real importance, a substantive subject, and you want to get it enacted into law, then I believe the Congress and I believe our people should have a right to decide upon that issue by itself, and not be clouding it with amendments that are extraneous.

DECLASSIFIED
E.O. 12356, Sec. 3.3
B. King NSC
Date 11/10/83
BY

CONFIDENTIAL

2.

"Now, I am just -- I am not talking about the school bill now or the reserve bill or any other. I am saying as a general proposition, why not put these things up on their own and decide them? That is my feeling and my conviction about it."

These bills to abolish segregation in the National Guard do "put these things up on their own" for decision. Therefore, an adverse report will surely arouse politically effective and loud criticism of the President on the ground that he said what he did on June eighth only to get the reserve bill passed, intending all the time to oppose the basic approach itself. Obviously, such an adverse report also will badly tarnish our shining armor in the field of civil rights.

Our handling of this matter has just been given greater significance by Governor McKeldin's forthright action a few days ago in abolishing, in the border State of Maryland, all segregation in the Maryland National Guard.

These considerations have prompted me to ponder the problem a bit, not ignoring the political reward in 1956 of taking a strong civil rights position. I now believe that we are in an excellent position to move boldly in this area. You understand that we cannot sidestep controversy no matter which way we go, for a report must be made on the pending bills. Our report is sure to generate political controversy regardless of our position.

Therefore, unless there are specific and cogent military reasons to the contrary (I am having these explored now) I think we are foolish to oppose legislation to abolish segregation in the National Guard. Instead, I think we can and should reply to the Congress that by direction of the President, the Department of Defense will, effective July 1, 1956, require non-segregation in National Guard units as one of the many requirements for Federal recognition of such units (Federal recognition being, as you know, the prerequisite for the assignment of Federal equipment, funds and trainers to Guard units.) This action will remove a defense incongruity, sharply reinforce the Administration's leadership on racial progress, and, as a not inconsequential by-product, will cascade salt into the racial sores festering the Democrat Party.

I have privately explored this proposal with a number of people. As of the present moment, I think this accurately represents their views: Carter Burgess, Arthur Flemming, Rowland Hughes, Roger Jones, Max Rabb, Howard Pyle, and the Vice President all think there is merit in the proposal and consider it a delectable infernal device to be timed

CONFIDENTIAL

to detonate in the middle of the State of the Union Message. Jerry Morgan also is favorably inclined provided the action can be taken without getting us into race difficulties in such other areas as housing (it being his belief, and mine, that such a formula, either legal or military in nature, can readily be found.) Fred Seaton, however, is inclined to oppose the proposal as being too controversial and too violent a departure from historic practices affecting the National Guard, and Jack Martin is apprehensive lest this could boomerang on the President for "playing politics with the national defense," lest it too severely agitate an already upset South, and lest it intrudes civil rights advances too deeply into the defense program under present world conditions.

There are many supporting reasons for this action. Some are:

1. The National Guard is predominantly a Federal force, hence Federal standards (including non-segregation) must apply.

(a) The National Guard has successfully demanded that every Selective Service law written since 1940 contain a provision describing the Guard as "part of the first line defenses of the United States." This provision, so cherished by the Guard and written into law over substantial opposition, clearly reveals the prime Federal purpose of this organization as distinguished from a State activity, even in the eyes of the Guard itself.

(b) The National Guardsman of today is far different from the Minute Man of long ago and is not the person visualized under the militia clause of the Constitution; today's Guardsman is equipped with jet aircraft, tanks, flame throwers, the largest calibers of cannon and other weapons of mass destruction, none of which have any conceivable State utility but are usable only to wage war under Federal direction. Such costly equipment is, of course, Federal property on loan to the Guard by Federal Government -- again showing the essentially Federal characteristics of the Guard.

(c) The National Guard must train under the direction of Federal instructors and for Federal recognition -- its lifeblood -- must meet Federal training and other proficiency and technical qualifications. Again the Guard's Federal dependency is revealed.

(d) National Guard training pay is Federal not State pay; indeed, the Federal investment in Guard equipment and training so vastly

exceeds State expenditures as to demonstrate beyond doubt that to all major intents and purposes the Guard has evolved into simply another arm of the Federal Government though still politically exploited by State Governments.

(Reminder: The President has long held that an activity predominantly Federal in nature cannot indulge in racial segregation.)

2. Non-segregation in the Guard would strengthen not weaken the national defense.

(a) Federal equipment, instructors and funds are always inadequate to meet the needs of all existing Guard and reserve units; the disbanding of some Guard units in the deep South would release to northern units major items of equipment, trainers and dollars badly needed for effective training. Thus an over-all gain in military readiness would result from the proposed action; the loss of unready units in the South would be more than offset by the increase in strength of reinforced units in the North.

(b) When and if war comes, members of the various Reserve components, including the Guard, must not suddenly become distracted at that critical juncture by social and racial animosities. When Guard units are ordered into Federal service they must at once accept the assignment of hordes of draftees, reserves and Regulars to bring the depleted units to strength; these men are assigned without regard to color, as in the standing forces. If in peacetime Guard units remain attached to color barriers in military service, race becomes a disconcerting, controversial morale and training problem at the worst possible time -- when war is upon us, when every thought and effort should be riveted on military proficiency, not on social adjustments.

(c) For some years Southerners have been returning home after service in the armed forces, with integration an accepted experience in military service. Federal acquiescence in segregation in Guard units in which these men discharge post-service reserve obligations under Federal law sabotages the racial adjustments so painstakingly achieved. Thus the progress made is lost and must be laboriously regained when in time of crisis these Guardsmen rejoin the standing forces. Again this collateral problem becomes interjected into military service at the worst possible time for the nation's security. This factor also exists as a current training problem as Southern Guardsmen take active duty training as individuals or as units each year in the standing forces which, of course, are non-segregated.

(d) Our manpower needs, if there is another world struggle, will be overwhelming. We shall have to make the utmost use of every able-bodied citizen, including, probably, the women. For the Defense Establishment in peacetime, knowing of this ultimate wartime need, to use Federal funds and equipment in support of policies which deliberately avoid the use of American manpower to the maximum effectiveness is, of course, sabotaging its own defense program.

(e) To a major but undetermined extent, a waste of public funds is unavoidable in the operation of segregated training establishments. Elimination of segregation in the Guard will result, therefore, in more training, more equipment, and more defense advantage from both -- from the same Federal investment.

3. Political considerations.

(a) Obviously, forthright action by the President to discontinue segregation in the particularly potent National Guard would generate explosive controversy. We must clearly appreciate that what is here suggested has truly major political proportions. Major gains are obtainable through exploitation of Democrat racial divisions and through influencing the Negro vote in northern cities; possibly major Republican losses can result in the South (assuming, which I doubt, that the Justice Department's successful advocacy before the Supreme Court of non-segregation in schools, public parks and recreation areas and the recent ICC decision on interstate travel have left us any appreciable strength in that area to lose on this issue!) For my part, I can hardly see how the political result for Republicanism could be anything less than heavily in favor of taking the proposed action. Surely our potential gains in the North far outweigh any possible losses in the more or less solid South.

(b) You should know that the National Guard Association is at this time, and has been for some months, bitterly attacking the President's reserve program, and you may recall the President's extreme irritation and the ire of the Defense Department in the last session when the Guard Association obtained disproportionate training pay for Guardsmen and broke their pledge to Defense to support the reserve bill. Obviously the action proposed in this memorandum would give the Guard Association the most violent internal spasm in its long history. You cannot avoid relishing the picture, too, of the Commanding General of the New York Guard, the political amanuensis of Governor Harriman, having to rally to the support of this



proposal with all his might and main (note: the N. Y. Guard is now segregated!), the same thing happening in the Illinois National Guard, Mr. Stevenson having to favor the proposal for national political reasons, at the same time reeling the political waters in the South; and meanwhile watching southern Governors fulminate en masse, putting Kefauver of Tennessee in a most engaging position.

(c) I think it is equally evident that much political capital could be gained from this move by Republican members throughout the North, their remarks in the Congress and on the stump not failing to discomfit all Democrats whose Party split on this question is an unbridgeable gulf which at every opportunity we should wedge wider. Properly exploited, this move, combined with Administration progress already made in other racial areas, should pay substantial dividends in 1956 both in Republican votes and in a bitterly divided Democratic Party.

Carter Burgess and I are of the opinion that if this proposal is deemed worthy in the abstract, the best point of official departure is for you to take it up with the President (after the strictly military consequences are carefully assessed -- a project now under way), suggesting that he ask Secretary Wilson to have the matter quickly and tightly explored legally and militarily so that it can be included, if agreed upon, in the State of the Union Message.

Does any of this appeal in the slightest to you?

Bryce N. Harlow

CONFIDENTIAL

OBSERVATION OF DESEGREGATION IN SCHOOLS

Baltimore, Maryland

10
Race Affairs

DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING E.O. 11652, Section 1

By RR NLE Date 11/17/78

Where children sit in a classroom or their location in group games, may be a significant clue to how children feel about themselves and each other. The members of whichever group constituted the numerical minority, whether this be Negro or white, are likely to assume minority group roles. For example, in Baltimore, the white children were in the outer ring of little ones seated around the teacher. In the play area, they were also on the outer fringe, making rather timid attempts to participate in ball games. These conditions escaped the attention of both Negro and white teachers.

Location of minority group children, no matter what the color, may also reflect some subtle and unconscious feelings of the teachers. Thus the white teacher, fearing to be accused of partiality, discriminated against the white child while the Negro teacher may actually prefer to subordinate the white child. The reverse is just as likely to occur with other teachers.

Teachers frequently say, "We lean over backwards with respect to the other group." "Other" means white to the Negro teacher, colored, to the white teacher. This attitude also conditions what teachers do with respect to marks and how much they prod, encourage, and threaten with failure. Some white teachers seem to be somewhat fearful of exerting as much pressure on Negro children as they do on white children. They are afraid of being accused of "picking on them." On the other hand, Negro educators, community leaders and some parents state unequivocally that in this respect, as in all others, they want equal treatment. They do not want "standards lowered" for their children.

Baltimore uses a multiple track classification according to ability. The ability most heavily weighted is reading. Since the schools I visited were largely Negro, the question arose where are the white children? Administration did not know. Observation in one 95% Negro school, revealed several whites in the special class for defective children, one in most of the middle groups and from two to four in the best groups. In one of the top groups the four white children were seated together at one table. In another school, Negro teachers expressed their own hesitancy, as parents, about sending Negro children into accelerated groups lest they fail to keep up.

Voluntary association cannot be denied to people, but is indicative of the degree of integration in a school. In one Junior High, as children walked in the corridors from class to class, there were many mixed groups. However, all of these consisted of several Negroes with a single white child and were almost entirely boys. I saw none in which the reverse proportion existed. In the play areas there was little or no evidence of mixing and the same held true after dismissal as boys and girls lingered around the school and left for home. This description would be equally true in many northern schools, long desegregated.

The same principle of voluntary association operates on the faculty level. However, in the one Junior High it seemed to operate in an atmosphere

negro matters

of actual rejection. I was told that the Negro teachers had "taken over the teachers' lounge" and went there in a body after lunch, while the white teachers remained in the lunch room. A friendly Negro assistant principal was described in terms resembling an "Uncle Tom." Negro women teachers, in passing, neither smiled at nor were greeted by a white Jewish assistant principal. He, however, boasted of the friendliness existing between Negro and white men teachers in their rest rooms, which he (and, he said, they) affectionately and with amusement called "slave quarters." He is also fearful that any unpopular disciplinary or supervisory action he might take will be blamed on his being a Jew. Anti-Semitism exists.

On the administrative level, where in all schools visited a white principal had a Negro assistant, relationships were excellent. All principals visited were Jews. There is some fear among them, that Jews will be increasingly assigned to the schools in changing neighborhoods which may eventually be all Negro, or even to all Negro schools.

The connection between desegregation and housing patterns is obvious. All of the schools I visited were in rapidly changing neighborhoods where evacuation by whites, mostly Jews, had occurred as soon as Negroes moved in. It was not possible to discover much about community tensions resulting from desegregation.

In two of the schools, the Negroes were largely middle-class, exhibiting middle-class standards of dress and behavior, and showing the evidences of middle-class advantages in home life. Everything about the third school indicated deterioration. In it, administrators expressed the feeling of "sitting on a powder keg," but were confident that intergroup conflicts which occurred outside the school were stimulated by outsiders — older teenagers or even adults from the community. I saw no evidences of intergroup conflict in the school and none were reported. In fact, administrators felt they "had things under control."

Problems of control, conformity, uniformity and discipline seem to be increasing in many schools in all our cities. These include tardiness, unexcused absence, failure to bring gym equipment, failure to have books and to do home assignments. These were all mentioned in Baltimore. In one middle-class school, the principal said the Negro children know nothing about time. In another, the principal complained that whereas white children run to get in before the last bell, the Negro children do not change their slow pace even when urged to do so by the assistant principal standing at the door. This is interpreted by some as "defiance," by others as difference in values.

Observation of classroom teaching and of administrators seemed to indicate that they were paying little attention to economic conditions which make it impossible for some Negro children to buy gym suits and other equipment. No attention seemed to be given to the evidence of malnutrition of some children who were being disciplined for not having equipment.

When problems of desegregation and integration are added to the existing problems of administration and teaching, the need becomes acute for changing attitudes, increasing sensitivity and greater awareness of the characteristics of adolescents and of the emotional needs common to all people.

Thus, for example, teachers and parents need to be made aware of the fact that both Negro and white adolescents have the tendency to exaggerate, invent and lie. At present they talk about the "unpredictable behavior" of the Negroes. Neighborhood sensitivity to adolescent interpersonal behavior must be taken into account at the same time that adults are helped to realize the importance to the developing individual, of emancipation from adults and of heterosexual adjustment.

Teachers and parents alike, of both races, need help in understanding the roles played by anxiety, fear, anger and inflexibility toward change. These emotions exist underneath an exterior which prompts the answer, "We have none," to questions about problems. Questions like "What do the Negroes really want?", "Do we have to associate, socially?", "Aren't they (Negroes) really inferior?" need to be discussed until deeper understanding of the issues of civil rights, first-class citizenship and how to remove blocks to learning created in minority group children by inferiority feelings, are clarified. It is important for teachers to put into the perspective of social class rather than race, such manifestations as speech, dress, shuffling gait, sense of time, tendency to argue and fight, loudness of speech, use of profanity and obscenity and borrowing money with or without intention to return it.

So far as I could determine in conversation with a supervisor, Hagerstown is proceeding with complete integration but small numbers are involved. On the other hand, Ellicott County carefully selected a small number of Negro children to send into selected white schools. No faculty integration has occurred. No increase in desegregation or integration is contemplated. The presently over-staffed Negro schools will remain so. White supervisors are responsible for Negro schools, but feel no responsibility for the present fact that Negro children have not been as well educated as are the whites.

In Baltimore, faculty integration is steadily increasing even where the number of Negro children is small. The former practice of waiting in order to place two Negroes together in order that they shall not be lonely, has been repudiated by Negroes and is being abandoned.

Taxi drivers differ in their feelings, but all I spoke with accept desegregation as "right" and inevitable. The expression "no trouble so far," is heard frequently. They said that their fares express fear of race mixing and do not "like" desegregation, but generally say "Negroes are entitled to their rights." A Negro driver was quite satisfied but not very articulate. A Jew was voluble and very much on the side of right.



Louisville and Jefferson County, Kentucky

In a school district where one of the conditions which operates in the desegregation process is voluntary transfer, the following things occur:

At first only a few Negroes transfer to white schools. As children bring back to their families and friends reports of good treatment, many more make the change. At times a "flood tide" occurs which has to be stopped because of limitations of seating. When a halt is called, some people misinterpret the cause.

On the other hand, after some weeks or months in an integrated school, some Negroes request return to an all Negro school. Among the causes for this are:

- unpleasant interpersonal experiences which may or may not be inter-racial.
- inability to do the work, to read the texts supplied by teachers who use mass education techniques and make no provision for individual differences.
- feelings of inferiority and unhappiness caused by socio-economic differences.
- Rarely, if ever, can this be attributed in fact, to the Negroes' desires to be "by themselves," though this is often said to be the reason.

Secondary school teachers, used to providing for college bound students in academic subject classrooms, express pity for their colored students, who cannot reach the teachers' "standards." This emotion of pity usually is not coupled with the desire to do anything about it. True, the teachers have not been supplied with materials on a wide range of reading levels, but with a little effort and administrative support, they could obtain such materials. However, they also do not know how to use direct and vicarious teaching methods and differentiated homework assignments through which all children can learn. They have no insight into every child's need for achievement and accomplishment. They do not realize the importance of the self concept or of how it is formed.

Teachers, especially the inexperienced, are often informed about and therefore insensitive to the expression of self which occurs in free art work. Thus they did not seem to see that almost all of the Negro children painted themselves and their parents as white people. They did not realize the opportunity this could afford them for helping children to construct more favorable self concepts.

Teachers often do not inquire about reasons for failure in the classroom. For example, in one Negro family having a boy and a girl in high school, there was money to provide only one book, which went to the boy. Consequently, the girl who could not do her work was punished for disobedience

--failing to bring her book to class. All of these phases of the problem should become the content of in-service education programs preceding desegregation and during the first years of integration.

There are discrepancies in the reports about the adjustment of Negro children in desegregated schools. Some teachers say the children are badly prepared, mentally below average, apathetic and indifferent. Others emphasize lack of background advantages in the home, coupled with very great effort to achieve in the school, saying, "They try so hard." Few teachers are aware of the lack of validity of "I.Q." scores obtained from tests in which the major factor is verbal ability. They also lack basic information about and sensitivity to symptoms of malnutrition. (Again, this points to the need for in-service education programs.)

At the same time, from these same schools, colored parents report that their children are doing very well--bringing home high marks on report cards. They, and in some cases the teachers, report great improvement on second and third report cards. This may be due to any one of several factors:

- children become less tense, less frightened, less anxious and are therefore better able to learn.
- teachers expect poor work at first and have less favorable opinions of Negro children, which are reflected in subjective marks.
- some teachers unconsciously reflect in improved marks, their desire to convince people that they are "very good teachers"--much better, in fact, than were the children's' previous Negro teachers.

Although, in many schools, real effort is being made to give Negro children security, acceptance, a feeling of belongingness and of being wanted, small attention is given to the age-long destructive effects on Negroes, of social rejection in our culture. Thus, nothing is done to help the children in times of tension due to crises such as Little Rock, which are widely reported in the news and freely discussed outside of the classroom and in the community. Curricular provision needs to be made for classroom discussion of such current affairs and of problems of personality, social living and mental health. This is being done in one Junior High School with excellent results.

In the two elementary schools visited, white children were from families on lower socio-economic levels and with less educational background than were the colored children. Consequently, the whites were not the best readers and were not group leaders. They were also more poorly dressed and showed evidences of neglect and malnutrition. The Negro teachers and principals in one of the schools seemed to be showing more concern and doing more for these white children than were the white teachers in the other school.

A study focused on this aspect of the problem would be helpful in pointing out the fact that deprivation works similar evils on all children, regardless of race.

In both of these schools all the children and the building were completely clean. The faculties are "working" on these problems and achieving results.

Negro teachers were dressed in perfect taste, were well groomed, and used excellent diction.

A number of seriously handicapped white children who had been transferred into the school manned by Negroes, showed marked progress in adjustment and achievement. As a result, some parents changed their attitudes toward desegregation in marked degree. In fact, there was such evidence to indicate complete community satisfaction with this school. People said, however, that the neighborhood, long racially mixed and economically depressed, was "ready for desegregation."

In the integrated school manned by a white principal and faculty, teachers are still ambivalent toward the situation. One teacher, for example, when asked would she accept a transfer to an all white school, quickly answered yes. Fifteen minutes later, she said, thoughtfully, "I think I will not ask for a transfer, or go yet. There is something puzzling up here and a job to be done."

White teachers said that, especially at the end of the first year, they were very tired. Tension was high due to constant visits from reporters and other observers. They felt that they had worked harder and achieved less than ever before. This year they feel better—having changed many of their attitudes and procedures, but they still find themselves working hard. Perhaps this points to the possibility that desegregation will help to raise the level of classroom instruction for all children. That is one of the hopes of educational leaders. Certainly teachers said with satisfaction, "we have learned and are learning so much."

I visited the one Junior High School in Louisville which is about fifty percent Negro, to see the opening program of the student election campaign. Both Negro and white boys and girls were running for top offices. In several cases Negro students presented white candidates or, as candidates, were presented by white sponsors. The best speaker was a Negro. Applause seemed to be unrelated to race. In conference with student officers, I learned that popularity is not connected with race; Negroes do well in classes; free discussion of problems preceded desegregation and continues when relevant. To all intents and purposes the atmosphere, attitudes and activities in the school were like those of a good school in any northern city where desegregation has been long established. Much of the credit goes to the principal, from whose office radiates good will, understanding and determination to secure in his school, good education for democratic life.

In Louisville and Jefferson County, as elsewhere, Negro athletes and other especially talented students quickly become popular and are even personally accepted by team mates. For example, during the first semester after desegregation, an extremely able colored girl was elected on general ballot, as leader of the girl cheer leaders. For the most part, however, there is very little carry over of in-school acceptance into after school life; less among girls than boys. Moreover, acceptance of a special individual does not automatically become acceptance of that person's group.

On-the-premises-faculty integration has not yet occurred in Louisville or Jefferson County. Some report that Superintendent Garmann says he will not be pushed into it. Others believe that he is ready and

will make an early move in that direction. Integration has long been in effect in city-wide professional meetings and committee work. The two elementary schools described above are logical places in which this could begin and where any move ought to be accomplished without fanfare and publicity.

An inter-school project involving an all white school and the Douglas school (Negro faculty, desegregated, elementary) could easily pave the way. I made the suggestion which was well received and may be implemented.

In a conference with teachers, principals and representatives from administration, we discussed various aspects of the problem on the faculty level. The Baltimore plan of placing two Negro teachers in a school in order that they may have company, was seen to be fallacious. It presupposes that because two people are of the same race, they must necessarily like each other. Such a plan also encourages white teachers to refrain from association with the Negroes on the assumption that "they hate each other."

Negro community leaders will probably press for faculty integration in the near future. Particular fitness--appearance, personality, professional ability were seen to be important factors. First experiences must be conditioned for success.

Conference with representatives of Negro community organizations brought out the following statements:

- The Louisville program is shallow.
- Gerrymandering of school districts exists.
- Transfer requests were honored but -
- Negro parents enrolling their children were not treated well by white PTA's who were assisting in school registration.
- There is still some bitterness among Negroes even though they recognize how much progress has been made.
- Much of the success should be credited to community leaders who accomplished desegregation in many aspects of community life, in past years.
- A first experiment in a mixed housing project is to be launched with public ceremony in the near future.

Teachers and principals attested to the importance of administrative firmness. They expressed deep satisfaction with the Superintendent, saying, "He says what he stands for and what he will do, and then does it, no matter what." This is interesting in view of the belief, in some quarters, that personally, the Superintendent does not "like" desegregation. Negro principals described with emotion how, while still contrary to law, the Superintendent had found a way to have a dinner meeting with all principals after 4:00 P.M. and on Saturday.

The best way to end this report might be to tell the story circulating in Louisville.

After many anxious days and a family discussion, the six-year old daughter of white parents went for her first school day, to a desegregated school. On her return, the family questioned her, "How was it? How did you get along?" "Well," she said, "a little black girl sat alongside of me. We were both so scared we held hands all day."