

124-A-1 SCHOOL - ARKANSAS (9)
Initial

G.F.
124-A-1
School Accounts
N

RECEIVED
DEC 20 1957
CENTRAL FILE:

December 19, 1957

Dear Mrs. Prince:

The President has asked me to thank you for your recent telegram informing him of the resolution adopted by the North Central Section of the National Association of College Women.

in Little & ...

It is encouraging to the President to know of the support of your organization and he is grateful for your good wishes and your prayers.

7-PF-1-2, N

Sincerely,

Maxwell M. Rabb

Mrs. Theresa Prince, Director
North Central Section of the National
Association of College Women
6136 Greenwood Avenue
Chicago 37, Illinois

SW

The White House
Washington

S LLG8 NL PD

ST LOUIS MO NOV 30 1957

1957 DEC 3 AM 11 57

DWIGHT D ISENHOWER PRES OF USA

ISENHOWER FARM GETTYSBURG PENN

THE NORTH CENTRAL SECTION OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGE
WOMEN IN ITS 1957 SESSION CONVENING IN ST LOUIS PASSED RESOLUTION
TODAY HIGHLY COMMENDING YOU AND THANKING YOU FOR HAVING TAKEN SUCH
COURAGEOUS AND FORTHRIGHT STAND FOR EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN EDUCATION
AND FOR THE DEMOCRATIC WAY OF LIFE IN THE LITTLE ROCK ARKANSAS CASE

S LLG8 SHEET 2

RECENTLY THE ASSOCIATION ALSO WISHES AND FERVENTLY PRAYS FOR YOUR
SPEEDY RECOVERY FROM THIS PRESENT ILLNESS.

NORTH CENTRAL SECTION OF NATIONAL ASSN OF COLLEGE
WOMEN, MRS THERESA PRINCE SECTIONAL DIRECTOR
6136 GREENWOOD AVE CHICAGO 37 ILL.

Sallie:-

This man is sitting in the lobby of the Carlton Hotel waiting for a call. He refuses to talk with anybody else - he also refuses to divulge what he wishes to see the Gov. about - but he came to town only to see him. He is courtesous not the least bit belligerent.

What do you suggest?

Gov A. gone for day - Mary Owens
- rec'd 5 PM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mary:

William H. Worrilow, Jr., telephoned.

He said he had had some correspondence with the Governor and wants to come to see him.

He wants to come this afternoon.

He was headed for the Carlton and will call later. Had just arrived in town.

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FT

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

NOV 7 1957
MAILS

THE ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT

November 7, 1957

Dear Mr. Worrilow:

Thank you for sending me the clipping of your letter to the Editor of the Lebanon Daily News.

It is encouraging to know of your active support of the President and I appreciate your thoughtfulness in making this column available to me.

With kind regards.

Sincerely,

SHERMAN ADAMS

Mr. William H. Worrilow, Jr.
400 East High Street
Lebanon
Pennsylvania

SW

THE WHITE HOUSE

Nov 1 11 51 AM '57

RECEIVED

Oct. 31, 1957.

WILLIAM H WORRILOW, JR
400 EAST HIGH STREET
LEBANON, PENNSYLVANIA

Dear Mr. Adams,

I am replying belatedly, after a prolonged bout with the flu bug, to your kind letter enclosing the transcript of the President's Press Conference, during the first week of October, on the subject of Little Rock.

I have read the transcript, am glad to have it and am helped by it.

Have considered going to Gov. Faubus about this matter, but I have so little confidence in his sincerity and integrity, I feel it would be a waste of both time and money to go down there.

With warmest personal regards and best wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

W. H. WorriLOW, Jr.
WILLIAM H. WORRILOW, JR.

whw,jr/whw,jr

Mr. Sherman Adams
The White House
Washington, D.C.

P.S. The enclosed might interest you.

Oct 1, 1957

Public Forum

THE NEWS reserves the right to reject or condense Contributions must be signed with full names and addresses of writers. Names will not be used or revealed if so requested. This paper assumes no responsibility for statements made in this column. Communications must be limited to 400 words. Use one side of paper only and double space.

GROSSLY UNFAIR

STATEMENT

29 Sept 57

Editor, Daily NEWS:

If I did not consider you a warm personal friend, I would not feel free to write this letter, but since I do consider you as such, I do feel free to write. It is my hope that you will print this letter in your newspaper and that it will appear in its entirety.

I have suffered in silence at the position your paper has taken on various issues from time to time, but I think now it is time to speak. For example, I was totally unable to comprehend why you embraced Senator McCarthy so firmly and defended him so steadfastly right up to the end, even after he was censured by his colleagues in the Senate for being the sort of person he was.

With regard to a local matter, I thought your contest to find names for our two new elementary schools was entirely in order, although I do think it might have been wise to gain the concurrence of the School Board before conducting it. At any rate, when the School Board refused to change the names of the elementary schools, I should think that the indicated course was to abide by their decision and at least call these schools by their Board-approved names, to eliminate confusion if for no other reason.

The above two examples are relatively minor items to me, but now I have read your editorial in Friday evening's paper entitled "War on Civilians," and can no longer remain silent. You have stated, "It was probably natural for General Eisenhower to employ U. S. paratroops to bayonet unarmed American civilians in Arkansas so he could crush a situation that did not meet with his approval." You have also stated, "It is time he stops playing soldier and begins to act like the President of the United States," and finally, "The employment of bayonet-wielding storm troops against unarmed civilians should have gone out with Adolph Hitler."

These statements have caused me to write this letter, because they are so grossly unfair to a man in a very difficult position who is trying his level best to do his duty as he sees it, which means carrying out the laws of the land (however impractical they may seem to be). This obligation he undertook when he assumed office, and in this I have seen no evidence to indicate that he is anything other than a man of his word.

The decision to send in Federal troops was indeed a shocking one, but the circumstances in Little Rock leading to the decision had reached a state that was no less shocking. I firmly believe in my own mind that the words of Defense Secretary Wilson, spoken after the paratroops moved in, aptly fit the situation, "There is nothing to cheer about, but there was nothing else to do."

Your words portraying the President as a militarist sending in storm troops to bayonet civilians is so far from the truth that I am not concerned about your readers believing it, but I do consider it appropriate to ask, "Where is your sense of fair play?"

I was very slow to make up my mind about Gov. Faubus, and especially slow after reading the vindictive article in TIME magazine about him. But now my

able to comprehend why you embraced Senator McCarthy so firmly and defended him so steadfastly right up to the end, even after he was censured by his colleagues in the Senate for being the sort of person he was.

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I was very slow to make up my mind about Gov. Faubus, and especially slow after reading the vindictive article in TIME magazine about him. But now my mind is made up that he is motivated primarily by political considerations. I am satisfied that the evidence he had for calling out his National Guard troops was very skimpy indeed, and it now appears that what there was of it was pretty much manufactured by Faubus.

Long after I have lost faith in other public officials, I will believe in J. Edgar Hoover as an honest, dedicated man, admirably filling a position of highest public trust. When he states publicly that Gov. Faubus has been "disseminating falsehoods," that means in my book that Gov. Faubus does not have proper regard for the truth and therefore is not to be trusted. An untrustworthy individual is not fit for public office and the fine people of Arkansas will sooner or later come to realize this.

As we diligently search for the truth in these grave national issues, let us strive to be objective and fair to all concerned. Let us show proper respect for high-minded men carrying tremendous responsibilities. Recognizing that, being human animals, they will make human mistakes, let us try to bear with them so long as we feel they are pursuing the course they believe to be right, however painful it may be. And on the other hand, let us expose those little people who are taking advantage of difficult situations to advance their own interests at the expense of the nation's welfare as a whole.

This, in my opinion, is the duty of a free press.

Trusting that it is possible for friends to disagree and still be friends, I am,

Very sincerely yours,
William H. Worrilow, Jr.

October 8, 1957

Dear Mr. Worriow:

The President appreciated the interest which prompted your recent letter to him regarding the difficult Arkansas situation.

I am enclosing for your reference the transcript of the President's remarks at his news conference last week as he discussed the fundamental factors in the matter.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM ADAMS

Mr. William H. Worriow, Jr.
400 East High Street
Lebanon
Pennsylvania

Enclosure

WILLIAM H WORRILOW, JR
400 EAST HIGH STREET
LEBANON, PENNSYLVANIA

20 September '57.

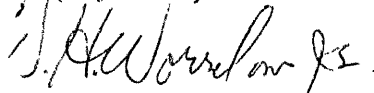
Dear Mr. President,

In the event that the application of force provides the desired results at Little Rock, you will need no help.

On the other hand, if you should feel compelled to seek some sort of compromise, a thought comes to mind which may or may not have been suggested to you by one of your staff. It offers only an outside prospect for hope, in that it is predicated on the assumption that all three parties concerned (Faubus, NAACP, The President) equally share a genuine desire to find a workable solution to the Little Rock situation.

If things reach such a state that the remotest possibilities become of interest, I would be happy to talk with one of your trusted aides any time and any place that he may designate.

Sincerely yours,



WILLIAM H. WORRILOW, JR.
Res. Tel.: Lebanon 3-3532

whw,jr/whw,jr

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Miss Marian Smith
Young Republican National Federation
809 Rock Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

December 19, 1957

G.F.

Dear Miss Smith:

Recently, you wrote a personal letter to the President in which you made a number of suggestions with reference to the situation in Little Rock. Since your letter came, there has been a continuous effort to reduce the frictions involved here and eventually to neutralize them completely. We are hopeful that the time is not far distant when this entire matter can be completely set aside.

In the meantime, you can be sure that not one single soul in the entire Executive Department, beginning with the President, has relished any part of what has happened in Little Rock. Aside from the facts in the case, none of which have been pleasant, we have inevitably had to endure the consequences of all that is alleged to have happened, regardless of who was directly or indirectly responsible.

Had it not been for a decision that ordered the National Guard of Arkansas to block the execution of a Federal Court order issued in support of a proposal made by the Central High School Board and widely supported by a substantial majority of the voters of the District, the present situation would in all probability never have developed. In the wake of this state of affairs the question became one of supporting or failing to support that branch of government, which, in the last analysis, is the one that protects the individual freedoms of us all.

It has been an unhappy and unwanted experience, therefore we hope you will be tolerant of the position into which the Administration was pressed by circumstances entirely beyond its control.

Sincerely,

HOWARD PYLE
Deputy Assistant
to the President

G.F.

124-A!

Admission
3/14/58
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File by Mr. Rabin...

RECEIVED
APR 14 1958
GENERAL FILE

STATE RIGHTS, FEDERAL LAW AND LITTLE ROCK

X

Address by
WARREN OLNEY III
Former Assistant Attorney General
of the United States

Prepared for Delivery before
The Commonwealth Club of California

Sheraton-Palace Hotel
San Francisco, California
Friday, December 20, 1957
12:45 P.M.

No American who loves his country can have failed to have felt scalded with shame at the series of ugly events that took place in Little Rock, Arkansas, last September with the opening of school. The spectacle of the governor of a state calling out the National Guard to prevent 10 colored children from entering school on the pretext that such action was necessary to protect the community from violence; his defiance of the laws and courts of the United States; the incitation of a near riot against school children; and the need to call upon federal troops to protect them against their own State Government and their own fellow citizens mock our ideals of freedom and equality, law and justice. It is no wonder that our enemies abroad have used this incident all over the world to our very serious discredit.

Today our people are still wondering about these shocking and confused events. What really was at issue? What brought about this clash between State and Federal authorities? What does this portend? What can be done to alleviate the basic problem which causes such evil outbreaks?

My purpose today is to discuss these questions.

In my account I shall try to be as factual and dispassionate as I can, but I am sure that you will realize that no one could have been close to these occurrences and end with any feeling of neutrality or indifference.

The developments of September 1957 were preceded by litigation in which the Government was not a party but which nonetheless is an essential part of the story.

After "a great civil war, testing whether this nation or any nation . . . conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal . . . can long endure," the Constitution of the United States was amended to provide that "No State shall . . . deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

On May 17, 1954 the Supreme Court of the United States by unanimous decision held that "separate educational facilities (on a racial basis) are essentially unequal" and that those against whom such restrictions are enforced are thereby deprived "of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment." Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U. S. 483.

This decision should have surprised no one. For at least 18 years the Supreme Court had held in case after case that the exclusion of Negroes on racial grounds from state colleges and graduate schools was a denial of the equal protection of the laws and violative of the Constitution. There were, of course, some people who did not like the result of the Brown case.

Nonetheless, only three days after the decision of the Supreme Court of the school segregation cases in May of 1954 the Board of Education of the City of Little Rock publicly announced that it intended to comply with the Constitutional requirements and that it would proceed to develop a plan for eliminating the racial restrictions upon attendance in the Little Rock schools.

In May of the following year the Little Rock School Board approved and published its plan for the gradual elimination of racial segregation from the schools. The action taken by the School Board up to this point was voluntary and local. The federal government played no part in its adoption.

Subsequent to the adoption of the plan the Superintendent of Schools not only made it public but read and explained it to approximately 200 local groups and organizations in an effort to obtain public acceptance of its provisions. The School Board which had approved the plan was re-elected with the plan's adoption as an issue. At this point the most serious opposition to the plan came from those who regarded its program of integration as too slow.

The plan proposed was indeed deliberate. It was to be accomplished over a period of not less than eight years from its announcement. It was to begin in September of 1957 with the admission into the Little Rock Central High School, having a student body of approximately 2,000 students, of only 10 Negro students. The plan was promptly challenged in the courts as being too gradual. A suit was filed in the United States District Court by a group of Negro students seeking admission to the school challenging the School Board's program on the ground that it was so gradual that it did not comply with the requirement that racial segregation be eliminated from the schools "with all deliberate speed". This challenge failed in the district court which held that the School Board's plan was consistent with the law and should be approved.

An appeal was taken from the decision of the district court but the judgment was affirmed, the Court of Appeals for the 8th Circuit also holding that the School Board's plan was in conformity with the law. Aaron v. Cooper, 243 Fed. (2nd) 361 (1957). The federal government had no occasion to take any part in the litigation I have just described.

This was the status of the legal proceedings up to August 1957. The school authorities were preparing to admit 10 qualified Negro children to the Little Rock Central High School in September in accordance with the school board's plan. Up to this point there had been hardly an objection raised in Little Rock to the plan and there was absolutely nothing to suggest any difficulty about admitting the 10 Negro children to the high school on September 3rd.

At this point and with this condition of affairs a suit was filed, admittedly at the instigation of Governor Orval E. Faubus, in the

Arkansas Chancery Court, a State Court, by a group of mothers having children in Central High School seeking an injunction to restrain the school board from admitting the Negro children in accordance with its plan.

When this matter came up for hearing on August 29, 1957 Governor Faubus himself appeared to testify and to ask that the board be enjoined. The Governor testified without, however, supplying any details or the basis of his information and belief, that he had reason to apprehend there might be some disturbance at the Central High School when school opened on September 3rd if the Negro children who were eligible under the board's plan should present themselves. Upon this utterly and obviously inadequate showing the injunction was granted by the Chancery Court.

This was followed immediately by successful application being made by the school board to the Federal District Court for an order prohibiting the state court from interfering with the efforts of the school board to carry its plan for the admission of the Negro students into effect.

With this order in effect, and without any effort having been made to appeal, review or supersede it, and having full knowledge of its terms, Governor Faubus called to active duty certain units of the Arkansas National Guard which he directed to surround Central High School. He stated he took this action to prevent any disturbance of the public peace and good order although here again he failed to particularize as to his reasons for believing that the peace might be disturbed.

At this time the Governor informed the press that he had not ordered the Guard to exclude the Negro children, but had left it to the discretion of the Guard as to how they should undertake to preserve the peace. But he did state that it was his belief that peace and good order could not be maintained if the Negro children were admitted.

In view of this the school board addressed a public request to the Negro children not to attempt to enter the school until the dilemma was resolved.

School opened September 3rd with Governor Faubus' Guardsmen at their stations, prepared to bar entry to all Negro students although none attempted to enter on that day.

With these developments the school board on September 3 petitioned the federal court for instructions as to whether the board should recall its request to Negro students not to appear. In response the court directed the board to withdraw the request and to proceed with the acceptance of the Negro students forthwith. The court stated that he would accept at face value the Governor's statement that he had no purpose excepting to preserve order and had no intention of defying the court or interfering with the school board.

The next day 9 Negro students appeared at the high school and tried to enter. but the Guardsmen stood shoulder to shoulder and they were repulsed. The effort was not immediately renewed.

The school board now applied to the federal court for a temporary suspension of its plan because of the effect of the presence of the Guardsmen on the school children. The court was told how the Negro children were excluded by the troops. Judge Ronald N. Davies held that this was not legal justification for the abandonment of the plan and of the board's attempt to comply with the Constitution and the law. Up to this point the Department of Justice had taken no part in these proceedings for the very good reason that there is no provision of law under which the Attorney General could have taken action.

Judge Davies now appealed to the United States Attorney and the Attorney General to assist the court in determining why and by whom the order of the court was being obstructed and the plans of the school board thwarted. This inquiry was undertaken by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and a report on the subject was submitted to the court on September 9. This investigation developed documentary proof of the highly significant fact that in his original instructions to the National Guard Governor Faubus had not merely failed to order the Guard to protect the Negro students who were applying for admission to the school, but, on the contrary, had ordered the Guard expressly to exclude them all from the school premises.

This was a deliberate frustration of the orders of the district court by the Governor. It was also nullification of the Constitution and laws of the United States by force of State troops.

After learning of the order given to his Guardsmen by Governor Faubus, the court entered a formal order reciting that in the opinion of the court "the public interest in the administration of justice should be represented in these proceedings." He requested the Attorney General and the United States Attorney to enter the case and assist as amicus curiae. The court directed the government to serve on the Governor and the Commanders of the National Guard detachment an order to show cause why an injunction should not be granted against their further interference with and obstruction of the previous order of the court that the school board's plan of integration should be carried into immediate effect.

You will readily recall the next developments. Governor Faubus asked to confer with President Eisenhower at Rhode Island about the situation. While the official statements that followed this meeting were noncommittal about details, Governor Faubus did state publicly that he recognized integration as the "law of the land". It seemed possible that the meeting might have achieved its purpose of solving the impasse without force or ultimatum. It even seemed possible that the Governor might either withdraw the Guardsmen from the high school or revise his order so as to admit the Negro students under the protection of the Guard,

taking such action without the necessity of a hearing and order from the United States Court. But Governor Faubus did not follow any such course.

On September 20 he entered an appearance in the District Court by counsel though not in person. After a series of dilatory motions and challenges to the jurisdiction of the court had been denied, the Governor's counsel walked out of court without waiting for the taking of any testimony, refusing in the name of the Governor to recognize the court's authority or jurisdiction.

Judge Davies then proceeded without further delay to take testimony and enter appropriate findings of fact and conclusions of law followed by an appropriate injunction against the Governor and all others.

It is important to note that the court did not order the Governor to remove the National Guard from the high school or its vicinity. The court continued to leave it within the discretion of the Governor to determine whether the presence of the Guardsmen at the school was needed in order to preserve the public peace and order. All that the court required was that the Governor and the Guardsmen desist from preventing the eligible Negro students from attending school and from preventing the school board from putting into execution its plan of integration as approved by the court.

That evening Governor Faubus told a radio-television audience that he would comply. However, he did not leave the Guardsmen on duty to keep the peace, as he might have done and as he claimed was required. He chose rather to withdraw them entirely, leaving the 10 children to the tender mercies of the white racists who had naturally been attracted to the school by the spectacle of the preceding days.

The events that followed the opening of school the next Monday are not likely to be forgotten by any of us. You will recall that an unruly mob quickly began to gather. You have seen for yourselves the pictures of white men, their faces flushed with hate, striking and kicking the colored news photographers who happened to be present and chasing other Negroes who ventured into the vicinity. You will recall that the Negro students were received into the school, but that the uproar caused by the mob outside was so great that the school authorities, the Mayor and the City Police requested the Negro children to retire from the school until better protection could be provided.

The requests of the school and city authorities for assistance against this violence went unheeded by Governor Faubus. It became all too plain that the public agencies of the City of Little Rock and the State of Arkansas either could not or would not provide the Negro students with the equal protection of the laws guaranteed to them by the Constitution of the United States. The mob, having been inflamed

against the Negroes, was on the verge of breaking into extremes of violence because of the lack of any real effort by State authorities to curb it.

Consequently, before the day was over President Eisenhower issued his Proclamation calling on the mob to cease and desist from its obstruction at the school and to disperse forthwith. The President was acting under authority of Chapter 15 of Title 10 of the United States Code.

On the following morning the mob again gathered in front of the Central High School, notwithstanding the President's Proclamation, obviously bent on again preventing the court's order relating to the admission of Negro children to the school from being carried out. Thereupon the President issued an Executive Order entitled: "Providing Assistance for the Removal of the Obstruction of Justice Within the State of Arkansas". This order authorized and directed the Secretary of Defense to order into the active military service of the United States as he may deem appropriate any or all units of the National Guard to serve for an indefinite period and until relieved by appropriate orders, to utilize the armed forces of the United States and to take all appropriate steps to enforce any orders for the removal of obstruction of justice in the State of Arkansas with respect to enrollment and attendance in the Little Rock School District.

The Secretary acted without delay. A unit of the armed forces was sent to Little Rock at once, while the Arkansas National Guard was federalized at the same time. The mob was dispersed efficiently and with a minimum of incident. The Negro students returned to school under protection of the soldiers.

For weeks afterward we were confronted with the extraordinary spectacle of a public school operating with soldiers present to protect the students from an incipient mob and from the violence of outsiders. Gradually the soldiers were withdrawn and personnel of the federalized Arkansas National Guard substituted. Equally gradually the number of men on duty was reduced, although a token force still remains.

Meanwhile, Governor Faubus continues to proclaim that Arkansas is occupied territory and from all over the South come indignant protests against this alleged invasion of state rights by the federal government.

I think the facts of the case are the best answer to these claims. It is perfectly clear that the federal government did not intervene, as is now being claimed, to force integration in the Arkansas Schools. Integration had already been ordered by the Arkansas school authorities and was being put into effect. The federal government intervened solely because the efforts of the school board were being forcibly obstructed - first, by the troops of their own state acting under the orders

of their own governor and, secondly, by a mob in defiance of the courts, the laws and the Constitution of the United States.

The states do, of course, have rights reserved to them under the Federal Constitution, but no state and no governor of a state has any right to use troops, a mob, or any other means to deprive any citizen of the United States of the equal protection of the laws. One of the prime purposes of the Constitution and its amendments is to prevent the states from taking oppressive action against unpopular and minority groups.

It is interesting to recall that not one of those now raising their voices in horror at the use of federal troops to uphold the orders of the federal courts complained in the least when Governor Faubus called out the National Guard with orders to prevent the 10 Negro children from attending high school. It seems clear enough that these Southerners, senators and others, are not against using troops to uphold segregation in violation of the Constitution; they are only against using troops to end forcible obstruction to compliance with the law of the land.

The clash in objectives between the State and Federal Government at Little Rock dramatizes the development in the past three years of a menace in the South that must be dealt with if other such clashes and even more serious incidents are to be avoided. We must face up to the realization that in the past three years there has emerged in the Deep South a political strategy designed to kill completely the Supreme Court's decision. When the Court's decision was first announced, the general feeling in the South was that the decree would have to be complied with eventually. The resistance to the Court was designed at first as a sort of rearguard action to delay as long as possible what people thought had to come. However, the activities of the White Citizens' Councils, the preaching of racism and race hatred (of which this Club had a good example from this very platform only a few weeks ago), and the defiant proclamation by certain Senators of "massive resistance" have changed all this. The belief has been spread among southern segregationists that the Court's decision can be defied completely and for all time. This is the strategy of nullification. A clash with federal authority, such as developed at Little Rock, is the logical and inevitable consequence of this disastrous policy.

The forces of "massive resistance" have gained the upper hand over a large part of the South. The Southern Manifesto, signed by 96 southern representatives and senators, and the cynical actions of Governor Faubus are examples. Probably even more serious are the repressive laws directed against the Negroes which have been enacted in the last two or three years by legislatures in Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, Florida, Mississippi and Arkansas. Anti-barratry laws, which make it illegal for anyone to give money or aid to a person seeking to protect his rights in court,

have been passed in many of these states. Pupil placement schemes, interposition statutes, and laws aimed at harrassing Negroes and their organizations and harrassing other moderate and progressive groups have also been passed in these states. The full power of state government, legislative as well as executive, is being directed to prevent Negroes from attaining equality under the law.

While the strategy of outright nullification was being developed and implemented, no counter strategy of compliance has as yet emerged. Such a strategy is now essential. What should that strategy be? How can it be carried into effect?

It would appear to me that any new strategy to obtain compliance with the Constitution should begin by defining, or redefining, what is at stake in this whole struggle. This definition should not take the form of any ringing declaration of the rights of man or of brotherhood under the skin. We have had that; we do not need it. It should go directly to the specific problems of racial conflict and to the practical adjustments that must be made for their solution.

Three principles ought to be stressed:

1. There can be no compromise with the ultimate goal towards which we must move. We must become steadily more and more one nation in the treatment of the races and more and more treat each individual according to his own personal ability and with equal opportunities for all, regardless of race, creed or color.
2. As to the specific steps to be taken to reach this goal and as to how quickly and how best we can attain it, there should be the fullest opportunity for discussion, experimentation and even compromise. Negroes, as well as the rest of us, must realize that very real fears have been stirred among white Southerners as to what desegregation may do. Those of us who are accustomed to integrated schools and know that the dire consequences being prophesized in the South do not arise just because a Negro sits alongside a white child in school, may regard these fears as baseless, but these fears and related passions do exist in the South and they must be allayed.

Persuasion alone cannot be expected to dispell these fears. The touch of reality is needed. The first steps towards desegregation must be taken so that all can learn by experience. Perhaps it will take a whole new generation, free of the legacy of the past, before full racial equality under the law will be really accepted, but such a generation will never emerge if the first steps are not taken now.

3. The national objective is gradual, orderly, evolutionary change. It is not to force an abrupt social revolution in the South.

No doubt there are many ways for developing a strategy of compliance. I believe one of the most useful agencies could be the Civil Rights Commission authorized by the last Congress and which the President is even now in the process of appointing.

Among other things, this Commission is charged with the duty to study and collect information concerning legal developments constituting denial of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution and to appraise the laws and policies of the Federal Government with respect to equal protection of the laws under the Constitution.

In view of this charge, the Commission might well undertake to find in specific crucial communities the maximum area of agreement appropriate to that community on a program of gradual desegregation which will avoid revolutionary upheaval in social relations. The Commission should not merely find the facts but should receive and consider any proposal that anyone wants to offer for the attainment of desegregation and equality under the law. It goes almost without saying that the Commission should work with painstaking care and scrupulous fairness in listening to all ideas but, at the end, the Commission should put together a specific, detailed plan of gradual desegregation for the communities studied. If at all possible, the Commission's report should be completed and made public early enough to serve as a guide for the next school year.

Regardless of the merits of such reports as the Commission may make, the publication of any report will almost certainly result in re-viving debate inside the South on the possibilities of gradual desegregation. This is essential. Unless the voice of reason and moderation is given new life and strength in the South, there will be no change on these issues.

We must arm the Attorney General with legislation making it possible for him to intervene to seek injunctions and restraining orders in at least two situations. The first is when he is requested to by local authorities such as school boards. The second is when aggrieved individuals make such a request and are not themselves able to carry out a suit.

The Southern states have used the full power of their governments to fight the Supreme Court decision. Their Attorneys General prepare the cases. The states pay the fees and the cost of litigation. At the same time, it is expected that Negroes, who in general in the South are poor, who suffer both social and economic pressure, who must face alone the dominant white forces of their communities, and who are often defenseless, should fight these cases to carry out the law of the land on their own. This is grossly unfair.

First, it costs at least \$5,000 to take a case to the Supreme Court. Second, it places the burden on the backs of the poor, the defenseless, and the children. Finally, under the anti-barratry laws no help can be given to them from private individuals or groups such as the NAACP.

Thus, the Negro seeking justice in the South enters a fight with both hands tied behind his back. To secure his Constitutional rights under these circumstances requires government assistance like that authorized in Part III of the Civil Rights Bill proposed by the Department of Justice last spring.

Other constructive measures should also be drafted to encourage and assist communities to comply with the law.

In conclusion let me say, that if the incident of last fall at Little Rock brings home to the advocates of "massive resistance", as it should, that the use of troops or other force to uphold segregation will inevitably be countered by the strength of the Federal Government to enforce the law of the land, and if it awakens the rest of us to the need for developing and implementing speedily a strategy for attaining gradual, evolutionary compliance with our highest Constitutional principles, then the occurrence will have been turned to at least some good use.

Young Republican National Federation

1625 Eye Street, Northwest, Washington 6, D. C.

NATIONAL 8-6800



Past MARIAN SMITH
CO-CHAIRMAN
~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS
PHONE: 4-7698

SULLIVAN BARNES
CHAIRMAN

October 17, 1957

President Dwight D. Eisenhower
White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

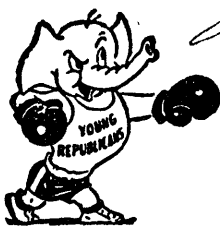
Our need to break the impasse and find a solution of the Little Rock integration crisis makes me humbly offer my thoughts. Many share my belief that the problem cannot be solved with Governor Faubus. Therefore, I suggest that the committee of business men who adopted the resolution dedicating themselves to support law and order be asked to help in returning Little Rock to real LOCAL control. If this committee, the ministerial alliance, and other groups which have endorsed support of law and order would volunteer members to be sworn in as deputies in city and county law enforcement agencies to enlarge the regular forces, I believe they could control and prevent mob violence. If it is necessary to have law officers around and within Central High School, parents in the above groups would be part of the law enforcement agencies and they would all be Little Rockians. To show your faith, the 101st would be completely withdrawn, the portion of the National Guard remaining federalized would not be on duty at Central but stand by at Camp Robinson or Guard Armories until you are reassured that law and order will prevail. I do not think the Little Rock people would provide an escort to the school for the negro pupils, but I believe they would give them the same protection at the school as any other citizen.

If the matter is put into the local hands, Little Rock would have the opportunity and the responsibility of restoring her good name and Arkansas's.

I have not discussed this with anyone because I didn't, of course, know how you would receive the suggestion. It may not be worthy of consideration, but I think it behooves us all to try to help in this situation. May a solution be found soon.

Sincerely yours,

Marian Smith, Past Co-Chairman
Young Republican National Federation
809 Rock St.
Little Rock, Arkansas



G.F.

124-A-1

School
Anderson
U

December 28, 1957

RECEIVED
DEC 31 1957
GENERAL FILES

Dear Miss Morgan:

Thank you for your letter to the President advising him of the resolution recently adopted by the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Young Republicans.

It is encouraging to the President to know of the support of your organization and he appreciates your thoughtfulness in making this resolution available to him.

Sincerely,

Maxwell M. Rabb

Maxwell M. Rabb
Secretary to the Cabinet

Miss Patricia R. Morgan
University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee
Young Republicans
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

REF 109-A-4

SW

Division of Wisconsin
Lynn Aug 10. 1957. Letter to the President
Desa Miss Morgan:

December 28, 1957

SECRET
100-100000

1-3

November, 1957

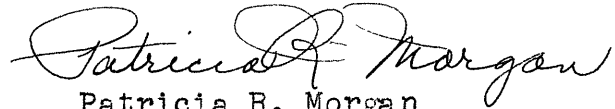
Dwight D. Eisenhower
The President of the United States
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D. C.

Mr. President:

The following resolution was recently adopted
unanimously by the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee
Young Republicans:

WHEREAS, The local authorities in Little
Rock were apparently unable to cope with the
situation at Central High School and
WHEREAS, The president of the United States
is vested with powers to take action in a
state for the purpose of maintaining order; therefore,
RESOLVED, That the University of Wisconsin-
Milwaukee Young Republicans go on record as
wholeheartedly supporting the President in his
action.

Respectfully,



Patricia R. Morgan
Corresponding Secretary
University of Wisconsin-
Milwaukee Young Republicans

WA034 RX PD

LITTLE ROCK ARK JAN 8 1142AMC

HON SHERMAN ADAMS

THE WHITE HOUSE

WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR RECEIVING A TELEPHONE CALL FROM ME THIS
AFTERNOON AT 2:30 P.M. LITTLE ROCK TIME REGARDING LITTLE ROCK
SITUATION

CLYDE E LOWRY CHAIRMAN GOOD GOVERNMENT COMMITTEE.

12-2-57
CLYDE E. LOWRY
700 WASHINGTON
1957
CENTRAL FILES
1958 JAN 8 PM 1 06
file

*Mr. Lowry cancelled
the call
1/8/57*

Mr Morgan

appropriate handling

Mary Burns

*Mr. Morgan
any reply?
and*

78

WA002 NL PD

TULSA OKLA JAN 23

SHERMAN ADAMS

THE WHITE HOUSE ✓

WHILE YOUR ARMY CONTINUES LITTLE ROCK SEIZURE SUPPOSE

YOU CONTEMPLATE SUPPORT OF LABOR GOONS AGAINST AUTO

INDUSTRY AND CONSUMERS

XGF 126

E S MILLER.

x

C.F.

The White House RECEIVED

Washington FEB 21 1958

GENERAL FILES

1958 JAN 24 AM 12 08

G.F.

124-A-1

School

Arkansas

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343

File

FORM 205 USE PREVIOUS EDITIONS OBSOLETE

CF.

124-11

School
Ante us
N

January 28, 1958

Dear Reverend Bowe:

The President has asked me to thank you for your letter of January 3rd, referring to the telegram which you and Reverend M. D. Bobbitt sent to him on September 30, 1957. We are pleased that you have followed your wire with a letter inasmuch as your original communication indicated no address and, therefore, we could not thank you for your message.

It is encouraging to the President to know of your support and he is grateful to you and the members of the New Light Missionary Baptist Union for your kind comments and prayers.

Sincerely,

Maxwell M. Rabb
Secretary to the Cabinet

The Reverend Madison A. Bowe
Secretary
The New Light Missionary Union
Camden and Burlington Counties, N. J.
1811 Wharton Street
Philadelphia 46, Pennsylvania

sw



10-17-58 10:15 AM

Desl. Keelereng Boms:

8491 '85 VISANCT

[Handwritten scribbles]

OFFICE MEMORANDUM
Republican National Committee

To: Ann C. Whitman
White House
Date: January 27, 1958

From: Val J. Washington

Subject: ^x GF109-A-1

Attached is copy of the letter which Mrs. Thomas read to you over the telephone.

I certainly would appreciate your looking into this.

Val

*Mr. Hopkins
will you...
a lot...*



BRIGHT HOPE BAPTIST CHURCH

William H. Gray, Jr., Minister

TWELFTH AND OXFORD STREETS • PHILADELPHIA 22, PENNSYLVANIA • TELEPHONE STEVENSON 2-6004

January 23, 1958

Mr. Val J. Washington
Director of Minorities
Republican National Committee
1625 Eye Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Val:

Reverend Madison A. Bowe wrote a letter of commendation to President Eisenhower on September 30, expressing an action taken by one of our outstanding Baptist organizations in this section. He has faced an embarrassment since then because the President's office has not replied.

On January 3 of this year he wrote a second letter to the President specifically asking for an acknowledgement of his earlier communication.

I realize this is a relatively minor matter, but I would appreciate it if you would have someone from the White House acknowledge Reverend Bowe's communication. I am enclosing a copy of his January 3 communication.

not filed

Sincerely yours,

Bill

William H. Gray, Jr.

X

WHG:mih

Madison A. Bowe, D. D.

1811 Wharton Street
Philadelphia 46, Pa.
Fulton 9-3994

January 3, 1958

The Honorable Dwight D. Eisenhower
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Honorable Sir:

By order of the New Light Missionary Baptist Union of Camden and Burlington Counties, the State of New Jersey, and as secretary of that Body, on September 30, 1957 I sent you a telegram of commendation for your firm stand in the Little Rock high school situation.

In our organization meeting on December 28th I reported same had been sent. Since a reply had not been received from your office I was challenged from the floor. The Reverend E. J. Richardson, pastor of Baptist Temple in Camden, stated that he, the Baptist Ministers' Conference of Philadelphia & Vicinity (of Pennsylvania), and others who had sent telegrams regarding the same situation, had received a reply.

Believing that your office is not partial in replying to communications and knowing that the wire was sent, this letter comes to request acknowledgment of the same.

With kind regards and prayers for your successful leadership,

Yours respectfully,

Madison A. Bowe

Madison A. Bowe, Secretary
New Light Missionary Union
Camden & Burlington Counties, New Jersey

MAB/mrb

*not
looked
up*

The White House
Washington

1957 SEP 30 AM 12 19

WA008 NL PD

PHILADELPHIA PENN SEP 29

THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE

DEAR MR PRESIDENT PLEASE ACCEPT OUR CONGRATULATIONS FOR THE
FIRM STAND YOU TOOK IN THE LITTLE ROCK ARKANSAS HIGH SCHOOL SITUATION.
MAY GOD BLESS YOU IN THE CONTINUED SUPPORT OF OUR
FEDERAL COURT LAWS OF AMERICA

REV M DBOBBITT PRES MADISON BOWE SECY NEW LIGHT MISSIONARY BAPTIST
UNION AND AUXILIARYS CAMDEN AND BURLINGTON COUNTIES NJ.

G.F.

124 11 1
S. Morgan

January 31, 1958

RECEIVED
FEDERAL FILES

Dear Mr. Peters:

This will acknowledge receipt of a Resolution, addressed to the President, which was adopted by the Georgia Department of The American Legion concerning Federal troops in Little Rock, Arkansas.

Very truly yours,

Gerald D. Morgan
Special Counsel to the President

Mr. Billy Peters
Adjutant, Second District
The American Legion
Department of Georgia
Moultrie, Georgia

S. Morgan

ard

THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE
ROUTE SLIP
(To Remain With Correspondence)

TO Mr. Morgan

PROMPT HANDLING IS ESSENTIAL.
WHEN DRAFT REPLY IS REQUESTED
THE BASIC CORRESPONDENCE MUST
BE RETURNED. IF ANY DELAY IN
SUBMISSION OF DRAFT REPLY IS
ENCOUNTERED, PLEASE TELEPHONE
OFFICE OF THE STAFF SECRETARY.

Date January 29, 1953

FROM THE STAFF SECRETARY

ACTION: Comment _____
Draft reply _____
For direct reply _____
For your information _____
For necessary action _____
For appropriate handling _____
See below _____

Remarks:

gpo 16-71204-1

Resolution adopted by the Second District,
American Legion Dept. of Ga., Moultrie,
Ga., Billy Peters, Adjutant, and Billy
 Fussell, Commander, protesting the sending
of troops into Little Rock, Ark.; no covering
ltr.

By direction of the President:

A. J. GOODPASTER
Staff Secretary



The American Legion

Department of Georgia
Second District
Moultrie, Georgia

RESOLUTION

WHEREAS, The President of the United States, acting as Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, has ordered Federal troops into a Sovereign State, without request of said troops being made by proper state officials, and troops are now patrolling the streets of Little Rock, Arkansas, and,

WHEREAS, Radio, Press and Television reports have stated that members of these Armed Forces have abused private citizens on private property, without justification, and,

WHEREAS, We feel that the Constitution of the United States of America, pertaining to States Rights, was violated by this action, and,

WHEREAS, We, as veterans of former wars in which our country has been involved, and having been led to believe that we were fighting these wars to protect the Democratic principals as set out in our Constitution, and to combat dictatorships, then,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that the Second District of the American Legion Department of Georgia, assembled in Executive Committee meeting in Blakely, Georgia on this 19th day of November, 1957, with twenty-one Posts represented, unanimously condemn this action by our President on the grounds that it is in violation of our Constitution and an invasion of the Rights of a Sovereign State, as guaranteed by this Constitution.

NOW BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that copies of this resolution be furnished to all ten members of Congress from Georgia, to both Senators from Georgia, to the Governor of the State of Georgia, the Adjutant of the Georgia Department of the American Legion and to all newspapers within the Second District.

UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED.

BILLY FUSSELL
Commander, Second District
The American Legion
Department of Georgia

BILLY PETERS
Adjutant, Second District
The American Legion
Department of Georgia

124-121
1-12-58
9
February 10, 1958

Dear Mrs. Jones:

The President has asked me to thank you for your letter of January twenty-eighth, in behalf of the Cincinnati Chapter of the National Links, Inc.

It is encouraging to the President to know of your support and he is grateful to you for your kind comments.

Sincerely,

Maxwell M. Rabb

Mrs. Evelyn W. Jones
Corresponding Secretary
Cincinnati Chapter Links, Inc.
3254 Delaware Street
Cincinnati, Ohio

SW

Cincinnati Chapter Links, Inc.

Cincinnati, Ohio

3254 Delaware
January 28, 1958

The President
The White House
Washington 25, D. C.

My dear Mr. President:

We, The Cincinnati Chapter of the National Links, Inc., take this opportunity to congratulate you on the action that you took in the Little Rock, Arkansas, school integration problem.

The spirit of democracy and true Americanism will always prevail as long as we have men like you to guide the destiny of our country.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Evelyn W. Jones

(Mrs.) Evelyn W. Jones
Corresponding Secretary

G.F.
17-11-11
17-11-11

FEB 13
GENERAL FILES

February 11, 1958

Dear Mr. Cooper:

with bond

The President has received the letter and newspaper clipping which you and those who joined with you sent to him on January thirty-first. I am sure you will understand that the tremendous volume of mail which the President has received recently makes it impossible for him to acknowledge each letter personally. You may be assured, however, that your correspondence was made available to the President and that your interest in writing to him is appreciated.

Sincerely,

MR
Maxwell M. Rabb

Mr. J. L. Cooper
301 Shades Crest Road
Birmingham 9, Alabama

SW

Birmingham Post-Herald

Alabama's 'Good Morning' Newspaper

ALABAMA: Chance of showers.

BIRMINGHAM, FRIDAY, JANUARY 31, 1958

36 Pages In Three Sections

FINAL
EDITION

PRICE FIVE CENTS

Police Protection Is Pledged To Schools In New York City



SCHOOL DAYS—IN NEW YORK—Patrolman Percival Noles stands guard outside Brooklyn's violence-ridden John Marshall Junior High School as children leave the building at the noon lunch period. In a note handed to newsmen at the school, hoodlums warned authorities to "keep the flatfoots out . . . because they will get hurt." (United Press Telephoto)

Parents Are 'Fighting Mad'

NEW YORK, Jan. 30 (AP)—Mayor Robert W. Wagner today promised police protection to any principal of New York City public schools who "feels that it is necessary."

Police announced patrolmen have been stationed at 41 schools with seven being patrolled inside and out.

The mayor also said a new plan "is pretty nearly ready" which would place problem students in special schools.

Wagner's comments were made at a news conference while a heated controversy raged between city school officials and a Kings County grand jury investigating juvenile delinquency in the public schools.

Top school officials say a junior high school principal may have killed himself because a grand juror threatened him with indictment. The foreman of the jury called the charge a "deliberate lie."

Parents and teachers organizations announced they were "fighting mad" and voted to back any legislator supporting bills to end juvenile terrorism in city schools.

George Goldfarb, 55, principal of Brooklyn's John Marshall Junior High School, jumped to his death Tuesday from the roof of his apartment house before he was to make his third appearance before the grand jury.

Goldfarb's school was the one in which a 13-year-old white girl was raped 10 days

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Goldfarb's school was the one in which a 13-year-old white girl was raped 10 days ago by a Negro boy. In other violence, a policeman on duty outside the school was roughed up, and a recreational teacher was assaulted inside the school. Three Negro youths were arrested in the policeman and teacher assaults.

In another Brooklyn school, a Negro boy raped a Negro girl last Tuesday night.

The third rape of a young girl in Brooklyn in the past 10 days came last night when a 12-year-old girl was assaulted in a tenement hallway while the girl's younger brother cringed nearby. Two Negro boys, 15 and 16, were arrested and charged with the crime.

Officials have been reluctant to comment on any possible racial conflict involved in the John Marshall incidents. The student body at John Marshall is 45 per cent Negro, 10 per cent Puerto Rican and the rest white.

While police patrolled John Marshall School, in the center of Crown Heights, a teen-aged gang issued an ultimatum to the guards.

"If the cops come in our school, we will make them move out," said a statement by a group which calls itself the Corsair Lords. The challenge was in a note handed to a newsman outside the school.

"If you want the school improved, keep the flatfoots out and keep people from out of our territory away from our school because they will get hurt," the note said.

In Washington, Rep. Williams (D., Miss.) said: "There is no comparison between Little Rock and Brooklyn. No students have been raped in Little Rock, no students have been stabbed in Little Rock, no students have been up teachers, and there are no organized criminal gangs roam-

Continued from Page 1

ing the streets of Little Rock." Eastern politicians who were "so vociferous during the Little Rock episode," Williams said, now are "silent as the tomb." "Where are the paratroopers? Why is it that the President has not federalized the New York National Guard? Are our armed services to be used solely in the South to make sure that the President's private definition of 'peace and order' is achieved?"

January 31, 1958

President Dwight D. Eisenhower
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

We thought you might be interested in the enclosed article that appeared in the Birmingham Post Herald January 31, 1958.

We see no reason for the Federal Government brow beating citizens in one section of the country and condoning mob rule in another, all because of what votes can be gained in pivotal states. Why tell us to go to Hell for backing you in '52 and '56? Unless you can make reparations for the dastardly act of troops to Little Rock, your party will go down to sure defeat in 1960.

We would like for the President to see this article and not be stopped by his special counsel.

Respectfully yours,

J. L. Cooper

J. L. Cooper
301 Shades Crest Road
Birmingham 9, Alabama

Robert J. Howell
5429 - 10th St. So.
Birmingham 6, Alabama

Marion C. Sellers
3608 Clairmont Ave.
Birmingham, Ala.

C. D. Bruce
P.O. Box 61
Standardsdale, Ala.

James O. Patton, Jr.
1524 Bush Blvd
Birmingham, Ala.

J. R. Thompson
9137. Martinwood Dr.
Birmingham 6, Ala.

J. Calvin Lawery
977 N. Mayfieldwood Dr.
Birmingham 6, Ala.

Carl F. Sallow
4301 Montevilla Rd.
Birmingham 9, Ala.

Billy J. Hamel
437 West 7th St
Birmingham 4, Ala.

Gene Stip
Gardendale, Ala.

Harold Smith
316 Woodland Dr. Bham., Ala.

Ike Laughs Off Remarks by Brother Edgar

THOMASVILLE, Ga., Feb. 21 (AP) —President Eisenhower did it again today — laughed off remarks on the critical side by his brother Edgar.

In an interview at Atlanta, Ga., Edgar — an attorney — said the President got "some bad legal advice" when he sent federal troops into Little Rock, Ark., to enforce school integration.

In reply to questions at the President's vacation headquarters, Press Secretary James C. Hagerty said he informed the chief executive regarding Edgar's remark.

"He laughed," Hagerty reported, "and merely said, 'you tell them you have no comment.'"

Last year Edgar, who lives at Tacoma, Wash., criticized the administration's spending budget as too large.

At that time the President laughed and said only that Edgar had been criticizing him since they were small boys.

LE

124 A
Arkansas

UNIVERSITY HILLS NURSERY

Claude W. Davis, Proprietor
470 Delgado Drive
Baton Rouge 8, La.

RECEIVED
FEB 23 1958

February 23, 1958.

Daylilies
Amaryllis

Louisiana Native Irises
Crinum

President Dwight Eisenhower,
White House,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

x 1977

Your brother Edgar is so right. In using bayonets against the South, you not only acted upon bad legal advice, but you received some bad political advice. The Negro votes which will be gained in the North will be offset by a loss of support from all of those who believe in the constitutional rights of the states or who recognize the importance of protecting our children from the savagery to which white children are exposed in the integrated schools of the North.

I might add further that while you may find the Little Rock incident to be amusing it is not considered to be a laughing matter by the victims of tyranny.

Yours truly,

Claude W. Davis

Claude W. Davis

104 A
School, West ...
March 6, 1958

Dear Mr. Jones:

The President has asked me to thank you and the members of the Mid-Peninsular Council for Civic Unity for your telegram of February twenty-fifth. Your continued interest in the field of equality of opportunity is very much appreciated. We are grateful for this expression of your views and you may be assured that they will be carefully considered.

Sincerely,

Maxwell M. Rabb

Mr. Louis W. Jones
President
Mid-Peninsular Council
for Civic Unity
San Mateo, California

SW

FORM 805 PRINTED BY THE STATIONER AND REGISTERING COMPANY, U.S.A. STENOLOGIC PATENT PENDING

THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE

ROUTE SLIP

(To Remain With Correspondence)

TO Mr. Rabb

**PROMPT HANDLING IS ESSENTIAL.
WHEN DRAFT REPLY IS REQUESTED
THE BASIC CORRESPONDENCE MUST
BE RETURNED. IF ANY DELAY IN
SUBMISSION OF DRAFT REPLY IS
ENCOUNTERED, PLEASE TELEPHONE
OFFICE OF THE STAFF SECRETARY.**

Date February 28, 1958

FROM THE STAFF SECRETARY

ACTION: Comment _____
Draft reply _____
For direct reply _____
For your information _____
For necessary action _____
For appropriate handling x _____
See below _____

Remarks:

By direction of the President:

A. J. Goodpaster
A. J. GOODPASTER
Staff Secretary

JAM

FOR THE STAFF SECRETARY
PRINTED BY THE STAPLED RECEIPT CO. CINCINNATI, OHIO, U.S.A.
STANDARD PAPER PERIODICALS

The White House
Washington

1958 FEB 25 PM 2 11

WA024 DL PD

SAN FRANCISCO CALIF FEB 25 1017AMP

THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE

IN BEHALF OF MID PENINSULAR COUNCIL FOR CIVIC UNITY SAN MATEO
WHOSE SEPTEMBER 19TH PLEA FOR EXECUTIVE ACTION IN LITTLE ROCK
SCHOOL CRISIS YOU ACKNOWLEDGED SEPTEMBER 28TH I URGE RENEWED
RESOLUTE LEADERSHIP AND DIRECTED USE OF FEDERAL POWERS TO PROMOTE
RESPECT FOR EQUAL CITIZENSHIP RIGHTS AND TO ASSIST LITTLE ROCK
SCHOOL BOARD IN MEETING PRESENT DIFFICULTIES ACHIEVING COURT

ORDERED INTEGRATION
LOUIS W JONES PRESIDENT.

ROBERT M. JONES PRESIDENT
MID-PENINSULA COUNCIL

SEP 28 1957

September 28, 1957

Dear Mr. Jones:

The President has asked me to acknowledge your recent telegram.

As you know, the President has made it clear that it is incumbent upon all officials to enforce the Constitution of the United States as interpreted by the Supreme Court and that it is the duty of all Americans to abide by this enforcement.

Attached hereto is a copy of the address made by the President on September twenty-fourth, to the entire nation.

La Feltre

Sincerely,

Maxwell M. Rabb

Mr. Louis W. Jones
President
Mid-Peninsula Council
For Civic Unity
San Mateo, California

Enclosure

mlw

RECEIVED
SEP 20 1957

1957 SEP 20 AM 6 37

010 NL PD

WA

TDSF SAN MATEO CALIF SEP 19

THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE

WE URGE YOU TO USE FULL POWERS OF YOUR OFFICE TO BRING
ABOUT CONFORMITY TO FEDERAL LAW IN GRANTING TO ALL CITIZENS
OF ARKANSAS EQUAL RIGHTS UNDER OUR CONSTITUTION

LOUIS W JONES PRESIDENT FOR MID-PENINSULA COUNCIL FOR CIVIC
UNITY.

G.F.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 7, 1958

Dear Mr. Fortson:

This will acknowledge receipt of the
Resolution censuring the President
for calling out military forces to
enforce integration of the races at
Central High School in Little Rock.

Sincerely,

Gerald D. Morgan
Special Counsel to the President

The Honorable Ben W. Fortson, Jr.
Secretary of State
Atlanta
Georgia

mgt

THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE

ROUTE SLIP

(To Remain With Correspondence)

TO Mr. Morgan

PROMPT HANDLING IS ESSENTIAL.
WHEN DRAFT REPLY IS REQUESTED
THE BASIC CORRESPONDENCE MUST
BE RETURNED. IF ANY DELAY IN
SUBMISSION OF DRAFT REPLY IS
ENCOUNTERED, PLEASE TELEPHONE
OFFICE OF THE STAFF SECRETARY.

Date March 6, 1958

FROM THE STAFF SECRETARY

ACTION: Comment _____
Draft reply _____
For direct reply _____
For your information _____
For necessary action _____
For appropriate handling _____
See below _____

Remarks:

By direction of the President:

A. J. Goodpaster
A. J. GOODPASTER
Staff Secretary

FROM. Ben W. Fortson, Jr.
Secretary of State
State Capitol
ATLANTA, GA.

TO. The President

Resolution.
No covering letter.

THE WHITE HOUSE

MAR 6 9 29 AM '58

RECEIVED

General Assembly



H.R. No. 305

By: Messrs. Helms of Atkinson, Moate of Hancock, Kennedy of Turner, Miller of Twiggs and many others.

A RESOLUTION

Censuring the President for calling out military forces to enforce integration of the races at Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas.

WHEREAS, on September 24, 1957, by arbitrary and illegal action unprecedented in the annals of history, the President of the United States federalized the Arkansas National Guard and sent airborne storm troopers of the United States Army into a sovereign state to enforce integration of the races at bayonet point in the Central High School of Little Rock, Arkansas, contrary to the President's positive statement never to use troops in enforcing integration; and

WHEREAS, in so doing, the President sacrificed the honesty and integrity of our highest executive office on an altar of political expediency to appease the NAACP and other radical, communist-sympathizing organizations; and

WHEREAS, such action was illegal, unconstitutional and void, as held by Attorney General Eugene Cook in official opinion to the Governor under date of October 17, 1957, in that:

(a) It was in direct violation of the Constitution, Art. IV, Sec. 4, declaring that the United States can intervene in state affairs only upon application of the executive or Legislature thereof;

(b) It was in violation of the "Posse Comitatus Act", 18 U.S.C.A., §1385.

(c) It was in violation of other provisions of law limiting the use of troops to enforcing "laws of the land", when in truth and fact, the decision of the Supreme Court sought to be enforced was not the "law of the land", but only the "law of the Case", as held by the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit in the case of Indiviglio v. U.S., 26 L.W. 2227 (October 31, 1957).

(d) It was contrary to federal statutes and established principles of constitutional law that military forces should not be used in enforcing court decrees until civil authorities had been frustrated in their attempt to so do, when in fact no U. S. Marshall had ever sought to enforce federal court decrees requiring integration in the Central High School.

NOW, THEREFORE, Be It Resolved By The House of Representatives, the Senate concurring, That this General Assembly does hereby censure the President of the United States, and declares its most emphatic disapproval for this deliberate and palpable executive encroachment of the Constitution and laws.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that copies of this Resolution be dispatched forthwith to the White House and to each member of the Georgia delegation to Congress.

IN SENATE

Read and Adopted January 22, 1958

George L. Stewart
SECRETARY OF SENATE

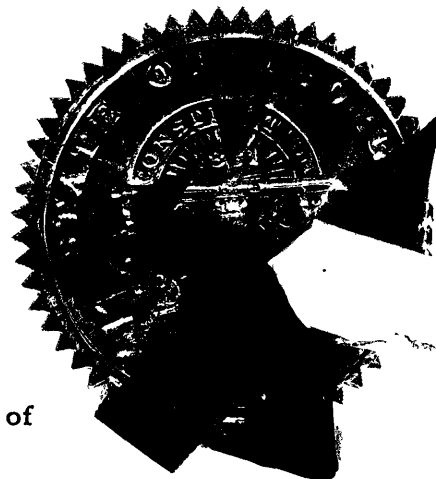
IN HOUSE

Read and Adopted January 21, 1958

Joe Boone
CLERK OF HOUSE



General Assembly



H.R. No. 305

By: Messrs. Helms of Atkinson, Moate of Hancock, Kennedy of Turner, Miller of Twiggs and many others.

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IN SENATE

Read and Adopted January 22, 1958

George L. Stewart
SECRETARY OF SENATE

IN HOUSE

Read and Adopted January 21, 1958

Joe Bason
CLERK OF HOUSE

G.F.

March 18, 1958

CONFIDENTIAL FILES

Dear Bill:

Thank you for your "confidential" letter and the enclosed copy of your Study on Civil Rights. I have put this aside to read in a leisurely way at home because I think it important to give close consideration to your ideas.

57-13, B

With warm regard,

Sincerely,

Maxwell M. Rabb
Secretary to the Cabinet

Mr. William Burrow
First National Bank Building
Dallas, Texas

MMR:sw

WILLIAM BURROW
FIRST NATIONAL BANK BUILDING
DALLAS

March 14, 1958

CONFIDENTIAL

Mr. Max Rabb
Secretary to the Cabinet
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Max:

I enclose herewith a copy of my Study on Civil Rights, which I have prepared and delivered to the gentleman involved just as I promised you I would. With his permission, I submitted in confidence a copy to the Negro leaders in Dallas and to my nephew in Tennessee who is a staunch segregationist leader. This submission was for their promised study and frank criticism. I will give you their views when received.

I have told the gentleman for whom the study was prepared that he may use the views as his own, so, therefore, any circulation you might make of this document, if you deem it worthy, should be limited and confidential to the extent that his views, when stated, will be fresh. I have not told him and do not consider myself bound to tell him that I am sending you this copy, but I am not submitting it to anybody else.

You will never know how much I value your friendship and the opportunity you have always given me to present my views, albeit they are often worthless.

With kind regards, I am

Yours very truly,



WILLIAM BURROW

WB/bw
Enc.

STUDY ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Introduction

The Commission on Civil Rights has great responsibilities and great opportunity. It takes but little reflection to realize that in every free country the cold battles in the cold war are fought in the field of civil rights. These include religious rights, rights of labor against capital, and racism. In this country the most sensitive and important just now is racism, or the Negro problem. The Commission may avoid seeking a solution because its stated duties are general, but due to the circumstances of its creation and the present times, it is felt that no greater service to the country and to the freedom of the whole world could be found than to resolve this problem. We cannot hope for a society of order and freedom in Asia and Africa unless we can provide one at home. It is imperative that we do justice to the Negro. It is also necessary that we preserve the rights of white people. Furthermore, order must be maintained.

Therefore, with class warfare a miserable failure in this land of the free, and nationalism no issue, and religious tolerance blessedly present, this study is confined to racism.

Outline

The following simple outline will be used:

- I. Historical considerations
- II. Nature of the Problem
- III. Current literature
- IV. Estimate of the future Under Present Methods
- V. Evaluation of Solutions.

I. Historical Considerations.

Present problems in racism revolve around integration. Denial of the right to vote or any legal rights, or inequality before the law, is not pardonable wherever it occurs, but is but a facet of the problem of integration. The question is as to the degree of association between the races, whether it shall be casual or to the full extent of assimilation.

Europe and Western civilization have been in contact with the Negro race for fully six thousand years. The historical results are that there has been full integration only in the tropics, where morale, standards and energy have been at the lowest ebb. There has never been any integration elsewhere in the world. The Israelites were never integrated with the blacks in Egypt, and when they left they took not one Negro with them. The Moors were in Spain for centuries, and were finally evicted en masse. Later Spain brought slaves from Africa in the seventeenth century, attempted integration to some extent, and at length shipped all Negroes and mulattoes to the New World, from whence come many of our mulattoes today. There are no Negroes in Europe as of this writing except the approximately 300,000 who have come to England recently from Jamaica. Theoretically, in Europe there was no bar to their entry and remaining, but practically, after all the milleniums, they have been and are still rejected.

For three centuries the Negroes have lived beside the white men in the Southern part of the United States as a separate race. The experience is unique. Although there have been isolated cases of violence, the relations have been almost entirely, during slavery and in the century following, peaceful and friendly.

The point here is that it may be possible to have integration if desirable, but it has never been done in a temperate clime.

II. Nature of the Problem.

The Negro problem is an emotional one, deeply rooted in fundamental psychological instincts.

First, it is to be observed that one of the strongest instincts in nature is the herd instinct. The different species in nature go in herds and desire the company of each other. This is true of a swarm of bees, a herd of horses or of buffalo, or even a hill of ants. Fish go in schools, and furthermore different fish go in different schools. A common expression of this age-old truth is that birds of a feather flock together, so it follows that men should flock together. But stranger still in nature, when the ducks come south in winter, the mallards are in one flight and the pintails in another. Each separate kind of duck seeks its own similar fellows. Throughout all nature, and through all mankind, it is the same, with red men, yellow men, black and white. There would not be the single, slightest problem about the relations between the Negro and the white in the United States if it were not for conflicting emotions, which spring from the ego.

It is an injury to the ego and dignity of the Negro not to be able to go to the same schools, the same restaurants, the same hotels as the white man. It has been presented to him as a mark of inferiority, and he resents it. The difficulty is that it is also an injury to the ego and dignity of the white man for him to be told or ordered that he cannot choose his associates, his own flock, and go among only the people with whom he desires to associate. The white man resents just as bitterly, and probably more so as tyranny, an order that he must

associate with, eat after, drink after and defecate after people he considers different.

The Negro's instinct is much spoken and written about. The rights of the white are of equal importance and dignity, but are unnoticed. Any solution must balance the dignities of each race and the freedom of assembly and association of each. A new adjustment has to be made. The old adjustment that the South made with the Negro over the centuries, which resulted in peace and good will, is now upset and tottering.

A second emotional factor is that syphilis and gonorrhoea were carried by the Negro people. As it was with the Indians, these diseases did not much affect the Negro, although the medical fraternity estimates that ninety per cent carried the diseases. But syphilis absolutely worked havoc on the white man. That is why it was called the white plague. This disease factor no doubt still leaves with the white Southerner a revulsion, even though the miracle of penicillin has made the diseases themselves almost extinct. It is well to understand that it is for this reason that restaurants, toilets, drinking fountains and sleeping facilities were segregated in the South, and to a lesser extent is back of all other segregation. It is reasonable to assume that as memories of the diseases fade, so also will this emotion recede, and in time completely disappear.

A third emotional factor which applies to the South only is the war between the States and reconstruction. The South, being defeated, remembers it longer than the North. The South's contention has always been that the war was economic, caused by the Northern jealousy and enmity to Southern wealth, and the North's claim has been that it was caused by slavery,

and the truth is that both were certainly right. Thus defeat and Reconstruction were tied up with the Negro. The North's attempt in Reconstruction to solve the Negro problem by unlimited force, with Negroes dominating the government throughout the South, has left an emotional resentment against the North's interference in Southern affairs, and indeed an enmity against the Republican party which persisted almost unbroken until recently. Thus the Little Rock incident was an indignity to the South. If the reader can imagine himself a resident of Paris, with German troops as, in returning, or a resident of Athens with Turks reoccupying, or of Ireland with the British troops back, he can comprehend the Southern reaction. It was another assertion of power, domination and force.

Another and less admirable emotion in the South is the pride of mastery, having once been exercised and hard to surrender. Coupled with it is the fear of another tragic era of an attempt to enforce Negro domination.

The last emotional factor noticed is the effect of Russian propaganda through its agents in this country. Its extent is unknown. Yet it is foolish to think that a comparatively weak Russia of the '30's which could have its Miss at Malta, its Chamberlain editing Time Magazine, and its Dexter White in the government, now so much the more powerful with its capture of the ^{Baltic} Balkans, Poland, Czechoslovakia, a third of Germany, with the vast increment of our surrender to them of China and the Suez Canal, of a Russia which could steal from us the atom secrets and take a proximity fuse intact, which would ^{now} not/seize every possible medium of education, distortion and violence to reopen as far as possible the greatest emotional conflict which ever occurred in the United States, the Civil War. Where else could they get more disunion? What greater weakness

could they bring them to do everything possible to array again the North against the South, to cause race riots in every city possible, to instill as much hate and as little brotherhood of man as possible? There could be no more fertile field, and we may be sure that it has been plowed. For instance, we know that there were Communists on both sides of the race riots in Little Rock. We note the stagnation of the strategic oil industry through sectional attack. We see the boycott of Little Rock products. We think the farm problem is to some extent sectional. We see the rapid taking over by the Negro of the key cities of New York, Philadelphia, Washington and Detroit, due to the ensuing migration from the South. Since 1950 the Negro population of New York has increased 41% and the white declined 5%. If the Communists can control the Negro bloc vote there, and we don't think they can, or if they can easily influence them, and they might in the impact of the confusion of the change, it will serve subversive causes. Further, what happens in race violence in America today makes fine Russian propaganda in Asia and Africa tomorrow. There is little doubt that Russia will use emotion in racism as much as possible. North vs. South, poor black labor vs. rich white capital, make a strong brew.

Thus it seems conclusive that the race problem is emotional. This must be understood on a national scale, and reason and justice must be brought to bear to solve it.

III. Current Literature.

I do not believe it is unjust to say that this is wholly worthless. The books of the sociologists, by professors at our leading universities, simply ape one another. They are so close in content and reasoning, and so sterile in academic

theory, bereft of experience, as to make it almost impossible to tell the one book from another on a companion subject. It is all very well to argue whether environment or heredity gives the greatest knowledge, but since knowledge of race relations cannot be inherited, it would seem that some attention at least should be given to experience through environment. It is completely absent. The sociologists all take their cue from Gustav Myrdal and his group, which is well discussed in the attached article by Raymond Moley. Myrdal was a Swedish sociologist who spent about six weeks, or sixty days, on a conducted tour of the South. His book was a project of the Carnegie Foundation, and he and they insisted that there should not be any person experienced in race relations with him. His book was to be a first impression. This means it was not to be based on any experience. After that he went back to Sweden and stayed more than a year. When he returned he compiled his book from some two hundred reports that were made up by the research group in his absence, and which the appropriate committee of Congress has found was heavily staffed with Communists.

Myrdal defines the American creed, but his definition is not nice; his is totalitarian and egalitarian. He defines it as to grind all to the same level. I define it as freedom and equality of opportunity. His American Dilemma, distilled to reason, is that we cannot have a completely egalitarian (i.e., socialist or communist) civilization under our Constitution and customs.

Then Myrdal, the others, even including Professor Allport of Harvard, and the rest, make certain basic assumptions. These assumptions are fundamental to all the conclusions in the books. These assumptions, and to me, the inherent errors of them, follow:

1. The white man feels superior to the Negro. I think the Southerner does not feel that way at all. He realizes

that in kindness, in music, in rhythm, in love of children, in gaiety, and in many other ways, the Negro is superior to him. The white man's position is simply that there is a difference.

2. They all assume that the white man hates the Negro. This is untrue. There is and always has been, in my belief, a close affection between the races. Certainly some criminals among the Negroes and some among the white hate each other and do violence. Countless others hold bonds of deep affection, which have always persisted and still persist.

3. They assume there is no group difference between Negro and white. This is in the face of all human experience. It is to say that East is East, and West is West, and the twain shall always meet. It is to say that there is no difference between the Oriental and the Westerner; that men are all alike; that Rome and Constantinople did not really have a difference in religion in the Roman Catholic Church; it is to say that the Negroes in Africa are responsible for the civilization of the world, and that their mighty empires and scientific discoveries are equal to the white, which is untrue. It is to say that the conduct of the races is the same; yet the slightest glance at the incidence of crimes of violence among Negroes in the Army, under identical conditions in Europe, will show a vast and sobering difference immediately. Bear in mind that I do not say that the white is superior to the Negro, but only point out that there is a difference although the sociologists assume, in the face of all experience, there is none.

4. Discrimination and prejudice against the Negro is assumed. This assumes that the Southerner's estimate of the Negro, based on more than three centuries of experience in the same environment, is not just; that all the conclusions of the finest men morally and the best men intellectually that we have

do not do the Negro justice. I do not believe this is correct. I believe instead that the Southerner has a realistic, fair and effective estimate of the Negro, desires to help his progress as fast as he can, and has helped and will help him in the process as much as possible. I believe further that the present violence is deterring this aid.

5. They all assume a caste system. If by caste race only is meant, it is correct. Anything more than that is not justified.

6. Lastly, the assumption is that integration is the highest optimum, which may not necessarily be true.

All of the foregoing assumptions of this so-called science are argumentative points. We feel they are fundamentally weak. Unless you grant those assumptions, there is no science, and the books fall.

There is but to add that the cure is universally held by them to be force, and not the brotherhood of man taught by the Master.

It is not suggested that the writers are Communist, although hate and war and force do not sound very American and Christian. It is thought instead that through the years the South has had no problem and has been at peace; therefore its scholars have not bothered to answer. The only answer is made by Southern politicians, whose motives are always suspect as seeking votes, and who are usually promptly sneered. The statements of subversives and of people absolutely inexperienced in race relations have been accepted by academic thought without the tests and the trial and error of scientific experiment, and the greatest paradox is that their basic assumptions constitute the most extreme example of prejudice against the South as a whole that I know of in the realm of assumed theoretical science. The prejudice goes so far as to say that the South has

a guilt complex, and that is the cause of its present great sins. The Southerners who have bothered to answer these incomprehensible arguments have pointed out that conditions are worse in the North, and that the Reds are involved. The socialists say that that is typical of a guilt complex, using scapegoats. That is why a solemn, careful estimate of this situation for the good of America is most necessary just now.

There are some Southerners who have been duped into accepting these assumptions of spurious learning. The latest is the callow argument of Professor Charles Black of Yale that force is the only solution. The major writer in the past was William J. Cash, whose book, The Kind of the South, though cleverly written, makes the same basic assumptions as above. It is noted that he committed suicide within a month after the Germans invaded Russia in 1941. ^{Epitaph for Dixie} Ashmore adopts most of Cash's reasoning without question.

The solution therefore is not in current literature, but in an objective, logical approach to the whole problem, free of prejudice and intolerance insofar as the human spirit can be free.

IV. Estimate of the Future Under Present Methods.

It is dangerous to prophesy, yet some lessons can be gained from the past. It should be clear from close examination of Reconstruction that full integration cannot be brought about by force. From 1865 to 1873, the South was bankrupt, exhausted and fully occupied by Federal troops. All instruments of government were in the hands of the occupation authorities, and as stated above, Negroes were in control of the government. The net result was that even then the attempt to integrate failed completely. Force, confiscation and abject poverty were not sufficient. Perhaps if the full weight of a Hungarian-type

occupation had been used, a semblance of integration might have been achieved, but the difficulty is that the North sickened in its effort and had not the heart to go so far.

The same forces that were at work in the South in those days are still present, and the depth and strength of those forces may be underestimated by careless thought. This is because of the emotional factors set forth above, and also because that there is, in reality, the deprivation of real rights of assembly involved. The white man will regard, and does regard, the order as to whom his associates shall be and to whom his neighbors in his home shall be, as a deprivation of natural right, dictated from the outside. If it be remembered that no common-law people has submitted to tyranny and outside dictation since the Norman invasion, the probable determination will become apparent. No amount of reason will ever persuade Mama that Sally will be safe at school, with Negroes, as indeed Sally would not now be, because Negro youths are now being taught hate and violence. Young Negroes in the South are becoming men.

Perhaps the will to resist did not need hardening. An example of the memory is that by common consent, no case decided by the Texas Reconstruction Supreme Court is ever cited by any lawyer or judge in a Texas court as an authority, to this day. Be that as it may, the use of troops in Little Rock did harden the will. This is understandable. Think how the Jews in Tel Aviv would react if Turkish troops were sent in again to that city to force integration of Arabs and Jews.

Neither will unelicited suffrage in Negroes work. It has been tried before. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, it was tried in North Carolina. The boss, Ed Trump, in Memphis, always used Negroes for his purposes. In Georgia, the Negroes vote for the Republican party, which solidifies

the opposition into the Democratic party. The result has always been the same. When the Negro, a minority, sets himself by votes against the majority, he always loses, and the majority always wins.

What is worse is that when the Negro sets himself by force against the majority, he will lose. That is why the Southerner has no fear of the Negro; he remembers the last time force was tried.

Nor will the present boycotts being organized, or any governmental sanction, succeed in forcing full integration. The stubborn common-law tradition of resistance to real or fancied oppression has always continued in the South through all poverty, which incidentally still persists. The per capita wealth of the South is little more than half the national average.

Respect for law will have little effect. The section is deeply rooted in the philosophy of Thomas Jefferson that foolish laws should be disregarded. In the first place, this is the first time that the courts have ever attempted to enjoin a whole people to take an action, and then continued its efforts to police the enforcement. Such government by injunction to that extent is unique. Secondly, except for the Debs case, troops have not been called out within legal memory to enforce a court's order. In America, obedience to the court ordinarily rests upon the customs of the people. The courts look weak and foolish in the attempt to force the unsupported fiat against the almost unanimous will of one-third of the nation. Third, the court was a New Deal court, and except for Warren, wholly appointed by Roosevelt and Truman, and was deeply steeped in the socialist trend of the day, contrary to Southern philosophy. No man on it spoke for the South. Black was nearly seventy.

and had long ago swallowed the socialist faith, and it is unknown why the other Southerner, Clark, did not speak. Warren had been on the bench for only seven months, had had only three years' experience in private practice, and came from a state where only three per cent of the population was Negro. He had held public office nearly all his life, was wholly inexperienced in race relations or on the judiciary. His opinion was weak, took no notice of the rights of white people to assemble peaceably, begged the question, and cited no precedents in law. The South does not respect the opinion, and little respects the Court. Fourth, the South suspects the Court itself, and wonders who influences the judges. What checks are made on the young clerks and the employees who attend these elderly people in their seclusion? The other decisions of the Court have almost paralyzed internal security in this country. How is it known that the employees are loyal? No one knows but the FBI, if they do, and the FBI never says. Not only is the Court not respected, it is suspected, in that its employees are unknown, cloistered, and have unrivaled opportunity to influence decisions by false persuasion. No one thinks that the Justices are disloyal. Steps should certainly be taken to reassure the public as to the personnel employed.

It follows, therefore, that the South will not submit to full-scale integration. It is reasonable to suppose that segregation on buses and railway coaches will disappear, and that Pullman cars will fall into disuse. Actually, there is no more reason for segregation on a bus than on an elevator. The restraint of the Reverend King in Montgomery in the non-violent determination of the Negroes for that right is admirable. Even where bus segregation is not enforced, the customs of the people, white and black, are so strong, and the herd instinct is so

strong, that it is generally followed.

It is also reasonable to suppose that some sort of token integration will take place in the schools by redistricting and the admission of a few.

Negroes will suffer temporary oppression and wrongs by reason of the present feeling, and there will be some temporary setbacks to the long adjustment over the centuries of the two races living together in peace.

Negroes who cannot adjust to the social order in the South as established over these centuries, or who rebel against the civilizing influences which they have long been accustomed to, and revert to savagery, will simply join the vast migration North and become the problem of the North.

The Southerner therefore feels, with confidence based on long experience with Negroes, that with Northern force that he has no problem, and certainly no serious problem that he cannot solve.

The problem of the North is quite another matter. At present, citizens of Northern cities, not experienced, and with a legal philosophy not fitted to meet the problem, now face a vast influx of Negro people. They seek to apply their laws and customs, which worked quite well with a few, to the problems of the multitude. The Negroes take a neighborhood by buying scattered houses or properties, over an area, and having depreciated thereby the value of the whole area, they take it over. Homes, churches, schools, buildings, offices, and everything else ^{are engulfed;} values, standards, taxes, fall. The whites' only solution is to leave. It is repeated in Philadelphia, in Chicago, in Detroit, in Washington and New York.

Likewise, the Northern white is so far quite content with the juvenile delinquent gangs on the street. He is content to give the Negro the balance of power in political affairs,

which means to give him the government. Since it is occurring in so-called pivotal states, the net result in national affairs is chaotic. It reinforces the view of Lippman in his recent book, A Public Philosophy, that we are in danger of losing the power to govern.

So far, the white in the North is happy to turn his schools over to the Negro. He simply flees to another area if he can. Reports of Congressional committees as to the difference in scholastic standards are brushed aside as the pretensions of prejudiced Southerners. Riots, rapings, murder in New York schools are not even catalogued by race, lest it hurt the political situation. It is now the law in New York, due to the Negro vote, that a man cannot even say who shall live in his apartment.

Add to all this brew that the North has concocted the wild-eyed views of the sociologists; stir it with the Russians' ready brush; add the new migrations to come; and sour it with the teachings of hate, the cure for everything to be force, and you have a bleak future for the North in its race relations and its whole future. That is neither good for the North, nor for America, nor for the free world.

Another problem that is not recognized is this: that there is a vast migration also out of the North and into the South, and particularly the Southwest, both of the best brains and most progressive people of the Northern whites, and also of Northern business, and it is accelerating. The stable and orderly government in the South, together with the new cooling of air which frees the region from the old lethargy of heat, will be increasingly attractive as conditions deteriorate in the North.

The North's problem, however, is temporary. Their busy, hard, wholesome and alert people with their traditional

courage and perseverance, will not long tolerate what is indeed an injury to their rights. They will not accept domination and injustice. They will learn by experience. It is thought that the work of the Commission on Civil Rights can be of more help to the North than to the South, and that by seeking and finding, in good will, solutions, they may protect the Northern white man, and the Northern Negro, from the inevitable reaction to follow.

V. Evaluation of Solutions.

As shown above, the solution of force will never work, North or South, and it will only result in the side with the least force, which in this case is the Negro, whose population is only ten per cent of the national average, losing and suffering injustice. The same thing is true of votes, in the end. At present, the Negro votes usually in a bloc for the side which will offer the largest benefits. But as he sets himself against the other ninety per cent, he will set the majority against him. Revolution by the Negro as a solution, by his seizure of the Government, is extremely unlikely, and so remote as to be thought impossible, no matter how subversively led or inflamed, because of the easygoing traits of character.

There is only one solution. It has to be found on religious principles, and good will and order and peace. It has to be in freedom under law. The Negro must be given every possible freedom which does not interfere with the freedom of the white man, and just as important, the white man must have freedom to the same extent. Ways and means must be found to insure that a Negro does not suffer indignities, nor a white, tyranny or the loss of his property. A white man has a real and continuing right to be able to choose and associate with whom he pleases, and to live with the kind of people that he

pleases. He has a right to his property, which is usually his home, and a right that it shall not be taken from him at a depreciated value through slick and continued infiltration schemes. His right ends where the Negro's right begins. The interests of the white and the Negro have to be balanced against each other. The Negro does not want to violate the herd instinct; he only wants the sign of indignity removed. He wants the right to do what a white man can do. Surely moderate methods, even if on a selective basis, can be worked out in good will and, with the keeping of order, preserve his dignity. I have never in my entire life, and in close contact with Negroes, ever seen a white man intentionally hurt the feelings of a Negro. I do not believe any white, except the criminals and the lowest element among us, wants to make a Negro feel inferior. The Negro has made great progress. The minimum wage, the softening influences of civilization, the increasing education in the schools and through the new channels of communication, have aided such and promise more. Progress from slavery has been slow, perhaps too slow. Progress is always slow with mankind, but here it seems inevitable.

Hypocritical solutions are worse than none at all. It is necessary that the white man's rights be preserved, and that order be maintained. The differences between the races can no more be abolished than those between the sexes, nor indeed, the facilities, associations and functions of either race or sex be regimented. Where white and Negro interests and rights conflict they must be adjusted. As far as possible, these adjustments should be voluntary. Perhaps in the end the only way ever to adjust them is by voluntary action and good will and mutual respect. Perhaps the Commission can find ways of adjustment which do not run contrary to the basic instincts of man, for certain it is that the herd instinct cannot be repealed by law.

The laws against violence between the races, for the right to vote or the preservation of every legal right before the law, for the prevention of oppression and wrong to either race, are possible and desirable. Yet you will have violence anyway if you have tyranny, no matter what the laws are in this country.

Lastly, the solution found has to be reasonable and just in the eyes of the free world, and forced association is not. More important, it has to keep this country together in fact and in spirit, and bind up the wounds between negro and white and between North and South.

RAYMOND MOLEY SCHEIN

An 'Authority' Studied In Segregation Ruling

The recent legal, military, political, and social crisis in Little Rock has directed the attention of many observers back to the origin of the matter—the 1954 Supreme Court decision which declared that "Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."

As has been pointed out repeatedly, the essential holding of the decision was based not upon law, but upon certain psychological and sociological "authority." Some attention has been given to the decisive footnote in the case in which the "authorities" were cited. The names were, in this order, K. B. Clark, Witmer and Kotinsky, Deucher and Chien, Chien again, Brameld, Frazier, and Gunnar Myrdal "generally."

Myrdal was a left-wing socialist from Sweden whose contemptuous references to the Constitution of the United States have been frequently cited and are contained in his book on the Negro program, "The American Dilemma."

Recently a book by one of the above "authorities" came to my attention. It was "Toward a Reconstructed Philosophy of Education" by Theodore Brameld, Professor of Educational Philosophy in the School of Education of New York University.

His position in that institution was emphasized to me because in my travels over the country I have noted the large number of teachers from all sections who come to New York for summer school courses in that institution, and the great influence which it—and presumably its "professor of Educational Philosophy"—must have.

I learn from this book that, with Brameld as a leader, a new group of educationists has arisen who believe that even "progressive education" is *passé*. Hence, Brameld is well on the way to supplanting John Dewey as the Mohammed of American education.

According to Augustin G. [unclear] in his book, "Branding the TVA," Ernest O. Moley, Chairman of the Policy Committee of the American Education Fellowship (formerly the progressive Education Association), in 1947 appointed Brameld to prepare a new policy for the A.E.F. According to Rudd, the first Brameld draft contained these passages:

"To channel the energies of education toward the reconstruction of the economic system, a system which should be geared with the increased socializations of England, Sweden, New Zealand and other countries."

And "the establishment of genuine international authority . . . an order in which world citizenship thus assumes at least an equal status with national citizenship."

On another occasion, writing in "Science and Society," Brameld said:

"The thesis of this article is simply that liberal educators who look toward collectivism as a way out of our economic, political and cultural morass must give more serious consideration than they have so far to the methodology of Marx . . ."

That Brameld is one of those educators "who look toward collectivism" is abundantly shown in his book noted above, "Toward a Reconstructed Philosophy of Education."

Space permits only a brief quotation, but this is apparently the nub of the book:

"We require an educational order that:

"1. is supported heavily by federal taxation (supplemented by local revenues) and controlled by the majority;

"2. offers free universal education

"3. gears curriculums, teaching, guidance, and administration to the purposes of the economy of abundance, political order, scientific society, and esthetic pattern;

"4. brings newspapers, radio chains, and other instruments of public enlightenment into direct cooperation and under similar controls."

Brameld describes the "controls" elsewhere in his book. He would have a "Federal Education Authority" modeled after the Tennessee Valley Authority. He apparently means that Congress

would create the "Authority" which then would be master of its own operations. This he calls, quoting David Lilienthal, "centralized authority—decentralized administration." The only decentralization under the TVA is that a board appointed by the President runs the show much as it chooses.

Perhaps this book would be interesting reading for school board members, and, considering Point 4 above, for editors and proprietors of newspapers and radio stations.

(Released by The Associated Newspapers)

G.F.

October 15, 1957

RECEIVED
OCT 16 1957
CENTRAL FILES

Dear Bill:

You were very kind to write me in such a generous way and to send me the clippings. They arrived while I was overseas on a holiday.

As I told you, I did see that the President received your point of view and I must say you did predict with some accuracy the effect the President's actions would have in some quarters. Frankly, there was no choice for him but to do what he did. Sometime when we get together I would like to talk this over with you. I cherish your friendship and value the fact that you gave me the benefit of your views on this thorny problem.

With kind regards,

Sincerely,

Maxwell M. Rabb
Secretary to the Cabinet

Mr. William Burrow
First National Bank Building
Dallas, Texas

MMR:sw

The Dallas Morning News

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 26, 1957

Reconstructing Arkansas

WHEREAS, no legal state government or adequate protection for life or property now exists in the rebel States of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, Florida, Texas and Arkansas; and whereas, it is necessary that peace and good order should be enforced in said States, until loyal and republican state governments can be legally established, therefore,

BE IT ENACTED, etc., That said rebel States shall be divided into military districts, and made subject to the military authority of the United States as hereinafter prescribed, and for that purpose Virginia shall constitute the First District; North and South Carolina the Second District; Georgia, Alabama and Florida the Third District; Mississippi and Arkansas the Fourth District; and Louisiana and Texas the Fifth District.—From the Reconstruction Act passed over the veto of President Johnson March 2, 1867.

THE PRESIDENT of the United States has by proclamation reconstituted the northwest portion of the Fourth Military District in the Rebel States, consisting of the State of Arkansas.

He does so to enforce the Supreme Court's decree amending the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. The original amendment was rejected by Texas and by Arkansas, along with its rejection by enough other states to bar the lawful adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment.

However, over the veto of Andrew Johnson, Congress set up the five military districts and by bayonet compelled the ratification by Texas, by Arkansas and enough other states to make up the required approval of three fourths of the states.

Mr. Eisenhower now reverts to that resource to operate the schools of Little

Rock. We have heard much of federal aid for schools. Little Rock now has it, muzzle end first.

Of all the possible ways to lift the dignity of Negro citizens of Arkansas in the eyes of the white citizens of Arkansas, this is probably the one least likely to make anybody respect anybody else.

It could easily result in the abolition of public schools altogether. Which consequence would then get around, presumably, to federal schools operated by political appointees out of Washington.

In 1868, subjects of the Fifth Military District met at Austin, Texas, in Constitutional Convention pursuant to command and requested the commanding general to authorize and approve an appropriation out of the Texas State Treasury to pay the per diem and expenses of the convention.

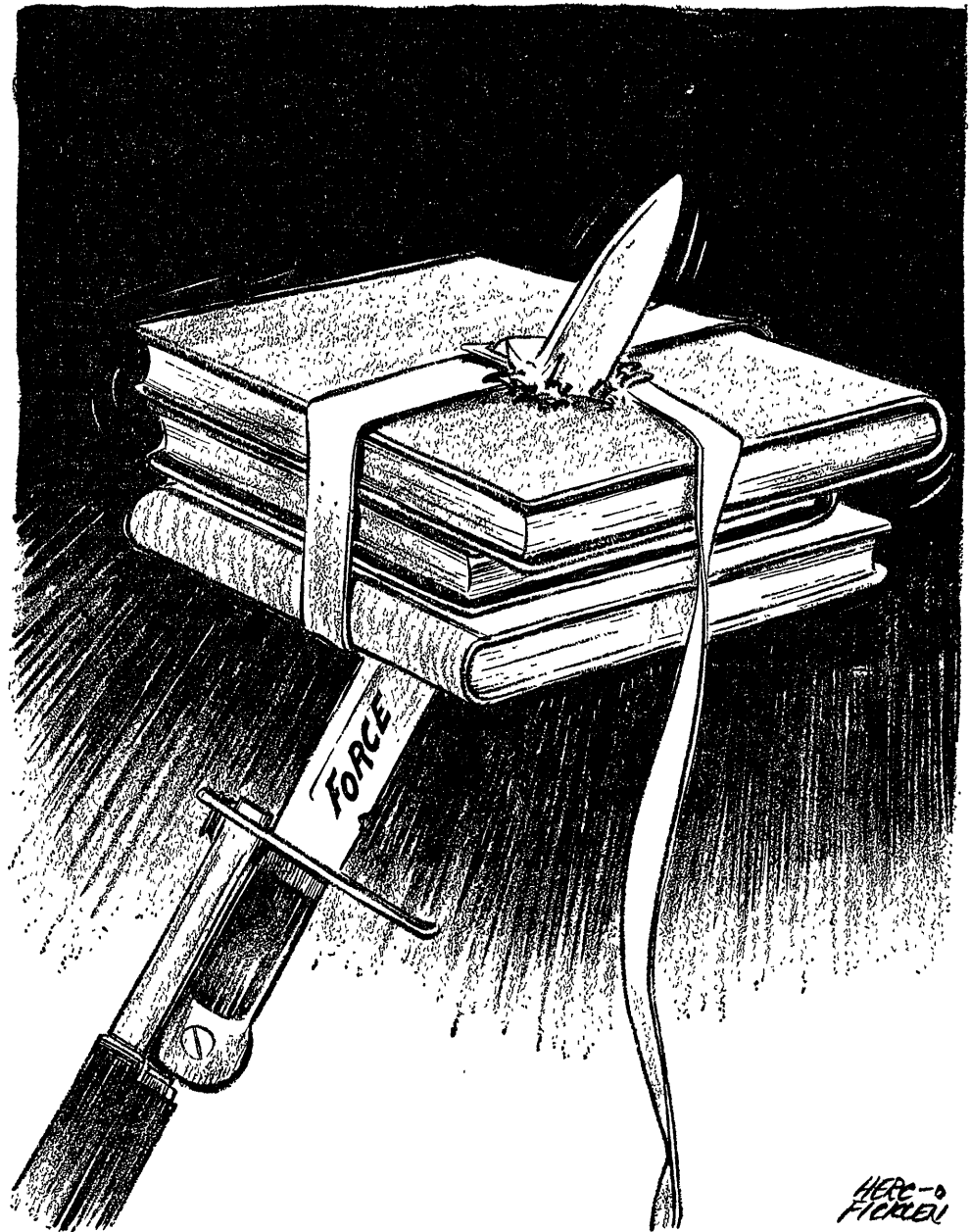
We are nearer to 1868 than we think.

canville Water District in an economy and efficiency move. It makes possible a 50c reduction in tax rates now paid to both water district and city.

steps are typical of progress in the country.

NEW TYPE 'FEDERAL AID'

By HERC FICKLEN
Dallas News Staff Cartoonist



LETTERS FROM READERS

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The Dallas Morning News

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 1957

Bayonets at Their Throats

CRIED a Little Rock housewife, as she saw paratrooper bayonets thrust at the throats of civilians: "How can they? How can they? Do they expect to keep soldiers here for nine months?"

It is the question which Gov. Price Daniel asks in his message of Tuesday to the President: "Does this mean you will occupy with troops every non-integrated school in the South?"

An unidentified Army officer on duty in Little Rock is credited with the soldier's answer: "Indefinitely. We stayed in Germany 15 years."

In Reconstruction I, United States troops stayed in Texas as the dominant force in government for about nine years. If the Eisenhower-Warren plan for Reconstruction II holds good, portions of Mississippi, Alabama and Georgia will have to be under military rule for a generation.

How long this sort of thing would be necessary in East Texas is something The News does not care to guess.

What New Dealers and Modern Republicans do not wish to see is that bayonets at the throats of Arkansas people is really an invasion of the homes of Arkansas by armed might.

The words of the title line of this editorial are not a flourish of editorial rhetoric. They are taken from the paratrooper sergeant's instruction to his platoon: "Keep 'em moving—bayonets to their throats."



WALKER

By the law and by the mores of the Southern people, white and black, it is conceded that the father and mother have a divine right and duty to care for their children and to choose their associates as nearly as may be. Neither the law of Texas nor the common conscience of the people assumes that this right is absolute in all circumstances or in all parents.

Parental neglect is subject to lawful action, even to the point of taking control and custody out of the home and lodging it elsewhere for the good of the child.

But it has never been supposed in Texas and it is not believed in Texas now that education by military occupation of the school premises is a good thing for white children, black children, red children, yellow or brown.

Nor is it reasonable to suppose that bayonets at the throats of anybody will promote good feeling between race and race.

Argument will go on as to whether Governor Faubus knew violence would happen. Well, it has happened. Argument shifts now to whether he encouraged and incited violence.

If integration is permitted in Dallas on a gradual and voluntary basis, The News believes that violence will be at a minimum and can be handled by local authorities. If Major Gen. Edwin A. Walker and his self-called "Batling Bastards of Bastogne" are flown in here, the bitterness thereby engendered will flare up all over Texas.

Texans don't like bayonets at their throats.

Jury, Labor Council Batter James Hoffa

The big International Brotherhood of Teamsters will take a momentous vote at its convention...

To Dallas

increasing economic
reflected in the \$100-
assed valuations—
job was added

'HOT' AIRBORNE TROOPS

By HERO FICKLEN
Dallas News Staff Cartoonist



LETTERS FROM READER

Oak Cliff Reports Are Commended

To The Dallas News:
It is unfortunate that readers of your paper often fail to extend

The News receives many more letters from readers than it can print. It regrets that it can not print all the shorter the letter its chances of public reserves the right unless request by the writer signed. Er your letter

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ill over town
**TEXAS FLAG
REPLACES IKE**
For two years a picture of
President Eisenhower has
adorned a wall in the lobby
of the Continental Emsco
Bldg at 1512 Commerce.
Thursday morning, two
days after Ike sent federal
troops into Little Rock, the
picture had been replaced—
by the State Flag of Texas.



WEATHER
ther Weather

WEB

First National Bldg.,
Dallas, Tex.,
Oct. 8, 1957.

Dear Max:

I want to express in my own hand my deep appreciation for the opportunity to express to the President my views on the troop question. Although my attempt to persuade against their use, failed, you gave me the chance to do what I could to prevent it.

With kind regards,
Wm. L. Brown

G.F.

*126-1-1
100-1-10
C. K. ...*

September 26, 1957

RECEIVED
SEP - 1 1957
CENTRAL FILES

Dear Bill:

I hope I did not seem too abrupt on the telephone, but as you can imagine, we were working at break-neck speed when you called. Your argument was a very important one, and I want you to know that I did get it over to the President. I hope all works out well, and I do appreciate the fact that you saw your way clear to giving me your frank and honest opinion, which I very much respect. This is a difficult situation that we are presently involved in and it requires the balancing of many vital considerations.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

Maxwell M. Rabb

Maxwell M. Rabb
Secretary to the Cabinet

William Burrow, Esq.
First National Bank Building
Dallas 2, Texas

MMR/ccm

WA251 DL PD

1957 SEP 24 PM 4 40

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HON MAX RABB

THE WHITE HOUSE

NOTHING COULD BE WORSE FOR AMERICA THAN THE ACTUAL USE
OF FEDERAL TROOPS IN ARKANSAS. WHY UNNECESSARILY REOPEN
THE CIVIL WAR FOR ALL THE WORLD TO SEE AND DIVIDE THE
COUNTRY IN THE MIDST OF THE COLD WAR? WHY CEMENT FOR
ANOTHER HUNDRED YEARS THE SOUTH POLITICALLY AGAINST
THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AS THE LIVING SYMBOL AND AGENT

OF A CONQUEROR'S REOCCUPATION? WHY BRING UPON THE
SOUTHERN NEGRO, HOPELESSLY IN THE MINORITY THE
VIOLENCE, OPPRESSION AND WRONGS INEVITABLY TO
ACCOMPANY AND FOLLOW ANOTHER ATTEMPT TO FORCE THE
SOUTH TO OBEY THE NORTH'S WILL? NO SUCH CONSTITUTIONAL
CRISIS EXISTS, EXCEPT IN EXTREMISTS' MINDS, TO
JUSTIFY SUCH EXTREME METHODS. NATIONAL UNITY, DOMESTIC
POLITICAL AFFAIRS AND THE NEGRO PEOPLE DESERVE A
BETTER WAY. THE NORTHERN JUDGE SHOULD BE GOT OUT OF
ARKANSAS. THIS STAR CHAMBER STRANGER INCITES VIOLENCE

AND HATE, AS IN KING JAMES TIME THE LAW SHOULD TAKE ITS
REGULAR COURSE. THE ARKANSAS GUILTY WILL CERTAINLY BE
PUNISHED BY LAW, AND IN THE END I AM CONFIDENT THE
COMMON LAW WILL PROPERLY PRESCRIBE AND ENFORCE THAT
BOTH NEGRO AND WHITE WILL BE FREE TO GO, OR REFRAIN
FROM GOING TO SCHOOL WITH WHOM THEY PLEASE. NOTHING
ELSE IS FREEDOM FOR ALL, OR MORAL OR RIGHT. THERE IS
NO REASON TO FEAR THAT OUR COMMON LAW WILL NOT BE
ENFORCED AND OBEYED, AS IT HAS BEEN SO FAR SEVEN HUNDRED
YEARS.

AND YOU, SIR, WITH ALL THE HONORS AND SATISFACTIONS
OF YOUR LIFE, NEED NOT NOW DRAW DOWN ON YOUR PERSON THE
UNDYING HATE OF FIFTY MILLION PEOPLE AS DID THE TRYANT
THADDEUS STEVENS.

AND THE POLITICIANS MAY BE TOLD THAT A TEMPORARY
PART OF NEGRO VOTE OF TEN PER CENT NATIONALLY, IS NOT
WORTH SO MUCH AS A CONSTANT OPPOSITION OF 128 ELECTORAL
VOTES. THESE POLITICIANS WOULD GIVE UP ALL FOR WHICH WE
HERE HAVE WORKED, FOR A SWING MESS OF POTTAGE.

I URGE YOU TO BE THE FRIEND AND NOT BE MADE THE

ENEMY OF THE SOUTHERN PEOPLE.

IF YOU MUST USE TROOPS DESPITE THIS PETITION, I
URGE THAT ONLY TEXAS AND ARKANSAS NATIONAL GUARD BE
DEPLOYED. KIND REGARDS. SINCERELY

COLONEL WILLIAM BURROW OF DALLAS.

C.F.

124-A-1

Ch. 106. int. 10. 10

RECEIVED
MAR 13 1958

March 13, 1958

Dear Senator Dilworth:

I have for acknowledgment your letter of the third. In accordance with the request you make, there is enclosed a copy of President's proclamation of September 23, 1957 relating to the obstruction of justice in the State of Arkansas.

With kind regards,

Sincerely,

SHERMAN ADAMS

The Honorable Nelson S. Dilworth
State Capitol
Sacramento 14
California

* 67-123-1000

Enclosure - Proclamation # 3204

fma/clw

Senate
California Legislature

SACRAMENTO, CALIFORNIA

March 3, 1958

THE WHITE HOUSE

MAR 7 9 17 AM '58

RECEIVED

3-13-58
2:22

Executive Offices of the President
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sirs:

Please send me a copy of the President's
Proclamation issued at the time that troops
were ordered to Little Rock to protect the
civil rights of the students there.

Thanking you, I am

Respectfully,

Nelson Delworth

Member of the Senate

NSD:cf

G.F.

124-A

School

11. 11. 1958

A

March 19, 1958

Received his

RECEIVED
MAR 25 1958
CENTRAL FILES

Dear Ned: Almond

I have no good excuse for not answering your letter earlier except the typically bureaucratic and lame one -- "I've been busy". Knowing that you have been at least as busy, I don't bank on your sympathy when I say this Washington merry-go-round has been spinning so fast that all my personal correspondence has piled up and until now has been unattended for weeks.

But at least I have been able not only to reread your letter but also to read the rather lengthy enclosures regarding the Little Rock situation and the President's actions in that area. In addition, I have seen that the President is acquainted with your views. Incidentally, I don't know of anything to which he has given more attention than to this matter of integration which was dropped into his lap by the Supreme Court decision soon after his inauguration in 1953.

I note especially your comment that in your opinion, and in the opinion of a large number of citizens, the President is unaware of what many people think about the way his Administration is conducting the affairs of the nation. This is the kind of a point I wish we could talk over in person instead of tossing it around by letter because I think if we were chatting about it instead of writing about it we would both benefit from the exchange. The President is amazingly abreast of the thinking and views of people throughout the country. It is his desire to be as fully informed as possible on what our people are thinking, and you can rest assured that no effort is made to withhold anything from him, either favorable or adverse. As a matter of fact, he reads so extensively that the staff could not keep anything from him even if they tried.

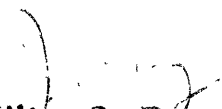
I feel certain that you know the President well enough that I can say this without your shooting me down: he is a person of intense integrity and devoted deeply to principle. He is acutely aware of

the fact that he is sworn by his oath as President to see that the laws are faithfully executed. He is just as profoundly convinced that decisions of the Supreme Court are part of the law of the land. His personal feelings with respect to either a law which is already on the statute books or a decision of the Supreme Court is wholly beside the point. The basic fact remains that he feels duty bound to execute the law; and if I am certain of anything in this situation, it is that he will keep on doing exactly that and holding just as tightly to that principle during his Administration. He made a decision on the basis of what he thought was his duty under his oath of office.

Alice and I warmly appreciate your and Margaret's thinking of us. When and if we get back down to Alabama in the foreseeable future, it is our happy and fond hope that we can have a real visit with you. Again, I am sorry to be so tardy in replying to your thoughtful letter.

With warm personal regards,

Sincerely yours,


Wilton B. Persons
The Deputy Assistant to the President

Lt. General Edward M. Almond, USA Retired
50 Sunset Drive
Anniston
Alabama

fh/lhb



The General John A. Forney Historical Society

ORGANIZED JANUARY 14, 1955 AT BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

HONORARY LIFE PRESIDENTS
MRS. CLARENCE WILLIAM DAUGETTE
MRS. MACON ABERNATHY STEVENSON

HONORARY LIFE CHAPLAIN
RT. REV. C. C. J. CARPENTER
Bishop of the Episcopal Church
Diocese of Alabama

PRESIDENT
EDWARD M. ALMOND
Lieut. Gen. U.S.A. (Ret.)
50 Sunset Drive
Anniston, Alabama

January 28, 1958

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MRS. W. W. WAKEFIELD
JACK BOOZER

Major General Wilton G. Persons
Assistant to The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Jerry:

I notice from a press clipping several days ago that The President, being touched by a letter from a little blind girl on the question of solving the integration question in which she is quoted as saying "Probably after they get to know each other there wouldn't be any more fights or anything like that."


The press release said that "Ike was so touched that he sent a personal letter to Miss Rowe." In view of the importance that The President seems to attach to the judgement of a nine year old child who is blind, I thought perhaps you might in some way induce him to read the inclosed letter that I wrote to Roy Larsen which is based upon a person's experience of sixty five years of age with his eyes open.

I do not mean to be facetious. I merely am of the opinion that The President might well read some of the things that mature people write as well as those of the type that he is reported to be so impressed by. As you know, one of the common reports, well founded or not, is that The President gets to see very little of what many people think about a number of things that are happening now and have happened during the present administration.

Of course, you understand my position on the integration question and I am confident that your position is similar to mine. Therefore, I am sending this letter of mine with the purest of motives thinking that perhaps you might do a good deed there so close to the President.

Margaret joins me in best personal wishes to Alice and yourself and the hope that sometime when you come South we will have the opportunity of seeing you.

Cordially yours,


Edward M. Almond
Lieut. Gen. USA (Ret)

EMA/jn

inc

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MEXICO
Samuel Fruit Simpson
Rosita, Coahuila



The General John H. Forney Historical Society

ORGANIZED JANUARY 14, 1955 AT BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA

HONORARY LIFE PRESIDENTS
MRS. CLARENCE WILLIAM DAUGETTE
MRS. MACON ABERNATHY STEVENSON

HONORARY LIFE CHAPLAIN
RT. REV. C. C. J. CARPENTER
Bishop of the Episcopal Church
Diocese of Alabama

PRESIDENT
EDWARD M. ALMOND
Lieut. Gen. U.S.A. (Ret.)
50 Sunset Drive
Anniston, Alabama

January 10, 1958

TRUSTEES
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MRS. W. C. CARSON
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MRS. BRUCE EVANS
MRS. W. W. WAKEFIELD
JACK BOOZER

To: The Membership of The General John H. Forney Historical Society

Since our Third Annual Meeting of the Society in Birmingham on 18 January 1957, the resolutions adopted and the directives issued there have been fulfilled to the degree attainable. These will be reported upon at our next annual meeting, to be held in Montgomery, Alabama early in the current year,--probably the latter part of February. Ample advance notice will be sent you and we look forward to your being present.

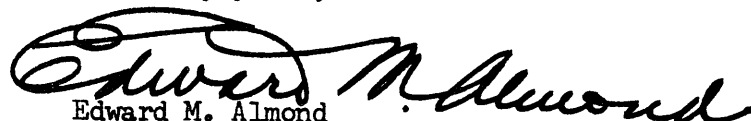
As proposed and approved at the last annual meeting your President has been active in furthering the purposes (historical, educational and cultural) for which our Society was organized. You are generally familiar with our historical efforts in the name of General Forney and definite efforts are continuing to establish him in The Hall of Fame of Alabama. Other historical efforts in his memory are being appropriately recorded and filed.

Cultural and educational efforts are also being pursued. I believe that these are a definite means towards the perpetuation of the name and fame of Major General John H. Forney, C. S. A. If the memory of his name and his accomplishments can inspire the necessary effort by our membership to defend the social integrity of our Southland, for which he fought and would now endorse, we indeed are meeting the responsibility of membership in our Society.

In furtherance of the foregoing there is inclosed herewith my individual effort to combat the atrocious attitude of the widely distributed periodical: LIFE MAGAZINE. I urge you to read it carefully and to do what you can, personally, to combat the attempts of many agencies and individuals in the Northern, Eastern and Western portions of our Nation,--and, unfortunately some in the South (who call themselves moderates), to destroy the integrity of our race.

With hearty good wishes for the New Year, I am

Sincerely yours,


Edward M. Almond

EMA/jn

inc

Editorial, LIFE Magazine, October 7, 1957

THE EAGLE AND THE ROCK
THE BAYONETS IN ARKANSAS AFFIRM OUR NATION'S BASIC FOUNDATION IN THE LAW

Law and order have returned to Little Rock. Every good citizen of that community, and every law-respecting citizen of the nation, breathes easier because of it.

The law is being executed there, not by the chief executive sworn to uphold it, Governor Orval Faubus, but by the President of the U.S. It is being enforced, not by the proper authorities of the sovereign state of Arkansas, but by the U. S. Army's 101st Airborne Division.

This is the division--with the famous screaming eagle shoulder patch--which occupied Hitler's Adlershorst at Berchtesgaden. Many Southerners were in it; many shared the exaltation at taking the citadel of the "superman" who believed that some people had a born right to rule, even destroy, other human beings.

It is irony, indeed, that the same screaming eagle that came to roost on Adlershorst has had to come to Little Rock, the capital of a sovereign state of the Union, in order to uphold the law of the Republic. History may find it fantastic that a grown man was willing to use state troops to keep nine children out of school. But the President of the United States is writing the new history which says, now and for all time, that such defiance will not be tolerated in a free nation that lives by law.

The President's decision to use federal troops came only two months after he had told his press conference he could not imagine "any set of circumstances that would ever induce me to send federal troops...into any area to enforce the orders of a federal court..." This measure of Ike's extreme reluctance to do what Faubus finally forced him to do is a measure also of Faubus' incredible folly in backing the President into such a corner, where there was no choice but to do the very thing that all southern leaders wanted least--enforce school integration with federal bayonets. Faubus now rants of "military occupation" in a city where his own needless use of force provoked the final showdown. But Faubus, who sowed a wind, has reaped a hurricane; seeking to prop the walls of segregation, he has made the roof fall in.

Regardless of the President's reluctance to act, there is not the slightest question of his right or his duty to do so. Certain opponents of the Supreme Court's 1954 desegregation decision---such as Columnist David Lawrence---have challenged the President's legal right, but they have spoken too hastily and with inadequate historical study of the President's powers.

Lawrence says that the President's proclamation was based on an 1871 Reconstruction statute whose constitutionality has never been tested in the courts. Actually, the President's right goes all the way back to a law of 1792 which President Washington used to put down the Whiskey Rebellion in Pennsylvania. The 1792 statute states that "whenever the laws of the U.S. shall be opposed or the execution thereof obstructed in any state by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings or by the power vested in the marshals," then the President, after first issuing a proclamation to "disperse and retire peaceably," may call forth the militia of the state involved. In 1807 this power was extended to cover the use of national troops for the same purpose. These powers of intervention, and later additions to them, are contained in the new U.S. Code as recodified in August 1956 by the 84th Congress. Most Presidents have had to use these powers at one time or another, whether against smuggling (Jefferson), slave uprisings (Jackson), strikes (Hayes and others), depredations by Coxey's Army (Cleveland), race riots (Wilson, F.D. Roosevelt), or other defiances of federal law.

Even so, critics like Lawrence retort, there is no "federal law" being violated in Arkansas because "there is no federal law forbidding segregation." This also is untrue. The 14th Amendment to the U. S. Constitution requires each state to provide "equal protection of the laws" to every citizen, and the U.S. Supreme Court in its 1954 decision held that such protection now forbids the forced exclusion of Negroes from white schools. Anyone who doubts that this is the law may be referred to a unanimous Supreme Court decision of 1894, which says that the "entire strength of the

nation may be used to enforce in any part of the land...the security of all rights entrusted by the Constitution to its care."

Indeed, where the President is open to criticism is not for exceeding his authority but rather, that in using it, he left room for doubt as to whether he himself believes in the law that he is enforcing. In his speech to the nation he remarked, "Our personal opinions about the (desegregation) decision have no bearing on the matter of enforcement," just as, on earlier occasions, he has stated that his own opinion "makes no difference." Such attitudes, though technically correct and politically prudent, have left room for inference that the President equates the 14th Amendment with the 18th (Prohibition), a disagreeable thing which has to be enforced even though it may be unwise.

It would have been the better part of leadership for the President to reflect the true situation, which is this: since the time of the 14th Amendment in 1868, the American Negro has so far advanced in economic status and in his expectations as a citizen that a living and progressive law, adjusting itself to changed realities, must now include desegregation as a part of this citizenship. People might violate the 18th Amendment without feeling guilty, but grown people who curse and spit upon children have a cause to feel guilty, violating, as they do, not only the 14th Amendment but Christ's commandment, "Love thy neighbor."

The President was quite right in casting his Little Rock message to the nation in a spirit of tolerance to the South, in appealing to that "overwhelming majority" who are "of good will (and) united in their efforts to preserve and respect the law even when they disagree with it." The South has a deep-rooted tradition of respect for law; its entire case as made by Calhoun and others, prior to the fatal civil clash, was based on an appeal to law.

Well, the law on Negro rights is clear enough and now the federal government's determination to enforce it is clear too. The President's action in Little Rock has set a pattern applicable to other mobs who employ, or officials who condone, violence against lawful integration. Although Little Rock has made the position of the southern moderates difficult enough, it has made that of the diehard obstructionists completely untenable. No responsible southern leader can want another Little Rock. It should therefore hasten responsible southern efforts toward moderate, orderly plans for desegregation. The white children of the South, no less than the black, need the kind of normal education which cannot be obtained in an atmosphere representative of the new South, that moderate and law-abiding South which can best direct the troubled currents of its own profound change.

LIFE
October 7, 1957
Editorial

C O P Y

50 Sunset Drive
Anniston, Alabama
October 14, 1957

Mr. Roy E. Larsen, President
TIME-LIFE Magazines
Rockefeller Plaza
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Larsen:

Since your editors, specifically Mr. Ralph D. Paine, Jr., are frequently quoted as saying that "the Editors of TIME and LIFE are quite aware that the South has a terrible problem" I think it proper to address the following observations of mine to you. You undoubtedly saw the editorial in question before publication.

I have read and reread LIFE'S editorial, issue of October 7, 1957, extolling the use of bayonets in Little Rock and I must pronounce it a masterpiece of a dishonest intellectual. How it is expected that intelligent Americans will accept such specious and half factual arguments is difficult to understand. My deep indignation requires a somewhat lengthy and specific refutation of the many sided theme of your long, laborious and partisan editorial.

A dishonest intellectual, in my opinion, is a brilliant advocate of half-truths who professes to speak the whole truth and so to influence, to his purposes, the casual reader who relies upon the writer for common honesty not only of motive but of fact.

Without going into the merits of Governor Faubus' actions in Arkansas, you assume that everyone in Little Rock approves of Federal violation of the Act of Posse Comitatus merely because an uneasy truce exists. You try to pose the allure of the famous Screaming Eagle of the 101st Airborne Division and cite its World War II occupation of Hitler's "Eagles Nest" as if that had anything to do with Little Rock. What the troops of the 101st Airborne Division had to do in Little Rock, under orders, will never be the brilliant tribute or "battle streamer" in its history that your editorial tries to picture it.

You say the President had "no choice" but to send troops into Little Rock. That is a complete falsehood,--his first choice was to insure that the Federal Marshal could deputize any number of individuals to enforce the Federal Court order as is commonly accepted procedure but your persuasive editorial would never mention such a course of action; it did not fit "his set of facts."

You take David Lawrence to task for contesting the Constitutional right of the President to act as he did, but you do not cite the refusal of at least five of the best Constitutional lawyers from various parts of the United States to clear the President in his action,--neither would that fit into your "set of facts."

Besides, nowhere is it clear that the Whiskey Rebellion in 1792 has anything to do with the Little Rock situation. You state: "whenever the laws of the United States shall be opposed...by combinations too powerful to be suppressed...by powers vested in the marshals..." but you neglect to state that The President never tried the use of "The Marshals and their deputies."

I cite you the opinion of Senator Willis A. Robertson of Virginia who bases his statements on facts drawn from a staff of legal experts who have examined all of the Federal Statutes on the Little Rock occupation. Senator Robertson says:

"I believe that the President of the United States was guilty of an ill-advised assault on the fundamental principles of the Constitution when, without any request from local or state authorities or their admission that they were unable to control a local situation, he ordered paratroopers into Little Rock, Arkansas."

Senators Russell, Byrd and even Senator Styles Bridges, a Republican, as well as many others, have registered this opposition to the Little Rock decision of the President. Mr. James J. Kilpatrick, a distinguished Editor and authority of note on the Constitution of the United States, has written extensively on the facts in this matter which your Editors would do well to take note of. The responsible leadership in the South does so and it might reveal some of the thinking that will eventually influence the outcome of this matter.

You state that David Lawrence is untruthful and cite the 14th Amendment to prove it but you do not tell the gentle and confiding reader that the 14th Amendment was never really ratified by the necessary number of states; that the Southern Legislatures were composed of Carpetbaggers who defied the inhabitants of the South under the protection of Federal bayonets. The 14th Amendment on a truthful analysis is itself unconstitutional, and the Supreme Court has repeatedly refused to rule on its constitutionality, but you cite it to prove your case, not because it is valid. Inclosure No. 1 attached hereto conclusively proves that even in the mind of Secretary of State William H. Seward, as shown in his Proclamation issued on 20 July 1868, the so-called passage of the 14th Amendment was only accomplished by the "newly established legislative bodies" of six states, -namely, Alabama, South Carolina, North Carolina, Louisiana, Florida and Arkansas. This is now so well known that I do not believe you and your associate editors will deny it. All people of intelligence understand that Congress ordered troops into these six states and that the military governors there disenfranchised the white voters and thereby secured ratification, of the just previously rejected (by the white populace), amendment by the puppet legislatures. But these facts did not fit in with your editorial views.

You even chide the President for not being sure that he is in favor of integration and for saying "Our personal opinions about the decision have no bearings on the matter of enforcement," which he continues to repeat and did so as late as October 12, 1957. You have never suspected that there are many others, mostly in the South but even some in the North, who have the revolting feeling at social integration by armed force. Where have you ever alluded to that older and higher law than even the Supreme Court can claim, -the law that parents have the right to protect their young from harm and degeneration, from immorality, disease and the lack of integrity so prevalent in the Negro?

You state "...The American Negro has so far advanced in economic status and in his expectations as a citizen that a living and progressive law...must now include desegregation." (What law? None has been passed to this effect by Congress.)

Who but the South has been responsible for this economic improvement in living conditions and in education? Where have you ever mentioned that Negro schools in many Southern localities are the newest and many times the most modern when compared with those for whites; what photograph have you ever published to show the near million dollar school in Little Rock that the "designated nine" Negroes left to go to Central High; to cite but one of many incidences, where have you ever mentioned that South Carolina, one of the poorest states, economically, in the Nation, has spent over 90 million dollars for Negro education, since 1951 and the contribution to this expenditure by the Negro has been less than 1%, while the Negro constitutes 40% of the state's population.

You applaud the Presidents' message to the Nation and his appeal to that overwhelming majority who are of good will and united in their efforts to preserve and to respect the law even when they disagree with it. Such a theme is analagous to: "Self-inviting oneself into a person's home and after insulting the host, then relying upon his innate social graces to prevent his kicking the offender out." Of course, the South, the foundation of courtesy, decency and straightforwardness has respect for the law; when it is the law but the Administration's action in Little Rock is not upholding the law-of-the land,-the President by his use of troops in Arkansas is enforcing an interpretation of a Constitutional Amendment by nine individuals; not one of whom had ever been permitted by his parents to go to a mixed school; not one of whom has ever permitted his children to go to a public school with Negroes and none of whom permits his children to attend private schools which in the recent months in the Washington area have been pressured to bow to the political demands for desegregation. The President's own grandchildren take no part in integrated school activities.

You may rest assured that the South will be very careful to comply with laws and to spend its own appropriated funds as it pleases,-that the Supreme Court cannot prevent.

You believe in your summary that: "the Law on Negro Rights is clear enough" and "Little Rock has set the pattern"; a pattern founded on a NAACP sponsorship, not one of whose officials have the foggiest idea of the racial antipathy of the Southern white for integration. The latest resume' of the Directors and Officers of this prime lobby of our Country is set forth in a special article by Wayne Phillips in the New York Times, issue of October 6, 1957.

You refer to the Southern Moderates; who are the Moderates? They can be defined as liberal intellectuals, mostly to be found engaged with the press, such as Ashmore of the Little Rock Gazette, some professors steeped in a philosophy tinged with a liberalism of the pink variety and some other individuals who either lack real knowledge of the Negro problem or have little regard for the ultimate effect resulting from infusing Negro blood in the White race of the Nation. If you do not think that this intermingling of blood streams is the inevitable result of your advocacy of integration, I refer you to what has happened in Puerto Rico and seems to be happening in New York City.

Where have you ever pointed out to your readers that the Supreme Court opinion on segregation ignores precedent opinion of 86 years standing and specifically bases its decision on the conclusions of a Swedish Sociologist by the name of Gunnar Myrdal? The speculations of this writer are in the realm of human behavior and were accepted by Chief Justice Earl Warren arbitrarily and out of hand without so much as giving attorneys in the case an opportunity to contest or refute the theories of this writer.

The South will not resort to force but the result of the Supreme Court's decision and sponsorship of it by advocates such as LIFE and TIME will certainly cause every Southern state from Virginia to Louisiana to intensify its resistance to compulsory integration by all lawful means. This attitude has already been declared in the "Southern Manifesto."

What device do you visualize by which the Federal Judiciary or the Executive can compel the Legislators of the South to appropriate money for integrated schools? How do you visualize a military force entering a school of forced integration and conducting the education of children?

Because the real leadership in the South is restrained in speech and action, never underestimate its potency, its intelligence and its sense of responsibility to its citizens, both white and black. This leadership is "not prepared" to mix the races in Southern schools.

This is the first time in the recorded history of modern democracy that a viril, intelligent majority of a race or creed misguided by dishonest intellectuals and unprincipled politicians has advocated its mass intermingling with a race totally differing in racial characteristics and the ultimate destruction of the superior race by infusion into its physical structure an inferiority of moral and mental qualities. Your editors might find the views of the philosopher Hegel, Inclosure No. 2 herewith, of interest in proof of the foregoing and also the views of Abraham Lincoln himself.

And, furthermore, who says the Negro race is the inferior race? I am not even among the first, but Abraham Lincoln is my historical authority. He said: "I will say, then, that I am not, nor ever have been in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races - that I am not, nor ever have been in favor of making Voters or Jurors of Negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, - nor to intermarry with white people, and I say in addition to this that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality, and inasmuch as they cannot so live, while they do remain together there must be the position of superior and inferior, and I, as much as any other man, am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race."

Have you ever cited the above statement of Lincoln in any Editorial in TIME or LIFE? You no doubt class that as "a voice from the past." Truth crushed to earth shall rise again is an old quote, Mr. Larsen, that you will live to see come to pass.

If the aim of your advocacy of mixing races were really honest you would choose the Japanese; the Japanese-American is not an improvement on the American pure white but he has virility, intelligence, energy and moral and physical cleanliness, as the Japanese-Americans proved to me when they served under my command in World War II in Italy; all of which the American Negro lacks in astounding proportions! How do I know this? I know it by association in civil life and in warfare pursuits over a long period and consider myself a true American. I have lived all over the World and have been intimately associated, in patriotic efforts both physical and mental, with Britishers, Canadians, Frenchmen, Filipinos, Chinese, Indians, Japanese, Koreans, Italians, Germans, Belgians, Russians, Dutchmen, Scandinavians, Brazilians, and many others. My son and my son-in-law were both killed in battle and I have myself been wounded in combat in defense of my Country's interests and concepts. I was born in the small town of Luray, Virginia, where I knew the Negro, as a boy, in a casual way; I knew him fairly well but it was only through a period of 30 years in the military service in World War II and later in Korea in the crucible of battle that I actually learned about his real characteristics. The average Negro inherently lags, is mentally dense, irresponsible, unreliable, untruthful, superstitious and unmoral. There are a few exceptions but they are rare and never in totality.

I wonder how much of the foregoing your intellectually dishonest editorial writers know? I wonder how many Northerners, who are supinely led down a course of race degeneration, know the true facts of what is happening to America? I know that the political leadership knows little of it and cares less! I know that the leadership of the NAACP in the case of every individual mentioned in the New York Times feature article, page 58, issue of October 6, 1957, knows nothing of it; particularly in the case of Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Senator Herbert Lehman and Walter Reuther. I have never read in LIFE in its past issues where it praised the South in any way for what it has done for the Negro. Its exclusive effort has been concerned with what has not been done,-that it has not clasped him to its social bosom! Where has LIFE ever shown what the Northern and Western areas have done for the Negro that was not merely for a political reason? What the South has done has been for advancement of the Negro race,-not for politics.

The South has shown an astounding attitude in trying to understand the Negro and to improve his lot, raise his standards in all concepts of human attributes and to improve his race. God made the White and Black races and the South has no intention of fusing the two. God made Bluebirds, Blackbirds and Robins and a few experimenters have tried to cross-breed these and other forms of animal life but the American politician and the dishonest intellectuals are the architects of the racial degeneracy which is proposed in the editorial in LIFE'S issue of October 7, 1957.

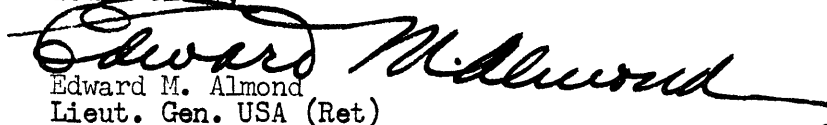
The Negro has made more progress in the last 100 years under Southern sponsorship, and paid for by Southern Whites, than the Negro race has made under any other sponsorship in the 6,000 years of the history of that race. And what has the North, who sold the Negro into slavery to the South where the climate suited him, done except to berate the South? Within the past three weeks I have ridden along the Ohio River Valley and in the areas of Pittsburgh and Detroit where Negroes live in segregated areas. I have never witnessed in the South such tragic conditions as I saw in Bridgeport, Ohio, and in Detroit, only one block East of swanky Woodward Avenue. Why do you not send your photographer to record these situations?

My answer is that you fail to do so for the same reason that you do not bear witness to the Negroes progress in the South! More of your intellectual dishonesty!

I have subscribed to both TIME and LIFE since the first issue of each was published. I used to enjoy them when they were vying for the favor of all subscribers. I used to rely upon their statements and photographs,-I do not do so anymore. I only glance at them now to determine what astounding misrepresentations and half-truths appear in each issue and I denounce them whenever and wherever I can for the harm they are doing to the United States of America.

I know that the foregoing will not change your bigotry. I only hope that it may cause you or some of your associates to stop and think of what you are actually accomplishing,-namely, the stimulation of hatred between the White and Black races that never existed before.

Yours truly,


Edward M. Almond
Lieut. Gen. USA (Ret)

EMA/jn

incs: 2

FULL TEXT OF PROCLAMATION OF SECRETARY OF STATE OF THE UNITED STATES,
WILLIAM H. SEWARD, July 20, 1868

"Whereas, by the second section of the Act of Congress, approved the twentieth of April, one thousand eight hundred and eighteen, entitled 'An act to provide for the publication of the laws of the United States and for other purposes.' it is made the duty of the Secretary of State forthwith to cause any amendment to the Constitution of the United States which has been adopted according to the provisions of the said Constitution, to be published in the newspapers authorized to promulgate the laws, with his certificate specifying the states by which the same may have been adopted, and that the same has become valid to all intents and purposes, as a part of the Constitution of the United States;

"And whereas neither the act just quoted from nor any other law, expressly or by conclusive implication, authorizes the secretary of state to determine and decide doubtful questions as to the authenticity of the organization of state legislatures or as to the power of any state legislature to recall a previous act or resolution of ratification of any amendment proposed to the Constitution;

"And whereas it appears from official documents on file in this department that the amendment to the Constitution of the United States proposed as aforesaid has been ratified by the legislatures of the states of Connecticut, Illinois, West Virginia, Kansas, Maine, Nevada, Missouri, Indiana, Minnesota, Rhode Island, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Massachusetts, Nebraska and Iowa;

"And whereas it further appears from documents on file in this department that the amendment to the Constitution of the United States proposed as aforesaid has also been ratified by newly constituted and newly established bodies avowing themselves to be and acting as the Legislature respectively of the states of Arkansas, Florida, North Carolina, Louisiana, South Carolina and Alabama;

"And whereas it further appears from official documents on file in this department that the legislatures of two of the states first above enumerated, to wit, Ohio and New Jersey, have since passed resolutions respectively withdrawing the consent of each of said states to the aforesaid amendment, and whereas it is deemed a matter of doubt and uncertainty whether such resolutions are not irregular, invalid and therefore ineffectual for withdrawing the consent of the said two states or of either of them, to the aforesaid amendment;

"And whereas, the whole number of states in the United States is thirty-seven, to wit: New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Vermont, Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Louisiana, Indiana, Mississippi, Illinois, Alabama, Maine, Missouri, Arkansas, Michigan, Florida, Texas, Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota, California, Oregon, Kansas, West Virginia, Nevada and Nebraska;

"And whereas the twenty-three states first hereinbefore named, whose Legislatures have ratified the said proposed amendment, and the six states next thereafter named as having ratified the said proposed amendment by newly constituted and established legislative bodies, together constitute three-fourths of the whole number of states in the United States;

"Now, therefore, be it known that I, William H. Seward, secretary of state of the United States, by virtue and in pursuance of the second section of the Act of Congress, approved the twentieth of April, eighteen hundred and eighteen, hereinbefore cited, do hereby certify that, if the resolutions of the Legislatures of Ohio and New Jersey ratifying the aforesaid amendment are to be deemed as remaining of full force and effect, notwithstanding the subsequent resolutions of the Legislatures of those states which purport to withdraw the consent of said states from such ratification, then the aforesaid amendment has been ratified in the manner hereinbefore mentioned and so has become valid to all intents and purposes as a part of the Constitution of the United States."

EXCERPTS FROM "THE PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY"
By Georg Wilhelm Freidrich Hegel

"The peculiarly African character is difficult to comprehend, for the very reason that, in reference to it, we must quite give up the principle which naturally accompanies all our ideas - the category of Universality. In Negro life the characteristic point in the fact that consciousness has not yet attained to the realization of any substantial objective existence - as, for example, God, or Law - in which the interest of man's volition is involved and in which he realizes his own being. This distinction between himself as an individual and the universality of his essential being, the African in the uniform, undeveloped oneness of his existence has not yet attained; so that the Knowledge of an absolute Being, an Other and a Higher than his individual self, is entirely wanting. The Negro, as already observed, exhibits the natural man in his completely wild and untamed state. We must lay aside all thought of reverence and morality - all that we call feeling - if we would rightly comprehend him; there is nothing harmonious with humanity to be found in this type of character. The copious and circumstantial accounts of Missionaries completely confirm this."

"But even Herodotus called the Negroes sorcerers: - now in Sorcery we have not the idea of a God, of a moral faith; it exhibits man as the highest power, regarding him as alone occupying a position of command over the power of Nature. We have here therefore nothing to do with a spiritual adoration of God, nor with an empire of Right. God thunders, but is not on that account recognized as God. For the soul of man, God must be more than a thunderer, whereas among the Negroes this is not the case. It is they who command the elements, and this they call 'magic'. The Kings have a class of ministers through whom they command elemental changes, and every place possesses such magicians, who perform special ceremonies, with all sorts of gesticulations, dances, uproar, and shouting, and in the midst of this confusion commence their incantations."

"From the various traits it is manifest that want of self-control distinguishes the character of the Negroes. This condition is capable of no development or culture, and as we see them at this day, such have they always been."

G.F.

Governor:

did you telephone call take
care of replying?

Mary

*Letter arranged down from
See -*

Mary ----

I understand the Governor has talked to Senator McClelland about this. Is the matter all taken care of -- or should we handle it in the normal manner?

bkn

JOHN L. MCCLELLAN, ARK., CHAIRMAN
HENRY M. JACKSON, WASH.
STUART SYMINGTON, MO
SAM J. ERVIN, JR., N. C.
HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, MINN.
STROM THURMOND, S. C.
WM. A. BLAKLEY, TEX.
JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY, WIS.
KARL E. MUNDT, S. DAK.
MARGARET CHASE SMITH, MAINE
THOS. E. MARTIN, IOWA
CARL T. CURTIS, NEBR.
CHAPMAN REVERCOMB, W. VA.
WALTER L. REYNOLDS, CHIEF CLERK

United States Senate
COMMITTEE ON
GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS

RECEIVED APR 20 1958
MAY 13 1958
CENTRAL FILE

JACK MARTIN

April 21, 1958

THE WHITE HOUSE

APR 22 9 17 AM '58

RECEIVED

The President of the United States
The White House
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

In conformance with my telephone conversation this morning with your Administrative Assistant, Mr. Jack I. Martin, I am enclosing copies of two telegrams which are typical of many that I have received within the last two or three days.

I think you will agree that the troops can and should be removed from Camp Robinson in time for the annual Boys and Girls State encampments to be held at the scheduled times.

In any event I will appreciate your giving the matter your prompt attention, and it will also be helpful if you will see that I am advised of the action taken.

Sincerely,


John L. McClellan

JLMc:rhc

Enclosures

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

1220
(R11-54)

The filing time shown in the date line of domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at

NSA125

(40)
1950 APR 18 PM 4 15

NS CJA012 LONG NL PD=CONWAY ARK 18=

SENATOR JOHN MCLELLAN=

SENATE OFFICE BLDG WASHDC=

ARKANSAS GIRLS STATE AND BOYS STATE WERE NOTIFIED
UNABLE TO HAVE OUR 17TH SESSIONS MAY 31 TO JUNE 14TH
AT CAMP ROBINSON SINCE FEDERAL TROOPS ARE BILLETED
THERE THERE ARE 1300 OUTSTANDING HIGH SCHOOL BOYS
AND GIRLS REGISTERED FOR THIS COMING SESSION
DATE AND PLACE SET FOR THESE SESSIONS SINCE JUNE 1947
PLEASE USE INFLUENCE HELP SECURE CAMP PLACE WHICH

HAS BEEN USED PAST ELEVEN YEARS WE HAVE NO OTHER
AVAILABLE PLACE BECAUSE SUMMER SCHOOLS ARE SCHEDULED
IN ALL COLLEGES SCHOOL PEOPLE AND OTHERS ARE VERY
MUCH DISTURBED ADVISE SOONEST=

CLAUDIA KUYKENDALL JOHNNIE MAY MACKAY
MRS JIM MERRITT GIRLS STATE COMMITTEE=

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

(17)

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
IT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination.

NSA173

NR LRA343 PD=LITTLE ROCK ARK 18 405PMC=

JOHN L. MCCLELLAN=

THE FEDERALIZED TROOPS ARE OCCUPYING THE HUTMENTS AND FACILITIES WHERE BOYS STATE HAS BEEN HELD THE PAST NINE YEARS. CENTRAL HIGH WILL BE DISMISSED MAY 28TH. WE ASK YOUR SUPPORT TO SEE WHAT CAN BE DONE IMMEDIATELY THAT THESE FACILITIES WILL BE AVAILABLE TO BOYS STATE BY BRINGING PRESSURE TO SEE THAT THE TROOPS ARE OUT AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE AFTER MAY 28TH. THANKS FOR YOUR COOPERATION=

**CLAUDE CARPENTER JR., DEPARTMENT COMMANDER,
DR. G. D. MURPHY JR., NATIONAL EXECUTIVE
COMMITTEEMAN=**

May 7, 1958

Respectfully referred to the officials of
the Department of the Army for appro-
priate handling.

HERMAN ADAMS

HERMAN ADAMS
The Assistant to the President

Letter to the President, Dated April 20th, 1958

From: Mrs. Raymond Pritchett,
Lepanto, Arkansas

Urges Pres. to remove federal troops from Little Rock by May 31st
enabling youth to use Camp Robinson for Boys State encampment.

mbh/McN

124
about
May 16, 1958

Dear Charles:

Your letter addressed to the President has been received.

The material for your ^xdebate on what happened at Little Rock should be secured from approved periodicals and magazines that have discussed the situation.

However, there should be no misunderstanding as to the reasons for the action taken by the President. The President had to make a decision between anarchy and constitutional authority. When the officials of the State were no longer able or were not interested in carrying out the decrees of a duly constituted court of the federal government, the President was duty-bound to see to it that the laws and the Constitution were upheld.

Sincerely,

E. Frederic Morrow

Charles Chiconas
Muskego High School
Muskego, Wisconsin

Enclosure: Text of DDE speech re troops Sept. 24, 1957

pk

5
1/16/58

Muskego High School 5/16/58
Muskego, Wisconsin
April 29, 1958

President of The United States
Dwight Eisenhower
Whitehouse
Washington D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

Our Sophomore English class is discussing the intugration issue and the problems which arose from it at Little Rock Arkansas.

We would appreciate it very much, if you could enlighten us on the subject, so that we may better understand the issues.

Sincerely yours,
Charles Chiconas

G.F.

Handwritten notes:
Silva
I

May 15, 1958

RECEIVED
MAY 17
GENERAL FILE

Dear Mrs. Ingram:

Your letter, addressed to the President, has been received.

I believe that the President's action in sending troops to Little Rock should be completely clear now to any American who knows the facts. The President had to make a decision between permitting anarchy to obtain or enforcing the decrees of the highest Court of the land, which enforcement is inherent in the oath he took when he became President of the United States.

I trust this will clarify the questions raised in your letter.

Sincerely,

E. Frederic Morrow

Mrs. E. B. Ingram
2315 Emerson Street
Palo Alto
California

Handwritten signature:
E. Frederic Morrow

pk

Clipped from the San Francisco Examiner, today, May 9, 1958

Little Rock Troops To Leave for Summer

WASHINGTON, May 8. — (AP) — President Eisenhower today ordered the withdrawal, at least for the summer recess, of all Federal troops stationed in Little Rock to enforce school integration.

About 400 are still on duty at the city's Central High School, the scene of violent outbreaks last September after nine Negroes entered the formerly all white school.

Eisenhower indicated that whether the troops will return will depend on whether State and local authorities support Federal court orders for integration.

WAIT AND SEE.

The President's press secretary, James C. Hagerty, was asked whether he could say troops would not be sent back. He refused to go beyond the President's statement, but added:

"I think it is quite clear where the responsibility lies. We will just have to wait and see."

Here is Eisenhower's statement:

"Since last September the Federal Government has stationed soldiers at the Little Rock High School to prevent obstruction of the orders of the United States district court.

"Since the summer recess starts at the Central High School on May 28 and since there will be no further present need for the guardsmen, I have directed they be released May 29.

"Following that date I trust that State and local officials and citizens will assume their full responsibility and duty for seeing that the orders of the Federal court are not obstructed.

MERELY AS FACT.

"The faithful execution of the responsibility will make it unnecessary for the Federal Government to preserve the integrity of our judicial processes."

At Little Rock, Governor Faubus commented that "State and local authorities

are charged with enforcement of State and local laws and ordinances" and not with enforcement of Federal laws and orders.

He told reporters he was saying this merely as a statement of fact, and did not consider it an invitation to Arkansas to disobey Federal laws or orders.

Faubus also said that the withdrawal, "if carried out," would mark "the end of a tragic occurrence." Later he said he expected the withdrawal to take place, but would not speculate on whether the troops will be sent back.

Last September the Governor stationed units of the Arkansas National Guard at Central High. He said his intention was to preserve law and order; the effect was to keep out the nine Negroes seeking to transfer there from a Negro school.

A short time later, under Federal court order, Faubus removed the guard. Violence broke out and the Negroes were removed from the classrooms. Eisenhower thereupon federalized the guardsmen, about 10,000 of them, and sent in 1,000 paratroopers from the regular Army.

As things quieted, the number on duty has been steadily diminished. The 400 remaining are all members of the National Guard.

5/12

MRS. E. B. (MARGARET JANE FOGLESONG) INGRAM
2315 EMERSON STREET
PALO ALTO, CALIFORNIA

May 9, 1958

The Honorable Dwight D. Eisenhower
President of the United States of America

My dear Mr. President:

The enclosed clipping, I believe, represents the wishful thinking of the State, and, maybe the section, still cowardly enough to insist that the white South be enslaved further to pull Old England's and New England's chestnuts out of the fire, in regard to the race question that has bedeviled America since Massachusetts enslaved the black in 1641. It will be remembered that Virginia gave the negras she bought in 1619 the status of white indentured servants.

I cannot believe, Sir, that you have any intention of sending troops to Little Rock come autumn, unless you are asked so to do by the Governor of the State. Not a Southerner, I memorized the Constitution before I was fifteen years old, for the want of anything else to read--in reconstructed North Missouri, during the first decade of the twentieth century. I am still glad that I was not insulted by unfit material as are our youngsters of today.

Governor Faubus insists that he called out the State guard to preserve the community from the effects of violence. What right have you, Sir, or any other person to continue to insist that the Governor is a liar, that he called out the troops to prevent desegregation?

For seven years I taught in high school, Marshall, Texas. For seventeen years, in training school and high, in the city of New York. Without bias, with the best of good wishes for the Negro, I know that he was respected in the South, and encouraged to develop his own personality, honestly and with sympathy and help from the whites. In New York desegregation was a sham. The Negro was spoiled, or used as a joke, without the slightest effort to accept him as an adult human being.

Furthermore, I know that the Negro child is, as a rule, rough, overbearing, and not to be endured by the parents of white children who have a right to insist that their own offspring be permitted to enjoy the law of the land. To enslave the whites of the South will not improve the Negro.

Building good houses for him, at the ratio of one to ten whites, in the suburbs of the Northern cities is the duty of the North. We have gone all out to rehabilitate Germany and Japan. Why not something for our own colored people--not at the expense of the already thrice-crucified South--cheated and lied about for a hundred years--but by the rich, powerful North, which used J. Q. Adams, Godly Massachusetts, and crazy John Brown as an excuse to goad the South to secession in self-defense, to the end that the North could rule and RUIN?

Little Rock is a National disgrace through no fault of the South. I, too, know South Dakota, where the Judge who gave orders to Little Rock called home. The learned Judge had probably seen twenty Negroes, close up in his whole life.

In conclusion, desegregation, unless it is voluntary, is not only contrary to the Constitution and the spirit of America. It will not work. There is nothing so low as a white person trying to make one of his own race face up to an obligation he is careful to see that he and his youngsters escape.

Frankly yours,
Margaret F. Ingram

G.F.

P.F.

July 19, 1958

Dear Mr. Cate:

The President has asked me to acknowledge and thank you for your letter of July eleventh concerning the recent decision in the Little Rock school integration case.

The Department of Justice is closely following all developments in the Little Rock school litigation. You may be assured that we will take any action that may be found necessary or desirable in the interest of the entire country.

With kind regards,

Sincerely,

Gerald D Morgan
Special Counsel to the President

Mr. William B. Cate
Executive Secretary
The Portland Council of Churches
917 S. W. Oak Street
Portland 5, Oregon

FHS

↓



THE PORTLAND COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

917 S. W. OAK STREET • PHONE CAPITOL 3-6101 • PORTLAND 5, OREGON

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Executive Secretary

JUL 13 9 00 AM '58

July 11, 1958

The Honorable Dwight D. Eisenhower
President of the United States
C/O Presidential Assistant
Mr. Sherman Adams
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

As the Executive Secretary of the Portland Council of Churches, I would personally like to state my objection to the recent decision of Federal Judge Harry J. Lemley in the Little Rock school integration case.

It is my hope that there will be an appeal filed and carried through in this particular case.

Sincerely yours,

William B. Cate
Executive Secretary

July 25, 1958

Handwritten notes:
C
12
G. Helstein
A. M. V.

Dear Mr. Helstein:

The President asked me to acknowledge and thank you for your letter of July eighteenth and the enclosure concerning the postponement of integration in Little Rock. Your interest and that of your organization is greatly appreciated.

With kind regards,

Sincerely,

Gerald L. Morgan
Special Counsel to the President

Mr. Ralph Helstein
President
United Packinghouse Workers
of America
AFL-CIO
608 South Dearborn Street
Chicago 5, Illinois

GDMARD

~~File~~
X

THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE

ROUTE SLIP

(To Remain With Correspondence)

RECEIVED
JUL 25 1958
GENERAL FILES

TO Mr. Morgan

PROMPT HANDLING IS ESSENTIAL.
WHEN DRAFT REPLY IS REQUESTED
THE BASIC CORRESPONDENCE MUST
BE RETURNED. IF ANY DELAY IN
SUBMISSION OF DRAFT REPLY IS
ENCOUNTERED, PLEASE TELEPHONE
OFFICE OF THE STAFF SECRETARY.

Date July 24, 1958

FROM THE STAFF SECRETARY

- ACTION:**
- Comment _____
 - Draft reply _____
 - For direct reply _____
 - For your information _____
 - For necessary action _____
 - For appropriate handling _____
 - See below _____

Remarks:

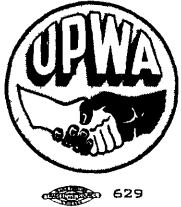
GPO 16-71204-1

Ltr of 7/18/58 to the P from Ralph Helstein, By direction of the President:
Pres., United Packinghouse Workers of America,
AFL-CIO, 608 S. Dearborn St., Chicago 5, Ill.;
encl statement urging the P to direct the A.G. to
join with the NAACP in appealing Judge Lemley's
decision re integration in Little Rock schools.

A. J. GOODPASTER
Staff Secretary

[Signature]

elb



UNITED PACKINGHOUSE WORKERS OF AMERICA
AFL - CIO

Handwritten initials
THE WHITE HOUSE
JUL 24 9 22 AM '58
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1800 TRANSPORTATION BLDG
608 SOUTH DEARBORN STREET
CHICAGO 5, ILLINOIS
TELEPHONE WEbster 9 5343

July 18, 1958

The Honorable Dwight D. Eisenhower
President of the United States of America
White House
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

May I respectfully submit for your consideration
the enclosed statement of the United Packinghouse Workers of
America with reference to the postponement of integration in
Little Rock.

It is our hope that you will see fit to give
this matter your continuing attention and to take whatever
action may be necessary to remedy this regrettable situation.

Respectfully yours,
Ralph Helstein
Ralph Helstein
President

RH/eh

Resolution by UFWA-AFL-CIO International Executive

Board on Little Rock School Integration

On September 25, 1957, the following telegram was sent to the
President of the United States:

"May I respectfully convey to you the support of the United Packinghouse Workers of America, AFL-CIO on your firm and decisive action and forthright statement to the Nation on the situation in Little Rock. We are certain that to the average American your step came as a relief to the conscience and will reaffirm conviction and confidence in the ability of a democratic society to function. The action of Governor Faubus in using troops to flout the law was an invitation to lawlessness, not only in Arkansas but all over the country.

"Realization that Faubus' act was taken in support of the indecent and undemocratic practice of segregation makes it all the more ugly. When violence can be used to maintain injustice, juveniles and adults, both, can assume that violence pays dividends. Violence that succeeds in perpetuating injustice breeds cynicism and corrupts all moral values.

"Surely, the decent people of the South realize that the horrible indignities and fears to which nine Negro children of Little Rock have been subjected, will mark them for the rest of their lives. Surely, they will also understand that at the same time a schoolhouse in Little Rock is being used to teach fear, hate, violence and prejudice to white children instead of the way to become socially useful human beings in a society of decency and justice.

"We share your hope that the people of the South will recognize the evil of segregation and respond to your action by making it clear to all demagogues that they require respect for the law from their political leaders."

This expressed the views of the United Packinghouse Workers of America at that time, and continues to reflect our views on the situation in Little Rock.

The recent action of Federal Judge Harry J. Lemley in sustaining a request for delay of integration in Central High School in Little Rock until February 1961, undermines the hard-won progress made to date in this field, and deals a serious and damaging injury to the fight for

equal rights for all Americans, and to decency in our country. The effect of this decision is to pay dividends to those who engage in violence as a method of depriving American citizens of their rights under the law. It pays dividends to violence as a means of achieving undemocratic ends and recommends its use to those who would flout the rights of citizens on any issue.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, by the International Executive Board of the United Packinghouse Workers of America that we join with the leadership of the national AFL-CIO in requesting the President of the United States to use all methods at his disposal and particularly to direct the Attorney General to join with the NAACP in appealing the ruling suspending school integration in Little Rock.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that we urge the President to utilize the authority and moral leadership of his office in supporting the cause of school integration.

RH/amc

July 18, 1958

July 29, 1958

Dear Mr. Klarer:

The President has asked me to acknowledge and thank you for your telegram of July twenty-fourth urging him to intervene in the Little Rock integration case. Your expression of interest is greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

Gerald D. Morgan
Special Counsel to the President

Mr. Max Klarer ✕
General Organizer
Retail General Local
of District 65
AFL-CIO
New York, New York

GDM/ard

CF

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G. Morgan
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RECEIVED
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
JUL 26 1958

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 26, 1958

*copy sent
in file
7-26-58*

Respectfully referred for the
attention of Mr. Morgan.


SHERMAN ADAMS
The Assistant to the President

Handwritten marks

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A

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1958 JUL 24 PM 8 29

NEW YORK NY JUL 24

THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE

600 MEMBERS OF THE RETAIL GENERAL LOCAL OF DISTRICT 65,
AFL-CIO STRONGLY URGE THAT YOU INTERVENE ON BEHALF OF
DEMOCRACY AT LITTLE ROCK. FEDERAL DISTRICT JUDGE HARRY
LEMLEY'S RECENT DECISION NULLIFIES THE ORDER OF THE
UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT AND MAKES A MOCKERY OF OUR
JUDICIAL PROCESS. THE EYES OF GREAT MASSES OF PEOPLE

THROUGHOUT THE WORLD ARE WATCHING AND WAITING FOR JUSTICE
TO PREVAIL IN THIS CASE. IT IS IMPERATIVE THAT YOU SPEAK
AND ACT IMMEDIATELY AS THE CHIEF EXECUTIVE OF OUR
GREAT COUNTRY SO THAT THE INNOCENT CHILDREN INVOLVED
WILL NOT BE DEPRIVED IN SEPTEMBER OF 1958 OF THEIR
INHERENT CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHT TO "LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE
PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS".

MAX KLARER GENERAL ORGANIZER RETAIL GENERAL LOCAL
DISTRICT 65 AFL-CIO.

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The White House
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1958 JUL 30 PM 3 34

THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE

WE, WHO VOTED TO UPHOLD LAW AND ORDER IN LITTLE ROCK, CREDIT YOU WITH TRIGGERING THE MOTIONS THAT WERE SHAPED INTO GENERAL SUPPORT OF VIOLENT DEFIANCE OF THE LAW

MR AND MRS MALAKOFF AND MR AND MRS GRAY LITTLE ROCK ARK.

Handwritten note:
in file 8-8-58

G.F.

RECEIVED
JUL 29 1958
CENTRAL FILES

July 25, 1958

Dear Mr. Senser:

I appreciate your interest in
making available to me copy
of the current issue of WORK.

Sincerely yours,

ERMAN ADAMS

Mr. Robert Senser
Editor
WORK
21 West Superior Street
Chicago 10, Illinois

MB/arf

WORK

Published by the Catholic Council on Working Life

21 W. SUPERIOR ST. CHICAGO 10 ILLINOIS BENEFIT 2-0143

JUL 24 9 14 AM '58
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July 22, 1958

Mr. Sherman Adams
The Assistant to the President
White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Adams:

I thought you would be interested in
the article in the current issue of WORK
which deals with Mr. Eisenhower and the
school segregation issue.

Sincerely,



Bob Senser
Editor

see p. 6

Man From Singapore Forsakes Cocktails For Slums

Chicago — Why is a man anxious to travel more than 10,000 miles from Singapore to visit the United States?

Lim Cher Kheng, who left his wife and five daughters to spend 60 days in this country, has a special reason for coming here.



Lim Cher Kheng — he told a WORK reporter that he likes us and is impatient with American policies abroad which damage U.S. prestige — policies which he hopes will change if he and other friendly visitors speak out frankly.

Kheng, though 33, is an "elder statesman" in his country. He is no low-bowing, smooth-talking visitor.

"In Singapore," Kheng says, "we have distorted ideas about Americans. We get them from Hollywood. We imagine Americans as people who light cigars with \$5 bills; America as full of corruption.

Nix On Elvis

"We're grateful for your food, for your material aid, and your technical help. But the ideas of you that we get from your movies and some of your radiocasts — those we don't want.

"The common people of East Asia need to have Americans come and visit, spend time with us. This would let my people know what Americans are really like. The diplomats and other people you send to our countries consort only with 'big shots,' the ruling classes — too often with corruptionists and dictators.

"Send us serious students on Fulbright fellowships. Send us your symphonies, your paintings, your artists. But don't send us Elvis Presley or your Zsa Zsa Gabor glamor girls. If they represent American culture — and I'm afraid they do — we don't want your American culture."

Right To Disagree

Next to Hollywood Americana, Kheng was saddened by the steady decline in U.S. prestige in his part of the world. (Singapore is on the southern tip of the Malaya peninsula and the gateway to East Asia.)

He puts the blame on what
(Continued on Page Four)

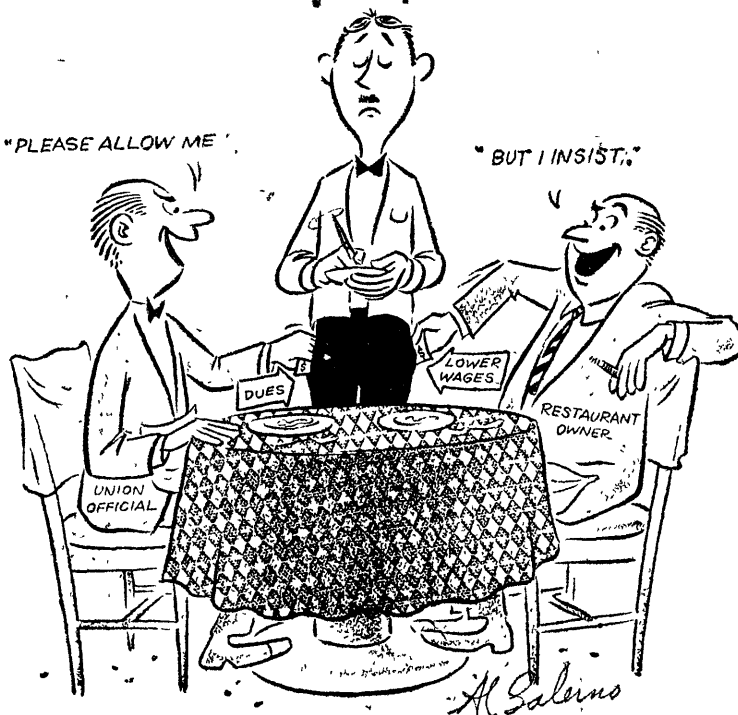
AUGUST
1958
TEN CENTS

WORK

A PAPER FOR ALL WHO WORK
FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE
FOR FREEDOM
FOR PEACE IN OUR DAY

PUBLISHED BY The Catholic Council on Working Life

Fellow Pickpockets



Self-Service In Chicago Restaurants

Too Many Crooks Spoiled The Broth

By THE EDITORS

TO FEED the hungry is a work of mercy. The dinner table where men break bread with one another, has always been a sign of love and friendship. In thanking God for the food before them and in asking Him to bless those who prepare and serve it, men have recognized how the family dinner, the festive banquet, and even the Sunday picnic satisfy their deep hunger for human solidarity.

With this in mind, how can any one not be revolted by the Senate racket committee's disclosures in Chicago, where restaurants have indulged the worst of man's appetites for greed, money, and human exploitation?

Bus boys, waitresses, cooks,

bartenders, and dishwashers had their pockets picked by union officials and restaurant owners who connived to cheat them of decent wages, hours, and working conditions. Union "leaders" got dues. Restaurants saved money on cheaply-paid labor.

Equal Blame?

Robert F. Kennedy, chief counsel for the Senate rackets committee, told the Chicago Restaurant Association that "your moral position is no better than the union's."

We don't completely agree. Labor relations is a sideline in a restaurant, but it is the union's whole being. So if a union fails to negotiate good contracts, it is nothing but a racket foisted on employe and employer. While only three out of 11 Chicago area restaurant unions were accused of racketeering, that was three too many.

The Senate committee spotlighted a jungle in restaurant labor relations. Illinois has no state or city law to give employes a legal means of obtaining union recognition. The National Labor Relations Board has stubbornly refused to extend the protection of the federal law to restaurant employes and employees.

Is anybody surprised that the underworld moved into the unions, into the restaurant
(Continued on Back Page)

Study Shows No Party Line

Who Truly Speaks For U.S. Business?

Chicago—How well do the National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce reflect the views of businessmen on labor-management issues?

A survey made here at Loyola University hints that these two organizations may be out of step with many employers.

At the present time the NAM and the Chamber of Commerce are waging a vigorous fight:

- (1) For a national right-to-work law;
- (2) Against Senator Paul Douglas' bill to supervise all pension and welfare funds;
- (3) Against the Kennedy-Ives labor reform bill which is now before the House of Representatives.

They Disagree

But the management men polled in the Loyola survey, all members of the Industrial Relations Research Association, took a contrary position:

- 51 per cent of those voting on the question were against a national right-to-work law.

- 85 per cent were for the Douglas bill to regulate pension funds.
- The overwhelming majority were in favor of these key provisions of the Kennedy-Ives bill: regulation of organizational picketing; penalties for bribing employes to discourage union organization, regulation of union elections, publication of union treasury reports.

(However 56 per cent of management voting were against the Kennedy-Ives provision regulating labor consultants.)

A Loyola Survey

The survey, made in March, was conducted by Dr. Julius Rezler and Gerald Caraher and published last month by the Institute of Social and Industrial Relations of Loyola University.

Rezler and Caraher sent a questionnaire to 617 members of the 1900-member Industrial Relations Research Association, a national organization with headquarters in Madison, Wis. Its members are "labor

experts" from universities, industry, unions, and government.

The industry members are generally top executives in charge of employe relations, including personnel directors and labor relations men. 124 industry members replied to the questionnaire.

See Eye-To-Eye

The opinions expressed by other members of the Association who were polled (from government, universities, unions, etc.) were basically the same as those of the industry members on the above issues. The only exception was the congressional regulation of labor consultants, which the majority of non-industry members approved.

Too Few Have Real Stake In Property, Priest Says

Columbus, Ohio—Ownership of productive property—like a farm or a factory—should not be the privilege for only a few.

So said Father James L. Vizzard, S.J., vice president of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference, in a talk before the American Life Assn. here last month.

"The lesson of history and of the troubled world today is clear," he said. "It demonstrates that men who own their own property have a greater stake in freedom and political responsibility than have the propertyless workers."

"Democracy requires that the citizen have a personal stake in the material resources as well as the political ideals of his country," the Jesuit priest said.

"In time of crisis—and who

can guarantee that this country is immune to crises?—the owner of real property has something to fall back on, to fight for, to defend.

"Just where would a General Motors or an American Telephone and Telegraph stockholder take his stand? Before a GM sales room or a telephone pole? Or what piece of his employer's property would the landless worker give his life or his vote to defend?" he asked.

Father Vizzard asserted that "opportunities for direct ownership of productive property are being sharply limited in this country." He said that "increasingly our economy is being characterized and dominated by large-scale industry and agriculture."

Fr. Keller At Labor Day Mass

Chicago—Some 1,500 people will begin Labor Day here by stopping at Holy Name Cathedral before heading for the beaches and picnic grounds.

There they will take part in the 15th annual Labor Day Mass. The Mass is arranged for annually by the Catholic Council on Working Life.

Father James Keller, M.M., of New York City, founder and director of The Christophers, will preach the sermon.

Father Keller is the author of the best seller, "You Can Change The World," and such books as "Government Is Your

Business" and "Careers That Change Your World."

The Christophers is a national movement founded in 1945 to get "little" people to do "big" things in vital fields, particularly those of government, education, labor-management, writing, social service, and library work.

The Mass will be offered at 10 a.m. in Holy Name Cathedral, Monday, September 1.

A committee of 100 prominent Chicagoans representing unions, industry and government is making arrangements for the Mass. The committee invites everyone to take part.



JAMES KELLER, M.M.

WORK

Published monthly by the CATHOLIC COUNCIL ON WORKING LIFE, an organization working for social reform based on the principles of *The Condition of Labor* by Pope Leo XIII and *Reconstructing the Social Order* by Pope Pius XI. The Council is open to all men of good will, Catholics, Protestants, and Jews.

Editor: BOB SENSER, Associate Editor and Promotion Director. ED MARCINIAK.

Contributing Editors: RICHARD DEVERALL, BRUCE RATTENBURY, ROBERT OLMSHEAD. Editorial Assistants: MARY LOU CREIGHTON, RUTH HALEY, VIRGINIA MARCINIAK.

Circulation Manager: ROBERT MCKAY. Assistants: ALBIN GRIGARTIS, HARRY GOOSSENS, LILLIAN LESAK, JEAN WEIDNER.

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Vol. XVI — No. 1-2 — 452 August, 1958

Charity rejoices with the Truth—St. Paul

is not the enemy of business, but often comes to its rescue as an indispensable ally.

• When businessmen have a problem they can not control by themselves, they do not hesitate to ask the government for aid.

Slighting St. Joseph

ON MAY 1 three years ago Pope Pius XII told a cheering crowd of Italian workers: "We are happy to announce to you the liturgical feast of St. Joseph the Workman, assigning to it the first day of May."

For nearly 100 years the first day of May had been widely observed not only as a communist festival but as a labor holiday. May Day is a symbol of freedom, hope, and justice for millions of workingmen in Europe, Africa, and Asia. So the Pope "baptized" May Day for them.

"Acclaimed in this way by Christian workers and having received, as it were, Christian baptism, the first of May, far from being a stimulus for discord, hate, and violence, is and will be a recurring invitation to modern society to accomplish that which is still lacking for social peace," said Pius XII.

In the United States and Canada, however, the comparable holiday is celebrated on the first Monday of September, Labor Day, not May 1. So, recognizing this fact, American bishops asked—and received—permission to celebrate the Feast of St. Joseph the Workman on Labor Day.

But during the past three years several Catholic groups and publications have insisted on spotlighting May Day as the time to celebrate the Feast of St. Joseph. This is the surest way to relegate St. Joseph the Workman to the limbo of neglected saints.

May Day is not a holiday in the United States and Canada, and so unless it happens to fall on a weekend very few workers are able to celebrate the occasion.

It is possible to change the course of history, of course. It would require lobbying in Washington and state legislatures to alter the official labor holiday. It would require a public relations campaign to persuade employers and unions to switch their holiday observance from September to May.

Nobody seriously advocates such a revolutionary change—the only one which would justify making a big feast of May Day.

The widespread celebration of the new Feast will bring the workingman closer to Christ. The natural occasion in our part of the world is Labor Day, not May Day. That is the time to invite "modern society to accomplish that which is still lacking for social peace." Dare we blunt this invitation by mixing up our dates?

Zero Horsepower

"Social comment not supported by social action is like having a cart without a horse pulling it—you're not going anywhere."—James P. Mitchell, U. S. secretary of labor.

LABOR DAY MISSAL

Mass of
Saint Joseph,
the
workman



FOR LABOR DAY, the Catholic Council on Working Life has published a special missal with the Mass of St. Joseph the Workman. The cover of the missal is reproduced above. For more on the missal and on the Labor Day Mass, see story below and editorial, "Slighting St. Joseph," at the left.

Here's A Leaflet Missal You Can Use At Labor Day Mass

Chicago — A leaflet missal containing the Mass of St. Joseph the Workman — designed especially for use at Labor Day Masses — is published by the Catholic Council on Working Life.

The illustrated missal is 5x7 inches, set in large, easy-to-read type and illustrated with drawings of men and women at work in a variety of occupations and professions.

The Council is publishing the missals to take advantage

of the permission given to U.S. and Canadian bishops to celebrate the Mass of St. Joseph the Workman on Labor Day in their dioceses.

In 1957 more than 500 special Labor Day Masses were celebrated in various cities around the United States and Canada.

Monsignor Daniel M. Cantwell, chaplain of the Council, says: "A special Mass on Labor Day, with an appropriate (Continued on Page Three)

Why We're Late

YOU MAY have noticed that it's been a long time between issues of WORK. In fact, about eight weeks passed by, so long a period that we had to call this the August issue. Skipping the July number will not affect the term of subscriptions, since the circulation department will simply extend them a month.

We regret this WORK-less interlude, longest in the paper's 15-year history. A back injury put the editor out of commission for a month.

The Meat Of It

SOME food producers in California were chiseling. Although the label on their prepackaged food said "chicken pot pie," the actual dish had scarcely a whiff of chicken in it.

Honest businessmen in the prepackaged food business found themselves at a disadvantage. Should they water down the chicken in their own dishes? But, apart from the ethics of it, such an action would do further harm to sales, already lagging because the word among many shoppers was that the only chicken in chicken pot pie was a vague barnyard aroma.

Fortunately California has a law forbidding false labeling of food. So a group of businessmen put the question to the state: How much chicken must go into a chicken pot pie to make it worthy of the name?

Last month the California department of agriculture gave its answer: an eight-ounce package must contain at least one and one-eighth ounces of cooked, boned chicken meat, exclusive of skin, giblets, fat, and bone splinters.

California newspapers wrote chuckling features about the chicken pot pie episode, but missed these two serious points:

• Contrary to some old slogans, government

—His Mission: To Persuade Lay People That They ARE The Church—

The Quality Of Cardinal Stritch's Greatness

By DANIEL M. CANTWELL

THE LAST public meeting that Cardinal Stritch attended was, as far as I know, a small dinner with members of the Catholic Council on Working Life three days before he left for Rome. This more than anything else points up what, I believe, is the unique greatness of the man whom God has taken home.

Since his death I have read news stories saying that he was known as the Cardinal of charity. Personally I never heard that title used of him. I don't doubt that it might have been—and with justification. I know that he gave away whatever was given to him—and that he stored up nothing for himself.

But the word "charity" has a peculiar sound. Applied to him it doesn't fit. It ought to mean love—but it usually doesn't. Or—at best—it means love expressing itself in welfare and benevolence.

A Visit At A Busy Time

This is not the kind of love or charity for which Cardinal Stritch deserves to be remembered. He ought to be remembered for the kind of charity and love expressed in coming to our dinner meeting. He came despite the fact that he had cancelled many appointments those final busy weeks, and despite the exhaustion that was even then showing on him.

Why, then, did he come? From many conversa-

Msr. Daniel M. Cantwell is chaplain of the Catholic Council on Working Life in Chicago.

tions with him over the years, I know he came because he had made it his mission to convince the laity that they do not merely belong to the Church, but that they are the Church. That as he periodically ordained and commissioned priests to do their indispensable work in the Church—as indeed he did early the morning of our dinner—so he ordained and commissioned lay men and women to a work unique in its own way, and equally indispensable.

He approached the laity, not as one dispensing welfare—even if supernatural welfare through the sacraments—but as one seeking co-laborers. "I need you," he would say, "I depend upon you." And he meant it.

Eye On Both Worlds

To him the work of the Church was not confined to the sacristy or sanctuary—nor was it concerned only with eternity. The work of the Church also embraced the universal welfare and progress of temporal society.

Cardinal Stritch always made clear what the Church's goal was within society. It was related to human dignity and human rights, to social justice and social peace. No one ever spoke more frequently or more eloquently of human rights than he did.

He was at pains to make clear that the Church is concerned about labor unions, housing conferences, interracial councils, and world organization in order to promote and preserve human rights and the general welfare, and not to enhance her institu-

tional power, or to promote her sons and daughters to positions of power.

Indeed, he made clear that their duty, when in power, was to the common good of society. To promote the common good is to do the work of the Church—and to give glory to God who in making us made us members of human society.

Laity Not Only 'Assistants'

He was, then, the Cardinal of charity, but of that magnanimous spirit which aimed at helping people find themselves, their grandeur, their true potentialities, their true place in the life of the Church and of human society. Under him the laity found their dignity recognized—and their minds and energies challenged.

He called upon them not just to assist himself and his priests, but he gave himself and his priests to assisting them. Nowhere else in the United States have so many lay men and women organized themselves to bring the ennobling, sanctifying, and genuinely humanizing spirit of Christ to human affairs as in Chicago. And nowhere else have so many priests been allowed and encouraged to act as assistants to the laity in their work for Christ within the conditions and traditions of the U. S.

It would not honor Cardinal Stritch to pretend that anything more than a beginning has been made. Many Protestants and Jews still think that the Church is interested only in herself, her own power; that she aims at intellectual and cultural regimenta-

(Continued on Page Three)

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

Times Haven't Changed

They Think They'll Talk Nation Out Of Inflation

By **PATRICK MALONE**

BACK in the 1930's many prominent Americans hoped to whip the Great Depression with the slogan "Prosperity is around the corner."

In fighting the present depression a new generation of Americans is relying on another phrase, "You Auto Buy Now."

Our experience in the 1930's should have convinced us that the finest slogan, no more than a four leaf clover or a rabbit's foot, will not stamp out the depression or, equally important, curb the danger of inflation.

Yet the federal government has refused to exert initiative and leadership in attacking the wage-price spiral. President Eisenhower and his cabinet have been rejecting, as fast as they arrive, proposals to take coordinated action against the upward surge of prices and wages.

Latest Turndown

Last month one of the nation's top businessmen revealed that he too had gotten a "polite brushoff" from the Eisenhower administration. W. L. Little, chairman of the Bucyrus-Erie Co. of South Milwaukee, Wis., had asked the President to persuade union leaders to pass up "wage and fringe benefits for at least one year in the case of any employer who has agreed to reduce prices of his products by three per cent."

If this were done, "there would be a good chance that depression could be avoided and inflation arrested" according to Little, whose company is the world's largest manufacturer of earth-moving machinery.

If the government did not take such steps now it would eventually "be driven to advocating wage and price controls to stop the inflationary spiral. That will not be good for anyone," Little said.



W. L. LITTLE

Here's A Missal Of St. Joseph, Workman

(Continued from Page Two) ate sermon, is a natural occasion to highlight the connection between religion and the working world, between what goes on at the altar and what goes on in the office and factory."

The cost of these Labor Day

Senator Estes Kefauver's request to President Eisenhower to call a wage-price parley in the steel industry was also turned down — politely but firmly.

Steel Holds Still

In the meantime U.S. Steel has postponed its \$6-a-ton boost in steel prices. They may be raised later this summer. As Roger M. Blough, chairman of the U. S. Steel Co., admitted recently, "No one company, no one industry, and no one union can alone stop the march of inflation."

Four Ways Out

If Blough is right, the country is left with four ways to bridle a running inflation:

1) By a catastrophic depression in which everything would come down. (Nobody wants this to happen.)

2) By a voluntary wage and price moratorium by industry and unions. (This has never worked.)

3) By government control of wages and prices. (Nobody wants this to happen.)

4) By a summit conference of top leaders from industry and unions to deal with wage-price-profit policy. (This has not been tried.)

"Hands Off" Policy

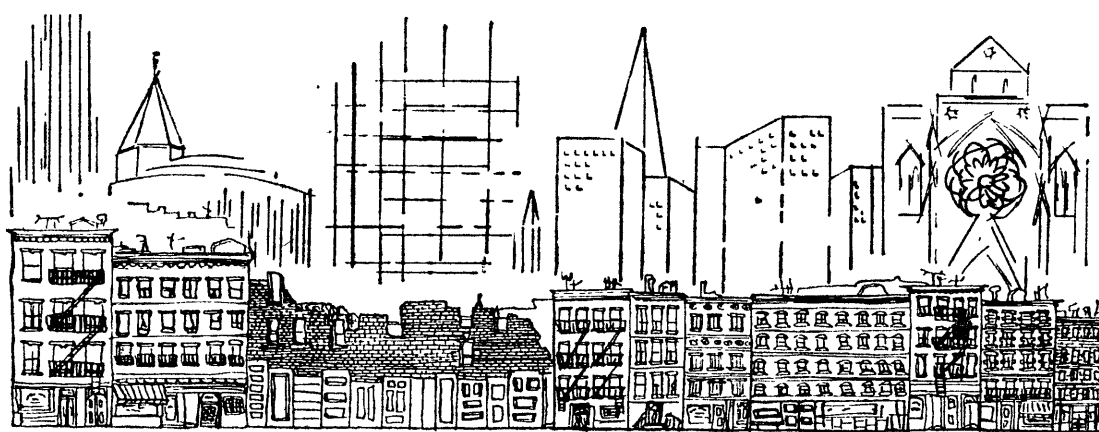
At this moment there is no prospect that such a top-level conference would be held unless it were initiated by the President. Msgr. George G. Higgins, director of the social action department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, takes a cloudy view of any real interest in such a conference. He says:

"If we agree that the major corporations and the major unions of the United States ought to coordinate their policies in the best interests of the economy as a whole, are we prepared to take the next logical step by bringing them together for this purpose in some sort of national labor-management council?"

"I doubt it. There is no indication that the powers-that-be in American industry would agree to anything of the kind within the foreseeable future."

Engulfed In Talk

Msgr. Higgins concludes by quoting economist John K. Galbraith: "Where inflation is concerned, nearly everyone finds it convenient to confine himself to conversation."



Christian Friends Bulletin

Chicago's Hyde Park Renewal Plan - Preview Of The City Of Tomorrow

By **ED MARCINIAK**

The hubbub over plans to rebuild the Hyde Park-Kenwood neighborhood may result either in a triumph or tragedy for Chicago.

If the thousands of Chicagoans who up till now have never taken a second look at the city's spreading slums become active in community organizations to revamp the face of Chicago, civic virtue will have triumphed.

However, if the uproar jeopardizes the renewal plan for the Hyde Park-Kenwood area, civic tragedy will have settled upon the city. Chicago deserves a better fate—and future—than this.

The debate over Hyde Park's plans will—and should—go on. But this public discussion must also go on in 40 or 50 other neighborhoods already infected by rotting slums caused by poor zoning, chaotic planning, overcrowded apartments, unenforced building codes, corrupt ward politicians, ungodly barriers of race hate, and lackadaisical property owners.

Whenever the debate gets sidetracked here are a few things to remember:

● In Hyde Park thousands of property owners and tenants have dug deep into their pockets, devoted countless hours of leisure time, and worked unselfishly to save their community. (Some of the residents have been at it for nine years)

It is a neighborhood which has been ready to help poorer families by accepting public housing and in which there was no mass exit of whites when Negroes moved in.

Can any neighborhood claim as good a record of devotion to Chicago's common good?

Neighborhoods Differ

● Some say that the Hyde Park urban renewal plan will set a pattern for rebuilding other sections of Chicago. It's true that overcrowded, apartment house neighborhoods like Uptown and parts of Englewood face similar problems. But there is no need to fashion every neighborhood in the image of Hyde Park.

But it is also true that a good rehabilitation program, like the Back of the Yards Council effort, cannot be made a model for every Chicago neighborhood. In neighborhoods like Hyde Park rehabilitation is just not enough to remove cancerous slums and provide sufficient space for parks, schools, and safe streets.

● The Hyde Park-Kenwood area occupies two square miles, about one per cent of the city's land area. But it has over 70,000 residents, about two per cent of the population. Even

after the departure of dislocated families Hyde Park will have a population density higher than the city's average.

The City Has A Job To Do

● The moral issues in relocation are: (1) whether families are forced to move for just and sufficient cause, and (2) whether the thousands who now suffer in places not fit for hogs or horses will be relocated to decent homes with a minimum of discomfort. Usually defenseless, the poor should be the last people on God's earth to be pushed around.

The responsibility for relocating families falls primarily on the city as a whole. While the city's relocation office has improved its placement program slightly, it still leaves a lot to be desired. But all five million Chicago area residents must share this duty. They were the ones who wanted new expressways to expedite their movement into suburbs. Who wanted a medical center to care for the sick and crippled. Who wanted parking lots to house their autos.

All these civic advances require the uprooting of thousands of families. In Hyde Park the relocation of families is not just a neighborhood matter, but the heavy responsibility of the city of Chicago and the suburbs.

● Many city-wide organizations have interested themselves in the Hyde Park plan. Some have been out to scuttle it right from the start. Others, such as the Chicago Urban League, the Cardinal's Conservation Committee, the Church Federation of Greater Chicago, and the Cook County Industrial Union Council have offered concrete ideas to improve the plan.

These proposals—aimed chiefly at cushioning the shock of urban renewal for low and middle income families—deserve a careful hearing. They would have gotten better consideration from city hall had the various organizations coordinated their thinking and their proposals.

On With The Job

● A city is no good without good homes for its families. It may display a wonderful lake-front, magnificent expressways, modern factories, handsome parks, and a dazzling skyline of office buildings. These are not enough. These are not the most important. What makes a city great is how it treats its families—particularly the poor and helpless.

In Hyde Park public-minded citizens have been working towards this goal. Now all of Chicago should help them get on with the job.

Cardinal Stritch

'He Wanted An Adult, Responsible Laity'

(Continued from Page Two) tion; that she is not concerned with people, their freedom, their ideas, their rights. Only a beginning has been made. Within the Church it-

self, large obstacles must still be overcome. One is the apathy, even hostility, of those lay men and women who, because they are themselves satisfied with being passive, inactive members of the Church, look unfavorably upon other lay people who appear to be "too zealous," too active, too concerned.

The other is the impatience of priests who by their long training and education are admittedly more capable than the laity in many fields, and so tend to underestimate the unique talents and capacities

of the laity. So the lay people are sometimes checkmated, and the legitimate spheres of their energies usurped. Frustrated, their energies tend to secularize themselves, and to divorce themselves from vital contact with Christ and the Church.

By uncanny native instincts, and by the grace of God, Cardinal Stritch knew the importance of freedom for the children of God. He came by this wisdom, I suspect, by his passionate love for America, and by an even more passionate love for the Gospels and the

writings of Paul and John. He knew that the Church must be free from identification with any particular culture or set of social schemes.

He knew that at the same time the Church must free itself from the tyranny of those who even in the name of the Gospel would predetermine what is the best way to apply the spirit of Christ to contemporary society in any age.

The Cardinal of Charity loved his people—loved them so much he wanted them responsible and free. This was his legacy, to us and to history.

Lim Cher Kheng

The Man From Singapore

(Continued from Page One) he regards as an unbending demand by the U.S. that all countries follow American foreign policy. He feels that friendly countries should be willing to disagree on certain policies without jeopardizing their friendship.

"We want your best thoughts, your finest ideals,

your 'brotherhood.' We want to live with the rest of the world as brothers. But we are determined to be ourselves and live our own lives, and keep the best of our traditions," Kheng said.

"We're constantly confronted with choosing between Western materialism and communist materialism. We're

having none of either, thank you."

Asia's Big Future

Proud of Singapore's coming independence, he was anxious to have Asians not only take but also keep their rightful place — as equals — in the world family of nations.

This national feeling explains why Kheng found it difficult to understand why so many Americans choose to travel through Europe rather than Asia or Africa. His unspoken, implied opinion was: "Europe has a great past. But the world's future lies in Asia and Africa."

Member Of 'Congress'

Back at home, in Singapore state, Kheng is a member of its legislative assembly, the counterpart of the U.S. Congress.

A native of Kwantung, China, he has lived in Singapore for 27 years. The district he represents is mixed — 40 per cent Chinese, the rest Malayan, East Indian, and European in origin.

"That is why," he says, "your Little Rock is a big rock in the eyes of Asians."

Singapore's 1,500,000 inhabitants are 82 per cent Chinese and live within 220 square miles. It is a microcosm of East Asia's many racial strains and cultures. Kheng has to speak four languages: Chinese (and various dialects), Malay, English, and Indian.

Despite a jammed schedule, he managed to see many sides of the U.S.A.—politics, union activities, public housing, universities, business operations, and churches.

"In coming here I didn't want the cocktail party point of view. That's why I visited slums, talked to workers, to ordinary people."

All 'Middle Class'

One impression sticks in his mind: the American worker's opinion of himself as being "middle class."

Kheng is one of a small middle class in Singapore. "In the United States I couldn't find anybody who didn't regard himself as middle class."

"I talked to a cab driver. He was middle class I went to an Indian reservation. They regarded themselves as middle class. I talked to a Detroit factory worker. Again middle class."

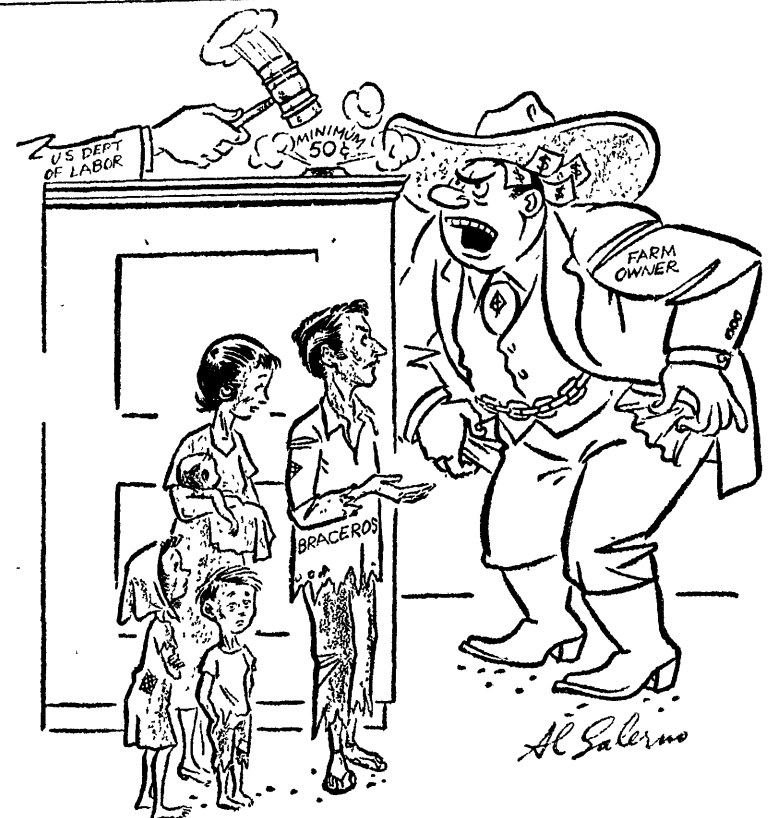
"I talked to a steelworker who made as much money in one day as I make in a month." (In private life Kheng is an accountant and a member of the Singapore Chamber of Commerce)

Well-To-Do Slums

"I visited some Chicago slums. By comparison — from the outside anyhow—they are places where the middle class lives in Singapore. To understand what a fascinating force communism is in Asia, you must understand the poverty of the people."

Kheng's Christian name is Francis. To remind him to be diligent and industrious, his mother gave him the name Kheng which means "hard-working."

And he is.



'I Can't Afford To Pay, Your Honor'

U.S. Breaks Tradition—Farm Groups Protest

NOW, for the first time in history, the U. S. has established a minimum wage in agriculture. The minimum is only for "braceros," Mexican farm workers who come to this country for temporary work on farms. The minimum is unbelievably low—50 cents an hour. And in deference to farm managers' claims that some of the braceros can not or will not do 50 cents of work in an hour, the minimum applies to 90 per cent of a farm's braceros, rather than to all of them.

Even so, many growers in the southwest are protesting against "interference" from the U. S. department of labor, which at long last established the minimum in May. Under pressure from agricultural groups, the governors of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona wired Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell that the 50-cent-an-hour base "will bring economic disaster to farmers."

It isn't just that some farmers object to paying 50 cents an hour. But if they have to give the braceros a 10 or 15 cent an hour increase, they will have to give a proportionate raise to other workers, including U. S. farm hands.

'Defrauding Laborer Of His Hire'

But even 50 cents an hour is an unjustly low rate, says Archbishop Robert E. Lucey of San Antonio. "How can growers expect a human being to work eight hours for \$4?" he asked in a recent talk. "Defrauding the laborer of his hire is one of the sins that cry to heaven for vengeance."

Farm lobbyists with different ideas than Archbishop Lucey's are applying pressure on Secretary Mitchell to cancel the 50 cent minimum or at least not to enforce it. In their hands they have a club: farm-state senators and congressmen may be able to switch the operation of the bracero program from the labor department to another agency, the U. S. immigration service.

These maneuverings bring to mind the testimony of Father James L. Vizzard, S.J., vice president of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference. The Mexican farm labor program in the U. S., he said, is so shot through with the "most unconscionable and unforgivable exploitation" that by comparison "the corruption found in the Teamsters union seems like petty larceny."

First Things First

"Man is not the creature of circumstances, but circumstances are the creatures of men." — Disraeli.

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More Ideas For That Late '58 Vacation

To help you get more out of your vacation this summer, WORK continues a list, begun in the April and May issues, of institutes, conventions, study weeks, and other programs to be held this summer.

A LAY APOSTOLATE study week will be held at St. Joseph's College, Aug. 17-25. Topics include "Christ and The Organization Man" and "The Christian Mind and Contemporary Culture." Contact: Father Joseph F. X. Erhart, S.J., St. Joseph's College, Philadelphia 21, Pa.

VACATION SCHOOL IN SOCIAL ACTION is scheduled for St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, N. S., Aug. 14-24. Topics include: cooperative housing, hospital insurance, and Canada and the UN. Contact: Vacation School, St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, Nova Scotia.

FRIENDSHIP HOUSE INTERRACIAL study week convenes at Childerley Farm, Wheeling, Ill., and Friendship House, Chicago, Aug. 22-28. Contact: Mary Dolan, Friendship House, 4233 S. Indiana Ave., Chicago 15, Ill.

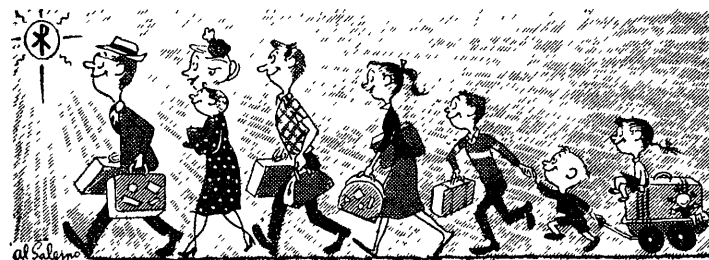
CATHOLIC ACTION STUDY WEEK FOR SEMINARIANS of the South is set for St. John's Home Mission Seminary in Little Rock, Ark., Aug. 25-28. Theme of conference is "Catholic Apologetics in a Pluralistic Society." Contact: Harry Benefiel, 726 Helen St., Lake Charles, La.

LAY APOSTOLATE CONGRESS sponsored by the Sodality of Our Lady is scheduled for New York City, Sept. 1-5. Contact: Father Francis K. Drolet, S.J., 39 East 83rd St., New York 58, N. Y.

NATIONAL CATHOLIC SOCIAL ACTION CONFERENCE will meet Sept. 4-7 at the University of Notre Dame. Contact: Father Mark Fitzgerald, C.S.C., Morris Inn, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Ind.

CONFERENCE ON INTERRACIAL JUSTICE — for leaders of Catholic Interracial Councils and others interested in the same cause—will meet at Loyola Hall, Chicago, Ill., Aug. 28-31. Contact: Catholic Interracial Council, 21 W. Superior St., Chicago 10, Ill.

SOCIAL SCIENCE Section of the American Benedictine Academy convenes at St. Procopius College, Lisle, Ill., Aug. 18-21. Evening panel on August 20 devoted to Social Life in an Industrial Environment." Contact: Valentine Skluzacek, O.S.B., St. Procopius College, Lisle, Ill.



... And For The Fall

INTER-AMERICAN CATHOLIC SOCIAL ACTION Confederation will hold its fifth convention at Medellin, Columbia, Oct. 12-19. Theme of conference will be: "Economic Development and Social Action." Contact: Father Raymond A. McGowan, NCWC, 1312 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington 5, D.C.

NATIONAL CATHOLIC RURAL LIFE Conference holds its annual convention in Fort Wayne, Indiana, Oct. 16-22. Contact: Father Michael Dineen, 3801 Grand Avenue, Des Moines 12, Ohio.

APOSTLESHIP OF THE SEA meets in Philadelphia, Nov. 17-20. Contact: Father Thomas McDonough, 2030 Constance St., New Orleans, La.

CANADIAN CATHOLIC SOCIAL LIFE Conference will meet in Winnipeg, Manitoba, Nov. 15-18. Theme is "Christian Social Leadership." Contact: Father John Delaney, P.P., 202 Davidson St., Winnipeg 12, Manitoba.

CATHOLIC CONFERENCE ON INDUSTRIAL and Social Relations will be held in Portland, Ore., Oct. 4-6. Contact: Paul Hanlon, American Bank Building, Portland 5, Ore.

A Peek Behind the Peachtree Curtain

Georgia's Unfair Voting System Weathers Another Reform Effort

By FRANK WILHOIT

Atlanta—After spending two years behind Georgia's Peachtree Curtain, I have one firm conviction about the Empire State of the South: Georgia has probably the most unrepresentative and undemocratic political system of any American state.

I base this charge chiefly on two facts: not only are the state's rural Negroes almost voteless, but, thanks to a "county unit system," the city voters, whites and Negroes, do not carry much weight in Georgia's elections.

This second weakness in Georgia's democracy — its county unit system—was attacked in a federal court suit this spring. But the U. S. Supreme Court (by a 5 to 4 decision) has refused to require Georgia to reform its archaic voting system.

Exploiting Geography

The county unit system is both a method of counting primary election votes, and a county-based method of apportioning representatives to the state's house of representatives. There is nothing necessarily wrong with a geographical basis for representation. There is something wrong in loading the dice by allocating unit votes unfairly.

Let's see how the system works in actual practice.

In the lower house of the state's general assembly, the eight most populous of the state's 159 counties are given only three representatives each. The next 30 get two each. And the remaining 121 counties, some with scarcely a single hamlet, are allowed one representative each.

Slightly Lopsided

This means that the rural counties dominate Georgia's house of representatives. In an election, one vote in sparsely settled Cherokee County is worth 155 votes in Fulton County (Atlanta).

This in itself is not so unusual. In many states, city voters have a much weaker say than rural voters in state legislatures.

But in Georgia the county unit system is also used to select the Democratic Party's nominees for U. S. senators, governors, state supreme court justices, and a few other state offices. So in a state-wide election a Georgia voter's ballot is not counted on a state-wide basis. Votes are tabulated on a county-wide basis, and the candidate with a plurality in a county gets the unit vote. The man with the majority of unit votes wins.

What are the pernicious con-

sequences of this system?

The majority will is often thwarted. The "cracker" or rural areas of the state, where the voteless Negro abounds, control both the governorship and the state legislature. Minority governors are sometimes chosen.

Eugene Talmadge, for example, lost the popular vote in his race for governor in 1946, but won the election because he had more county unit votes.

City People Weakened

Why should a state political leader worry much about Fulton County, with a population of 470,000, when its voting strength can be offset by three small counties with only two or three per cent of Fulton's population?

The county unit system has been attacked four times in the Federal courts as a violation of the "equal protection" clause of the 14th amendment of the constitution. The U. S. Supreme Court, however, has

refused to intervene. In 1946 the court (by a four to three vote) held the issue to be a "political" one, subject to each state's own wishes, and not a matter for judicial review.

Another Challenge

Early this year Mayor William B. Hartsfield of Atlanta, one of the most progressive mayors in the entire South, made another constitutional attack upon the system. Though again alleging violation of the 14th amendment, his suit also suggested that the new federal Civil Rights Act gives U. S. courts jurisdiction over discriminatory voting.

But the majority of Supreme Court justices were unpersuaded. In a brief order the court said that earlier decisions had "foreclosed" the issue. The narrow 5 to 4 margin, however, indicated that the issue may be raised again in a future year when the membership of the court changes.

In the meantime, Georgia

Meet Henry Gonzalez — He's Making History In Dixie

Texas Candidate Defies Traditions Of Old South

By DICK MESKILL

San Antonio — When a fledgling state senator named Henry B. Gonzalez announced as a candidate for governor of Texas a few weeks ago, eyebrows met hairlines all across the Lone Star state.

By ancient Texas standards, the odds are heavily against Gonzalez. He is of Mexican descent. He is a Catholic. And he is a vigorous opponent of racial segregation.

Gonzalez's three opponents in the Democratic primary on July 26 have none of those traditional liabilities. The two powerhouses in the campaign are the incumbent governor, Price Daniel, and a former governor and U.S. senator, W. Lee ("Pappy") O'Daniel, and each is trying to outdo the other in demonstrating his loyalty to segregation.

Run-Off Likely

The primary will be an index of how far Texas has discarded the traditions of the old South. Most likely, none of the four candidates will get the majority necessary to win the primary, and a run-off election will be held in August. If Gonzalez is around for the run-off, it will be a sign that racist appeals no longer pay automatic political dividends in Texas.

Gonzalez, 42, is not new at pulling off surprises. Two years ago, as an obscure city councilman in his native San Antonio, he dared to run for the state senate, and became the first man of Mexican extraction to serve in the Texas senate.

Last year, when Governor Daniel introduced a series of segregation bills, Gonzalez rose and asked his fellow-senators: "Who speaks for the Negroes?" Gonzalez spoke for them—and for the cause of justice. He and another senator filibustered against the bills.

On one occasion Gonzalez

talked for 36 hours. He was only partially successful in blocking the bills, but his action put the whole state on notice that San Antonio had an eloquent and unusual politician who refused to bow to the false god of racism.

No Laughing Matter

When Gonzalez first tossed his hat into the ring in May, the predominantly conservative press chuckled derisively. But the ridicule died aborning.

A few venturesome newsmen came up with some facts of life that may aid Gonzalez.

East Texas, which has long carried the big stick in the state's politics, has found its power waning in favor of south Texas, strongly led by San Antonio, third city in the state. San Antonio, with a population of more than 500,000, has already integrated its schools completely, at all levels, as well as all its city-owned facilities.

South Texas, embracing both San Antonio and Houston, has about 40 per cent of the state population. Most of the Mexican people of South Texas, remembering only too well that they have been victimized by segregation, seem



Poor Picking For Cities

urbanites along with rural Negroes continue to be undemocratically disfranchised. The Rule of the Rustics goes its unlovely way, even as the Peachtree Curtain is more and more recognized as bearing a

resemblance to the iron drapery of Khrushchev & Co.

The last best hope for Georgia lies not in her magnolia myths but in her own state motto—Wisdom, Justice, and Moderation.

certain to give Gonzalez their votes.

Newsmen discovered that Gonzalez had other assets. The powerful liberal wing of the Democratic Party in Texas, overjoyed at having a liberal candidate, has rallied to Gonzalez's banner. Apart from a strong segregationist bloc, organized labor is behind Gonzalez.

From Minus To Plus

And although no Catholic has ever run for governor of Texas in the 112 years since it won independence from Mexico, today there are some 2,000,000 Catholics in the state, and religious bigotry isn't as strong as it once was.

Even some of his arch-enemies concede that Gonzalez is the best orator in the campaign. He speaks well — and with a sharp wit — in both English and Spanish.

In criticizing Daniel for his failure to fashion a law solving Texas' critical water supply problem and also for his failure to obtain an effective lobby-control law, Gonzalez accused Daniel of seeking a lobbied-down water bill and a watered-down lobby bill.

As in other states, Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers, has become a favorite whipping boy for the conservatives in the campaign. "I pity Reuther," says Gonzalez. "He has had to run for governor of Texas

more than any man in history."

Gonzalez's campaign has a fiesta-like quality about it. The three bands which accompany him play everything from rock-and-roll to "Tequila." But when Gonzalez takes the podium, he mixes an entertaining style with solid content, spiced with quotations from a wide variety of sources — from the Gospels and the Talmud, from Aristotle and Cervantes.

History's Limelight

Gonzalez's candidacy is one of the most important events in Texas political history. The very fact that he could run, with at least an outside chance of election, augurs well for the state's future.

When Gonzalez filed for the gubernatorial primary in May, four guitar players accompanied him to Austin, and played the song that begins, "The eyes of Texas are upon you." So are the eyes of many other people in the South and in the rest of the nation.

Families And Work

Chicago—In its annual study and action program starting this fall, the Christian Family Movement will take a close look at the working world. The "social inquiries" at seven bi-weekly meetings will deal with subjects such as the living wage, unions, and "right to work" laws.



HENRY GONZALEZ

Freedom: A Fruit To Be Shared

"FREEDOM is, of course, one of God's greatest natural gifts to man. An atmosphere of freedom is most conducive not only to sound political life but also to healthy economic development. This freedom, however, must be real. It must be for everyone. Above all, it must be in harmony with justice.

"When I was directing the Catholic news service in Peking I got reports of a million people starving to death in China. These people were 'free' to eat—if they could find the necessary food. They couldn't find it—and hence they were not really free to eat."—William A. Kaschmitter M.M.

Children Sold As Famine Hits India

Calcutta, India—In desperation because of a famine, several parents in the town of Raiganj have sold children for 70 cents apiece to save the youngsters from starvation and to raise money for their own food. Four authenticated cases of child-selling were discovered in an area severely stricken by rice crop failures.

On one occasion Gonzalez

Danger Of A Retreat From Social Justice

Milan, Italy — Archbishop Giovanni B. Montini of Milan last month warned Catholics of the danger of retreating from social justice.

This regression, he said, can be brought about by becoming "weary of fighting" for social progress.

Those who believe that "the social question is settled" forget that in many ways "the fate of the working classes can not yet be considered secure and satisfactory," Archbishop Montini said.

He spoke at a meeting attended by 6,000 members of the Association of Catholic Workers.

U.S. Issues Guides For Young Workers

Washington — Two bulletins dealing with the employment of young people are being distributed by the U. S. Department of Labor:

- Guidelines for Employment of Young Workers, and
- Highlights on Young Workers Under 18.

Free copies can be obtained from the Bureau of Labor Standards, U. S. Department of Labor, Washington 25, D.C.

Time For Ike To Lead The Way

Pupils At Little Rock Need A Friendly Escort

THE EYES of the world will be on Little Rock, Ark., again this September.

In a ruling that may be reversed soon, Federal Judge Harry Lemley gave Little Rock high school a "breathing spell" (as he called it) by suspending integration till 1961. He said that community hostility toward the eight Negro students has made life at the school "intolerable." The segregationists in Arkansas will mobilize every effort to make sure that Judge Lemley is not proved wrong.

Even if a higher court insists that the Negroes must again be admitted, there is still a problem of how to give them a measure of peace. This is so important to the South and to the United States that President Eisenhower should give them some personal help. He can do that by a dramatic and human gesture—escorting the Little Rock youngsters to school himself.

Mr. Eisenhower sat on the fence for a long time during the segregation crisis. When mob rule nearly took over Little Rock last year, he finally resorted to the extreme of dispatching the Army to the scene.

"The law demands respectful obedience," Mr. Eisenhower said. Beyond that he has done nothing to try to persuade the public that the Supreme Court's outlawing of compulsory racial segregation is wise and just.

People have a habit of defying a law they deem harmful—so mere appeals to "the law" are not enough, even if supported by the courts and the Army.

The President should make his moral position clear and unmistakable. The country urgently needs the leadership of its most important leader.



Will Georgia Decision Damage Union Bargaining Rights?

AS A NON-UNION electrician and one of the higher paid workers (\$100 a week) at a copper factory in Decatur, Ga., Paul S. Russell had no taste for a strike called by members of the United Auto Workers. He decided to try to drive through the picket line on the first morning of the strike.

Near the plant gate, a union official warned him that salaried employes could go through, but not hourly paid workers. Russell edged his car up slowly anyhow. Somebody in the milling crowd shouted, "Turn him over." Russell found his way blocked by pickets.

Although there was no violence, the threats continued from time to time. Russell stayed there for a near-motionless hour and a half. The small Decatur police force did not intervene, because at that time the strike had wide local support.

Return In Force

Russell did not test the picket line again for five weeks. By then the workers' enthusiasm for the strike had ebbed, and so the company decided to resume operation (Russell circulated "back to work" petitions). About 230 workers, Russell among them, were escorted past the pickets into the plant by state and local policemen.

Although the Decatur strike in the summer of 1951 was hardly noticed outside of Georgia, Paul Russell's hour and a half at the picket line—unrewarding at the time—was destined to give him a place in labor history.

Russell could have gone to the nearest office of the Na-

tional Labor Relations Board to file a complaint. He might have received his lost wages, \$500, had he fought his case through the courts. But Russell took another approach.

Trial By Jury

He went to a local courthouse and filed a damage suit for \$50,000 against the United Auto Workers. His claim was based, not on physical injuries, but on the kind of injuries that Reno divorce suits are noted for — emotional upset, fear, mental anguish, psychological tension.

In his argument to the jury, Russell's attorney added another argument: "The only way you can reach a labor union and make it sorry for what it has done is through its pocketbook, because it has no conscience and you can't put it in jail."

The trial judge told the jury that it could award damages "for the sake of example and by way of punishing the defendants (the UAW) or for the purpose of making the de-

fendants smart." The jury obliged and awarded Russell \$10,000. The "smart money," or punitive damages, as lawyers call it, was 19 times his actual loss of pay.

Twenty-nine of Russell's co-workers filed similar suits against the UAW with the claims totalling \$1.5 million, but the outcome of these hinged on the union's appeal of the Russell case.

Court Rebuffs UAW

In hearings before the Supreme Court UAW attorneys argued that local courts have no business hearing the suits such as the one by Russell, since the Taft-Hartley law gives the federal government jurisdiction over labor disputes in business engaged in interstate commerce.

But the court, in a 6 to 2 decision, upheld Russell, and said that the Taft-Hartley law did not take away an employe's right under common law to sue for punitive damages.

In his dissenting opinion Chief Justice Earl Warren warned of the impact that the decision could have on unions: "By reason of vicarious liability for its members' ill-advised conduct on the picket lines, the union is to be subjected to a series of judgments that may and probably will reduce it to bankruptcy, or at the very least deprive it of the means necessary to perform its role as bargaining agent of the employes it represents."

Sauce For Gander?

In Detroit, a UAW official expressed a similar point in a different way: "We are really looking down the barrel of a gun."

There is a possibility that

some employers may be looking down the same barrel. If unions can be sued for "smart money," why not employers?

Traditionally, under common law, an employer need not fear any actual or punitive damages for wrongfully discharging a person. Under the Taft-Hartley law an employer who illegally discharges a worker (for union activity, e.g.) must pay lost wages, but no "smart money."

Even if the courts should agree—in principle—that an employer, too, ought to pay punitive damages for discharging a man illegally, in actual practice it may not make much difference. A union picket line is there for all to see—it is tangible and you can preserve its memory in photographs. An illegal discharge by an employer may be made by telephone, and its actual cause may be cloaked well enough to cause doubts in the mind of the jury.

The employer honestly seeking harmonious union-management relations will get little comfort from this new weapon against unions. As Justice Warren points out, a series of employe damage suits — dragging along for months and years, especially in states with overcrowded court dockets — will rekindle animosities, and be a "constant source of friction between the parties."

Individual Rights

In the Russell decision, as in a companion case decided at the same time (upholding a \$9,300 in damages awarded a worker illegally expelled from his union), the Supreme Court gives the individual worker

greater power to fight back if a union pushes him around.

But the decision will have repercussions not only on union abuses but on legitimate activities.

Contrary to a popular impression, pickets don't necessarily need incitement from a union leader to shout threats, make gestures, and block the way of workers who dare to cross a picketline. Emotion need not be artificially stimulated, it is quickly generated at the sight of "strikebreakers" and "scabs" — after all, each one of them is a threat to the picket's own livelihood.

Because the impetuous word or deed of even one picket may result in damage suits running into thousands of dollars, unions must now be super-cautious about picketing — and hence about striking.

Lawyer's Field Day

With picket lines presenting new legal problems, unions will have to lean even more on lawyers, who already exert far too much influence on both sides of labor-management relations. In addition, just as some business-hungry lawyers known as "ambulance chasers" follow traffic accidents, so strikes may now have their "picket line chasers."

Unions are likely to pour more and more of their militance into the political areas, rather than into the economic field. The Taft-Hartley Act and the "right to work" laws persuaded the labor movement to mobilize a greater share of its energies for legislative lobbying and political action on all levels—national, state, county, and city. There will be more of the same as unions try to soften the blow of the Russell decision.



Letter From The Editor

A PRIEST friend of mine in Ohio heard I had been hospitalized for a few weeks, and promptly wrote me: "Remember, 'It's not what you eat that gives you ulcers, but what eats you.' Hope this is not your malady."

No, there was nothing ulcer-producing eating me. My troubles were sharp pains in my back and down my left leg. After about a month of limping around, I learned the cause—a slipped disc in my spine, so badly slipped, in fact, that it required surgery.

Three tiny broken particles of a disc, pressing against the nerves in my spinal cord, made the difference between publishing a July issue and having to skip it. I'm sorry.

IT WAS a lousy time to be out of commission. For one thing, I couldn't attend the 15th anniversary celebration of WORK, which was held on June 30 at 21 West Superior St. Some 100 persons—old friends of WORK and new ones—were there for the festivities.

Three women (Gene Spitzmiller, Lillian Lesak, and Betty DeLage) and three men (Al Grigartis, Harry Goossens, and Phil Moynihan) received special awards for having spent more than 5,000 volunteer hours on WORK. Without these six generous people, WORK might not have been able to weather 15 years of life.

ANOTHER big event of the past few weeks: Sister Mary Loyola, the former Rita Clare Cooney, assistant editor of WORK until five years ago, took final vows in the Congregation of Parish Visitors of Mary Immaculate. Fortunately, Msgr. Daniel Cantwell, chaplain of the Catholic Council on Working Life, was able to attend the ceremony, held at the order's motherhouse in Monroe, N. Y., on July 2.

Sister Loyola is assigned to Milwaukee. An information sheet gives this general description of her work:

"In this day of mass education, mass production, and mass entertainment, the Parish Visitor works solely on a personal relationship. The Sisters have no institutions—they are missionaries who go out to the people . . . in the family homes, in hospitals, and in jails."

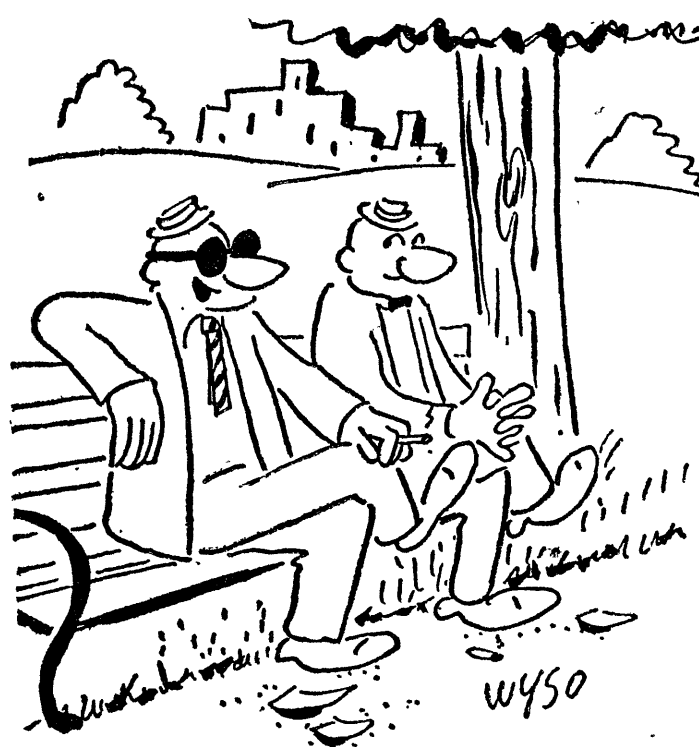
THOUGHTS while on a hospital bed:

I don't think I could ever

CISZAR CARTAGE CO.
PU 5-3800
11720 South Halsted
Chicago

HANKEL
Printing Co.

SU 7-8606
314 W. Superior St. Chicago



"I'm getting used to steady night shift"

Mine Workers Journal

have become a doctor. Cutting into a human body is repugnant to me. Fortunately, not everyone is so squeamish, and some among these have the patience and ability to become physicians and surgeons.

The skill of the doctors—two of them in particular—are primarily responsible for curing my ailment. But after an hour or so in the operating room, almost all their work was done. From then on, I was mostly in the care of nurses and nurse's aides.

How many of us really appreciate the work done by these women? The aides (at the hospital where I stayed) earn \$1.10 an hour. The nurses get \$75 a week—less than the salary of most secretaries.

The hospital has to hunt far and wide to maintain a full complement of nurses. "There's no shortage of nurses," one of them told me, "just a shortage of girls who can afford to work at this salary."

A specialist who spent 10 minutes examining me sent me a bill for \$30 the next day. No doubt, because of his training and many years of experience, he deserves every cent he charged. But Frieda, a nurse's aide, wife of an unemployed government worker, and mother of three young children, deserves more than \$1.10 an hour.

It is easy to dismiss the labor of Frieda and her co-workers as "unskilled." But,

even apart from her moral right to a living wage, a competent nurse's aide is worth far more than \$1.10 an hour. In many cases, a mistake on her part could undo the work of the doctors. A grouchy, lazy, or careless aide can add a lot of misery to your hospital stay. Somehow, the nurses and the aides will have to find a way to get a decent wage for themselves—I'm afraid that the patients, even the sympathetic ones, won't do it for them.

Many patients and hospital administrators will protest against increased hospital costs. This plea would be more impressive if they did something to resist the increased prices charged by the drug manufacturers, for example. Somewhere or other, the resources are usually found to pay the increased prices of those powerful enough to enforce them.

I hate to think what would happen to Frieda if she tried to form a union to bring her wages up to (say) \$1.25 an hour. I'm afraid she would be fired, and there would be no law and no person to come to her aid.

—Bob Senser.

Cobbler's Epitaph

In an English graveyard there is an epitaph on a headstone which reads: "In Memory of Thomas Cobb Who Mended Shoes to the Glory of God in This Village for Forty Years"

READERS TALK BACK

No Laziness Here

EDITOR: When your front-page article "Workers Getting Lazier and Lazier?" in the June issue caught my eye, my first reaction was: WHOM is the editor talking about? People from outer space?

He wasn't talking about the people who work with me. The only correct part of your cartoon was the employe at the overloaded desk!

If there are any doubting readers about desk loads, let me explain what goes on at the mail order firm where I work.

With a six month freeze on hiring at my company, many gaps were left by feminine white collar workers who left either to be married or to raise families. More frequently than not, a girl is now taking care of more than one desk (Some have left for that reason too!)

Automation has been introduced. This has, to date, involved more than 100 employes who have been shifted to other jobs, down-graded jobs, that is. (A comptometer operator who was shifted to our unit from a demobilized department had her pay cut \$13 a week.)

The shifting of personnel means new ideas and practices take over. There are revisions, records, reports, charts, etc. Ask any file clerk or secretary how the desk work adds up.

Among the higher talented employes who were promoted as junior executives and transferred to other localities, a two-man load was left behind for one man to handle.

Chicago

Friendly Grocer

EDITOR: The modern supermarket whose sales depend on the razzle-dazzle of balloons, multi-colored fluorescent lights, FM music, and visiting disc jockeys, plus the frozen-smiles of bored clerks,

finds in these days of recession that the Barnum-and-Bailey routine doesn't always draw in the crowds.

The small grocer in the middle of the block, with his dark store lighted with 40-watts bulbs and the merchandise unattractively displayed, is the big friend of the neighborhood families these days.

At least that's true in South Chicago where the steel mills have reduced the hours of workers and their pay checks, forcing employes to spread their money between payday. And the best way to spread it is to put the family's food budget on credit until payday.

And what store will give the family food on credit? Certainly not the big, flashy supermarkets. They want cash and carry. The only real personal service offered by plushy markets is the cashing of pay checks for free.

The custom of buying food on credit was a tradition of families all over Chicago, in poor and well-to-do neighborhoods alike, before World War II. With the war and peace boom, steady employment and pay checks and ready cash,



A Z

the average family paid cash for all foodstuffs.

Now times are changing—but backwards—and more families are again patronizing the small, independent grocer. He can give the lady what she wants—credit. And you can't buy that at the food palaces.

Joe Anlev

Chicago

American Grinding & Machine Co.

2000 N. Mango TU 9-4343 Chicago

MARCAL INC.

MARCAL PAPER NAPKINS

5401 S. Western Ave. Chicago

BRENNAN McNICHOLS CONSTRUCTION CO.

UNDERGROUND CONDUITS

1470 W. Hubbard St. Chicago
MO 6-2218

PIXLEY AND EHLERS

21 RESTAURANTS TO SERVE YOU

Extends Greetings and Best Wishes

to the

CATHOLIC COUNCIL ON WORKING LIFE

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DU ZONE PRODUCTS CO. CLEANING COMPOUNDS

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UNIVERSAL BRASS FOUNDRY

Bronze, Aluminum Castings for Every Purpose, Estab. 1919
1523 W. Hubbard St. HA 1-7233 Chicago

NATURAL MARBLE & ONYX CO. CHURCH INTERIORS

2543 N. Pulaski Rd. SP 2-8877 Chicago

Compliments and Best Wishes DR. JOHN BELLUCCI

700 S. Western Ave. Chicago

Self-Service In Chicago Restaurants

Too Many Crooks Spoil The Broth, Senate Finds

(Continued from Page One) business, into the Chicago Restaurant Association and began operating according to the law of the jungle? In an industry where labor turnover is great, the underworld had little to fear from a rank and file rebellion.

In the Chicago jungle, bar and restaurant unions which have attempted to operate in a bona fide manner have sometimes been stymied. When unions have called legitimate strikes to obtain union recognition and to improve wages and working conditions, they have met vicious legal and economic opposition.

The case of Attorney Ralph J. Gutsell makes this perfectly clear. Gutsell was fired as attorney for the Chicago Restaurant Association "because I didn't know any gangsters" and because he advised a restaurant owner to negotiate with the union in a bona fide manner.

State Is Apathetic

Nor are the owners and the unions alone to blame. In the middle of the senate hearings, Illinois State Director of Labor Roy F. Cummins told the daily press that basic wages paid in Chicago area restaurants were the lowest among 10 major industries. In April of this year, Cummins said, the average restaurant wage was \$49.66 weekly, exclusive of tips received by some employees.

This is the same Cummins who during his entire term of office has refused to do something himself about these low wages by applying the provisions of the Illinois law to establish minimum wages for women and minors in the retail, restaurant, and other low-paying fields.

If there had been a decent minimum wage in Illinois, the underworld would have found it a lot tougher to operate.

Bright Outlook

As a result of the senate hearings the future looks

brighter for Chicago restaurant employees. The Hotel and Restaurant Workers Int'l Union, the parent body, has moved in to clean up the local situation.

Also, the Chicago Restaurant Association shows signs of cutting its underworld ties and starting to operate in a legitimate fashion.

The only gloomy outlook is that there seems to be no change in the underworld's influence among Chicago police, courts, and politicians. Without this continued protection, the underworld could not survive in Chicago.

In the meantime, every Chicago diner, as he says his grace before and after meals, ought to remember especially the men and women who prepared his food.

Youth Is Told: 'Don't Be Pawns'

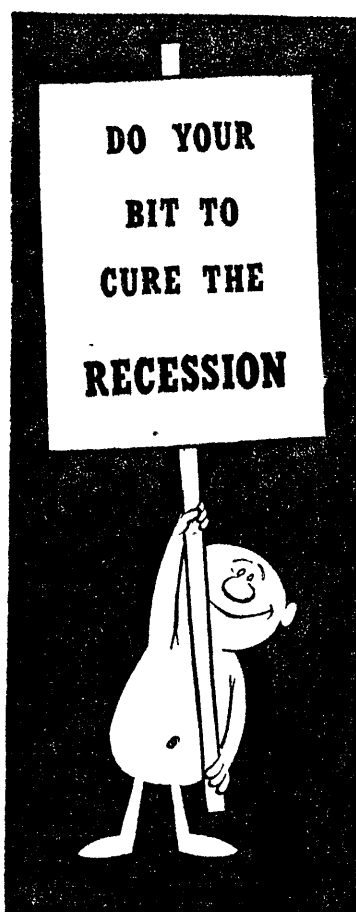
Worcester, Mass.—A graduating class of Boy's Trade High School here, most of them potential union members, were urged by a bishop to become more than pawns in some union leader's quest for power.

Bishop John J. Wright of Worcester told them that this would mean constant vigilance in addition to conscientious performance of their duties and obligations as union members.

Those who will become union members were urged to attend union meetings, take part in all voting, and make sure "why, how, and in whose name" decisions are made.

Bishop Wright suggested three ways in which the graduates of a trade school could contribute to their community:

- By using their skills as craftsmen and artisans.
- By being active in civic affairs and not leaving such matters exclusively to their neighbors.
- By being owners and "masters of their own homes."



HALLMARK Cards, Inc., has come up with a new line of greeting cards using recession humor. The above gag is a sample.

Split-Level Homes And Family Unity

Chicago—Economic security is not enough to prevent disruption of family life, Robert H. MacRae, executive director of the Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago, said at a national meeting of social workers here last month.

"In spite of the split-level house with the back-yard barbecue, the new station wagon, and the 27-inch TV, family breakdown persists," MacRae said. "Economic security in the shape of an abundance of things is no guarantee against divorce, desertion, and delinquency."

"This is not to say that economic insecurity is a positive good. . . . It is to say, however, that wholesome family life requires far more than economic well-being."

World At Work

By The Editors

Time Clock Ruffles Nurses' Professional Dignity

Nurses at Llwythypia hospital in Tonypandy, Wales, have rebelled against an order to punch a time clock before starting work. The nurses have ignored the time clock since it was installed. "It is not dignified for nurses to clock in," they said. "We will not give way. Nurses are professional people like doctors and should be treated like them."

A Retreat That's Always In Order

The editor of an industrial publication has prescribed "spiritual retreats" for businessmen. Noting the growth of retreats among Catholics, Tom Campbell, editor of *The Iron Age*, wrote:

"Perhaps we industrialists and businessmen should use a somewhat similar method to rid ourselves of shallow thinking; and perhaps take up new and more vigorous aims in our business lives. . . ."

"Such a business retreat could take place almost anywhere providing it is away from the usual physical interferences common to our work day. The agenda should be

simple, philosophical, and self-inquisitive. . . . For a starter we could ask ourselves how far we have gone in the pattern we set for ourselves years ago, and why we are having trouble meeting the goals we set when we were younger, more idealistic. . . .

"In this Spartan-like existence for a few days we could let our minds wander unfettered by the rules of getting ahead. The result of this retreat could be devastatingly healthy—and painful."

Obviously, the advice holds good for typists and union stewards too.

'Personnel'—It's Too Impersonal A Word

A top executive protests the growing popularity of the word "personnel" as applied to employees. "Whenever I hear it," says J. H. Preston of Remington Rand Corporation, "I always think of lines of robots at typewriters."

"Can you imagine the Constitution of the U. S. starting off: 'We, the personnel of the United States?'" he asked. "I like the word 'people' in there. I like to think, not of gears and rivets, but of people put together with nerves and muscles, flesh and blood, dreams, ambitions, and hopes."

Yawns Are Greater Hazards Than Bullets

Monotony causes serious tension in the life of a policeman—much more tension, in fact, than do excitement and fear. So says Dr. Frank Herrington, chief city physician of Columbus, Ohio.

"A lot of people don't realize that much of police work is a day-to-day grind," Dr. Herrington explains. "I'd say boredom is more of an occupational hazard than chasing robbers."

In listening to the health complaints of policemen, Dr. Herrington has found that one



of their major complaints is a "case of nerves" caused by a too-quiet beat in a well-to-do residential neighborhood.

No Insulated Life For These Executives

There is no executive dining room in the Kroger Company's new \$9 million general headquarters building in Cincinnati. President Joseph B. Hall vetoed the idea of a separate eating place for some three dozen executives in the head office because he wants them to "get out into the community" at noontime.

Mark Of The Model Private Secretary

What's a model secretary supposed to be like?

Swedish sociologist Heinz Goldmann says: The "perfect secretary" does not wear clinging sheath dresses, strong perfume, chunky jewelry, low necklines, or long fingernails. Above all, he adds, she is discreet "from head to foot."

He also advises: "Keep your private life completely outside the office; never forget that you are a symbol of your employer's position." And "when an angry visitor arrives, give him a chair. It is much harder to be angry sitting down."

Hilda Graef, who writes in

The Catholic World, has her own idea of the ideal secretary: "A girl who thinks only of her pay, her amusements, or how to make herself pleasant to the boss, is closed in by her own selfishness and she will take but the most superficial interest in the concern of others."

"But a woman," says Hilda, "who regards her job as an integral part of her Christian life will also give her colleagues sympathy and understanding whenever she feels they need it, and thus spread an atmosphere of charity in unpromising surroundings."

Billion Dollar Club Gets Less Exclusive

Seven manufacturing companies joined the "billion dollar sales club" in the 1957 fiscal year, according to a United Press survey. In all, 48 U. S. industrial firms did a billion dollars or more in business in 1957. Topping the list (which does not cover banks, insurance companies, and other financial institutions) was the General Motors Corp., which rang up \$10.9 billion in sales, \$3 billion more than the next highest, Standard Oil of New Jersey.

15 copies for \$1

LABOR DAY Edition of WORK

Is Labor Day just another day off? What about justice in industry, unions, and the professions? What's the layman's job? Is the Christian virtue of love as dead as a dodo in offices, stores, and workshops? These are some of the topics discussed in the special Labor Day issue of WORK.

This Labor Day issue is prepared especially for distribution at Labor Day celebrations, union meetings, schools, and parishes. Last year over 92,000 copies were distributed.

Just fill out and mail the blank below . . .
Copies will be in your hands by August 29th

Work
21 W Superior Street
Chicago 10, Illinois

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Zone _____ State _____

Send me 15 copies of your special Labor Day issue. \$1 for 15 copies.

Send me _____ copies of your Labor Day edition at \$6 per 100.

Enclosed is my payment

Please bill me

G.F.!!

August 6, 1958

Dear Mr. Moseley:

Your recent letter to the President has been received.

Your views and interest in writing to the President are very much appreciated.

Sincerely,

E. Frederic Morrow

Mr. H. F. Moseley
Conway
Arkansas

pk

There is only one objection
Your letter to the President has been
received.
Your recent letter to the President has been
Dear Mr. Kennedy.

RECEIVED
AUG 29 1958
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

August 2, 1958

15 + 11
C.F.

①

Conway Ark 8

Aug 30 1958

Mr. Sherman Adams
Washing to DC,

Dear Sir,

I am 69 years old
I am a vet. of 1st World
War. I have been honored
to my credit. (on the field)

I am just an observer.
Now, the trouble that
the federal government has
with the people of the South
will depend on just how
much you people want up
there. We have peace
down here. Both negro
and white. If the federal
government will

RECEIVED
JAN 10 1900
U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

Stop meddling in the
affairs of these people
there will be no trouble
The people in Washing-
ton and in the N. & East
has continuously sought
to persecute the people
of the South one way
or another.

now to avoid any
further trouble please
with draw all federal
interference in the
due process of law in
this State

There is only one
law-making body in
this country.

CEILING LIGHTS
VOC-0.000
REMOVED

The U.S. Supreme Court
has no right to decide
the constitution of the
U.S. Unconstitutional,
Please let us alone
H.F. Monday

G.F.

August 7, 1958

Dear Mr. Clay:

The President has asked me to thank you for your recent letter.

These are difficult days for the President, as he is burdened with many problems of national and international scope. He appreciates your interest in writing in behalf of your association and sharing your views with him.

The President is aware of the matters that you bring to his attention and will, to the best of his ability, take whatever action is best for America.

Sincerely,

E. Frederic Morrow

Mr. Adolphus B. Clay, Director
Department of Civil Liberties
Pacific States Association, IBPOE
2642 South Western Avenue
Los Angeles 18, California

pk

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2642 South Western Avenue
Los Angeles 18, California

pk

ROBERT H. JOHNSON
GRAND EXALTED RULER
PHILADELPHIA, PA.

HOBSON R. REYNOLDS
GRAND DIRECTOR
PHILADELPHIA, PA.

VINCE MONROE TOWNSEND
WESTERN REGIONAL DIRECTOR
LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

C. L. SMITH
PRESIDENT
PACIFIC STATES ASSOCIATION
LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Pacific States  Association

Department of Civil Liberties

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PUBLIC RELATIONS
JOHN BROWN FARM
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2642 SOUTH WESTERN AVENUE
LOS ANGELES 18, CALIFORNIA
PHONE REPUBLIC 4-9484

ELKS' PROGRAM
FRATERNAL
EDUCATION
CIVIL LIBERTIES
ECONOMICS
HEALTH
JUNIOR ELKS

Hon. President
Dwight D. Eisenhower
Washington, D. C.

July 31, 1958

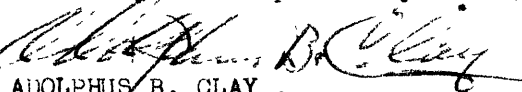
Dear Mr. President:

In behalf of the Civil Liberties Department of the Pacific States Association of the Improved, Benevolent, Protective Order Of Elks Of The World, a fraternal organization which you are acquainted with our Great Leader, Grand Exalted Ruler Dr. Robert H. Johnson and our Grand Director of Civil Liberties, Hobson R. Reynolds, both of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania;

The Pacific States Association's Civil Liberties of the I. B. P. O. E. of W., hereby realize that the recent decision handed down by Judge Harry J. Lemley, of Arkansas in reference to a two year delay in the Arkansas desegregation case, will further place this Nation deeper into an embarrassing World situation in regards to better racial relationship both Nationally and Internally, we as a Nation cannot stand further embarrassment, and since Judge Lemley has handed this unjust decision, you as President of the United States in conjunction with the Department of Justice headed by the United States Attorney General, William P. Rogers, have an opportunity to wipe out all previous ill propaganda established against this Nation from most all foreign Countries, by taking a firm hand on this recent decision, by stopping it where it is and use your power backed by the United States Supreme Court and demand integration in the Arkansas Central High School again this September and prove to the World that Democracy is not only a theory but a workable fact.

You will find this step will destroy all adverse propaganda put by our greatest enemy, to destroy Democracy; we cannot deny millions of youth higher education and continue to compete with other Nations. We sincerely hope you will keep Democracy foremost in the minds of those who will lose FAITH if you yield to the enemies of Democracy.

Sincerely and Respectfully Yours,


ADOLPHUS B. CLAY,
Director

G.F.

August 7, 1958

REIVED
AUG 9 1958
MAIL FILES

Dear Mr. Strobel:

I have been asked to acknowledge your recent letter to the President.

Your views have been read with understanding and with genuine appreciation that you have taken the time to communicate them to us. The President and his entire staff are most interested in what you have to say about the difficult Little Rock situation.

Please be assured that the President will, to the best of his ability, take whatever action he feels is best for America.

Sincerely,

E. Frederic Morrow

Mr. Charles J. Strobel
6910 - 67th Place
Brooklyn 27
New York

pk

CHARLES J. STROBEL *Insurance Consultant*

LIFE
GENERAL

6910 - 67TH PLACE ✓
BROOKLYN 27, N. Y.
E V . 2 - 7 8 9 4

August 4th, 1958.

Hon. Dwight E. Eisenhower,
President of the United States,
Washington, D. C.

Honorable Sir ;-

The writer, a lifelong registered Republican, wishes to express satisfaction with the present administration, in all respects, except one.

My business brings me into contact with all types of people. This is why I write. Most of these people, like myself, find fault with the handling of the Little Rock situation. The following seems to be the general opinion of the people with whom I have spoken with respect to the Little Rock setup.

Mr. President may I suggest the following for your consideration ;-

No more new students to be entered into a colored school in the elementary or kindergarden classes. These infants should be entered into white schools where they can grow up with white children of the same ages. Those students now in colored schools must stay there and finish. As they graduate, these schools will close up for lack of new students. So, in time there will be no more white or colored schools--only schools for all races. These children will grow up appreciating each others rights and abilities.

To me, the biggest headache involved in this matter, is that no matter how hard the whites try to please the older colored people, memories of past injustices blind the colored to the future. Just as many southerners are still fighting the Civil War, so are the colored living in the past. Educating the infant colored children from the first class on, will serve to create a bulwark of learning and understanding against the home teaching of the elders.

Won't you please give consideration to this ?

With best wishes for continued good health, may I remain

Just an American,

Charles Strobel

G.F.

RECEIVED
AUG 13 1958
CENTRAL FILES

August 13, 1958

Dear Mr. Thomas:

Your recent letter addressed to the President has been received.

We appreciate your interest in writing to the President and giving such an intelligent observation about the situation in Little Rock. //

The President has demonstrated his determination to see to it that the provisions of the Constitution are enforced, and he is attempting, by precept and example, to assist all Americans to walk this land in dignity and security.

You know, of course, that the posture of the present situation is completely in the hands of the Court. All of us can only wait and hope that its decision will be the one that will be the best, not only for Little Rock and Arkansas, but for our great country.

The President thanks you for your interest in writing and for the thoughtful content of your letter.

Sincerely,

E. Frederic Morrow

Mr. Ellis Thomas
1219 West 20th Street
Little Rock
Arkansas

pk

1219 West 20th Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

August 4, 1958

The President
The White House
Washington 25, D. C.

Sir:

We wish to again thank you for your consideration with reference to our children who attended Central High School last year. We also ask that you continue this assistance in the years to follow.

You have, no doubt, received many reports with reference to this matter, therefore it occurs to us that perhaps you would be interested in hearing from the parents directly.

Although the children were insulted and attacked on several occasions by a small organized group within the school, these offenses were not of such severity that any of our children ever considered withdrawing. In fact, it is our hope that September will again find them at Central High School. Certainly, we would not desire this for our children, if we considered their lives in danger, or feared that they would be ill affected in any way.

In all fairness, we would like to commend the majority of the white students at Central High, who have not been guilty of any of the above described acts. Rather, these misdemeanors were perpetrated by a small group, who, when disciplined, were immediately supported by the White Citizens Council.

In like manner, we are also favorable towards the parents of the students who were guilty of said offenses. It was the experience of one of the parents to receive assurance that there would be no such repetition of the acts committed by their children. He received seven such assurances on as many occasions.

We are, of course, familiar with the contention of the School Board that the Federal Government left the Board in an untenable position. When we met with the Superintendent of Schools, he informed us that he was quite capable of handling the situation. We, of course, were surprised when he made the statement in court that the quality of education had suffered. At previous meetings with him, he had made no such contention.

We realize the burdens of your office are onerous, but we are asking that you take the initiative in solving this problem.

Very respectfully yours,

Ellis Thomas

G.F.

August 14, 1958

Dear Miss Crenovich:

This is to acknowledge your post card to the President in which you urge the intervention of the Attorney General in the argument in the Little Rock school case before the United States Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit.

As you know, the case has been fully argued and all the issues laid before the Court by the parties of record on both sides, and the Court has not seen fit to request the assistance of the Department of Justice.

Sincerely,

E. Frederic Morrow

Miss Estille Crenovich
245 Avenue C
New York 9, New York

pk

Segregation

245 Ave C
NY 9 NY
July 28

To the President of The United States
White House, Washington, D.C.

Urge That you call upon the Department of Justice to intervene as a "friend of the court" in the Little Rock case now before the Circuit Court of Appeals, in order to uphold the Supreme Court's desegregation decision as the law of the land, and to prevent the Arkansas and Little Rock authorities from obtaining legal justification for renewed assaults on the law and democratic rights.

Estelle Crenovich

G.F.

August 14, 1958

Dear Mr. Field:

This is to acknowledge your letter to the President in which you urge the intervention of the Attorney General in the argument in the Little Rock school case before the United States Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit.

As you know, the case has been fully argued and all the issues laid before the Court by the parties of record on both sides, and the Court has not seen fit to request the assistance of the Department of Justice.

Sincerely,

E. Frederic Morrow

Lyman Field, Esq.
600 East 11th Street
Kansas City 6
Missouri

pk

67

GENERAL LITIGATION SECTION

LAW OFFICES OF
ROGERS, FIELD, GENTRY & JACKSON

CLAY C ROGERS
LYMAN FIELD
REED O GENTRY
DON M JACKSON
JAMES W BENJAMIN
JACK B ROBERTSON
ROBERT L SHIRKEY
JAMES L MULLER
GENE C MORRIS
WILLIAM A KITCHEN
ALFRED O HARDY

CHARLES L CARR, COUNSEL

TELEPHONE VICTOR 2-6031
600 EAST 11TH STREET
KANSAS CITY 6, MISSOURI

July 19, 1958

The Honorable Dwight D. Eisenhower
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D. C.

RECEIVED
AUG 4 8 42 AM '58
CIVIL RIGHTS
DIVISION

Dear Mr. President:

As a lawyer within the Federal Eighth Circuit, it seems to me, because of the great public national and international importance of the coming hearing before the United States Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals in the appeal from the recent decision of District Judge Lemley in the Little Rock Case, that the Attorney General should intervene and assist the appellants to the extent of a brief and oral argument as amicus curiae.

The Little Rock situation was of such serious consequence that in your considered judgment it required the intervention of federal troops. Surely, therefore, the related court litigation likewise would require at least the participation by the Department of Justice as amicus curiae.

Beyond the immediate legal issues there is the overriding and basic issue of whether the national sovereignty can be flouted, impuned and ignored by local intimidation.

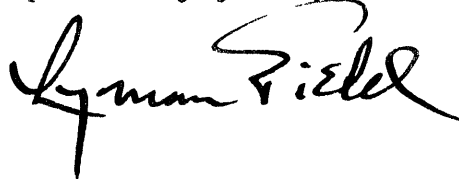
In my individual opinion, were the Eighth Circuit to not have the benefit of all possible assistance in a proper legal analysis of the issues and were that court to unfortunately uphold the action of Judge Lemley, such result could have tragic international consequence in providing more grist for the Communist propaganda mills abroad.

NO DOCKET CARD

The Honorable Dwight D. Eisenhower - 2 - July 19, 1958

I therefore humbly petition you to secure the intervention of the Department of Justice in this appeal as amicus curiae in order that every issue may be fully briefed and argued before that high court.

Respectfully yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Lyman Field". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned to the right of the typed name "Lyman Field".

LF/dmw

G.F.

127 11
August 14, 1958

Dear Mrs. Wilson:

This is to acknowledge your letter to the President in which you urge the intervention of the Attorney General in the argument in the Little Rock school case before the United States Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit.

As you know, the case has been fully argued and all the issues laid before the Court by the parties of record on both sides, and the Court has not seen fit to request the assistance of the Department of Justice.

Sincerely,

E. Frederic Morrow

Mrs. A. F. Wilson
The Rookery
Rogers Rock Club
Ticonderoga, New York

pk

13
5

The Rookery
Rogers Rock Club
Ticonderoga, New York

July 18th
1958

President Dwight D. Eisenhower
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

May I earnestly urge you to have the
Attorney General file an amicus curiae
brief in the case next month about integrat-
ion in the Little Rock Schools?

Sincerely yours,

A. F. Wilson
(Mrs. A.F. Wilson)

G.F!

August 14, 1958

Dear Mr. Wasserstrom:

This is to acknowledge your letter to the President in which you urge the intervention of the Attorney General in the argument in the Little Rock school case before the United States Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit.

As you know, the case has been fully argued and all the issues laid before the Court by the parties of record on both sides, and the Court has not seen fit to request the assistance of the Department of Justice.

Sincerely,

E. Frederic Morrow

Solbert M. Wasserstrom, Esq.
Suite 1208-10 Commerce Building
Kansas City 6, Missouri

pk

TERTE, LEVI, ROSENWALD, WASSERSTROM AND LEVITT
ATTORNEYS AT LAW

HARRY H TERTE
PHILIP L LEVI
ROBERT E ROSENWALD
SOLBERT M WASSERSTROM
JULIAN M LEVITT

SUITE 1208-10 COMMERCE BUILDING
KANSAS CITY 6, MISSOURI

July 17, 1958

TELEPHONE HA 1-5166

Hon. Dwight D. Eisenhower
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

People not only throughout this country, but likewise throughout the world, look with concern to the problem of integration of Negro children into our public school system. The recent decision of Judge Lemley in the Little Rock case has been the source of much alarm. The coming hearing before the United States Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals will be awaited anxiously and will carry weighty consequences.

As a lawyer within the federal Eighth Circuit, I personally am highly interested in that the excellent judicial panel which is to hear the appeal will have the greatest possible assistance in deciding this case. It is especially important that the public, national and international aspects of the situation be amply presented. This, in my opinion, requires a presentation by the Attorney General of a brief and oral argument as amicus curiae.

The Little Rock situation was of sufficient gravity to require the intervention of federal troops. For even more reason, the related court litigation requires the participation of the federal legal agency. The ultimate legal issue is whether the national sovereignty can be flouted by local thuggery and intimidation.

In the current grave international crisis, involving what the U. S. S. R. will call the use of force by white nations to repress colored populations, we cannot afford weakness in the Little Rock situation. I humbly urge you to direct the Attorney General to ask the United States Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit for leave to file a brief amicus curiae and to argue orally in the Little Rock case.

Respectfully yours,

Solbert M. Wasserstrom

Solbert M. Wasserstrom

SMW:rw

NO DOCKET CARD

2

*Tell Morrow
I talked with
this man by
telephone G.F.
H*

124-111
The White House
Washington

WA060 PD

FAX PHILADELPHIA PENN AUG 21 1238PME

1958 AUG 21 PM 2 43

E FREDERICK MORROW

THE WHITE HOUSE

THE SITUATION GROWING OUT OF THE WILKINS AFFAIR AND THE TEMPER OF THE NEGRO PRESS IN GENERAL MAKES URGENT SOME KIND OF TOP LEVEL CONVERSATION BEFORE THE LITTLE ROCK DEVELOPMENTS BREAK ON THE PUBLIC. CAN YOU ARRANGE OFF RECORD CONFERENCE WITH GOVERNOR PYLE SO THAT SOME OF THE TRAGEDY WE FACE IN THE NOVEMBER ELECTIONS MAY BE AVERTED BY WHITE HOUSE PLANNING? IT IS ABSOLUTELY UP TO THE

ADMINISTRATION. THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE HAS NO TESTIMONY AMONG NEGROES AND IT WOULD BE FUTILE TO TAKE THE PROBLEMS THERE. OUR CONGRESSIONAL AND GUBERNATORIAL CHANCES IN MANY SPOTS STAND IN AWFUL JEOPARDY UNLESS THE ADMINISTRATION GETS INTO THIS ACT AND MORE CAREFULLY PLANS ITS APPROACH TO NEGROES. WITH BEST WISHES

JOSEPH V BAKER.

*There's just this -
We need something
to get the
message across -
Hester
Hester*

G.F.

August 22, 1958

RECEIVED
AUG 25 1958
COMMUNICATIONS

Dear Dr. Tobias:

The President has asked me to thank you for your warm telegram of August twentieth congratulating him upon his press conference remarks concerning Little Rock. It always pleases the President when busy citizens take time out to send him a note of encouragement for the efforts he is making to do well a very difficult job.

Those of us who work with him every day are more than conscious of his desire to diminish man's inhumanity to man, and to do all he can by precept and example to make first-class citizenship for every American a reality.

Sincerely,

E. Frederic Morrow

Dr. Channing H. Tobias
Chairman
Board of Directors
NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York, N. Y.

pk

Int. Hood

THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE
ROUTE SLIP
(To Remain With Correspondence)

RECEIVED
AUG 22 1958
MAIL ROOM

TO Mr. Morrow

PROMPT HANDLING IS ESSENTIAL.
WHEN DRAFT REPLY IS REQUESTED
THE BASIC CORRESPONDENCE MUST
BE RETURNED. IF ANY DELAY IN
SUBMISSION OF DRAFT REPLY IS
ENCOUNTERED, PLEASE TELEPHONE
OFFICE OF THE STAFF SECRETARY.

Date August 21, 1958

FROM THE STAFF SECRETARY

- ACTION:** Comment _____
Draft reply _____
For direct reply _____
For your information _____
For necessary action _____
For appropriate handling _____
See below _____

Remarks:

GPO 16-71261-1

Tel of 8/20/58 to the P from Dr. Channing By direction of the President:
H. Tobias, Chairman, Bd. of Directors,
NAACP, NYC; pro the P's press conference
remarks concerning Little Rock.

A. J. GOODPASTER
Staff Secretary

elb

The White House
Washington

WA116 PD

NEW YORK NY AUG 20 705PME

1958 AUG 20 PM 10 02

THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE

AS CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF NAACP AND
PERSONALLY I CONGRATULATE YOU WHOLEHEARTEDLY ON YOUR
PRESS CONFERENCE REMARKS CONCERNING LITTLE ROCK I
BELIEVE FIRMLY IN YOUR POSITION AND SEE NO OTHER COURSE
TO FOLLOW THAT WILL UPHOLD THE JUDICIARY AND HONOR OF
THE UNITED STATES

CHANNING H TOBIAS.

G.F.

September 1, 1958

Dear Mr. Lee:

The President asked me to acknowledge and thank you for your telegram of August twenty-sixth concerning the Little Rock integration case. The President appreciates your interest in wiring him about this matter.

With kind regards,

Sincerely,

Gerald D. Morgan
Special Counsel to the President

Mr. J. Oscar Lee
Executive Director
Department of Racial and Cultural
Relations
The National Council of Churches
Bon Aire Hotel
Augusta, Georgia

Readdressed
297 4th Avenue,
New York, N.Y.

ARD

RECEIVED
AUG 26 1958
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

RECEIVED
AUG 26 1958

40004

The White House
Washington

1958 AUG 26 PM 11 05

WA146 NL PD

NEW YORK NY AUG 26

THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE

THIS IS TO URGE YOU TO AUTHORIZE THE UNITED STATES SOLICITOR GENERAL TO FILE A BRIEF AND TO PARTICIPATE IN THE ORAL ARGUMENT IN THE LITTLE ROCK CASE WHEN IT COMES BEFORE THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT STOP WE HOPE THAT THE CIRCUIT COURT OF APPEALS DECISION ON THE LEMLEY DECISION MAY BE SUSTAINED AND THAT THE STAY MAY

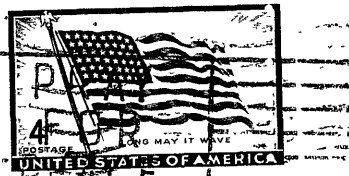
*Box One
Hotel
August
Georgia*

print not filed 9/1/58

BE VACATED PROMPTLY WE BELIEVE THAT A DELAY OF 2-1/2 YEARS
IS CONTRADICTORY TO THE SPIRIT OF THE 1954 SUPREME COURT DECISION
CALLING FOR THE ELIMINATION OF RACIAL SEGREGATION FROM THE PUBLIC
SCHOOLS AND TO THE SPIRIT OF THE 1955 DECISION STIPULATING THAT
IT BE DONE WITH ALL DELIBERATE SPEED THE NATION LOOKS TO YOU FOR
MORAL AND SPIRITUAL LEADERSHIP IN DEALING WITH THIS CRUCIAL ISSUE

J OSCAR LEE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR DEPT OF RACIAL AND CULTURAL
RELATIONS THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES.

THE WHITE HOUSE



*Not at Box Car
Return
to
Sender*

Mr. J. Oscar Lee
Executive Director
Department of Racial and Cultural
Relations
The National Council of Churches
~~Ron Aire Hotel~~
Augusta, Georgia

WRITER



G.F.

September 9, 1958

Dear Mrs. Darden:

In response to your request of September fourth addressed to Mr. Hagerty, I am replying in his absence from Washington.

I am sending you a copy of the Executive Order issued by the President in relation to the Little Rock situation in September, 1957.

Sincerely,

Helen Peterson
Secretary in
the Press Office

Mrs. Ida M. Darden
Editor
The Southern Conservative
Flatiron Building
Fort Worth, Texas

CE

September 4, 1958

Mr. Darden, Editor
The Southern Conservative
Flatiron Building
Fort Worth, Texas

THE SOUTHERN CONSERVATIVE

- To plead for a return of Constitutional Government -

IDA M. DARDEN
EDITOR

Flatiron Building
FORT WORTH, TEXAS

SEPTEMBER 4, 1958.

MR. JAMES HAGERTY,
THE WHITE HOUSE,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

DEAR MR. HAGERTY:

ACCORDING TO OTTO GEER TAGUE IN THE EDITORIAL
SECTION OF THE CINCINNATI ENQUIRER, COPY OF
WHICH IS BEFORE ME, DATE NOT GIVEN, THE PRESIDENT,
IN HIS PROCLAMATION ISSUED IN CONNECTION WITH THE
SENDING TROOPS INTO LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS, SAID:

"NOW, THEREFORE, BY VIRTUE OF THE AUTHORITY
VESTED IN ME BY THE CONSTITUTION, STATUTES
AND TREATIES OF THE STATES, INCLUDING THE
CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND AS PRES-
IDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, IT IS HEREBY
ORDERED" ETC.

AS A TAXPAYER ENTITLED TO INFORMATION CONCERNING
THE OPERATION OF THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT BY ITS
ELECTED OFFICIALS, I AM WRITING TO ASK YOU TO ADVISE
ME IF THE PRESIDENT'S PROCLAMATION ORDERING TROOPS
INTO LITTLE ROCK CONTAINED THE ABOVE PREAMBLE.

I AM ENCLOSING STAMPED, SELF-ADDRESSED ENVELOPE
FOR REPLY AND WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR EARLY RESPONSE.

SINCERELY,
Ida M. Darden
(MRS) IDA M. DARDEN

G.F.

C.F.

September 13, 1958

Dear Mr. Pestronk:

The President asked me to acknowledge and thank you for your letter of September ninth concerning Solicitor General Rankin's arguments on behalf of the Negro students in the Little Rock school before the Supreme Court. The President appreciated your thoughtfulness in writing.

With kind regards,

Sincerely,

Gerald D. Morgan
Special Counsel to the President

Mr. Seymour Pestronk
130 Eva Drive
Long Beach, New York



THE WHITE HOUSE
SEP 12 12 06 PM '58

RECEIVED
BOARD OF EDUCATION
CITY SCHOOL DISTRICT OF THE CITY OF LONG BEACH
LONG BEACH, NEW YORK
130 Eva Drive.

SEYMOUR PESTRONK

9 September 1958

Dear Mr. President

The brief and oral arguments presented to the United States Supreme Court by Solicitor-General Rankin on behalf of the Negro students in the Little Rock school integration case constitute a policy statement of which your administration can be proud.

To assert the moral leadership of the executive branch of the government as well as its responsibility for law enforcement is a step forward in our nation's progress toward equality of educational opportunity.

Congratulations and best wishes.

Sincerely yours

SEYMOUR PESTRONK

President Dwight D. Eisenhower
White House
Washington, D.C.

sg

G.F.

September 15, 1958

Dear Judge Johnson:

The President has asked me to thank you for your friendly and commendatory letter of August twenty-fifth. He is most appreciative when any citizen realizes the great burdens he carries in these difficult times, and takes the pains to write him with understanding about his efforts to do what is best at all times for the entire country.

It is always comforting to have the reasoning reassurance of responsible citizens such as yourself in such controversial situations.

Sincerely,

E. Frederic Morrow

The Honorable Carl R. Johnson
Judge of Division 3
Municipal Court
1125 Locust Street
Kansas City, Missouri

EFM/pk

RECEIVED
AUG 27 12 39 PM '58
MUNICIPAL COURT
KANSAS CITY 6 MISSOURI

CRJ



City of
KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI

THE WHITE HOUSE

AUG 27 12 39 PM '58

RECEIVED

EARLE W FROST JUDGE OF DIVISION 1
AYERS BLOCHER JUDGE OF DIVISION 2
CARL R JOHNSON JUDGE OF DIVISION 3
EUGENE R BROUSE JUDGE OF DIVISION 4

MUNICIPAL COURT
1125 LOCUST STREET
KANSAS CITY 6 MISSOURI
BALTIMORE 1-1400

August 25, 1958

President Dwight D. Eisenhower
White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

This is a note to commend you for the very fine and forthright position you took on the 8th Circuit Court of Appeals and the Little Rock comment at your press conference last Wednesday.

I personally feel that regardless of the difference of opinions that may exist on the question of equality of rights for citizens based on race that we must all agree there can be but one law and one reliable interpretation and enforcement of that law. If we fail to respect and uphold the laws of our country and the edicts of the head of our government there could be but little hope for the democratic security of our nation. No section of our population, no state of our union has the right to reserve for itself the right to respect only those laws of our land that are least offensive to them. We are sworn and obligated to a united government, and a united support of the public welfare. We may differ in the method or manner in which we arrive at our ultimate objectives, but once we have arrived at them it is our duty to respect and feel bound by them.

I again commend you for the position you took, and do hope that you will continue to insist upon the total respect for the edicts of our government and the final judgements of our courts.

Respectfully yours,

Carl R. Johnson
Carl R. Johnson, Judge

CRJ:ed

①

G.F.

124-A1

School
G. Kansas
L

9/10

Mr. Hagerty -

This, apparently, was just sent for your information. The President received the original on it.

Helen P.

COPY TELEGRAM

SEPTEMBER 18, 1958

PRESIDENT DWIGHT EISENHOWER
WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

DEAR PRESIDENT EISENHOWER:

I HAVE NEVER BEFORE ENTERED INTO ANY POLITICAL
ISSUES AND DO NOT NOW WISH TO DO SO, BUT I FEEL
I MUST EXPRESS MY FEELINGS, AS AN AMERICAN
CITIZEN. I CAN'T HELP BUT FEEL AN INJUSTICE
WHEN GOVERNOR FAUBUS IS ALLOWED TO DICTATE
POLICIES TO OUR GOVERNMENT, AND WONDER, IF
HIS AUTHORIZATION IS SO POWERFUL WHAT WILL
RUSSIA DO TO US.

A PROUD AMERICAN COMEDIAN

JERRY LEWIS

6
G.F.

September 22, 1958

Dear Mr. Bartlett:

Your recent letter to the President has been received. He and his staff are most interested in your views regarding the rights of Negro citizens.

Please be assured that the President will resolutely continue to carry out the responsibilities of his office, which are inherent in his oath.

I am enclosing for your reference a transcript of the President's statement made on September twelfth.

Sincerely,

E. Frederic Morrow

Mr. Amos S. Bartlett
G and Secretary
Most Worshipful Prince Hall Grand Lodge
F. & A. M. of Missouri and Jurisdiction
1036 West End Place
Moberly, Missouri

Enclosure

gls

Most Worshipful Prince Hall Grand Lodge, F. & A. M.

OF MISSOURI AND JURISDICTION

M W E R BRYSON (79), 32°
Grand Master
Telephone: Fo. 1-5535
782 Bayard Ave., St. Louis, Mo.

R W WILBUR KIRKPATRICK (9), 32°
Deputy Grand Master
510 E. Dunklin St., Jefferson City, Mo.

R W CURTIS O. FINCH (64)
Grand Senior Warden
3110 Benton Blvd, Kansas City, Mo

R. W. JOHN B. HUGHES (151)
Grand Junior Warden
606 N. Jefferson, Springfield, Mo.

R. W. AMOS S. BARTLETT (34)
Grand Secretary
1036 West End Place, Moberly, Mo.

R. W. J. LEWIS THOMAS (164)
Grand Treasurer
410 N. 4th St, Columbia, Mo.

R. W. ANTOINE L. MURPHY (76)
Grand Relief Secretary
2208 E 25th St, Kansas City, Mo.

W. REV. W. A. COOPER (79)
Grand Chaplain
613 N. Garrison, St. Louis, Mo.

C A HARRINGTON (28)
Member Relief Board
106 Minnow St., Hannibal, Mo.

ROBERT SIMPSON (23)
Member Relief Board
3857 Windsor Place, St. Louis, Mo.

WAITE H. MADISON, M.D., 33°, P.G.M. (20)
C. C. F. C.
454 West Marion St., Marshall Mo.

SAMUEL E. MOORE, M.D., 33°, P.G.M. (91)
Grand Medical Examiner
2330A Franklin Ave., St. Louis, Mo.



AMOS S. BARTLETT, *Grand Secretary*
1036 West End Place, Moberly, Mo.
Phone 1038

August 18, 1958

Mr. President:

The following resolution was adopted by the Most Worshipful Prince Hall Grand Lodge, F. and A. M. of Missouri in its 92nd Annual Communication held in Springfield, Missouri, July 9, 10, 11, 1958:

Whereas, the "Little Rock" incident, wherein the Governor of the State of Arkansas moved to prevent the execution of the judgment or order of Federal District Judge Davies ordering the admission of Negroes to the Central High School of that city in conformity with the plan worked out by the Little Rock school board, and thereby challenging the authority of the said Federal District Court to the extent that President Eisenhower was finally impelled to use the power of his office to uphold the law, and

Whereas, the ruling of Judge Harry Lemley, Chief District Judge of the Federal District Courts of Arkansas, has granted the plea of the school board of Little Rock for a two and a half years delay in implementing the prior court order of Judge Davies, said ruling being tantamount to reversal or nullification, and

Whereas, the said ruling of the said Judge Lemley has caused widespread confusion throughout the Nation and the world and, if allowed to stand, may well disrupt, undermine and perhaps ultimately destroy the effectiveness of the whole area of school integration as decreed by the Supreme Court,

Therefore, Be it resolved that we, the officers and delegates of the Most Worshipful Prince Hall Grand Lodge, F. and A. M. of Missouri, in regular convocation assembled this 11th day of July, 1958, do hereby and herewith express, in no uncertain terms, our

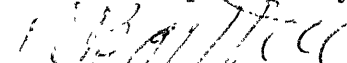
disappointment in a Federal Judge who would so flagrantly disregard his oath of office as to flout rather than uphold the law, and our utter dismay at the confusion and consternation resulting therefrom, and

Be It Further Resolved that we express our appreciation to the Honorable Dwight D. Eisenhower, President of the United States, for his efforts toward enforcement of the law in the instant matter up to now, and we herein petition him to further use his official power to the end that the sanctity of the Supreme Law will not be invaded, and

Be It Further Resolved that we commend the efforts of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and its petitioning attorneys in seeking to protect the citizenship rights of Negroes generally, and particularly its local leaders on the Little Rock scene for the admirable manner in which they have conducted themselves under the vast vexatious and humiliating circumstances, and

Be It Still Further Resolved that a copy of this resolution be made a part of the proceedings of this 92nd annual session of our grand lodge; a copy sent to President Eisenhower and copies sent to the national office of the Little Rock chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Yours respectfully,


Amos S. Bartlett
Grand Secretary

D. R. Bryson
M. W. Grand Master

The President
The White House
Washington 25, D. C.