DESEGREGATION
SCHOOLS
ARKANSAS
LITTLE ROCK - CENTRAL HIGH
1958 July - Dec.
July 1, 1958

MEMORANDUM TO MR. WILKINS FROM MR. CURRENT

Attached are clippings from the Arkansas Gazette and Democrat indicating that the Attorney General, Bruce Bennett, may subpoena Daniel Byrd and myself, along with others in attendance at an NAACP meeting in Little Rock, October 22-24, 1954.

Another article indicates that Bennett was informed by someone of our telegrams to branches urging that telegrams be sent to the President and Attorney General William P. Rogers. Bennett attributed our telegram to Thurgood Marshall and the Inc. Fund, rather than to the Executive Secretary of the NAACP.

George Howard, president of the Pine Bluff Branch, was quoted as sending telegrams on behalf of the branch to the President and Attorney General.

Perhaps you may want to correct Mr. Bennett for the sake of accuracy as to who called for the action.

GC: corn attachment
July 3, 1958

Mr. James A. Atkins, President
Better Community Civic Association
2720 Race Street
Denver 5, Colorado

Dear Mr. Atkins:

Thank you for your recent letter on the Little Rock situation and the suggestion that if the court order should stand and desegregation be suspended until 1961, the Negro children be sent elsewhere in the country to school.

I am sure this and all other suggestions will be given careful consideration. A chief difficulty (which I am sure you recognize) is that these are teen age children who belong with their families. The mothers and fathers would have to have the last word on any proposal for their future schooling.

There is also the very important item of expense and the still more important one of responsibility for the day to day welfare of the youngsters should they be separated from their families. The matter is a complicated one involving more than group prestige, or a contest with Faubus, significant though that is.

We are hopeful, in view of the clear statement of the United States Supreme Court, that the Circuit Court of Appeals in St. Louis will act before September to clarify the situation created by the Lemley ruling.

You may be sure that your suggestion will be weighed in the light of the situation existing in September.

Very sincerely yours,

Roy Wilkins,
Executive Secretary
Suggestion Concerning "Little Rock"

Dear Mr. Wilkins:

When "the invincible pugilist" is knocked down he usually rises and says in his heart, if not to his little world, "I've just begun to fight!" That is exactly what we must do in the face of the latest Little Rock reverse.

Whether we should proclaim our true intention to the world, I am not prepared to say. But we should see to it that not one of our children who attended Central High School of Little Rock last school year goes back to the segregated Afro-American High School of Little Rock. All of them should be shipped to cities outside the South where they can attend and must attend integrated schools. This, until they have finished high school.

I am writing this because I sincerely believe that we should not let the law's delays humiliate and disgrace the rest of us in the sight of people of courage throughout the world. In dealing with Faubus, I would spring on him the surprise of his life in the fall when the school bells ring. And continue the legal fight, of course.

This letter is not for publication - only for your "Suggestion Box." This is not in fear. My name may be used at the head or at the bottom of the list of those who would fight Faubus-ism to the death.

Sincerely,

James A. Atkins  
President
ST LOUIS COURT ANNOUNCED TODAY IT WILL HEAR LITTLE ROCK CASE BEFORE SEPTEMBER IF EITHER SIDE PETITIONS WITHIN 7 DAYS STOP RADIO STATION KMOX REACHED LITTLE ROCK SCHOOL BOARD STOP THEY WILL NOT STATION ANXIOUS FOR NAACP RESPONSE STOP WHAT SHALL I SAY

DEVERNE CALLOWAY

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE
Dear Roy:

I thought you would like a copy of our letter to Attorney General Rogers urging the government to intervene through an amicus brief in opposition to Judge Lemoy's order in the Little Rock case.

Cordially yours,

Alan Reitman
Assistant Director
FOR RELEASE: WEDNESDAY A.M. NEWSPAPERS, JULY 16, 1958

(ADVANCE) NEW YORK, N.Y., JULY 15.--The American Civil Liberties Union today called on the Justice Department to oppose a Federal district judge's order suspending public school desegregation in Little Rock.

Declaring that Judge Harry J. Ienley's recent ruling allowing the Little Rock's school board's plan to lapse until 1961 "will have serious adverse consequences" for the desegregation doctrine laid down by the U.S. Supreme Court in its 1954 decision, the civil liberties group urged the government to file a friend of the court brief on the appeal of Judge Lemley's order to the Court of Appeals. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is appealing Judge Lemley's decision.

The ACLU request was made in a letter to Attorney General William P. Rogers and signed by executive director Patrick Murphy Malin.

"The idea of desegregation has been argued for eighty years," Malin wrote. "The U.S. government has stated its position in the argument...We respectfully urge that it is now the responsibility of the Executive branch of the government to insure the application of the Supreme Court's decision by arguing that a lower court opinion not in consonance with that decision be set aside on appeal."

The Supreme Court's decision, the ACLU said, instructed federal district courts to implement its desegregation order "with all deliberate speed." Although the high court intended this standard to be applied on a case by case basis, the Union declared, "the one express limitation placed upon the discretion to be exercised below was that the constitutional principles expounded" could not be given up simply because of disagreement with the decision.

Disagreement and dispute "is at the heart of our Constitution," the ACLU letter said, but "disagreement cannot be allowed to prevail over the judgment of the Supreme Court."

The ACLU letter acknowledged Judge Lemley's finding that the Little Rock educational program was seriously impaired, but added, "neither can we ignore...that Judge Lemley could not ignore, that the source of the trouble was the deep seated popular opposition...to the principle of integration."

Desegregation itself does not inevitably result in the evils described by Judge Lemley, the ACLU asserted. "There must be public hostility to generate these evils, and if the concept of all deliberate speed includes waiting for the abatement of hostility to desegregation than the concept is a chimera."
Dear Mr. Rogers:

We believe that the recent decision by Judge Harry J. Lemley in the Little Rock school desegregation case (Aaron et al. v. Cooper et al.) will have serious adverse consequences for the doctrine announced by the U.S. Supreme Court in Brown v. Bd. of Education. Consequently, we urge the vital importance of government intervention as amicus curiae on the appeal of Judge Lemley's ruling to the Court of Appeals.

In the second Brown case, the Supreme Court instructed the district courts to implement its desegregation order "with all deliberate speed." Although the Court intended its standard to be applied on an ad hoc basis, the one express limitation placed upon the discretion to be exercised below was that the constitutional principles expounded in Brown could not "be allowed to yield simply because of disagreement with them."

We do not ignore the fact that Judge Lemley found that the "educational" program was seriously impaired, that the orderly administration of the school was practically disrupted, and that educational standards have suffered, and that he permitted suspension of the Board's integration plan for those reasons. Neither can we ignore, however, that which Judge Lemley could not ignore, namely, that "the source of the trouble was the deep seated popular opposition in Little Rock to the principle of integration."

July 8, 1958

Attorney General William P. Rogers
Department of Justice
Washington 25, D.C.
Desegregation, *in fact*, does not inevitably result in the evils enumerated by Judge Lemley. There must be public hostility to generate those evils, and if the concept of "all deliberate speed" includes waiting for the abatement of hostility to desegregation, then the concept is a chimera.

Provision for disagreement and dispute is at the heart of our Constitution, and as Justice Douglas said in *Terminello v. U.S.*, "Dispute may indeed best serve its high purpose when it induces a condition of unrest, creates dissatisfaction with conditions as they are, or even stirs people to anger.... It may strike at prejudices and preconceptions and have profound unsettling effects as it presses for acceptance of an idea." But disagreement cannot be allowed to prevail over the judgment of the Supreme Court.

The idea of desegregation has been argued for eighty years. The U.S. Government has stated its position in the argument as *amicus curiae* in the *Brown* case. We respectfully urge that it is now the responsibility of the Executive branch of the government to insure the application of the Supreme Court's decision by arguing that a lower court opinion not in consonance with that decision be set aside on appeal.

Sincerely yours,

Patrick Murphy Malin
Executive Director
July 22, 1958

Dr. Kenneth Clark
Northside Center for Child Development
31 West 110th Street
New York, New York

Dear Ken:

Sorry you were on your way to the Golden West before I could get in touch with you regarding our unfinished business in the matter of Minnijean Brown and the expenses you incurred in connection with her stay. We had, as you recall, planned to get together to discuss the suitable amount of the Association's responsibility for this but could not do so before the convention intervened.

This is chiefly to say that we do regard it as unfinished business and that we look forward to working things out with you or with Marie on your return.

It is also possible that things need not wait until then. If you have a suggestion along these lines which you want to send on to me, perhaps we can consider it and act on it somewhat sooner.

Meantime, have a good vacation.

Sincerely,

John A. Morsell
Assistant to the Executive Secretary
Dear Branch President:

The victory of Governor Faubus in Arkansas was not unexpected in the light of our advance information. The size of the victory was unexpected. We thought he would win, but not by so large a margin.

We must recognize that the Faubus victory will have an effect far beyond the borders of Arkansas, but we must not be frightened by it. We must continue our work for desegregation more intensely than ever.

Governor Faubus himself brought on the Arkansas situation by calling out state troops to bar Negro children from Central High School after a Federal court had ordered them admitted. Had it not been for Gov. Faubus, Little Rock would have had peaceful integration at Central High School. All that has happened since the state troops moved in last September can be traced to the policies and actions of Gov. Faubus.

This is no time for the faint of heart. It is time for men and women and children of courage -- such courage as has already been demonstrated at Little Rock, Montgomery, Clinton and a dozen other cities in the South.

We are in this struggle to win -- and win we will. The Faubus triumph is of the moment, but it cannot last unless we succumb to defeatism. We have known setbacks before. And we have overcome them. We will likewise overcome this latest development.

Now, as never before, the NAACP is needed. We are in this struggle not for ourselves alone, but for the whole of America. As President Eisenhower pointed out in his address to the nation last September 24, "it would be difficult to exaggerate the harm that is being done to the prestige and influence, and indeed to the safety, of our nation and the world." The Faubus victory has compounded that danger.

The issue is now between Gov. Faubus and the Federal government. It is the duty of the Federal government to support and protect its courts, including the United States Supreme Court. It remains to be seen what will happen when school opens in Arkansas in September.

Our answer must be in the closing of our ranks in firm support of the Supreme Court decision. Far from backing down in the face of the Faubus victory, we are challenged to redouble our efforts, to expand our membership, to enlist support from every decent American, to increase our financial resources in order to continue the good fight.

Fortunately, Arkansas does not represent the entire nation. The vast majority of Americans believe in law and order and looks with horror on organized defiance of our national institutions and constituted authority. In our struggle, we can count on the support of this majority.

Very sincerely yours,

Roy Wilkins
Executive Secretary

August 1, 1958
Faustus Victory Called Protest Against Troops

A top official of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People denied here yesterday that Arkansas Gov. Orval Faubus' landrieu recognition was a mandate against school integration.

This decision turned only on the surface on the integration question, Roy S. Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary, said in an interview televised by KMOX-TV.

The turning force was the map federal trooper idea," he asserted. "Many people who had no strong feeling on an integration voted for Faubus because of the use of federal troops in Little Rock.

He said the troop issue and "pure racism" were injected into the campaign in "inflammatory" fashion. But he added that some 200,000 registered Arkansas voters didn't feel it was necessary to come out and vote in the primary despite these issues.

GOP 'HESITANT' Mr. Wilkins said he holds Gov. Faubus "responsible for the whole Arkansas-Little Rock mess.

"A good many Negro Democrats in the northern states are a little uneasy wondering if the Faubus philosophy is going to be condoned by the party as a whole," he asserted.

But at the same time, he said, these Negroes see the Republican administration as "hesitant, let's say," in integration matters.

Asked whether the government had helped the NAACP in its appeal of a 2½-year delay in integration at Little Rock Central High School, he said: "I don't believe the Department of Justice has intervened."

"We believe the federal government has an obligation to act in these matters, and it has failed to act, except to call out troops," he said.

AGAINST ANY DELAY He said the President "has much more power than merely the power to call out troops..."

He has vast powers of persuasion—persuasion is the polite word.

The appeal from the "breathing spell" at Central High is due to be heard here tomorrow by the Eighth Circuit United States Court of Appeals.

A member of a panel of lawyers questioning Mr. Wilkins on the program asked whether it might have been better to accept the delay to avert another "white hot situation" at Little Rock.

"I wouldn't delay 2½ months, to say nothing of 2½ years," he said. "I would never agree to it voluntarily."

If the delay is reversed by the Appellate Court, he said, Central's remaining Negro students probably will re-enter the school when it opens in the fall.
IN RESPONSE TO YOUR PRESS STATEMENT AUGUST 19 INQUIRING INTO ATTITUDE OF NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE IN LITTLE ROCK SITUATION PLEASE BE ADVISED FIRST THAT THIS ASSOCIATION HAS NOT QUOTE INSTIGATED AND PROMOTE UNQUOTE INTEGRATION IN LITTLE ROCK BUT HAS COUNSELED NEGRO PARENTS WHO SOUGHT NON-SEGREGATED PUBLIC EDUCATION FOR THEIR CHILDREN IN ACCORDANCE WITH RULING OF UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT THAT SUCH EDUCATION IS A CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHT. SECOND, THIS ASSOCIATION HAS ADVISED AND WILL CONTINUE TO ADVISE NEGRO PARENTS IN LITTLE ROCK THAT REVERSAL OF JUDGE LEMLEY'S RULING MEANS THAT LITTLE ROCK AUTHORITIES MUST PROCEED WITH INTEGRATION AS PLANNED BY THEM IN 1955 AND APPROVED BY FEDERAL COURT. THIRD, WE SHALL FURTHER ADVISE THEM THAT THE CIRCUIT COURT OF APPEALS HAS RULED THAT QUOTE VIOLENT AND UNLAWFUL ACTS UNQUOTE MAY NOT BE USED BY ANY INDIVIDUAL OR BODY AS EXCUSES FOR NULLIFYING OR DEFYING A FEDERAL COURT ORDER. FOURTH, WE WILL ADVISE THEM THAT IT IS NOW THE DUTY OF THE STATE AND LOCAL AUTHORITIES TO PROTECT THE DETERMINED RIGHTS OF INDIVIDUAL CITIZENS AND IN THE EVENT OF THEIR FAILURE THE DUTY OF THE FEDERAL
GOVERNOR ORVAL E. FAUBUS  
AUGUST 20, 1958

GOVERNMENT SO TO DO. FIFTH, WE HAVE ADVISED THEM AND WILL CONTINUE TO SO ADVISE THAT THERE HAS BEEN A FOUR-YEAR DELAY SINCE THE SUPREME COURT RULING AND THAT ANY REQUEST THAT THEY ACCEDE VOLUNTARILY TO FURTHER DELAY IS A REQUEST THAT THEY SURRENDER THEIR RIGHTS AS AMERICAN CITIZENS AND ONE WHICH CANNOT IN HONOR BE GRANTED. SIXTH, WE WILL ADVISE THEM THAT THIS ASSOCIATION STANDS READY TO ASSIST THEM FURTHER IN PRESSING WITHOUT DELAY AND WITH ALL LEGAL WEAPONS THEIR RIGHTS IN THE PENDING MATTER. THIS ASSOCIATION CONTINUES TO EXPRESS AS IT HAS IN THE PAST THE BELIEF THAT RESPONSIBLE NEGRO CITIZENS ARE WILLING TO SIT DOWN WITH RESPONSIBLE OFFICIALS IN ANY LOCALITY TO DISCUSS WAYS AND MEANS OF IMPLEMENTING THE SUPREME COURT RULING. NEEDLESS TO SAY HAD YOU EMPLOYED THIS COOPERATIVE EFFORT IN 1957 INSTEAD OF INITIATING UNILATERAL ACTION THE PRESENT SITUATION WOULD NOT HAVE DEVELOPED.

ROY WILKINS,  
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, NAACP  
20 West 40th Street  
New York City
MRS. DAISY BATES  
616½ W. 9 ST.  
LITTLE ROCK, ARK. 

FOLLOWING TELEGRAM SENT TO GOVERNOR FAUBUS THIS NOON QUOTE IN RESPONSE 
TO YOUR PRESS STATEMENT AUGUST 19 INQUIRING INTO ATTITUDE OF NATIONAL 
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UNQUOTE.

ROY WILKINS.
MRS. DAISY BATES
RALEIGH HOTEL
PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE AND TWELFTH STREET, N.W.,
WASHINGTON, D.C.
ROOM 404

ATTORNEYS WHO WILL ARGUE CASE THURSDAY FEEL VERY STRONGLY THAT
THE STUDENTS SHOULD NOT REPEAT SHOULD NOT BE IN THE COURTRoom.
WE ARE DEPENDING ON YOU TO SEND THEM HOME AS SCHEDULED WEDNESDAY.
IF YOU REMAIN FOR THE ARGUMENT THURSDAY PLEASE REMEMBER NO
STATEMENTS IN ACCORD WITH RULE NOT TO COMMENT ON PENDING CASE.
REPORTERS AND OTHERS SHOULD BE REFERRED TO MARSHALL.

ROY WILKINS
RKB_ STRAIGHT WIRE CHG NAACP AUGUST 26, 1958

MRS. DAISY BATES
RALEIGH HOTEL
PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE AND TWELFTH STREET, N.W.,
WASHINGTON, D.C. ROOM 404

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ROY WILKINS
daisy bates  raleigh hotel wash do

attorneys who will argue case thursday feel very strongly that students
should not repeat should note the courtroom. depending on you to
send them home as scheduled wednesday. if you remain for argument thursday
please remember no statements in accord with rule not
to comment on pending case. reporters and others should be referred to marshall.

Gay Wilkins
Honorable Orville E. Faubus
State Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Governor Faubus:

I am a native of Virginia. My grandfather, on my father's side was killed on the Southern side at Gettysburg -- and as a Southerner to a Southerner I have been ashamed of your intolerable position on the School integration situation.

I do not believe that you have the respect of the decent and law abiding American citizens in the State of Arkansas, much less in the other States of our country.

When history is written for the generations which lie ahead you will not be honored for the unChristian manner of the un-American stand that you have taken.

On the other hand free Americans will think of you as a hiss and a by-word.

Yours sincerely

Reverend Abbott Book, D. D.

copies to Franklin Williams
NAACP, San Francisco

Roy wilkins,
same, NYC

Harry E. Ashmore
Arkansas Gazette
Clergymen's Advisory Committee

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Calvary Methodist
Presbyterian
Dr. W. E. Clowes
First Presbyterian
Dr. Gilbert F. Chase, Jr.
Fort Hill Presbyterian
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Third Baptist
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Western Christian
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First Congregational
Rev. W. A. Nelson
Trinity Baptist
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Superintendent Northern California Congregational Churches
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Rev. J. L. Butler
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Rev. J. W. O'Neill
First Christian
Los Angeles
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Union Church
Los Altos
Rev. Liona A. Swendsen
First Methodist
Merced
Rev. Herbert L. Hackett
First Christian
Modesto
Rev. Dodge D. Bunch
Cyanthony Methodist
Rev. Charles M. Spencer
Congregational
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Dr. Duane Gladson
First Christian
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A.M.E. Zion
Rev. W. K. Hester
First Methodist
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Rev. Matthew J. Venevich, M.D. Terece Christians
Dr. Daniel D. Walker
First Methodist
Dr. Charles L. Warren
Taylor Memorial Methodist
Oroville
Rev. Richard L. Koehl
First Christian
Palo Alto
Dr. G. Arthur Chawday
First Congregational
Dr. H. Philip Larkom
Presiding Elder, A. M. E. Zion
Piedmont
Rev. Holland F. Hurr
Community
Placerville
Rev. Richard E. Penzina
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Redding
Rev. Howard H. Walsh
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Rev. Orville D. Masters
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Rev. Robert W. Taylor
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Sacramento
Rev. Theodore C. Abell
The First Unitarian
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Mark's Methodist
Rev. Edward T. Pott
First Methodist
Rev. Rev. R. W. Shoemaker
First Congregational
Dr. Ralph H. Wallace
Weedy Methodist
St. Helena
Rev. Ralph C. Hanske
First Presbyterian
San Benito
Rev. John C. Bonner
Community Presbyterian
San Jose
Rev. Phil W. Barrett
Presbyterian
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Dr. Harry J. Cross
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First Baptist
Dr. T. H. Simpson
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Rev. Paul R. Gaston
Redwood Chapel Community
San Mateo
Rev. Everett F. Hesemull
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Rev. Paul A. Nelson
Community Methodist
Santa Rosa
Rev. David F. Barrett, Jr.
First Presbyterian
Santee
Rev. Aaron A. McLennan
First Congregational
Rev. Peter Van Buren, Jr.
Grace Reformed
Stockton
Rev. James William Baird
First Presbyterian
Rev. Leon England
First Christian
Tulare
Dr. Dillion Wailey
Throckmorton
The First Methodist
Turlock
Rev. Cecil F. Wilkins
The Methodist
Umaipar
Rev. J. Mary Roberts
Kyle Terrace, A. M. E. Zion
Yuba City
Rev. Howard Eadon
First Methodist
NAACP CALLS LITTLE ROCK
DEFIANCE THREAT TO U.S.
IN WIRE TO EISENHOWER

NEW YORK, Sept. 6.-- The defiance of Federal authority at Little Rock, Ark., by Gov. Orval Faubus "threatens the entire concept of a Federal union and endangers a wide category of rights and privileges of citizens of the United States wherever they may live," President Eisenhower was told in a telegram yesterday.

The wire, sent by Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary, said the use of state troops by Gov. Faubus to prevent Negro students from attending Central high school pursuant to a Federal court order stemmed from an idea that "states and regions are free to decide whether to abide by the Constitution and the Federal court rulings or not, as they see fit."

Asserting that such an idea must not be allowed to stand "unchallenged and unclarified," the President was urged by the NAACP leader to take steps "to preserve the authority of our national government in the Little Rock and any other similar situation."

The Chief Executive was reminded that on July 2 Senator Richard B. Russell of Georgia had made a "bayonet" speech in the Senate expressing his horror at the thought of Federal troops being sent into the South, but that today "state troops carrying arms and equipment purchased and furnished them by the United States are defying the government of their country."

The NAACP wire declared Negro citizens were proud of the "brave and dignified deportment of their youngsters in the face of provocative and degrading mob action" and, while particularly interested in the immediate situation, were "deeply concerned" over the effect of general defiance of Federal authority.
September 8, 1958

MEMORANDUM FROM MR. WILKINS TO MR. MC CLAIN:

Please draw a check in the amount of $765.00 payable to the treasurer of the Arkansas State Conference to bring the emergency fund up to $1,000.

This should be signed today (Monday) so that it can be mailed to Arkansas. Their fund is down to $237 and the Little Rock situation will make further demands upon our Arkansas officials.

rw/mdj
September 9, 1958

Dear Daisy:

Enclosed is check for $765 towards the emergency fund to bring it up to $1,000.

Very sincerely yours,

Roy Wilkins,
Executive Secretary.

Mrs. Daisy Bates
616 1/2 W. 9 Street
Little Rock, Ark.

rw/mdj
Enc.
EISENHOWER URGED BY NAACP TO
ACT ON LITTLE ROCK SITUATION

Wilkins Warns that Faubus
Is Testing Federal Power

NEW YORK, Sept. 9: - Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary, today urged President Eisenhower to take "forthright steps to preserve the authority of our national government" in the Little Rock school situation. Arkansas Governor Orval E. Faubus, Mr. Wilkins warned the President, "is deliberately provoking a test of the authority of the federal government to enforce the orders of federal courts by using state troops to prevent the Little Rock school board from obeying the order to admit Negro students to the high school."

The NAACP leader's telegram to the White House also pointed out: "Instead of federal troops being used in the South, as pictured by the horror speech of Senator Richard B. Russell of Georgia on July 2, state troops carrying arms and equipment purchased and furnished them by the United States are defying the government of their country."

Mr. Wilkins' message expressed great concern over "the prevalent idea that states and regions are free to decide whether to abide by the Constitution and the federal court rulings or not as they see fit."

"If allowed to stand unchallenged and unclarified," the telegram continued, "this doctrine threatens the entire concept of a federal union and endangers a wide category of rights and privileges of citizens of the United States wherever they may live."

Mr. Wilkins contrasted the "brave and dignified deportment" of the Negro youngsters involved in the Little Rock school situation with the "provocative and degrading mob action."

The civil rights leader reminded the President that the use of state troops to prevent school desegregation in Little Rock "follows by only a few weeks your statement that you would not use federal troops in the South."
F. Anbarn
Speech of
9/18/58
Mr. M. M. Martin
2898 Cone Avenue
Los Angeles, California

Dear Mr. Martin:

I want to emphasize at the outset that we do not in any way question the good faith and the sincere interest which motivated your letter of August 19 regarding an approach to the Little Rock difficulties.

The suggestion which you make has a very definite appeal, and a great many persons have found it attractive. No one, of course, can say with absolute certainty what the results would be, but our own years of experience lead us to an opposite conclusion.

It also seems to us that a correct reading of history in other connections similarly suggests that what you propose would have exactly the opposite effect.

If those to whom you refer as "firebrands" could be reached and moved and influenced by any such tactics of retreat and abandonment, we would be the first ones to adopt such a course. The fact of the matter is, however, that such people do not respond to conciliation which they interpret as a confession of weakness and error.

In much the same manner we could avoid the hard voices and the potential violence of insurrection and of criminal agents by simply giving in to them and saying that we would not resist evil because it might disrupt "harmony."

There is another aspect which many people tend to overlook as their attention is absorbed by the purely legal and political aspects. This is more than just a matter of abstract rights of Negro children; it is honestly and primarily a battle to give them the same opportunity in life's competition which other children have. Central High School in Little Rock possesses scientific equipment and teaches scientific courses which no colored student will ever get by attending a colored high school. The same is true of certain courses in languages and technology.

September 11, 1958

[Signature]
Little Rock, Ark.
Martin
Mr. M. M. Martin
-2-  

September 11, 1958

In Virginia we have a situation in which a hundred Negro high school students who live in Front Royal, Virginia, must leave their homes on Monday morning and travel to another town in another county for their high school education. This other town is so far away that they must board in it during the week and be returned to their families on Friday night. They are not allowed to attend the white high school in their own home town.

Colored high school students in Jackson, Mississippi, report that the books which they get are the used hand-me-downs from the white high school. These cases and many more far worse could be multiplied endlessly as one examines the sorry spectacle of the South's neglect of its Negro children. The flurry of activity of the last few years cannot possibly make up for seventy-five years of inferior schools.

So you will see that what we are fighting for is not just a legalism, but a simple chance to have the same education available to both colored and white children.

I am sure that as you review these facts, you will understand why we cannot do other than to urge that there be no more delay than absolutely necessary and that the Little Rock children be returned to Central High School this semester.

Sincerely yours,

John A. Morsell,  
Assistant to the  
Executive Secretary

JAM:j1
Mr. Roy Wilkins  
Executive Secretary  
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People  
New York, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

As one who has followed with interest and sympathy the happenings in Little Rock, I would like to offer a suggestion that I hope may at least prove useful as a basis for further thinking. It is this —

Right at this juncture, with the law ruling in favor of the rights of the Colored People, and your point fully proved, what could do more to advance the status, dignity and respect of the nation at large for your people than for the seven Little Rock Central students to come out with a statement which would say, in effect, "While we have proved our right to continue at this school, we choose, in the interests of future unity and harmony in this community and our nation, to withdraw our enrollment and continue our studies elsewhere. It is our hope that by this action, we, who represent the younger generation of Colored People of the United States of America, may demonstrate our desire and our fitness to work out the problems incident to integration and all other factors in our development, intelligently, harmoniously and peacefully."

Such a statement would disarm for all time the "firebrand" tactics of opponents, and would gain tremendous advancement for you in your valiant efforts to better the condition of all of your people. And what could be lost? Facing the facts, it would seem that your seven young students actually would be happier in another environment than that of Central High, and whatever other school they might enter inevitably would respect them for their action.

Let me assure you that this is submitted only with the very best interests in mind for your people, from whom I have received many kindnesses in the course of my lifetime and for whom I hold high respect and high hopes.

Sincerely,

M. M. Martin
Mr. M. K. Martin
2898 Cone Avenue
Los Angeles, California

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September 11, 1958

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So you will see that what we are fighting for is not just a legalism, but a simple chance to have the same education available to both colored and white children.

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Sincerely yours,

John A. Morsell,
Assistant to the Executive Secretary

JAM: JI
FOR RELEASE: SEPTEMBER 12, 1958

NAACP HAILS COURT'S RULING IN LITTLE ROCK SCHOOL CASE

Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, today issued the following statement on the Supreme Court's ruling in the Little Rock school integration case:

Naturally, the Supreme Court's unanimous decision greatly pleases us, and all believers in constitutional government, since it makes clear that the basic human rights of individual citizens cannot be abridged or denied because of threats or violent acts on the part of those who uphold racial discrimination and segregation.

The Little Rock Negro students and their parents have sought their rights in a peaceful and lawful manner through the courts. They have not once indulged in violence or any acts of retaliation, although they have been continuously abused and harassed. They seek an unsegregated education which is the only way they can receive an education equal to that made available to others. In pursuit of this objective, they and others similarly situated will have the full and united support of the Board of Directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.
The U.S. Supreme Court today ruled unanimously that the children are to return to Little Rock's Central High School immediately. The written opinion is to be released later.
The Supreme Court of the United States has rendered its unanimous decision and has spoken in the matter of desegregation of Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas.

I appeal to the sense of civic responsibility that animates the vast majority of our citizenry to avoid defiance of the Court's orders in this matter.

All of us know that if an individual, a community or a state is going continuously and successfully to defy the rulings of the courts, then anarchy results.

In addition, states and localities have a constitutional duty to maintain peace and order. If state and local officials, in awareness of this duty, will maintain peace and order then lawless elements will not be able by force and violence to deprive school children of their constitutional rights.

I hope that all of us may live up to our traditional and proud boast that ours is a government of laws. Let's keep it that way.
UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT DECISION
September 12, 1958

The Court, having fully deliberated upon the oral arguments had on August 28, 1958, as supplemented by the arguments presented on September 11, 1958, and all the briefs on file, is unanimously of the opinion that the judgment of the Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit on August 18, 1958, must be affirmed.

In view of the imminent commencement of the new school year at the Central High School at Little Rock, Arkansas, we deem it important to make prompt announcement of our judgment affirming the Court of Appeals.

The expression of views supporting our judgment will be prepared and announced in due course.

It is accordingly ordered that the judgment of the Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit, dated August 18, 1958, reversing the judgment of the District Court for the Eastern District of Arkansas, dated June 20, 1958, be affirmed, and that the judgment of the District Court for the Eastern District of Arkansas, dated August 28, 1956 and September 3, 1957, enforcing the school board's plan for desegregation in compliance with the decision of this Court in Brown vs. Board of Education, 347, U.S. 483; 349 U.S. 284, be reinstated.

It follows that the order of the Court of Appeals dated August 21, 1958, staying its own mandate is of no further effect.

The judgment of this Court shall be effective immediately and shall be communicated forthwith to the District Court for the Eastern District of Arkansas.
Statement by Roy Wilkins to the Press
in re Supreme Court decision in Little Rock case.

Naturally, the Supreme Court's unanimous decision greatly pleases us, and all believers in constitutional government, since it makes clear that the basic human rights of individual citizens cannot be abridged or denied because of threats or violent acts of those who uphold racial discrimination and segregation.

The Little Rock Negro students and their parents have sought their rights in a peaceful and lawful manner through the courts. They have not once indulged in violence or any acts of retaliation, although they have been continuously abused and harassed. They seek an unsegregated education which is the only way they can receive an education equal to that made available to others. In pursuit of this objective, they and others similarly situated will have the full and united support of the Board of Directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.
The Supreme Court's unanimous decision greatly pleases us and all believers in constitutional government, since it makes clear that the constitutional rights of individual citizens cannot be abridged or denied because of threats or violent acts of those who oppose the extension of democratic rights to all citizens.

The Little Rock Negro students and their parents have sought their rights in a peaceful and lawful manner through the courts. They have not once indulged in violence or any acts of retaliation, although they have been continuously abused and harassed. They seek an unsegregated education which is only way they can receive an education equal to that made available to others.

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September 12, 1958
Much Too "Deliberate"

As defiance of the United States Supreme Court and federal district court orders became more brazen, and Governor Almond of Virginia joined Governor Faubus of Arkansas in ordering schools to hold on to segregation despite court orders to admit Negroes to previously all-white schools, Mr. Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, was asked in a television interview whether he did not think the integration process should be slowed up. He replied that any slowing up would mean a complete stand-still.

Since the United States Supreme Court desegregation decision of May, 1954, 11 Southern states have passed 196 laws protecting racial segregation—some of them going as far as to provide for the destruction of the public school system in preference to acceptance of even token integration.

In 1955 the Supreme Court put the responsibility upon the federal district courts to issue orders for the implementation of its decision "with all deliberate speed." By this year only 377,000 of the 2,924,000 Negro students in the South lived in districts where some measure of integration had been undertaken or where plans for integration had been announced. Only a small portion of the 377,000 were in integrated schools, mainly in the border states. At the rate of progress in some areas, Mr. Wilkins pointed out, two million Negro children would finish their schooling without equal educational opportunities.

Even in New York City the "deliberateness" is far more evident than the "speed." (See story on page 1.)

On September 1 the Board of Education's Commission on Integration issued its Final Report summarizing and reiterating the many fine proposals presented by its subcommittee since it began its work three years ago. Even though it is more than 8 months since the last of the recommendations were approved by the Board, implementation. It declared: "Although their pupils are seriously retarded in reading, the '600' schools do not have on their staffs the expert personnel to deal with these problems. The '600' day schools lack some of the necessary teaching materials. Library resources are very meager and do not furnish an adequate supplement to the classroom reading program . . . ."
The New Superintendent

Dr. John J. Theobald, our new superintendent of schools, assumes the duties of his important office at a time when education, both nationally and locally, is faced with problems and challenges of the greatest magnitude.

A more mention of the size of the New York City school system, the biggest city school system in the world, gives some indication of the task. As superintendent, Dr. Theobald carries a good part of the responsibility for the educational opportunities and the general welfare of an estimated enrollment of 972,565 pupils, and for the teaching conditions of 42,000 teachers.

This enormous system is plagued with a backlog of problems which have reached an acute stage and for which solutions must be found. There are not enough good school buildings to house all our children properly. Classes are too large. Remedial teachers, psychologists, guidance counsellors are available to only a tiny fraction of those who need them. The slow pace on the problem of integration as it applies to New York City must be stepped up. The problems of juvenile delinquency in the schools, and the role of the school in helping decrease the incidence of juvenile delinquency are still unsolved.

There is still an acute shortage of teachers. The salary scale is hardly calculated to overcome this shortage. Teaching conditions in many of our schools add to the difficulties of recruitment. The witch hunt which has taken hundreds of outstanding teachers from the schools grinds relentlessly on and keeps some of our most promising young people from entering the profession.

In addition, New York City, like the rest of the nation, must give serious consideration to the widespread criticism of educational goals and practices and must contribute its share towards the strengthening of the national educational system.

We trust that Dr. Theobald will take the public and the teachers into his confidence on the actual conditions and needs of the schools. We trust he will draw upon this great reservoir of interest and concern about education in working towards a school system which will meet the needs of all the children, which will give teachers their due in salary and importance, and in which they can work in an atmosphere free from the fear of informers and investigators.

We wish Dr. Theobald success in the attainment of these goals.

---

The editorial page of the New York Times on July 1 carried a lengthy "letter to the editor" from T.U. president Abraham Lederman on the need to increase the retirement allowances of the large number of older NYC teachers.

"Provision for more adequate supervision of the '600' schools through the addition of at least one full time supervisor..."

Mrs. Russell was interviewed twice at her summer home by a lively update radio station.

Summers Contributions

A contribution of $243 was donated to the TU at a lawn party in Westchester where Rose Russell was guest speaker.

At a party on Long Island $435 was donated to the Union.

A Rigleer Composition

"New Dance," by the renowned composer Wallingford Riegger, husband of the late, beloved TU vice-president Rose Riegger, will be on the Carnegie Hall program conducted by Leopold Stokowski. Thurs. eve., Sept. 25, sponsored by the "Contemporary Music Society," ($2.30) at Carnegie Hall box-of-MacDougal St., N.Y.C.

Hootenanny... at Carnegie Hall Friday, Sept. 28, 8:30 p.m. with Pete Seeger, Wolf Geer, Holly Wood, Bob Cares, Jerry Silverman. Tickets now on sale ($2.30) at Carnegie Hall box-office and The Folklore Center, 110 MacDougal St., N.Y.C.

Fall Series

The American Museum of Natural History, Central Park West, at 79th St., N.Y.C., announces its adult courses in the Natural and Social Sciences beginning Sept. 15.

Letter to the N.Y. Times

The report declares that the Board of Education has taken realistic and constructive action in that it provided small classes, free lunches and free transportation. On the other hand, it failed to provide a simple modern building with specially designed rooms and facilities. The '600 day schools' are required to operate in old elementary school buildings, which in size, facilities and layout are not suitable for the program.

Instead of providing an ample staff of specialists for planning, organizing and supervising the '600 day schools,' the Board of Education failed to appoint even one full-time coordinator. It assigned almost complete responsibility for all the '600 schools'—day schools, remand centers and schools in hospitals and institutions—to a junior principal who had been in charge of one of the probationsary schools, according to the survey.

The report went on to note that the '600 day schools' have not attracted enough leadership and outstanding talent. One reason is the Board's failure to give adequate status to these schools. Despite years of adequate service, some of the teachers are still in the "substitute" category. Only one of the administrators for the '600 schools' has been appointed from a regular principal's list.

The report noted that the programs in the '600' schools appeared to lack coordination and clearly defined educational goals. "Are (they) intended to be custodial centers that take in problem pupils so that the regular schools can operate more smoothly?... Are (they) intended to serve as rehabilitation centers?... The present procedure leaves too much to circumstances."
World Affairs and U. S. Race Relations: A Note on Little Rock

BY HAROLD R. ISAACS*

We hear a great deal nowadays about the effect of American race relations on world affairs. Little heed is given to the reverse effect, i.e., the impact of world affairs on American race relations. Yet it is clear that the matter is more than one-sided and that the process is one of interaction. These notes set forth some questions that arose in the first phase of an inquiry into this subject at Little Rock.

Of the impact of U. S. racism abroad, we now all know that every outbreak of race conflict in this country is carried large on the world's news circuits. Little Rock was certainly the most heavily reported U. S. story abroad in 1957, and it began when the echoes of the Till murder trial, Clinton, the Autherine Lucy case, and the Montgomery bus boycott had barely died away. Such events also get heavy coverage in the American press, but some news of American race affairs is even more fully reported abroad. One of my recent informants said: "Why I have sent my wife clippings from Hongkong papers about things she had never even seen in the papers here in Washington."

We know this newly-enlarged intercontinental interest in American race relations exists, for it beats down on us in great waves every time the issue arises in visible form, and nowadays hardly an American traveller anywhere in the world can fail to run into some of it. We know it is strong, for it obviously moves people to high feeling in many places, and for many different reasons—some obvious, some not so obvious. And this is about all we do know. No one, it seems, has yet sorted out either the facts or the reasons. We know that the Communists use the issue as a handy stick with which to beat the American beasts—the demonstrators who tore at the Nixons in Caracas came shouting "Little Rock! Little Rock!"—but this is mostly effect, not cause. The stick is there for them to use, so is a fair-sized herd of real American beasts, and so are the emotions ready to be exploited. They come spontaneously into play quite without Communist help in many places and often among people well beyond the reach of Communist manipulation.

*Research Associate, Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; author of Scratches on Our Minds: American Images of China and India, reviewed in this issue.
In vast parts of the world that have suddenly become so important to us, there are people who have had experience of Western white racism, whose whole lives and personalities, indeed, were largely shaped by it. These people have ceased allowing themselves to be demeaned by white foreigners in their own countries and they are acutely sensitive to the race aspect of all their new relationships, especially with Americans, heirs to the declining power of Western white man. Most of the reasons for Asian and African responses on the race question should leap plainly enough to the eye. They are not "new" but have been present for generations. What is new is their new importance, their new visibility, and the fact that they can no longer be disregarded. It is this, precisely, that has given American race problems their sharp new international edge.

There is a great need to understand this, and there is also a great need not to be simpleminded about it. These Asian and African attitudes exist on more than one plane, they take many different forms, flow and ebb at differing rates, house a great host of highly varied contradictions, and stand in a great array of changing relations to issues of race, color, and caste within each of these many different societies. All these complexities await someone's closer look, and not only in Asia and Africa, but in Europe also, where feeling about American racism has acquired a peculiarly new capacity to arouse righteous anger in these years of the rise of American world power. It will be worth someone's considerable effort to get past the cliché stage in finding out why at this particular time in history so many Scandinavians, Frenchmen, Spaniards, Italians, Englishmen, and even Germans discover in the American mote such a satisfactory distraction from their own several assorted beams.

On this large, complicated, and urgently important subject, we have some scattered information but, so far, little knowledge. One effort was made by a group headed by John A. Davis to cull world press reaction to American race issues in 1952-1954, but the results remain in an unpublished manuscript whose contents have since been heavily outrun by events. Opinion pollers in Europe have apparently asked only a few questions bearing on this subject. I still hope to track down in our universities any thesis-writers or other scholarly inquirers who may be at work on it. In the government, there are times when the race issue all but dominates the incoming cable files and, in the words of one high official, "it interlards almost everything we do" both in the State Department and the U. S. Information Agency. But I have heard of only two attempts at any kind of summary analysis, both made at USIA, one in 1956 and one in 1957, the latter primarily an examination of how the

agency itself handled the Little Rock events. Both documents are classified and are therefore beyond ordinary use or view. On subjects like this, in any case, government research analysts have to be much too aware of sensitive nerves among the Congressional committee members who look over their shoulders. It is to be hoped rather urgently that no similar inhibitions limit either private scholars or those who can finance them, for this whole matter of the impact of American racism abroad urgently needs sophisticated scrutiny.

Of the reverse of this matter we know even less. The very idea that world affairs have an impact on our race relations here at home sounds oddly startling at first, even to people intimately involved in race problems. I have found it necessary to get past a certain initial confusion at the beginning of many of my interviews, but it is brief, for when you come to think of it, it is plain—to begin with—that all this world interest in our race relations cannot avoid having certain effects upon us in the conduct of our own affairs. It certainly galvanizes a great many people in the government at Washington whenever the issue erupts. The whole machinery of our international propaganda has to be given over to defensive explanations. It even, when the provocation is great enough, produces action at the White House. Major constitutional issues were involved in the dispatch of troops to Little Rock, but when he appeared on TV to explain his act to the nation, the President himself laid heavy stress on the foreign effects of the episode. So did the Secretary of State and so did the great majority of the nation's press.

Little Rock, a town with no previous experience of either notoriety or renown, suddenly found itself in the world's eye. Its citizens had to answer the questions of some two dozen European and Asian correspondents as well as an army of American reporters and photographers. They heard or read daily of the massive national and international reaction to the events going on in their city. They had to react, each in his own way, when Moscow mockingly included Little Rock in the daily itineraries issued for the passage of Sputnik I. Mail from all over the world, from deeply-interested people of a score of nationalities, from missionaries and other Americans abroad, descended on Little Rock ministers, on Governor Faubus, on members of the School Board, and, most of all, on the nine Negro children whose entry into Central High School was the cause of the whole affair. Negroes in Little Rock to whom I spoke, including the nine youngsters, were dazzled and powerfully reinforced by this outpouring of interest in them. Most of the whites to whom I spoke seemed embarrassed by it all; the ill repute Faubus had earned for the city made them wince. The white supremacy extremists, usually described as impermeable to any outside (much less foreign) influence, were in fact moved to angry rebuttals: "Who cares what the Russians say?" or "What about the Indian caste system?" There is a
great deal to be said about this, but the minimum fact is that hardly a person in Little Rock could have failed to learn in those weeks that the whole wide world, including its most outlandish parts where missionaries go, was profoundly concerned with these affairs.

I went to Little Rock to find out what I could in a brief visit about how people reacted to being the objects of so much concentrated attention, and what I found will be part of the beginning of my story. But the subject is much larger than this. The impact of world affairs means a good deal more than world press coverage of an American racial episode. It means everything that has been happening in the world and how it has affected everything that has happened to us. Almost every facet of American society has been reshaped or redirected by the impact of world affairs in our present generation and I am simply calling attention to the fact that this includes our race relations too. In World War I, much began and more was fore-shadowed; World War II opened an era of a thousand breakthroughs for the Negro in American life. He was newly affected in a great host of ways, but most of all by the fact that his fate suddenly became part of history in the large, for in the second war's aftermath, the United States found itself competing for power and leadership in a world in which the Western white man no longer walks as master. The world has assumed this shape only during the last twenty years. In these same twenty years, the pace of change in the status of the Negro in American life has quickened, at times almost to a run. I am suggesting that this is no coincidence and the purpose of my inquiry is to search out and describe some of the connections.

To this end I have now been through the first round of exploratory conversations with some sixty individuals, located mostly in New York, Washington, Nashville, Tuskegee, and Little Rock, and by sorts and shades in almost all parts of the race relations spectrum. These talks have produced or sharpened certain initial impressions which I am glad to set up here as targets for comment or reflection; namely, that the impact of world affairs in relation to the American race problem

(1) has been most direct and consequential on the top government leadership in Washington, felt in all branches, but especially in the Executive branch;
(2) adds to the burdens, dilemmas, and embarrassments of so-called "moderate" whites on this issue but does not at this time, of and by itself, have any decisive effect on their behavior;
(3) reaches Southern segregationists with sufficient effect to elicit angry challenges from racist spokesmen, with effects on the larger segregationist mass which are still unexplored;
(4) is felt most profoundly by many Negroes in almost every social, economic, and educational bracket, creating new feelings, new self-images, and
spurring many among them to new postures in their fight for their civil and human rights.

Each of these subjects opens wide veins of new inquiry. In Washington alone, for example, the richest kind of ore awaits the right kind of prospector. Here at the center of national power the new importance of the race issue as a factor both in world and domestic politics has become almost self-evident. It comes up repeatedly and in many different forms in almost every department of government, and it commands the worried attention and ambivalent emotions of policy-makers and politicians and officeholders of almost every degree. This has been going on at its new rate since the onset of World War II. The same events that set in train the making over of Asia and Africa started the speedup in the change of the status of the American Negro. The manpower demands of that time led to the initial assault on employment and service barriers, and thence to a whole series of massive migrations and uprootings, bringing on correspondingly large changes in our national population, economic, educational, social, and political patterns. The national leadership in Washington (of both government and the major political parties) has been forced to take account of these changes in relation of white and non-white, both abroad and at home, and much has happened as a result. The sorting out of specific weights and arrangements of foreign and domestic causes and effects will not be easy but it will need doing if we ask such questions as:

—Why and how was desegregation of all public facilities finally brought about in the city of Washington itself, still a Jim Crow town as late as 1948?
—Why and how did President Eisenhower carry forward the desegregation of the armed forces about which General Eisenhower so publicly expressed his strong doubts before a Senate committee also as recently as 1948?
—What assortment of weights and pressures governed the Justice Department’s role in the long series of civil rights cases which the NAACP fought up through the courts during these same years? And how—a much more difficult question—did these pressures figure in the minds of the judges and justices before whom these cases came?
—What is the nature of the experience of members of Congress who sit, for example, on the foreign affairs committees of House or Senate, and must weigh into their deliberations and decisions the race-conscious reactions of much-needed friends in, say, New Delhi or Accra, and the race-conscious reactions of their constituents in, say, South Carolina, or Arkansas?
—How does the image of these influential legislators—with their hands on the purse strings and their minds or their jobs subject to racist pressures—affect the policy-makers and policy-operators who have to react to the problems created abroad for them by American racism?

The phenomenon of “moderation” as that term is now used in the American race picture suggests a great many lines of possible inquiry. I have space...
Here to note only one. After the government, the channel which probably carries the heaviest budget of foreign communication on the race problem is that which flows through the churches, especially those with large mission enterprises located precisely in those parts of the world where sensitivity on the race issue is greatest. Almost every large church group has had to react in some way to this problem in recent years. It would be valuable to know just why this long-postponed matter has only now become unpostponable, and how this is affecting both shepherds and flocks. Consider a few questions:

—What has been the experience in this regard of the large denominational groups with a combined North-South constituency and large mission activities?

—What has been the experience of a peculiarly Southern body, like the Southern Baptist Convention, which has 1,200 missionaries in the field?

—How do the changing situations abroad affect these missionaries, what do they write home about on these matters, and what effect do their communications have on their church bodies and on their supporting congregations?

—What do missionaries do when a Little Rock erupts? How do they explain it to their local people and, when they come back on leave, how do they talk about it to the folks at home? And how do the folks at home react to these conflicts of emotion and interest?

These are provocative questions, and it would be good to have many people asking them in many different places. I can offer only a few random scribbles from my notebook. During the height of the Little Rock crisis last fall, the Foreign Missions Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, meeting in Richmond, Virginia, heard and took note of a worried communication from the 200 Southern Baptist missionaries in Nigeria. At the Louisiana Southern Baptist Convention meeting, where it had been intended to ignore the whole thing, great embarrassment was caused when a "law-and-order" resolution was introduced by two elderly retired missionaries who had served in Africa. In Little Rock itself, the leading Baptist minister was swamped by letters from missionaries in the field, and his mail for weeks included newspapers from West Africa, the Philippines, and even from Argentina, with their great headlines and their embarrassing photographs. He told me that one of his church's best-known missionaries had been home during the fall from Nigeria and that she had said that her hardest job was going to be to explain it all to her Nigerians when she got back. "How," I asked, "did the congregation take that statement?" He jerked his head up in surprise, and aghast he said: "Oh, she didn't say that from the pulpit!" I asked why not. "Why she knows," he explained, "she's Southern, and she knows how people feel. She only said that to us, privately."

The profoundly transforming effect of world events on American
Negroes in the last two decades is a major theme which stands quite by itself and must command an enormous amount of examination and self-examination by students and chroniclers of our society. For it is plain that in some form and some degree, the influence of world affairs has come to bear on Negroes at every level of life, North and South. It expresses itself in a great host of changed circumstances, changed attitudes and states of mind, in varying kinds of awareness in Negroes of the links between what has been happening to them and what has been happening elsewhere in the world, the links between the retreat of white domination in Asia and Africa and the retreat of Jim Crow in America. These notions, ideas, and attitudes appear in many different people in many different combinations, shallowly or in depth and in all sorts of contexts. It is hardly possible to brush against any aspect of contemporary Negro experience without coming upon them. Here too a great many questions beckon and I do not propose to pass them by.
New York, Sept. 18 -- The Catholic Interracial Council today released the following statement with regard to the crises existing in Little Rock and other Southern cities:

"Today the American people in all parts of the country are appalled over what is happening in Little Rock, Birmingham, and Nashville. It is our belief that the American people, observing these unhappy scenes, are coming to two conclusions with regard to the present issues.

"On the one hand there is the sorry picture of the attitudes and actions of a vocal and violent minority of Southern leaders -- the John Horaces, the KKKs, the White Citizens Councils and other blatant racists -- some of them now holding public office -- are showing a flagrant disregard for law and order. They denounce the laws and the decisions of the courts, and urge others to defy the law and lawful authority; they are fermenting violence against person and property and resorting to economic boycott, threats and intimidation against their Negro neighbors.

"On the other hand, and in sharp contrast, Americans observe with pride the exemplary conduct of Negro leadership in these troubled areas, who uphold law and order and obey even the laws they do not like; in every instance they seek their objectives through the orderly processes of law and refrain from violence and threats of violence, and urge others to do in like manner.

"Today Negro youth are facing the present outbreaks with courage and genuine Christian patience and forbearance.

"Surely public opinion in America will rally to the side of those who best exemplify the finest standards and traditions of American democracy."
SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
Little Rock: A Look at the Record
September 16, 1958
A year of tension, violence, and many legal moves has finally culminated in the closing of all senior high schools in Little Rock. Accusations are being hurled in attempts to fix the blame for closing of the schools.

A chronology of early events as the Little Rock story developed may help to clarify the picture. With so many events crowding one upon the other, it is easy to disregard early elements which shaped the present situation.

The following chronology is taken from press reports written at the time of the actual events.

On May 22, 1954, just five days after the Supreme Court held public school segregation unconstitutional, the Little Rock School Board issued a policy statement to the effect that it would comply with the Supreme Court decision when the Court outlined the method to be followed and the time to be allowed.

On May 21, 1955, the Little Rock School Board adopted a plan of gradual integration under which high school grades would be desegregated starting September 1957, if a third general high school (Hall High School) was completed by that time. During the following six years, the remaining classes would be desegregated with the lower grades as the last to be affected. A liberal transfer policy was to prevail, students to be permitted to transfer to schools where their race was in the majority. This plan was formulated just seven days prior to the Supreme Court ruling which instructed local school boards and federal district courts to desegregate the schools with "all deliberate speed."
On January 21, 1956, 27 Negro students attempted to register in Little Rock schools but were refused.

On February 8, 1956, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) filed a suit in federal court charging that 33 Negro students had been denied admittance to four Little Rock schools solely because of their race.

On August 28, 1956, Federal Judge John E. Miller dismissed the NAACP suit, declaring that the Little Rock School Board acted in the "utmost good faith" in setting up its plan of gradual desegregation. The NAACP appealed the suit.

On March 16, 1957, Wayne Upton and Henry V. Rath were elected to the Little Rock School Board by conclusive margins over two avowed segregationists. Upton and Rath had endorsed the gradual desegregation plan.

On April 27, 1957, the United States Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals upheld the Little Rock School Board plan, and the NAACP subsequently announced it would not appeal the suit. Thus, the stage was set for entrance of nine Negro students into all-white Central High School on September 3, 1957.

On August 27, 1957, Mrs. Clyde Thomason, recording secretary of the pro-segregationist Mothers' League of Central High School, filed suit in Pulaski Chancery Court, seeking a temporary injunction against school desegregation. Governor Orval Faubus appeared before the court and testified that from unidentified sources he had heard reports of possible violence sufficient to convince him that desegregation should be delayed. Subsequently, Pulaski Chancellor Murray O. Reed granted the temporary injunction sought, basing it on testimony of Governor Faubus that desegregation would lead to violence.
On August 30, 1957, Federal District Judge Ronald N. Davies nullified the Pulaski Chancery Court injunction and ordered the School Board to proceed with its gradual plan. Another order by Judge Davies enjoined "all persons in any manner, directly or indirectly," from interfering with desegregation. Following the decision, the School Board called for cooperation and understanding from the public in a "peaceful solution" of the problem.

On September 2, 1957, without advance notice, Governor Faubus called out the National Guard because of "evidence of disorder and threats of disorder." After that, the School Board instructed nine Negro students not to attend the school on opening day, September 3, 1957.

On September 3, 1957, Judge Davies again ordered the school desegregated. Governor Faubus elaborated on his stand that "evidence of disorder and threats of disorder" led to his order and said that he had not instructed National Guardsmen to bar Negroes from Central High. When asked by reporters for evidence of the "threats of disorder," the Governor refused to elaborate except to say that he would document his earlier report of caravans of citizens converging on Little Rock and of students arming themselves with knives and guns. As to the report that students were arming themselves, Governor Faubus said that he had the State Police make a check on the Saturday before and had found the reports to be true. He said a similar check in North Little Rock by the State Police found "a run on some places of trade there but not as much as in Little Rock." He denied that he had changed his position on school desegregation and said that his position squared with an earlier one that desegregation was a local matter to be handled by local officials. Governor Faubus added that "this is my responsibility. I said that as long as this could be handled on the local level.
without trouble I wouldn't interfere."

On September 4, 1957, nine Negro students were barred from Central High School by National Guardsmen, and Governor Faubus admitted they were turned away on his orders. An article in the Arkansas Gazette of September 4 revealed that a survey of stores in the Little Rock and North Little Rock areas revealed no instance where the sale of firearms or knives had increased in recent weeks or was greater than the seasonal average for that time of year. Little Rock and North Little Rock police reported they had seen no caravans of out-of-city segregationists converging on Little Rock.

Governor Faubus telegraphed President Eisenhower to stop "unwarranted interference of federal agents" with his, the Governor's action.

Mayor Woodrow Mann of Little Rock issued this statement in answer to Governor Faubus:

If it were not for my own respect for due process of law, I would be tempted to issue an executive order interposing the City of Little Rock between Governor Faubus and the Little Rock School Board.

As it is, I can only express my deep personal resentment at this wholly unwarranted interference with the internal affairs of this city by the governor.

The people of Little Rock recently had a School Board election and elected by an overwhelming vote the School Board members who advocated a projected court-approved Little Rock plan (of gradual desegregation).

The governor has called out the National Guard to put down trouble where none existed. He did so without a request from those of us who are directly responsible for preservation of peace and order. The only effect of this action is to create tensions where none existed.

I call the governor's attention to the fact that after almost a week of sensational developments brought about by his own action, the Little Rock police have not had a single case of inter-racial violence reported to them. This is clear evidence that the governor's excuse for calling out the Guard is simply a hoax.
I am sure the great majority of the people of Little Rock share my deep resentment at the manner in which the governor has chosen to use this city as a pawn in what clearly is a political design of his own. If any racial trouble does develop, the blame rests squarely on the doorstep of the Governor's Mansion.

On September 5, 1957, the School Board asked the Federal District Court to temporarily suspend its order. President Eisenhower notified Governor Faubus that the Federal Constitution "will be upheld by every legal means" and asked that he give "full cooperation to the United States Court." Two days later, Judge Davies denied the School Board's suspension request and said that the plan of desegregation "is not, and never was, anything other than the plan of the duly authorized representatives of Little Rock....In an organized society there can be nothing but ultimate confusion and chaos if court decrees are flouted, whatever the pretext."

On September 8, 1957, Governor Faubus went on television to reaffirm his stand and insist that the federal government retreat from its insistence on desegregation of Central High. He again declined to produce evidence of reported violence. In opening the interview, a reporter asked Governor Faubus if he disputed "the authority of the federal government to order integration in the schools of Little Rock." His answer was, "I do not."

On September 9, 1957, Judge Davies directed federal authorities to bring injunction proceedings against Governor Faubus and two National Guard officers to prevent them from interfering with desegregation.

On September 11, 1957, Governor Faubus conferred with President Eisenhower at Newport, Rhode Island. Afterwards, Governor Faubus said the Court decision "is the law of the land and must be obeyed." (Almost a year later, Governor Faubus repudiated this statement, saying the White House required him to endorse the Court order as a prerequisite to further negotiations.
On September 20, 1957, Judge Davies ruled that the troops had not been used to preserve law and order and enjoined Governor Faubus and the National Guard from interfering with integration. The Governor's attorneys walked out of the hearing before it was concluded. Early in the evening, Governor Faubus removed the National Guard from the school, and Little Rock police moved in. Governor Faubus left over the weekend for the Southern Governors Conference at Sea Island, Georgia.

On September 23, 1957, a mob of about 1,000 white persons went on "a rampage of fighting, cursing, and crying" as the nine Negro students slipped through a side door into Central High School. James T. Karam, Arkansas Athletic Commissioner, whose wife was with Governor and Mrs. Faubus at Sea Island, was reported on the "segregationists' battle line" at Central High School. According to an Associated Press correspondent, "Karam frequently was observed at Governor Faubus' news conferences in the Governor's mansion when the National Guard was keeping out 'unauthorized persons'."

A staff correspondent for the New York Post filed a story charging that Karam was much in evidence in the mob around Central High School.

President Eisenhower called the rioting disgraceful and signed a proclamation clearing the way for use of federal troops.

On September 24, 1957, members of the 101st Airborne Division rolled into Little Rock, and the Arkansas National Guard was placed under federal orders.

On October 1, 1957, President Eisenhower said Governor Faubus had reneged on an agreement conveyed to him by four Southern governors just as all parties were on the brink of a solution. The four governors accused Governor Faubus of changing the meaning of his statement after the President had accepted it.

On October 2, 1957, 25 business and civic leaders at Little Rock adopted a "Statement of Objective and Rededication of Principles," urging residents "regardless of their feelings on the subject of segregation... (to) uphold those who enforce laws without reservation."

On October 7, 1957, Governor Faubus charged that federal troops had invaded a girls' dressing room in the school. The White House said the charge was vulgar and untrue. Earlier, Governor Faubus accused the FBI of holding teen-aged girls incommunicado, and FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover denied the charge and accused the Governor of disseminating falsehoods.

On October 9, 1957, Governor Faubus took the position at a press conference that only the withdrawal of the Negro students would end the crisis at Central High School.

The remainder of the school year was conducted under military guard. Legal action continued, and the State Legislature late this year passed a law in emergency session allowing Governor Faubus to close Central High School. The impasse has resulted in the formal closing of Central High School and three other senior high schools in Little Rock after the Supreme Court had ordered Central High to proceed with integration in a ruling handed down September 12, 1958.
HARRY S. ASHMORE
1958 Pulitzer Prize Winner

the Easy Chair

The Untold Story Behind Little Rock
Harry S. Ashmore
1958 Pulitzer Prize Winner

The Untold Story Behind Little Rock

The executive editor of the Arkansas Gazette and author of Epitaph for Dixie—widely acclaimed as the best of recent books about the South—examines the failure of our press, TV, and radio to report what really happened in his city. His paper won a Pulitzer Prize this year for meritorious public service and Mr. Ashmore himself received another for his editorials during the Little Rock crisis.

For some months now I have served, in addition to my other duties, as something of a public monument, a sight to be seen by distinguished visitors on safari to Darkest Arkansas. They still come in a seemingly endless stream to view the scene of the Battle of Little Rock—small, brown men from the Orient, lady parliament members from Norway, earnest students from Eastern universities, pipe-smoking professors of sociology, ecclesiastics of every rank and denomination, and journalists without number.

They go, usually, to look upon the site of Faubus' charge and Eisenhower's envelopment, visit the governor in his marble sanctuary, and come finally to what a friend of mine has termed, inaccurately I hope, Ashmore's Tomb.

These visitations often provide unique intellectual exercise. It is stimulating, at least, to discuss, through a French interpreter, the states' rights doctrine of John C. Calhoun with a Japanese professor of European literature. But I encounter a besetting frustration, too. With only rare exceptions the visitors—domestic no less than foreign—come with an image of Little Rock firmly fixed in their minds, an image fashioned by the millions of words sprayed through the communications media since the balloon went up last September. And I doubt that the image is perceptibly altered even when they gaze upon a quiet, attractive city built upon tree-clad hills where civilized people still go about their ordinary business without visible trepidation.

There is, of course, good reason why Little Rock has become a symbol that arouses strong emotions among people everywhere in the world. Events have made the very name of the city a battle cry for those on both sides of the great moral issue that has divided this nation through most of its history, and still divides it. "Remember Little Rock" proclaims the great seal that adorns propaganda-bearing envelopes going out from the headquarters of the Southern Citizens' Councils. The same words have been sounded by Negro hoodlums moving with drawn knives against whites in the slum streets of Northern cities.

It follows that there has been considerable deliberate tinkering with the image at home and abroad. Little Rock was about as handy a package as the Russians have had handed them since they set out to woo the colored peoples of the earth. In the South (and among some of the copperhead columnists who espouse states' rights above Mason and Dixon's line) a whole new mythology has evolved to suit extant prejudices against the central government. Westbrook Pegler, for example, has solemnly contended that Old Applehead sent his stormtroopers into Little Rock to assault innocent citizens not only without legal sanction but without cause, and John Temple Graves maintains on several Southern editorial pages that the mob which overran the Little Rock police force was "Harry Ashmore's imaginary lion in the streets." The effort is far advanced to expunge from pious Southern memories the salient fact that Orval Faubus moved first with force of arms when he sent his state militia to seize Central High School in naked defiance of a federal court.

What the Reporters Didn't See

But this I regard as incidental, a natural hazard of my trade and my time. What gives me professional pause is the odd, distorted, and grossly incomplete image of Little Rock carried around by those who got their facts straight, and in great abundance. Among my present afflictions is the gloomy suspicion that somehow as we improve the mechanical means of communication we are losing the fundamental ability to communicate; we are talking more, that is, and saying less.

In my time I have seen the mass media expand to include the formidable newcomer, television, and add a new dimension to the raw stuff of history. In the same span, newspapers, although financially weakened by the additional competition for attention and the advertising dollar, have improved their techniques; we get the news faster and dish it up in prettier packages. We are as free as we have ever been—which means that we are as free as our proprietors have the heart and the will to be.

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THE EASY CHAIR

Yet with all of this, we seem to be no nearer a solution to the fundamental problem that has beset us since Gutenberg perfected movable type—how to present the day's events in meaningful perspective. Indeed, in some important ways, we seem to be moving in the opposite direction.

The concentration on technique can, and often has, become a sort of refuge from this more complex problem. One of the major wire services is still bemused by Dr. Rudolph Flesch's formula which seeks salvation through syntax, and holds that public understanding can be improved through shorter sentences and more frequent paragraphs. It seems to me it doesn't really matter what tools we use so long as we are prone to wake up each morning and discover a whole new world and write about it as though nothing relevant had gone before.

The concentration on technique, however, is still bemused by Dr. Rudolph Flesch's formula which seeks salvation through syntax, and holds that public understanding can be improved through shorter sentences and more frequent paragraphs. It seems to me it doesn't really matter what tools we use so long as we are prone to wake up each morning and discover a whole new world and write about it as though nothing relevant had gone before.

Yet Harold C. Fleming, the perceptive executive director of the Southern Regional Council, whose business it is to chart the shifting pattern of race relations in the South, has written of the result:

...what do the millions of words and television images add up to? Have they given Americans—to say nothing of foreigners—a clearer understanding of the South's malaise? As a result of them, will the national shock be less or the insight greater if a similar eruption accompanies desegregation in Dallas or Charlottesville or Knoxville? We can hope so, but not with much optimism. Only a few major newspapers, like the "New York Times," a few thoughtful television and radio commentators, and a few good magazines sought to give a meaningful perspective to their reports from Little Rock.

Conspicuously lacking in most interpretations is any sense of continuity. The upheavals in Tuscaloosa, Clinton, and Little Rock were not isolated events, but episodes in an unfolding drama of social change.

I can file no dissent from Fleming's verdict. I was there when the cowboy reporters rode in to the scent of blood. They did not have to seek for drama; it was thrust upon them, with a complete set of heroes and villains—and these readily interchangeable, depending upon your point of view. I do not charge that the press sensationalized the Little Rock story; the facts themselves were sensational enough to answer any circulation manager's dream. Moreover, I believe that—with rare exceptions—the men and women who reported the Little Rock story were competent and conscientious. Similarly, I have no reason to believe that any but a tiny handful were bound by home-office policy or blinded by their personal prejudices.

They performed their traditional function, within the traditional limits. They braved the mob that formed for some days around the high school, they interviewed the principals on both sides and many of the minor characters, they sketched in personalities and filled in color, and some at least tried hard to define the feeling of the community. Over a period of weeks they did a reasonably accurate job of reporting what happened at Little Rock—but as Fleming has said, they have failed to tell why it happened.

THE UNFINISHED STORY

And the reason, I think, is that to American journalism the Little Rock story had an arbitrary beginning and end. It began the day Governor Faubus surrounded Central High School with his state guard. It continued so long as there was a naked edge of violence. It ended when federal troops restored a surface order to the troubled city. It has had subsequent footnotes only when the edge of violence re-emerged in clashes between white and Negro children inside the school. It survives in the press today largely in the sort of occasional oblique reference that passes for background of more immediate news.

Yet it is quite obvious that the Little Rock story did not begin in September. It is equally obvious that it has not ended yet. For Little Rock was simply the temporary focus of a great, continuing, and unresolved American dilemma which touches upon fundamental concepts of morality, of social change, and of law. Journalism has concentrated on only the exposed portion of the iceberg: the great, submerged mass remains uncharted.

It was, admittedly, an extraordinarily difficult story to handle. A journalist is trained to seek out spokesmen for both sides in any controversy. They were readily and anxiously available in Little Rock. The case for resistance to the Federal Court's desegregation order was made at length by Governor Faubus, and bolstered by the more flamboyant utterances of the unabashed racists in the Citizens' Councils. The case for compliance was made by the local school officials,
the mayor of the city, and—belatedly—by the President of the United States, with somewhat more passionate arguments freely offered by spokesmen for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

But this was a controversy that had three sides. Caught between the committed and dedicated partisans was a substantial and silent mass of plain citizens—confused and deeply disturbed. They were people who deplored desegregation and also deplored violence. They felt, many of them, a deep compassion for the nine Negro children exposed to the anger and contempt of a white mob. They also felt that the Negro children should not be attending the white school in the first place. They had been, most of them, willing to undertake what they considered the unpleasant duty that had been required by the courts. But then, at the last moment, their governor had stepped forward and proclaimed that they would not accept the thesis that the law was without substance—and that their failure to resist desegregation amounted to treason to their own traditions and to their own people.

It is true that most of those who accepted this thesis (and the majority have, to some degree) did so with conscious rationalization. But it is also true that when emotion triumphed over reason they did not actively join the crusade of the governor and the Citizens’ Councils; rather they simply subsided into troubled silence and by so doing withdrew their support from those few who attempted to stand against the tide. And because they were silent, their attitude went largely unreported. The press took due note of the fact that in fairly short order Governor Faubus was in command of the field; but here again it did not explain why—which is the heart of the story.

It can be argued that these matters are too subtle for the proper practice of journalism—that those who rode to Little Rock as though it were a four-alarm fire could not be expected to plumb the hidden attitudes of the populace, to understand the effort to do so would represent a dangerous departure from proper standards of objectivity. Perhaps so. But there were other aspects of the Little Rock story that were equally vital and by no means so elusive. There was, conspicuously, the failure of leadership in Washington which matched the default of Southern leadership, and made the ultimate showdown in state and federal force inevitable.

**NEWS THAT DOESN'T HAPPEN**

**BEFORE PURSUING THIS THESIS I SHOULD, PERHAPS, NOTE THAT I AM (TO BORROW SAM RAYBURN'S DESCRIPTION OF HIMSELF) A DEMOCRAT WITHOUT FIX, PREFIX, OR APOLOGY. IT SHOULD BE NOTED TOO THAT I SPENT TEN MONTHS IN THE WILDERNESS WITH ADLAI STEVENSON IN 1956, WHEN THE DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE'S CRISIS ON THIS SUBJECT, ALONG WITH ALL OTHERS, WAS LARGELY UNHEARD. BUT, MAKING ALL DUE ALLOWANCE FOR MY PREJUDICE, I SUBMIT THAT THE RECORD SHOWS THAT FROM MAY 1954, WHEN THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT REVERSED THE OLD PLESSY DOCTRINE, UNTIL SEPTEMBER 1957, WHEN THE CHICKENS FLATTELY FLUTTERED INTO ROOST IN LITTLE ROCK, THE EISENHOWER ADMINISTRATION TOOK NO AFFIRMATIVE ACTION TO PAVE THE WAY FOR THE SWEEPING LEGAL CHANGE THE COURT REQUIRED OR TO TEMPER THE INEVITABLE DISLOCATIONS IT WOULD OCCASION. INDEED, THE INCREDIBLE FACT IS THAT THE ADMINISTRATION, WITHOUT PRELIMINARY MOVED DIRECTLY TO THE ULTIMATE RESORT OF ARMED FORCE, AND THEN WAS CONFOUNDED BY ITS OWN BELATED AUDAILITY.**

It required no delicate fingering of the public pulse to chart the course of growing defiance in the South. It was evident in violent utterances by some of the South’s public men and in the silence of others. It was made a matter of record in the passage of a variety of restrictive laws in the Southern legislatures. A conspicuous public monument was erected in Washington when one hundred Southern members of the Senate and House signed their breast-beating Manifesto in the spring of 1956.

Yet Mr. Eisenhower’s only reaction to all this was an occasional bemused press conference statement about the difficulties of changing the minds and hearts of men. His Administration, it is true, made token efforts to pass stringent civil-rights legislation—which only served to lacerate the Southerners in Congress and certainly had an adverse effect upon their minds, hearts, and spleens. And, of course, Vice President Nixon, in the days before he sheathed his hatchet, joined other Administration spokesmen in making proper obeisance to their party’s Abolitionist tradition when campaigning in those areas where the Negro vote is heavy.

But at no time did Mr. Eisenhower attempt to use the moral force of his office to persuade Southerners of the justice of the course the Supreme Court was required of them, or his great personal prestige in the region to allay their fears that they were being forced into a revolutionary rather than an evolutionary course. Nor did he employ the vast political powers of his office to negotiate with the recalcitrant Southern political leaders from a position of strength.

I am not one who supports without reservation the thesis that the Republican allegiance of most of the proprietors of the press has been translated into a conspiracy to wrap Mr. Eisenhower in bunting and protect him against criticism. I do not believe that this was a primary cause of the conspicuous failure of the press to take due note of the troubles that were shaping up in the South, and of the Administration’s apparent unawareness. I suspect that it stems rather from the limiting journalistic axiom that what happens is news, and what doesn’t isn’t.

Thus the reporters rode into the region only when there was action—when a couple of red-necked hoodlums in backwoods Mississippi dropped Emmett Till into a river, or a mob ruled that Autherine Lucy couldn’t attend the University of Alabama, or John Kasper incited the citizens of Clinton to wrath. In between, an occasional reporter, usually from one of the magazines, toured the region—but these too often caught only the sound and the fury on the surface. A notable example was the series in the Saturday Evening Post last summer, “The Deep South Says ‘Never!’” by its author, John Bartlow Martin, is a competent and conscientious practitioner, but his pieces were largely
distilled from the utterances of the extremists without qualifying balance. The certainly unintentional result was to give national credence to the contention of the Councilmen that they spoke for the whole of the Southern people, and the Council leaders themselves regarded the Post series as invaluable propaganda in Southern people, and the Council ance. The certainly unintentional re-

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even the ultimate end of the eight children still re-
ing it has produced a gener-

ation, North and South, that appears 

not only unable to grasp the impli-
cations of the race problem but unwilling to face it squarely. I have said of the South that its besetting problem is not the accommodation of the rising aspirations of its Negro people, difficult as that may be, but its inability to reduce the issue to rational terms. In slightly different context, the same thing is true of the non-South—called upon now to translate its pious principles into action and blinking painfully over the mote in its own eye.

B U T my concern is with journalism. No one can say with certainty that the course of events in the South could have been altered had the President exercised firm leadership—or that Mr. Eisenhower would have been disposed to act even if the alarm had been sounded by those who are supposed to man the watchtowers of public affairs. And now, after the fact, this is perhaps not of consuming importance. But the watchtowers remain largely silent still, and I suggest that this is a matter of pressing concern.

For it seems to me that the American people are still not aware of what Little Rock really demonstrated—the shocking fact that not only did the Administration have no plan to meet the crisis at Little Rock when it came, but even now, with all the bitter lessons before it, still has charted no effective course of action nor displayed any disposition to do so.

I am the first to argue that time is of the essence in any resolution of the problem. In so delicate an area of human relations change must be evolutionary. Yet time is of value only if it is put to some practical use; perhaps the most cogent single question yet raised was that put by Francis Pickens Miller of Virginia to a group of Southerners who at a national conference were pleading for a breathing spell.

What, he asked, did they propose to do with it?

It is clear that the Southern leadership has no program and no policy except the negative one of delay at any price—and part of that price will be a steady deterioration of race relations across the whole of the nation, with a corollary impact on our foreign policy. In the face of this, the Administration has offered nothing except the politician’s usual device for postponing unpleasant decisions—the creation of a study commission, which, if it does not founder on its partisan division, at some distant date presumably will come up with the facts the press should have been setting forth all along.

These then are some of the aspects of the Little Rock story which seem to me to be largely unrecognized or generally misunderstood despite the millions of words that have adorned the front pages and boiled through the loudspeakers. I suppose that a patient man with endless time on his hands might have put together the lurid fragments that were hurled at him and divined their meaning—but readers and listeners are usually both impatient and busy. It remains, then, journalism’s unfulfilled responsibility to somehow provide perspective and continuity—to add the why to the what.

H O W can it be done, in the face of the real, and in many ways growing, limitations of time and space that beset all of us who live by the clock? I will confess that I have no ready answers. But I do know the task is urgent and steadily becoming more so.

And I think perhaps it begins with recognition that this is so—and that, valid as they may be, the excuses we newspapermen have made to ourselves in private, and the proud boasts of rectitude our promotion managers commonly make in public, are no longer good enough. I think we have got to get over the notion that objectivity is achieved by giving a sinner equal space with a saint—and above all of paying the greatest attention to those who shout the loudest. We’ve got to learn that a set of indisputable facts does not necessarily add up to the whole truth.

Perhaps what we need most of all is simply the courage of our own convictions—to recognize that news is not merely a record of ascertainable facts and attributable opinions, but a chronicle of the world we live in cast in terms of moral values. We will err, certainly, and we will be abused—but we will at least be in position in the watchtowers, trying to tell the story in all its dimensions.
MEMORANDUM TO THE FILES FROM JOHN A. MORSELL

Clarence Laws called from Fort Smith, Arkansas, to report on the hearing before Judge Miller, deciding on an NAACP plea for an injunction requiring the Van Buren school board to take certain actions to ensure the return of the Negro children to the Van Buren high school.

Judge Miller declined to issue the injunction on the ground that the testimony showed that the school board had acted in good faith in the matter. Central to this finding was the school board's assertion of its ability to cope with any problems of disorder arising within their jurisdiction. Judge Miller's comments indicated that he considered that the board had a portal-to-portal responsibility and authority for the children attending the school.

The court retained jurisdiction in the case and went to considerable length in instructing the school board as to its responsibilities and in advising the parents as to the further recourse they would have if the children were again prevented from attending.

Although they were not released for publication, the names of seventy-eight white youths who had participated in threats and misconduct and who had been suspended from school were made a part of the record. In general, Clarence reports that our lawyers were pleased with the outcome.

It is well to note that the extent of actual face-to-face intimidation of Negro students was very slight. Only one elderly woman could be found who could testify to threats directed at her and the child who was with her. In every other case it was discovered that the parents and children had reacted to hearsay and that in some cases the children had simply fled precipitately from class upon hearing that there was going to be trouble. At least two parents have withdrawn their children from the community itself, and three children withdrew from the integrated junior high school, which was not even subject to terrorization. There is no doubt but that considerable underlying fear exists in the Negro community. Much of this may have its roots in a serious race riot during the Twenties in the nearby town of Catcher. As a result of that riot all Negroes were forced to leave the town, sustaining heavy property losses in the process.
Mr. Roy Wilkins
Executive Secretary, NAACP
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. Wilkins,

Enclosed is a copy of a telegram sent to Mr. Eisenhower, Mr. Derthick and Mr. Douglas, the content of which is self-explanatory. Mrs. Bates asked that I forward this information to you. She also wishes you to know that she telephoned Mr. Clarence Mitchell in Washington before taking any action.

Mrs. Dallas went to register her daughter at the Base School alone, and we learned of her denial of this privilege over the weekend. I accompanied her to the office of the county superintendent – we are casual friends – my name was not given nor my connection with the Association. Mrs. Bates wanted an observer, and if necessary a witness that the superintendent denied the child entrance to the Air Base School.

Mrs. Bates would appreciate having your reaction as soon as it is convenient.

Very truly yours,

(Mrs. Herman Davis)
Office Secretary
Arkansas Conference, NAACP

Enclosure

cc: Mr. Clarence Mitchell
Mr. Thurgood Marshall
Mr. Robert L. Carter
TELEGRAM

My husband, Sgt. James R. Dallas, and I live at the Little Rock
Air Force Base in Jacksonville, Arkansas. My husband has over 13
years of service.

On Friday, September 19, 1958 I attempted to register our daughter,
Algorita Vansha, at the Base School and was denied this privilege with
instructions to see Mr. E. F. Dunn, superintendent of Pulaski County schools.

Today I went to the superintendent's office and explained that I had
been referred to him concerning our child's schooling. During our conference
he too denied her entrance to the Base School.

In the meantime, our child is out of school, while children of the other
base personnel are attending classes today. This school was built with federal
funds for children of the Air Base personnel, and our child was denied entrance
only because of our race. She is 6 years old and in the second grade.

I would appreciate hearing from you immediately as we are anxious to get
our daughter in school.

Mrs. Alender C. Dallas
138 Delaware Circle
Little Rock Air Force Base
Jacksonville, Arkansas

September 22, 1958

SENT TO:

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
WASHINGTON, D.C.

LAURANCE BERTHIECE
U.S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON, D.C.

JAMES H. DOUGLAS
SECRETARY OF THE AIR FORCE
PENTAGON BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D.C.
Mrs. Susan Mack, wife of Richard A. Mack, the former Federal Communications Commissioner who faces trial on charges of conspiracy to fix the award of a Miami television channel, filed suit for divorce at Miami, charging that she had to take a $38-a-week job to support herself and their 13-year-old daughter.

Siegfried Rebel, 22, a stage worker accused of stealing Hitler insignias on stage, was sentenced at Frankfurt, Germany, to write a history essay on Nazi horrors.

President de Gaulle of France, who is flying to the United States this spring to talk with President Eisenhower, will visit San Francisco the last week in April.

Sir Winston Churchill, 85, flew home to London after a five-week vacation at Monte Carlo as a guest of Aristotle Onassis, Greek shipping magnate.

Alla Masevich, a Moscow University professor who is on a lecture tour of Britain, told newsmen at Bristol, England, an old report that four Russian astronauts were killed in attempted manned space flights was untrue.

Actress France Nuyen, dropped last week from a top role in the film, "The World of Suzie Wong," was reported at Hollywood to have lost the part because she went on a calorie binge and put on too much weight, contradicting a London announcement that Miss Nuyen was removed from the picture because of bronchitis.

Adlai E. Stevenson, the two-time Democratic presidential nominee, left Chicago for a two-month business and pleasure trip to Latin America.

Oren Bornstein, 23, a high school mathematics teacher, was arrested at Los Angeles on charges of receiving stolen property.

Bricks, window of home were damaged by explosion. Man with flashlight is Police Chief Smith.
Blast Rips Home Of Negro Pupil At Central High

Twining Says U.S. Can Deter Russian Attack

Washington, Feb. 9 (UPI). — Gen. Nathan F. Twining, splitting sharply with his fellow military chiefs, said today the United States had enough military might to deter any Russian attack “today or in the foreseeable future.”

General Twining, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, made a three-hour defense of President Eisenhower’s military policies before the Senate Preparedness and Space committees which have

Carlotta One
Of Original 9 at Central

Carlotta Walls, 16, was the youngest of the nine Negroes who integrated Central High School under guard of federal troops in September 1957. She completed the school year. Carlotta returned to Central last summer. She is one of five Negroes attending Central.

Three are enrolled at Hall High School.

The Little Rock School Board permitted the eight to attend the two schools after applying the criteria and procedures of

Carlotta Walls, Family Unhurt By Explosion

By Patrick J. Owens

Of the Gazette Staff

An explosive believed to be dynamite blew brickwork and foundation material off the home of Carlotta Walls, a Negro who attends Central High School, shortly after 11 p.m. last night.

It was the first integration-connected violence since the Labor Day dynamitings and the first time violence had been attempted at the home of a student involved in the racial move.
Oren Bornstein, 22, high school mathematics teacher, was arrested on charges of receiving stolen goods from his students after he planned burglaries for them.

Arthur Schwartz, a New York furrier and Jew, presented an ermine cape to Pope John XXIII on the day the pontiff made the gift because it had been a great friend of all religions and a bulwark against the religious world of the Communist movement, "Britt," the cowboy singer, wants to be president, strolled with his hillbilly band to record levels at several places, more on the side:

Erdal C. Crasher, 22, a credit manager for a sewing machine firm, was charged at Chattanooga with mail harassment after postal inspectors accused him of ordering on behalf of a group of insurance agency officials such things as 1,000 pounds of cheese, books, a weight reducing machine and a buzz saw.

Ellen Bell, the cowboy singer and native of Arkansas who wants to be president, strolled through the streets of Nashville, Tenn., with his hillbilly band in search of write-in votes in New Hampshire's March 12 presidential primary.

Lt. Gen. Arthur G. Trease, the Army's research and development chief, said at Fort Campbell, Ky., that despite nuclear weapons, man "is the ultimate weapon" in warfare, adding, "All history, including that of all military conflicts since World War II, has demonstrated the correctness of this belief."

Dr. Richard V. Moore, president of Beltsville-Cookman College, a Negro school at Dayton Beach, Fla., told newsmen he would urge members of his race to boycott any action by Negro entertainers at Daytona Beach because of segregation.

Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr., son of the late president, said Monday he would support Senator Kennedy of Massachusetts in his Democratic presidential campaign.

Rev. M. A. Miritz, a great friend of all religions, will be rested at Los Angeles on October 14.

Bricks, window of home were damaged by explosion. Man with flashlight is Police Chief Smith.

High Winds Hit State; 2 Lose Lives

Clayton Bobbitt, 56, and his stepson, Alvin Dean, 27, of Dermott, were killed yesterday afternoon when a strong gust of wind blew a tree and a power line across their truck on a Dermott street.

Strong winds were reported throughout the state yesterday as temperatures climbed into the high 70s. Last night, a low pressure system and a cold front started into Arkansas from Oklahoma, bringing thunderstorms and rains which inflicted damage to trees, large and hulking damage and surface winds.

One tornado was reported among the rash of thunderstorms which struck various places in the state during the night. This was at Arkadelphia, where the funnel wrecked some property in the southeastern part of the city.

The thunderstorm which hit Little Rock last night brought high winds estimated by the Weather Bureau at up to 80 miles an hour and caused thousands of dollars worth of damage.

As the low pressure system progressed, the barometer dropped, recording levels at several places, including Fort Smith.

Truck Burns

Bobbitt and Dean were driven across their truck on a Dermott road by a strong gust of wind, igniting the explosion which killed them.

The testimony came from Joseph Finan, who was fired by Mr. Eisenhower's message in Washington, Feb. 12. He held two battle stars. He holds two battle stars.

Some Democrats called Mr. Eisenhower's proposals disappointing. But Chairman Ehrlichman, (D., La.) of the Senate Agriculture Committee said the message "casts a ray of hope that we may soon enact such legislation."

Four Recommendations

Mr. Eisenhower's message outlined four recommendations which he said would be helpful if the government and the farmers would support them.

1. A three-year extension of the Soil Bank land retirement program and an expansion from the current 9,000,000 to 14,000,000 acres.

2. An increased wheat surplus of 1,000,000,000 bushels.

3. An increased wheat surplus of 1,000,000,000 bushels.

4. A three-hour defense of President Eisenhower's military policies before the Senate Preparedness and Space committees which have heard sharp criticism of the new defense budget from other military leaders.

Near the end of his testimony, Senator Symington (D., Mo.) confronted General Twining with apparently top-secret figures on comparative American-Russian missile strength.

Symington asked General Twining, the nation's top military officer, whether the figures justified the American people thinking that the missile gap [with Russia] is being closed.

General Twining declined to answer in public session. The committee immediately went in a closed-door session.

Symington, a presidential hopeful and former Air Force secretary, threatened yesterday to make public secret intelligence estimates of Russian missile power if the Eisenhower administration resisted his right to go to the Senate and the FBI.

"One thought ever crossed my mind about the whole thing," Walle told a reporter in the fall of 1967. "She had no right to go to the Senate. The only way I knew was to offer my resignation."

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There was no additional protests when she entered.

Carlotta is the daughter of Caroleen and Janella Walls. She has two sisters, Louise, 16, and Tina Anyeta, 4.

Walls, 37, served in the Southwest Pacific during World War II. He holds two battle stars.

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Royal Family Name Change

London, Feb. 9-Queen Elizabeth's third baby expected to be a boy, making the royal family name change to become Prince. The new baby is expected to be named after the late Prince Philip, Duke of Edinburgh.

Ike to Inspect Missile Base Amid Debate

Gettysburg, Pa., Feb. 9 (UPI)-President Eisenhower will fly to Cape Canaveral today to inspect the new missile base. The trip is being made amid debate over the adequacy of the country's missile defense system. The government has been under pressure to do something about the country's missile defense system.

Ike Provides 'Expert' Help At $15,500

Washington, Feb. 9-A former disc jockey who figures he can earn about $40,000 a year told today how he picked up more on the side:

He kept an eye out for "good records" produced by certain companies and in return for his consideration collected $13,000, for example, in one two-year period.

The testimony came from Mr. Finan, who was fired by Cleveland radio station KYW Dec. 3 last year because of his opposition to his previous proposals in Congress. The testimony was generally welcomed by Republicans, including some who had opposed his opposition to his previous proposals in Congress.

Disputed Testimony

General Eisenhower's $400,000,000 defense budget was adequate and appropriate, and he had not been able to work the trip into his schedule hereafter. Mr. Eisenhower flew to his farm, and then only for minor motions at that.

A. A 1-year extension of the Soil Bank land retirement program and an expansion from the present 10,000 acres to 60,000 acres. This program is designed to help enroll more farmers in the program, and it was not possible to make a capitation payment for such an alert was "just about as good."
Inside Today's Gazette

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Dorothy Kilgallen-.........5B

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Russian's Theory Mixes Science, Scripture

Did A-blast Erase Biblical Cities?

Moshov, Feb. 9 (UPI)—A Russian scientist has turned the Bible story of Sodom and Gomorrah into a science thriller by suggesting the two wicked cities were blasted to bits by a nuclear blast set off by invaders from outer space.

The suggestion, said physicist-theologian M. Agrest, Lot’s wife was preserved—argued that the Bible says there was a pillar of salt when she disobeyed a warning to not linger at the destruction. Those who looked at the fire and brimstone but not the blast were not happy. He left behind his note: “There is not enough money. I'll call again.”

In his courtroom, who was tried by Cleveland radio station WJW December 3 during last year’s exposure of payola scandal, the slippage of undercover money as an inducement for plugging certain records over others.

Finn told a House subcommittee investigating payola that the $13,000 figure of outside income was for 1958-59. The subcommittee is looking into payola on the grounds that the record industry system deceives the public as to a record’s worth or popularity, and that’s all.

Finn, 30, told the congressmen his total income from radio and TV was around $30,000 to $40,000 a year before he was fired—unjustly, he maintained.

At the end of today’s hearing, Chairman Harris (Dem., Ark.) told Finn: “This appears to be a rather pathetic and tragic situation where a fine-looking young man progressed too quickly in a position of a $40,000 salary and then jeopardized all that by letting someone trying to build his own product get you into a position of taking $10 to $300 whooping dollars (whom he could amount to something extra).”

Finn swore that only in the case of one firm—Bi-Top Records—he agreed to play specified records over his radio record program in exchange for payments. Big Top paid him $400 for promoting three records, he said.

Finn said that in the rest of the cases in which he received outside money, he agreed only to give special consideration to certain records.

He’ll Call Again

Hong Kong, Feb. 8 (UPI)—A burglary broke into jewelry worth $1,000 from an apartment yesterday but was not happy. He left behind his note: “There is not enough money. I'll call again.”

City Asked to Pay For 'Junked' Laundry

Milwaukee, Wis., Feb. 8 (UPI)—The City Council considered a committee recommendation today to pay Mrs. Everett J. Williamson $42.58 for dirty laundry that ended in a garbage heap.

Mrs. Williamson said city bagmen tossed her laundry basket away, along with two garbage cans, last month.

Did A-blast Erase Biblical Cities?

The city is poised for instant recognition in the neighborhood just before the explosion and again immediately afterward.

Mrs. John Davis, a Negro who lives next door at 104 South Valentine Street, reported the explosion shook her house but did not damage it. “It sounded like a cannon,” she said.

Mrs. Roy Yeager, a Negro who lives at 1034 South Valentine Street, said that she slept thru the explosion but that her husband heard it. He awakened her, she said, to complain that last night’s storm had started again and the thunder had become even heavier.
The facts in the case were gathered by the FBI, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, detectives from Switzerland; and Canadian Mounted Police, detectives from Washington. The collapse was a total loss. The loot was 10 times the loot of Fidel Castro in 1958. Although virtually no Afghan tourists visited Russia before 1959, 100 toured that neighboring country last year, either at the Kremlin's invitation or at the expense of the Afghan government. Russian Embassy bulletin reported diplomatic sources say Russia is considering a plan to settle more Afghan tourists by subsidizing all of them.

Subsidized Tourists
Karachi, Pakistan, Feb. 9 (UPI). Although virtually no Afghan tourists visited Russia before 1959, 100 toured that neighboring country last year, either at the Kremlin's invitation or at the expense of the Afghan government. Russian Embassy bulletin reported diplomatic sources say Russia is considering a plan to settle more Afghan tourists by subsidizing all of them.

Guidelines Listed
In making his challenge to Congress to solve the wheat problem, Mr. Eisenhower repeatedly used the word "constructive" in describing what he would accept. He laid down as guidelines this definition of what he considers acceptable:

1. "That price support level shall be realistically related to whatever policy the Congress chooses in respect to production control, if it is recognized that the high support the more remote must be the farmer."

2. "That price support levels not be so high as to stimulate still more excessive production, but to reduce domestic markets, and increase the industries required to sell world outlets."

3. "For reasons long expressed by the administration, that we avoid direct subsidy payment programs for crops in surplus, likewise, we must avoid programs which would involve harmful countermeasures by our friends abroad, or which, while seeking to assist one group of farmers, would badly hurt other farmers."

Within these three guidelines, Mr. Eisenhower said, "I am constantly ready to approve any one or a combination of constructive proposals." "I will approve," he said, "legislation which will eliminate production controls or make them less severe than now, if it is recognized that the high support the more remote must be the farmer."

Gun Runner Surrenders In $13,500,000 Theft
Chicago, Feb. 9 (UPI). A convicted gun runner surrendered today on charges of firearms offenses, playing a key role in one of the biggest robberies of modern criminal history, the $13,500,000 looting of a Canadian bank.

Norman Rothman, 45, of Sulli
cidence, Fla.,来找 Chicago police from a Pittsburgh conviction on charges of stealing arms and firearms. The police said that Rothman, a convicted burglar, tried to smuggle him to the Cuban rebels on May 15, 1958.

Rothman faces five years' imprisonment and a $10,000 fine on this charge. Here he must defend himself against charges of engaging in an international conspiracy to steal and sell a fortune in securities, guns, and cash.

Part of the king-sized loot, which included a bag of gold bars weighing 3,000 pounds, was reportedly used to buy arms for Cuban revolutionaries. Chicago sources said Rothman, a former member of the Black Panthers, was a key man in disposing of the loot, the source said.

The money came from the 1951 robbery of the Brookville Bank, Ont. Thieves got into the bank vaults during the afternoon, disrupting electric power for two and three minute intervals. Police said no major damage was done.

Winds of more than 60 miles an hour hit Slocan Springs during the afternoon, disrupting electric power for two and three minute intervals. Police said no major damage was done. Slocans accompanied the wind.

The facts in the case were gathered by the FBI, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, detectives from Switzerland; and Canadian Mounted Police, detectives from Washington. The collapse was a total loss. The loot was 10 times the loot of Fidel Castro in 1958.
Gun Runner Surrenders In $13,500,000 Theft

Chicago, Feb. 9 (UPI).—A convicted gun runner surrendered today on charges of playing a key role in one of the biggest robberies of modern criminal history, the $13,500,000 looting of a Canadian bank.

Ralph Rothman, 45, of Surfside, Fla., came to Chicago from a Pittsburgh conviction on charges of stealing army rifles and trying to smuggle them to the Cuban rebel forces of Fidel Castro in 1958.

Rothman faces five years imprisonment and a $10,000 fine on that charge. Here he must defend himself against charges of engaging in an international conspiracy to steal and sell a fortune in securities, gems, and cash.

Part of the king-sized loot may have been used to buy arms for Cuban revolutionaries, Chicago sources said. Rothman, a onetime Havana gambling club operator, was a key man in disposing of the loot, the source said.

The money came from the May 2, 1958, robbery of the Bank of New York, in Chicago, and was wired to several other banks in the area. The robbery was one of the biggest in history, and the loot was estimated at $3,000,000.

Subsidized Tourists?

Karachi, Pakistan, Feb. 9.—Although virtually no Afghan tourists visited Russia before 1958, 1960 toured that neighboring country last year, either at the Kremlin's invitation or at the expense of the Afghan government, a Russian Embassy bulletin reported. Diplomatic sources say Russia is considering a plan to entertain more Afghan tourists by subsidizing all of them.

The facts in the case were gathered by the FBI, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, de-detectives from Switzerland, and Interpol, the Paris-based international police organization.

STOCK MARKET

Complete New York Stock Market Reports and business news...
Primary service electrical lines fell at Fifth and Locust Streets and at Twenty-fourth and Cherry Streets at North Little Rock. Troubleshooters for the city Electric Department estimated that an additional 25 or 30 service wires—from the distribution system to individual homes—also were down. The Electric Department had 40 or 50 complaints in all.

Batesville Gets Hail
Hailstones up to ½ inch in diameter were reported at Batesville and covered the ground about 7:30 p.m. Winds up to 50

Primary service electrical lines were without long distance telephone service during a large part of the afternoon after strong winds blew a pine tree across a long distance line. Service was restored early last night.

Fort Smith reported a barometric pressure of 29.85 yesterday. The previous record low was 29.41 inches in February 1913. At Little Rock, the barometer read 29.56 last night and was still falling as the low pressure system approached. The lowest barometric reading ever recorded at Little Rock was 28.56 on February 27, 1902. The average pressure at Little Rock is 29.72.

The facts in the case were gathered by the FBI, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, detectives from Switzerland, and Interpol, the Paris-based international police organization. Even the United States State Department lent a hand.

Sources at Chicago said the Brockville robbery became an international case after the Canadian branch of the Mafia, the fabled underworld society of crime, received a hurryup arms order from the Caribbean.

WHAT IN THE WORLD ARE THEY DOING AT COHN'S

We're "doing" an exciting expansion and "face-lifting" program to bring you famous COHN QUALITY lingerie and hosiery in surroundings that are as new as tomorrow . . . the better to serve you and to enhance your shopping pleasure!

Thermo Tray for Your Valentine
Attractive electric hot tray (over-all measurements 14" x 9½") keeps food piping hot for buffet or patio entertaining.

10.98
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Gift Shop, Fourth Floor

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bring you famous COHN QUALITY lingerie and

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serve you and to enhance your shopping pleasure!

Annual Spring SALE!
Dear Roy,

Enclosed are news clippings carrying Governor Faubus' speech made last night, the advertisements to certain outstanding citizens, and Judge Miller's decision in the Van Buren school situation.

I have talked with several of the persons to whom the advertisement was directed, and they mentioned the advisability of issuing a joint answer to the ad. We would appreciate having your opinion on a possible answer, and we would likewise appreciate any comment you might care to make along these lines.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Daisy Bates

September 19, 1958
Upton Sinclair, the Pulitzer Prize winner, today for a 30-day trip around the world during which he will receive honorary degrees from the Universities of Brussels and Ghent, head the American delegation to a meeting of the International Monetary Fund at New Delhi, India, and possibly make an on-the-spot study of the United States difficulties in Formosa and Korea.

Ex-President Harry S. Truman said at New York that Little Rock was a symptom of the nation's "growing pains" from civil rights but predicted that "eventually" all states would accept the Supreme Court's school integration decision.

Evangelist Billy Graham said at Myrtle Beach, S. C., he faced a four-week "crusade" in his native Charlotte, N. C., "with fear in my heart," adding that "my greatest fear is that I will say something that would strike home too hard to these people."

Mrs. Fanny Barkworth, 81, an English teacher, has become a center of interest in the little Alpine town of Ljubljana, Yugoslavia, after climbing 8,000-foot Triglav Mountain, the highest peak in Yugoslavia.

Gilbert Dutreux, 38, a one-legged French war veteran who recently walked the 50 miles from Paris to Chartres in 15 hours, said at Paris he would compete in the 26-mile Paris-Arpaion marathon Sunday.

Senator J. William Fulbright (Dem., Ark.), his wife and daughter Betsy, 21, will leave Washington today for a 30-day trip around the world during which the senator will receive honorary degrees from the Universities of Brussels and Ghent. Headed the American delegation to a meeting of the International Monetary Fund at New Delhi, India, and possibly make an on-the-spot study of the United States difficulties in Formosa and Korea.

Representative Ove Harris (Dem., Ark.) urged Army Engineers at Washington to seek $50,000 in next year's budget for pre-construction planning for D'Ignaz Dam near Arkansas on the Caddo River, a Ouachita River tributary.

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Upton Sinclair, the Pulitzer Prize-winning author and crusading socialist, will be 60 tomorrow, said at Monroe, Cal., that although he lost every political battle he entered he won in the "bigger room." "Look at what

Arkansas Gazette

Vol. 139—No. 304.

Little Rock, Friday, September 19, 1958—Forty-Two Pages

LITTLE ROCK, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 19, 1958.—FORTY-TWO PAGES

In the News

Dulles Asks Cease-fire In China; Russian Price Is Full U. S. Withdrawal

United Nations, N. Y., Sept. 18 (AP)—The United States called today for a prompt cease-fire in the Formosa Strait, while the Soviet Union declared only a complete United States military withdrawal from the entire area including Formosa itself could bring peace to the Far East.

The opposing views on the Formosa crisis were put before the 81-nation General Assembly by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko on the opening day of general debate.

Dulles said a cease-fire would set the stage for peaceful negotiations on all issues making the Formosa area one of the world's tinderbox areas.

He expressed hope the cease-fire would emerge from the talks in Warsaw between United States and Communist Chinese diplomats. He said the talks should fail, the United States would reserve the right to toss the issue into the United Nations.

American 'Piracy'

Gromyko made no mention of the Warsaw talks in his 19,000-word speech, nor did he propose any action in the United Nations to solve the Far East crisis.

He accused Dulles of making an "open and crude threat of force" against the Communist regime in Peking.

He said the United States was guilty of "modern international piracy," and compared present United States actions with those of Adolf Hitler prior to World War II.

"Everybody who has the interests of peace at heart cannot fail to feel that the United States and its allies are going into the trap which United States statesmen have been warning them against for months," he said.

Dulles said U.S. military action was necessary to protect Nationalist Chinese Communist forces from aggression.

In other international news:

Almond Orders Charlottesville School Closings

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In other international news:

Almond Orders Charlottesville School Closings

Governor Tells For Private School

6 More Shutdowns Expected to Follow Norfolk Court Action

Richmond, Va., Sept. 18 (AP)—Governor J. Lindsay Almond Jr. today ordered state seizure and closed closure of two Charlerisville schools and federal court action in Norfolk paved the way for the shutdowns of ten others.

Almond's action came after a lengthy conference with Charlottesville School Board Attorney John S. Battle Jr. The two Charlottesville schools had been ordered to admit Negroes at the opening of classes Monday.

The two schools—Lane High and Venable Elementary, with a combined enrollment of 1,300 pupils—will be the second and third schools to be closed by Virginia law, which provides for closing of a school rather than allowing it to mix races in the classrooms.

One Closed Last Friday

Almond's notice to the Charlottesville School Board was similar to the one he handed the Warren County School Board last Friday night when he seized the 1,600-student white school to satisfy Virginia law.
**Governor Tells Plan For Private Schools**

**Dulles Asks Cease-fire In China; Russian Price Is Full U. S. Withdrawal**

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**American 'Piracy'**

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He said the United States was guilty of "modern international piracy," and compared present United States actions with those of Adolf Hitler prior to World War II.

**Nationalists Claim Victory In Air, Sea**

Taipei, Formosa, Sept. 18.—Chinese Nationalist jet pilots reported today that they shot down five Communist MiGs and sank one Red torpedo boat in the Quemoy area.

They said a sixth MiG may have been destroyed and that a fourth PT boat was damaged.

Nationalist Air Force Headquarters said all its Sabrejets returned to base safely. United States Headquarters said no American pilots were involved in the action.

Almond Orders Charlottesville School Closings

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**Faubus Sees No Conflict In the Courts**

By BILL LEWIS

Governor Faubus spelled out his private segregated school plan to a statewide television audience last night and made what was considered to be an appeal for a vote against integration.

After the speech, originating at Little Rock station KTUU, Mr. Faubus told newsmen he was simply giving the people the facts.

The governor quoted at length from a congressional committee report on integration of the Washington, D. C., schools in an attempt to substantiate his belief that integration would bring a lowering of educational standards, the rise in immorality and juvenile delinquency and strife.

This, he said, would be "the end of the road not as it is now but as it was."
Victor A. Colin, Field Marshal Viscount Sir Gilbert Dutrieux, 38, Mrs. Fanny Barkworth, 88, and Upton Sinclair, received his second Order of Russia’s fore accepting a presidential ics, chemistry and French be- World War II, entered Dickin- America’s first Congressional and flying home to re- World War II, ended a military) famed British desert warrior of nard Montgomery, Korea, Formosa, the Philip- waii, Guam, Okinawa, Japan, Defense, tend all those benefits to we find a Republican president enlarging on the epic plan, ex- we were radicals, anarchists ful trend toward public owner- winning author and crusading English teacher, has become a home too hard to these people.” says something that would strike we have today: Social security, in the long run—"Look at what litical battle he entered he woxi competing in the 20-mile Paris astrophysicists

Gromyko was harsh in his criti- American command was indicated that United States jet fighters would go into action to aid the Nationalists if Communist planes attached Nationalist jet cargo planes making supply drops on the offshore islands. Thus far the Reds have retreated from such attacks.

Mainland Attack

The Communists charged that American warships penetrated Red Chinese territorial waters six times today and quoted a Foreign Ministry spokes- man as calling these "serious armed provocations." He said the American government was giving its "first warning against such provocations."

The dogfights over Quemoy were continuous, and United States planes were escorted by a supply convoy to besieged Quemoy. While the sky battle was going on, two more LSTs (landing ship, tank) managed to run the Red air blockade of the island and unloaded supplies, the Nationalists said.

Change Tactics

In recent days the Reds have tried to turn back Nationalist convoys but this time they sent out Nationalist planes to escorted Quemoy. While the sky battle was going on, two more LSTs (landing ship, tank) managed to run the Red air blockade of the island and unloaded supplies, the Nationalists said.

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"The plan is sound and work-
"It is all legal. To this the advocates of the so-
called "law of the land" can have no objection."

The governor met newsmen
briefly after the speech and
asked whether he thought the
Little Rock School Board, now
under Supreme Court order to
integrate, might be held in con-
tempt if it leased the school
facilities.

Mr. Faubus said he did not
think so, and that he had been
unable to find any ruling under
which such action might be
illegal.

With reference to his quoting
from the congressional commit-
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Department of the Interior, Library of Congress

waited today that they shot down
five Communist MIGs and sent
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The total number of Red
planes in action was put by the
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He accused Dulles of making
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force" against the Communist re-
public, and compared present
United States actions with those
of Adolf Hitler prior to World
War II.

"Everybody knows that there is
an interest of peace at heart cannot fail
to condemn the United States pol-
icy of threats and provocations
with regard to China, a policy of
war," Gromyko said.

More and more evident be-
comes the simple truth that there
cannot be a stable peace in the
Far East until the American
forces are withdrawn and for
all time from the Chinese is-
land of Taiwan (Formosa) and
the Taiwan Strait, until the
United States stops interfering in
the affairs of China.

Gromyko was harsh in his criti-
cism of American policy toward
Red China, but he also stressed
Russian desires for peaceful co-
existence and unrestricted world
trade.

In addition to the Far East,
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But the American command
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The Communists charged that
16 Nationalist planes flew over
Pakien Province on the mainland
today and that one was shot down
and another hit. Peking radio
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of Red planes or torpedo boats.

Another broadcast, however,
charged that American warships
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the first. "When I was included
in it, the plans had been made."

"If the people vote for integra-
tion, this thing just as hard as we

This, he said, would be "the or-
der of the day, just as it is now
in every extensively integrated
area of the nation."

Naked Force

Dulles charged Communist Chi-
na with attempting to seize
Quemoy and Matsui "by naked
force."

He said the issue is "thus
simple one—armed aggression,"
and in Peking states considers
its "a grave threat, with ominous
mutually denouncing conditions that will
eliminate provocations and leave
the peace-keepers to deal with the
different claims and counterclai-

"Naked Force" Dulles charged Communist Chi-
na with attempting to seize
the island of Taiwan and
the mainland of China in
a military plan. But in a
security briefing yesterday he
said he had no idea how long
the Chinese island would re-
maintain.

"But I don't think local au-
thorities have any intention of
doing that under the present cir-
stances," he said.

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adopted in 1874, and state laws
adopted in 1875 and, he said,
"appears to be the only answer to
the federal government's order to
integrate at any price."

He contended that there would
be no legal conflict in furnishing
state tax money to private schools
since state and federal funds "have been and are now
being furnished to private institu-
tions" through transportation and
lunch programs.

He said the state Board of Edu-
cation was the accrediting agency
for Arkansas and that if the
private schools were "properly
conducted, there will be no
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"The plan is sound and work-
able," he said. "It is all legal.
To this the advocates of the so-
called "law of the land" can have
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Says Plan "Within Law"

His private school plan, he said,
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The plan is based on a provi-
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"appears to be the only answer to
the federal government's order to
integrate at any price."

He contended that there would
be no legal conflict in furnishing
state tax money to private schools
since state and federal funds "have been and are now
being furnished to private institu-
tions" through transportation and
lunch programs.

He said the state Board of Edu-
cation was the accrediting agency
for Arkansas and that if the
private schools were "properly
conducted, there will be no
difficulty in this respect."

"The plan is sound and work-
able," he said. "It is all legal.
To this the advocates of the so-
called "law of the land" can have
no objection.

Says Plan "Within Law"

His private school plan, he said,
is within the law and he said that
"even the Supreme Court, in
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Six-a Giuseppe's Bambinos Tie-a da Knot All at-a Once

Montemaggio, Italy, Sept. 18 (UPI)—Four sons and two daughters of Giuseppe Costa were married today in a mass ceremony which the father frankly admitted was planned to reduce expenses.

Max. Francesco Marchesani officiated at the ceremony in this village in North Italy.

Line up before the altar were the six Costas and their brides and bridesmaids. The Costas included two sisters and a sister and a brother.

Behind them stood Costas, bearing happily as each of the 13 listened to the marriage vows.

"It was my idea to organize this mass marriage," Cota said.

After the ceremony, the newlyweds were greeted by relatives and friends who congratulated the couple on their happy union.

About 500 guests and photographers crowded the little church and later attended the nuptial reception at the home of the bride and groom.

The Costas still have three unmarried children living at home.
Six-a Giuseppe’s Bambinos
Tie-a Da Knot All-a Once

Montemaggiore, Italy, Sept. 18 (UPI)—Four sons and two daughters of Giuseppe Costa were married today in a ceremony which the father frankly admitted was planned to reduce expenses.

Msgr. Francesco Marchesani officiated at the ceremony in the tiny San Michele Church in this village in North Italy.

Listed up before the altar were the six Costas and their brides and bridesmaids. The Costas included two sisters and a sister and a brother.

"It was my idea to organize this mass marriage," Costa said. "At first I thought about it as a joke. But later the financial advantages of such an enterprise convinced me it should be taken seriously."

"I joined in wedlock were:"

Domenico Costa, 23, banker, and Natalia Ginecchi, 18.

Mauro Costa, 35, laborer, and Luigia Ginecchi, 12.

Dr. Giuseppe Costa, 40, mason, and Anna Maria Costa, 19.

Dr. Giovanni Costa, 45, worker, and Rosa Pedata.

Dr. Lorenzo Costa, 29, bus driver, and Carmelina Rizzetto.

Anna Maria Costa, 20, worker, and Luigi Ginecchi.

The wedding gowns were designed and made by Rosa Pedata. They differed slightly. The bridesmaids wore similar gowns.

About 300 guests and photographers crowded the little church and later attended the joint wedding banquet in the local seminary. The Costas still have three unmarried children living in home.

* * *

"We would assume that if the schools were operated with the same faculty, curriculum and students, there would be no question of accreditation. It would be automatic," he said.

This statement was in direct conflict with the statements of the incorporators that the schools would be segregated. The incorporators were trying to have the schools accredited.
Faibus Text (Continued)

Their children, and I am fully aware of the inconvenience to the students in the interruption of the proper educational processes. To them, both parents and students, I express my sympathy and understanding.

To the students who are concerned, I say that in the years to follow, when you have come to realize the importance of maintaining our form of government, and the importance of preserving the great freedoms and privileges which we have known, you will be happy and proud to remember that you suffered inconvenience and personal sacrifice, and thereby made a worthwhile contribution to the maintenance of our dual system of government.

Thomas Jefferson once wrote:

"But it is not by the consolidation, or concentration of powers, but by their distribution, that good government is effectuated, and that division must be made, that each might do for itself what concerns itself directly, and what it can do so much better than a distant authority. Were we directed from Washington when to sow, and when to reap, we should soon want bread. It is by this partition of the mass of human affairs, as by these decisions, even the Supreme Court, in the so-called school integration cases, has not ruled to the contrary. This plan is based upon the principles first enunciated in the Declaration of Independence, and upon the provisions of the Constitution of the United States, which require the separation of church and state, and the protection of the rights of conscience."

To you who oppose the great majority of the people of the United States, as a leader in the struggle for constitutional government, I am proud of my role as a leader in the fight. I urge you to think well in your consuming desire to gain your ends, among them the destruction of Ovval Faibus, the enemy of our liberties, and all others to live as free citizens, and to rear your children to respect the rights of others, under the high standards of liberty and freedom which prevail in this state and nation.

"Within the Law"

This plan is now explained to you in detail. This plan is within the law. Even the Supreme Court, in the so-called school integration cases, has not ruled to the contrary. This plan is based upon the principles of the Constitution, written and adopted in 1787, and our State Constitution, written and adopted in 1874, and Arkansas Statutes enacted in 1875.

First, the federal government has no authority to require any state to operate public schools. Second, the federal government has no authority to tell a state government for what purpose it may levy taxes, or how the tax money may be expended.

Third, in all the cases involving the public schools and integration, the federal courts have said that an agency of the state cannot maintain segregated schools. This ruling does not apply in any way to private schools. Private schools are not affected by these decisions, even though the schools receive aid from state and federal sources.

In 1875, the General Assembly enacted two laws which give us a legal means to maintain a private system of education, at a time when a part of our public educational system cannot be maintained in a suitable and efficient manner.

Our own educational people have testified that a suitable educational system at Little Rock cannot be maintained on an integrated basis. Why, then, should we attempt to keep these schools open as public schools?
I am fully aware of the necessity for maintaining the integrity of our public schools. However, I believe that we should not be afraid to explore every possible avenue to ensure that our children receive a suitable education.

Within the Law

This plan I now explain to you in detail. We propose to change the law so that the schools will be operated on a public basis. The Supreme Court has ruled that a public school cannot be operated on a private basis. We propose to create a school board that will be responsible for the operation of the schools.

To you who oppose the integration of public schools, I urge you to consider the following:

First, the federal courts have ruled that the public school system cannot be maintained on an integrated basis. This ruling does not apply to private schools.

Second, the federal government has no authority to require any state to operate public schools. The state government has no authority to tell the school board how to operate the schools.

We are as anxious as anyone to maintain the integrity of our public schools. However, I believe that we should not be afraid to explore every possible avenue to ensure that our children receive a suitable education. I believe that we should not be afraid to explore every possible avenue to ensure that our children receive a suitable education.

To those who oppose the integration of public schools, I urge you to consider the following:

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Here it is... and now you know! Know why we have called this THE CAR. Know that a new generation of great Buicks is truly new here. From just this one view you can see that here is not just new design... but splendidly right design for this your Buick dealer and walk the whole wonderful way around this Buick, you'll know still more how right all of this is. From anywhere you look, here is a classic modern concept that is Buick speaking a new language of today. A language of fine...
and now you know! Know why we have called this THE CAR. Know why the generation of great Buicks is truly now here. From just this one view that here is not just new design... but splendidly right design for this - a car that is lean and clean and stunningly low... and at the same time, your Buick dealer and walk the whole wonderful way around this Buick, you'll know still more how right all of this is. From anywhere you look, here is a classic modern concept that is Buick speaking a new language of today. A language of fine...
Here it is...and now you know! Know why we have called this THE CAR. Know that a new generation of great Buicks is truly now here. From just this one view you can see that here is not just new design...but splendidly right design for this day and age. A car that is lean and clean and stunningly low...and at the same time great in headroom and legroom, easy to get into or out of. And when you see your Buick dealer and walk the whole wonderful way around this Buick, you'll know still more how right all of this is. From anywhere you look, here is a classic modern concept that is Buick speaking a new language of today. A language of fine cars priced within the reach of almost anyone. A language of quality and comfort and quiet pride of ownership...a language of performance satisfaction without equal.

THE LOOK. It's a clean, lean, new kind of fine-car look. Fresh. Crisp. Splendid. It's a look that proclaims your good taste to the whole wide world. The look of the best-engineered, best-manufactured Buick ever built...and the most excitingly beautiful design in Buick's nearly 60 proud years.


THE QUALITY. Buick quality to the core, new super-quiet bodies by Fisher—and there isn't anything better. New Lucite finishes stay almost everlastingly fresh. New interior glows throughout. Safety-Plate Glass everywhere. A new hardtop design—closest ever to having no top. Magnificent new quietness, new comfort, the feel of fine-car quality everywhere! Yours to feel, yours to savor—the look, the action, the quality of the magnificent new Buick for 1959. If you know cars—and if we know you—you're in your car!

A NEW CLASS OF FINE CARS WITHIN REACH OF 2 OUT OF 3 NEW CAR BUYERS

LE SABRE INVICTA ELECTRA

The thriftiest Buick. The most spirited Buick. The most luxurious Buick.

See the Bob Hope Buick Show "Roberta" Friday Night, KARK-TV, and Tales of Wells Fargo, Monday Night, KARK-TV.
A car that is lean and clean and stunningly low... and at the same time headroom and legroom, easy to get into or out of. And when you see the look, new kind of fine look. Fresh.


THE QUALITY. Buick quality to the core, new super-quiet bodies by Fisher—and there just isn't anything better. New Lusitano finishes stay almost endlessly fresh. New interior decor throughout. Safety-Faste Glass everywhere. A new hardtop design—closest ever to having no top. Magnificent new quietness, new comfort, the feel of fine-car quality everywhere! Yours to test, yours to savor—the look, the action, the quality of the magnificent new Buick for 1959. If you know cars—and if we know you—the ear is your car!

Optional on certain models.

CLASS OF FINE CARS WITHIN REACH OF 2 OUT OF 3 NEW CAR BUYERS

SABRE INVICTA ELECTRA

The thriftiest Buick.
The most spirited Buick.
The most luxurious Buick.

See the Bob Hope Buick Show "Roberta" Friday Night, KARK-TV, and Tales of Wells Fargo, Monday Night, KARK-TV.
Faubus Text (Continued)

(Continued from Page 17A)

If the control of the public schools is left to the states, we have the constitutional and legal protection of the states. If the states are not constitutional and legal, then they can control the schools. If they have any legal protection, then the states can control the schools. If the states are not constitutional and legal, then they can control the schools.

The Basic Issue

The plan is sound and working. It is all legal. To this the argument of the so-called "law of the land" can have no objection.

Perhaps it would be well to view the reasons for the wide-spread and adamant opposition to the forcible integration of schools, not only here, but in other sections of the nation. This, of course, is a difficult undertaking. Books can be written on the subject; in fact, many books have been written. And the mass of editorial comment from the press throughout the nation are so great a volume that no one person can even attempt to keep abreast of all that has been said and written on this subject.

Behind all this is the basic issue which should be the concern to people throughout the nation, and that is the gradual, consistent, and forcible usurpation of the powers of the state, and the people, by the federal government and the United States Supreme Court. Were it not for this violation of the rights guaranteed to the states by the Constitution, then the segregation-integration controversy would not be a political issue, and would not have become a legal battle which has spilled over a great extent into the field of the military.

We are, of course, convinced that the use of force is unwise.

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A FULL SIZE FREEZER

A FULL SIZE CONVEYOR...
famous text (Continued)
(Continued from Page 17A)

If the control of the public schools is left to the states, as is favored by the founding fathers and guaranteed by the 10th Amendment to the Constitution, then the controversy will not only be state-wide, and states can have, as their people choose, either segregated or integrated schools, or both.

Some so-called "do-gooders" cannot seem to understand the reasons for the strong belief of many people in segregation. There are many reasons. First: There can be found no example throughout the nation where the change from segregated schools to integrated schools has improved the quality of education, or has made for better relations between the races. On the contrary, the reverse is true, and you need but go into the integrated areas in this nation to find clear and indisputable evidence.

All of us were made aware some time ago, by the widespread publicity, of the terrible conditions that exist in the integrated schools of New York City.

Cites Washington, D. C.

For concrete, factual examples of what happens to the students and teachers and to the quality education in general following integration, I quote some excerpts from the report of "Investigation of Public School Conditions" by the Committee on District of Columbia, House of Representatives, 82nd Congress.

The schools of Washington, D. C. were integrated in 1954. There was a public admonition by the President of the United States that they should serve as a model of integrated schools to be copied by the rest of the country.

In the beginning the Committee report read: "Washington, D. C., is the most favorable choice as an integration experiment most likely to succeed. Our best educated Negroes are migrating to the Capital in great numbers. The Negro per
Behind all this is the basic issue which should be and is of concern to people throughout the nation, and that is the gradual, constant, and forcible usurpation of the powers of the state, and the people, by the federal government and the United States Supreme Court. Were it not for this violation of the rights guaranteed to the states by the Constitution, then the segregation-integration controversy would be a moral issue, and would not have become a legal battle which has spilled over a great extent into the field of the military. We are, of course, convinced that the use of force is arbitrary, illegal, and unsafe. The use of the military has started the people like a firebell in the night. And there is ample cause for alarm. In every case in the history of the world where democracy has been supplanted by dictatorship, the dictatorial powers have clothed their actions in pious cloak of legality and acting in the best interest of the people.

"Washington, D.C., is the most favorable choice as an integration experiment most likely to succeed. Our best educated Negroes are migrating to the Capital in great numbers. The Negro per capita income in the District of Columbia is higher than the White income in some areas of the nation. As residents of the nation's Capital, the people of the District of Columbia enjoy more cultural advantages than people of any other city in America. The District of Columbia Negroes have had school facilities superior to most other schools in the nation. No other place in the nation offers such superior advantages for a successful integration program."

What has been the result?

"The first result was the exodus of White people from Washington. The records show conclusively that the elementary school population was increasing after World War II, until the first steps into integration were taken as public housing and other fields. At the first threat of integration, the White residents began to leave. A few years ago there were 33,408 White students and 33,408 Negro students in Washington. The school census of October 21, 1955, disclosed that there was a school membership of 33,408 White students, and 68,877 Negro students. The school census of October, 1956, showed 34,750 White students, 33% and 73,723 Negro students, 67%." (Since the completion of this report, the percentage of Negro students in the Washington, D.C. schools is now 92% and White students 8%).

**Quotes Report**

Another result of integration of the schools—In Washington has been to lower the educational standards city-wide. A number of nationally recognized and selected educational achievement and I.Q. tests, quoted extensively in the report, reveals that the population of the school stands.

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use educational achievement and L.Q. tests, quoted extensively in the report, reveals that the population as a whole in the public schools of Washington is now two grades lower than the national norm.

Test after test revealed in this report makes known the fact of deterioration in the quality of education on every grade level and in every field of educational activity.

I quote from this report prepared by the Committee of Congress:

"Prior to the integration of the schools in the District of Columbia there were very few unusual disciplinary problems in either of the school systems. Since the integration of the schools there have been few unusual disciplinary problems in the predominantly segregated schools.

"Disciplinary problems in the predominantly integrated schools have been described as appalling, demoralizing, intolerable, and disgraceful.

"Fighting, lying, stealing, van-
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NO MONEY DOWN...EASY TERMS
BLASS ... see it and try it in our Appliance Store at 315 Main St
Faubus Text (Continued)
(Continued from Page 22A)


Quotes Testimony
The following are quotes from teachers and others who testified before the committee:

"I found it necessary to require that all teachers leave their desks when the bell rang and keep order in the corridors . . ."

"At times, I heard colored girls and white boys singing and revolting language . . ."

"A fight took place outside my classroom. There was a knifing and a shooting.
"I have had to call the police about 50 times. It touched his heart but the knife was too short for him . . ."

"We do not have dancing, dramatics, or operettas since integration. We felt it better in order to avoid any situation . . ."

"We have had requests from teachers and others who testified at Eastern in the last two years to integrate . . ."

"I found it necessary to require that all teachers leave their desks when the bell rang and keep order in the corridors . . ."

"There were constant fighting in the classrooms between colored and colored, and sometimes between colored and white . . ."

"After integration disciplinary problems increased in number and type. It had a frustrating effect on teachers . . ."

"During 1955, I imagine we called the police about 50 times. However, the newspapers claimed only four incidents in three years . . ."

"I have had requests for colored parents to take their children out of my schools and put them back in all-colored schools. They thought they could get a better education there than they could by being mixed up . . ."

"We have had to call the police a number of times. We have had to call them maybe 25 or 30 times . . ."

"We have had a number of fights set on purpose during school hours . . ."

"I would say last year our books took what would be the normal wear of 10 years in using . . ."

"A fight took place outside my classroom. There was a knifing and a shooting. It touched his heart but the knife was too short for him . . ."

"We did not have any social activities after integration. We felt it better in order to avoid any situation . . ."

"We do not have dancing, dramatics, or operettas since integration . . ."

"And the following excerpts from the minority report of two Northern Congressmen on the Committee:

"The fact brought to light by this investigation seem to indicate that Negro leaders, and those actively interested in the advancement of the Negro people, have much work to do among the Negro people, and that all of the difficulties encountered with integration are not caused by the seemingly uncompromising attitude of the white people . . ."

There are many things in this report which I cannot, in good taste, mention on this television program. Write to your Congressman and secure a copy of this report and read for yourself the revealing and shocking developments in the Washington, D.C., schools following integration . . .

Describes Choice
Now, what will you be voting on at the Special Election, September 27th? It will not be just to open the school or to keep it closed. It will not be the question of whether or not seven Negro students may or may not attend Central High School. It will not be deciding the question of segregation versus limited integration. In the ultimate there can be no such thing as limited integration, so far as the public schools of Little Rock are concerned. The choice you make on September 27th is whether to continue to fight for our constitutional rights, and the opportunity to find an acceptable solution to problems.
ext (Continued)

Fighting Bias Pays Largely For Itself

...the problem of bias has been discussed and is still being discussed. ...It has been shown that the problem of bias is not new, but rather a result of the long history of American society. ...The problem of bias is not just a local issue, but a national issue, and it is the responsibility of all American citizens to work towards its resolution.

...The following excerpt is from a recent report of the National Commission on the Prevention of Crime and Delinquency:

"The problem of bias is not just a local issue, but a national issue, and it is the responsibility of all American citizens to work towards its resolution. ...The problem of bias is not just a matter of individual responsibility, but it is also a matter of collective responsibility. ...The problem of bias cannot be solved by individual action alone, but it requires the active participation of all members of society."
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U CAN'T SEE IT... YOU CAN'T FEEL IT...
ONLY YOUR HAIR KNOWS IT'S THERE!

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You can forget you ever HAD straight hair! Marvelous Natural Wave by Max Factor, a totally new treatment actually changes your hair from straight to natural-looking curls that last 'til your next shampoo! And it's invisible... never stiff or sticky. Can't discolor your hair. For the softest, most care-free curls, set your hair with Natural Wave!

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ITALY GIVES WEST LIFT

Rome, Sept. 18 (AP) — Italy's Western-allied foreign policy tonight won a renewed endorsement from the Senate. It approved the Foreign Ministry's budget for the current fiscal year, and thereby Premier Amintore Fanfani's foreign policy, by an uncounted show of hands.

DON'T GETTING UP NIGHTS MAKE YOU FEEL OLD

NEW YORK—Special: Thanks to new, scientific laboratory formulation, thousands of men and women now escape feeling old, tired, irritable and depressed from losing sleep and worrying about "Bladder Weakness"—too frequent, burning and itching urination. Bed Wetting, Getting Up Nights—Strong Cloudy Urine, due to common Kidney or Bladder Irritations, which often result in secondary Backache, Headache and Nosedouses. In such cases New Improved CYSTEX usually gives quick, comforting relief by combating irritating germs in acid urine; and by relaxing, analgesic relief.

Over a billion CYSTEX tablets used—proves safety and success. Get Laboratory Tested and Certified CYSTEX at druggist today. See how much better you feel tomorrow. Money back guarantee.

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Italians. West Lift, West was the most favorably received foreign policy.

The choice you make on Saturday, September 27th, is whether to continue to fight for our constitutional rights, and the opportunity to find an acceptable solution to this problem, or you vote for the beginning of complete and total integration. And if the latter be your decision, it will come sooner than you think.

I have read to you only a small part of the results of such integration, carried out under what was said to be the most favorable conditions in the nation.

Some people dread, shrink from, and grow weary of the struggle in which we are now engaged. I grow weary, also, but is there any choice? Once integration is effected totally and completely, will the peace and harmony you desire be attained? If we are to judge by the results elsewhere, anywhere, once total, or near total integration is effected, the peace, the quiet, the harmony, the pride in our schools, and even the good relations that existed heretofore between the races here, will be gone forever. Perhaps the conditions will not be completely intolerable, but the lowering of educational standards, the rise in immorality and concern. And if the latter be your decision, it will come sooner than you think.

... and then the Senator spent a bit more time talking about the different solutions available and the importance of considering the long-term implications. His speech was met with a loud and sustained applause from the assembled crowd, which then dispersed to their various activities.
September 23, 1959

Mr. Lester Harkel, Sunday Editor
THE NEW YORK TIMES
Times Square and 42nd Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

We have become so accustomed to the New York Times' consistently excellent reporting of the school desegregation story that we may occasionally be in danger of taking it for granted. Gertrude Samuels' piece, "Act III Opens in Little Rock" in the Sunday Magazine of September 13 continues in the same tradition the reporting she did so well earlier this year. I find it especially noteworthy that, while the article's concise review of the events since August, 1957, and its impartial assessment of the present state of affairs are wholly in keeping with journalistic canons, Mrs. Samuels' objectivity as a reporter never degenerates into bloodless dissociation from the values involved.

Two further observations seem to me to be in order:

First, Mrs. Samuels accords full and sympathetic weight to the considerations which led the Little Rock school board to its decision to keep integration on a token basis, but she does not on this account, as so many others have, cast its members in the role of beleaguered heroes unjustly assailed by a headstrong NAACP bent on rule or ruin. The elements of justification in the Negro community's challenge of the board's action are also set forth with clarity and understanding.

Second, it should be stressed that Mrs. Samuels' assignment was not completed without a disturbing reminder that a reporter's lot in Little Rock may be not only unhappy at times but on occasion downright perilous. Her ejection from a segregationist meeting included moments when she had good reason to fear for her physical safety and was
Mr. Lester Markel, Sunday Editor
THE NEW YORK TIMES

September 23, 1959

clearly beyond the occupational risks a good newspaperman has a right to expect in line of duty. There is no desire here to encourage further exposure of this kind, but we somehow assume this is not the last Little Rock story to carry the Samuels by-line.

Sincerely yours,

John A. Morsell, Assistant to the Executive Secretary

jam/emb
September 23, 1958

Dr. and Mrs. Kenneth B. Clark  
17 Pinecrest Drive  
Hastings-on-Hudson, New York  

Dear Ken and Mamie:

Here is the enclosure as agreed at our meeting the other day. The next one ought to be on its way around mid-November.

Give our warm regards to Minnijean.

Cordially,

Jamierb

Enclosure

John A. Morsell  
Assistant to the  
Executive Secretary
STATEMENT OF POLICY

By Board of Directors of Little Rock School District

This statement is made in order that all residents of the District may fully understand what the policy of the Board has been and will continue to be with respect to disciplinary action as applied to all students.

A large majority of the students, under the proper guidance of their parents, are to be commended for their interest in education and their willingness to conduct themselves in such a way as to enable the District to educate them and all other students.

There is a small group of students whose conduct is such that they make it impossible to obtain an education for themselves and they create conditions which interfere with the efforts of those who are endeavoring to take advantage of the educational opportunities offered them by the District.

The Directors of the District feel that they must, in the interest of all students, take such action as may be necessary to insure the preservation of an educational program for those who desire to learn and are willing to conduct themselves properly.

The duty of the District through its educational staff is to pass on knowledge to all students and that in itself is a major responsibility and such duty cannot effectively be performed when a small group of students impair their own and the educational opportunities of others.

Each student will be judged on his or her conduct. Whether the student is for or opposed to integration will not be considered. Only the conduct of the student will be considered in determining whether disciplinary action should be applied. Any student whose conduct is unsatisfactory will be expelled.

We strongly desire to avoid any decision which will deprive any student of his or her educational opportunities and we sincerely appeal to all students to refrain from that kind of conduct which will call for expulsion and to all adults to refrain from encouraging students to follow such a course of conduct.

Board of Directors Little Rock School District

WAYNE UPTON, President; DR. WILLIAM G. COOPER, Vice President; HAROLD ENGSTROM, Secy.; R. A. LILE, DR. DALE ALFORD, HENRY RATH.
September 23, 1958

Mrs. Hazel Norwood
128 South 22nd Street
Van Buren, Arkansas

Dear Mrs. Norwood:

Today's newspapers carried photographs and accounts of the return to school of most of the colored children who had been terrorized away two weeks ago. Yesterday I spoke at great length with Mr. Clarence Laws, our field secretary, whose efforts in this matter you are, of course, very much aware of.

I have been moved by what Mr. Laws told me to write a few lines to tell you how thoroughly we admire the position you took and the leadership which you have given the Negro families in Van Buren in this trying matter. No one far from the scene can completely appreciate what your courage and vision meant there in Van Buren. But we understand enough of it to be sincerely appreciative.

To you and to the others who have recognized the vital importance of being pioneers at this time, I wish to extend the warm good wishes and the earnest thanks of this Association.

Very sincerely,

John A. Morsell
Assistant to the
Executive Secretary
September 23, 1958

Mrs. Harris B. Gaines, President
National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Inc.
4534 South Woodlawn
Chicago 15, Illinois

Dear Mrs. Gaines:

We recently received copies of three letters authorized by the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Inc., at its 31st Biennial Convention, and directed to President Eisenhower, Attorney General Rogers and Governor J. Lindsay Almond of Virginia.

We want to say to you that this action is in the highest tradition of devotion to public service and democratic ideals and is thus in keeping with the fine record which NACWC has maintained during its sixty-two years of existence.

While it may be some time before there are visible results of appeals to Governor Almond, there is every reason to believe that the Administration has proven receptive to them. Its recent vigorous action in the Little Rock case as well as in voting and civil rights matters elsewhere in the South strongly supports this point of view.

May we extend once again our heartiest best wishes for continued success of the great work which you are doing.

Sincerely yours,

John A. Morrell
Assistant to the Executive Secretary
A note of appreciation
To the President-
\[\text{[illegible]}\quad \text{a good thing}\]
We are pleased to send you the attached material. We believe it will be of interest to you.

Any comment you may wish to make would be appreciated.

Sincerely,

[Signature]

Executive Secretary
TO THE HONORABLE J. LINDSEY ALMOND, JR. GOVERNOR, RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

The National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Inc., meeting in their 62nd Anniversary session in Detroit, Michigan representing 200,000 organized women of whom 10,000 are Virginians send you greetings.

The women of this Convention are distressed over the imminent closing of some of Virginia's public schools. We urge that you uphold the 1954 decision of the Supreme Court.

We consider it the inalienable right of all children to receive equally all benefits of the educational program of the State of Virginia.

The principle of taxation without representation is as undemocratic today as it was when our country was founded.

No Governor has the right to use the power of his office to deny and suppress the rights of citizens. Therefore, the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Inc., requests that all rights of our affiliate, the Virginia State Federation of Colored Women's Clubs, Inc., be given your earnest consideration with particular reference to the upholding of the 1954 decision of the Supreme Court.

Mrs. Harris B. Gaines, President

Mrs. Mayme Moore, Chairman
Telegram Committee

Mrs. Fred E. Puckett, Chairman
Legislation Department
TO: THE HONORABLE WILLIAM P. ROGERS  
Attorney-General of the USA  
The Department of Justice  
Washington

The National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Inc., representing 200,000 organized women with more than 1000 delegates now in convention at Detroit, Michigan, in convention submit the following appeal to you:

That in your official capacity you file at once a brief and join in an appeal of Judge Harry J. Lemley's Decision in Little Rock, Arkansas with respect to the delay in carrying out this Supreme Court's decision of 1958 desegregating schools.

This 62nd year old organization further reports that you use any measure you deem necessary to assure all youth the school rights inherent in this American Democracy.

Respectfully submitted

Mrs. Harris B. Gaines, President

Mrs. Mary G. Puckett, Chairman of Legislation  
Mrs. Mayme Moore, Co-Chairman

Mrs. Ruby Kendrick, Public Relations, Director
TO: HONORABLE DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER  
PRESIDENT  
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

The National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Inc., now holding its 31st Biennial Convention and its 62nd Anniversary Celebration at Detroit, Michigan, with more than a thousand delegates representing 200,000 organized members present, make the following appeal to you:

That immediately you issue a nation-wide pronouncement that all laws including the 1954 Supreme Court Decision to desegregate schools be vigorously upheld with all resources at your command; and that the affiliate of this organization in 45 states, including Alaska, be assured by such action that they may enjoy all the rights of full citizenship.

Mrs. Harris Be. Gaines, President

Secretary

Submitted July 31, 1958  
The Sheraton-Cadillac Hotel  
Detroit, Michigan
WASHINGTON, D.C.

URGENTLY REQUEST YOUR BRANCH SUPPORT LEADERS WHO CONFERRED WITH PRESIDENT EISENHOWER BY TAKING FOLLOWING ACTION: WIRE THE PRESIDENT IMMEDIATELY URGING HIM TO SPEAK OUT IN A NATIONWIDE PRONOUNCEMENT THAT THE LAW WILL BE VIGOROUSLY UPHOLD WITH ALL RESOURCES AT HIS COMMAND; SEND ANOTHER WIRE TO ATTORNEY GENERAL WILLIAM P. ROGERS AT THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, IN APPEAL OF FEDERAL JUDGE HARRY J. LEMLEYS DECISION IN LITTLE ROCK. CONTACT OTHER ORGANIZATIONS, CHURCH, LABOR, CIVIC GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS URGING SIMILAR WIRE TO PRESIDENT AND ATTORNEY GENERAL. IF POSSIBLE, HOLD EMERGENCY PROTEST MASS RALLY BY SUNDAY, JUNE 20, BUT SEND WIRE TO PRESIDENT AND ATTORNEY GENERAL IMMEDIATELY.

WITHIN TEN DAYS

URGING FILING BRIEF AND JOINING

R.Y. WILKINS
Attorney-General Rogers  
Washington, D.C.  
Sir:

As an Arkansan, I hope that the federal government can bring adequate legal means to undo the harm done by political agitators of my own and neighboring states. I feel that, at this time, any retreat in "national policy" would have very evil effects for my state, in the long run. It must somehow be brought home to us that we are a Nation, not a mere conglomeration of states; and that our failure to accord all citizens equal public and legal rights weakens us as a Nation, not only from within, but also damages our position as a leader among nations.

In the South, we have never distinguished adequately between what is "public" and what is "private"; we rightly insist that our "private" life is inviolable, but fail to distinguish the nature of our "public" life. Perhaps the reason we are so ready to think in terms of "private" schools is that we have never understood the word "public"; our schools have always been restricted to a private club. I, for one, cannot accept either the legality or the justice of the concept that public funds may be spent on segregated schools, or that businesses licensed to serve the public may function legally in the same terms as closed and private clubs.

Can a private school program designed explicitly to avoid integration, to evade the spirit of the law, be legal?

Can public funds be legally used to finance private clubs? (I recall that in India, when the railway was introduced, the Brahmins felt compelled to rule that caste contamination could not occur in railway cars, which people of all castes had a right to use).

The college in my home town has a forestry department at least partially financed by federal funds; I and others have long suggested that there could be no question of denying integration under such circumstances; negroes registered in the forestry department would, of course, share classes in English, math, and other subjects with white students of both sexes. Are there similar forestry departments in colleges in other Deep South States?

In a letter to me the other day, my wife commented that in the event that many southern schools are closed, an important factor might be Home Economics and vocational agriculture programs, financed by federal funds at present. These groups are fairly well organized, with more highly paid teachers than usual in our area; vocational agriculture instructors often receive the same salaries as superintendents. Home economics teachers have a customary role of handling necessary entertaining, dinners, etc., for administrators. Also, both are practically the only teachers who visit homes of students regularly. Apart from these departments, public health programs and lunch programs, she does not know of other instances in which federal funds are now being used. But perhaps their voices could be important, or perhaps their role might offer a wedge through which federal legal pressure could be brought to bear. These were offhand and unorganized thoughts; but we offer them on the chance that they might be clues as to possible channels through which some of our problems might be attacked.

Charles H. Childers, Jr.  
Monticello, Arkansas
EDITORIAL OF THE WEEK

The following editorial was published, Sept. 25, in the Montreal Star, one of Canada's leading newspapers:

SCHOOL DAYS IN LITTLE ROCK

With a thousand regular United States army men now enforcing the federal law at Little Rock, this bitter struggle has now reached the stage which President Eisenhower said only two months ago he could not imagine. The world watches Negroes in the United States going to Southland schools under the muzzles of loaded rifles, just ninety-four years after the Emancipation Proclamation was signed by another Republican, Abraham Lincoln. This drastic action has long been dreaded for the scars it will leave and the question it will raise.

How long will it be until colored pupils can attend integrated schools unguarded? How will this affect other states, like Alabama and Florida, who have done even less than Arkansas toward integration? Is this same dismal pattern to be repeated, with the U.S. Army having to step in all across the South and deepen the nation's wounds?

Some on both sides of the Mason-Dixon line will point to the presence of Negro troops in the 101st Division as an unwise move, adding insult to injury. The complaint is not valid. If the Army had quickly withdrawn these soldiers before the move-in order was carried out, it would have told Southern extremists and the world that Washington was moving in apologetically and preparing to pull its punches. The time for that is gone.

For the colored youngsters who briefly sat in the Central High School on Monday, the memory of that day has been seared forever in their minds. They and many others will probably go through this again, this year and next and the one after, until time erodes the ingrained prejudice that would keep the two worlds apart.

Where they get the sheer guts to go through with it, we don't know. Nor is it easy to imagine the soul-searching that their parents went through before letting the children step into such a maelstrom of terror. Some may question the wisdom of this, particularly from a point of view of time. But from the viewpoint of human dignity, time has long since run out. It is the measure of the Negro's determination that he is willing to write this test case in blood.

What sort of dedication does a man -- or more important, a youngster -- need to face the stones of a crowd, their knives or guns or clubs, of being cornered by a mob of vicious whites egged on by screaming viragos who resemble women?

The ordeal at Little Rock will in time be looked back on with mixed revulsion and admiration. Revulsion at the faces of hatred that look the same in all ages, and admiration for the rare courage of youngsters who could look in these faces and still walk on.
Any Lease Plan Only Tentative, Board Is Told

Attorneys for the Little Rock School Board said yesterday that any leasing of the four public high schools would have to be on a tentative basis, pending a final court decision on the lease.

The three attorneys—John H. Bailey, Richard C. Butler and A. F. House—addressed their prepared statement to the Little Rock School Board. It came before the NAACP filed its notice of appeal to the Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals, a move which might constitute a new barrier to the leasing.

The election-eve statement reminded the Board that it was still operating the schools under the order signed by federal Judge John E. Miller August 16, 1956. This was the order approving the Board's plan of gradual integration. Judge Miller declined Thursday to give an opinion on the private-lease plan.

Will Wait to Decide

If the vote today is against integration, if the School Board decides to lease the four high schools and if a lease can be negotiated in time, the schools could be opened Monday, Superintendent Virgil T. Blossom said yesterday. That is, there is no administrative reason that would prevent it.

Blossom said at his afternoon meeting with reporters that the Board had not decided on leasing the schools and wouldn't until after the election.

Blossom said that school officials had prepared schedules for classes to be presented over television Monday "on an either/or basis." He said school officials couldn't presume that the schools would be open.

High school teachers have been giving instruction by television this week as an emergency measure.

Transfers Reach 395

The Governor and Friends

A screaming group of high school students, carrying Faubus pictures and Faubus-for-president signs, met the governor on the Capitol steps yesterday morning and gave him a petition signed by students supporting his school band. Behind Mr. Faubus as he turns back to the Capitol are the shoulders and hat of his constant companion, State Policeman Floyd Weaver.

Faubus Avers Schools to Stay Open If Voters Favor Segregation Today

Governor Faubus told Little that would not be affected. "The whole but only one order in the church Rock voters last night in a television address that it wouldn't be of place," he said, "The question nerves with the laymen and lay-
The Governor and Friends

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Faubus Avers Schools to Stay Open
If Voters Favor Segregation Today

Governor Faubus told Little would not be affected. "The whole but only one order in the church will not be affected. "The whole but only one order in the church is out, a tiny minority when com-

Election Facts

The Question On the Ballot

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Georgia Will Face School Problems

Soon, Griffin Says

Atlanta, Sept. 20-Gov. Marvin Griffin said today that he has given the people of Georgia and particularly the people of Atlanta an opportunity to consider the school integration problem in light of the this year's school year. Griffin issued a prepared statement declaring he was not encouraged by what he found at the Southern Governors Conference in Lexington, Ky. this week. He did not elaborate but apparently for racial integration in schools within the Little Rock School District.

Huff Enjoined From Hearing Vote Contest

Circuit Judge C. Floyd Huff Jr. of Hot Springs was temporarily stopped yesterday from hearing a Garland County sheriff's election dispute. Judge Huff was scheduled to preside over the hearing Monday. Garland County Sheriff Leonard B. Ellis seeks to prevent Judge Huff from hearing the election dispute.

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- English Fords

AS WE ENTER THE FINAL DAYS OF OUR YEAR-END CLEAN-UP
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(8) '58 Demonstrators
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Georgia Will Face School Problems Soon, Griffin Says

Atlanta, Sept. 26 (AP) — Governor Marvin Griffin said today the people of Georgia and particularly Atlanta will be faced with the school integration problem in the "not too distant future."

Griffin issued a prepared statement declaring he was not encouraged by the findings of experts and educators at the Southern Governors' Conference in Lexington, Ky., this week. He did not elaborate but appeared to be referring to the attitude of some of the governors toward segregation.

He said he had been studying Georgia's private school implementation laws and believed they were in good shape. He added that if he found any loopholes, he wouldn't hesitate to make recommendations and leave them on his desk.

Griffin's term expires in January 1959.

He compared Atlanta to the Little Rock situation and said a proper solution will tax the courage of Georgians.

"A solution will require careful deliberation and the best minds of our state," he said. "It will take patience and above all else it will take a united front on the part of Georgians. The future of segregation in our state depends upon the will of the people."

Griffin said he was not a radical but "I shall stand resolute on the fundamental principle that Georgia public schools were created under the laws of this state. They are financed by the taxpayers of the state and we shall control them in the best interests of all Georgians—white and colored."

In the Little Rock city manager's election in November 1957, segregationists endorsed a candidate for each of the seven positions and elected one. He was Lutcher L. Langford who received 19,123 votes to 12,777 for his opponent. In the same election two segregation leaders were candidates and both lost. They were Mrs. Margaret C. Jackson who got 8,963 votes to 13,136 for two opponents, and Mrs. Clyde V. Thomason who got 10,513 votes to 17,263 for her opponent. Mrs. Thomason ran again this year for state representative and lost in the runoff, 10,181 to 5,388.

Another segregationist leader in the battle in the Democratic primaries was Jim Johnson of Deseret, candidate for the state supreme court. He won the nomination but lost Little Rock, 5,170 to 10,321. On July 29, Governor Faubus received 14,396 votes in Little Rock to 10,897 for his two opponents.

2 Men 'Clean Out' Vian, Okla., Bank

Vian, Okla., Sept. 26 (AP) — Two roughly-dressed bank robbers "cleaned out" the vault of the Vian State Bank about 10:30 this morning and escaped in a car taken from a Vian resident.

Bank Vice President S. W. Armstrong said he did not know how much money they got. Vian, about 1,100 population, is about 40 miles west of Fort Smith, Ark.

One robber was wearing coveralls and the other overalls with a bright plaid shirt. They were not marked although one pulled a racket, worn about his neck, over his face.

If Little Rock high schools are turned into private schools, high school teachers will still be able to participate in the state Teachers Retirement System.

Two educational leaders directly concerned with this problem said yesterday that the teachers' retirement plan for Little Rock would be safe for this school year.

Next year would be "another question," they added.

Roy R. Pyle, executive secretary of the Retirement System, said he believed that if a private corporation took over responsibility for the present contracts from the School Board and he declined to offer an opinion on what would happen if a private corporation took over responsibility for the present contracts from the School Board and would be protected this year.

If Little Rock high schools are turned into private schools, high school teachers will still be able to participate in the state Teachers Retirement System.

Two educational leaders directly concerned with this problem said yesterday that the teachers' retirement plan for Little Rock would be safe for this school year.

Next year would be "another question," they added.

Rozzell said he wasn't going to speculate on what would happen if a private corporation took over responsibility for the present contracts from the School Board. And he declined to offer an opinion on what would happen if a private corporation took over responsibility for the present contracts.

"I feel sure the teachers would protect their contractual rights," he said. "The law says that if a private corporation took over the present contracts, a legal question would arise."

He said a corporation could not legally deduct teachers' contributions to the Retirement System from their checks — as the School Board now does — but the teachers could send in the contributions themselves after they got the checks.

"This would create some bookkeeping problems for us but we would protect the teachers," he said.

There are about 175 high school teachers in Little Rock and Pyle said that all were members of the Retirement System. Teachers contribute 10 percent of their salaries to the system. The School Board deducts an amount from their checks each month and sends it to the state retirement system every six months.

Rozzell said that officials of the AEA, the teachers' organization in the state, had been in touch with officials of the Little Rock Classroom Teachers Association and discussed the matter of teacher retirement under a private operating company.

Mrs. Lucille Stone, president of the Classroom Teachers Association, said the teachers had been assured their retirement benefits would be protected as long as their salaries continued. She added that the teachers were not concerned about the matter of segregated education in the schools. Under the law, the Retirement System is administered by a five-member board, including five public school teachers and five public school teachers or administrators.

The law limits membership in the system to teachers and other employees of local school boards, the state Board of Education and the state Board of Education and the chief county schools.
No Provision in 1937 Law

Another Problem of Private Schools: Could Teachers Keep Pension Plan?

If Little Rock high schools are turned into private schools, will high school teachers still be able to participate in the state Teachers Retirement System?

Mr. Fautus read a report he said he had received from Archie W. Ford, state commissioner of Education, to indicate that a change from public to private schools would not affect the school programs.

He said that accreditation in the program would be interpreted as involving ourselves fully and full integration but he said the clergy were not the church-approved integration plan.

EXTRA! EXTRA! EXTRA!
(8) '58 Demonstrators

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323 CROSS ST.  •  206 E. BROADWAY
Little Rock - FR 4-7575  •  No. Little Rock - FR 4-7575, Ex. 35
High Court Outlaws 'Evasive Scheme' As School Lease Signed

BY BOBBIE FORSTER

The Little Rock Private School Corp. leased the four closed senior high schools from the Little Rock Board of Education today.

A source close to the board of the private corporation said that classes will begin tomorrow morning with Louis Henderson, director of secondary education for the public schools, as superintendent in the employ of the private corporation.

The school board agreed to release teachers from their contracts if the teachers wish to be employed by the private corporation, with the proviso that if and when the schools revert to the public system the teachers will be employed by the public system with no loss in status or classification or salary.

The leases were signed at 9:05 a.m., a point which Arkansas Atty. Gen. Bruce Bennett asked to have noted on the face of the leases and recorded in the minutes of the meeting.

Today's opinion elaborated on the court's September 11 decision that desegregation must proceed forthwith in Central High. It went further and aimed blows at what it termed schemes to forestall or classification or salary.

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Stock Show Opens With Gala Parade

'Name' Stars, Good Weather May Smash Record

The Arkansas livestock show grounds came to life here today, as the annual six-day event got under way. Forecasts of clear and sunny weather and the presence of many Hollywood stars promoted shows.

Wayne Upton, president of the public school board, and Dr. T. J. Raney, president of the board of the private corporation, emphasized that whether they wish to teach for the private corporation is up to the individual teachers.

Both boards emphasized that the protection on employment states covered all personnel of the four closed schools, both certified and non-certified personnel; in other words, teachers, office workers, coaching staff, cafeteria staff and all employees.

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The leases were signed at 9:05 a.m., a point which Arkansas

WASHINGTON (AP) — The U. S. Supreme Court today declared states cannot resort to "evasive schemes" to continue racial segregation in schools. Thus it dealt a blow to such plans as those calling for leasing public schools to private groups.

The unanimous opinion of the high tribunal was handed down shortly after a plan to lease four closed high schools to private organizations was set afoot in Little Rock, where Governor Faubus has been opposing immediate racial integration at Central High School.

Today's opinion elaborated on the court's September 11 decision that desegregation must proceed forthwith at Central High. It went further and aimed blows at what it termed schemes to get around its stand that racial segregation in schools is unconstitutional.

The rights of children to be free of discrimination in admission to schools "can neither be nullified openly and directly by state legislators or state executive and judicial officers, nor nullified indirectly by them through evasive schemes for segregation whether attempted ingeniously or ingenuously," and the opinion read by Chief Justice Warren. Without naming names, the opinion also declared that...

Justice Is Linked To NAACP

Frankfurter Listed As Adviser Before Joining Court

NEW BEDFORD, Mass. (AP) — The New Bedford Standard-Times today reported that Associate Justice Felix Frankfurter advised the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People on matters of policy for about 10 years immediately before his...
Vetoes by far the largest to be caught was delivered to city school officials as J. Lindsay Almond's seizure of C ordered racial integration.

In Charlottesville and Warren the number of children affected—thus, was elected lord mayor of London today. In the traditional 2,360-vehicle parade...turning cooler Tuesday. High 80's; low Tuesday, mid 60's; high Wednesday, lower 70's; low Thursday, mid 69's; high Friday, low tonight mid 50's to...is currently 53.2 and high is 53.9.

The amount of rental will/lie an overall winner to*be announced tomorrow as the annual six-day event got under way. This was the beginning of a...the operation of the private schools.
The Weather

**Little Rock, NOrth Little Rock, and Vicinity**
Parity closely to cloudy this afternoon, tonight and tomorrow. Rain expected through Thursday. Highs in the mid 70s; low in the upper 50s. Monday afternoon high in the upper 60s; low in the upper 50s.

**Arkansas**
Cloudy to sunny through Tuesday; scattered showers later today. Highs in the mid 70s; lows in the upper 50s.

**Extended Forecast**

**- Temperatures**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Monday</th>
<th>Tuesday</th>
<th>Wednesday</th>
<th>Thursday</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>60</td>
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**Show Calendar**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8 a.m.</td>
<td>Judging Hereford, Coliseum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 a.m.</td>
<td>Swine Show, Swine Building</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 a.m.</td>
<td>Judging Junior Poultry, Poultry Building</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 a.m.</td>
<td>Judging Rabbits, Rabbit Building</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 p.m.</td>
<td>Judging Hereford Steers, Coliseum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 p.m.</td>
<td>Judging Santa Gertrudis Cattle, Coliseum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 p.m.</td>
<td>Judging Open Poultry, Poultry Building</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 p.m.</td>
<td>World Championship Rodeo, Coliseum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 p.m.</td>
<td>Arkansas Hereford Association, Marion Hotel</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Forecast**

- Today: Mostly sunny with a high of 70 degrees.
- Tuesday: Slightly warmer with a high of 71 degrees.
- Wednesday: Cooler with a high of 67 degrees.
- Thursday: Highs in the mid 70s.

**Temperatures**

<table>
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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8 a.m.</td>
<td>50</td>
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<td>9 a.m.</td>
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<td>10 a.m.</td>
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<td>11 a.m.</td>
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<td>12 noon</td>
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<td>1 p.m.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 p.m.</td>
<td>110</td>
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</table>

**Name' Stars, Good Weather May Smash Record**

The Arkansas livestock shows are a mainstay of the state's agricultural industry. The largest show, the Arkansas State Fair, typically draws thousands of visitors from across the state and region. The fair features a variety of events, including livestock shows, agricultural exhibits, and entertainment.

**Full School Year Ahead**

Urges Litigation Be Carried Out While Pupils in Class

Governor Faubus, advised that a lease arrangement had been made for the four closed Little Rock high schools. The children would be provided with a complete school year unless the federal government or the NAACP interferes.

Here is the governor's statement:

"If a full school year is to be carried out while the NAACP or the federal court interferes, I will see that the children are provided with a complete school year.

"The state will not permit the NAACP or the federal court to interfere with the children's education."
Floods Sweep Texas Valley

PRESIDIO, Tex. — The Rio Grande, a swollen monster three to four miles wide, crumbled homes as it swept through the Presidio valley of southwest Texas and isolated thousands at one time.

New walls of water were expected today from continued deluges along the Rio Conchos in northern Mexico. About 30 families were evacuated in Presidio and about 300 houses were washed by the water.

Many more houses were reported crumbled on the Mexican side and one man was reported drowned there.

The river normally four feet deep here, hit more than 37 feet yesterday, 1.9 feet higher than the record 1953 flood.

The water washed away about 1,000 feet of Santa Fe track, cutting rail connections to northern Mexico. Furniture and mattresses floated away on the river from homes washed away on the Mexican side.

Despite continued rains, the river started to fall last night and continued falling today. At least one case of attempted looting was reported here.

More than 15,000 were isolated in the Ojinaga area on the Mexican side. Parcels, the Mexican government's oil company, flew in milk and baby food. Food, fuel and gasoline were reported running low in the Mexican town.

Reports from Palomas, about 80 miles into Mexico on the Rio Conchos, said that river was the highest ever recorded and was still rising.

The U. S. customs and immigration offices were evacuated earlier and were flooded yesterday.

New rises here on Cibola creek and at Alamosa creek eight miles east of here could seriously endanger this town of 1,000, not considered in great danger last night.

The West Texas Utilities Co. removed metering equipment to prevent water damage and started serving Ojinaga by direct high line. Another heavy rain could completely knock out service.

Power was cut off to Redford, a small community 40 miles south of here isolated by the Rio Grande.

This was the beginning of a week-long elimination to select an overall winner to be awarded a national television audience in New York City and Chicago. Contestants competing in five divisions will be awarded a share of $5,000 in prize money at the conclusion of the contest. Entries from more than 60 county fairs are competing in this contest.

11:30 a.m. today the world championship rodeo in Bartlesville, Okla., and the new Show of Stars in the grandstand will be held simultaneously.

Stars for the rodeo include Rex Allen and his horse, Koko, the Frontierman and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. Headliners for the Show of Stars today and tomorrow include Edgar Bergen and Charlie McCarthy. See SHOW on Page 2.

Powerful Storms May Join

MIAMI, Fla. — Hurricanes Betsy and Hattie move 40 miles today to the north. Courses plotted by the weather bureau here would bring the hurricanes together possibly in the next two or three days, said forecaster Rollin Dow.

A meteorologist's axiom that hurricanes repel each other and do not merge does not always hold true, Dow said.

Lease Plan

OMAHA, Neb. — Two federal circuit court judges were asked today either to prevent the Little Rock School Board from leasing its high schools to a private corporation or to permit Negro children to attend the privately operated schools.

Wiley Branton, Pine Bluff, and Thurgood Marshall, New York, representing the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, asked for an injunction preventing the private operation of Little Rock high schools until the circuit court of appeals acts on an earlier appeal aimed at integrating high schools in Little Rock.

They were joined by Donald MacGuineas, chief of the general litigation section of the Justice Department civil division, in asking as an alternative that Negro children be admitted to the private schools.

MacGuineas read excerpts from the Supreme Court full opinion handed down this morning. The attorney also took cognizance of the lease signed by the Little Rock School Board today to turn the schools over to a private corporation.

Under the circumstances, they argued, emergency action such as the injunction asked, is necessary.

The judges left the bench at 11:30 a.m. and indicated a decision was expected late today. Request Filed.

The formal request by the NAACP for a temporary order restraining the Little Rock School Board from leasing the high school buildings there to a private corporation was filed in St. Louis, Mo., today.

The corporation plans to operate the schools on a racially segregated basis.

In the request, the NAACP said it is asking pending disposition of an appeal in the case, "the applicants will suffer irreparable injury."

The appeal is from the refusal by District Judge John E. Miller of Arkansas to grant an injunction against leasing of the school buildings to the Little Rock Private School Corp.

No other remedy.

Marsh and Branton said, in asking for the restraining order, they "have no other adequate remedy whereby the appeal from the order of the district court may be preserved."

Justice Woodruff, appointed a circuit judge by President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1933, is a native of Cincinnati, Ohio, who came to Omaha in 1931 after serving in the army.
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The river, normally four feet deep here, hit more than 14 feet yesterday, 139 feet higher than the record 1932 flood. The water washed away about 1,000 feet of Santa Fe track, cutting rail connections to northern Mexico. Furniture and mattresses floated down the river from homes washed away on the Mexican side.

Despite continued rains, the river started to fall last night and continued falling today. At least one case of attempted drowning was reported here.

This was the beginning of a week-long elimination to select an overall winner to be awarded a national television audition in New York or Chicago. Contestants winning in five divisions of talent will be awarded a share of $1,013 in prize cash at the conclusion of the contest. Entries from more than 60 county fairs are competing in this contest. 

Less and Shue.

At 8 p.m. today the world championship rodeo in Barton Coliseum and the new Show of Stars at the grandstand will be held simultaneously. Stars for the rodeo include Rodeo Allen and his horse, Koko, the Frontiersman and the Royal Cossacks Mounted Police. 

Headliners for the Show of Stars today and tomorrow include Edgar Bergen and Charlie McCarthy. See SHOW on Page 2.

CURBSTONE COWBOY — Kids, young and old, were thrilled by the parade today which officially launched the Arkansas Livestock Exposition. Many of the thousands of spectators had to crane their necks to get a look. These youngsters were more fortunate. (Democrat Photo by Counts.)

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Winds Cut Power In Nova Scotia

SYDNEY, N. S. — All power in this city of some 2,250 was cut today and most streets were blocked by fallen trees in the wake of a hurricane. Bella's 80-mile-an-hour wind.

Prescott Slayer Confesses

PRESCOTT, Ariz. — A 26-year-old Kentuckian has admitted the fatal shooting of a Prescott police officer, Lt. Alan Templeton of the State Police said today.

Templeton agreed to be available for advice on matters of policy and not to contact or to give any information to those professionals.

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Integration 'Test' Aimed At Minister

A woman who said she wanted to test if members would "practice what they preach" took a Negro woman to an all-white church yesterday.

Mrs. Roy T. Morrison, 714 N. Tyler, said she and her companion, Mrs. Pearl Lewis, were asked to leave the Pulaski Heights Methodist Church, but remained throughout the service.

Mrs. Morrison, mother of four, said she would take more Negroes to the church if the pastor, Dr. J. Kenneth Shamblin, continued to speak in favor of school integration.

Dr. Shamblin said the incident "in a good example of the extremes some will go in order to force everyone into two radi- cally different positions and upon a rational approach to the problem we face."

The Rev. Woodrow Smith, assistant pastor, termed it "an effort to embarrass our pastor."

Mrs. Morrison said her action was prompted by Dr. Shamblin's sermon last Sunday calling for school integration as the only way to reopen the city's four high schools.

"What's good enough for our children is good enough for us," she declared.

SCHOOLS

(Continued from Page 1)

Dr. Philip C. Marcy is new principal of Little Rock High School.

"It is obvious that under the measure...every pupil and employee in the state, without exception, would be in daily fear of offending the commission," it added.

Hambone's Meditation

PARSON ALLUS TEK ME VACATION WEN
DE HEAT DE HIGHEST
AN DE CONTRIBUIONS
DE LOWEST!!!

Reuther, Chrysler Seek Pact

UNION HEAD MOVES BACK DEADLINE
FOR GM STRIKE

DETROIT (AP-Warren Reuther
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"I believe the teachers would want advice from their teacher retirement and other pur-
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The employees must return the
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Dr. Shamblin said the incident "in a good example of the extremes some will go in order to force everyone into two radi-

cal positions and upon a rational approach to the problem we face."

The Rev. Woodrow Smith, assistant pastor, termed it "an effort to embarrass our pastor."

Mrs. Morrison said her action was prompted by Dr. Shamblin's sermon last Sunday calling for school integration as the only way to reopen the city's four high schools.

"What's good enough for our children is good enough for us," she declared.
teacher retirement and other pur- practical completion of deseg- parable completion of deseg-
poses for which the public board reg- gregation, and had taken appro-
recting changes in the Supreme Court to dispense with the legal and judicial procedures required for the desegregation of public schools.

The court's decision was based on the 1954 decision of the Supreme Court in Brown v. Board of Education, which held that segregation of public schools was unconstitutional. The court's decision was a significant victory for civil rights activists and a turning point in the struggle for racial equality in the United States.

The reaction to the court's decision was mixed. While some schools and communities welcomed the decision and began implementing desegregation plans, others resisted and engaged in legal challenges to delay or prevent desegregation.

In the years following the court's decision, efforts were made to implement desegregation plans in schools across the country. However, the process was slow and met with resistance from some quarters.

In conclusion, the Supreme Court's decision in Brown v. Board of Education was a landmark ruling that helped bring an end to the legal segregation of public schools in the United States. Its impact was felt not only in schools but in society as a whole, as it paved the way for wider civil rights reforms.
SCHOOLS

(Continued from Page 1.)

...determined at the conclusion of each school semester by three administrators, one to be chosen by the public school board, one by the private corporation and the third by the first two administrators.

Whether employees in the four closed high schools will agree to work for the private school corporation was an unanswered question early today.

With reference to teachers, Forrest Farrel, executive secretary of the Arkansas Education Association, said, "I believe the teachers would want advice from their attorneys before taking any action."

The Classroom Teachers Association, to which most of the teachers in the entire Little Rock system belong, has as its executive director, Eugene Warren. Mr. Warren was sitting as special education today, and immediately available for comment.

The standards of value will be the actual market rental value of the leased property used for school purposes but the rent shall not be less than $5,000 a year.

The corporation agrees to maintain the property in good condition, to make no alterations without the public school board's agreement, will hire guards to protect the property, pay school superintendents' salaries and expenses on the property and pay utility services.

The private corporation will use the property to conduct "private schools of the highest educational standards." It will have its own board of school trustees, including extra curricular activities to prepare "athletes and students physically for higher education in colleges and universities, or for employment upon the completion of technical training."

It will also carry out certain administrative policies of the Little Rock School District with reference to use of the building by other than school groups and incorporate those policies into the lease.

The private corporation stands by its statement that the school buildings "will not be used at will and must be kept open when notified to do so on election laws, but the ballot title supplies no clue as to the nature of those changes.

Noting that one section of the proposal gave the commission power to "perform any and all acts necessary to and proper to protect the sovereignty of Arkansas," the opinion continued that the commission was not created by law.

"Within the limits of its authority, it is difficult to conceive any power—legislative or executive or judicial—that the commission could not exercise."

The opinion said that the measure is "unconstitutional" because of the commission's "implied" acts of action on the state courts, as well as the legislature, but that the amendment commences that every other department shall be subordinate to the court's jurisdiction.

It is obvious that under the measure, every public officer and employee in the state, with or without exception, would live in daily fear of offending the commission."

"It is clear that the measure ... every public officer and employee in the state, with or without exception, would live in daily fear of offending the commission."

"The blunt truth is that, however improper the commission's exercise of this power, only choice would be to answer the questions or go to jail for contempt." 

Johnson has, since sponsoring the bill, been nominated to the Supreme Court—one of the many agencies that would have been dominated by the proposed commission.

The four other measures ruled on today are regarded as "tactically" placed in the same column as the "sensible" one on the grounds that the two acts proposed to give the commission the power to "sell, lease, or otherwise dispose of any real estate" and that the other proposal would give the commission the power to "use, sell, lease, or otherwise dispose of any real estate." 

"The command of the 14th Amendment is that no 'state' shall deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." The opinion said that the command of the 14th Amendment is that no "state" shall deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

In an earlier Supreme Court opinion in another case, no agency of the state, the other factors or agents by whom its power is exercised, shall deny such equal protection.

Anyone who by virtue of public position under a state government denies such equal protection may be subjected to the action of the court."

"The commission might interpret any statute in the state about his own business affairs, his private life, his political activities, or any other subject that can be imagined."

"Although the measure purports to preserve certain fundamental rights of citizens, the commission, these provisions being meaningless in view of the commission's immunity from the action of the judiciary."

"The blunt truth is that, however improper the commission's exercise of this power, only choice would be to answer the questions or go to jail for contempt."

Throughout its exposition of the law of the 14th Amendment, the court noted that the conditions they depict are meaningless in view of the regulations governing the public schools.

In the case of the Supreme Court of Arkansas, 1954, the opinion declared that the commission was, in its opinion, entitled to the rule of law that the court is still solid in its stand.

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Cuban Rebels Claim Victory in Clash

BAYANAUL, Cuba - Cuban rebels said today they had killed 25 soldiers and captured an Army commander in a clash near Atlantic, about 20 miles northwest of Santiago.

The rebel officials said that the fight began late last night and that rebels, who are members of the Matio sector in Orange province, were ambushed and captured in a four-hour fight. The radio said there were taken prisoner.

Opening of the Erie Canal

The Erie Canal was opened at 10 a.m. today.

Rebels reported that they had killed 25 soldiers and captured an Army commander in a clash near Atlantic, about 20 miles northwest of Santiago.

The four teachers, who were caught during the clash, were later freed.

The teachers were taken prisoners by rebels, who are members of the Matio sector in Orange province, in a four-hour fight.

The teachers were later reported to have been freed by rebels.

The rebels said that they had captured 25 soldiers and an Army commander in the clash.

The teachers were later freed by rebels.

The canal was opened at 10 a.m. today.

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The teachers were later freed by rebels.
meeting in addition to Mr. Upton, the property or which it may
ordinate to any mortgage, trust or encumbrance which the

Mr. Upton told the board he had in mind to enter into.

Mr. Butler did not indicate in any way what he might think as to the
validity of the contract, certain to be attacked in court.

Mr. Butler also assured Engstrom that the public board,
crew laws”—could not possibly be unchanged, the court's opinion said it

Justice McFaddin said the lower court's decision should proceed in the county
in which the land is located. This is the second time the board has been before the high court.

RULING  (Continued from Page 1.)  The state supreme court adopted a resolution:

The high court's opinion said it was true that the responsibility for
the public education is primarily the concern of the state courts.

Justice J. Seaborn Holt, who wrote the opinion striking the
safety crossing amendment, said that the ballot title gives the impres-
sion that the railroads were taking no precautions to protect
the public at crossings.

There is nothing in the ballot title, which tells the voters that the
railroads will have to spend "millions of dollars" to install safety
devices at an estimated 2,400 public crossings, regardless of the
traffic count, the opinion said.

Chief Justice Earl Warren and Justice Ed. McFadden and
Millwee dissented.

The trainmen's crew amendment, which sought to give constitutional
status to the full crew laws, was thrown out on grounds that it im-
sulted that railroaders would not be working with unsafe crews unless
it were adopted.

Justice McFaddin said the lower court's decision should proceed in the county
in which the land is located. This is the second time the board has been before the high court.

Justice McFaddin said that the Supreme Court's decision is a
binding effect on the states.

The high court's marbled chamber was comfortably filled when
Warren read the opinion. But it was not packed as it was when
the court heard arguments in two previous sessions, August 28 and
September 11.

The right of a student not to be segregated in schools through any arrangement,
management, funds, or property which permits them to teach for the
private school while the building
occupied

Further, said Warren, Article VI of the Constitution makes the
Supreme Court's decision a binding effect on the states.

The chief justice went on to declare that the high tribunal was
"an act to repeal the full crew laws"—could not possibly be unchanged, the court's opinion said it

It follows, Warren declared, that the Supreme Court's decision is a
binding effect on the states.

"No state legislature or executive or judicial officer can war-
against the Constitution without violating his undertaking to sup-
pport it," Warren declared for the court.

The high court's marbled chamber was comfortably filled when
Warren read the opinion. But it was not packed as it was when
the court heard arguments in two previous sessions, August 28 and
September 11.

were seated in the section of the court chamber reserved for mem-
bers of the bar of the court.

The high court's opinion said it was true that the responsi-
bility for public education is primarily the concern of the state
courts.

"But it is equally true," said

Warren, that "such responsibilities are shared by all other state activity, must be exercised consistently with fed-
eral constitutional requirements as they apply to state action."
null
SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

No. 1.--August Special Term, 1958.

William G. Cooper, et al., Members of the Board of Directors of the Little Rock, Arkansas Independent School District, and Virgil T. Blossom, Superintendent of Schools, Petitioners,

v.

John Aaron, et al.

[September 29, 1958.]

Opinion of the Court by THE CHIEF JUSTICE, MR. JUSTICE BLACK, MR. JUSTICE FRANKFURTER, MR. JUSTICE DOUGLAS, MR. JUSTICE BURTON, MR. JUSTICE CLARK, MR. JUSTICE HARLAN, MR. JUSTICE BRENNAN, and MR. JUSTICE WHITTAKER.

As this case reaches us it raises questions of the highest importance to the maintenance of our federal system of government. It necessarily involves a claim by the Governor and Legislature of a State that there is no duty on state officials to obey federal court orders resting on this Court's considered interpretation of the United States Constitution. Specifically it involves actions by the Governor and Legislature of Arkansas upon the premise that they are not bound by our holding in Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483. That holding was that the Fourteenth Amendment forbids States to use their governmental powers to bar children on racial grounds from attending schools where there is state participation through any arrangement, management, funds or property. We are urged to uphold a suspension of the Little Rock School Board's plan to do away with segregated public schools in Little Rock until state laws and efforts to upset and nullify our holding in Brown v. Board of Education have been further challenged and tested in the courts. We reject these contentions.

The case was argued before us on September 11, 1958. On the following day we unanimously affirmed the judgment of the Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit, __ F.2d __, which had reversed a judgment of the District Court for the Eastern District of Arkansas, 163 F. Supp. 13. The District Court had granted the application of the petitioners, the Little Rock School Board and School Superintendent, to suspend for two and one-half years the operation of the School
Board's court-approved desegregation program. In order that the School Board might know, without doubt, its duty in this regard before the opening of school, which had been set for the following Monday, September 15, 1958, we immediately issued the judgment, reserving the expression of our supporting views to a later date.* This opinion of all of the members of the Court embodies those views.

The following are the facts and circumstances so far as necessary to show how the legal questions are presented.

On May 17, 1954, this Court decided that enforced racial segregation in the public schools of a State is a denial of the equal protection of the laws enjoined by the Fourteenth Amendment. Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483. The Court postponed, pending further argument, formulation of a decree to effectuate this decision. That decree was rendered May 31, 1955. Brown v. Board of Education, 349 U.S. 294. In the formulation of that decree the Court recognized that good faith compliance with the principles declared in Brown might in some situations "call for elimination of a variety of obstacles in making the transition to school systems operated in accordance with the constitutional principles set forth in our May 17, 1954, decision."

The Court went on to state:

"Courts of equity may properly take into account the public interest in the elimination of such obstacles in a systematic and effective manner. But it should go without saying that the vitality of these constitutional principles cannot be allowed to yield simply

*The following was the Court's per curiam opinion:

The Court, having fully deliberated upon the oral arguments had on August 26, 1958, as supplemented by the arguments presented on September 11, 1958, and all the briefs on file, is unanimously of the opinion that the judgment of the Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit of August 18, 1958, must be affirmed. In view of the imminent commencement of the new school year at the Central High School of Little Rock, Arkansas, we deem it important to make prompt announcement of our judgment affirming the Court of Appeals. The expression of the views supporting our judgment will be prepared and announced in due course.

It is accordingly ordered that the judgment of the Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit, dated August 18, 1958, reversing the judgment of the District Court for the Eastern District of Arkansas, dated June 20, 1958, be affirmed, and that the judgments of the District Court for the Eastern District of Arkansas, dated August 28, 1956, and September 3, 1957, enforcing the School Board's plan for desegregation in compliance with the decision of this Court in Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483; 349 U.S. 294, be reinstated. It follows that the order of the Court of Appeals dated August 21, 1958, staying its own mandate is of no further effect.

The judgment of this Court shall be effective immediately, and shall be communicated forthwith to the District Court for the Eastern District of Arkansas.
because of disagreement with them.

"While giving weight to these public and private considerations, the courts will require that the defendants make a prompt and reasonable start toward full compliance with our May 17, 1954, ruling. Once such a start has been made, the courts may find that additional time is necessary to carry out the ruling in an effective manner. The burden rests upon the defendants to establish that such time is necessary in the public interest and is consistent with good faith compliance at the earliest practicable date. To that end, the courts may consider problems related to administration, arising from the physical condition of the school plant, the school transportation system, personnel, revision of school districts and attendance areas into compact units to achieve a system of determining admission to the public schools on a nonracial basis, and revision of local laws and regulations which may be necessary in solving the foregoing problems." 349 U.S., at 300-301.

Under such circumstances, the District Courts were directed to require "a prompt and reasonable start toward full compliance," and to take such action as was necessary to bring about the end of racial segregation in the public schools "with all deliberate speed." Ibid. Of course, in many locations, obedience to the duty of desegregation would require the immediate general admission of Negro children otherwise qualified as students for their appropriate classes, at particular schools. On the other hand, a District Court, after analysis of the relevant factors (which, of course, excludes hostility to racial desegregation), might conclude that justification existed for not requiring the present nonsegregated admission of all qualified Negro children. In such circumstances, however, the Court should scrutinize the program of the school authorities to make sure that they had developed arrangements pointed toward the earliest practicable completion of desegregation, and had taken appropriate steps to put their program into effective operation. It was made plain that delay in any guise in order to deny the constitutional rights of Negro children could not be countenanced, and that only a prompt start, diligently and earnestly pursued, to eliminate racial segregation from the public schools could constitute good faith compliance. State authorities were thus duty bound to devote every effort toward initiating desegregation and bringing about the elimination of racial discrimination in the public school system.

On May 20, 1954, three days after the first Brown opinion, the Little Rock District School Board adopted, and on May 23, 1954, made public, a statement of policy entitled "Supreme Court Decision--
Segregation in Public Schools." In this statement the Board recognized that

"It is our responsibility to comply with Federal Constitutional Requirements and we intend to do so when the Supreme Court of the United States outlines the method to be followed."

Thereafter the Board undertook studies of the administrative problems confronting the transition to a desegregated public school system at Little Rock. It instructed the Superintendent of Schools to prepare a plan for desegregation, and approved such a plan on May 24, 1955, seven days before the second Brown opinion. The plan provided for desegregation at the senior high school level (grades 10 through 12) as the first stage. Desegregation at the junior high and elementary levels was to follow. It was contemplated that desegregation at the high school level would commence in the fall of 1957, and the expectation was that complete desegregation of the school system would be accomplished by 1963. Following the adoption of this plan, the Superintendent of Schools discussed it with a large number of citizen groups in the city. As a result of these discussions, the Board reached the conclusion that "a large majority of the residents" of Little Rock were of "the belief...that the Plan, although objectionable in principle," from the point of view of those supporting segregated schools, "was still the best for the interests of all pupils in the District."

Upon challenge by a group of Negro plaintiffs desiring more rapid completion of the desegregation process, the District Court upheld the School Board's plan, Aaron v. Cooper, 143 F. Supp. 855. The Court of Appeals affirmed, 243 F.2d 361. Review of that judgment was not sought here.

While the School Board was thus going forward with its preparation for desegregating the Little Rock school system, other state authorities, in contrast, were actively pursuing a program designed to perpetuate in Arkansas the system of racial segregation which this Court had held violated the Fourteenth Amendment. First came, in November 1956, an amendment to the State Constitution flatly commanding the Arkansas General Assembly to oppose "in every Constitutional manner the Un-constitutional desegregation decisions of May 17, 1954 and May 31, 1955 of the United States Supreme Court," Ark. Const.
Amend. 44, and, through the initiative, a pupil assignment law, Ark. Stat. 80-1519 to 80-1524. Pursuant to the constitutional command, a law relieving school children from compulsory attendance at racially mixed schools, Ark. Stat. 80-1525, and a law establishing a State Sovereignty Commission, Ark. Stat. 6-801 to 6-824, were enacted by the General Assembly in February 1957.

The School Board and the Superintendent of Schools nevertheless continued with preparations to carry out the first stage of the desegregation program. Nine Negro children were scheduled for admission in September 1957 to Central High School, which has more than two thousand students. Various administrative measures, designed to assure the smooth transition of this first stage of desegregation, were undertaken.

On September 2, 1957, the day before these Negro students were to enter Central High, the school authorities were met with drastic opposing action on the part of the Governor of Arkansas who dispatched units of the Arkansas National Guard to the Central High School grounds, and placed the school "off limits" to colored students. As found by the District Court in subsequent proceedings, the Governor's action had not been requested by the school authorities, and was entirely unheralded. The findings were these:

"Up to this time [September 2], no crowds had gathered about Central High School and no acts of violence or threats of violence in connection with the opening out of the plan had occurred. Nevertheless, out of an abundance of caution, the school authorities had frequently conferred with the Mayor and Chief of Police of Little Rock about taking appropriate steps by the Little Rock police to prevent any possible disturbances or acts of violence in connection with the attendance of the 9 colored students at Central High School. The Mayor considered that the Little Rock police force could adequately cope with any incidents which might arise at the opening of school. The Mayor, the Chief of Police, and the school authorities made no request to the Governor or any representative of his for State assistance in maintaining peace and order at Central High School. Neither the Governor nor any other official of the State government consulted with the Little Rock authorities about whether the Little Rock police were prepared to cope with any incidents which might arise at the school, about any need for State assistance in maintaining peace and order, or about stationing the Arkansas National Guard at Central High School." 


The Board's petition for postponement in this proceeding states:

"The effect of that action [of the Governor] was to harden the core
of opposition to the Plan and cause many persons who theretofore had reluctantly accepted the Plan to believe that there was some power in the State of Arkansas which, when exerted, could nullify the Federal law and permit disobedience of the decree of this [District] Court, and from that date hostility to the Plan was increased and criticism of the officials of the [School] District has become more bitter and unrestrained."

The Governor's action caused the School Board to request the Negro students on September 2 not to attend the high school "until the legal dilemma was solved." The next day, September 3, 1957, the Board petitioned the District Court for instructions, and the court, after a hearing, found that the Board's request of the Negro students to stay away from the high school had been made because of the stationing of the military guards by the state authorities. The court determined that this was not a reason for departing from the approved plan, and ordered the School Board and Superintendent to proceed with it.

On the morning of the next day, September 4, 1957, the Negro children attempted to enter the high school but, as the District Court later found, units of the Arkansas National Guard "acting pursuant to the Governor's order, stood shoulder to shoulder at the school grounds and thereby forcibly prevented the 9 Negro students...from entering," as they continued to do every school day during the following three weeks. 156 F. Supp., at 225.

That same day, September 4, 1957, the United States Attorney for the Eastern District of Arkansas was requested by the District Court to begin an immediate investigation in order to fix responsibility for the interference with the orderly implementation of the District Court's direction to carry out the desegregation program. Three days later, September 7, the District Court denied a petition of the School Board and the Superintendent of Schools for an order temporarily suspending a continuance of the program.

Upon completion of the United States Attorney's investigation, he and the Attorney General of the United States, at the District Court's request, entered the proceedings and filed a petition on behalf of the United States, as amicus curiae, to enjoin the Governor of Arkansas and officers of the Arkansas National Guard from further attempts to prevent obedience to the court's order. After hearings
on the petition, the District Court found that the School Board's plan had been obstructed by the Governor through the use of National Guard troops, and granted a preliminary injunction on September 20, 1957, enjoining the Governor and the officers of the Guard from preventing the attendance of Negro children at Central High School, and from otherwise obstructing or interfering with the orders of the court in connection with the plan. 156 F. Supp. 220, affirmed, Faubus v. United States, 254 F.2d 797. The National Guard was then withdrawn from the school.

The next school day was Monday, September 23, 1957. The Negro children entered the high school that morning under the protection of the Little Rock Police Department and members of the Arkansas State Police. But the officers caused the children to be removed from the school during the morning because they had difficulty controlling a large and demonstrating crowd which gathered at the high school. 163 F. Supp., at 16. On September 25, however, the President of the United States dispatched federal troops to Central High School and admission of the Negro students to the school was thereby effected. Regular army troops continued at the high school until November 27, 1957. They were then replaced by federalized National Guardsmen who remained throughout the balance of the school year. Eight of the Negro students remained in attendance at the school throughout the school year.

We come now to the aspect of the proceedings presently before us. On February 20, 1958, the School Board and the Superintendent of Schools filed a petition in the District Court seeking a postponement of their program for desegregation. Their position in essence was that because of extreme public hostility, which they stated had been engendered largely by the official attitudes and actions of the Governor and the Legislature, the maintenance of a sound educational program at Central High School, with the Negro students in attendance, would be impossible. The Board therefore proposed that the Negro students already admitted to the school be withdrawn and sent to segregated schools, and that all further steps to carry out the Board's desegregation program be postponed for a period later suggested by the Board to be two and one-half years.
After a hearing the District Court granted the relief requested by the Board. Among other things the court found that the past year at Central High School had been attended by conditions of "chaos, bedlam, and turmoil"; that there were "repeated incidents of more or less serious violence directed against the Negro students and their property"; that there was "tension and unrest among the school administrators, the class-room teachers, the pupils, and the latters' parents, which inevitably had an adverse effect upon the educational program"; that a school official was threatened with violence; that a "serious financial burden" had been cast on the School District; that the education of the students had suffered "and under existing conditions will continue to suffer"; that the Board would continue to need "military assistance or its equivalent"; that the local police department would not be able "to detail enough men to afford the necessary protection"; and that the situation was "intolerable." Supp., at 20-25.

The District Court's judgment was dated June 20, 1958. The Negro respondents appealed to the Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit and also sought there a stay of the District Court's judgment. At the same time they filed a petition for certiorari in this Court asking us to review the District Court's judgment without awaiting the disposition of their appeal to the Court of Appeals, or of their petition to that court for a stay. That we declined to do. 357 U.S. 566. The Court of Appeals did not act on the petition for a stay but on August 18, 1958, after convening in special session on August 18 and hearing the appeal, reversed the District Court, ___ F.2d ___. On August 21, 1958, the Court of Appeals stayed its mandate to permit the School Board to petition this Court for certiorari. Pending the filing of the School Board's petition for certiorari, the Negro respondents, on August 23, 1958, applied to Mr. JUSTICE WHITTAKER, as Circuit Justice for the Eighth Circuit, to stay the order of the Court of Appeals withholding its own mandate and also to stay the District Court's judgment. In view of the nature of the motions, he referred them to the entire Court. Recognizing the vital importance of a decision of the issues in time to permit arrangements to be made for the 1958-59 school year, see Aaron v. Cooper, 357 U.S. 566, 567,
we convened in Special Term on August 28, 1958, and heard oral argument on the respondent's motions, and also argument of the Solicitor General who, by invitation, appeared for the United States as amicus curiae, and asserted that the Court of Appeals' judgment was clearly correct on the merits, and urged that we vacate its stay forthwith. Finding that respondents' application necessarily involved consideration of the merits of the litigation, we entered an order which deferred decision upon the motions pending the disposition of the School Board's petition for certiorari, and fixed September 8, 1958, as the day on or before which such petition might be filed, and September 11, 1958, for oral argument upon the petition. The petition for certiorari, duly filed, was granted in open Court on September 11, 1958, U.S. ____, and further arguments were had, the Solicitor General again urging the correctness of the judgment of the Court of Appeals. On September 12, 1958, as already mentioned, we unanimously affirmed the judgment of the Court of Appeals in the per curiam opinion set forth in the margin at the outset of this opinion.

In affirming the judgment of the Court of Appeals which reversed the District Court we have accepted without reservation the position of the School Board, the Superintendent of Schools, and their counsel that they displayed entire good faith in the conduct of these proceedings and in dealing with the unfortunate and distressing sequence of events which has been outlined. We likewise have accepted the findings of the District Court as to the conditions at Central High School during the 1957-1958 school year, and also the findings that the educational progress of all the students, white and colored, of that school has suffered and will continue to suffer if the conditions which prevailed last year are permitted to continue.

The significance of these findings, however, is to be considered in light of the fact, indisputably revealed by the record before us, that the conditions they depict are directly traceable to the actions of legislators and executive officials of the State of Arkansas, taken in their official capacities, which reflect their own determination to resist this Court's decision in the Brown case and which have brought about violent resistance to that decision in Arkansas. In
its petition for certiorari filed in this Court, the School Board itself describes the situation in this language: "The legislative, executive, and judicial departments of the state government opposed the desegregation of Little Rock schools by enacting laws, calling out troops, making statements villifying federal law and federal courts, and failing to utilize state law enforcement agencies and judicial processes to maintain public peace."

One may well sympathize with the position of the Board in the face of the frustrating conditions which have confronted it, but, regardless of the Board's good faith, the actions of the other state agencies responsible for those conditions compel us to reject the Board's legal position. Had Central High School been under the direct management of the State itself, it could hardly be suggested that those immediately in charge of the school should be heard to assert their own good faith as a legal excuse for delay in implementing the constitutional rights of these respondents, when vindication of those rights was rendered difficult or impossible by the actions of other state officials. The situation here is in no different posture because the members of the School Board and the Superintendent of Schools are local officials; from the point of view of the Fourteenth Amendment, they stand in this litigation as the agents of the State.

The constitutional rights of respondents are not to be sacrificed or yielded to the violence and disorder which have followed upon the actions of the Governor and Legislature. As this Court said some 41 years ago in a unanimous opinion in a case involving another aspect of racial segregation: "It is urged that this proposed segregation will promote the public peace by preventing race conflicts. Desirable as this is, and important as is the preservation of the public peace, this aim cannot be accomplished by laws or ordinances which deny rights created or protected by the Federal Constitution."

Buchanan v. Warley, 245 U.S. 60, 81. Thus law and order are not here to be preserved by depriving the Negro children of their constitutional rights. The record before us clearly establishes that the growth of the Board's difficulties to a magnitude beyond its unaided power to control is the product of state action. Those difficulties, as counsel for the Board forthrightly conceded on the oral argument in this Court, can also be brought under control by state action.
The controlling legal principles are plain. The command of the Fourteenth Amendment is that no "State" shall deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws. "A State acts by its legislative, its executive, or its judicial authorities. It can act in no other way. The constitutional provision, therefore, must mean that no agency of the State, or of the officers or agents by whom its powers are exerted, shall deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws. Whoever, by virtue of public position under a State government . . . denies or takes away the equal protection of the laws, violates the constitutional inhibition; and as he acts in the name and for the State, and is clothed with the State's power, his act is that of the State. This must be so, or the constitutional prohibition has no meaning." Ex parte Virginia, 100 U.S. 339, 347. Thus the prohibitions of the Fourteenth Amendment extend to all action of the State denying equal protection of the laws; whatever the agency of the State taking the action, see Virginia v. Rives, 100 U.S. 313; Pennsylvania v. Board of Directors of City Trusts of Philadelphia, 353 U.S. 230; Shelley v. Kraemer, 334 U.S. 1; or whatever the guise in which it is taken, see Derrington v. Plummer, 240 F.2d 922; Department of Conservation and Development v. Tate, 231 F.2d 615. In short, the constitutional rights of children not to be discriminated against in school admission on grounds of race or color declared by this Court in the Brown case can neither be nullified openly and directly by state legislators or state executive or judicial officers, nor nullified indirectly by them through evasive schemes for segregation whether attempted "ingeniously or ingenuously." Smith v. Texas, 311 U.S. 128, 132.

What has been said, in the light of the facts developed, is enough to dispose of the case. However, we should answer the premise of the actions of the Governor and Legislature that they are not bound by our holding in the Brown case. It is necessary only to recall some basic constitutional propositions which are settled doctrine.

Article VI of the Constitution makes the Constitution the "supreme Law of the Land." In 1803, Chief Justice Marshall, speaking for a unanimous Court, referring to the Constitution as "the
fundamental and paramount law of the nation," declared in the notable case of *Marbury v. Madison*, 1 Cranch 137, 177, that "It is emphatically the province and duty of the judicial department to say what the law is." This decision declared the basic principle that the federal judiciary is supreme in the exposition of the law of the Constitution, and that principle has ever since been respected by this Court and the Country as a permanent and indispensable feature of our constitutional system. It follows that the interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment enunciated by this Court in the *Brown* case is the supreme law of the land, and Art. VI of the Constitution makes it of binding effect on the States "any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding." Every state legislator and executive and judicial officer is solemnly committed by oath taken pursuant to Art. VI, §3 "to support this Constitution." Chief Justice Taney, speaking for a unanimous Court in 1859 said that this requirement reflected the framers' "anxiety to preserve it [the Constitution] in full force, in all its powers, and to guard against resistance to or evasion of its authority, on the part of a State....* Ableman v. Booth*, 21 How. 506, 524.

No state legislator or executive or judicial officer can war against the Constitution without violating his undertaking to support it. Chief Justice Marshall spoke for a unanimous Court in saying that: "If the legislatures of the several states may, at will, annul the judgments of the courts of the United States, and destroy the rights acquired under those judgments, the constitution itself becomes a solemn mockery...." *United States v. Peters*, 5 Cranch 115, 136. A Governor who asserts a power to nullify a federal court order is similarly restrained. If he had such power, said Chief Justice Hughes, in 1932, also for a unanimous Court, "it is manifest that the fiat of a state Governor, and not the Constitution of the United States, would be the supreme law of the land; that the restrictions of the Federal Constitution upon the exercise of state power would be but impotent phrases...." *Sterling v. Constantin*, 287 U.S. 378, 397-398.

It is, of course, quite true that the responsibility for public education is primarily the concern of the States, but it is equally true that such responsibilities, like all other state activity, must
be exercised consistently with federal constitutional requirements as they apply to state action. The Constitution created a government dedicated to equal justice under law. The Fourteenth Amendment embodied and emphasized that ideal. State support of segregated schools through any arrangement, management, funds, or property cannot be squared with the Amendment's command that no State shall deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws. The right of a student not to be segregated on racial grounds in schools so maintained is indeed so fundamental and pervasive that it is embraced in the concept of due process of law. *Bolling v. Sharpe*, 347 U.S. 497. The basic decision in *Brown* was unanimously reached by this Court only after the case had been briefed and twice argued and the issues had been given the most serious consideration. Since the first *Brown* opinion three new Justices have come to the Court. They are at one with the Justices still on the Court who participated in that basic decision as to its correctness, and that decision is now unanimously reaffirmed. The principles announced in that decision and the obedience of the States to them, according to the command of the Constitution, are indispensable for the protection of the freedoms guaranteed by our fundamental charter for all of us. Our constitutional ideal of equal justice under law is thus made a living truth.
Miss Linda Sugar
338 Winnebago Street
Park Forest, Illinois

Dear Miss Sugar:

Mr. Oscar Ballenger, the president of our Chicago Heights Branch, has written us regarding the very commendable idea which you had to invite the Negro students barred from Central High School in Little Rock to attend school in Park Forest. For the idea to have occurred to you and to have been followed by activity designed to bring it to pass, you deserve very great credit. It is possible that some such arrangement may eventually have to be made, if only on a temporary basis.

At the same time, the children themselves feel very strongly that they should remain in Little Rock just as long as is humanly possible in order to maintain their right to non-segregated education. If they were to leave Little Rock and to enroll in other communities, the whole battle for which they sacrificed so heavily would be lost for want of active applicants for admission.

I know, of course, that your discussions of your idea did not omit the very important considerations of absence from family and payment for support of the children while away from home. In the case of the one Little Rock child, Minnie Jean Brown, who is studying in New York since her expulsion from Central High School, these matters have proven to be very important.

As I said at the outset, it may eventually be necessary to consider educational arrangements away from home for the Little Rock children. At present, however, events are moving so rapidly that it is impossible to know what the situation will require as little as a week or two weeks from now. We are all hoping, as I know you hope also, that the problem will soon be resolved by the reopening of the Little Rock schools on an integrated basis. If this does not happen, I feel free to write you again.

Very sincerely,

John A. Korsell
Assistant to the
Executive Secretary
Dear Mr. Wilkins:

I am writing you regarding an interview I had with Miss Linda Sugar, a 16 year old white student from Rich Township High School, in Park Forest, a neighboring community, and her father, Mr. Bertram H. Sugar.

Miss Sugar is disturbed about, and sympathetic with the Negro students in Little Rock who are experiencing difficulty in entering the high schools on an integrated basis. She conceived the idea of bringing the students to Rich Township High School to enroll, and housing them with various families in the community. Park Forest is an all-white community, principally made up of residents of above average financial means. The school is regarded as one of the best in the Chicago area.

Miss Sugar discussed this matter, first, with Dr. Andree, the school superintendent. He was in accord with her idea, but informed her that the matter should come before the school board for its consideration. After discussion of this matter with Dr. Andree, she told her parents of her idea, and her talk with him. Mr. Sugar, her father, exhibited much enthusiasm over his daughter’s idea, and her desire to do something.

Miss Sugar and her father visited me at my home to discuss the matter, and to ascertain the NAACP’s opinion and attitude on this matter. I informed her that I would write you to get your opinion and view, or the opinion of the national office. I suggested that she poll the student body for its reactions, contact the school board, and attempt to get the reactions of members of the community. These things she plans to do if this matter meets the approval of the NAACP.

I’m sure both Miss Sugar and Mr. Sugar will appreciate an immediate reply from you.

Very truly yours,

[Signature]

C. C. Ballenger Jr., President
October 8, 1956

Mr. G. P. Medearis  
1021 Faulkner Lane  
Waco, Texas  

Dear Mr. Medearis:

Your letter of September 19 to Mr. Wilkins has been brought to his and Mr. Marshall's attention. They have every expectation that the course of the legal actions in Arkansas will be such as to ensure the opening of the schools on an integrated basis at the earliest possible moment.

Thank you very much for writing and for offering your help.

Sincerely yours,

John A. Morris  
Assistant to the  
Executive Secretary
22072 SEP 22 58

September 19, 1958

Mr. Roy Wilkins
Head of NAACP
New York City, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

Please be informed I want this message to reach Mr. Roy Wilkins, and Attorney, Thoroughgood Marshall.

I would suggest on the Little Rock School crisis that we continue to file suits where it will be a continuous delay to open any school in Little Rock which will serve as a means so much so until the citizens of Little Rock will forcibly demand that Gov. Faubus open the schools on an interpreted basis.

If at any time I can be of any or further service to you ever which I have control do not hesitate to call upon me. I assure you it will be a pleasure.

Very truly yours

[Signature]

I am a Negro.
October 8, 1958

Rev. Dunbar H. Ogden, Jr.
Central Presbyterian Church
Twentieth at Arch
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Reverend Ogden:

It was a great pleasure to hear from you, as it immediately re-awakened the very enjoyable memories of our evening together. I am naturally very glad that it held the same meaning for you and Mrs. Ogden.

I consider it a privilege to have met you both, and I look forward to another opportunity sometime in the future.

My wife and I watched the program Sunday morning, and we thoroughly share the opinion of the CBS general manager. It was a stimulating and inspiring interview in a series which has presented a great many fine things.

We, of course, keep our eyes trained on the unworking of the Little Rock drama, rejoicing at the advances and renewing our determination at the reverses. It will be a sad day for Little Rock when the Ogden's leave, but no one can deny that it is a better place for your having been there. Please keep in touch with me as the occasion permits.

Very sincerely,

John A. Morsell
Assistant to the Executive Secretary

P. S. I ordered the copies of the New York Post and hope to receive them here for shipment to you before many more days.
Central Presbyterian Church

Twenty-first at Arch

Little Rock, Arkansas

September 29, 1958

Dr. John A. Morsell
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Morsell,

Your kindness to my wife and myself when we were in New York City will never be forgotten. It meant a great deal to us to have the privilege of seeing you and Mr. Roy Wilkins and also Dr. and Mrs. Kenneth Clark with Minnie Jean Brown for whom they have provided a home during these difficult days.

We found the conversation in your office very informative and stimulating. I was particularly happy to see a copy of the "best book" on your office desk. In it I am sure we shall find just, wise, and kind principles for the great family of humanity. Please tell Mr. Wilkins that we appreciated the time which he gave us and was sorry he could not go out to dinner with the group.

The most enjoyable part of our visit to New York was having dinner with you all at the Seafare Restaurant in Greenwich Village. Our expedition through the Village following the very delicious evening meal was most interesting.

We were sorry that you could not go with us on the sightseeing expedition during the closing hours from ten o'clock to midnight. The Clarks and Minnie Jean took us to see Times Square. Afterwards we drove through Central Park which was beautiful by moonlight. We had a glimpse of New Lincoln School which Minnie Jean attends and passed by a home in Harlem in which Dr. Clark had formerly lived; drove through the grounds of New York City College where Dr. Dr. Clark teaches Psychology and stopped at the Harlem Hospital to leave a note for Dr. Martin Luther King.

The general manager of CBS telephoned me Sunday morning after the television program "The Way To Go" had been shown. He was kind enough to say that this was one of the finest things he had seen on television and that he was sending me a 16 mm sound film of this half hour interview as a token of his appreciation.
I plan to use this sound film at the Thursday Morning Prayer Group meeting, at the Tuesday evening interracial study class and in other situations where I think it will be of interest.

Today Mrs. Bates, Mr. Laws and many others of us are rejoicing over the news that the atrocious Johnson Amendment has been removed from our election ballot by our Arkansas Supreme Court. Also we are encouraged by the fact that the two judge court in Omaha, Neb. granted an injunction which forbids the Little Rock School Board from leasing the school buildings to a private corporation. Still another reason for being thankful is the matter of the Supreme Court's explanation for upholding the reversal of the Lemly decision.

I know you will rejoice with me over the fact that the Greater Little Rock Ministers Association today presented me with a beautiful plaque bearing this inscription "Presented to Dunbar H. Ogden, "Jr. by the Greater Little Rock, Ministerial Association for courageous Christian leadership during Little Rock racial crisis 1957-1958."

My wife and I greatly appreciate your having had us as your guest at dinner, every dish and every moment of which we enjoyed to an unusual degree. With every good wish, I am

Very sincerely yours,

Dunbar H. Ogden, Jr.

DH0/od
October 14, 1958

Mr. Roy Wilkins, Exec. Sec.
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Wilkins:

On behalf of the officers and members of our union, we wish to thank you for your contribution and participation in the ceremonies honoring the nine school children from Little Rock, Arkansas.

By way of commemorating the occasion we have issued a special edition of our magazine and we are enclosing copies with the hope that you will find them of interest.

Thanking you again for your participation,

Sincerely yours,

CARL SCHUTT
President

BETTY BENTZ
General Organizer

JAMES MARLEY
Secretary-Treasurer

SCOTTY ECKFORD
Recording Secretary
Dear Mrs. Andberg:

Your letter of September 9 to Thurgood Marshall was referred to this office for a reply.

It is most unfortunate that people of good will like yourself have been misled by some of the propaganda spread by the Faubus forces in Arkansas. The NAACP has paid no money at all to any of the Negro students who were enrolled at Central High School in Little Rock. Opponents of integrated schools wish to make it appear that the colored people of the South do not desire integration and that, consequently, when they make efforts in that direction it is only because they are forced or paid to do so. The fact is that they have never wanted segregation and have been only too anxious to move against it at every possible opportunity.

During the past year the nine students were guests of the NAACP at its annual convention in Cleveland in July (after school was over). There they received the Spingarn award of the NAACP, an annual presentation made to Negroes who have made outstanding achievements. Their traveling expenses and the cost of their hotel accommodations were paid for by the NAACP.

There have been other individuals and groups, I believe, which have similarly defrayed travel and living expenses for certain of the children during visits out of Little Rock, and four of the children received free summer camp vacations contributed by private sources.

This is pretty much the extent of what has been done for these children, all of whom would react indignantly to any suggestion that they had to be paid for doing what they deeply believe in.

It will be a very good thing if you will seek to kill this rumor wherever you encounter it.

Very sincerely yours,

John A. Morsell
Assistant to the
Executive Secretary
Mr. Thurgood Marshall
N.A.A.C.P.
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Marshall:

Will you please tell me how much money was paid by the N.A.A.C.P. to the Negro students at Little Rock who enrolled in the white high school last year? This question is not asked in a spirit of criticism. I have been an N.A.A.C.P. member for years and shall continue to be, but I have heard so many different accounts of the arrangements made between the N.A.A.C.P. and the students that I should like to
know the time one.

Very truly yours,

Ruth Andberg
(Mrs. Wm.)
Box 189

Anoka, Minn.
October 15th, 1958

MEMORANDUM

TO: Mr. R. Wilkins
    Dr. J. A. Morsell
    Mr. Clarence Mitchell
    Miss Black
    Mr. H. Moon

FROM: G.B. Current

Mrs. Bates called today in further reference to her investigation of the church-going by Negroes last Sunday.

She reports that Mr. Albert Hudson of 912 E. 17th Street, Little Rock gave $10.00 to Mr. Lee Harris, 1606 McGowan Street, $5.00 for himself and $2.50 for each of his children, to attend the Baptist Church last Sunday. The minister was Rev. Dale Cowling who spoke out for law and order in his sermon.

Mrs. Bates obtained this information directly from Mr. Hudson who admitted he had been to another church service. Those participating in this venture had been picked up by a white man and returned home by the same individual.

Mrs. Bates disguising her voice, called Mrs. Roy Morrison, the white woman who took her Negro maid to church a few Sundays ago, and discussed inviting Negroes to the farewell reception for Rev. Ogden, who is leaving Little Rock as a result of his integration activities.

Mrs. Morrison opened up and admitted on the phone that Mr. Hudson had called her after Mrs. Bates' visit to him on Tuesday and also admitted participation in this conspiracy.

Mr. Hudson intends to go to another church this Sunday accompanied by Negroes and upon information obtained by Mrs. Bates, he and others are being paid by whites.
Press Releases--Oct. 16

NEGROES PAID TO ATTEND WHITE CHURCHES
IN LITTLE ROCK, NAACP PROBE REVEALS

NEW YORK, Oct. 16.--Attempts by groups of Negroes to attend services at white churches in Little Rock would appear to be "a maneuver of the segregationist forces and may well have been stimulated by some state officials," the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People declares in a statement released here by Dr. Channing H. Tobias, chairman of the Association's Board of Directors.

The statement, adopted by the NAACP Board of Directors at its regular monthly meeting here on Oct. 14, reaffirms the Association's conviction that "the Churches of Christ should be voluntarily desegregated everywhere." However, it points out, "an investigation by the NAACP seems to indicate that worship in Christian fellowship was not the real objective" of those colored persons seeking to attend churches "whose ministers have been moderates on the school integration question."

The investigation revealed that certain of these "alleged worshippers" had been paid to attend the white churches and had been transported to the churches by white men as part of "an organized effort to embarrass the ministers and arouse not only the congregations immediately concerned, but other white church-goers as well."

One of the men playing an active role in this scheme, the NAACP statement asserts, "is the proprietor of a nursing home which receives patronage and support from the State of Arkansas. It was also learned that few if any of the members of the delegation are members of any church, or are in the habit of attending any house of worship."

The statement further notes that "no Negro citizens of standing and responsibility in the Little Rock community are identified with this disruptive plot."

In furtherance of this plot, the segregationists are reported planning to send Negroes to a farewell reception in honor of the Rev. Dunbar Ogden who, because of his opposition to school segregation, has been forced to give up his pastorate of a Presbyterian church in Little Rock.
LITTLE ROCK AND BIG PREJUDICE

Newspapers, magazines, television and radio are deafening us with the thundering noise of reports of the work of Southern bigots. Day by day, we read of demonstrations against Negroes, under the leadership of Governor Faubus of Arkansas and Governor Almond of Virginia and anti-Semitic demonstrations, in the form of bombings of Jewish places of worship.

It is ironic that Virginia, the state of Thomas Jefferson, who wrote the words, "Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion," should be a leader in this un-American activity.

The action of the Southern segregationists rakes up from the dead past the issue, which all thought was decided by the Civil War: That no state can defy the Federal Government which is the supreme law of the land.

Some of the advertisements that have appeared in newspapers of Arkansas during the last couple of weeks indicate that there is a dangerous spirit loose in our country. These are typical of the advertisements printed.

An advertisement in the ARKANSAS GAZETTE read:
"Mother and dad, what grade is your little daughter in? How many school years does she have to be race-mixed?"

"VOTE YOUR CONVICTIONS!"

And this, from the ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT:

"To parents who want our schools to be run by people who believe in the separation of races: Sign the petition being circulated by the League of Central High Mothers and assure a recall election of the unwanted members of the school board."

This is followed by a list of the names of the members of the school board who had voted for upholding the Constitution and opening the schools on an integrated basis. The advertisement is signed by the "Capital Citizens' Council."

Yes, there is cause for grave concern.

But, there is not only the thunder of the vicious and the ignorant of Arkansas, Virginia, and other states. There are also the voices of those who understand what our American public education means, what our Constitution means, those who are loyal to the principles on which our government was founded. Too little has been heard of the light that still shines bright in those Southern states.
For instance, in the ARKANSAS GAZETTE of September 26, there was an advertisement headed:

"And this is Arkansas:"

"(1) Misled, losing population, talking to itself.
(2) Deaf, Dumb, Blind to all the realities of the changing scene.
(3) Backward and at the bottom of all inventories of 'things that count.'
(4) Of calloused heart and cankered soul, a majority horde of 'walking dead,' totally indifferent and unresponsive to the good will and opinion of mankind.
(5) The victim of a schizophrenic citizenship having different meanings for the white and the black man."

And the largest advertisement of all was published by the Women's Emergency Committee to Open Our Schools, in the ARKANSAS GAZETTE on September 26. It read, in part:

"To the businessmen of Little Rock. You cannot afford to let the public schools stay closed."

"If we close the public schools your business will be damaged permanently!"
New industry demands public schools for its employees.
Families will not live in a community without public schools. How many of our good families can we afford to lose?
Responsible citizens recognize the law of the land and Little Rock must be a law-abiding community for business to succeed."
The young people, directly affected, are abreast of the intelligent, patriotic citizens of Arkansas, Virginia, and other states, struggling with the corrosive forces of lawlessness.

Last week in Norfolk, for instance, students of the Granby High School held an orderly rally, organized by the student council. Two large banners were displayed reading, "We Want School to Open," and "We Want Our Education." In the first few hours of the rally, 200 students signed a petition to Governor Almond, which read as follows:

"Taking an unbiased stand on the integration problem, we implore the officials concerned to use all expediency in reopening our public schools."

In Charlottesville, Virginia, 2700 students were shut out of the high school and elementary school after the U. S. District Court ordered the
admission of a dozen Negro boys and girls. There, the Lane High School
senior honor society drew up a petition to the Governor reminding him that,
"According to the Virginia Constitution we young
people are assured public education."
The focus of attention in the last few weeks has been on the Supreme
Court opinions regarding the resistance to integration in Little Rock.
Justice Felix Frankfurter, in a concurring opinion of the Supreme
Court, wrote as follows:
"The duty to abstain from resistance to 'the supreme
law of the land'.....does not require immediate
approval nor does it deny the right of dissent.
Criticism need not be stilled."
But the Justice went on to agree with the language of the Court of
Appeals that active defiance is barred:
"We say the time has not yet come in these United
States when an order of a federal court must be
whittled away, watered down, or shamefully withdrawn
in the face of violent and unlawful acts of individual
citizens in opposition."
"Violent and unlawful acts of individual citizens in opposition" to the
laws of our nation amount to a cancer that cannot be confined to one part of
the body politic. Just as a cancer in the human body spreads, so does the cancer of lawlessness. The dynamiting of schools and places of worship, the attacks upon persons and property, represent the spread of the disease.

While there are voices in the South, as evidenced by some of the advertisements quoted above and by the attitude of many white students in Southern high schools, of determination to fight to preserve our American heritage of equality before the law, there is a woeful lack of effective leadership.

Where should we look for such leadership? Obviously, to the White House.

Such leadership has not yet been forthcoming from the President of the United States.

Indeed, at his press conference on August 7, in response to a question whether any plans had been made for the coming school year, the President said:

"Well, I haven't planned at this moment any particular speeches....."

Asked whether he thought any new crisis was likely to arise, he replied:

"Now I cannot possibly tell you in what aspect any acute situation may arise."
Those are the words of the President of the United States. Do they evidence comprehension of the issues? Is there any evidence that the President has any conception of the crisis of our country, when law enforcement breaks down, first in one community then in another, first in the South and then in the North?

Although the President has, very late in the day, condemned the perpetrators of the synagogue bombings as the "work of latter-day Al Capones," this statement is merely a negative condemnation. It does not even attempt to probe to the root of the trouble. The President's own statement that, "Police power is centered in the states," and that he can make available the facilities of the Federal Government only when requested, evidences complete failure to comprehend the nature of a challenge to law and order in these acts of violence.

What is needed is positive action by the President. Specifically, WMCA urges:

That the President announce now that, immediately after the election in November, he will ask for an emergency session of Congress to act with the Executive to suppress mob rule and the defiance of law, under the name of "state's rights."

WMCA urges:

That the President act now to call a conference of the leaders of the communities affected. Such a meeting has already been suggested by
various community leaders across the country.

WMCA urges:

That the President visit the states and communities, affected by the spirit of lawlessness, as evidence of his awareness of the grave crisis and of his determination to use his powers to the limit in meeting it.

WMCA urges the President to take the lead in combatting this vicious spreading disease, just as President Roosevelt took the lead in what became the successful fight against another sickness: infantile paralysis.
NEW YORK, Oct. 23.--The private schools set up in Little Rock and in Virginia are "doomed to failure almost before they get started," Gloster B. Current, NAACP director of branches, declared in an address delivered here today before the 63rd annual session of the Empire State Baptist Missionary Convention.

These schools are mere makeshifts without adequate funds, facilities or teachers, the NAACP spokesman asserted. They are the consequence of the legislative devices, economic pressures and other gimmicks designed to maintain segregation at any cost.

"The Christian churches in Little Rock," he charged, "are missing a marvelous opportunity to give Christian witness to their belief in God and the bringing about of His Kingdom by opening these schools to all students regardless of race and color, showing that the church can practice the principles of brotherhood."
Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Reference is made to your telephone call to this office on October 15th and on your other correspondence to the Department concerning schooling for dependent children in the vicinity of the Little Rock Air Force Base and in the vicinity of Redstone Arsenal.

To assist with coordination on these matters we requested information as to what civil or parallel representations have been made by Association officials to other government instrumentality in addition to the Armed Forces.

We have no definitive response to these communications. I believe you will agree that the information which we have requested would assist us in preventing the re-invasion of our military facilities by discriminatory programs. Meanwhile you are assured of the position of the Defense Department on the basis of our record as regards integration.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES C. EVANS
Civilian Assistant

Mr. Clarence Mitchell, Director
Washington Bureau NAACP
100 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
October 29, 1958

Mrs. Vera L. Wright  
3413 Fifth Avenue, South  
Minneapolis 8, Minnesota  

Dear Mrs. Wright:

We share your concern for the Negro children of Little Rock whose school has been closed to satisfy the ambitions of the governor of the state. Others have suggested the possibility that we might take some steps to open schools which these Negro children could attend. The great difficulty here is that we would simply, in that case, be running our own private segregated education. After all, this is what the fight is all about.

In Hillsboro, Ohio, a couple of years ago the Negro children stayed out of school for an entire year rather than attend a segregated school. They finally won their case, and they are all agreed that it was worth the sacrifice they made.

Sincerely,

John A. Horsell  
Assistant to the  
Executive Secretary
Oct. 19, 1958
Jr. L. Wright
3413 5th Ave.
N. Y. C., N. Y.

Dear Mr. Williams,

"Time is of the essence." I refer to the situation that exists in Little Rock, Ark., concerning the closing of the schools there. "Fight fire with fire." Let it be, but do something to help the children of our race to get the schooling they need so badly.

If the white children are going to open their doors for white children only, so that they can attend classes in them, we can do the same thing, until the thing is settled.

There may not be enough Negro churches to hold all the classes in, but Negro business places and homes should be more than glad to help out for such a worthy cause.

As a race we need to get closer together, and stand on a level with the white man.

The Negro have helped to build this country with her physical strength.

As a minority group, the white man needs us more than he ever has before. There is nothing that he has accomplished without our help.

Yours truly,

Jr. L. Wright
MEMORANDUM TO MR. WILKINS FROM HENRY LEE MOON

Clarence Laws called me yesterday and suggested some items which he thought you might wish to include in your Little Rock speech.

He is in agreement with your idea that some recognition should be made of the people in the community who do not support the Faubus position. He felt that they needed some encouragement in a situation like this. He cited the example of the ministers who had taken an affirnative position and risked their posts. In addition to Rev. Ogden, he said three other ministers have been forced to leave the city and certain others are being pressured by their congregations. The community, he said, both Negro and white, needs a shot in the arm to raise its spirit.

The Negro children and their parents should be highly praised for their steadfast courage. One of the six has left the city to enter a high school in Kansas City, leaving only five to carry the burden. There has been continued talk about withdrawing these five. It should be pointed out, he said, that even if they were withdrawn this would not solve the problem of the 700 Negro high school students who are entitled to an integrated education. It is a community responsibility to see that the public schools are re-opened on the basis of the court decision.

He further felt that too much should not be said in denunciation of Faubus, expressing the opinion that such would not help the cause at this time.

Every effort, he said, should be made to evoke a more favorable response from the people of the community.

He indicated that some mention should be made of the six laws recently passed to curb the NAACP in Arkansas.
ST. LOUIS, Nov. 10 AP. — The United States Eighth Circuit Court of appeals directed today that the Little Rock, Arkansas, School Board take affirmative steps to accomplish integration as previously ordered by the courts.

The three-judge court vacated an order by Federal District Judge Miller who had dismissed an application for an injunction against the school board. The case was remanded to Judge Miller's court.

Judge Miller was directed to enjoin the school board "from taking any further steps or action without the approval of the District Court to transfer possession, control or operation, whether directly or indirectly, of any of the senior high schools or any other property for operation of segregated schools."

The Appeals court directed that the school board be enjoined "also from engaging in any other acts whether independently or in participation with anyone else, which are capable of serving to impede, thwart, or frustrate the execution of the integration plan mandated against them."

The decision was 23 pages long.

The Appeals Court cited the U.S. Supreme Court opinions on school desegregation. It added that, in short, constitutional rights of children must not be discriminated against in the admission to schools on grounds of race and that this could neither be "nullified openly or directly by state legislators or state executives or judicial officers, nor nullified indirectly by them through evasive schemes of segregation."

The high court said Judge Miller's injunction against the school board should further provide "that they shall take such affirmative steps as the District Court may hereafter direct to facilitate and accomplish the integration of the Little Rock school district in accordance with the court's prior orders."
November 13, 1958

Dr. and Mrs. Kenneth B. Clark
Northside Center for Child Development
31 West 110th Street
New York, New York

Dear Ken and Namie:

Enclosed is check in the amount of $250 representing reimbursement for expenses incurred in behalf of MinnieJean Brown for period 9/19/58 to 11/17/58.

Sincerely,

John A. Morsell
Assistant to the Executive Secretary
Mrs. Lucinda J. Gordon, Executive Secretary  
Milwaukee Branch NAACP  
4144 North 71st Street  
Milwaukee, Wisconsin  

Dear Mrs. Gordon:

The questions you raise in your November 3 letter regarding Wisconsin schooling for Little Rock children are pretty complicated and find us with no settled policy in the matter. Obviously, if the Negro students currently enrolled in Central High School should leave the state for education elsewhere, there would presumably be no immediate reason why the high school could not be re-opened on an all-white basis. To a large extent this is also the implication of the makeshift and out-of-town arrangements for the white children, since any substitute for integrated public education is a concession to segregation.

At the same time, no one here would stand in the way or interpose objections should any of the parents or children choose to avail themselves of outside offers. Arrangements are currently being made for these children to take correspondence school lessons from the University of Arkansas at a cost of about $50.00 per student. We have decided to offer an as yet unselected number of branches the opportunity to underwrite these costs, and it might be that the Milwaukee Branch would want to do this for one, at least, of the children.

The outstanding characteristic of the Little Rock situation at the moment is its fluidity. The whole business is so unstable, and there are so many unknown factors, and these factors are being increased almost daily at such a rate that it is very hard to decide what should be the firm and definite policy with regard to these aspects. My general suggestion, therefore, is that you continue to lay such groundwork as you can along the lines of exploring foster home possibilities, state requirements, and the like, as a possible final recourse if it should become necessary. In the meantime, keep your fingers crossed.

Sincerely yours,

John A. Morsell  
Assistant to the Executive Secretary
DEAR DR. MORSELL:

A few days ago we were asked by a Friends meeting group here to get information about the possibility of students from Little Rock coming to the Milwaukee area to attend school.

Several individuals here are interested, but many questions arise. We would like the benefit of your experiences and thinking on this matter.

We have checked the State Department of Public Welfare here and learned that the prospective student must be approved by the Arkansas State Department of Public Welfare or some other acceptable agency or group. Foster homes here where the students would live would be approved by the Wisconsin State Department of Public Welfare.

Do you think the idea has any merit? What problems are we likely to encounter? How much responsibility should our branch take in such an activity? What would be the approach to the problem in Little Rock?

We will appreciate your help in this.

Very truly yours,

LUCINDA J. GORDON

Dr. John A. Lorsell

1000 East 40th Street
New York 18, New York

November 3, 1958

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

MILWAUKEE BRANCH

MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

DR. JOHN A. LORSSELL

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

20 West 40th Street

NEW YORK, NEW YORK

FRED W. ROCKMAN, President

LUCINDA J. GORDON, Executive Secretary

415 N. 37th Street, Milwaukee

414 N. 37th Street, Milwaukee

WILBUR HALYARD, Treasurer

HI litop 5-8329

HOpkins 2-1914

FRanklin 4-0486

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NATIONAL OFFICERS

ARTHUR B. SPINGAR, President

DR. CHAIMING H. TOBIAS

Chairman of the Board

THURGOOD MARSHALL

Director-Counsel
Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE OFFICERS

ROY WILKINS

Executive Secretary

GLOSTER B. CURTIS

Director of Branches

LUCILLE BLACK

Membership Secretary

CLARENCE MITCHELL

Director, Washington Bureau
MEMORANDUM FROM MR. WILKINS TO MR. MC CLAIN:

Please draw a check for $378.00 payable to F. A. Young, Treasurer, Arkansas State Conference representing tuition and book assistance for six Little Rock High school students to enable them to enroll in correspondence courses from the University of Arkansas.

This money is being advanced by the National Office but will be paid back to us by six branches which will assume this cost and $62.00 per student additional to take care of both semesters. The tuition is $48 and the books about $15.

rw/mdj
November 25, 1958

Dear Mr. Young:

Enclosed please find check for $378.00, for tuition and book assistance for six Little Rock High School students to enable them to enroll in correspondence courses from the University of Arkansas.

Very sincerely yours,

Roy Wilkins,  
Executive Secretary.

Mr. F. A. Young, Treasurer  
Arkansas State Conference, NAACP  
616½ W. 9 Street  
Little Rock, Arkansas

rw/mdj
Enc.
STATEMENT BY ROY WILKINS, Nov. 27, 1957,
in reply to question from UNITED PRESS
RE: LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS, situation

The interest of the NAACP is now as always in the welfare of the
children. The President apparently has reason to believe that
the situation in Little Rock is sufficiently calm to permit with-
drawal of federal troops. We sincerely hope that the people of
that city will fully vindicate President Eisenhower's faith.
December 4, 1958

Dear Barbee:

I am glad you replied to the editorial urging the NAACP to collect funds for a Negro school in Little Rock. It appeared in most of the Scripps-Howard newspapers, including the New York World Telegram and Sun.

Very sincerely yours,

Roy Wilkins,
Executive Secretary

Mr. Barbee W. Durham
70 Auburn Avenue
Columbus 5, Ohio

RW/emb
THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

11-19

To Mr. Wehrh".

Remarks

My letter to say that we are gilded by seeing people come to this country and seem becoming first class citizens, but I know that we would of profit. But if it is they never cut this part out of this letter.

29357 NOV 21 58
Largely overlooked, in the cold war in Little Rock, is the plight of that city's Negro children of high school age.

Of nearly 4000 white and Negro children who were locked out when the high schools were closed, all but 400 to 500 are being provided with some kind of education.

THE WEALTHIER families are sending their children away to school, in Arkansas and as far off as California and Germany. About 400 are in church schools and more than 800 in a newly organized private school whose superintendent says "not one white child" has been turned away. Finally, a group of 400 or so is taking extension courses offered by the University of Arkansas.

This leaves 400 to 500, mostly Negroes, whose parents are too poor to afford the $96-a-year cost of the extension courses.

The private school for white children is financed by contributions received from all over the country. It seems to us that contributors, both white and Negro, might do as much for these Negro children. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) logically should take charge of such a project, using the same methods through which it has raised funds for litigation.

EVENTUALLY the stalemate in Little Rock between state and Federal authorities will be broken. But, as the mass resignation of moderate school board members indicates, this may take a long time.

Meanwhile these youngsters are losing time, perhaps losing for good any chance for further education. Whatever view anyone may take of the integration controversy, it is the responsibility of adults, and not these children. It seems unfair and unnecessary that they should be the principal martyrs to the cause.
70 Auburn Avenue
Columbus, Ohio
November 19, 1958

Editor of The Citizen:

In your Monday, November 17 editorial entitled "Forgotten Children", you suggested that a private school be set up for the Negro children who are out of school in Little Rock, and, that the NAACP take charge of raising the funds for such a project.

We are indeed glad to see that you are concerned about the situation in Little Rock but do not agree with your suggestion. Reasons for such disagreement were given in a November 8 speech by Roy Wilkins, National Executive Secretary of the NAACP, to an enthusiastic audience of 1500 at a meeting of the Arkansas State Conference of NAACP Branches which met in Little Rock.

Mr. Wilkins said, "It is hard to watch some of the white students getting some little education while your own high school students are shut out of school by your governor. Some have wondered whether colored citizens should not set up a school of their own. This we cannot do. We cannot ourselves finance Jim Crow schools for our children. We cannot choose deliberately to set up the kind of system which has been ruled illegal and unconstitutioanal."

"The segregationists have set up their temporary school to defy the law. If we join them and set up our schools, we will be defying the law also. Besides, we would be doing just what they want us to do. In addition, we would be selling out the youngsters who endured persecution at Central High School last year. We would be betraying all other Negro children throughout the nation who hope to go forward to full opportunity, not backward to segregation and second-class citizenship."

Mr. Wilkins went on in his speech and outlined the role that Governor Faubus has played in bringing into sharp focus the issue of school integration and expressed hope that Gov. Faubus "stays healthy and active, coming out on the odd-numbered days with new plans to replace those which did not work on the even-numbered days."

In closing the schools in Little Rock and Virginia, the segregationists have exacted too high a price, he declared. "It is too high for the white students, some few of whom are receiving makeshift schooling and others none at all. It is too high for Negro students
who are being denied both their constitutional rights and an education. And it is too
too high for our country which desperately needs more and better education for all its youth."

Mr. Editor, the short view of the situation in Little Rock may give you the feeling
that a private school ought to be set up for the Negro children. A little longer view
will show you that the white children who are in the makeshift schools are being greatly
short-changed. And this will hit home with great force the day that they begin applying
for admission to any first class college—that is if these makeshift schools last that long.
The long view, and the view that we should take, will show that we are engaged in a fight
for first class citizenship; a fight for the right to equal educational opportunities,
a fight for the right to vote, a fight for equal job opportunities, a fight for equal
protection by the law, a fight for the opportunity to own homes wherever we choose; a fight
to be American Citizens just like anybody else. To ask a few hundred students to delay, or
even give up in a few cases, their education is not too much. Some citizens, Negro or
white, may have to give the supreme sacrifice but the goal of first class citizenship must
be achieved. It is disturbing to American Negroes, who have been here for several hundred
years, to see people, whose names we cannot pronounce and who can speak little or no
English, come to this country and become white after a few years, and certainly in the
second generation, become first class citizens while we continue to make struggle for those
rights and privileges guaranteed to all American citizens by our constitution. We are
disturbed to the point of re-doubling our efforts to secure for ourselves and our children
first class American citizenship.

Barbee William Durham
December 4, 1958

Mr. Roy Wilkins
National Association for Advancement
of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York, New York

Dear Roy:

I am enclosing herewith the November 22, 1958 issue of AUSTRIAN INFORMATION and specifically call your attention to the article appearing on page 5, entitled "Austrian Students Protest to Governor Faubus". This material was sent to me by Mr. Alfred M. Korn, the information officer of the Austrian Delegation to the United Nations and the Austrian Consul General.

You may recall meeting Mr. Korn the night we had dinner at Bob's house.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Max Delson

Enclosure

MD: cmw
A CONFIDENT PREVIEW OF AUSTRIA'S ECONOMY

The director of the Austrian Institute for Economic Research, Dr. Franz Nemschak, recently gave a report in Salzburg on Austria's economic outlook.

Dr. Nemschak first discussed the notable resistance shown by the Austrian economy in face of the international recession which had started in 1957. In spite of the fact, he said, that two of the most important Austrian export items — lumber and steel — had been hard hit by the recession and thus had been hurt more than the exports of the other OEEC nations (by 5% during the first half of 1958 as against 4% for the others) Austria's production and employment had continued at a high level. The decline in exports and trade had been balanced by greater efforts in the construction business and the tourist industry. Aside from France which, he said, was going through an inflationist and thus an unhealthy economic turn, Austria among all West European countries had shown the relatively strongest industrial production gain, amounting to about 4%. In the light of these experiences, Dr. Nemschak said, it will be necessary to revise past views regarding the way Austrian enterprises by international comparison were only "border enterprises," most sensitive to economic reverses.

According to Dr. Nemschak the outlook for a new upswing in the Austrian economy was good. Here Austria will be helped, he said, by the fact that unlike other nations it need not make up prior losses but can start expansion from the present high level. This optimistic prognosis, he added, was based on the improvement in the international economic situation as well as on the favorable conditions in the Austrian economy itself.

He said that the Austrian domestic economic situation currently contained a number of real as well as financial factors which would aid a genuine and general upswing. The number of gainfully employed could probably be upped by ten thousands above the current record of 2,270,500 (August, 1958), he declared. During the pinnacle of the season, he said, some 10,000 persons more than last year had been looking for work because of the light economic decline. But, he said, aside from this seasonal labor reserve, a flourishing economy should be able to reduce the number of unemployed by another 5,000 below the lowest figures to date (61,900 in August, 1957 when the unemployed amounted to 2.7% of the total labor force). And if the economy developed favorably, (Continued on page 4)

AUSTRIA DEFINES ITS POSITION ON FREE TRADE AREA

The Austrian Minister for Trade and Reconstruction, Fritz Bock, attended the recent session of the Inter-Governmental Committee of OEEC. The participants at the Paris meeting were unable to reach agreement on the creation of a European Free Trade Area. Upon his return to Vienna, Bock expressed his disappointment over the negative talks. Austria has joined a six-nation Grouping Committee — also including Britain, Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Switzerland — for the purpose of negotiating a compromise before January 1, 1958. Bock said that the matter at issue was the elimination on the highest political level of the differences in views between the British and French governments.

(Continued on page 4)

AUSTRIAN FOREIGN TRADE DURING THE FIRST HALF OF 1958 *)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Imports</th>
<th>Exports</th>
<th>Balance</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>2,341</td>
<td>1,726</td>
<td>-615</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>2,151</td>
<td>1,876</td>
<td>-275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>2,481</td>
<td>2,092</td>
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<td>2,308</td>
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<td>-120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>2,253</td>
<td>1,975</td>
<td>-278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st half of 1958</td>
<td>13,747</td>
<td>11,901</td>
<td>-2,146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st half of 1957</td>
<td>14,411</td>
<td>12,404</td>
<td>-2,007</td>
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<tr>
<td>2nd half of 1957</td>
<td>14,928</td>
<td>13,038</td>
<td>-1,890</td>
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</table>

The breakdown figures of Austrian Foreign Trade for the first half of 1958 have just been released by the Central Statistical Office. They show very clearly that in Austria — as in other Western European nations — a foreign trade shrinkage — connected with the recession in the United States — has taken the place of the long-enduring period of increasing foreign trade figures. Imports which during the first half of 1957 amounted to 14,411 million schillings decreased to 12,404 million schillings; exports went from 12,404 million schillings down to 11,601 million schillings. Thus the decrease in relation to the former period amounted to 4.5% for imports, and 6.5% for exports. The deficit in the trade balance has increased somewhat, namely from 2,007 schillings to 2,146 million.

*) For a 1957 summary of Austrian Foreign Trade, see AUSTRIAN INFORMATION of June 21, 1958.
A breakdown of imports according to main merchandise groups shows a reversal in the long-time downward trend in foodstuffs. However, this accounted only for partial recovery of former losses. With 15.4% this group still remains materially below its percentage participation during the first half of 1955 (18%)

A regional breakdown of exports shows that Western Germany has further expanded its top position; its share rose from 24% to 24.3%. Financially, however, a small decline resulted, from 2,305 million schillings to 2,816 million. Thus the export value of the most important item, lumber, fell from 525 million schillings to 501 millions; paper and cardboard from 359 million schillings to 248 million, and electric current from 143 million schillings to 130 million. The strongest decline took place, by the way, in the agricultural sector, particularly butter the export value of which for well-known reasons fell from 29 million schillings to 130,000 schillings. Surprisingly, the export value of steel and iron rose from 452 million schillings to 459 million, although this particular product is especially dependent on international economic conditions. The second place among the export nations was taken, as usual, by Italy whose share mounted from 17.5% to 17.9%, in spite of a decline of the export value from 2,172 million schillings to 2,077 million schillings. Steel and iron participation in exports was half as much as now, and three years ago it amounted to only 1.5%. Exports of raw materials, on the other hand continued to decrease. In semi-finished products, the recent recession brought about just about the same standing which had existed before the increase of the previous year. Happily, export participation of finished products rose again and materially. This group accounts for not much less than one half of total exports, however, money-wise, the situation is not as good as last year so that the improvement in export quantity is only relative.
November 22, 1958

Austrian Information

Page 3

exports to Italy fell sharply, from 504 million schillings to 314 million schillings. Lumber exports, accounting for 864 million schillings held their own, and exports of live animals rose from 190 million schillings to 289 million.

Particularly notable was the rise in exports to Poland whose share rose from 3.2% to 4.3%. Even in value, it rose from 395 million schillings to 494 million schillings. Poland thus is third among the countries of destination of Austrian exports, a place heretofore held by Switzerland. That country was pushed into fifth place by the United States whose participation in Austrian exports rose from 3.0% to 4.2%, while Switzerland fell from 5.7% to 4.1%.

Within the exports to Poland, it should be mentioned that steel and iron rose from 100 million schillings to 145 million schillings. Among the exports to the United States, artificial fibers showed an advance from 30 million schillings to 56 million schillings. At the same time there was a considerable decline in exports of glassware to the United States – from 113 million to 86 million schillings.

Yugoslavia which had taken less imports last year has again moved ahead and now is in sixth place with 3.2% as against 2.5% in 1957. However, the decline in exports to the Netherlands continued. It took but 3% of Austrian exports as against 4.1% only three years ago. The share of France also was 3%, a loss of .7%, and no surprise.

Among the Eastern European countries (not including Poland which was mentioned before), Hungary stayed with its previous share of 2.1%, while Czechoslovakia declined from 2.5% to 2.1%, and the Soviet Union from 2.1% to 1.7%.

On the import side of the ledger, West Germany took no participation in Austrian exports rose from 3.9% to 4.2%, while Yugoslavia decreased from 2.5% to 2.1%, and the Soviet Union from 2.1% to 1.7%. However, this is only a small recovery from the sharp decline of last year when Hungarian ability to deliver goods was curtailed by the effects of the Hungarian rebellion.

Foreign Trade According to Zones

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<tr>
<th>Zone</th>
<th>First Half 1957</th>
<th>First Half 1958</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>EPU Countries</td>
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<td>9,787,209</td>
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<tr>
<td>Members</td>
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<td>9,065,131</td>
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<tr>
<td>Non-members-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sterling bloc</td>
<td>367,292</td>
<td>322,192</td>
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<tr>
<td>Overseas Possessions and</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>other EPU Countries</td>
<td>380,462</td>
<td>253,258</td>
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<td>Eastern Europe 1)</td>
<td>67,524</td>
<td>43,628</td>
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<tr>
<td>Western Hemisphere</td>
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<td>2,111,381</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dollar Bloc (U.S., Canada)</td>
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<td>1,708,608</td>
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<tr>
<td>Central America</td>
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<td>South America</td>
<td>276,008</td>
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<td>Other Countries</td>
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<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>14,418,274</td>
<td>13,746,946</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1) Indonesia, Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam, Morocco and Tunisia.
2) Except Yugoslavia and Finland.

The breakdown according to areas or groups of countries

Intragetio
Confident Preview (Continued from Page 1)

by, he added, there was no reason why it could not absorb 15 to 20,000 new workers from a growing population, particularly women and adolescents. Moreover, he said, that not all labor was fully used in all fields of the economy.

Turning to production, Dr. Nemschak said, that there was enough unused capacity for an economic upswing. The Austrian Institute for Economic Research reported a small decrease in the use of available production capacities of manufacturing industries in 1957. At present, he said, these industries were probably working at only 75% of capacity. Economic branches which now were stagnating could expand their production without expanding their existing installations, he said. In fact, he said, the Austrian economy was constantly growing in capacity thanks to a high rate of investment.

This would increase the results in available production installations.

Finally, he said, enough raw materials were at the disposal of an expanding economy, and - not least - the 1959 budget would have an expansive effect. Its total expenditures of 40.4 billion schillings (26 schillings equal one dollar, Ed.) are 4% higher than in 1958. Since the running government receipts probably will only be sufficient to cover regular expenditures, extraordinary expenditures, estimated at three billion schillings will have to be financed through credits which, from an economic point of view, will have an expansionist effect.

Whether the next economic upswing will take the Austrian economy a good deal toward a European economic community or whether it will effect only a would-be boom would primarily depend on continuing currency stabilization which had been achieved only after much work and heavy sacrifices, Dr. Nemschak concluded.

AUSTRIAN INFORMATION

November 22, 1958

Austria Delivers Its Position (Continued from page 1)

Austria's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Leopold Figl, discussed the Free Trade Area in an interview with a Vienna weekly. He said:

"If it should not be possible within the short time available before the end of the year to arrive at an agreement on the reduction of tariffs within the framework of the projected Free Trade Area and, as a parallel approach, to insure the establishment of this Free Trade Area at least in a basic accord, there will be the acute danger of discrimination or, to use another term, the development of different characteristics concerning the 11 OEEC countries outside the European Economic Community in their relations to the EEC. It can hardly be estimated at present what economic consequences would result for these countries right at the beginning of such discrimination, but in any event, this discrimination would foreshadow an economic and, thus, a political division of Europe."

To the question, what economic consequences would result for Austria in case of a failure to establish the Free Trade Area, the Foreign Minister replied:

"The discrimination resulting for Austria in case of the non-establishment of a Free Trade Area would have the most serious economic consequences regarding Austria's relations with the EEC countries. For natural geographic and functional reasons more than half of Austria's foreign trade relies on an exchange with EEC countries. The resulting discrimination would therefore entail increasing marketing difficulties and thereby lead to rising unemployment, with both these factors bound to cause grave economic and political repercussions. Their effect would hardly be changed even by possible counter-measures or retaliatory steps, such as a liberalization of imports, or Austria's withdrawal from the multilateral system of the European Payments Union."

"In addition," Figl said, "Austria has particular wishes especially with regard to a regulation concerning mining products. By the abolition of internal tariffs and the harmonization of external tariffs as achieved last February, the Coal and Steel Community has reached a degree of separation and exclusiveness which, in respect of mining products, has already brought into practical effect the general discrimination imminent in case of a failure to establish the Free Trade Area. Austria, therefore, is highly interested in the speediest possible elimination - within the framework of the Free Trade Area - of the discrimination already materializing in this field."

Both, Figl and Bock said that Austria would make every effort possible, in conjunction with the other nations in the Grouping Committee, to achieve the establishment of the Free Trade Area. Like other members of the Committee, Austria has reserved the right to adopt counter-measures in case a common tariff reduction fails of adoption.

SEPTEMBER FOREIGN TRADE BALANCE DEFICIT DROPS SHARPLY

Preliminary data available to the Central Statistical Office show that the current deficit in Austria's foreign trade balance dropped from 712 million schillings in August to 19 million in September, 1958. (28 schillings equal $1, Ed.) While exports remained steady with a net value of 1,989 million schillings for 594,000 tons of merchandise (as compared with the August figures of 2,046 million schillings for 600,500 tons), September imports sharply declined to 2,008 million schillings for the purchase of 944,200 tons of merchandise (as compared with 2,758 million schillings and 926,100 tons of goods in August.)
AUSTRIAN PRESIDENT CONGRATULATES  
PROF. MEITNER

President Schaarf recently sent a personal message of congratulations to Nobel Prize winner Dr. Lise Meitner on her 80th birthday. Dr. Meitner, a famous atomic scientist, was born in Austria and now resides in Stockholm.

VIENNA: A WATCH TOWER OF EUROPEAN DEMOCRACY

The president of the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe recently turned over to Lord Mayor Jonas the Prize of Europe which had been awarded to the City of Vienna recently.

At the ceremony which took place in Strasbourg, Mayor Jonas, in accepting the prize, said: "Vienna has made known its faith in Europe even at a time when it was still occupied. During that time, our City has fulfilled its historic role of fighting for European democracy. "

"Vienna is the city near the Iron Curtain at the tragic border which has become a symbol of Europe's deep division. We remember in these days the Hungarian rebellion. "

"In those days, Vienna was the hope and the haven of many tens of thousands of human beings who had lost their home following a heroic uprising. "

"We are dying for Europe,' That was the final radio message from Budapest. That faith and that admonition we shall never forget. They will keep us from being self-satisfied and indulgent. They will remind us that there are two kinds of Europe. One - which seeks to make its way in a common future, and the other - which may not even acknowledge the existence of a common effort. "

"The City of Vienna intends to fulfill its European mission in the future, too. Vienna wishes to bring up its youth to see in Europe not a distant ideal but a contemporary task, and conscious of its traditional mediating role in the heart of our continent, Vienna wants to work for the right of all European peoples to acknowledge freely that they are members of a common Europe. Vienna will remain, as it was in the fall of 1956, a watch tower of European democracy."

BANK DEPOSITS UP 700 MILLION SCHILLINGS IN SEPTEMBER

Statistical reports show that savings and checking account deposits in Austrian banking institutions rose from 38.2 billion schillings in August, to 38.9 billion schillings in September. (26 schillings equal $1. Ed.) During the same period, total outstanding bank credits remained steady at about 38.6 billion schillings.

AUSTRIAN DOLLAR LIBERALIZATION BROADENED

The Austrian cabinet has approved an increase in the liberalization quota with regard to the United States and Canada from 40% to 45%. This means, in effect, that the industrial sector will have a 90% liberalization. New lists are now in preparation.
At the ceremonies, a spokesman said that VOeEST (Austrian Steel Corporation) was recently completed. The new plant will have larger furnaces than used before. There will be two, each with a 50-ton capacity. The new plant will permit an increase in VOeEST's steel production to 1.5 million tons annually, the spokesman said.

**UNITED AUSTRIAN STEEL BUILDS SECOND PLANT**

The framework of the second LD-Steel Works of the VOeEST (Austrian Steel Corporation) was recently completed. At the ceremonies, a spokesman said that VOeEST had decided to build a second LD plant so as to be able to meet the demand for raw steel by its rolling mills. The new plant will be ready to start production in 1959.

**TOURIST TRAFFIC ACCOUNTS FOR 4.3 BILLION SCHILLINGS IN FOREIGN CURRENCY**

Receipts in foreign currency from tourist traffic are officially estimated at 4.3 billion schillings for all of 1958. (26 schillings equal $1. Ed.) The figure is considered the minimum. By the end of September, foreign currency receipts in the tourist industry stood at roughly 3,816,715,000 schillings, or 15,436,000 schillings more than the entire tourist industry in 1957. Receipts from tourist traffic consist of 28% for the tourist industry, 31% for the metropolitan region, and 41% for the rural areas. The highest tourist traffic is in the summer months.

**AUSTRIAN AIR LINES NOW FLY VIENNA-WARSAW ROUTE**

Austrian Airlines (AUA) recently expanded services with the inauguration last October 17 of a Vienna-Warsaw flight. The current schedule provides for one weekly scheduled flight.

**EMPLOYMENT HIGHER THAN A YEAR AGO**

Employment statistics for October showed that at the end of that month 2,258,946 persons were employed in Austria. This figure is 6,076 higher than in October, 1957, but 9,101 lower than in September, 1958.

In Vienna, employment continued to increase. In Lower Austria which showed a decrease last month, October resulted in a gain due to the beet sugar season. In all other parts of Austria, employment continued to decline. The larger share was at the expense of the tourist industry. Next came agriculture and forestry followed the building trades.

**AUSTRIAN EPU DEFICIT RISES**

Austria's accounting with the European Payments Union showed an October, 1958 net deficit of 5,226 million EPU units as compared with three million EPU accounting units in September. However, in consideration of special payments and of crediting one quarter of the deficit by the EPU, Austria still had a credit position of 3.8 million EPU accounting units as of Oct. 31.(EPU units correspond to U.S. dollars.)

**AUSTRIAN TOR-STEEL LICENSES IN 25 COUNTRIES**

A cold-twisted alloy for reinforcements in steel-concrete structures, called Tor-Steel, is produced today in 25 European and overseas countries under licenses derived from a patent held by an Austrian steel manufacturing concern. With Tor-Steel in constantly rising demand for projects constructed by modern techniques, the annual production of this material in Austrian steel works has reached about 70,000 tons. World production is close to one million tons.

**AUSTRIA CONSTRUCTS STEAM POWER STATION IN THAILAND**

A few weeks ago the Vienna Elia Company obtained a construction order from the Loeiie Thermal Power Organization, a state-owned company in Bangkok interested in the exploitation of soft-coal resources and operating steam-driven power plants. The order was for a complete 12,500 kilowatt steam-operated power station to be erected by the end of 1960 at Maeh Moh, a place with most difficult climatic conditions (average temperature 72 degrees Fahrenheit, average humidity 98%). The World Bank has allowed Thailand a $5 million credit for the construction. The new power station will supply cheap electricity to the northern Thai cities of Chiangmai and Lampang as well as to the construction site of the Phuiphon Dam near Yan Hee.

**AUSTRIAN WATCH EXPORTS ALMOST DOUBLE IN VALUE**

During the first six months of 1958, the value of Austrian pocket and wrist watch exports increased to 4.9 million schillings, exactly two million schillings more than during the same period of 1957. (26 schillings equal $1. Ed.) In terms of volume, however, exports decreased from 160,000 units during the first half of 1957 to 114,000 in the corresponding period of 1958. The top purchaser in the 1957 period was India with 44,000 units worth $41,000 schillings; in 1958, the leading buyer was the Federal Republic of Germany with 26,000 units worth 2.6 million schillings. In the 1957 period, Germany had imported only 2,600 units worth 100,000 schillings. Britain was in second place during the first six months of 1958 with 16,400 units worth 277,000 schillings as against 18,777 worth 296,000 schillings the year before.

**500 MILES OF NATURAL GAS PIPE LINES IN LOWER AUSTRIA**

The Lower Austrian Gas Distribution Corp. (NIOGAS) recently completed the main pipe lines of the Lower Austria pipe line system, namely these: Schwechat - Vienna Neudorf - Semmering - with the southern line via Bades and secondary lines to the Piesing and Triesting valleys; also the Bockflesser line via Stockenau, Tulln, Traismauer, Krems with an alternate line Traismauer, St. Poeln, Lilienfeld. NIOGAS' own pipe lines to measure almost 260 miles constructed according to modern American methods. Including existing pipelines which NIOGAS took over, Lower Austria now has a natural gas pipe line system of 495 miles. NIOGAS has completed arrangements for gas delivery to 65 industrial enterprises; 28 of them are already connected with the pipe line system. NIOGAS also supplies gas to roughly 20,000 domestic users. Since NIOGAS started its expansion, prices for home gas consumption have been lowered considerably.

**THE AUSTRIAN INFORMATION SERVICE**

may be able to furnish more detailed information on any item printed in AUSTRIAN INFORMATION.
MORE TRACTORS AND TRUCKS

The rise in Austrian vehicle production during the first six months of 1958 is due primarily to the production of heavy vehicles. Recent statistics show that production of wheeled tractor s rose from 269 million schillings during the first half of 1957 to 366 million schillings during the same period in 1958 (26 schillings equal one dollar, Ed.). Delivery and heavy trucks rose by 182 million schillings to 229 million schillings. Other branches of the vehicle industry also showed gains but not to the same degree. Thus the production value of buses went up from 36 to 39 million schillings.

The development was less steady in two-wheeled vehicles. A rise was noted only in the production of mopeds (motorized bicycles), which went from 251 to 263 million schillings. Production of motorcycles remained constant while that of motor scooters declined from 39 million to 31 million schillings. In this particular branch, the competition of small cars was particularly felt. It is interesting to note, however, that production of motorcycle parts and supplies rose from 20 to 48 million schillings.

Total production of motor vehicles increased from 24,800 tons valued at 1,089 million schillings to 31,000 tons valued at 1,341 million schillings. In automobile bodies and motorcycle sidecars the rise was insignificant: from 1,000 tons worth 34.5 million schillings to again 1,000 tons worth 35.5 million schillings. Production of other vehicles went up from 3,000 tons worth 90 million schillings to 3,600 tons worth 122 million schillings (including truck trailers which went from 12 to 24 million schillings). The vehicle supply industry showed production increases from 2,300 tons worth 145 million schillings to 3,700 tons valued at 220 million schillings. The value of repairs made by industrial enterprises rose from 123 to 150 million schillings.

CULTURE AND SCIENCE

"DR. ZHVAGO" AUSTRIAN BEST-SELLER

The 11th Annual Book Week opened in Vienna's Kunsthistorisches Museum recently. At the same time, similar exhibitions were held in all provincial capitals of Austria to give trade and publishers a review of the book publishing field.

Thirty-two Austrian publishers exhibited the new books of 1958 as well as the more important publications of past years. In Vienna, the works of the State Prize winners and of authors who were awarded the Literature Prize of the City of Vienna were separately exhibited in the Stifter Hall of the Kunsthistorisches Museum. Special exhibits but not to the same degree. Thus the production value of buses went up from 36 to 39 million schillings.

Scientific books were in greatest demand, and art books and works on musicology also sold well abroad. The main foreign purchaser was West Germany. Poland, Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union also bought larger quantities of Austrian books. Since 1947, more than a billion schillings' worth of books and musical scores have been sold abroad.

Book imports are considerably below the exports. However, the import of periodicals has risen materially. In domestic production, the number of translations has declined. Translations of works written in English are fairly rare, but there has been a renaissance of translations from the Spanish. Numerous publications originating in the Iberian Peninsula were offered in German translations.

While it cannot be said with certainty which book Austrians buy most (Christmas sales will tell that), booksellers generally believe that Nobel Prize winner Pasternak's "Dr. Zhivago" will top Austria's best-seller list for 1958.

BEETHOVEN, BRITTEN AND THE TEEN-AGERS

The Vienna Music Society's great concert hall for once did not cater to a staid audience of adult music lovers. When it opened its doors one recent afternoon, in streamed hundreds and hundreds of teen-agers — not to hear rock-and-roll or progressive jazz, but to listen to Beethoven, Britten and Tchaikovsky.

The event was the first youth concert of the season, arranged by the City of Vienna's Educational Department. The majority of the youthful audience were fourteen-year-old boys and girls, students at Vienna's high schools.

The concert series for young listeners was started eight years ago to give the young people lasting impressions of the beauty and value of serious music. Depending on the age of the audience — the series includes concerts for all grades at different events — the music to be performed is chosen. For the youngest, such works as Mozart's "Bastien and Bastienne" or the fairy tale "Peter and the Wolf" are chosen.

The opening concert for the 14-year olds featured more mature works and — a minor sensation — a 17-year-old pianist, Holmuth Offer, who with his playing of Liszt's "Fantasia on Hungarian Folk Songs for Piano and Orchestra" brought down the house.

The youthful audience enjoyed the afternoon thoroughly. Erich Kienbacher of the Volksoper sang arias from operas by Mozart, Weber, Puccini and Pizzetti. Hans Swarowsky conducted the Vienna Philharmonic in Beethoven's "Egmont Overture," the "Circus Polka" by Stravinski three movements from Tchaikovsky's "Nutcracker Suite," and Britten's "Rossini Roll". The program notes also contained admonishing remarks — written in a non-professional style, of course on how to behave in a concert hall. One critic suggested that it would not be a bad idea at all if these remarks were included in adult concert programs, too.
KARAJAN DIRECTS NEW "RHEINGOLD"
WITH ALL-STAR CAST
The Vienna State Opera will give a special Christmas performance December 23 of Wagner's "Das Rheingold" in a new staging under the artistic and musical direction of Herbert Karajan. Scenery and costumes were especially designed by Emil Pretorius, and the all-star cast includes such famous singers as Hans Hotter, Walter Berry, Waldemar KMENTT, Wolfgang Windgassen, Alois Perntorfer, Peter Klein, Gottlob Frick, Oskar Czerny, Erna Malanik, Gre BROWNSTIN, Magda ROEFFGEN, Wilma LIPP, SENA JURIJAC and HILDE RÖSSLER-MAJDAJ.

FOREIGN FILM DISTRIBUTORS SHUN SELF-CENSORSHIP
Austrian Education Minister Heinrich Drimmel reported to the Cabinet that the Austrian motion picture industry had agreed to participate in voluntary self-censorship of films exhibited in Austria.

Foreign film distributors, however, declared after several negotiating sessions that at present they are not in a position to take part in voluntary self-censorship along the proposed lines.

Upon proposal by the Education Minister, the Cabinet Committee which had been given the job of finding ways and means to combat trashy motion pictures will meet again at an early date to decide on new measures to serve this purpose.

AUSTRIAN ART EXHIBITS AT BRUSSELS FAIR WIN HIGH AWARDS
All exhibits of fine arts shown in the Austrian Pavilion at the Brussels World's Fair won the highest awards. The three Grand Prizes were given to sculptor Fritz Wotruba for a relief; to painter Herbert Boeckl for a monumental tapestry; and to a tapestry woven after Oskar Kokoschka's "Amor and Psyche."

A Gold Medal was conferred upon Rudolf Hoflehner for a steel sculpture entitled "Man Divided."

AUSTRIAN SKIS WIN TWO GRAND PRIZES IN BRUSSELS
At the recent Brussels World's Fair, two Austrian ski manufacturers were awarded a Grand Prize each. The awards further confirm and strengthen the world-wide reputation of Austrian ski, representatives of the two firms said.

Austrian ski manufacturers are currently producing about 200,000 pairs of skis annually. They are unable, at present, to meet foreign demands for approximately 50,000 pairs per year. The two firms which were awarded the prizes in Brussels export about 30,000 pairs each year.

JEWISH COMMUNITY HONORS MAYOR OF LINZ
The federation of Austrian Jewish communities has awarded its Gold Medal to Dr. Ernst Koref, Mayor of Linz and Member of Parliament, for his outspoken stand in the fight against anti-Semitic and neo-Nazi trends.
FOR RELEASE: DECEMBER 5, 1958

/NOTE TO EDITOR: This letter is being sent editors of all Scripps-Howard newspapers in response to a syndicated editorial which appeared in The New York World-Telegram and Sun of November 17, 1958. If you also published the editorial, we hope that you will be able to publish the following answer. SME/

TO THE EDITOR:

In a recent editorial, entitled "Forgotten Children," your newspaper suggested that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People should assume the responsibility of providing private education for the displaced Negro school children in Little Rock. Our organization is fully aware of the tragic consequences of the actions of Governor Orval Faubus and of Virginia's Governor J. Lindsay Almond in closing public schools to prevent implementation of the desegregation orders of the Federal courts.

We deplore and condemn these rash acts which, as Secretary Arthur S. Flemming of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare points out, have already cost 1,000,000 pupil days, and which, he adds, "can contribute to delinquency" and cause the children to lose "their faith in one of America's highest ideals."

Addressing a mass meeting in Little Rock on Nov. 2, NAACP Executive Secretary Roy Wilkins set forth the NAACP position on your proposal. "It is hard," he said, "to watch some of the white students getting some little education while your own high school students are shut out of school by your governor." Continuing, Mr. Wilkins said:

"Some have wondered whether colored citizens should not set up a school of their own. This we cannot do. We cannot ourselves finance Jim Crow schools for our children. We cannot choose deliberately to set up the kind of system which has been ruled illegal and unconstitutional. The segregationists have set up their temporary schools to defy the law. If we join them and set up our schools, we will be defying the law, also. Besides, we would be doing just what they want us to do. In addition, we would be selling out the youngsters who endured persecution at Central High School last year. We would be betraying all other Negro children throughout the nation who hope to go forward to full opportunity, not backward to segregation and second-class citizenship."

The NAACP, Mr. Wilkins said, wants all the "schools opened in accordance
with the ruling of the United States Supreme Court and the specific orders of the Federal courts -- on an unsegregated basis."

This declaration of policy was warmly received by Negro citizens of Little Rock including many of the parents of the displaced pupils. The NAACP is deeply concerned about their education as well as about that of the white children who have been locked out of public schools and forced into makeshift private classes by the reckless policies of Governors Faubus and Almond.

Sincerely,

Henry Lee Moon
Director, Public Relations

HLM/mw
December 9, 1958

Mrs. Daisy Bates
Post Office Box 2179
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Daisy:

Here is the list of names of Horace Mann High School students for whom we would like to have home addresses. The purpose is to enable the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students to communicate with these children regarding college entrance possibilities. Those who are interested will be afforded a chance to apply for college entrance without being penalized for the educational year which they may have missed because of closed schools.

Just a reminder also: If you have or can get it, would you let me know Rev. Ogden's address in West Virginia.

With warm regards,

Very sincerely,

John A. Horsell
Assistant to the Executive Secretary
HEARING
BEFORE
THE SPECIAL EDUCATION COMMITTEE
OF THE
ARKANSAS LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

HELD DECEMBER 16, 17 AND 18, 1958, COMMENCING AT 9:30 O'CLOCK, A.M. DECEMBER 16, 1958, IN THE HOUSE CHAMBER, STATE CAPITOL BUILDING, IN THE CITY OF LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS.

MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE
Rep. Paul Van Dalsem, Chairman
Senator Charles F. Smith, Vice-Chairman
Senator J. Lee Bearden
Senator Clifton Wade
Senator Tom Allen
Senator Max Howell
Senator Marshall Shackleford, Jr.
Rep. E. C. "Gene" Fleeman
Rep. John P. Bethell
Rep. Marcus J. Howell
Rep. Marion H. Crank
Rep. Carroll C. Hollensworth
Rep. Joel Y. Ledbetter

BRUCE BENNETT, Attorney General, State of Arkansas, conducted the interrogation of witnesses.
RACIAL UNREST IN ARKANSAS

Thurgood Marshall
($6,000 per annum)

Vernon McDaniel

Charles Gomillion
Abner W. Berry
Martin Luther King
Claude W. Williams

Gloster Current
Stephen G. Spottswood

N.A.A.C.P

DAISY BATES

Clarence Laws
(Field Secretary, N.A.A.C.P)

Henry Wallace
(Fund for the Republic, Ashmore)

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
($497,000.00)

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

L.C. BATES

ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
(Ashmore and Bates, Incorporators)

Washington Post
Ark. State Press

$31,000 receipts and no accounting for disbursements

Lee and Grace Lorch

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE

succeeded by

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC
(James A. Dombrowski, Executive Secretary)

(Byrd)
(Balston)
(Bennett)
WHEREAS, the people of Arkansas have lived harmoniously for 150 years and men of all races have made untold progress in economic, social and political fields, and;

WHEREAS, it now appears that there may be certain individuals, organizations or corporations designedly creating and fomenting strife and racial unrest, and;

WHEREAS, it is a known fact that communism breeds on strife and turmoil and it is in the public interest of the people of our State to pinpoint and ascertain who those individuals, organizations and corporations, if any, are, and;

WHEREAS, it is the sense of the Arkansas Legislative Council that public hearings should be conducted to determine if there is any subversion present in the racial unrest that has been recently created,

BE IT, THEREFORE, RESOLVED that the Arkansas Legislative Council by affirmative motion, hereby authorizes the Special Education Committee heretofore appointed by Resolution to conduct such hearings of subversion present in Arkansas which has encouraged racial unrest and that the Committee invite the Attorney General of Arkansas to conduct such interrogation of witnesses that may be called at such hearings; that the Attorney General of Arkansas use his subpoena power to secure such witnesses, documents and papers that may be of value in such hearings; that after such hearings are conducted, the said Special Education Committee shall report its findings to the Legislative Council.

Respectfully submitted,

s/ Paul Van Dalsem
Representative, Perry County

Filed: August 15, 1958.
Amended and Adopted: August 15, 1958.

II.

OPENING STATEMENT OF BRUCE BENNETT, ATTORNEY GENERAL

GENTLEMEN OF THE COMMITTEE, I feel that we are gathered here today on a very serious occasion. I respectfully ask your indulgence in order that I might make a statement with reference to
the purpose for which this meeting has been called, the objects thereof, and what the Resolution of the Arkansas Legislative Council directed this Committee to do.

The Resolution authorized the Special Education Committee to "conduct such hearings of subversion present in Arkansas which has encouraged racial unrest", and invited the Attorney General of Arkansas to conduct the interrogation of witnesses that might be called at such hearings.

Congressional committees conducting investigations on the same subject matter have the power of nationwide subpoena; the subpoena power of this investigation, by law, does not extend further than the borders of our State. As a further comparison, this Committee does not have the power to cite a balky witness for contempt. So we must of necessity proceed with those witnesses within the borders of Arkansas and with those that will come into our State by invitation.

Last year, the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of Pennsylvania v. Nelson, 350 U.S. 497, 100 L.Ed. 640, directed its opinion at "suspending the enforceability" of state laws imposing criminal sanctions on subversive activity directed against the Federal government. In the Nelson decision, the Court pointed out that it did not void provisions of state law insofar as they made it a crime in the States to attempt to overthrow the Federal government by unlawful means, but merely suspended their enforceability while the Federal Smith Act remained on the books.

We are probably in the second most serious crisis that our State has undergone in its entire 124-year history. For many decades the different races in Arkansas have lived in peace; they have made progress in the educational, cultural and economic fields. Our people in this State have always lived in peace. The recent emotional explosion here was not the result of something that occurred overnight. It will be the purpose of this Committee to learn -- and I believe the witnesses will so establish, who did what, where, when, and how -- on world, national, regional and local basis, as related to racial unrest in Arkansas.
It is expected that the witnesses will prove by their testimony and official press, programs, resolutions and pictures, that Little Rock, Pine Bluff, and other Arkansas cities, are segments in the international scheme of the Russian Kremlin — which has used communists, pro-communists, fellow travelers, dupes, and those who make a career out of being duped — to create confusion and turmoil here.

The Honorable J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, once stated:

"To me, one of the most unbelievable and unexplainable phenomena in the fight on Communism is the manner in which otherwise respectable, seemingly intelligent persons, perhaps unknowingly, aid the Communist cause more effectively than the Communists themselves. The pseudo-liberal can be more destructive than the known Communist because of the esteem which his cloak of respectability invites."

It has also been said:

"If a barnyard goose is lured into a flock of wild geese, he may be excused for his mistake only IF HE LEAVES THE FLOCK. But if he FLIES IN FORMATION with them day after day he is a wild goose at heart. Likewise, if a man is unwittingly drawn into a Communist organization, he can be excused for his gullibility only IF HE LEAVES THE GROUP AND DENOUNCES ITS PURPOSES. But if he "flies in formation" with them he is a Communist at heart, irrespective of his loud noise to the contrary."

The Communist Party uses individuals, organizations, high-sounding front names, and any other means in its avowed program of international conquest by force.
It is expected that the witnesses here will show the local relationship of various individuals and organizations with that of national, regional and local organizations. It will be shown beyond a doubt that the race agitation in the Southern United States is a communist conspiracy adopted in October, 1930, by resolution passed by the Communist International. At that time Moscow laid down the proposition that race agitation in the Southern United States was to be pursued full speed ahead. Its purpose was to bring about a revolution in the United States on racial lines climaxed with land division similar to the agrarian reform in China, which was on an economic and land basis, and which has resulted in the death of 20,000,000 Chinese in the past 15 years.

The communist resolution of 1930 outlined a plan wherein those counties in the states of the South where the Negro is or was in numerical majority were to be target areas; the Negro was to rise up, drive off or kill the landowners and each receive, as was done in China, a portion of land. The general scheme of the plan involved the proposition that "all people who are a majority but do not own the land are Colonials." The "Southern" American Negro was defined to be a Colonial, and as such, he must be "liberated" through the "Black Republic". This was to be accomplished by violence. Experts in the field of communism will testify that insofar as the communist interest goes, schools and other integration objectives were and are tactics. In pursuance of this "Black Republic" proposal, the communists planned and have used non-communists with good intentions.

The witnesses to be presented will prove, by official communist documents, pamphlets and press clippings, that Little Rock and Pine Bluff were predetermined trouble areas and designated officially by the Communist Party many years ago to be developed for trouble purposes. Since 1925, the testimony will show some of our people have been wittingly or unwittingly consorting with, collaborating
or cooperating with the communist apparatus. These people knew who or what they were cooperating with, and it is my thought that those who claim they did not are not worthy of public confidence and leadership. The records to be introduced will make incredible a claim of ignorance or innocence. Those who have been consorting with communists, communist fronts, or organizations are doing more for the known subversives and their cause than can be or was done by all the outside communists combined. I am reliably informed that there are now only about 9,000 hardcore communists in the United States. They are dedicated -- they are past masters in the recruitment and use of dupes and others whose intentions may be good, but in reality, they are aiding and abetting the scheme to foment revolution in the United States.

It is expected that the witnesses will establish interlocking memberships, interlocking boards of directors, meetings of same - - in and out of Arkansas - - and other actions that tie Little Rock into an almost incredible combination of individuals and organizations who help to create and "maintain Little Rock." We will attempt to document a record that will prove that from 1928 to 1958 an intensive communist conspiracy climaxed in Little Rock, and that the purpose of these incidents is to attract and use the Negro -- not to help the Negro.

Some individuals in Arkansas have become officers, directors of national and regional organizations that are loaded to the hilt with other individuals who have aided and abetted communists and communist front organizations time after time.

The United States House Committee on Un-American Activities has, at present, listed more than 469 organizations as subversive. In addition, the United States Attorney General, under the power vested in him by executive order 10450, has listed many other organizations as communist or communist front.
This Committee is concerned with the word "subversion". Basic to this investigation should be the definition of that word. Webster's Unified Dictionary defines "subversion" as:

"To turn upside down, overthrow, destroy. To subvert is to overthrow as if from a foundation; to overturn often implies throwing with force from a base or position; to overthrow usually denotes complete destruction, as, to overthrow a government;"

Some of the witnesses that will appear before this Committee will detail the program of world conquest as drafted by the Marx-Engels-Stalin-Khrushchev combine. They will describe the communist apparatus as it pertains to executing the program of Russian Communism — they will substantiate the plan of execution as it pertains to the organization in use of those hundreds of front organizations that have been organized and used by the communists.

Most of our people have a past acquaintance with the name of Gerhart Eisler, Stalin's personal representative to the United States, who was to work with the communists to overthrow our government and who later, after conviction, fled to his country on the communist ship "Batory"; Harry Bridges, the West Coast Communist; Alger Hiss, Whittaker Chambers, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, and many other notorious communists.

The names of Charles Gomillion, Aubrey Williams, Abner W. Berry, Claude C. Williams, Pete Seegar, James A. Dombrowski, and others, whom I will refrain from naming at this time, will crop up during these hearings.

Certain individuals in this State have been the willing or unwilling tools of subversion; they have joined organizations shot through and through with individuals who have been cited for aiding and/or abetting communist or communist front organizations, periodicals and other aspects of the apparatus.
An occurrence that appears to be isolated will not necessarily
arouse the public mind, but when numerous incidents occur --
when the same individuals are found at the forefront of those
incidents -- when it is proven that all of the incidents, all
of the contacts, all of the interlocking directorships, and other
occurrences point to the general scheme of communist penetration,
there can be but one conclusion. That conclusion is that sub-
version is present.

The witnesses to appear before you will talk of many organi-
izations, some of which perhaps you have never heard. They will
talk of the Southern Conference on Human Welfare, the Southern
Conference Educational Fund, Inc., the Southern Regional Council,
the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, the NAACP, the Highlander
Folk School, the National Negro Congress, the African Blood
Brotherhood, the American Negro Labor Congress, the Southern
Youth Congress, and many others. Some of these have been listed
as subversive and others are shot through and through with offi-
cers and directors cited innumerable times for lending aid and
support to communist organizations and fronts.

In the basic Resolution passed by the Legislative Council,
the Attorney General was invited to conduct the interrogation of
the witnesses. The subject of subversion is a delicate matter.
It has been said that a man may be robbed of his money and worldly
goods, but when you rob him of his good reputation you have stolen
his most valuable treasure. With this thought in mind, your
Attorney General has insisted that any statement by a witness be
substantiated with pertinent documentary evidence, but I believe
it to be my duty and your duty, under our oath of office, to submit
proof of those who "fly in formation with the wild geese," and
noisy disclaimers to the contrary will not refute the fact that
he, she or the organization is subversive at heart if time after
time they are found flying in formation with others who teach,
preach and follow the communistic line.
Today America is spending billions of dollars on National Defense and Foreign Aid in an effort to prevent the iron curtain from being located nearer and nearer the borders of the free world. With over half the world's population now held in Russian slavery, it behooves the free men of the world to do all within our power to aid in this fight. Make no mistake, the Russian plan of domination has not deviated from its original concept. You will be told on good authority that the communists are master fishermen for the minds of men in troubled waters. Communism breeds on chaos and turmoil.

In the entire history of the civilized world, nowhere has so much peace and progress been enjoyed between the white and black people as that in the South. The Negroes of the South are the leaders of the black race throughout the world. This pre-existing peace is something that has been treasured by all men of goodwill. It is more than just a working relationship, and it bottoms on a deep affection and mutual respect that all of you who have lived in this State have known and enjoyed.

I feel sure that it is the hope of this Committee that the normal peace and tranquillity between our people will be strengthened, restored and preserved so that those generations to come will benefit therefrom.
III.

BACKGROUND MATERIAL

ORGANIZATIONS

1. NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is a New York corporation organized in 1911. Daisy Bates of Little Rock, Arkansas, has been president of the Arkansas Conference of Branches of this organization for approximately 10 years. The NAACP received contributions in Arkansas of $182,00 in 1957, yet it spent over $50,000.00 in this State during that year on litigation and other integration endeavors. **It is a well known fact that the NAACP has been the moving factor in filing integration suits in this State, designed not only to integrate the schools, but the public parks, swimming pools and golf courses, and has the ultimate goal of invalidating the statutes forbidding intermarriage among the races.** Many of the officials of this organization, both local and national, have an almost incredible tie-in with communist and communist front organizations.

2. FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC. The Fund for the Republic received a grant of fifteen million dollars from the Ford Foundation several years ago, but the Ford Foundation subsequently decided not to make further grants. The Fund for the Republic has made grants totaling $497,000.00 to the Southern Regional Council, which in turn has made grants to the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. Harry Ashmore is one of the directors of the Fund for the Republic, and was one of the three incorporators of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, and as such, made two direct grants from the Fund for the Republic to the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, which was organized for the purpose of instigating and pushing integration in Arkansas.

3. SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL. This organization is based at Atlanta, Georgia, and Jim Jackson, a notorious Negro communist, participated in its organization. Many of its officers and
directors are also national officers of the NAACP and other organizations that have been cited as subversive by the House Un-American Activities Committee, the Senate Internal Security Committee, and the Attorney General of the United States. Daisy Bates is also a director of this organization. It appears that the main purpose of this organization is to push for integration of everything in the South.

4. **ARKANSAS COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS.** The Arkansas Council on Human Relations was incorporated in Arkansas in 1955. Harry Ashmore was one of the three incorporators, as well as Christopher C. Mercer, who at that time was legal counsel for the NAACP in Arkansas. Its articles of incorporation recite that it is beholden to the Southern Regional Council. Its avowed purpose is to assist in the integration activities in Arkansas. It is highly significant that after the Fund for the Republic—with Harry Ashmore as director—started making grants to the Southern Regional Council in 1954—with Daisy Bates as a director—the Arkansas Council on Human Relations was organized in Arkansas—with Harry Ashmore and Daisy Bates as officers—to participate in the receipt of these grants. At the height of the Little Rock incident in September, 1957, the Fund for the Republic by-passed the Southern Regional Council and sent direct grants to the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. None of the television, radio or newspaper people of Arkansas knew the objectives or financial setup of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations; however, the Council has received contributions of over $30,000.00 in the past three years but the disposition thereof is unknown.

5. **SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND.** The headquarters of this organization is New Orleans, Louisiana. The notorious James A. Dombrowski is executive secretary. He has been cited dozens of times for his subversive activities, and has participated in practically every left wing, communistic front that
has been organized in the South for the past 20 years. L. C.
Bates, husband of Daisy Bates, Dr. Albert Howard Carter, and
Dr. M. Lafayette Harris, all of Arkansas, are directors of this
organization. In a policy statement issued by the organization
on June 12, 1954, the directors stated: "The Fund has devoted
its efforts to the elimination of racial segregation and
discrimination."

INDIVIDUALS

1. DAISY BATES. Daisy Bates has been president of the
Arkansas Conference of Branches of the NAACP for a number of
years. She is also a national director of the NAACP, is a
director of the Southern Regional Council and the Arkansas
Council on Human Relations. In 1948, Daisy Bates, L. C. Bates,
and Ladislav Pushkarsky were three of the 74 people who signed
a petition to place Henry Wallace on the ballot in Arkansas as
a presidential candidate for the Progressive Party. In 1954,
Daisy Bates attended a meeting in Little Rock, at which Dr.
Vernon McDaniel of Tuskegee, Alabama, was on the panel.
McDaniel was sent into Arkansas by the National NAACP to make
a survey of cities which that organization thought might be
targets for its activities. Gloster B. Current, Stephen Gill
Spottswood, Dan Byrd, and other individuals from the national
office of the NAACP were also present at the meeting. Accord-
ing to the press, plans were made at this meeting for the
solicitation of plaintiffs and subsequent filing of lawsuits
which precipitated the racial unrest as evidenced by the Central
High School incident. Daisy Bates has also worked in close
association with Clarence Laws of New Orleans, Louisiana, in
furtherance of the NAACP in Arkansas.

2. L. C. BATES. L. C. Bates is the publisher of the
Arkansas State Press, a Negro weekly newspaper published in
Little Rock. He is a director of the Southern Conference Educational Fund. On July 31, 1958, he signed an ad in the Washington Post petitioning the House Un-American Activities Committee not to hold hearings in Atlanta, Georgia, designed to investigate subversion in the South. The record of the Atlanta hearing reflects that numerous witnesses took the stand under oath, and subsequently invoked the First and Fifth Amendments on questions as to their communist membership or activities. A clipping from his newspaper, the Arkansas State Press, dated March 26, 1954, bemoans the findings of the Jenner Committee that resulted from the hearings in New Orleans, wherein it was found that the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., is the successor to the Southern Conference on Human Welfare, which is subversive, with the same address, executive director and officers.

3. **HENRY WALLACE.** Wallace was a presidential candidate on the Progressive Party ticket in 1948. When he came to Arkansas that year, he refused to sign an affidavit, which is required by Arkansas law, to the effect that his party is not affiliated with, associated with, or controlled by the Communist Party. He was accompanied by Daisy Bates, L. C. Bates, Ladislav Pushkarsky, and Leonard Farmer when he appeared at the Capitol, and left the Secretary of State's office arm in arm with Daisy Bates. Pictures were made on the front steps of the Capitol, wherein Daisy Bates appeared on Wallace's left; L. C. Bates, Ladislav Pushkarsky and Leonard Farmer also appeared in the picture. The electors of Wallace were subsequently placed on the ballot as independents, and L. C. Bates, Daisy Bates and Ladislav Pushkarsky were three of the 74 signers of the petition.

4. **LEONARD FARMER.** Leonard Farmer was a communist in the State of Arkansas from at least 1948 through 1951. When Henry Wallace came to Arkansas, Farmer gave an inter-racial breakfast for him at his home on West Markham. Farmer is a man of means, and told a deliberate falsehood to the Supreme Court of Arkansas when he applied for admission as an attorney after graduating from the University of Arkansas in 1951. He graduated from
Harvard prior to coming to Arkansas, and although he has at least two college degrees, he is now working as a truck driver for the Pepperridge Bread Company in Connecticut.

5. **LADISLAV PUSHKARSKY.** Ladislav Pushkarsky was associated in the Wallace movement in 1948. He signed the petition for Wallace and appeared at the Capitol with him. He actively supported the communist philosophies in Arkansas in 1947 and 1948, and at the present time is voluntarily behind the Russian iron curtain in Poland, and has renounced his American citizenship.

6. **CLARENCE LAWS.** Clarence Laws is field secretary for the NAACP, and works actively for that organization in Arkansas, Louisiana and Mississippi. He has been quoted extensively in the past year by the Little Rock morning newspaper, and has worked in close association with Daisy Bates. He was discharged from the United States Army as a reserve commissioned officer "under the provisions of paragraph 68(8), Army Regulations 140-175, which authorizes discharge for security reasons when such action is necessary in the interest of national security." The discharge was predicated upon his activity in connection with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, predecessor of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Southern Negro Youth Congress, and the Committee Against Jim Crow in Military Service and Training, all of which have been cited as communist fronts. He was the principal spokesman for the NAACP in connection with the racial trouble at Van Buren, Little Rock and Hoxie.

7. **VERNON McDANIEL.** Dr. Vernon McDaniel, on a leave of absence from the Tuskegee Institute granted by Dr. Charles Gomillion, Dean, made a survey of 20 cities in Arkansas in 1954 and 1955 to determine "community attitudes toward integration." He was paid an annual salary of $6,000.00 by the NAACP, and remained in Arkansas for over a year. He participated in the conference in Little Rock on October 24, 1954, along with Daisy.
Bates, Gloster Current, Stephen Gill Spottswood, Wiley A. Branton, and others, at which time a program was laid down for the filing of further integration suits in Arkansas, and which resulted in the case of Aaron v. Cooper, the Little Rock Central High School integration suit. Spottswood and Current have been cited numerous times as aiding and abetting communist and communist front organizations.

8. **DR. CHARLES GOMILLION.** Dr. Charles Gomillion is Dean of Tuskegee Institute and was the organizer of the boycott at Tuskegee. He is president of the Tuskegee Civic Association which organized the boycott and the racial trouble there. He was a supporter of Rev. Martin Luther King in the Montgomery bus boycott, and the two of them attended a communist gathering at Monteagle, Tennessee, of the Highlander Folk School in 1957. He has worked in close accord with Aubrey Williams, an individual who assisted Commonwealth College in 1934. Williams also attended the Monteagle Conference, as did Abner W. Berry, an identified member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of America. Claude C. Williams, a former resident of Paris, Arkansas, in the thirties who was active in the organization of the Workingmen’s Union of the World, which was stirring up racial unrest then, also attended the Conference.

9. **THURGOOD MARSHALL.** Thurgood Marshall is general counsel for the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, a subsidiary of the NAACP. He contracted for that organization to pay Dr. Vernon McDaniel to come into Arkansas and make a survey to determine the target cities for integration in Arkansas. This was arranged by Thurgood Marshall and Dr. Charles Gomillion.

10. **HARRY ASHMORE.** Harry Ashmore is Editor of the Arkansas Gazette and former Chief Editorial Writer. In 1948, he urged through editorial columns of his paper that Henry Wallace's name be placed on the ballot in Arkansas. He was subsequently
named a director of the Fund for the Republic, and as such, assisted in channeling $450,000.00 to the Southern Regional Council, a portion of which was channeled to the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. In 1957, at the height of the Little Rock Central High School incident, the Fund for the Republic sent contributions directly to the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. He was one of the three incorporators of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations.

IV.

FINDINGS OF FACT

1. COMMONWEALTH COLLEGE, A SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATION, OPERATED IN ARKANSAS, CREATING RACIAL UNREST, FROM AT LEAST 1925 THROUGH 1941, WHEN IT WAS CLOSED AS THE RESULT OF A STATE COURT ORDER.

Hon. J. L. "Bex" Shaver testified that he is a former member of the Arkansas Legislature, Lt. Governor of the State of Arkansas, and former President of the Arkansas Bar Association. When he was a member of the General Assembly, he interrogated witnesses as a member of a special committee which investigated Commonwealth College in 1935. He introduced the official transcript from the House Journal of that investigation. His testimony and the transcript reflect the following:

In 1925, Commonwealth College settled west of Mena, Arkansas. This school had no particular academic requirements, tuition or qualifications for students or faculty. No attempt was made to belie the fact that it was communistic in nature, and to a large extent was supported by organizations with subversive backgrounds. In about 1932, Lucien Koch became the director (president) of the school. He subsequently engaged in creating racial tension in connection with the formation of the East Arkansas Sharecroppers Union, and the Workingmen's Union of the World in and about Fort Smith and Russellville. Koch, Bob Reed and Autry Delaney went into East Arkansas, especially in
Cross and Poinsett Counties, and made inflammatory speeches denouncing the landowners, the federal government and the administration of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. In this connection, one Claude Williams wrote Koch a letter while the latter was in the Tyronza jail, wherein he talked of the "united front" that had been promulgated by the Communist and Socialist Parties. Claude Williams at that time was actively engaged in the organization of the Workingmen's Union of the World at Paris, Arkansas. The representatives of Commonwealth College who went into East Arkansas promised prospective members of the East Arkansas Sharecroppers Union 40 acres, a mule and a plow, and advanced a plan similar to the agrarian reform plan of China which has resulted in the death of over 20 million Chinese during the past two decades.

Thus we find a subversive organization operated in Arkansas, creating racial unrest, from at least 1925 through 1941, when Commonwealth was closed as the result of a State court order.

2. COMMUNISTS AND THEIR ASSOCIATES IN ARKANSAS ACTIVELY SUPPORTED THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY IN 1948.

Hon. C. G. "Crip" Hall, Secretary of State, State of Arkansas, testified that the presidential nominee of the Progressive Party, Henry Wallace, applied to him to have his name placed on the ballot of the November General Election. Mr. Hall asked Wallace to comply with Act 33, Ark. Acts of 1935, as amended by Act 293, Ark. Acts of 1941, which provides that a candidate must sign an affidavit that his party "is not directly or indirectly affiliated by any means whatsoever with the Communist Party of the United States, the Third Communist International, or any other foreign agency, political party, organization or government." Wallace refused to comply with the act. Mr. Hall further testified that pictures made in his
office and on the front steps of the Capitol Building at that time have been in his personal possession since 1948. He introduced the pictures, and from the one made on the front steps of the Capitol Building, he identified Daisy Bates, State President of the National Association of the Advancement of Colored People for a number of years, as the person standing immediately next to Wallace; he also identified L. C. Bates, husband of Daisy Bates, and a white man on Wallace's right called Ladislav or "Laddie" Pushkarsky. Mr. Hall testified that Daisy Bates left "arm in arm" with Wallace when they retired from his office inside the Capitol to the front steps. This bit of testimony belies the assertion that Daisy Bates was at the Capitol that day merely as a reporter for her husband's newspaper. Wallace wanted to make a speech on the front steps of the Capitol, but Mr. Hall denied him that privilege as contrary to State law. Mr. Hall also introduced a newspaper clipping from the Arkansas Gazette dated October 22, 1954, wherein it recited an account of a meeting of the NAACP at Mount Zion Baptist Church, Little Rock; it stated that Gloster B. Current, Vernon McDaniel, Daisy Bates, and others were present.

Mr. Hall further testified that the names of Daisy Bates, L. C. Bates, and Laddie Pushkarsky appeared on the petition of electors to place the name of Henry Wallace on the ballot.

A newspaper article from the Times Dispatch entitled, "Inter-racial Breakfast" was introduced by Mr. Hall, which stated that Wallace attended a breakfast for Negroes and Whites at the home of a Little Rock supporter, Leonard Farmer, hereafter identified as then and now, a communist.

Hon. Guy E. Williams, former three-term Attorney General of the State of Arkansas and present Chancellor and Probate Judge
of the First Chancery District of Arkansas, testified that he was acquainted with Leonard Farmer by virtue of a divorce suit filed by Farmer against his wife in the Pulaski Chancery Court. A divorce was granted but was subsequently set aside and separate maintenance was granted to the wife of Leonard Farmer. An opinion written in connection with the setting aside of the divorce by Judge Williams was introduced, wherein it stated that Leonard Farmer was a member of the Communist Party and had been for several years.

Robert E. Diles, presently a Referee for the Arkansas Workmen's Compensation Commission, testified that he attended Little Rock Junior College in 1947, and one of his classmates was Ladislav or "Laddie" Pushkarsky. That Pushkarsky's philosophy of government was communistic in nature. He was informed by a member of one of the federal agencies that Pushkarsky is now in Poland, has renounced his American citizenship, and is a member of the Communist Party in Poland.

From the foregoing, we find that L. C. and Daisy Bates, along with two known communists, Farmer and Pushkarsky, actively supported Henry Wallace in his campaign in Arkansas in 1948.

3. MANY ORGANIZATIONS OF A SUBVERSIVE NATURE HAVE OPERATED IN THE STATE OF ARKANSAS FOR SEVERAL YEARS WITH THE GOAL OF CREATING RACIAL TENSION AND UNREST.

(A) MANY OFFICIALS, BOTH LOCAL AND NATIONAL, OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE HAVE BEEN CONNECTED WITH OR ACTIVELY PARTICIPATED IN COMMUNIST OR COMMUNIST FRONT ACTIVITIES.

Honorable Bruce Bennett, Attorney General of the State of Arkansas, testified that he has made an investigation of the matters before this Committee. He introduced a letter signed by C. J. Hauch, Jr., Brig. Gen., United States Army, stating that Clarence Laws, Field Secretary for the National Association
for the Advancement of Colored People assigned to Arkansas, had been discharged from the United States Army for security reasons. Mr. Bennett also introduced an article which appeared in the Arkansas Gazette September 7, 1957, identifying Clarence Laws as Field Secretary for the NAACP in Arkansas; he also introduced a letterhead showing the national officers and board of directors of the NAACP, and an answer to an interrogatory in a suit filed against the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund by the State of Arkansas, which showed that Dr. Vernon McDaniel, an associate of Dr. Charles Gomillion, made a survey regarding racial integration in 20 cities and towns in Arkansas, including Little Rock and Pine Bluff, and was paid $6,000.00 by the NAACP.

Hon. Oren Harris, who has been a Member of Congress for 18 years, testified that upon the request of Bruce Bennett, he secured from the House Un-American Activities Committee information concerning the officers and directors of the NAACP, and introduced it at the hearing. It reflects that practically all of the national officers and directors of the NAACP have been cited at least five, and up to 176 times as being affiliated with communist or communist front organizations.

From the testimony of the above witnesses and exhibits, we therefore find that the national and local officers and directors of the NAACP are extremely sympathetic with communist or communist front organizations.

(B) MANY ORGANIZATIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN CITED AS SUBVERSIVE OR WHICH HAVE BEEN INFILTRATED WITH COMMUNISTS AND COMMUNIST SYMPATHIZERS HAVE INTER-LOCKING DIRECTORS AND OFFICIALS WITH THE NAACP AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN ACTIVE IN ARKANSAS.

Dr. J. B. Matthews testified that he was Director of Research between the years of 1938 and 1945 for the Special
Committee on Un-American Activities (Dies Committee) of the House of Representatives in Washington, D.C. Dr. Matthews called particular attention to the fact that the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., was not to be confused with the Southern Regional Educational Board, the latter a valid, highly ethical organization composed of 17 State government instrumentalities formed as the result of an educational compact.

Dr. Matthews testified that the Southern Conference on Human Welfare was an organization set up by the communists, and was the first major thrust of the communists in the South; this was succeeded by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, of which James A. Dombrowski is the executive director and is noted for his communistic activities. Dombrowski is also quite active in Highlander Folk School. L. C. Bates is on the board of directors of the Southern Conference Educational Fund at present, and at least 221 individuals associated with the Southern Conference Educational Fund have been cited for their connections with communists or communist activities. Aubrey Williams was president of this organization, and has been cited many times for his communist and communist front activities.

Dr. Matthews further stated that many communists were officers of these organizations.

Dr. Matthews further testified that the following organizations have been infiltrated by communists and/or communist sympathizers: (1) The Southern Regional Council; (2) The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee; (3) various state councils on human relations; (4) Highlander Folk School; (5) The Southern Conference for Human Welfare; (6) The Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.

The Southern Regional Council is sponsored and directed by some members who have been cited numerous times for belonging to organizations listed as subversive by either the House Un-American Activities Committee, Senate Internal Security Committee, or the Attorney General of the United States. The Arkansas Council on Human Relations is a branch of the Southern Regional Council, which latter organization has received
several hundred thousand dollars from The Fund for the Republic as a grant; the Fund has been lavish in its contributions to communist and near communist organizations. Harry Ashmore is on the Board of Directors of the Fund for the Republic, and one of the three incorporators of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee is closely affiliated with the Southern Conference Educational Fund; Grace Lorch was given an honorarium by that Committee. Lee Lorch has been discharged from several universities for his alleged communist party affiliation, and has invoked the Fifth Amendment many times. At least 50 high officials and leaders of the Southern Regional Council have been affiliated in one capacity or another with the Southern Conference on Human Welfare and Southern Conference Educational Fund. Among those named were Daisy Bates of Little Rock, Arkansas, a member of the board of directors of the Southern Regional Council. One Clark Foreman, who was Henry Wallace's campaign manager, has been a member of the board of directors of the Southern Regional Council and Southern Conference Educational Fund, and has headed the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. He has been identified as a member of the Communist Party in sworn testimony before a Committee of the Senate of the United States. M. Lafayette Harris has been on the board of directors of the Southern Regional Council and on the board of directors of the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

The Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tennessee, has been used for communist and communist front purposes for the past 25 years.

Dr. Matthews further testified that the Southern Conference Educational Fund has penetrated 94 white colleges and universities of the South. He defined the term "penetration" as meaning that these institutions had at least one employee who belonged to the Southern Conference Educational Fund. He further stated
that the fact that a person belongs to only one subversive organization does not necessarily mean that such a person is a communist or pro-communist. He recited the method by which the Communist Party exploited individuals in the educational field; that these individuals became dupes of the party apparatus, their prestige thereafter being exploited by aiding in making the organization respectable. These dupes, wittingly or unwittingly, oft times are of far more value to the Communist Party than an avowed member of the Party. Whether they are pro-communistic is a matter of relevancy; the great damage they do to the United States lies in their clothing a communist-penetrated organization with a degree of respect it would not otherwise enjoy. In order for a communist front to operate, there must be members who are not communistic or pro-communistic in order for such organizations to operate with any degree of respect. He again emphasized that the mere fact that a university or college had one or more employees who belonged to these cited organizations did not mean that the institution had become communist per se. He stated, however, that the Communist Party deemed it "penetration" of an institution if they could secure faculty or employee memberships in organizations which they, the communists, controlled either directly or indirectly. Dr. Matthews emphasized that this is no particular condemnation of a school or school authorities where it is evident an officer, faculty member or employee had joined a subversive organization; but condemnation should be visited where it is shown there is continued affiliation after exposure.

Herbert R. Byrd and Rusty Ralston, with a radio and television station respectively, testified that they had been actively engaged in gathering news for a number of years, and that when they recently called on the Little Rock Office of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, they asked Nat
Griswald, Executive Secretary of the Corporation, what its objectives and program are. They testified that Griswald refused to give them any information whatsoever, was evasive, and so far as they could learn, no one in the communications field in Arkansas has been able to learn anything at all about the Arkansas Council on Human Relations.

Therefore, it is apparent that the Southern Conference Educational Fund, successor of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare—which has been cited as a subversive organization—, the Southern Regional Council—which has been infiltrated with known communists and communist sympathizers—are of their very nature pro-communists. The Arkansas Council on Human Relations, child of the Southern Regional Council, necessarily follows the aims and goals of its parent organization. True, some of the individuals who belong to these organizations may be willing or unwilling dupes, but in most instances, either through ignorance or inclination, have remained members; consequently, they are not worthy of the public confidence and leadership.

4. THE GOALS, AIMS AND OPERATIONS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY ARE MANIFESTED IN ORGANIZATIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN USED TO CREATE RACIAL UNREST IN ARKANSAS.

Manning Johnson testified that he is a former member of the Communist Party; he belonged to the Communist Party between 1930 and 1940, and reached the position of member of the executive committee of the Communist Party of the United States, which is the highest ranking committee of the American Communist Party. He testified that in 1928, the Communist Party Comintern of Moscow by resolution ordered the American Communist Party to use every means to cause racial unrest in the South, and laid down a program encompassing a concept of a "Black Republic" in the South. A group of cities in the South were designated by the Communist Party in 1932 as critical areas where the Party
could more effectively create racial tension and strife. Among these cities were Little Rock and Pine Bluff, Arkansas. One of the aims of the Communist Party was to infiltrate and organize as many organizations as possible that are concerned with the Negro race; included among these was the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

He also testified that every organization and association supposedly organized for the purpose of benefiting the Negro, had, to some extent, been infiltrated by the Communist Party, or its sympathizers. These organizations included the NAACP. In some instances the Communist Party itself created the organization, and in other instances it merely infiltrated. Among other methods used to create racial unrest, the Communist Party adopted certain positions which it felt would create racial unrest in order to attract members of the Negro race, and to pressure other organizations with similar aims to adopt similar positions. An example of this was the position toward integration adopted by the Communist Party calling for immediate integration, and within an extremely short time the NAACP changes its position of "gradualism" to immediate integration. He attributed this to the fact that the NAACP had many communist sympathizers in its high ranks.

Some direct quotes from Manning Johnson's testimony are as follows:

"... The NAACP and the Communist are responsible for the racial turmoil and strife. ... I am saying this, as far as Little Rock is concerned the NAACP is backed by the Communist and set up this situation and they are using Little Rock as a place where they can make a test battle. ... Not only Little Rock and Pine Bluff but a large section of Arkansas including Pine Bluff and Little Rock was described as areas of concentration. * * * The Reds are going to do all their devlish work in and through the NAACP."
In other words, the Reds let it be known all their energies and as much money as they can raise is going to the support of the NAACP as a vehicle to carry out their so-called National Liberation Program. . . . The leaders of the NAACP are quick to denounce anybody who dares to expose or investigate the Communist infiltration of the NAACP. Why? Because most of them have skeletons in their closets. Fearing exposure they yell Smear. There is a saying among Communist that the best defense is an offensive. That is attack the other fellow. The NAACP leaders are very adept in attacking others. When a reporter spoke to Daisy Bates about this hearing one of the first words she used was 'Smear'. . . . The NAACP because it has kept its skirts clean while wearing dirty underwear is a good front for the reds. It has a mass base among negroes. It operates like an arm of the federal government, it demands everything, gives nothing. It is an effective agitator, it stirs up hate, it throws negroes into fights that are ruinous in the long run. It demands equal rights while it shuns negro responsibility. Such an organization is made to order for the Reds. The Supreme Court and the NAACP have set the stage for a long period of race bitterness, hate, frustration. Already much progress in race relations has been wiped out. Trends is back to the dark days following reconstruction. Americans are taking side. The reds are shifting into high gear in the expectation that a spark by an extremist on either side may be the one
that can start violent race conflicts all over the country. The number of northern politicians are walking in these muddy waters to flatter the negro votes in the north so as to get elected to office. There are others who are using the race issue to centralize more power in Washington thus laying the foundation for a dictatorship either of the left or right, depending on who gets control of the government. Indeed the NAACP, their red backers and supporters are taking the Negro on a ride. A ride to economic social and political ruin. Thanks again to the Supreme Court for freeing the red leaders, scuttling the Smith Act, on wiping out the state sedition acts, wrecking the entire internal security apparatus, making it impossible to deport red aliens and elevating the reds to a preferred status all in the name of preserving the bill of rights which the reds are pledged to destroy along with all free government. A check of all those who scream for the democratic rights of the reds will reveal that they are reds, fellow travelers, sympathizers, fronters, apologists, eggheads, fuzzy headed intellectuals, etc. They are the same people who back and support the NAACP. They are the same ones responsible for all the racial strife in our country. They are the modern day carpet baggers, who have no interest in the south and only pretend to have an interest in the negro so that they can use him. It is quite possible that the preservation of our Republic is being fought out in Arkansas because here is being challenged the excesses of federal power. . . . The NAACP backers are pressing the federal government to turn the F.B.I., our fine security agency into a gestapo to hound and arrest all
dissenters except reds. The negro is but a mere pawn in the game. He will be the loser and the sufferer. Any victory he may win will be a pathetic one. White Americans will lose too because they will have lost their great heritage, the American Republic.

There was a time when the NAACP believed in gradualism but the line has changed and today the NAACP is marching right down the avenue that the communists have mapped out for them to take.

Hon. W. Guy Banister, former Special Agent for the Federal Bureau of Investigation with 20 years service, testified that the Communist Party, as part of its operation procedure, is out to smear all investigating committees, including this Special Education Committee, plus the F.B.I., House Un-American Activities Committee, and the Senate Internal Security Committee. He stated that all of the witnesses at these hearings would be subject to smear. He stated that organizations listed as subversive always attempted to bring in people of good reputation and standing in the community, and used them as a front for the nefarious operation of the communist apparatus. It was his testimony that the Mississippi Council on Human Relations, the counterpart of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations—and both beholden to the Southern Regional Council—dissolved itself immediately after subversive hearings were held by the Louisiana Legislative Council. The objective of the communist conspiracy was world domination, by force, including the United States, and the destruction of our government. Mr. Banister recited the duties of a Special Agent for the F.B.I., and paid extremely high compliments to the Bureau and Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, its director. He quoted Mr. Hoover as saying: "To dismiss lightly the existence of subversion or to deal lightly with it is to commit national suicide." He recited the fact that the Communist Party exploits everything that is going on, if it can get into the organization. In answer to a question: "Is it your
opinion that there has been some subversion in the difficulty
we have had here in Little Rock, Arkansas, in the past few
months?" Mr. Banister answered: "It is my opinion and there
are certain indications it was started deliberately with these
subversive influences in this part of the country." He stated
that the communists create incidents, and then exploit them for
their benefit; create unrest and ultimately divide and conquer;
to create hate is the main thing. Mr. Banister stated that
it was not surprising to him to learn that there was an organiza-
tion operating under the name of "Arkansas Council on Human
Relations." He stated there used to be a communist printing
plant in Little Rock which was prepared to go underground "if
some organization or some group like the Supreme Court (of the
United States) didn't bail them out."

Mr. Banister outlined a smear campaign that would be leveled
at the F.B.I., J. Edgar Hoover, and the various Congressional
Committees that investigate subversion this year by the Fund
for the Republic, Emergency Civil Liberties Union, and others.
He stated that the main objective of the Southern Regional
Council and its subsidiaries, the various state councils on
human relations in the Southern States is "to engage in mischief"
and "to create friction between the races", and "that communism
thrives on friction between the races." Mr. Banister specifically
tested:

"... Such activities as the various communist fronts
engage in and such organizations as the Fund for the
Republic and other fronts have this large amount of
money to give away and it is given away not without
checking of course. It seems it is usually done to
further some project that is set up adversely affect-
ing the things we believe to be worth while in this
country..."
Mr. Banister testified that he is convinced that there has been subversion in the racial unrest we have experienced here in Arkansas.

It seems evident to this Committee that the Communist Party has used many organizations that cater to the Negro race in order to create racial strife and unrest. Other organizations that are not communist are forced to adopt the same position as the Communist Party by means of infiltration, or by pressure created by communists and communist sympathizers.

CONCLUSION

The basic question presented for determination by this Committee is: "Has there been subversion present in Arkansas which has encouraged racial unrest?"

It is a matter of common knowledge that communism thrives where strife, tension, turmoil and chaos is present. Arkansas became a State of the Union in 1836; peace, progress and tranquility marked the attitude of all our people for the next 122 years. This Committee has found that the incident which occurred at Little Rock on September 2, 1957, was not something that just happened overnight. It was planned, schemed, calculated, and had as its motivating factor the international communist conspiracy of world domination squarely behind the entire shocking episode.

The people of Arkansas are basically men of good will. Communism, heretofore, has always been something that happened elsewhere; but the record reflects that for a number of years an almost incredible number of communists, pro-communists, fellow travelers, dupes and those who make a career out of being duped, have flitted in and out of Arkansas, and while here, they sowed the seeds of dissension and discord.

The Committee has wondered who sent for Clarence Laws, discredited field representative of the NAACP and who was discharged from the Army for security reasons; who sent for Dr. Vernon
McDaniel, protege of the notorious Gomillion who travels in harness with communists such as Aubrey Williams, Abner W. Berry, James A. Dombrowski; and who sent for Grace and Lee Lorch, identified communists; and who paid Clarence Laws for his work in Arkansas. In answering these questions, the Committee learned which individuals actively worked for a political party whose candidate would not sign a non-communist affidavit; that known communists—Farmer and Pushkarsky—worked in such close accord with the candidate and the above individuals that it makes incredible a claim of innocence. One of these individuals was the State President of the NAACP, and her husband, who has been a national director of an organization which is a successor to an organization listed as subversive for a number of years.

To answer these questions one need merely read the transcript of the sworn testimony produced in public at the three-day hearing. The testimony under oath and the documentary evidence introduced in connection therewith, makes it apparent that there has been and now is subversion present in the racial unrest in our State.

The Committee is convinced that the racial unrest in Arkansas was deliberately planned by the Communist Party as part of the directive handed down by Moscow in 1928. The communist apparatus has used many organizations in our State. Some of them have been found subversive by appropriate governmental instrumentalities; others include in their officers and directors those individuals who have been cited as aiding and supporting communist or communist front organizations. We find it noteworthy that these organizations, infiltrated with communists and pro-communists, have actively supported racial unrest in Arkansas. They tried, and were successful, in making Little Rock a world-wide incident. From the evidence introduced at the
hearings it is quite apparent, when once perceiving the goals and operations of the Communist Party, that the Little Rock incident was certainly another link in its chain of created incidents designed for its benefit alone, which was mapped out four decades ago.

The Committee further finds—based on credible evidence from the files of the House Un-American Activities Committee, the United States Attorney General's Subversive List, the Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee and others—that many of the top officers of the national NAACP have been cited numerous times for aiding and abetting communist or communist front organizations. These top officials have sent individuals of very questionable loyalty to our government to Arkansas as their paid employees. In turn they met with local officials of the NAACP and planned the events which culminated in the so-called Little Rock incident. We believe that the NAACP is and has been sympathetic toward communist causes, and that the goal of the communist is not to help the Negro as such, but merely to use him. In that desire to use the Negro, we find that the communists have always tried to infiltrate organizations attractive to the Negro race.

The Committee feels that it would be amiss of its duty should it not report its findings in regard to various corporations that worked in Arkansas. We have been unable to learn of any public or private good that the Arkansas Council on Human Relations has ever rendered, and the same may be said of the Southern Regional Council. Both of these organizations have been subsidized by the Fund for the Republic. The NAACP appears to have been heavily infiltrated with subversives and, wittingly or unwittingly, is now a captive of the communist apparatus. The Fund for the Republic, with Harry Ashmore of Arkansas on the national board of directors, has given considerable money to
the NAACP. It has also given about one-half million dollars to the Southern Regional Council—with Daisy Bates on the board of directors, who in turn channeled part of the money to the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, which had the same Ashmore and Bates as incorporators. A former F.B.I. agent of 20 years service, when questioned at the hearings about the activities of these three organizations, summed up his disgust at their nefarious schemes by simply answering, "to create mischief."

The Committee has become aghast at the viciousness with which some segments of the press have attacked the purposes of the hearings. We feel that the people of the world are entitled to know that a peaceful people have been torn asunder by the communist conspiracy. But some members of the press seem determined to becloud the issue, smear the purposes of the hearings, and reach any conclusion other than the fact that there was subversion present in our difficulties here. This the Committee deplores.

It is the conclusion of this Committee that from the evidence presented before it, and from the findings of fact which this Committee has made, that subversion was present in the racial unrest in our State. We further conclude that had it not been for the communists, pro-communists, fellow travelers and dupes—along with the organizations above listed—that the harmony and peace existent between the races for over 100 years would not have been interrupted. We pray for a restoration of that peace and harmony so that all the people of Arkansas may march forward to a more abundant and proud life under our Creator, Almighty God.
Confidential Magazine vs Gov. Faubus

Confidential Magazine, a publication that has made headlines with Hollywood exposes, has turned to national figures in its broadened editorial policy. A copyrighted article in the current Confidential probes the background of Governor Orval Faubus of Arkansas and reveals that Faubus was at one time a student leader at Commonwealth College, an institution formerly at Mena, Arkansas that was listed as subversive and communist.

The Confidential article declares that Faubus decided to "forget" his radical background when he began his political career in 1954. As candidate for Governor of Arkansas, the article states, Faubus omitted mentioning having been a student at Commonwealth upon filing required biographical information. Confidential says Faubus denied having attended Commonwealth at first but later admitted having been at the college (a school noted for its free-love standards) for a "few weeks".

Confidential maintains that Faubus must have been an important figure on the Commonwealth campus as it is now established that he was president of the student body and delegate to a Communist conference which advocated full integration for Southern negroes. Faubus, the magazine reveals, was principal speaker at a May Day celebration held on the Commonwealth grounds.

The magazine article infers that Governor Faubus can be deliberately aiding the Soviet propaganda machine or is unwittingly playing a pro-Communist game.
the

COMMIES

TRAINED

GOV.

FAUBUS

OF

ARKANSAS
WHEN GOVERNOR ORVAL FAUBUS of Arkansas openly defied the government of the United States on the school integration issue, he handed to the Communists the handsomest gift they could possibly have received from any American.

Four-fifths of the people of the world are colored. All over the world—in Asia and Europe, in Africa and the Middle East—the Communists have invoked the name of Little Rock to tell colored people that the United States is a land of lynching and repression.

The people of the world know very little of the great steps that we have taken toward integration or of the peaceful changes that are going on here.

But thanks to Faubus’ actions and the Red propaganda that plays upon them, no American can travel abroad without being asked by every foreigner about Little Rock. Harry Belafonte recently made a European tour. Everywhere he went, he said, that was the first question asked him.

Is Faubus unwittingly playing a pro-Communist game?

Or is he deliberately aiding the Soviet propaganda machine?

These questions may well be asked on the basis of information which CONFIDENTIAL has turned up and which we are now able to make public nationally.

The fact is this:

Governor Orval Faubus studied at a special school operated by the Communist Party for the purpose of training Commie organizers and agitators.

Among the courses taught there was one entitled “The Art of Propaganda.”

Faubus was not just another student at the Communist institution. He was an active student leader. He was head of the student body.

He was the principal speaker at a May Day celebration—the traditional holiday of the Reds.

The institution was Commonwealth College, located at Mena, Arkansas. It was a peculiar “college” indeed. Students needed no academic qualifications to enter. All that was required was a proper “social orientation.”

It was also accused before an Arkansas Joint Legislative Committee of being a nest of “free love” in the Communist tradition of disregard of ordinary standards of sexual morality.

Commonwealth was forced out of business in 1940 by an Arkansas court—but it is still listed as “subversive and Communist” by the Attorney General of the United States and it stands condemned as pro-Soviet by the House Un-American Activities Committee.

The school’s instructors included several individuals who later were featured in spy probes and Communist investigations. (Continued on next page)
Among the visiting lecturers was Harold Ware who founded the underground Communist cell in Washington which was later to be exposed by Whittaker Chambers in the Hiss case.

Ware was the son of the famed Communist leader, Ella "Mother" Bloor, who also lectured at Commonwealth. Ware was killed in an automobile accident in 1937.

Some further idea of Commonwealth's "social orientation" may be obtained from the way the place looked.

A visitor about to enter the main door stepped on a large concrete slab. Cut into the slab was the Communist emblem—the hammer and sickle.

Inside the main hall the visitor saw two huge portraits. They were pictures of Lenin and Stalin.

And Commonwealth's attitude was also expressed in a telegram it sent on November 7, 1933, to the Soviet Ambassador, Maxim Litvinoff. The telegram read:

"Commonwealth has long recognized Soviet Russia and its tremendous significance to the future of economic planning. It extends greetings and felicitations to Soviet Russia's able representative and invites him to visit and inspect Commonwealth, a worker's college at Mena, Arkansas, which supports itself by running a kolkhoz or collective farm. Wire answer collect. Commonwealth College, Mena, Arkansas."

The director of this "worker's college" was one Lucien Koch.

On February 16, 1935, a Joint Committee of the Arkansas Legislature launched an investigation of Commonwealth after charges had been publicly made that it trained Communist agitators for work in the farm belt. Faubus admitted being there at the time. Lucien Koch's political approach may be judged by his following testimony before the Joint Committee:

"Q. Do you believe in God?"

"A. No . . ."

"Q. Do you believe in the Constitution of the United States?"

"A. I am convinced that I believe in it more thoroughly than the planters of the Eastern part of Arkansas."

"Q. Do you believe in the Constitution of the United States?"

"A. I answered that question . . ."

"Q. Do you respect the American Flag?"

"A. I refuse to answer because I consider it as having no bearing on the investigation. I refuse to answer without advice of counsel . . ."

"Q. Do you believe in Capitalism?"

"A. I do not believe in Capitalism, as it is now operated . . ."

Courses taught at Commonwealth included one in "orientation" which stressed the "benefits" of Soviet life over U. S. capitalism; the menace of Fascism and the need for social revolution; the Marxist-Leninist approach to current events; and public speaking and creative writing.

Creative writing consisted largely of preparing copy for mimeographed leaflets to be used in "worker's struggles," while public speaking consisted largely of translating revolutionary jargon into American terms."

The teachers were as unusual as were the courses they taught. Among them was a Mildred Price who in 1932 was to take the Fifth Amendment when asked by a Senate Subcommittee whether she was a Communist agent.

At Commonwealth, the teachers were not paid salaries. They received room, board, laundry and, as Miss Price testified, about $1.50 a month for incidental expenses.

This, then, was the school which Orval Faubus attended.

Was Faubus an ignorant and unsuspecting kid when he studied at Commonwealth?

He was a full-grown man of 25 and he had already been teaching school for seven years when he went to Commonwealth. Just five months before he was elected president of the student body the Legislative committee had begun its investigation of the place and news of its probe had been trumpeted to every corner of Arkansas.

Newspapers outside America reported that Gov. Faubus' actions alienated half the world's peoples against USA.
"Was Faubus just an ordinary student at this training academy for Commies? Here are some of the things the school paper, "Commonwealth College Fortnightly", had to say about him.

In its issue dated "May Day, 1935" the paper carried an article headed "United Front in Student Elections." The story read:

"The united front at Commonwealth was carried to the student body for the first time when all factions agreed on candidates for student body offices.

(Translation from Commie jargon into plain English: In accordance with the Reds' usual custom, there was only one name on the ballot for each office. There were no opposition candidates.)

"Orval Faubus, young farmer-schoolteacher from Combs, Arkansas, and Arthur Leche of Cincinnati, were each elected to two offices.

"Faubus is both student body president and member of the Disciplinary Committee."

The same issue of the paper announced on Page One: "Gala May Day Program Planned." May Day is the Communists' greatest celebration, marked by Reds all over the world.

The Fortnightly's story said:

"The principal afternoon talk will be by Orval Faubus on "The Story of May Day.""

Commonwealth also selected Faubus as one of three student delegates to the "All-Southern Conference for Civil and Trade Union Rights", a Communist-inspired meeting in Chattanooga.

The Fortnightly reported afterwards that the conference had met with "vigilante terror" and that a "mob of vigilantes" had caused the landlord of the meeting hall to cancel the lease and force the group to meet elsewhere.

The "vigilantes" were members of the American Legion in uniform.

And, ironically enough, among the resolutions on the conference agenda were some which demanded full integration—not just school integration—for Southern Negroes.

What did Faubus do after he left the Communist training academy?

He has always drawn a veil over this period of his life. He went to the West Coast for reasons which he has never specified more than in the vaguest terms.

At any rate, Faubus eventually returned to Arkansas and began his political career.

In 1954, when Faubus was contemplating running for Governor, he went to friends and asked whether or not he ought to admit the Commonwealth connection. He decided not to do so.

In filling out the biography required of gubernatorial candidates, he omitted all mention of Commonwealth, saying merely that he had received "all my higher education in the State of Arkansas."

During the campaign, a reporter for the Arkansas Democrat got a glimmer of the truth and asked Faubus whether he had gone to Commonwealth.

Here is Faubus' answer:

"That is not true. I have never been a student or faculty member at the school and never attended a class there."

Faubus' opponent, the then Governor Francis A. Cherry, knew that statement to be a lie.

He said so, documenting his statements with copies of the Commonwealth Fortnightly.

In the course of a few days, Faubus told six different stories about his connection with Commonwealth.

First he had been there only two days, discovered what the place was and then left.

Next, he had been there a week. Then, 10 days. Then, two weeks. And so on.

Faubus said he had gone there because he had received a scholarship in the mail. He didn't know who had been so kind as to (Continued on page 62)
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One taxicab driver who plays the usually profitable Waldorf towers on the 50th Street side of the Waldorf Astoria where the Windsors reside in suite 28-A when they’re in New York City explains David’s technique:

"His Darkness usually ties on the feedbag at one of three classy joints; the Colony, El Morocco or Le Pavillon. If he’s with a party he takes the far seat in the cab so someone is sure to beat him to the cab fare. If he should get stuck near the door which he generally ain’t, he’s got another gimmick. He may not talk like a dead clam right up to the minute I stop. Then suddenly he starts talking and pretending not to notice. Naturally someone else hands me the money. If he takes the cab alone he’ll walk a little way down towards Lexington Avenue so as not to tip the doorman. When I get him to where he’s going he’ll bring out a brand new folded in a gold clip. He makes a face if the bills I hand up the tab. He doesn’t find it necessary particularly in the United States. It is easy for him to honor, with a royal smile, the 110 miles from Huntsville to Commonwealth. If he had actually done that, he would have passed the bar of four Arkansas state institutions of higher learning, any one of which might well have admitted him.

Cherry’s documented proof did not save Faubus for. For one thing, Faubus, then as now, was a superb propagandist, an expert at stirring up the backwoods and so molding truth with half-truth that the voters lost all sight of the essentials.

For another, McCarthyism was in its dying days and people everywhere were inclined to discount charges of Communist influence. Even the liberal Arkansas Gazette, the state’s most influential paper, swung against Cherry on the ground that he was “Red-baiting” and supported Faubus, to the everlasting regret of its liberal editor, Harry Ashmore, who has since been one of Faubus’ prime targets.

Among those who cheered Faubus’ election was the official Communist paper, The Daily Worker, which proudly announced that he had “had the backing of labor and liberal elements.”

One interesting question asked during Faubus’ campaign was whether or not he had committed a felony.

During World War II, Faubus had been drafted, sent to officers’ training camp and commissioned. After the war, he retained his commission in the reserve.

Under the law, a reserve officer must sign a loyalty oath each year. The form asks whether he is or has ever been a member of a number of organizations which are listed by name. Among those organizations is Commonwealth College.

Faubus had last signed that form in February, 1954.

A group of Arkansas Republicans demanded to know whether or not he had admitted going to Commonwealth.

They offered to contribute $1,000 to Faubus’ campaign if he would make public the oath as he had signed it. And to prove they weren’t kidding, they put the cash into escrow at a bank.

Faubus never attempted to collect the money.

Whatever Faubus swore to the Army, one thing is certain: As a young man, he took some of the training which the Communists designed for their organizers and agitators.

Which brings us back to the original question: Is he now playing the Communist game unwittingly?

Or is he deliberately allying the Reds?

DUKE OF WINDSOR (Continued from page 15)
December 19, 1958

Mr. Phelps Phelps
Hotel Robert Treat
Newark, New Jersey

Dear Mr. Phelps:

My apologies for the delay in acknowledging receipt of your very well-considered contribution toward the educational substitute which has been made available to some of the Negro high school students in Little Rock. It was my desire to add this personal note to the official receipt, and time has been so pressing that I am only now able to write.

The reservations which you express as to these educational substitutes are certainly well taken and are responsible for the reluctance of the NAACP to sponsor anything which would have the character of privately subsidized segregated schools. At the same time, however, we feel it imperative to salvage whatever we can of the educational year for these students so long as the principle involved is not sacrificed. Your contribution has joined that of a number of our branches which have also chosen to provide funds to meet the cost of the correspondence courses in which these students are now enrolled.

No one would have predicted, I believe, that the extremity of closed schools would ever have been more than a threat. The threat has materialized, however, and the prospects, I fear, are that there may be others before the situation is solved. At the same time we choose to take some comfort in the assumption that the very extremeness of the resort is an indication that the bag of tricks is about empty and that in the very near future the subsequent steps must te in a positive rather than a negative direction.

I do not need to say that your sentiments and your willingness to translate them into financial reality are very deeply appreciated.

Very sincerely yours,

John A. Morsell
Assistant to the Executive Secretary

Enclosure
Hotel Robert Treat  
Newark, New Jersey  
November 18, 1958

Director, NAACP  
20 West 40th Street  
New York, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

Yesterday's editorial suggestion by the New York World Telegram and Sun, that the NAACP undertake a financial campaign for the education of colored students in Little Rock, Arkansas, whose parents cannot afford an extension course during the current civil rights dispute, is very impressive. I hope you will accept the enclosed check as the start of such a worthy drive. I understand this will enable one student to take advantage of the extension course for one year.

It is unfortunate that such a campaign is necessary for any student in Arkansas, for if outside help is given, the day may be only prolonged when we shall see the integration of schools there, as called for by the Federal courts and in our Constitution. Moreover, such contributions permit city residents to escape their educational taxes, at least for the time being. And naturally, under such conditions, some residents will be in no great haste to see the problem resolved.
However, as the World Telegram and Sun points out, it seems unfair and unnecessary that the colored students whose parents cannot afford the extension course should be the principal martyrs to the cause. Since contributions are being sent from outside the state for the education of white students, I believe it is in the interest of justice that they should also be sent for the education of colored students. Are not we all God's children?

Sincerely,

Phelps Phelps
(Former Ambassador to the Dominican Republic)

P.S.

(cc to W.T. & Sun)
December 22, 1958

MEMORANDUM

TO: Mr. Wilkins
FROM: Henry Lee Moon

Attached are (1) a UPI dispatch concerning a ruling by the Arkansas State Supreme Court today and (2) suggested comment on the decision by Robert L. Carter.

Bob informs me that George Howard, our Arkansas lawyer, told him that all three cases had been decided adversely and that the court had indicated that the Alabama decision was not apposite to the Arkansas case.

I have not released Bob's statement.

attach.
The Arkansas State Supreme Court today upheld by a 4-2 vote the constitutionality of the state law requiring the NAACP to submit the names of its members in order to receive tax privileges as a non-profit organization. The opinion said that the NAACP is not being required to submit any information that is not also required of other non-profit organizations benefiting under the tax laws. This is a law that has been in effect since 1887.
Arkansas Court Tells NAACP to Bare Data

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., Dec. 22 (AP)—The Arkansas Supreme Court ruled today that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People must ship lists and financial data if it was to remain a tax-exempt organization.

The high court upheld $25 fines levied against two NAACP officers who had refused to divulge such data in violation of 1957 ordinances enacted by the cities of Little Rock and North Little Rock.

The officers, Mrs. L. C. Bates, of Little Rock, and Mrs. Birdie Williams, of North Little Rock, had resisted the ordinances on grounds they would be subjected to harassment and possible bodily harm.

They charged compliance with the ordinances would be a violation of their constitutional rights.

In its ruling on two suits filed by Mrs. Bates and Mrs. Williams, the high court upheld lower court decisions against them. The two suits were combined in a single opinion as the issues were almost identical.

At Pine Bluff, Ark., George Howard, NAACP attorney, said the State Supreme Court ruling would be appealed to the U. S. Supreme Court. Mrs. Bates, president of the Arkansas chapter of the NAACP, had no comment.

A separate court opinion affirmed the right of the State of Arkansas to collect a $50 annual franchise tax against the NAACP, retroactive to 1951.

The high court said an Alabama case, where a similar law was overturned by the U. S. Supreme Court, did not affect today's ruling as the Alabama law clearly was designed to put the NAACP out of business in that State.
SUGGESTED COMMENT ON ARKANSAS DECISION BY ROBERT L. CARTER

We are unable to make any definitive comment until we have had an opportunity to read the Arkansas opinion. But it appears that that decision is in conflict with a ruling by the United States Supreme Court in the Alabama case. The Court held in that case that the NAACP need not submit its membership list. We are reasonably certain to appeal the Arkansas decision to the United States Supreme Court but final determination of our action must await a study of the complete text of the Arkansas court's opinion.