

Southern Students Back Supreme Court

(Editor's Note: As members of the Salem College Student Government Association, we are the affiliate of the United States National Student Association. This summer, our official delegate to the USNSA Convention, Margaret MacQueen, president of the Student Government Association, voted in favor of the Southern Declaration, which was passed by our whole district. The Declaration is in complete harmony with our position as stated on page 1. We reprint it here as an example of the approach that should be taken to the problem of integration in the public schools and as the type of leadership, which we feel is reasonable and effective.)

Southern Declaration

We are proud of the Southern community. We are, however, painfully aware of the tremendous problem that faces our respective states in the realm of constitutional desegregation of segregated schools.

We are also aware of the great national problem of establishing democratic race relations, but we realize that perhaps in our community the problem is more acute because it involves statutory discrimination while the basic problem elsewhere is basically one of sociological and policy implementation.

We are in complete agreement with the USNSA Resolution on Desegregation which states that segregation in education by race is incompatible with human equality. We also realize that segregation in education is now unconstitutional and is at cross purposes with the American way of life and body of law.

Though we are proud of the Southern community's way of life, we do not feel that a system that denies equal opportunity to some citizens is either necessary or desirable as a part of that way of life.

We further declare that until this system of forced inequality of opportunity is finally dissolved, the true qualities of dynamic regional progress which are the true keynotes of the Southern way of life cannot come to fruition.

We are personally opposed and will work to defeat all actions, legislative or otherwise, which in effect frustrate and prevent the obligation and right of local committees to progress toward compliance with the decision of the Supreme Court. We do also stand unalterably opposed to any demagogery or attempts to use the highly emotional issue of desegregation for personal, social, financial or political gain.

Finally, we are deeply cognizant of the tremendous obligation that we as Southern student leaders personally bear to supply intelligent and forward-looking leadership to our home communities in squarely meeting the problem of constitutional integration, in working with other students in the South in developing an intelligent program of leadership in this area, and involving all other students possible in our local academic communities and schools throughout the South in meeting the problem.

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Southern Author Gives New Views on Race Issue

Reprinted from the Winston-Salem Journal-Sentinel.

By H. Clay Ferree

Since the Supreme Court decision on desegregation was handed down in 1954, there has been no end to speeches, articles and books on the Southern racial problem, many of them by Southerners.

Somewhat different is a new book by James McBride Dabbs, a South Carolina planter, lay church leader and business man. In *The Southern Heritage* (Alfred A. Knopf, 273 pp. \$4), Mr. Dabbs presents the view of a thoughtful, conscientious, open-minded Southerner on race relations.

Thinking Out Loud

In this book he does a lot of thinking out loud on the racial problem. In this thinking he tries to go to the roots of traditional Southern thought and feeling on the Negro question, reveal its "why," and point out the errors and fallacies upon which the segregation philosophy and practices have been erected.

In his youth, Mr. Dabbs, a Presbyterian elder and president of the Southern Regional Council, gave, he says, little thought to the racial question. During his boyhood (he was born in 1898), the race problem was pretty well under cover in the South.

Following the Red Shirt campaigns of the late '90's, the Jim Crow laws designed to "put the Negro in his place" had about all been enacted. In his native state, South Carolina, the two races were living together in comparative peace, and many seemed to think that the race problem had been settled for good.

Two years before his birth the Supreme Court in *Plessy vs. Ferguson* had enunciated its famous "separate but equal" doctrine which was to govern interracial affairs in the South until May 17, 1954. Segregation and the master-servant relationship was largely taken for granted. So despite a few contacts with integration during World War I in the Army and later as a graduate student at Clark University, Mr. Dabbs gave little serious thought to the race problem until much later in adult life.

His first concrete concern with this issue came when Olin Johnston, then Governor of South Carolina, called the legislature into session for the purpose of amending the laws to prevent Negroes from voting in the state Democratic primaries.

Disturbed by Move

This move offended Mr. Dabbs' sense of equity and justice. From then on he became increasingly interested in inter-relations. He began to look at the whole Southern political and economic structure. As an active church layman he turned his attention to the attitudes and practices of the religious bodies and experienced something of a shock when he ran across the disturbing fact that some members of the Christian faith evidently were willing to give up their church

rather than segregation.

In his study of the Southern attitude, Mr. Dabbs accepts the guilt complex idea emphasized by Lillian Smith in *The Time Is Now*. He undertakes to show how an enormous weight of guilt cumulative through years of injustice and discrimination, has fixed itself upon the South to serve as an unconscious urge toward further wrongs and excesses. He endeavors also to show how economics and the struggle for status and security within the white race have brought their influence to bear upon the problem. The role of those community and political leaders who have exploited the race issue for their own purposes is also examined under the Dabbs microscope.

Fear of Mixing

But the core of the whole present problem is the strong, almost fanatic, fear of race amalgamation or "mongrelization." This amalgamation in fact has been going on for a long time through sexual relationships between white men and Negro women, although miscegenation is much less common today than in slavery and Reconstruction days.

But the concern of the whites is with possible alliances of Negro men with white women. The white South would impose the double standard. Its women must be protected from the lustful Negro male. If the white male wanders off the reservation, that is a different matter. But integration would bring white and Negro youth of both sexes into intimate contact. It would speed the day when the legal bans against intermarriage of the races would break down.

As the author sees it, this fear has hardened the resistance of many Southern white against integration.

With factual data and plausible argument Mr. Dabbs endeavors to show that this fear is groundless; that the mongrelization bogeyman is a mere scarecrow. In areas of the nation where intermarriage is legal the number of such unions, he points out, are, comparatively speaking, infinitesimal.

Stamp of Sincerity

There are many flaws which might be picked in the author's arguments and theories. He does not qualify as a sociologist or scientist. There may be those who feel that he is just another Southerner who has fouled his own nest by writing a book that will please the Yankees and the NAACP.

But *The Southern Heritage* bears the stamp of sincerity. It contains the quiet, earnest musings of a cultured, intelligent Southerner who loves the South and trembles for its uncertain future. More's the pity, that, as Ralph McGill has pointed out, almost all those who read the book will be persons already basically in agreement with Mr. Dabbs. It needs to be read by all Southerners, segregationists or not, who, in the words of the author "love the South so much they want to make it better."

Tense Racial Issue Remains Unsettled

By Susan Foard

Until last week the segregation issue had centered in Little Rock, Arkansas and in Virginia. But on Sunday morning October 5, three dynamite blasts wrecked the high school in Clinton, Tenn. Eleven Negro pupils had been admitted here since 1956. They, along with 860 white students, started back to school Thursday in a Federally-owned school-building in Oak Ridge, ten miles from Clinton. Damage from the blast was estimated at \$300,000. The FBI was called in to investigate.

Interviewed in Greensboro immediately after the Clinton blast, John Kasper was joyous, calling it "a great victory for the white people of Tennessee." Kasper is in North Carolina to organize a new political party. He hopes it will keep the "left-wing integrationists" out of public office. Among these men, he numbers Attorney General Malcolm B. Seawell and Governor Luther Hodges. The party is to include Klansmen, the White Citizens Council and other pro-segregationists. It will be based on nationalism and will advocate the expulsion of all Jews and Negroes from America.

Events in Arkansas have been moving rapidly and are by no means settled. Gov. Faubus had planned a private corporation to lease the four high schools and to use state funds for the segregated classes. But on September 12, the Supreme Court condemned "evasive schemes for segregation". Then the two judges of the Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals issued a temporary order restraining the school boards from leasing their buildings. This order was extended to October 15. Deputy U. S. Marshals have also served orders restraining public school teachers from working for the private school corporation.

As a result, Faubus put into action his second plan. He has sent 25,000 letters to people who had written in support of his stand. These letters ask for money to supplement the private buildings he has requested from Little Rock citizens.

Last week the Supreme Court handed down a joint decision on the Little Rock situation. This ruling declared that "Law and order are not to be preserved by depriving the Negro children of their constitutional rights . . . The constitutional rights are not to be sacrificed or yielded to the violence and disorder which followed upon the actions of the Governor and Legislature."

On Monday, October 14, the Supreme Court rejected an appeal of the lower court orders. These orders forbade Gov. Faubus from using the Arkansas National Guard troops to prevent Negro pupils from entering the Little Rock schools.

In Virginia Governor Lindsay Almond, Jr., closed and took control of nine integrated schools in Warren County, Charlottesville and Norfolk. Classes for the 13,000 children were set up in homes, lodges and churches.

But District Judge John Paul ordered Warren County and Charlottesville to stop using public school teachers and public funds for these private classes. He did not reopen the schools because this issue is already before state courts.

In Norfolk the NAACP was in effect told to name Gov. Almond as the defendant in its motion to reopen the schools, rather than the city council. This was a result of the governors' closing of the integrated schools, following the "massive resistance" laws passed by the Virginia Legislature. The Norfolk city council has started preparation for a referendum on Nov. 11. The choice would be between the opening of the schools on a segregated basis as prescribed by state laws or on an integrated basis with an annual tuition of \$60 per child.

Elsewhere, in Charlotte, N. C. the state president of the NAACP, Kelley M. Alexander urged last week that the Negro parents insist on an extension of the state's token integration. He said, "Negro parents realize that necessary adjustments must be made by school boards but it should not take a lifetime to make this adjustment."