

# Two Years Of Turmoil: The Road Of Moderation

Two years ago this morning the Supreme Court of the United States handed down the decision that has caused the Southland to shake visibly. The shaking has not yet stopped.

Chief Justice Warren read the unanimous decision:

"We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of separate but equal (sic) has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."

The decision has become known in the past two years by terms that strike deeply into the hearts of Southerners: Integration; Desegregation. And it has made another term mean more for the Negroes of this nation: Segregation.

The original decision was followed by more specific rulings by the Supreme Court. Segregated interstate transportation was declared illegal. Negroes were given the right to use municipal entertainment areas, such as golf courses and public beaches. And they were given, by the Supreme Court, the right to attend the public schools they wished to attend.

Along with the decision has come a whole new vocabulary for the South. People who never heard of Interposition and Nullification started using it almost every day. The word Patriot took on a new meaning. A Manifesto, which formerly implied a doctrine of the communist-thinking peoples, became, for some people, another wedge to stick in the way of the court.

It wasn't just a new vocabulary that developed in the Southland. People's emotions developed, too, sometimes to the breaking point. Sometimes people, white people, got so emotional over the desegregation opinion that they killed. Sometimes people, Negro people, were given a fierce new hope by the court's ruling, and they tried their hardest to bring equality under the law of the South.

In North Carolina the people watched the desegregation decision affect their daily lives, and they were more moderate and sensible about it than some of their fellow Southerners. Yet some people, stubborn people in public offices, became rabble-rousers overnight, trying to appeal to the people's emotions.

A professor in the University's Medical School, who believes the Negro people are biologically inferior to the whites, was named president of a statewide organization called the Patriots of North Carolina Inc. Dr. George (whose writings appear on the opposite page) was serious in his belief that the

Patriots could do a great deal to keep North Carolina segregated. But there are people who watched Dr. George at an Orange County meeting of the Patriots, and who remarked that he did not seem pleased at the emotional appeal exercised by one of the rabble-rousing speakers.

Many of the students on this campus believe that segregation is good, and that integration is bad. This newspaper does not share that belief. This newspaper believes that Negroes were created equal to whites, biologically and every other way, and that if they are given the chance to attend the same schools and live the same lives as their white contemporaries, they will rise to the positions of leadership that heretofore have been reserved for people with white skins.

In the past two years, North Carolina and the UNC campus have, perhaps, shown considerable moderation on the subject of segregation-integration. That moderation is good. It is the only way we can pull ourselves out of the near-utter confusion that has come from the court's ruling two years ago this morning. But simple moderation is not enough. We must be moderate and, at the same time, work toward implementation of the Supreme Court's decision.

Other areas in the South have not behaved as well as North Carolina, and in some cases North Carolina has not used its intelligence very well. Yesterday's newspapers told of the charges of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People that in 19 N. C. counties Negroes have been denied the right to vote.

In a county in Tennessee, one of our students reports, the sheriff sits by the ballot box, gun in his hand. And in Mississippi, which with Louisiana forms the most backward area in North America, there is the story of an elaborate spy network set up by the governor of that state, to be the "eyes and ears" of Mississippi's fight to maintain segregation.

On the campus, there is a sad lack of initiative to implement the court's decision where it could be implemented easiest.

The University, in what was obviously a "We tried — we're sorry" action, fought the entrance of three undergraduate Negroes to this campus. It lost. But the University has shown nothing but backwardness in refusing to allow white students to share the same dormitory floor with Negroes. Elsewhere on the campus, white students are stacked three in a room.

But there are hopeful signs. In Alabama, where hoodlums attacked singer Nat (King) Cole, the people seemed in sympathy with Cole, even though he is a Negro. (But, on the other side, a Charlotte disc jockey was fired for expressing his opinion about the incident.)

In Leaksville this week, a former mayor resigned from the Patriots organization in that area, charging the group had become "the opposite of patriotic." What he should have added (but he would not have been welcome in Leaksville if he had) is that the Patriots of North Carolina Inc. are just the present-day counterparts of the Ku Klux Klan.

North Carolina's future, we feel, in the battle between segregation and integration is almost secure. Our leaders, if they can shake off the pressures of the Patriots and the reactionaries, can arrive at a moderate course toward implementation of the court's decision.

The other states in the South, we fear, will not fare so well. They will be beset, for quite some time, by murders and lynchings and hangings and, maybe, by resignation of the Negro race to the fate of continued segregation. Such a fate will, in time, place those states in the backward class of Mississippi and Louisiana.

During the past two years of turmoil in the South, there has emerged a tiny segment of the people that wants the moderate course toward desegregation. With help from God, that segment will grow and the people will be free.

## TWO YEARS LATER:

# The South's Standing Today

'Are All These Kids Yours? ...'

John Popham

(The following summary of the standing of the United States two years after the Supreme Court's ruling that segregation is unconstitutional is reprinted from last Sunday's New York Times)

CHATANOOGA, Tenn. — Next Thursday will be the second anniversary of the Supreme Court's historic ruling that public school racial segregation laws are unconstitutional.

In the intervening months the issue of compliance with the court's decision has posed a domestic dilemma of vast social and political implications.

The court itself clearly recognized the great complexity of the problem when it waited until May 30, 1955, to hand down in writing a final decree that set forth a formula designed to help the school systems accommodate to the new legal principle.

This decree set no specific time limit for compliance and emphasized that the problem was one calling for extended consultation at both court and community levels. To this end the court entrusted the mechanics of transition to local Federal district courts and local school districts.

These two units together, the court directed, should "assess" their situations, recognize the administrative "complexities," insure a "prompt and reasonable start" and do the job with "all deliberate speed" as quickly as "practicable" in the circumstances.

### VARIED REACTION

The desegregation order affected seventeen states and the District of Columbia, where Negro and white students were required by law to attend separate schools. Reaction to the order in this area has ranged from grudging acceptance to violent protest.

In border states and in some mountain counties throughout the region where some localities have Negro populations as low as 1 to 12 per cent, there has been successful compliance.

But in the traditional Southland, where Negro population in some counties runs as high as 50 per cent and more, and where economic and social forces are strongly buttressed by prevailing racial customs, there has been hardening resistance and a militant search for stratagems to circumvent the court order.

This is the situation on the second anniversary of the desegregation order: **THE SCORE**

Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri, Oklahoma and Texas have made starts on desegregation. These beginnings range in degree from West Virginia's compliance in all but five of its fifty-five counties, to Texas' compliance in sixty-five school districts situated in sections that account for about 10 per cent of the state's Negro students.

In all of these states except Texas there are official policies at some upper level of government calling for desegregation of schools.

Arkansas, Tennessee, North Carolina and Florida are awaiting further action at both court and state government levels. In Arkansas three small school dis-



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tricts with fewer than fifty Negro pupils now have mixed classes, but recent proposals to circumvent desegregation have been approved by Gov. Orval Faubus, a candidate for re-election this year.

### DELAY IN TENNESSEE

In Tennessee there is only one desegregated area — the high schools of Oak Ridge, the Federal atomic installations community.

Florida has no desegregation in its public schools, and a committee has been named to seek "legal sanctions" for maintaining segregated schools.

Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina and Virginia are strongly opposed to the desegregation order. Mississippi, Georgia and South Carolina have adopted "last resort" legislative measures to abolish their public schools rather than desegregate.

Alabama has a "placement" law allowing the assignment of school children and will vote this year on a measure to give parents "freedom of choice" to send pupils to separate or mixed schools. Louisiana had a "police power" law for assignment of school children on the statute books until a Federal District Court recently struck it down.

Virginia has moved toward a plan to assign pupil to schools by factors other than race and to permit grants toward private school tuition for pupils whose schools closed or were integrated.

In general, Virginia localities are going ahead with plans to operate schools on a segrega-

ted basis next fall. Through these devices and with legislative resolutions of "interposition" (whereby a state declares that it interposes its sovereignty of the Federal Government, on the asserted grounds that the Federal Government has invaded matters delegated to state control by Constitutional authority) the white majority in the old South has underscored its opposition to the desegregation order.

The Southern Education Reporting Service, a fact-finding agency with headquarters in Nashville, Tenn., reports that in the seventeen-state area and the District of Columbia approximately 256,000 Negro public school students are in "integrated situations" The District of Columbia has completed its desegregation program.

The reporting service defines "integrated situations" as meaning that Negroes either attend formerly all-white schools or formerly all-Negro schools which whites have entered, or are eligible to attend mixed schools in officially desegregated districts but are not electing to do so for one reason or another.

The number in "integrated situation" the service adds, represents about 10 per cent of all Negro student enrollment in the seventeen states and the District of Columbia. All but a very few of the 256,000, however, reside in the border states.

From this variegated pattern of compliance and resistance the most obvious lesson to be drawn is that the Supreme Court deci-

sion did not end segregation in the public schools, but rather intensified many social, economic and political problems.

Surveys have shown that there are at least forty-six private organizations, large and small, formed for the specific purpose of opposing the Supreme Court decision and influencing public opinion.

This spring the school segregation controversy has become a political issue in the primary elections of at least seven states. The political climate has often yielded to counsels of hysteria. In some instances there have been efforts to stifle the region's moderate voices and in others there have been complaints by moderates that extremists in the rest of the country will not hear the South's case "rationally."

The emotional climate of the region has precluded any attempt to disentangle the issue, and view them with impartiality. A principal result of this has been the almost total breakdown of communications between the leaders of the two races. More and more there has been an insistence on the Negro's total surrender to decision-making by white leadership.

It is against these forces and pressures that the legal aspect of implementing the court's desegregation decision has run afoul. At this stage the evidence is that much of the South will not yet accept integrated schools and that a slow, evolutionary program with wise social engineering for local conditions is likely to be the answer.

## IN NORTH CAROLINA:

# Acceptance And No Applicant

Integration on the UNC campus has been accepted calmly by most students. No violence accompanied the admission of three Negro graduates, and the Negro graduate students continue to attend classes and eat in Lenoir Hall as they did before the Supreme Court's ruling years ago.

According to Director of Admissions Douglas Strong, there have been no applications from Negroes for admittance to the Graduate College next fall.

On the public school level, the Governor's Advisory Commission on Education has recommended tuition grants for children assigned to mixed against their wishes. The Commission also is giving authority to any school district to its schools by majority vote.

# A Few Freedoms And Their Use

Curt Matthews  
The Notre Dame Scholastic

During the Mock Convention last week I heard quite a bit about "the principles our school was founded on." No one quite got around to listing just what these principles were since the time was more concerned with what they would be upheld.

However, I think, this oversight can be forgiven since anyone who gets as far as the Gettysburg Address in grade school probably has a good idea of just why we have this institution called the United States of America.

According to Mr. Lincoln's battlefield oratory the most fundamental principle to which our country is dedicated is that of freedom. This has so ever since Thomas Jefferson, and a few men, were able to draft a solid and workable philosophy out of the hodge-podge of revolutionary and liberal thought of the late 1700s.

Through the years this philosophy has broadened, applied and sometimes even changed. Freedom has come to mean many things to many people. Jefferson and his colleagues, starting with four rather basic ones: Freedom of press, freedom of worship, freedom of speech, and freedom of assembly.

But as history, that is, time, place, and social judgment, has demanded, more freedoms have appeared: Freedom of conscience, freedom of movement, and freedom from fear.

(Personally I can't see just what it is that these latter-day freedoms since it seems to me when conscience ceases to be free it is no conscience and that fear and want are part, rightly so, of man's nature. Unless, of course, are meant to imply freedom from unjust laws.)

Along with the Gettysburg Address to something else we should have learned in school about freedom—if not before. That is the meaning of the word. Freedom does not mean right to act under the law. That is the right, as you ought.

To understand freedom in this way, as it is to do as you ought, is essential to an understanding of what freedom means in the practical, that is, to the everyday man in the everyday situation.

Too often people are content to look upon freedom as an end in itself. Something for which to go to war, to preserve.

But, freedom is not an end—it's a means. It means by which man is able to realize his physical, intellectual and spiritual potential. Freedom: The right to do. I think that is what Jefferson had such a solid and fundamental freedom. He seemed to have such a good idea of what should be done—how one ought to do it.

With this idea of freedom in mind we can see the importance of education for those who are to be free. If freedom is the right to do as one ought then he who knows best how he should speak the better we can exercise our freedom of speech. This goes for all freedoms.

Since Jefferson defined those few fundamental freedoms—of speech, of press, of congregation, of worship—they have slowly fallen into disuse.

Freedom of speech is not, though it seems as such, a license to display stupidity. It is you may speak as you ought according to the truth.

It means a politician should not be making promises more properly suitable to a longshoreman in a street fight. As a public figure the politician has a whole new set of standards determining freedom of speech. Freedom: The right to do as you ought.

The violation of the freedom of the press is more widespread and in a sense more subtle, almost any of the other violations of our fundamental freedoms.

Freedom of press to many seems to mean the right to prostitute the press. It seems to mean are justified in sending nine reporters to jail when only four covered the Normandy invasion.

We hear very little about our freedom of assembly. However, judging from its recent use, seems to give the right to congregate in order to throw bricks through plant windows.

Freedom of worship probably makes the most lines more than any other freedom. Some people think that freedom of worship means you have the right to protest the use of the word "God" in school, ported by dollars upon which is written "We Trust."

## The Daily Tar Heel

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