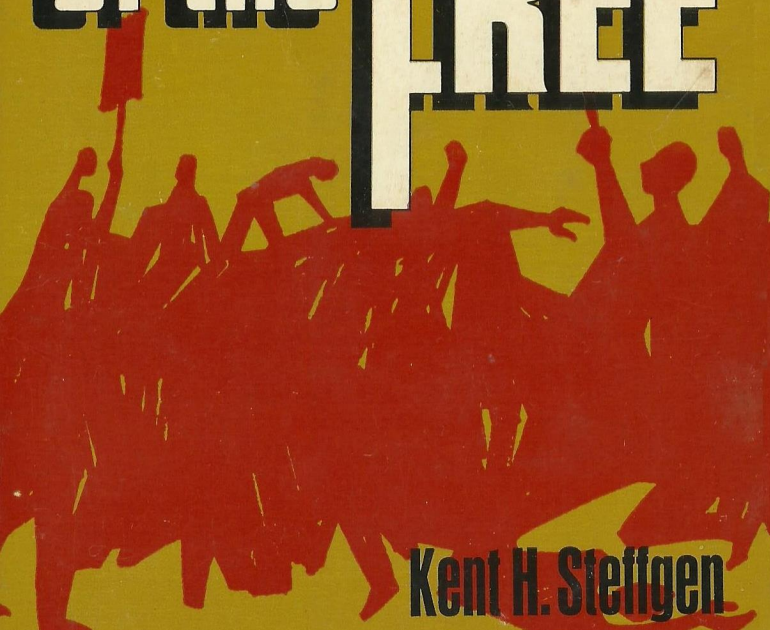


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the BONDAGE of the FREE

by Kent H. Steffgen



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To Louis;
who was right after all.

THE BONDAGE OF THE FREE

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Published by
Vanguard Books, P. O. Box 9111
Berkeley, California
Printed in U.S.A.

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Introduction

What is curiously known as the Civil Rights Movement may once have been someone's legitimate dream to help the Negro. But that must have been during a time and under circumstances when a charitable soul could stretch his imagination without someone running off with his ideas to stake out a political fortune. In the explosive two decades since 1945, civil rights has become to the American people what the flood was to Noah, a deluge; with laws brazenly passed which commit the races to certain conflict with no predetermined limits; intrusions into the private life and political rights of Americans everywhere regardless of their rank or station; the desires of the majority subjected to the arbitrary will of an entrenched minority; all under the disarming phrase, "Rights for the Negro." These are not the symptoms of freedom but of tyranny, the end of which was theoretically marked by the birth of the American system 190 years ago. For all of its promises, the Civil Rights Movement is a naked power grab, thrown to the American people in a period of turbulent transition on the road to socialism.

In the following pages, an attempt is made to explore the Communist claim that race is America's Achilles heel and to follow the history of the rights movement from its beginnings in the post-Civil War (Reconstruction) South. The subject being what it is, highly sensitive and bathed in confusion, there is no real way to be diplomatic and still support the contention—based on facts taken from the public record—

that the rights movement is a ludicrous political sham and a distortion of American ideals. Some will be offended by the evidence presented here, others gratified. The object is not to convert anyone from his chosen philosophy but to fortify popular thought which for the most part already stands at odds to the issue. This makes up most of the population. As to controversy, the nation suffers most for want of exposure to those very features which are thought to be the most sensitive of all, and considering the tremendous political stakes which hang in the balance, I feel it is better to "tear the lid off" at the risk of injured feelings than to add to the political burden by keeping them deliberately concealed.

The rights movement has turned Americans into guests in their own country. Who, then, are the "hosts"? And through what wierd play on words are they able to turn Americans into vassals of the state while the symbols and slogans of freedom are still standing? The success of semantic warfare has demonstrated that Americans either will not or do not know how to wage a political offensive against a collectivist scheme which holds the onus of color over their heads as a psycho-social guilt factor. No one wants to be accused of prejudice, which is natural and understandable. But in order to avoid the accusation, an entire social system and way of life—the consummation of centuries—is being voluntarily abandoned in stages. Here, "conscience" is used as the catalyst for a gigantic political swindle, thus becoming a public burden where it would normally function as a natural barrier against evil. Where one is weighing gains against losses, the exploitation of color has proven to have more penetrating power than bullets or machine gun fire, not because the rights movement is a "just cause," but due mainly to so many people having been thrown off guard by its false dicta.

Rights, as offered to the Negro ostensibly to "liberate" him from the horrors of American life, have no common roots in American political tradition. As conceived by the Founding Fathers, social equality—historically a political tool and the weapon of demagogues — was to give way to *personal equality* as embodied in the fabric of the Constitution, subject only to the desire of individuals to achieve it. That we have lost this important distinction is evidenced partly by our inability to defeat the former at the polls. The hope is that in this treatise, some of the true meaning of the word "equality" will be revived, at least to the satisfaction of the reader. The Constitution was the greatest "civil rights" document ever framed, by contrast with which the Civil Rights Movement supplants the Constitution and marks not the beginning but the end of genuine Negro advancement.

The reaction against civil rights has produced what liberals of all breeds would classify as strong revolutionary potential among Americans against collectivist schemes, something unique for the years in which this nation has been sinking into socialism. The question is, if the reaction is this strong, why hasn't it stopped the invasion? For one thing, the reaction is varied and dispersed. Also, it is greatly misunderstood, being at basis nothing but a legitimate defense of property rights and community values. Too few candidates for public office are inclined to use the issue in spite of its potential, possibly due to feelings of inadequate preparation or timidity. Worst of all, political leadership in the North has misinterpreted the nature of this reaction among the majority of voters. Popular disapproval of civil rights schemes reaches a certain level in national politics, then is "sealed off" and denied political expression. Thus, voters and political leaders are seeing the rights issue from two different angles and are not coming together on an agreed-upon public

policy, a dilemma which can only be remedied by northern leaders acquiring academic insight into those aspects of the problem to which the voters are reacting more or less by instinct.

What is the American reaction to civil rights? That is, aside from continuous lip service given to such platitudes as "equality," "rights," "tolerance," and "brotherhood," what is private-life America actually doing about the problem? What is the caliber of opinion once the doors are closed, the blinds drawn, and people have settled down to the confidence of their intimate few? Moreover, why is this important? Because the way America behaves in strict confidence is the way it votes and to be realistic, an analysis of this kind must be geared to the possibility of a cure. Anything less would be like diagnosing a patient with cancer, then leaving him to die without treatment.

No exposé on the fast-changing face of world affairs today has inherent value to this generation either as history or as scholastic self-indulgence but must take its reward in politics and community problems. The material presented here has an approximate time value of three years, through the 1968 presidential elections, which I believe will be the turning point in U.S. domestic policy. Within the limits of this writer's ability therefore, this book is designed for its practical application to everyday life and affairs.

Thrown on the defensive by a propaganda barrage for which it was almost totally unprepared, the North has ceased to be objective about the Negro or about authentic Negro problems and no longer differentiates accurately between genuine and fictitious prejudice. American social tradition has stopped functioning as a standard of political value while nonetheless embraced unconsciously by well over two-thirds of the population. The tendency now is to confine the civil rights issue to a strictly political context, a policy

which I feel is in fundamental error. The drastic effects of the Civil Rights Movement are starting to appear everywhere. Where denied a line into politics, Americans are forced to deal with these effects in their own community, a majority of which are decidedly outside the political sphere, and this may become a permanent situation. Even where politics is the field of emphasis, analysis will show that the voters are not concerned with civil rights as a "constitutional crisis," even though that is precisely what we now have. In addition, one could safely restrict the subject to its political aspects only if that were all its promoters were using in their drive for power. Quite the reverse is true. To arrive at hoped-for political change by the "backdoor" method, Communists, liberals, and economic pressure groups have commenced the planned breakdown of social customs and are busy fostering a saturnalia of vice and self-indulgence. And would not a population which has adopted a quantitative or collectivistic view of life be out of place under a political system which gives rise to liberty? Or, in the words of Felix Morley, "The mechanical perfection of a political system cannot compensate for the loss of spiritual values among those whom it governs." (*Freedom and Federalism*, Chicago, Henry Regnery, 1959.) The offensives in both the social and political sphere are two parts of one war and must be dealt with as a pair.

The objective here is not to strike a chord between superiority or inferiority but to define American social tradition accurately and show how two races are being forced into conflict when a greater-than-average natural distance already existed between them. The real tragedy of the whole dire episode relates to its complete needlessness and to the insatiable political greed of the unprincipled few who are behind it. Under the American system, there was enough here for everyone regardless of his race or social preference or politi-

cal calling; plenty of room to expand, fresh air to breath, and abundant production to allow all groups to follow their own patterns and operate under their own law without intrusion. This was the tranquil state which characterized American life not twenty years ago. In two short decades, diverse races and social factions accustomed to a formal but preferred "across-town" coexistence, and protected in their sanctity by constitutional safeguards, have been told they must live by each other's code and are preparing to defend themselves, the one against the other, as the nation drifts closer to anarchy. For other "fringe benefits" the Civil Rights Movement may provide, observe a government embarked on a course of tyranny without whose helping hand the efforts of a few thousand trained agitators would have died in infancy.

Every leftwing novice, socialist, communist, leftward-leaning liberal, Nihilist, syndicalist and malcontent who ever had a gripe against the American system has joined hands under the civil rights banner to help transform the struggle for socialism from a non-violent into a violent base. Equal efforts are underway to keep the North from finding its bearings. Yet it is up to the North to make the move if there is to be a solution at all, for the North holds the balance of power in domestic affairs. Before the South could put the pieces together over a century ago, it had been pushed to the wall by this same Civil Rights Movement after first having been crushed and half-destroyed by the Civil War. The North has an advantage by having no war aftermath to overcome as the tyranny of the rights movement draws closer. But bread and circuses have already weakened the nation's moral defenses and given Americans a false sense of security which in the end may turn out to be their greatest hindrance.

KENT STEFFGEN
San Francisco
December, 1965

ONE

Civil Rights The Political Invasion Begins

On June 4, 1965 President Lyndon Johnson went before the student body of all-Negro Howard University in Washington, D.C. and lit the fuse of another time bomb in the expanding turmoil called civil rights. Congress had passed the revolutionary 1964 Civil Rights Bill, and the President's Voting Rights Bill of 1965 had just become law.

President Johnson told the anxious gathering that, in his opinion, legislation was not enough, the battle must now be carried far beyond the Negro's legal rights to the ultimate place of the Negro in American society. America could not, in the President's opinion, be satisfied with having opened the doors of opportunity to the Negro but must now lead the Negro through those doors.

"We seek not equality as a right and a theory," Mr. Johnson said, "but equality as a fact and a result."

The President of these United States went on to explain that the Negro must be compensated for his years of alleged oppression through a drive not just to remove old laws, but to promote a broad sociological transformation and to change the social pattern of decades. The President was at once cheered and praised.

A New York *Times* article on June 5, 1965 remarked that seldom had the President's office been summoned

for such a broad-gauged purpose. The civil rights movement had always been discussed in legal terms; now it was to be expanded into a go-for-broke policy to alter the American social landscape as well. That was the implication. Official integration was one thing—the objective now was *de facto* integration.

To try to measure the kind of sacrifice it may cost the nation to implement these few soft-spoken words before a graduating class of American Negroes, one must visualize the cavernous expanse which separates goal A from goal B in the civil rights struggle. Does available evidence support the view so often heard, that government policies will lead to anarchy long before the Negroes are allowed to reach this other bank? And if so, who stands to reap a harvest from the ensuing turmoil of a precarious philosophy countersigned by the words of a United States President?

The making of a colored revolution involves a more or less predictable cycle of conflict. First, a demonstration. Then, a politician, buried somewhere in the confusion that is modern government, takes up the cause and proceeds to demand preferential legislation. There finally emerge new rights laws and a flank of legal advantages for the Negroes which, for the moment, are nothing more than book entries. Out rush the Negroes to claim these new rights—into a wall of white social mores standing firm. Their first reaction is misunderstanding. After all, weren't they told they could have these privileges? Misunderstanding soon turns to embarrassment and from there into resentment. In the last stage, the Negroes are seen going off on various tangents such as militant black revolution, more peaceful demonstrations, demands for troops and more legislation; sometimes even withdrawal, though this is rare.

It is easy to overlook the role of government in this

skilled execution. With all the publicity thrown onto American community life and traditions, the Negroes suddenly take on a new determination to take by force what the government has told them is theirs by right. You can say that after proceeding on course for roughly 400 years, American life has now become "old school" and should be chastised for refusing to be uprooted on the whims of this season's politicians. But how can a government theoretically "of the people" legitimately barter away the rights of its citizens against their will and over so delicate an issue? When all the facts are in, government (meaning the administration in power) emerges as the chief malefactor with the politician unexcelled in his ability to incite to riot where there once was tranquility.

For the first time, the arm of the central government is brought into the affairs of the state and local community. Exceptionally riotous areas produce grounds for more extensive Federal intervention—bayonet-wielding troops—to quell the disturbances and to establish order. Federal officials seldom stop to realize that order had previously prevailed in the area concerned before the initial invasion of agitators. Cambridge, Maryland has had martial law since 1962 as the result of "rights" demands felt to be unreasonable by the majority of its local citizens.

Both legal regulation and martial law have definite places in the unfolding panorama of socialism, whose leaders are using demonstrations and the "rights" cause as mere window dressing. How could the Civil Rights Movement be designed to dump existing safeguards overboard? Because, under the new legislation Negroes and whites, alike, forfeit their political liberties and a government once held in check by the bonds of the Constitution is free to invade spheres of human interest where *no* "rights" contest ever existed,

and even to project itself into communities which have no Negroes.

If one is cognizant of the control factors in these revolutionary laws before he enjoins himself to examine them, the spectre of tyranny is tempered by an element of calm expectation, which is always desirable. Two former presidents of the American Bar Association, Lloyd Wright and John C. Satterfield, candidly described the 1964 Civil Rights Bill—now Public Law 88-351—as it neared the end of Congressional debate; they said:

If it is enacted, the states will be little more than local government agencies, existing as appendages of the central government and largely subject to its control. The legislation assumes a totally powerful national government with unending authority to intervene in all private affairs among men, and to control and adjust property relationships in accordance with the judgment of governmental personnel.

It is impossible to prevent Federal intervention from becoming an institutionalization of special privileges for political pressure groups. This must lead eventually not to greater freedom, but to an ever-diminishing freedom.

These two nationally respected legal experts concluded:

The civil rights aspect of this legislation is but a cloak; uncontrolled Federal executive power is the body.

Just what are these dangerous provisions of HR 7152, the 1964 Civil Rights Bill which is now Public Law 88-351? How will it affect the everyday life of each American citizen? With this law on the books, what can Americans expect for the future?

The most thorough yet concise coverage of the Bill

is the minority report of six members of the House Committee on the Judiciary who saw in this legislation a Constitutional crisis without parallel in 190 years of American political progress. The six members of the Congress who wrote the Committee's minority report were E. E. Willis, E. C. Forrester, William M. Tuck, Robert T. Ashmore, John Dowdy, and Basil Whitener.

Reviewing the Bill point for point, the minority report finds that under Sections 202 and 203 the President and his appointees are given the power to restrict if not destroy—among other Constitutional guarantees—the rights of free speech and free press! The new law destroys the right of trial by jury in civil rights cases! The right of homeowners to rent, lease or sell their homes to whomever they please is abridged by Sections 601 and 602. The right of realtors and developers of residential property to act as free agents becomes subject to the whims of Federal officials in the field under Sections 601 and 602, while the right of banks, savings and loan associations, and various other financial institutions to make loans or to extend credit in accordance with their best judgment is usurped where such experienced judgment is determined a violation of the new color laws under Title VII.

The 1964 Civil Rights law, which is now in force, destroys seniority rights of union members in locals and in apprenticeship programs (Titles II and VI via Section 711-b). Seniority rights of corporation and other employees are similarly destroyed by Title VII and by Title VI via Section 711-b. Even the seniority rights of civil servants are destroyed by Section 711-a.

The right of unions to select their own members, to establish their privileges and immunities and to determine their relationships to each other now falls under the interpretation of Federal agents under the Executive branch of the central government by Title

VII and Title VI, Section 711-b. Farmers are deprived the right to choose their tenants and employees by Titles VI and VII. Farm organizations become rubber stamps of the central government under Titles VI and VII.

The right of public school and college boards and trustees to establish precedents—or standards—for students and teaching staffs is usurped by the 1964 Civil Rights Law. Places of entertainment and public accommodations no longer have the right to determine their own clientele or to carry on their businesses in the service of their customers; they are now subject to Executive regulation under Titles II, VI and VII. Privately owned and operated inns, hotels, motels, restaurants, cafeterias, lunchrooms, soda fountains, movie houses, theaters, concert halls, sports arenas and similar enterprises become, under this revolutionary law, little more than government operated facilities.

Although voter qualifications were drastically amended in the 1964 Civil Rights Law, the President's Voting Rights Bill of 1965 settled this issue *en toto*. Under this new law, "literacy" is assumed to exist upon the completion of the *sixth* grade. (This novel approach to qualifying voters is discussed in full later on.)

It is now the pleasure of the President and his appointed army of field officials to determine the *right* of litigants to receive equal justice in Federal courts (Section 101-d, Title IX). This means simply that a Negro claiming a violation of civil rights will receive preferential treatment and advantages allowed no others in any other form of legal procedure.

HOW IT WORKS

The power to determine all matters relative to civil rights is now reserved to the Executive branch of government under Public Law 88-351. This Executive authority is then vested in a corps of appointed Federal

inspectors in the field who are suddenly the administrators of vast powers. Citizens will either comply or they will be penalized or go to prison. Under this code, the U.S. Attorney General's office acquires carte blanche to file suits in the name of, or on behalf of, the United States (see page 16 of the Minority Report). All civil rights questions are now Federal matters under this law and may be appealed to, and reviewed by, the Federal courts only. Thus, all jurisdiction is taken away from state and local law enforcement agencies making a mockery out of the Constitution's limitations on the powers of the Federal government.

The Negro is to be made a special protectorate—a ward, in effect—of the Federal government. The Federal court system, under this law, becomes the guardian of the Negro. Privileges and immunities will extend to him which are enjoyed by no other segment of American society. This is the spirit of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The Minority Report goes on to describe, in detail, how each occupational class is to be dealt with.

HOMEOWNERS

Public Law 88-351, together with the companion Executive Order 11063, gives the President, through his army of appointed field inspectors, complete authority to subject every homeowner to Federal control with respect to Negroes. Federal officials are empowered to decide to whom a single room, or several, will be rented or to whom a house will be rented, leased, or sold.

Federal personnel will also dictate the actions of realtors, developers, attorneys and loan agencies (for example FHA and GI financing), national banks or loan associations covered by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation or any other federally financed or guaranteed lending agency. New restrictions also

extend to contractors building homes or apartments and to leasing agencies. Under this provision it becomes a crime subject to fine and imprisonment to refuse to sell one's home to a Negro, thus invalidating private property rights as Americans have enjoyed them for over two centuries.

UNION MEMBERS' SENIORITY RIGHTS

To millions of working men and women, union membership means job security and higher pay. These two benefits rest on the seniority system which has been a part of the labor movement since it was founded. Seniority is the *basis* of unionism. The provisions in the 1964 Civil Rights Act sweep away seniority rights and, like many other clauses in the legislation, began to take effect immediately.

If, for example, 20 men are awaiting call in the hiring hall and 10 of them are white and have seniority, the union agent must ignore these experienced men and take Negroes in order to establish a racial balance on the job. If the union roster does not contain enough Negroes to "racially balance" the job, the union agent must go into the streets and find them even though more qualified whites with seniority rights are standing by in the hall. If the agent fails to do this, or refuses, his local can be held in violation of Federal law.

Neither competence nor experience are the foundation of this preferential privilege—it is strictly *color*. Thus, the right of an individual to pass his trade to his son is seriously jeopardized and the union—if not the future course of free unionism per se—is placed at the discretion of government. Unions found in violation of Title VI, Section 711-b and Title VII may lose their rights and benefits under such labor statutes as the National Labor Relations Act, the Davis-Bacon Act, the Walsh-Healey Act, and other legislation bene-

ficial to labor. Unions could be denied access to NLRB mediation procedures and representation rights, and exclusive bargaining rights could be cancelled.

CONTRACTS

Because the new civil rights law also applies to the employer, it affects unions from the other side. Sections 601 and 602 extend to railroads, motor carriers, airlines and steamship companies carrying mail and other government shipments. Firms receiving loans from the Small Business Administration, contractors financed through the FHA or GI Home Loan Insurance Corporation, the Rural Electrification Program and similar agencies working in conjunction with private enterprise are all placed more firmly under the heavy hand of the central government.

If a Federal agent decides that an employer must hire 100 or 1,000 Negroes—or any number—to make a "racial balance," the union hiring halls must send Negroes *only* until the prescribed quota is met. More experienced, qualified white workers with seniority rights will not be hired until fulfillment of the Federal "racial balance" requirement. Employers will have to comply under threat of blacklisting or cancellation of their contract. From that time on, Negroes will be up-graded into skilled classifications by Federal mandate whether qualified or not.

FARMERS

Farmers will be required to hire people of all races without preference. Under certain conditions they may be forced to hire according to race to achieve a "racial balance" in every job classification. Penalties for violations include withdrawal of direct or indirect Federal benefits, the calling in of farmers' bank loans, blacklisting by government labor recruiting agencies, and/or deprivation of the right to purchase supplies

from farm associations which, themselves, are largely dependent upon Federal money.

Something for all citizens to remember when the threat exists to withhold "Federal money" is that the government has *no* money that has not first been extracted from the citizenry through taxes.

Thus, the farmers *will* hire whomever is designated by a Federal officer regardless of qualifications or be deprived of all Federal aid without which many farmers, today, cannot operate. Under the U.S. Attorney General and the Civil Rights Commission, the agencies required to *police* farmers are: (a) banks for co-operatives, (b) Federal land banks, (c) Federal intermediate commercial banks, (d) production credit associations, (e) the Agricultural Stabilization Service, (f) the Commodity Credit Corporation, (g) the Federal Crop Insurance Corporation, (h) the Agricultural Marketing Service, (i) the Farmer's Home Administration, (j) the Soil Conservation Service, and all other agencies involved in any way with Federal assistance—and that's a lot of agencies.

FREE SPEECH AND PRESS

Race becomes the first criterion for employment on all newspapers and periodicals, and in radio and television. The Act grants the power to make it mandatory that the staff of a newspaper be thoroughly integrated and religiously "balanced" or the owners are in violation of Federal law. Thus, if a television network wants white announcers for commercials, this right is denied. Similarly, a Negro-owned newspaper or broadcasting station may be forced to hire white employees.

Free speech is abridged by the 1964 Civil Rights Act for the first time in United States history. Under Sections 202 and 203 (paragraphs a and e), Title II, a

newspaper giving editorial support to a person advocating race separation in speeches before service clubs or in public—contending that such a policy is in the best interests of both races—is in violation of Federal law. The individual citizen advocating such racial separation (the speaker) is also in violation of the law. Both the newspaper and the speaker are subject to fines and imprisonment.

TEACHERS AND SCHOOLS, PUBLIC AND PRIVATE

The Federal government now has the right to dictate pupil assignments in local schools and to approve faculties under Sections 601, 602 and 711-b, Title IX. The authority to begin integration suits against individuals and states is delegated to the U.S. Attorney General. Again, leverage is exerted through the power of the government to cut off funds. Children who are given lunches under a Federal grant also must study under a Federally approved faculty. All this is based upon the racial composition of classrooms and faculties and may be extended to curricula regarding Negro history or sociological subjects advocating racial mixing. (The United Nations has had such textbooks on the shelves for over ten years.)

BANKS AND BANKERS

If a bank denies employment, loans, credit or sales contracts because of race, the Federal government can cancel its Federal Deposit Insurance, the right to handle GI home loans, FHA, FNMA, SBA or any other government-insured money. The new law goes even further: if a businessman has been found in violation of Federal edicts over the question of race, the bank can be forced to stop doing business with him or lose its FDIC protection for all of its customers.

HOTELS, RESTAURANTS AND THEATERS

Under Title II, proprietors are stripped of their right to decide whom they will or will not serve. Moreover, if a customer becomes objectionable—a Negro, for example, or one of any minority race—and the proprietor has him removed, he does so at the risk of violating one of the new race laws. Places of “public accommodation” are in business to earn a legitimate profit by serving the public; they do not usually cater to one or another race out of personal motives. Consequently they generally follow community customs or they may go out of business. It won’t matter now under Public Law 88-351 which can be used to change community and individual customs and to deny the right to engage in private enterprise.

The new law extends to everyone everywhere who is the recipient of Federal money, and particularly to the branches of the Federal government itself. It has been wisely said that the power to tax is the power to destroy. Nowhere is this better illustrated than in the contribution now made by Americans toward their own downfall under the rights movement. An example of the lengths to which the government will now go to elevate the Negro is seen in the precedent, already being implemented, to move entire military bases away from cities and towns where private businesses are not in the habit of serving Negroes. National defense, education, or the pursuit of one’s career are no longer to be based on necessity or achievement but solely on the presence or absence of Negroes.

The new law creates an Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to police and control hiring, discharge, and terms of compensation, the conditions and privileges of employment of all persons employed by any business or industry “affecting commerce” and which has 25 or more employees (Title VII). Title VI

amends every act authorizing veterans’ benefits, civil service pensions, health and welfare programs, unemployment compensation and Social Security benefits subjecting them to the controls and sanctions provided in the law such as “the termination of or refusal to grant or to continue assistance under such program” (Section 602). (See *Unmasking The Civil Rights Bill, The Dissenting Views*, published by Fundamental American Freedoms, Inc., 301 First Street N.E., Washington 3, D.C.)

American government rests upon a system of checks and balances which were wisely designed to prevent the Federal government from becoming so powerful that it could arrogantly play one minority off against another or to allow one minority to use government facilities to subject the rest of the population. It is unbelievable that Congress could have enacted such a revolutionary law which so flagrantly disregards the constitutional cornerstones of American liberty. Features as basic to individual freedom as property rights are callously negated by this law. Yet even members of Congress who went into office as conservatives gave it their full support. (For a roll call vote of both houses of Congress, see *The Dan Smoot Report* for September 14, 1964; P. O. Box 9538, Lakewood Station, Dallas, Texas.)

Neither the Negroes nor the thousands of liberals and leftward-leaning paragons of socialism can visualize what arbitrary law will mean. For the most part, the civil rights movement is the work of “cloud 9” idealists. The 1964 Civil Rights Act brings the Bill of Rights into juxtaposition, a fact which is well expressed in the summarizing views of the six U.S. Representatives whose findings are covered above:

The destruction of individual liberty and freedom of choice resulting from the almost limitless exten-

sion of Federal Government control over individuals in business (by this bill), rather than being in support of the Bill of Rights, is directly contrary to the letter and spirit thereof.

Judge Learned Hand, in 1958, said in his Oliver Wendell Holmes Lectures: "... the Bill of Rights is concerned only with the protection of the individual against the impact of Federal and State Law."

According to the same Minority Report, this new law will destroy the rights of all citizens, white and Negro alike, who come within its scope. The Minority Report continues:

It is, in the most literal sense, revolutionary, destructive of the very essence of life as it has been lived in this country since the adoption of the Constitution.

It has open-end provisions that give it whatever depth and intensity one desires to read into it. In the language of the Bill, 'The President is authorized to take such action as may be appropriate to prevent . . .' (Section 711-b) and 'Each Federal department and agency . . . shall take action to effectuate . . .' (Section 602). This vests, of course, almost unlimited authority in the President and his appointees to do whatever they desire.

The 1964 Civil Rights Bill was railroaded through the House Committee on the Judiciary without an opportunity for the members of that committee to discuss or debate the measure. Swept into law without proper consideration, and without the general public understanding its revolutionary consequences, this legislation has since added fervor and momentum to the growing radical designs of a number of colored and white organizations throughout the nation. There is heavy Communist and Socialist backing behind this

legislation. Some programs are being formulated within the Communist Party itself, later to become part and parcel of official legislation in the Congress. As of this writing, the most recent piece of civil rights legislation to be signed into law is the President's Voting Rights Bill of 1965. It is known for its nature and timing to coincide not with the Communists' sense of urgency to advance the "cause" of the Negro, but rather with the Communist desire to inhibit the cause of the whites in six southern states by depriving Southerners of effective local governments.

Evidence of Communist influence behind the 1965 Voting Rights Bill was brought to light by syndicated columnist Henry J. Taylor who showed his readers, on April 16, 1965, that the Communists had, in *fact*, written the President's bill:

It is astounding but true that the Communist Party, USA actually planned the Johnson Administration's Voting Rights Act of 1965. (St. Paul *Dispatch*, April 16, 1965.)

To prove this statement, Taylor quoted from a Communist pamphlet outlining its "Lincoln Project" which was launched in December 1956 to determine which counties, in the Southern States, were best suited to stage mass demonstrations:

To implement the Lincoln Project, the Communist Party's Central Committee will begin to dispatch agents to 11 southern states next month (January, 1957) to work with local party leaders in surveying 20 counties, any one of which might be ideally suited as a target for disorder early in 1965.

This survey will continue through 1957, the Central Committee making the choice of 20 counties . . . with the final selection to be made on the estimated most favorable conditions prevailing in 1965.

The legislation which the party will seek from Congress in 1965 has already been prepared by its legal staff. It provides for elimination of all educational requirements, including minimum literacy tests, as qualifications for voting in Federal, state and local elections; voids residence with respect to counties, municipalities and other political subdivisions within a state, and establishes a system of direct Federal supervision and control of the local, county and Federal elective processes.

According to the above quoted Communist Party, USA document, Party leaders began making plans for the 1965 Voting Rights Bill at least seven years before the actual event, and apparently exert sufficient influence in Washington to have brought it off right on schedule. The big question is: How could a United States President knowingly sign into law a bill drawn up by the Central Committee of the Communist Party?

The new Voting Rights law applies to six Southern States only. Fifteen other states—some of them in the North—have literacy tests but are not affected by this law. This means that an illiterate person will, henceforth, be allowed to vote in Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina and Virginia but *not* in many northern and western states which retain their literacy tests. One can settle for the supposition that the actual purpose of the law is voting rights. More to the point, however, is the increased Federal control that will now be applied to the deep South to bring this region into balance with the leverage the central government now holds over the rest of the nation.

In addition, the Voting Rights Act is an *ex post facto* law—one having retroactive effect—and will allow the Federal government to deal arbitrarily with the deep South in a massive attempt to break down southern culture.

Civil rights, without question, introduces into American life the most volatile force in U.S. history. An enormous undercurrent of reaction, tension and animosity is fomenting in all sections of the nation against the effects of this legislation which reach into every facet of social interaction. As a force for social and political revolution, there has never been a greater weapon than the cynical exploitation of color, notwithstanding the way it is advanced as the "new morality." Where Federal statutes once forbade advocating the overthrow of the United States government by force and violence, radicals may now pursue this course under the banner of "rights" linked with the pretense that this is the only way that the Negro can ever be free. Civil rights transforms a left wing revolution for socialism from a non-violent to a violent base within the context of morals as a means of capitalizing on the softest spot in the American makeup.

Hiding behind the Negro, Communists and their fellow travellers will hijack Americans of all their political and social rights and immunities as free individuals and leave them standing there with a guilt complex—stripped of their Constitutional safeguards—confused as to what else can be done to compensate for the plight of the Negro.

That this is the only underlying objective will be gathered from observing how deeply Communists, Marxists, and other alien elements have penetrated the Civil Rights Movement.

TWO

*Communist Influence Behind
The "Negro Revolution"*

Infiltration is hardly an adequate term to describe the current direction of the misnamed "Civil Rights Movement." To join its ranks, restless Negroes had to ignore existing facilities which for other members of their race had produced thousands of successful careers. Personal initiative, hard work and self-development had to be rejected as the legitimate bases of achievement and a struggle begun to have the state provide what the more rebellious Negroes refused to claim in open competition with others. If the American system had fallen short of its goals, why not correct and improve it so as to provide a broader basis of opportunity? This would be the logical thing to do. But not by the "rights" metaphor. The unmistakable course of the "Negro Revolution" is toward power, not opportunity, and from a review of the record there is nothing to suggest that it ever had a higher purpose.

While given to violence among themselves, the tendency of Negroes in history toward mass movements has been almost non-existent, much less toward organized rebellion against white governments. That is, other than where white mercenaries were on hand to exploit them. Facts simply do not support the idealistic view that the Civil Rights Movement is a "just cause" that has been infiltrated and betrayed by

the Communists. Unless the Twentieth Century has produced momentous changes in human nature, the Civil Rights Movement was conceived and fashioned by the Communists from its inception, then disguised as a struggle for human betterment in order to drive a wedge into American society by degrees.

Federal investigating agents took their first serious look at Communist influence within mass Negro organizations during the late 1930's when it became evident that Moscow was beginning to measure the Negroes as suitable revolutionary material. In 1940 the House Committee on Un-American Activities (chairman, Rep. Martin Dies) made public the pattern of Communist techniques used to organize the Negroes, some studies dating back as far as 1928. Maps drawn in Moscow were discovered detailing large sections of the South which Communist agitators promised were to become a "Black Republic." (See *Negroes*, American Opinion Magazine, May 1965, Belmont, Mass.)

The basis for this recruitment was race hatred, the alleged natural reaction for thousands of years of white maltreatment. Retribution, the Negroes were promised, would be had here in the U.S.A. through the help of experienced Communist "liberators"—the only ones who could lead the Negro to victory. Former Congressman Martin Dies, who conducted this investigation, describes how the Negro was fed with tales of his subjection, of the disproportionate burden he had to bear next to other Americans. The Negro was told he was still nothing more than a servant of the whites. Allegedly whites had kept the Negro in ignorance of his own potential and deprived him of full rights under the 13th Amendment.

Skilled propagandists convinced the Negro to despise his identity and view himself with shame, to dislike his own appearance, and to blame the white community for all of his troubles. With schools and job

training within walking distance, he was told he would have to invade the white social order to acquire the status and high living standard which were rightfully his. Externally-induced chagrin mixed with hatred and jealousy—all artificially contrived—started the Negro on the road to becoming a revolutionary in the Communist cause.

Beneath the seductive veneer of sympathy and compassion, what else could this line of reasoning be but an attack upon the Negro personally? To gain "liberation" by this definition, he would have to stop being a Negro. To integrate a white school, his children would have to abandon Negro teachers as inferior. He was being told, in essence, that his race would have to *disappear* to produce a successful break-through.

The Dies Committee disclosed how the Communist Party worked among colored groups by concealing its aims under a veneer of social and economic advancement. Many Negro churches became the focal point of Communist exploitation, because within their walls revolutionary propaganda could be buried beneath the pious atmosphere of a religious crusade. The churches were also useful in keeping the more emotional Negroes calm during demonstrations. Hence, the *Reverend* Martin Luther King, Jr., the *Reverend* Abernathy, etc.

By the late 1930's every state in the South had Communist cells financed primarily by the Party's national headquarters. Years of painstaking planning and recruiting finally mushroomed into today's marches, sit-ins, demonstrations and campus rebellions seasoned with intermittent prayer.

Testifying before the House Appropriations Committee on January 16, 1958, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover stated:

The Negro situation is . . . being exploited fully and continuously by Communists on a national scale.

Current programs include intensified attempts to infiltrate mass organizations. The Party's objectives are not to aid the Negroes but are designed to take advantage of all-out controversial issues on the race question in the minds of the American people.

In publications prepared for their own followers, the Communists openly announce their goals:

Communists hold that this (race) is the central domestic issue before the country.

The Communist Party greets with boundless joy the present revolutionary freedom movement of the Negro people and will spare no sacrifice to help bring about its total victory. (Statement by the Communist Party's National Secretary, Benjamin Davis, a Negro, in *Political Affairs*, theoretical organ of the Communist Party, USA, August, 1943.)

Hiding behind the Negro, the Communist Party gains a tailor-made weapon for the exploitation of class war. The Negro, on the other hand, who sees himself as an exponent of Communist victory in the United States, can best visualize his future by taking stock of the past. The Communists have a penchant for destroying their own. They reason that a revolutionary who had the dull wit to help them to power becomes a source of potential revolution within their own ranks once victory is achieved. This was the logic which could bring Stalin to liquidate his most faithful Communist hard-core during the Anti-Trotskyite purges of the 1930's. In a colossal act of betrayal, each member of the Order of Old Bolsheviks—the very men who had led the successful 1917 uprising in Russia—was hunted down and shot. Some were followed halfway across the earth. After years in exile, Leon Trotsky was murdered by Communists in Mexico following a brief speaking tour of the United States. The pecu-

liarity of the Negro-turned-Communist-stooge is that even in possession of the facts, he does not—moreover, he *will not*—believe where he is heading. And he actively resents being told. Those who bolt the Party after years of travail and disillusionment suddenly find themselves unable to communicate with the younger generation of Negroes who have become enraptured by the glitter and promises of the “rights” movement. To go before all-colored audiences at this late stage—particularly in the North—to explain from the Communist’s own writings how the Negroes are being used is worse than naive; it is like an act of attempted suicide. After ten years of demonstrations, intimidation of whites, and the enjoyment of freedoms not granted to other members of society, the Negroes no longer care. They have become oblivious to consequences and intoxicated with the sensation of instant and effortless victory, as imaginary as that may be.

Manning Johnson, an American Negro and one-time high-ranking member of the CPUSA, called the Negroes the Party’s sacrificial lambs because they can be nothing—now or ever—but grist in the Communist mill. “The Communists,” remarked Benjamin Gitlow after resigning as head of the CPUSA, “know where they are going and they are Hell-bent on getting there, even if they have to drown the American Negroes in their own blood to get the power they covet.” (*Congressional Record*, August 7, 1963.)

In the forward wall of the Civil Rights Movement are a dozen or more organizations, all with parallel objectives but geared to different interest groups and specializing in different kinds of agitation: CORE, NAACP, SNCC (pronounced *Snick*), the Urban League, SLATE, SCEF (Southern Conference Educational Fund), SCLC (Martin Luther King’s Southern Christian Leadership Conference), and COFO (Conference of Federated Organizations), to mention only

a few. Behind these, lending financial and physical support and know-how for major events (like the 1963 March on Washington), is a second echelon of harder core Marxist organizations such as the Youth Action Union, the Young Socialist Alliance, the Socialists and Trotskyites, the Progressive Labor Movement, which is openly sympathetic with Red China, the Progressive Labor Party, and the W. E. B. DuBois Club of America with branches on many college campuses.

The “rights” movement is given generous support from the National Council of Churches and from its thousands of liberal ministers, always ready to swing into a united political front to assist left-inspired programs to victory. Also thoroughly committed to the Civil Rights Movement are the ACLU (American Civil Liberties Union), many tax exempt foundations and, of course, the Democratic Party in the North.

Perhaps the best organized and certainly the oldest of the many “rights” groups is the NAACP which was founded in 1910. Space limits coverage of these organizations to only a few. Most people would agree that the NAACP is fairly representative of them all, as it is laden with Communist sympathizers and apologists. After years of devotion in the mistaken belief he was serving a noble cause, Manning Johnson left the Communist Party to spend his remaining years exposing it until he was gunned down by Communist agents in California in the late ’50s. Some of the most valuable testimony ever gathered by the government on the inner workings of the Communist apparatus was given by Manning Johnson. His book, *Color, Communism and Common Sense*, became one of the most widely used to gain perspective about the rights movement.

Commenting on the NAACP, Johnson relates how it has been the practice of that organization, since its beginning, to collect millions of dollars by exploiting

the race issue rather than attempting to reduce friction; the bigger the conflict, the greater the appeal for contributions. None of this money is spent on factories to provide jobs, on land or home construction, on specialized training to help Negroes help themselves, or on community facilities like hospitals, convalescent homes, classes in sanitation and personal hygiene, on the upkeep and improvement of property or to combat crime and juvenile delinquency. All NAACP money goes for more agitation rather than for programs to assist the Negro to win more respect and compete successfully.

The NAACP meets Communist requirements perfectly in the Party's efforts to destroy personal initiative and self-improvement. Any program leading to genuine resourcefulness must be attacked and, if possible, destroyed. For should the Negro become free of dependence on the Communist apparatus for special pleadings, the Civil Rights Movement will have lost its value as a front-running device in the building of class war. As long ago as 1920, the New York State Legislative Committee Investigating Seditious Activities labeled the NAACP a subversive organization. By 1956 a total of 77 top officials of the NAACP were known to government agencies to be participating in pro-Communist activities. (See the *Congressional Record*, February 23, 1956, pages 2796-2849.) This list included NAACP President Arthur Spingarn; the Administrator, Roy Wilkins; Thurgood Marshall, chief counsel and now U.S. Solicitor-General; A. Philip Randolph, also Vice-President of the AFL-CIO; Dr. Robert C. Weaver, Administrator of the Federal Housing and Home Finance Agency; Lewis Gannett, retired editor of the New York *Herald-Tribune*; Norman Cousins, editor of the *Saturday Review*; Dr. Ralph Bunche, Undersecretary General of the United Nations, and many others.

A report by the Georgia Commission on Education for February, 1957 listed the following NAACP directors and their documented Communist front records: Channing Tobias, 44 citations; William Lloyd Imes, 31 citations; Oscar Hammerstein II, 25 citations; Algernon Black, 61; Hugh Delaney, 18; S. Ralph Harlow, 23; Benjamin Mays, 32; Eleanor Roosevelt, 57; Earl B. Dickerson, 72; and W. J. Walls, 38 citations—enlightening clues to the NAACP's administration.

In the language of Manning Johnson the NAACP had nothing to sell. The Negro was *not*, and is *not*, denied opportunity in the United States; he was *not* and is *not* held down; and he would never have learned to hate the American system and white men had it not been for the baselessness of Communist doctrine. In contradiction to Communist propaganda, free schools were and are available and open day and night; Negro institutions of higher learning offered excellent job training for those who sought it—and not all Negroes sought this training for reasons known only to themselves—and there were thousands of grants and scholarships through which Negroes could, and can, attend the finest colleges and universities in the nation. Even more ironic to Manning Johnson, most of the Negro "intellectuals" like James Baldwin and Martin Luther King, Jr.—agitators now leading the Negroes into open race war—were once the recipients of these grants and scholarships.

In the Communist lexicon, integration rather than achievement became the symbol of equality, and the more indigent Negroes swallowed this line as an excuse for not working. The more productive Negro was too busy working and improving himself to have time for a "rights" movement, and once he learned that color

did not stand in his way he had no use for integration either. Negroes with character learned that success was strictly a matter of hard work and initiative, but these were separated from the larger body of their own race and labeled as "money hungry," as "white men's niggers," and accused by their own people of being disloyal to the Negro cause. Communists inspired the twisted thinking that a colored child had to sit next to a white child in school to get an education.

"What could be more nonsensical or ridiculous," asks Manning Johnson, "when experience shows that a student's success is determined by how much attention, time and effort he is willing to put into his studies?"

The NAACP and its sister organizations were the sources of the problem the less active Negroes complained about so loudly as demonstrated by their efforts to destroy what progress Negroes had gained in a century of harmonious race relations.

Another Communist-inspired myth was the Negro *ghetto*, a word implying confinement of Negroes to specific districts. Like other racial groups, the Negro could buy land or set up shop in almost any part of the country. Thousands had already done so. Yet in the face of reality, Communists forged the idea that the Negro *ghetto* was the product of white men, a carry-over from slavery, a clearly defined area within which colored people were compressed and oppressed and denied the privilege of leaving.

Outside this alleged "ghetto," "proof of oppression" was served by social customs preventing Negroes from integrating everywhere they wanted. Years of welfare checks and constant agitation taught the unproductive class of Negroes to rebel against the truth: that these so-called "ghettos" had in many cases once been prosperous neighborhoods, some of them the most

fashionable in town. Nothing was to prevent an industrious man from painting his home, cleaning sidewalks and alleys, and making the area sparkle as it once did. Not only was the Negro *not* "held in" but he was *not* "held down."

But the *myth* survived as a substitute for hard work. And out of this psychosomatic fog Communists built the romance of the underdog: a chimerical struggle against the "white oppressors." From there on, everything had to be integrated or there was standing "proof" of tyranny. Any sign of initiative offering genuine solutions to legitimate Negro problems had to be destroyed lest they wash away this phantom theory of oppression.

Within the Party, Manning Johnson discovered that white Communists would have nothing to do with Negro Communists. Instead, a tight wall of segregation was maintained, particularly in all non-official pursuits. Social equality was strictly an export gospel—the public *line*—to recruit Negroes and mold a colored offensive against the capitalist system. What was not served by outright lies was sustained by unchanging standards of hypocrisy. So Manning Johnson left the Party in disgust. (Copies of Manning Johnson's book, *Color, Communism and Common Sense*, can be obtained from American Opinion Reprint Series, Belmont 78, Massachusetts.)

Others abandoned the Communist Party for much the same reasons. Leonard Patterson, also a Negro, testified before a joint legislative committee on November 18, 1959:

I left the Communist Party because I became convinced that the Communist Party did not have at heart the interest of the Negro people, the interest of the white people, the interest of the laboring people.

... that the Communist Party was only interested

in promoting among the Negro people a national liberation movement that would aid the Communist Party in its efforts to create a proletarian revolution in the United States that would overthrow the government by force and violence through a bloody full-time revolution, and substitute it with a Soviet form of government with a dictatorship of (e.g.: over) the proletariat.

As the rights movement rolls on, new personalities appear. Currently in front is Martin Luther King, Jr. whose long association with Communists, Communist sympathizers, apologists, and Communist programs follows him from one demonstration to another like a prison record. In 1965 full-size billboards appeared throughout the South showing King, in a photograph taken several years earlier, with known Communists at a session of the Highlander Folk School in Tennessee. The Highlander Folk School was founded in Monteagle, Tennessee by two identified Communists, Myles Horton (Organizer for the Party in Tennessee), and Don West (Party Organizer in North Carolina). The HFS was later incorporated under Tennessee law by Horton and another Communist, James Dumbrowski. The charter was later revoked. (*Highlander Folk School*, Georgia Commission on Education, Gov. Marvin Griffith, Chairman, 1957.)

On Labor Day, 1957, a special Highlander Folk School meeting was organized by King and four Communists (Myles Horton, Don West, Abner Berry and James Dumbrowski) to recruit members into the NAACP of which King is a life member. Also on the agenda was a plan to tour the Southern States to initiate demonstrations and riots. (See the *Dan Smoot Report*, June 1, 1964; P. O. Box 9538, Lakewood Station, Dallas, Texas.)

From 1955 to 1960, King's secretary was Bayard

Rustin who has a Communist front record: in 1936 Rustin joined the Young Communist League at New York City College; in the early 40's he was field secretary of CORE. Convicted for draft-dodging, he went to prison for two years in 1944. On January 23, 1953 the Los Angeles *Times* reported his conviction and sentencing to jail for 60 days for lewd vagrancy and sex perversion. Rustin attended the 16th Convention of the Communist Party, USA in February, 1957, and on February 12 he joined Party officials in a public statement condemning the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee for subpoenaing Eugene Dennis who was then National Secretary of the Party.

In 1958 Rustin went to Moscow after which he organized Martin Luther King's first march on Washington which *The Worker* brazenly declared to be a Communist Party project. On August 28, 1964 Rustin was second in command of the big March on Washington at which King was the keynote speaker.

When Rustin left King's employ in 1961, he was replaced by Jack O'Dell, a member of the National Committee of the CPUSA (see *Structure and Organization of the CPUSA, Part I*, House Committee on Un-American Activities, 1962, pages 575-576). O'Dell was in charge of King's New York office for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (*Dr. King's United Front*, Richmond *News-Leader*, September 27, 1963).

On April 13, 1957, the Louisiana State Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities issued a comprehensive report on subversive elements in the "rights" movement saying:

The . . . Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC, "Snick"), are substantially under the control of the Communist Party through the influence of the Southern Conference Educational Fund and the Communist Party.

King's close connection with the SCEF is of long duration. Commenting on this, the same report by the State of Louisiana finds:

The evidence presented to us in the two hearings recorded in this report solidly confirms our prior findings that the Southern Conference Educational Fund is in fact a Communist front and a subversive organization.

The Southern Conference Educational Fund is managed and operated by Communists and has obvious multiple connections with other Communist front organizations. It has openly supported many well-identified Communists and Communist causes. It has published and distributed Communist political propaganda written by and about well-identified Communists setting forth the Communist propaganda line.

The infiltration of the Communist Party into the so-called "civil rights" movement through the SCEF is shocking and highly dangerous to this state and the nation . . . the civil rights movement has been grossly and solidly infiltrated by the Communist Party . . .

Mention is also made in this report of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC, "Snick"), also in the forefront of groups preaching race hatred among the Negroes:

The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee . . . is substantially under the influence of the Communist Party through the support and management given it by the Communists in the SCEF . . . (and) is now getting strong financial support from the SCEF . . . (Joint Legislative Committee on Un-American Activities of the State of Louisiana, April 13, 1964).

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) is another front-running agitation group known particularly for its "freedom rides," sit-ins and demonstrations on city hall steps. Partial evidence of CORE's Communist alignment was presented on May 25, 1961 by Senator James O. Eastland, Chairman of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee:

From investigation and examination of the facts and records there can be little doubt, in my judgment, but that this group (CORE) is an arm of the Communist conspiracy. They are agents of worldwide Communism who sew strife and discord in this country.

Documentation on this subject fills rooms and warehouses full of filing cabinets, testimony before various Senate and House investigating committees, and briefs and documents dating back more than 30 years. Most state legislatures have also gathered voluminous evidence on civil rights and subversive movements and made it a part of the public record. Interlocking directorates exist between dozens of Communist fronts, rights groups and sympathizing organizations which provide a steady flow of cash, leadership and overall coordination.

The National Council of Churches is over its head in the rights movement, as is the American Civil Liberties Union, both having a rogues gallery of members and directors with front records. A more recent addition to the left wing phalanx of on-campus agitation groups are the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs. W. E. B. DuBois was a mulatto and co-founder of the NAACP who, at the time of his death in Ghana in 1963, had no less than 72 Communist front citations. A lifelong Marxist, DuBois finally joined the Communist Party in his old age.

An example of how a political "flying wedge" can be put together by Communist-controlled organizations on a college campus was afforded the public early in 1965 at the University of California at Berkeley. Here, the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs and another rights group called SLATE played the leading roles. Both are descended from the Young Communist League which was formed in 1919 under direct control of the Soviet Union. The Young Communist League passed into the background around 1960, but in its place emerged several new front groups to attract young people.

The demonstrations at CAL, which gained nationwide recognition as the "Free Speech Movement," were patterned after the *Cogobierno* method used throughout Latin America by Communists to foment student protests and riots on college campuses. Aimed at university policies, rules and regulations, the objective of "Cogobierno" is to take over administrative control. A full report on the CAL incident was published by the State of California Senate Fact Finding Subcommittee on Un-American Activities, newspaper accounts appearing on June 17, 1965.

The report accused University President Clark Kerr of complicity for allowing known Communist front organizations to operate directly on the campus and for placing known Communist Party members on the University payroll. According to the report, two leaders of the rebellion, self-confessed Communist Bettina Aptheker and Arthur Goldberg, had extensive Communist backgrounds, the latter following the militant line of the Red Chinese. Bettina Aptheker is the daughter of Herbert Aptheker, long an identified Communist theoretician with high rank in the Party. Other participating organizations forming a "united front" during the demonstrations were the Youth Action Union, the Young Socialist Alliance, the Social-

ists and Trotskyites, the Progressive Labor Movement and the Progressive Labor Party. The official California State report charged that SLATE, the second leading instigator, is also Communist dominated and added that the Progressive Labor Movement "is the most militant Communist organization in this country." (Oakland *Tribune*, June 18, 1965.)

The Free Speech Movement featured a throng of over 3,000 students and hundreds of imported non-student agitators bearing placards and handbills in a coordinated demonstration on the steps of the University's administration building. Speeches delivered from soap boxes and platforms demanded a complete renovation of University policies. Administrative procedures were restrictive and old-fashioned, came the allegation, and should be taken out of the hands of the taxpayers and placed under the control of a proposed new faculty and student organization. Hurried meetings of University officials were thrown together to interpret University procedures, to mediate between faculty groups and spokesmen for the demonstrating students, and to decide temporary courses of action. In contrast to the coordinated strength of the Free Speech Movement, the California Senate Subcommittee report observed that:

... the Berkeley administration was floundering in a bureaucratic tangle, with no clear and definite leadership, no firm insistence on the enforcement of its own rules, and an unwillingness to stand solidly behind the actions of the chancellor.

There were endless committee meetings, faculty resolutions, disruptions in the chain of command and an area of confusion overlapping between the administration of the statewide university and the administration of the Berkeley campus.

The report notes that the students, meanwhile, had

various centers from which demonstrations and agitation operations were directed including centers for work, the press, legal matters, command, strike, correction, finance, and special services, all under perfect control.

The substance of the report is that both the University faculty and the student body had been so heavily infiltrated by Communists and their sympathizers during the past decade that it would have been thoroughly unrealistic not to expect such an uprising. For what other purpose would these infiltrators have been on the campus—hovering in such numbers around the University and fortifying their liaison with left wing faculty members—than to try to seize control of the administrative apparatus sooner or later?

There was some doubt in the minds of the State investigators as to whether the rebellion was directed from within the student groups or from inside the faculty.

"That there was some guidance from the left wing of the faculty was clear," the report states. "How far it went, and how much authority the faculty exercised in the running of the rebellion, is another matter." It was officially noted, however, that during what would appear to be an uncontrolled outbreak, instant calm and obedience would be resumed on a curt order from a left wing faculty member.

The report left no doubt about placing primary responsibility on University officials for liberalizing procedures and overturning longstanding ordinances to allow known Communists to operate on campus in faculty and various other positions.

Admittedly most rights protests of the moment are non-violent in nature. Although in one way or another, demonstrators usually manage to break the law voter registration drives, and various other maneuvers, peacefully, through sit-ins, lie-ins, "peace" marches,

the attitude of lawlessness and disrespect grows and more brazen forms of civil disobedience grow proportionately. Of no small concern to Federal and state authorities amidst this deepening "rights" conflagration are the number of groups—especially those composed of Negroes—which openly embrace violence as the shortest route to "freedom."

In 1963 a Monroe, North Carolina Negro named Robert Williams turned up in Peking by way of Cuba seeking recognition from the Chinese Reds for the Negro Revolution in America. Once a member of the Unitarian Church, Williams turned to violent revolution after repeated failures to integrate a local swimming pool in Monroe. (See *Esquire*, October 1964.) Six weeks before his arrival in Peking, Williams had asked Mao Tse-Tung to speak out in support of American Negroes in their struggle against racial discrimination. Addressing a group of Africans at the same time, Mao said: "We (the non-white peoples of the world) are in the majority . . . I am firmly convinced that with the support of more than 90 per cent of the peoples of the world (the ratio of colored to white), the American Negroes will be victorious in their just struggle."

The 1964 Negro March on Washington was just 20 days away. In more recent statements, Mao has declared the open support of his regime behind the Afro-American revolution.

The appearance of new groups moving confidently outside the law has encouraged thousands of less patient Negroes to take a strictly militant attitude and the feeling is growing. Forging new ties with Cuba, seeking both physical and financial support from the Communist bloc generally, and engaging in guerrilla tactics, new organizations are forming, splintering and forming again, both on and off college campuses.

One such group is the Revolutionary Action Move-

ment (RAM). Centered mainly in large urban districts like New York, Detroit, Chicago and Philadelphia, RAM sees itself as an informed black *elite* acting in a liaison capacity between other less militant groups such as CORE and the NAACP whose members RAM tries to instruct and recruit into the more violent expressions of Negro nationalism.

In July 1964, observes *Esquire*, RAM sent a message of congratulations to the Communist NLF (National Liberation Front) of South Vietnam praising their "Viet Cong brothers for their inspiring victories against American imperialism in South Vietnam . . .," and declaring that "we of RAM do not seek assimilation or integration into this 'free world'" and that "we will not join in the American counterrevolution that is attempting, at home and abroad, to crush the mounting revolutionary struggles."

On the campus of Wayne State University in Michigan thrives another high blood pressure group called UHURU (meaning "freedom" in Swahili) whose members emphatically denounce the American system. An UHURU member, Charles Johnson, recently wrote his draft board: ". . . if I am snatched in over my objections, I pledge for my people to agitate among black soldiers to unite them around the following revolutionary principles: 1. self-defense and vengeance; 2. all-black revolutionary independent action; 3. to fight for 'integration'; integrated pools of blood." (op. cit., *Esquire*, July, 1964.)

Evidence of how far into left field this organization has gone is found in UHURU's choice of reading matter: *Peking Review* and *China Reconstructs* (both printed in English and published in Red China), *The Liberator* (a colored monthly out of New York), *Revolution* (oriented toward Red China but published in Paris), *Black America* (published by the Revolutionary

Action Movement), and finally *The Crusader*, Robert Williams' own house organ which enters the USA from Cuba.

The Crusader carries a continuing home study course in sabotage techniques and guerrilla warfare, points up newly discovered weaknesses in U.S. internal defenses, emphasizes the values of maximum terror in congested urban areas, and discloses the many uses that can be made of homemade arsenals including hand grenades, bazookas, light mortars, rocket launchers, machine guns, gas, lye and acid bombs, etc., to throw the urban population into pandemonium.

Fugitive Robert Williams, from the safety of Cuba, asserts that *race* is the turning point of the entire revolution.

Before fleeing to Cuba, Williams had organized dozens of rifle clubs among Negroes in the South—about 100 clubs according to the FBI. Now he broadcasts from Havana to the colored underground over his own program called *Radio Free Dixie*. As resistance to civil rights programs grows throughout the South, recruitment into Williams' revolutionary ranks expands commensurately. According to the *Police Gazette*, July, 1965, U.S. government agents are watching a stepped-up flow of Communist manufactured arms into Cuba and even into parts of the South. *Radio Free Dixie* comes in three nights a week over Radio Havana, a powerful 50,000 watt transmitter, from midnight to 1:00 AM. At that hour, most stations in the South are off the air and reception is good.

Williams has written a book called *Negroes With Guns*. One of the forewords in the book was written by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. The editors and publishers were supporters of the old Fair Play for Cuba Committee of which assassin Lee Harvey Oswald was a member.

Here is a sample of the desperate revolutionary folklore that Williams beams into the USA to stir up race war:

The weapons of defense employed by Afro-American freedom fighters must consist of a poor man's arsenal. Gasoline fire bombs (Molotov Cocktails), lye or acid bombs made by injecting lye or acid into the metal end of light bulbs, can be used extensively. During the night hours, such weapons, thrown from rooftops, will make the streets impossible for racist cops to patrol. Hand grenades, bazookas, light mortars, rocket launchers, machine guns and ammunition can be bought clandestinely from servicemen, anxious to make a fast dollar.

Extensive sabotage is possible. Gas tanks on public vehicles can be choked up with sand. Sugar is also highly effective in gasoline lines. Long nails driven through boards and tacks with large heads are effective to slow the movement of traffic on congested roads at night. This can cause havoc on turnpikes. Derailing trains causes panic. Explosive booby traps on police telephone boxes can be employed. High powered rifles are readily available. Armor-piercing bullets will penetrate oil storage tanks from a distance. Phosphorous matches (kitchen matches) placed in air conditioning systems will cause delayed explosions which will destroy expensive buildings. Flame throwers can be manufactured at home. Techniques mentioned here are generalized and require a closer study. However, let the cynics take note that the mighty USA is not as snug and secure as it once was . . . a minority war of self-defense can succeed.

The race question is America's Achilles heel.

Lending continuous moral support for black revolution, though organized far differently, are the Black Muslims, a numerically strong colored order advocating separation from whites through the establishment

of a Negro Nation. The Muslims had an uncertain beginning in the early 1930's in Detroit under a mulatto named Wallace Fard. The cult teaches that the blacks of North America are not really Negroes but Arabs held in subjection by an evil white race and destined to be liberated from this oppression by 1970. That date coincides roughly with the Communist timetable for the global achievement of socialism.

The Muslims foresee a probable bloody race war after which they will establish themselves as a black nation either on U.S. soil or outside this country. Part of this dream is fed by the contention that the "white devils" owe the blacks a nation of their own and are duty bound to supply it, together with all the economic necessities to sustain life, until the new republic can manage for itself. Examine any issue of *Muhammad Speaks*, the official Muslim newspaper published by-weekly by Muhammad's Mosque Number 2 (634 East 79th Street, Chicago, Illinois; 15c a copy).

Hatred of whites and visions of colored race superiority are the Alpha and Omega of this quasi-Islamic doctrine. Members revel in the proposition that the black man, long subjugated by inferior whites, will be able to rise and exterminate all the white males and take the white women as concubines. Coming into their own, the victorious blacks will first demand that the "white swine" be driven out of some large part of the United States which will then be turned over to the blacks for their exclusive occupation. Currently, the South has been under serious consideration. The Muslim's present leader, Elijah Muhammad, speculates that perhaps only four of the Southern States will be needed. The first to fall under black rule should be Mississippi followed, next, by South Carolina. Other estimates run as high as ten of the Southern States as was Malcolm X's big dream before he was assassinated in Harlem in 1965. Before branching off on his own, Malcolm X was Elijah's right hand man and in com-

mand of his "Fruit of Islam" peacekeeping guard which protects Elijah and maintains order throughout the establishment.

The Muslims operate through some 30 or more mosques in most major cities and many smaller cities as well. Standing membership is estimated at nearly one-half million, the bulk of which dwells in the cities of Los Angeles, Chicago, Detroit, and New York's Harlem. Communist literature and live ammunition were discovered in one Muslim mosque in Los Angeles during the Watts riot of 1965.

While often suspected of orientation with the Communist bloc, this is one of the more obscure aspects of Muslim activity. Although nothing specific with regard to Communism appears in any printed Muslim literature, official publications support all revolutionary movements involving Negroes and indications are that the Communists are, in one way or another, the directional life blood of the movement.

In no more telling way is this illustrated than in the matter of a black republic on U.S. soil. The first smooth-tongued visionaries to come up with such poetic verve were not the Muslims but the Communists whose plans for turning the South into a black Soviet were first discovered by the Federal government in 1939. Among evidence obtained were official Communist documents, maps and overlays with the southern third of the United States clearly zoned and identified. On June 23, 1963, *The Worker*, official newspaper of the CPUSA, carried a policy statement by Benjamin Davis (a Negro and second highest official of the CPUSA) demanding that the Federal government declare all state governments in the South illegal and then conduct Federally-supervised elections to install new governments which would place either Negroes or Communist sympathizers in control. Such

a desperate measure would merely usher in a rebirth of the Reconstruction period, the tyranny forced on the South by Congress after the Civil War.

Following his exodus from the CPUSA, Benjamin Gitlow wrote many articles on the Communist lust to take over the Southern States. Included in *The Congressional Record* for August 7, 1963 was this excerpt from his revealing testimony:

Communists and their supporters . . . intend to arouse to fever heat the nationalistic and chauvinist sentiments now finding expression in segments of the Negro population, into a drive for separation of the Negroes from the whites through the establishment of an independent Negro republic in the United States. . . .

Until recently, the Communist policy . . . has been to soft pedal their demand for . . . a . . . Negro . . . separationist movement . . . to oust the whites from the South, expropriate their land and property, and establish a Negro Republic under Communist hegemony . . . (but now) the slogan of self-determination for the Negro . . . is in the forefront of the American Communist Party's general program . . .

By standard definitions, self-determination is a noble concept. But in the Communist jargon of reverse meanings, a nation gains "self-determination" only in the process of falling under Communist rule. Thus, the Muslim vigil for "liberation" from imagined white suppression harmonizes neatly with the "freedom now" beacon of the Civil Rights Movement. Civil Rights in all of its agitation from Communist training in police defiance to voter registration drives in the South has the open support of the muslims. Communist "liberation" activities in Africa are also cheered and approved in Muslim literature. When Moscow's trained Red

agent, Patrice Lumumba, was active in the Congo, warm support went his way from the Muslims—for his service to the struggling black people of the earth. Following his assassination, the “hero of the Congo” was mourned and a new attack was levelled against the “white supremacists” for trying to undermine the cause of Congolese independence.

Less coincidental is the parallel course which the Muslim’s burgeoning membership bears to stepped-up Communist activities within the U.S.A. via the “rights” movement. The Muslims received their first real boost in 1954 following the Supreme Court’s integration decision. Membership swelled again during the bloodshed in the Congo in 1960. (See *The Black Muslims*, by Dr. R. C. Oliver, American Opinion Reprint Series, Belmont 78, Massachusetts.) Each succeeding conflict brings another wave of membership; in 1964 it brought in world heavyweight boxing champion Cassius Clay. The Muslims can no longer be brushed off as just another minor aggregation.

Whether a militant arm of Communism or not is really of secondary importance next to the Muslims’ role in the general cause of colored upheaval, a growing revolutionary force with which the United States must eventually come to terms in one way or another. The Communists cannot stop what they have started. The effect of their work is to line the Negroes up on one side of the line with the whites on the other side in an approaching racial showdown. Such a possibility is given frequent attention in FBI bulletins such as excerpted in the following by J. Edgar Hoover on June 22, 1964:

The approximate 20 million Negroes in the United States today constitute the largest and most important racial target of the Communist Party, U.S.A.

The infiltration, exploitation and control of the Negro population has long been a party goal and is one of its principal goals today.

The Communist Party has always depicted itself to the Negroes as the champion of social protest and the leader in the struggle for racial equality.

But the truth of the matter is that the Communist Party is not motivated by any honest desire to better the status or condition of the Negro in this country, but strives only to exploit what are often legitimate Negro complaints and grievances for the advancement of Communist objectives.

The Party is continually searching for new avenues in order to expand its influence among the Negroes. In particular, it has sought ways and means to exploit the militant forces of the Negro civil rights movement.

All of the present confusion has not been gravy for the Communists. If they can produce a racial rebellion in this country, it will not be because every Negro was beguiled into following stagestruck behind their cause or into fighting their war for them. Percentage-wise, probably no more Negroes fall for the Communist Party line than do whites, providing they know it is the Party line. This is where the real problem lies. The bigger softening job has been done not by formal Communist dogma, but by propaganda reworked and disguised as a legitimate struggle for Negro betterment. And the biggest suckers for this confidence game are not Negroes but northern humanitarians.

If you follow the present political pattern to its logical conclusions, you find liberals and sick humanitarians at the end of the rainbow. They have control of all northern state governments and power structures, including the Federal government itself. If not

for these misguided souls, the Communists would be prevented from agitating among the Negroes. And without this Alpha and Omega tug of war on either side of the Negroes (Communists agitating and humanitarians patronizing), the majority of Negroes would withdraw entirely. Many will not buy the Communist pipedream as it is, and thousands more are showing signs of restlessness.

But strong forces are at work to whip and intimidate the Negroes into compliance. One such force is terror. In Melton, Alabama near Greensboro, an 89-year-old Negro named Perry Smaw was critically beaten, his skull fractured and his tongue cut out all the way back to his tonsils for speaking out *against* civil rights demonstrations (*Chicago Tribune*, August 26, 1965). Where was the hue and cry for apprehension and prosecution of this old man's murderers?

Fear of violence has always been used by agitators and Negro "wolf" leaders (their own term) to whip the Negroes into supporting one or another cause. The same methods terrorized both Negroes and whites in the South for over a decade during Reconstruction. Behind this circle of discord lies the inevitable economic pressure group or white power bloc planning, scheming, searching for new colored "prophets" like Martin Luther King to lead the Negro masses deeper into the expanding holocaust. Its purpose: to exploit the Negro as a temporary stunt in the building of socialism—nothing more. White power blocs are the brains and finances of the "Negro revolution," all of them linked together in devious ways—some of them accidental—in the cause of a new world order. From government bodies on down to community relations, capable colored leadership is attacked and defiled, for to accomplish its purpose the Civil Rights Movement must preach an ever intensified, rather than diminishing, doctrine of race hatred.

The Communists have a special advantage with the Negroes because natural differences in race and color between human beings—which have been here since Adam—are the perfect leaven of class war. And in the making of a rebellion, the Communists are unexcelled.

THREE

*White Backlash
And Its Political Impact*

"White backlash" is a term coined by the journalistic world to denote the protest against integration schemes in northern states primarily after 1960. WBL took on the dimensions of a young political trend with the introduction of such devices as the "bus pilot" program, "racial pairing" in grammar schools, the forced integration of key grammar school grades, school district rezoning, public accommodations ordinances, "fair housing" laws, "open occupancy" housing, and others.

From scattered discontent in a dozen or more U.S. cities in 1963, WBL blossomed into a major campaign issue during the 1964 presidential elections. How big is this reaction and what are its origins? Is it directed against political tyranny or Negroes? Where is it likely to lead?

Coercion in the civil rights arena first came in with the Supreme Court's school integration decision of 1954: *Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*. The Brown decision had its greatest impact in the South but did not change the political complexion there. The South had been committed to segregation long before 1954 and would send the same representatives back to Washington. Their one big campaign promise would be, as always, to continue to work for segregation and against all "civil rights"

proposals, regardless of other less conservative parts of their political posture. As to local and state governments, the Little Rock episode and the later military invasion of the University of Mississippi to integrate one Negro—James Meredith—only strengthened the southern distaste for government intervention.

It is improbable that the Federal Government would have tried to stage a military occupation in the North to get a Negro into a white school because the North already had *some* integration and besides that the political situation was altogether different. Local governments in the North are, with rare exception, liberal and could be relied upon to launch integration programs which, in the South, would require Federal intervention. Conversely, local government throughout the South is conservative—conservative in the sense that it reflects majority interests. The Federal government could afford the kind of reaction it knew it would get by occupying a southern city because opposition to government intervention has been a tradition there since the Civil War and, in addition, the balance of liberal power is held in the North. But it could not risk the drastic conversion of voting sentiment that would have fallen out of the sky in, say, Detroit or Columbus, Ohio. Not only that, but in the North, there was no sectional political barrier over segregation to break through. Northern "segregation" is by residential districts, most schools and personal choice. If the government were to try to forcibly integrate a large suburban residential district in a northern state, the impact might be roughly the same as that which inspired such wholesale reaction at Little Rock. At least, the two situations are at parallel.

Even so, there is little similarity between northern and southern feeling with regard to integration. The North has been retreating before integration for 20 years. The integration of a northern residential dis-

trict did not customarily produce a political turnover before 1960; it produced an exodus to the suburbs (and still does). Furthermore, voters could hardly hang a case on their local government or school board over an influx of Negroes brought on through the juggling of real estate. The first direct attempt by government bodies to accelerate the decline of urban community values has come through what are called "human rights commissions." Usually appointed by the mayor, city council or board of supervisors, the announced function of the human rights commission in most northern cities is to create improved race relations in the face of mounting civil rights demands. Its literal capacity is to promote blockbusting—that is, to find ways to work Negroes into all-white residential districts—thus driving whites out of the area; and to integrate public schools and departments of the civil service. Most local human rights commissions operate as government (tax supported) branches of the Civil Rights Movement on behalf of minority power blocs and against the interests of their own community.

Public protest against civil rights schemes became worthy of a formal caption in the journalist's lexicon from the day its potential impact on national politics came into view. The signal for this was the turnover beginning to take shape in local governments and the failure of so many local integration programs at the polls. Both began to emerge as a national pattern after 1960. In 1963, when Baltimore passed a public accommodations law, public indignation rose and it was subsequently repealed in 1964 through a public referendum. A \$3.8 million bond proposal to finance school integration in Montclair, New Jersey was roundly defeated by a 3 to 2 margin. When the Detroit City Council launched an "open occupancy housing" measure in 1963, a Home Owner's Council began an organized program against it. Sensing the

direction of public tempo, the city council decided not to wait for the results of the referendum and abandoned its own program.

A public accommodations ordinance in Tacoma, Washington was forced out for public vote in 1963 and defeated, while Gary, Indiana rejected open occupancy housing in a motion personally led by the Mayor. At Springfield, Illinois, the Illinois State Legislature voted down a "fair housing" bill in 1963. In a record 82 per cent turnout, the voters of Berkeley, California went to the polls in 1963 on a special referendum to throw out an open occupancy housing ordinance which would have made it a crime to refuse to sell one's home to a Negro.

Also in California, citizens turned out statewide in record numbers in 1964 to protest a fair housing law called the Rumford Act, and passed an initiative against it by a 2 to 1 majority. This was an amendment to the state constitution to forbid the use of similar future legislation designed to abridge the rights of individual home owners.

White reaction to integration programs is registered at the polls in contradistinction to the Utopian atmosphere through which civil rights is broadcast to the nation. At the neighborhood level, conditions are usually at complete odds to the glittering forecasts, voting precedents and migration patterns showing that Americans will not submit to integration on any meaningful scale. Possibly aware of these statistics, Congress refused to allow the 1964 Civil Rights Bill on the ballot where its defeat would have been more or less guaranteed—it was steam-rolled into law without the consent of the voters.

In cities throughout the country, officials who believe society must continue to experiment with integration at public expense are being swept from office by candidates advocating a tough policy against trained

agitators who express their belief in brotherhood by demonstrating in banks, hotels and new car showrooms. Evidence of the past 20-year experiment shows that the public will not accept acts of governmental coercion designed to produce the amalgamation of whites and Negroes. There is also considerable cost to the public stemming from lawless demonstrations. San Francisco's litigation bill for civil rights demonstrations in 1963 was \$1.5 million, which is low for most major U.S. cities. The price for allowing civil rights agitators into San Francisco's Palace Hotel lobby in 1964 was \$10,500—to clean wine, cola and human excrement from damaged chairs, rugs and curtains.

Whatever motives its originators may once have had, civil rights has brought social revolution to dozens of American cities and the destruction of once-tranquil race relations. Thus has emerged white backlash. As the Left is committed to a stepped-up course of integration, WBL is bound to rise commensurately.

A sample of what this can mean in the political sphere was illustrated during the 1964 elections where WBL emerged as the most potent political force of the campaign. Early evidence of its potential stood out in the Wisconsin and Maryland Democratic primaries where Alabama's Governor George Wallace captured a third of the Wisconsin vote and ran off with 47 per cent of the Democratic vote—and a near victory—in Maryland.

Going into the 1964 election, national news coverages reported race riots in Harlem, Brooklyn, Philadelphia, Jersey City, Rochester and Kansas City, which drove heavy voting potential to Goldwater. *Look* magazine (Sept. 22, 1964) reported that big city voting blocs, which had been solidly Democratic for over thirty years, suddenly became ripe for Republican delivery due to WBL. Reaction was shown to be par-

ticularly strong among various nationalities living in tight urban sections of large northeastern industrial cities such as Chicago and Pittsburgh—immigrant populations, Poles, Lithuanians, Italians and Irish—who had scraped a living together for years on a narrow economic margin. Suddenly jobs and neighborhoods were being threatened by an influx of Negroes.

A United Auto Workers poll in McKeesport, Pa., which showed a 22 per cent backing for Richard Nixon in 1960, was up to 40 per cent for Goldwater in a 1964 pre-election survey. AFL-CIO President George Meany remarked that anti-Negro sentiment was emerging as a major issue that was bound to affect the election.

Predictions were that Wisconsin and Maryland, which had turned out for Wallace with so little preparation, would probably go for Goldwater if he stuck to the same hard line on civil rights. The same was true of heavily-populated Cook County (Chicago), Illinois tabulations showing that white objection to Negroes there was throwing Democratic sentiment to Goldwater. In California, a heavy crossover vote had just pushed Proposition 14 to victory over a civil rights measure in the face of a 2 to 1 margin which liberals in that state hold over conservatives. Here again, the issue in California, as in most other states of the Union, was freedom of choice with the emphasis on those aspects of local integration schemes which aroused deep-seated voter indignation.

And it was important to discover where this resentment really lay. If the candidate, for instance, restricted his remarks on civil rights to the "Constitutional crisis" in Washington when the voters' main concern was property values, school conditions or personal safety on the streets, he was bound to lose them. In his California tour, Goldwater stuck to the political side of civil rights (e.g.: the Bill) and did not succeed

in reducing the Democratic margin over the previous Republican candidate in spite of the lesson of Proposition 14 (albeit many other factors hurt his campaign). In New York, he got down to cases with bus piloting, the rights of parents and taxpayers in school problems, seniority rights (as affected by the 1964 Civil Rights Bill) and related issues, ending up with a victory in three of New York's assembly districts, the 9th in Brooklyn and the 3rd and 13th in Queens.

Many of these isolated successes reflected pre-election surveys accurately. *U.S. News and World Report*, for example, went into detail before the campaign to reveal the political trend created by the revolt of 250,000 irate housewives who had risen against the New York School Board's attempt to inaugurate city-wide bus pilot programs for white and Negro school children.

Studied contemplation of WBL was also apparent in the statements of many Democratic and Republican candidates. Among Republican candidates and delegates interviewed on the subject of civil rights, *Look* found a general consensus that riots, demonstrations and local civil rights agitation were helping Goldwater—over and above other issues at his disposal. Republican National Committeeman I. Lee Potter told *Look* reporters that race had become the biggest issue of the campaign, and that while he did not like to see his country torn by racial conflict, a definite potential had grown out of it. According to Potter, people were of the opinion that these demonstrations, which later turned into violence, were fed and encouraged by the White House through its pro-civil rights posture. The issues were joined.

ANALYZING WBL

Barry Goldwater's subsequent loss was immediately seized upon by the liberal wing as proof that WBL

was ineffectual. Was it the civil rights issue that failed to get votes or the failure of the campaign to employ enough of the issue? In other words, is the public suddenly learning to live with the Civil Rights Movement? Not if growing journalistic accounts reflect public tempo accurately. To the contrary, as the volume of riots, demonstrations and civil rights bills increases, the nation answers with mounting unrest.

The Goldwater campaign was noticeable for its marked absence of down-to-earth plain talk on integration issues other than in several sections of the country. Behind this there may have been at least one reason: by exploring civil rights as an invasion of social immunity, Goldwater found himself up against some of his own policies, such as his successful drive years earlier to integrate the Arizona National Guard. He actually favored—although on a voluntary scale perhaps—many of the reforms of which white backlash was made, thus neutralizing one of his biggest campaign issues because he was idealistically at odds to public sentiment over those aspects of civil rights which hit voters the hardest.

As for the Southern States, all they wanted was a guarantee from the candidate that he would not use troops in the South, that he would work to remove the Civil Rights Bill as unconstitutional, and that he would respect the rights of the states to handle their own internal affairs—which they got. From there the South would handle its own integration problems.

One can well debate, of course, whether the campaign could have been won even with a "George Wallace" approach to the civil rights issue. Difficulties here only added to what, by authoritative accounts, was one of the most badly managed campaigns in U.S. history. This was the consensus on both ideological sides. It is safe to say that Goldwater might have delivered more than six southern states, however, had

public sentiment over civil rights been brought into balance with more intelligent strategy in other areas, such as better planning for speaking engagements, better psychology and more appropriate semantics over the highly sensitive subject of war in Vietnam. As it was, these other problems (plus a hostile press) cost the Republican campaign the balance of its margin (see *Looking Forward*, by Liberty Lobby, 300 Independence Ave., S.E., Washington, D.C., a comprehensive study of the campaign listing 25 basic reasons for the loss and outlining a new strategy for 1968). Where did the real political potential in WBL really lie? As borne out in subsequent studies, one thing is certain: reaction was *not* based on the Civil Rights Bill itself because by election time the bill was still nothing more than a book entry and had not taken effect in the nation's daily affairs.

No clear understanding of white reaction showed up either in conversation or Republican platform material. Conflicting interpretations—where there were any—took the place of authoritative insight. To this was added the dead weight of indecision as to whether it was even *moral* to use this public protest to get votes. After that, WBL was all but buried by modern Republicans who refused to use it, thus placing it out of reach for the duration of the campaign.

Many Republicans who recognized the potential of WBL were too unsteady in the face of liberal propaganda to carry it out of a strictly political context. Others maintained it was only a political problem to begin with. No research was ever undertaken, apparently, to determine once and for all how the average voter actually interpreted WBL. Was it property *rights* or property *values* which concerned him? Was it government tyranny or the proximity of the Negro? Was it freedom of choice to reject a bus pilot program or was it a rejection of integrated schooling per se?

When post-election surveys brought reliable evidence to the surface, a heavy political price had already been paid. For chances are slim that the conservative wing can ever get back into the race with a more likely winner than Barry Goldwater unless perhaps George Wallace can find a political outlet by 1968. (This discussion is centered about the Republican Party for one main reason: the Republican Party, with all of its problems, is nevertheless the only conservative outlet the public has at the polls. The Democratic Party is committed to civil rights for the next thousand years, whatever this may mean to the voting public.) With nothing more accurate to go on, most Republicans (other than southerners) were bound to assess the furor over civil rights as the candidates saw it and nothing could have been more at odds with public sentiment.

First of all, neither the 1964 Civil Rights Act nor any local forced integration measure would ever arouse public indignation until it was implemented. As strictly political issues, such measures are too far off and too academic to touch the average voters' personal interests. The public does not act on theory but on issues which affect personal living, income and convictions and has shown little inclination to develop mixed emotions over the forfeiture of political liberty. What makes the difference with civil rights is the involvement of the Negro and the effect which this special form of government invasion has on property values and personal associations. Would whites object to a bus pilot program with other whites? Have they ever minded other *whites* moving into their neighborhoods or apartment house districts? Hardly ever. Therefore, what difference would the element of force or "population management" make to them now? The answer: probably none at all. Coercion has suddenly begun to mean something because it is broken

down along ethnic lines and represents socio-cultural invasion and economic loss.

The general public is in sympathy with the false ideology of much civil rights legislation, and apathetic toward the remainder. It is the proximity of the Negro—a strictly social phenomenon—that has produced white backlash. Most Americans believe the Negroes ought to have certain rights and opportunities, but they do not want to share them with the Negroes, and that is the basis of WBL.

Second, if fear of tyranny were the motivating factor, the northern public would have risen against it years ago over any of the dozens of forms of collectivism—in education, in religion, through the tax structure—that have been chipping away at American liberty since 1932. The past 30 years have suggested one uncomfortable fact: that modern Americans, as with citizens in centuries past, will accept tyranny at the right price and conditions.

Without the Negro, there could *be* a civil rights movement and it would not affect property values, personal safety on the streets, educational standards, and all the other by-products of integration. Even immorality and juvenile delinquency could be absorbed by a preoccupied public, but not interracial dating or social informality with Negroes—or in the extreme case, a Negro in the family or mulatto children.

The average Republican did not see the civil rights issue from the voter's point of view; he had not studied the civil rights *problem*; he had studied the civil rights *bill*. He could not separate "racism" in his mind—as a prior judgment of whites or Negroes—from a race *problem*: a social and economic crisis in the community brought on by forced or planned integration. He was so horrified at the thought of being labeled under the first category (e.g.: "You're a racist!")

that he would not venture into the second (the sociological effects of civil rights) even though the health of the community is among the most legitimate of all contemporary issues. A coverage of impending political tyranny under civil rights legislation was not enough for the campaign. Where Goldwater was able to deliver the vote over WBL, it was like pinning the tail on the donkey, as in the case of New York's three assembly districts. In California, where the problem was, and is, in exactly the same category, the heavier Democratic margin remained unchanged.

More evidence that the public sized up the civil rights problem in social rather than political terms was supplied by syndicated columnist Samuel Lubell—after the election. In his King Features article for Monday, April 5, 1965, Lubell cited the results of a public opinion survey he had conducted to determine this very point.

He set the pace of his article by quoting a Detroit bus driver as saying that he wouldn't want a colored family living near him—but that voting was one right every American should have.

Lubell showed how people he interviewed would express their support for the proposed Voting Rights Bill (now law) while in the next breath protest that Negroes were going too far and that they did not want to eat, drink or socialize with them. They were willing to lend moral support to certain aspects of the "rights" program, but were at the same time transferring their children to private, all-white schools to avoid integration, and they were flatly against any "racial mixing" in churches or restaurants. We are speaking here of *northern*, not southern, states. Voting was something Negroes could do without social contact with whites, but the more intimately they touched social life, the more intense became the opposition.

After considerable polling, Lubell established that

resistance to social mingling ran far higher than any sense of economic or political conflict, and that white reaction was social rather than political.

This somewhat significant piece of evidence has been substantiated in subsequent surveys. The Harris Poll—a syndicated feature of the liberal Washington *Post*—found in 1965 that while apparent tolerance and understanding of Negro problems by whites has been on the rise since 1963, rejection of social contact with Negroes is also increasing sharply, rather than decreasing. This inverse ratio between what is *said* and what is actually *done* in the area of race relations reveals that where lip service is backed by actions civil rights is widening, not narrowing, the gap between the races.

According to this poll, white reaction to social contacts between the races—ranging from children bringing Negro friends to their homes to intermarriage—had not changed from 1963 to 1965 but remained fairly constant between 84 and 85 per cent.

But where a noticeable 90 per cent of whites in 1963 were shown to be resolutely opposed to their teenage daughters dating Negroes, this overwhelming margin had risen to 92 per cent by 1965 (Los Angeles *Times*, October 18, 1965).

At this rate of increase, the number of whites endorsing intimacy between whites and Negroes will be well under 5 per cent by 1970. What they do or may do surreptitiously is another matter. No attempt is made here to conceal the moral adventure now visible in certain levels of urban nightlife (in the North) and around some high schools and colleges. This fact notwithstanding, actual race mixing is still in the rank minority. If the interracial society were really catching on, shifts in population, white reaction at the polls, the color line and other evidences of heterogeneous (traditional) ethnic grouping would be disappearing.

Instead, on an overall scale the breach is widening regardless of the rise in immorality.

Students of national affairs, having taken stock of white backlash, often reason that (a) it is overrated, (b) the Negro is only incidental to WBL, or (c) infringement on property rights is the cause of the reaction. Against statistics, such rationalization usually reflects the idealism and, almost always, the timidity of the viewer who is simply on edge due to the pressures surrounding the subject of race relations. As will be brought out in subsequent chapters, mixed fear and ignorance in northern professional circles is almost a worse form of integration than that pursued by the Civil Rights Movement because it has made the North vulnerable. And a nation that has dropped its guard socially cannot produce a meaningful political offensive.

POLITICAL MORALS AND WBL

The sensitive air surrounding civil rights made it easy for liberal journalism to discourage aspiring politicians from employing WBL as a campaign vote-getter. The most handy reason a candidate could pull out of the bag to use as a disclaimer was that he was not sure it was *moral* to use WBL.

Liberal Republicans, meanwhile, wasted no time in repudiating WBL as unworthy of a place in the campaign, adding that it would be a disservice to the "party of Lincoln" to use "racism" as a platform issue. That was the usual rejoinder. The use of the Lincoln image to add moral tone to civil rights causes will go down in history as one of the most callous misrepresentations of all time. A confirmed separationist, Lincoln did more than almost any public figure of his time to prevent the use of color as the political weapon of demagogues and to advocate what Albert Schweitzer

was later to refer to as the "social interval" between white and Negro. A summary of his actual views on the subject is covered in a later chapter. In order to launch the drastic civil rights policies of the Reconstruction period (after Lincoln's death), Republican radicals in Congress had to turn against every personal and political ideal for which Lincoln stood throughout his lifetime (See chapter 6).

In a further comparison of political morals, one could hardly find anything virtuous in the use of semantic jargon whose chief purpose is to neutralize resistance to advancing socialism. The word "racist" is simply the more up-dated, idiomatic rant previously served by such more seasoned extracts as "capitalist," "imperialist," "extremist," and "warmonger." Since the struggle for power has now shifted to the civil rights sphere, anyone who stands in the way is a "racist," or he may be a "bigot" or a "white supremacist." The price Americans pay by fleeing in terror before these bogus terms is the abandonment of their property rights and their status as free citizens. Communist political warfare has no other purpose and scare words are simply the tools of the trade. Taken seriously, they have almost no application to real life. What would "racism" have to do with (a) a homeowner's desire to save the value of his real estate? or (b) the desire of parents to see their children get a basic education without being used as guinea pigs in a ruthless sociological experiment along the way? or (c) concern for one's personal safety on the streets, or social immunity or business volume in a stable district? or (d) freedom of choice? These are the components of every healthy community.

As an election issue, WBL was no more outstanding than the fact that in 1939, 88 per cent of the American people were against going to war—this did not make them pacifists. The reaction against Prohibition even-

tually overthrew it as a law—yet this did not make the American people inebriates. Surely, one could express concern for his property and his political rights without being accused of "racism."

The Republican Party was either going to set its sail by leftwing propaganda or by the nation's needs. Where the latter got priority, there proved to be far better reasons for employing WBL than disclaiming it.

For one thing, WBL was created lock, stock and barrel by the liberal wing through its civil rights policies. It is now a thoroughly legitimate protest against tyranny, and had it been theirs to use, the Democrats would have filled the air with it like confetti on VE Day.

Second, WBL was largely conceded as an issue to win on. And in politics, how can misguided idealism plus thousands of dollars in campaign contributions from faithful followers be justified by premeditated failure?

Third, would the Republican Party be any less in error by giving a soft-spoken endorsement to "liberal" civil rights policies (by default) than by answering this public outcry with responsible solutions?

Fourth, WBL was not something one "used" in the sense of having to step out and deliberately fan the flames of prejudice and race hatred in order to "exploit" it. Race hatred was already there; it existed; the liberals had created it; the voters had already made up their minds. As pointed out in *Look*, September 22, 1964, without any added inducements the voters would seek out the candidate who best filled their prescriptions. Answering them with something constructive would by almost any interpretation be vastly superior to mute silence or to joining the left as it attempted to market a highly unpopular idea.

But probably most important of all is a consideration of what WBL will lead to if a genuine solution

is *not* found. No ordinary social distemper, WBL is a boiling pot of highly-combustible materials with built-in makings of full-scale race war. If present policies continue, white reaction is certain to erupt and when it does, it will converge foresquare on the Negro. This would suit the Communists handily; anarchy is one of their chief interests in the civil rights movement. The Republican Party is the only political instrument in the nation that can head off such a catastrophe, but it will never make that move by remaining out of touch with the popular mind.

VOTING RATIOS AND WBL

Political strategists have observed what WBL is doing to voting ratios. In California, Democrats outnumber Republicans by an approximate margin of 3 to 2. A major civil rights issue—over education or employment, for example—which is confined to politics, is of necessity automatically partisan and headed for probable defeat (assuming it is the Republicans who are making the stand). But if that same issue is broken down along ethnic or racial lines, it gains a potential margin (in California) of 8 to 1, or the ratio by which whites outnumber Negroes. Almost every state in the Union has a similar ethnic breakdown.

The case was served in California in 1964 by the 2 to 1 victory of Proposition 14 over a fair housing law (the Rumford Act) that would have forced property owners to sell or rent to Negroes. This, in a state overwhelmingly liberal. Few issues in California history have produced the crossover vote delivered by Proposition 14 and the consensus was that without such an ocean of liberal propaganda as came to the aid of the Rumford Act the victory would have been much greater.

Witness then the spectacle of Republican leadership

returning to its fruitless mission of trying to influence the colored vote while the lesson of Proposition 14 was still fresh in the minds of the voters. Here is one repository of votes the Republican Party will never claim—on any realistic scale—even if it were to be regarded as a worthy goal. But it is something worse than lack of political sophistication that can prompt Republican leaders at the national level like Ray Bliss to declare Republican policy in pursuit of the colored vote when the nation as a whole is drifting gradually into realignment over the color line (see *San Francisco Examiner*, June 30, 1965).

Where legitimate reaction to civil rights schemes is allowed to function in a campaign, it is piling up majorities against collectivism for the first time in thirty years. Knowing this, the Left is working nights and week-ends to (a) accelerate its program, and (b) to locate conservative candidates whose popularity outweighs their pro-integration tendencies. At the same time, other weapons have been summoned such as the President's anti-poverty program. According to CORE's Bayard Rustin, the anti-poverty bill was launched primarily to buy off southern segregationism. Theory has it that by proceeding as planned to make the 1964 Civil Rights Bill the law of the land, entrenched liberalism lost that segment of middle-class voting strength which had been coasting along with the liberal deluge for years.

This meant that the Left had to find a new source of votes. Marked for exploitation is the nation's most destitute 15 per cent, with large numbers living in the Appalachian Range. Even the Appalachia Bill is a gamble, however, for it is doubtful that these mountain people will integrate with the Negroes or vote for civil rights measures at the local level, regardless of Federal payola. The bigger problem lies with local and political leadership which *is* liable to make this

trade and use it to bribe voting support from its respective constituency. U.S. foreign aid goes through roughly the same routine behind the Iron Curtain, passing into the hands of local Communist leaders who dole it out only to those who will support the Communist program.

In summing up the results of the 1964 elections, Rustin remarked that where white resistance to civil rights had been heavily concentrated in some sections of the country, the Left was able to split the white power structure with generous—conditional—promises of aid. Already, local governments and private businesses in every state have been placed on notice that they can expect no more Federal handouts from the day they switch to an anti-civil rights position. Federal money—income tax money—has been the principal leverage for compliance to civil rights demands everywhere.

Through civil rights, Americans are being brought faster than ever under the heel of socialism. Next to 20 years of continuous socialist victories, reaction to civil rights is the first sign of a healthy breakaway (while far from conclusive by any means). Although any real crisis may be far off, the build-up must continue, because the Communists cannot—and are not about to—stop what they have started.

SUMMARY

Government bodies have undertaken a series of diabolic measures to integrate the Negro, against which the nation stands in almost diametric opposition. Although a power grab is the real objective of this elaborate horseplay, "rights" legislation is waged on the American system in the name of "social equality" for the Negro and has, therefore, produced race tensions which cannot be ignored. As a result, white reaction has become the most potent political force against

collectivism in the country. There have been riots and the expectation is for more and bigger ones. The stage is being set for (a) uncontrolled racial violence bordering on civil war; (b) the concentration of all political power in the Executive branch of government; and (c) military intervention into community life and subsequent martial law—allegedly to control the rioting. Civil rights is the Communist's final stanza in a multi-staged attempt to seize power in the United States, and it is based squarely on the exploitation of color.

The one bright aspect is that popular reaction to the Civil Rights movement is strong enough to produce a change of administration—if this reaction is properly understood. Moreover, civil rights is just about the only winning issue left for the conservative wing. The liberals are promising the American people heaven and getting away with it. Only one issue hits them harder, and that is civil rights.

But a winning political formula depends on something northern Republican leadership is unable to deliver through its present policies: a majority at the polls. Northern leadership has no rapport with the voters over civil rights. Why? Because it is interpreting the problem in strictly political terms. True, it is political, and would not be possible without the helping hand of the U.S. Government. But to the mass of the voters it is another kind of problem. They are not concerned with civil rights as a "Constitutional issue" or as a political invasion or as anything so academically circumscribed. White backlash is a rejection of integration, not of civil rights per se. This is the underlying significance of the Lubell and Harris surveys brought out in this chapter, and it explains how a civil rights measure can become law, then be rejected in daily practice. Rather than integrate, estimates show that over two thirds of the American people will instead move outside their own law and as things stand, they

already go to great effort and expense to maintain the color line. As will be shown, integration—or the promise of it—is also the main driving force behind the Negro's participation in the Civil Rights Movement.

To the voters, it is race; to northern political leadership, it is politics. Conservative leaders have a bull by the tail. But holding the biggest political potential of the half-century, they will blow it all unless they find some way to close the gap between themselves and the mass of voters, or at least make some reasonable accommodation with the popular viewpoint.

This gap can be narrowed, in one way, by revealing the social patterns followed by *both* professional and laboring classes in the North regardless of what lip service is paid to the doctrines of integration and social equality. Social conviction is the basis of political deed. What northern leaders *assume* is the accepted climate of opinion and what they *think* social codes actually are greatly influence what stand they will, or will not, take on the entire civil rights issue. At present, northern leaders have a wholly mistaken idea of social patterns in the North vis-a-vis the Negro.

Northern leaders cannot hope to reflect popular consensus without acquiring an academic grounding in those aspects of the problem which are decidedly *outside* the political sphere. Academic bankruptcy in the field of race relations (what the Academy normally refers to as "inter-ethnic contacts") has been evidenced, in part, by the failure of the North to be able to transform this swelling nationwide reaction into positive political results. This, in spite of more than adequate analyses of various "rights" legislation. Poor political insight is demonstrated also by the growing tendency of the white population to move toward violence in its own self-defense, because it has not been shown a more constructive (e.g.: political) way out of the problem. Where nothing can be achieved in poli-

tics, the public must turn to non-political solutions. Here also, northern leadership stands empty-handed.

To obtain a better alignment with the voting public, northern leaders must engage in some honest research on civil rights history. That civil rights *has* a history may come as news, but it is true, nevertheless. This is only the *second* time a scheme like civil rights has been attempted since the nation was founded. The first attempt threw one-third of the country under the heel of a Washington-based tyranny—as is shaping up right now—and nearly destroyed it as a part of the American enterprise. That episode has gone down in the archives as the "Reconstruction Period" in southern history. It was civil rights letter for letter and word for word. All the answers to the "rights" problem now dragging the United States to its knees are contained in the record of 19 years of Reconstruction tyranny.

Finally, for the first time since the Pilgrims landed, the North must come to know something about the Negro—how he lives, what he thinks, what his social codes are, whether words like "equality" and "rights" actually mean the same thing to him as they do to whites, whether integration is of genuine assistance to the Negro or is setting him farther back than ever in his progress. Does the Negro appreciate the wet hand of northern humanitarianism or does it violate every social code in the colored world? Can growing race tension be alleviated by integrating the Negro faster, or is integration the precise cause of race tension? Does the single standard which the North applies to both races actually aid the Negro, or is it a worse form of prejudice than he has experienced under southern paternalism since 1865?

The North cannot sidestep these issues and still win the war. These are the "secrets" which civil rights leaders casually admit they are withholding in order

to keep the North from finding its bearings. The Communists may have produced this crisis. But a market had to exist here to make anything as wild and unpopular as the Civil Rights Movement even possible and that market has been supplied by sheer academic failure in this most sensitive of all modern problems.

FOUR

Civil Rights and The Social Setting of the North

Civil rights came like the unwanted guest into southern politics. That is, where one is comparing its reception north and south of the Mason-Dixon Line. "Rights" legislation violated every southern political tradition, while the demands for integration—starting with the Supreme Court's integration decision of 1954—stood opposite a centuries-long social code. On top of all this, the South had been through civil rights once before—during Reconstruction—and knew most every angle of it from the lies and promises fed the Negroes to the inevitable power grab concealed beneath melodramatic appeals for human dignity. A part of southern life from earliest times, segregation was to the South what Sunday is to the Christian world—a rigid observance. Eleven years with civil rights (1865–1876) transformed this code into an immutable law.

North of the Mason-Dixon Line, the picture has been entirely different. Here, many have assumed that "integration" was always a part of the social picture. Exactly what part of that picture was never clearly established. Consequently, most Northerners have not felt they stood on solid enough ground to take special issue with integration and have largely confined their resentment of civil rights to a political context.

True, the North is not "segregated" by southern

standards. On the other hand, to say it is "integrated" would be to misrepresent conditions as they really are. North and South have different interpretations of the words "segregation" and "integration." Thus a problem in semantics has wrought confusion in northern social thought and placed a weapon in the hands of "rights" leaders—that of a fictitious consensus—which they have not hesitated to use. If integration is an accomplished fact and has been observed in the North for generations, goes the theory, what case has the North got against civil rights bills waged *on behalf* of integration? The usual answer is "force—we object to force, not to integration."

By now a conditioned reflex in northern political circles, this overworked reply would suffice in most cases if it were valid. It is not. Integration to the extent pursued by the Civil Rights Movement is not indigenous to the American continent, much less to the northern half of the United States, but goes farther than anything the nation has ever conceived. But this fact should cause anything but embarrassment to the martyred conscience of the North.

Either the North was never quite clear on the identity of its own social codes or has simply been victimized into forgetfulness by twenty years of leftwing semantic warfare. By means of a play on words—and a lot of pressure—liberal writers are trying to establish that since integration has always been a northern tradition, reaction against it is clear evidence of "bigotry" and "prejudice" and that "white supremacy" is merely seeking a cooler climate to work in. Forced into a squeeze play by such embarrassing clichés, the standard response is now to come out extra strong for the cause of the Negro, to give excessive applause to colored speakers, and to grin and swallow much of the "rights" nostrum. One expects a modicum of urbane politeness among all business

dealings in a civilized society. Today, northern professional classes are *fawning* over the Negro as did the Republican radicals in Congress when the first colored (carpetbag) Senator, Mississippi's Hiram Revels, went to Washington in the 1860's. The posture is not sincere. Genuine concern would have appeared twenty years ago rather than today as a defense reflex against unrelenting anti-discrimination propaganda. Out of plain fear of character assassination, hypocrisy has replaced the judicious reserve that once co-existed with the American spirit of fair play.

After the pattern of twisted reasoning and stage-managed demonstrations finally swung into full gear, anyone rejecting integration—for any cause at all—was summarily accused of "hating" Negroes. Few can know how much time, labor and expense have been summoned to implant this puerile nonsense in the public mind. After a generation of Pavlovian mind-conditioning, northern humanitarians—liberals and conservatives alike—have lost their capacity to interpret the nature of their obligation to other minorities except through the channels of leftwing propaganda. They no longer know *how* to be "fair" toward Negroes in ways commensurate with the good of their own society. The South, having had race problems to deal with *in spades*, understands the Negroes and suffers no conflict of interest between civil rights legislation and its social implications. The North knows *nothing* about the Negroes and is, therefore, vulnerable to any trick of deception which operates under the banner of "equality" in spite of the use of this misleading term as the export gospel of Communism. And Americans must give civil rights their *social consent* before they will willingly live by its law. Fortunately (so far), American labor will not buy this bonus package. So the Left is logically pounding away at one theme: acceptance of the Negro on social grounds—in other words, social equality—in order to arrive at its political goals.

The Negro is being *commercialized* to the American people, sold to them like razor blades and insurance plans, through every known trick of advertising. Behind enlarged tales of suppression follows the lever of consensus and the "we have always had integration here" syndrome. The cumulative effect is to induce Americans to commence the breakdown of their own traditions in the belief they are merely conforming to the status quo—a social order where whites and Negroes have always accepted each other on terms of perfect social equality.

But the point is, they haven't, have they?

And if social equality—in other words, interracialism—has never seen the light of day on an accepted scale in the North, exactly what kind of integration does the average college graduate contend that we have here? Answer: it has never been clearly defined. Mainly by default, therefore, a liberal semantic war has thrown the North over an ideological barrel. The result is that the Negroes are walking all over the North and so is "rights" legislation, a fact which no honest Negro will attempt to deny. Americans have an obligation to defend themselves and their property against invasion—political or otherwise. But because the power struggle has now been broken down along racial lines, they are waiting for someone to define the limits of legitimate self-defense in terms of American democratic principles. They don't know how to do it and the longer they wait the greater grows their predicament. Even where the "rights" offensive has not already fleeced citizens of their social and political immunities, racial propaganda has produced such wholesale confusion that one can no longer discuss such forbidden topics as Negroes, integration, or race relations objectively without arousing deep suspicions about personal convictions and political morals.

Today, the subject of fair play for Negroes hangs in limbo somewhere between the Northerner's misunder-

standing of his own historical social codes, commercialized group norms which require a facade of compassion for underdogs, and a desire to preserve his reputation at all costs. Through this yawning gap of fear and vaguery the Left is driving its civil rights express train. And really, the Communists couldn't care less whether you're prejudiced or otherwise; it's your property and freedom they are after. In the Soviet Union colored tourists are openly insulted when they are not being shunned. What Americans are experiencing today is an interim war, a cultural bombardment, to soften, weaken and demoralize them to such a degree as to destroy their will to resist the final seizure of their property and liberty by the state. When that is accomplished, the Communists are just as capable of installing "racism" and 90-proof bigotry as the new requirements of social respectability.

Then how do we get rid of this thought-control, the stalemate which hangs like a wet tent over the subject of race relations? One way is to establish what the consensus of the North really is, by asking: does the North have integration the way "rights" advocates are promoting it? Are Northern social codes this liberal? Have they ever been? Is the North segregated, integrated, mixed, separate, or simply "non-integrated"? Either integration is a part of Northern social codes, or it represents an invasion of a social system which has—like the South—always been separate from the Negro albeit administered somewhat differently. If the North is integrated, why is there "white backlash"? Or, is integration every bit the violation of established codes that "rights" legislation is—in the North as well as the South?

Where much of the North regards itself as integrated, the South says the North is segregated. This is a fairly astonishing contention for a Northerner to absorb when it defies everything his eyes see and his ears hear from day to day. But once the relative mean-

ing of these words is made clear, evidence will more nearly support the Southern version.

A lot of lip service is given to theories of equality and brotherhood—at social gatherings, political functions, club meetings, and in statements to the press. It is the expedient thing to do.

But in private life something else is happening that every American should carry in his mind when he makes his next brave journey into the everyday career world. There, a great stampede is on to move out of the path of integration, and it has been in full swing since the end of the Second World War. Even the most leftwing equalitarian is frequently no exception to the rule. Regardless of what is espoused and promulgated in public life, after 20 years, private life America is getting out of the way of integration wherever and whenever it can. How? By moving and “re-moving” to the all-white residential suburbs, by transferring children to all-white private schools, by voting down civil rights schemes at the polls whenever the chance arises, by launching recalls, referendums, initiatives and injunctions to overthrow proposed integration measures, by voting integration-conscious politicians out of local office, and in many other ways.

In an article entitled “Segregation the Law Doesn’t Stop,” *U.S. News and World Report* for April 10, 1961 says that in the rush to the suburbs, Negroes are staying behind; they crowd into the big cities while outlying neighborhoods stay white. This form of segregation, the article states, is spreading. One-third of all Negroes in the United States now live in the 25 largest cities. But only one-seventh of all whites live in these cities. In the same 25 cities one person in every five is a Negro while throughout the nation as a whole only one in ten is Negro. In the suburbs, the gap is even larger with only one in 25 a Negro.

There is both voluntary and economic segregation throughout the North. Economically, Negroes tend to

cluster in central and aging parts of cities where housing is cheap and unskilled labor is in demand. When Negroes move into these metropolitan areas, whites move out and re-establish the color line. Negroes, generally, do not move to the suburbs. In the cities, Negroes tend to live in one section, whites in another. People of one ethnic group always prefer to live in close proximity to others of the same group—this has been the case throughout history. Court rulings have not eliminated this kind of segregation. The pattern is illustrated by the following table showing the ratio of Negroes to whites in urban and suburban areas:

| NORTH | CITY | SUBURBS |
|------------------|------|---------|
| Los Angeles | 13.5 | 3.1 |
| Washington, D.C. | 53.9 | 6.1 |
| Detroit | 28.9 | 3.7 |
| St. Louis | 28.6 | 6.1 |
| Cleveland | 28.6 | .7 |
| Philadelphia | 26.4 | 6.1 |
| Chicago | 22.9 | 2.9 |
| Cincinnati | 21.6 | 3.4 |
| Pittsburgh | 16.7 | 3.4 |
| New York | 14.0 | 4.8 |
| SOUTH | | |
| New Orleans | 37.2 | 14.1 |
| Atlanta | 38.3 | 8.5 |
| Memphis | 37.0 | 33.0 |
| Houston | 22.9 | 10.3 |

(Source: *U. S. Census Bureau*)

Confusion reigns over definitions of “integration” and “segregation.” To a Northerner “segregation” means the physical separation of whites and Negroes on buses, in restaurants, in schools and churches, in restrooms, at social gatherings, etc. This is segregation in the literal sense, maintained by law, by force and through open social endorsement by the entire white community. The Northerner sees no such phenomenon

in his familiar surroundings, not even a close approximation. From California to New York, Negroes have always had free access to buses, restaurants, restrooms, and the like. And so the Northerner says to himself: "We're *not* segregated up here."

THE NORTH IS SEGREGATED

The fact that Negroes have these freedoms in the North should not be taken as an implication that social intimacy is approved or that the color line is breaking down. As brought out earlier, it is breaking down mainly where those involved have *assumed* that social consent is already in existence. They are in a distinct minority. Both the North and the South are running separate social systems from the Negroes; each is simply held in place by totally different methods. When the word "integration" is used, the reference is to *equal access*, not social intimacy, and the difference should be firmly established.

In *Beyond the Melting Pot* (Cambridge, M.I.T. Press, 1963), an exhaustive study of ethnic minorities in America, the University of California's Nathan Glazer and Patrick Moynihan discount the long-held theory that America's cities are or ever shall be "melting pots" where divergent races blend into one homogeneous culture. "The fact about the 'melting pot,' the authors are quick to point out, is that it never happened," wrote the *Berkeley Daily Gazette* on October 28, 1965, adding,

... by and large the history of immigration in this country is one of groups *fleeing from assimilation rather than seeking it* (emphasis mine).

With special emphasis on the Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians and Irish of New York, Glazer and Moynihan establish their findings with the aid of statistics and case histories to reveal an unbroken pattern of separation in New York and other urban

complexes in the United States that has not been altered by the integration fervor of the past two decades.

In the South, "social separation" is maintained by legal segregation and by non-political bodies acting on their own. In the North, it is supported by white residential districts, and separate school systems. But personal convictions in the North and South, based on social mores of separation handed down from generation to generation within the family system, are identical.

Before 1945, every northern state had what are called "anti-miscegenation" laws (32 of the states still have them), which are about as close as the North has ever come to formal segregation, for the word "segregation" denotes legal restraint, a form of pressure which has been noticeably absent in the North particularly since the second World War. Social separation throughout the North is maintained by personal choice rather than by law (notwithstanding the fact that "free choice" has also created southern racial laws).

Before 1950, social separation was talked about much more openly. But pressures and liberal propaganda have driven the subject underground so that it is simply adhered to quietly by the majority of northern whites. The Negroes practice it too but few people stop to think that ethnic selectivity might work both ways.

By southern standards, any population that is not racially mixed is "segregated." Southern segregation involves more than simply separate facilities and social codes. It rests on a close knowledge each race has of the other. The Negro has no claim on any aspect of the white social order and is not allowed to take white customs for granted. At the same time, the Negro is left entirely alone in his own district to develop his own type of social democracy. In most ways, this system

produces tranquility as compared to what the North goes through where tension and suspicion separate most white and colored districts. That is to say, there was tranquility in the South before northern do-gooders began to meddle in southern affairs.

No such accommodation between the races exists in the North and this merely adds to the confusion when the word "segregation" is used to denote northern conditions. Social separation of the southern variety actually permits a greater degree of "integration" on a business basis than is found anywhere in the North, a much more cordial and relaxed relationship between white and Negro than the twisted accounts of northern journalism would indicate. But this exists within the tolerances of an enforced and respected social barrier. It is precisely this feat of having removed any confusion about race relations that makes easier contacts possible.

Journalists and television producers began a new tactic around 1963 of misinterpreting this "closeness" to northern audiences where it showed up in pictorial form, possibly to help break down social standards a little farther. To a Northerner, the sight of white and black together in the South—in schools or businesses—implies closer social contact as well. To a Southerner, it means nothing of the kind, but is the standard cordiality extended between the races in the normal course of daily affairs. Were the "social interval" (Schweitzer's term) to be removed or attempts made in that direction, this cordiality would tend to disappear simultaneously. This may happen yet, depending on how deep civil rights is able to penetrate into southern life.

Although the North runs a separate social system from the Negroes, no *acknowledged* barrier exists between the races anymore. There is no rigid code to tell one race where the other stands. Consequently, the two cultures are in conflict. For the overwhelming

majority of both races, there is hardly any contact, business or otherwise, throughout their lifetime. One can hardly call this integration. The more accurate phrase for northern customs is social separation, but where Negroes have almost complete access to everything in public life. If this still looks unfair to the good humanitarian, bear in mind that in private life the Negroes practice a form of social immunity in their own districts that is every bit as strong, if not stronger, than that pursued by the whites. If you don't believe it, take a stroll through the Watts district of Los Angeles, Chicago's South Side, or Harlem after 9:00 PM. Moreover, they like it that way. When the chips are down, neither race will tolerate invasions or attacks from the other, which is the main reason civil rights policy is pushing the races into conflict.

The North has left its social customs undefined. Through this door, civil rights is making its entry into the northern environment.

From the press, one gains the impression the North is integrated, but it is to voting and population migration statistics that one must go to find the truth: that "white backlash" has come into being to *preserve* social separation. And that is where the consensus happens to be.

Thus, a Southerner, after coming north to study the ethnic situation, will ultimately come up with the idea that the North—of all places—should *maintain* segregation. People hearing this say he has "lost his marbles." But he has gone to statistics rather than to the business atmosphere, or the press, or the beard-and-sandal set around some of our college campuses, or the shady side of urban nightlife, and as a result, he has more than a wild imagination working in his favor. What he may not have is a suitable choice of words.

But he is basically right about northern social patterns. During a debate at the University of California

on March 17, 1965, Professor Wilmoore Kendall (formerly of Yale, now at the University of Dallas) said that the United States had a crisis on its hands which the liberals refused to recognize. "The crisis," he said, "is this:

Through the method of making new laws and new interpretations of our Constitution, you (liberals) have created a situation in which we find at least two-thirds of our people disobeying their law, in order to continue living according to their long-held beliefs and traditions.

You will not see the truth that these people (the Americans) *will not change*—you will never change them; *they will never integrate.*"

The purpose of civil rights may actually *be* to force Americans to move outside their own laws. By making them swallow a scheme they despise and which undermines every libertarian principle upon which the nation was founded, it also has the effect of paralyzing the American will to resist. This too may lie close to the heart of the civil rights offensive.

White reaction by the mass of northern voters does not represent a refutation of "democratic principles." Social separation has never been at odds to the American form of republican government nor indeed to the progress of the Negro in this country. That is to say, it is not social separation itself (e.g., the color line) that has stood in their way. To the contrary, more Negroes have reached fame, fortune and opportunity under this system than their race has been able to do anywhere else or ever before in world history. The first really critical influence to jeopardize their progress is the civil rights movement itself and, oddly enough, it was the *last* one to stand in their way over 100 years ago. Before the freed Negroes could get a man's chance to

move ahead after the Civil War, civil rights as a political weapon had to be exposed and destroyed.

As events unfold, northern reaction will be of a more violent nature than in the South. The South has lived closer to Negroes throughout its history, understands them better and is more disciplined to the situation in which it now finds itself. The North has no such experience to fall back on. Its current pretense of tolerance is a thin film which will evaporate the moment the fickle will of crowd acceptance swings the other way.

The half-dozen devices used in the North to hold the color line are what reveal the actual consensus over ethnic considerations. Northern political leaders who give casual endorsement to integration schemes not only stand at odds to this consensus but in most cases contradict what they themselves are doing quietly behind the scenes when there are no social or political fortunes to be won. Actions must, as always, speak louder than words. You will be hard put to find one politician in government anywhere in the North *practicing* de facto integration or social intimacy with Negroes. Yet neither will you find one who would reject a legitimate need to alleviate genuine minority problems.

When all the evidence is in, the North has no deep-seated case to take with southern segregation, although some will reserve judgment on various methods of enforcement. As it turns out more people are "segregated" North of the Mason-Dixon Line than below it and the more of a threat integration poses to white communities, the deeper they gravitate into living hostility toward the Negro. Northern separation is practiced with equal vigor and at considerably more expense (consider the cost of evacuating an entire neighborhood, for instance). What is more, the North has had the institution longer than the South because it is *older* (although settled later).

The purpose here is not to convert anyone from his chosen outlook but merely to set part of the record straight. Consensus makes up only one of many other aspects in the developing civil rights biography, and true perspective can only be gained by seeing them all. For a start, there is no better place to look than in some of the lesser-known but highly pertinent aspects of U.S. history.

FIVE

Southern Reconstruction

Phase I

The First Experiment in "Civil Rights"

If the driver of a speeding automobile knew in advance that he was going to have a head-on collision around the next turn, he'd slow down or take a detour. The United States has one of those rare chances to forecast its future by simply looking into its past. Far from entering the twentieth century unheralded, today's sudden clamor for integration and "freedom Now!" is but the second episode of a rare treat which first made its appearance one century ago in 1865, the ghost of a nightmare subdued and buried with heart-aches and human suffering while the South was trying to recover from the Civil War. With a different setting and methods slightly varied, the formula has survived basically unchanged. The principle difference is that civil rights in our time has much broader dimensions, extending not just to the South but to all the states of the Union, while linked to a still larger pattern of global conquest involving every nation on Earth.

In Reconstruction, most of the details come together like a dry-run of the storm into which the United States is now heading. Not faced with the South's problems nor attached to its past, too far removed for first-hand information but inclined to evaluate the situation anyway, people look at the South through the eyes of northern journalism and wonder, "How did it get

that way?" The answer: Reconstruction more than any other factor made the South what it is today, Klan and all. Reconstruction: a struggle for survival with a scourge disguised as the friend of mankind and known then, as now, by the name of "civil rights."

In one ten year period while the South was trying to recover from its heavy war losses, everything now attempted under this deceiving title was tried, many times over, producing conditions which defy description and carving in the southern consciousness the kind of harrowing memory that carries forward as bitter legend for thousands of years.

In this extravaganza, no one is asked to buy every feature of southern life. But caught in an identical situation, the North can do itself no harm by pondering how it will act and what it will do as the entire nation enters the Second Reconstruction.

CHRONOLOGY

With the surrender of General Lee at Appomatox, Virginia on April 9, 1865, a beaten Confederate Army walked off the battlefield to return home. With it came a second "army" composed of northern teachers, politicians and fortune hunters to organize the Negroes. That same year, under a tolerant Reconstruction plan drawn up two years earlier by Abraham Lincoln, the South set up its state governments and qualified its representatives for Congress. Going into his second term of office, Lincoln was assassinated six days after Lee's surrender, on April 15. With Lincoln gone, the radical wing of the Republican Party turned against all his policies and on March 2, 1867, threw the South under martial law depriving the white population of voting rights, representation, and redress in the courts. Under the party management of northern "carpetbag" politicians, the just-freed Negroes were given the reins of government. What are casually referred to

as the "Southern States" today nearly perished under an avalanche of terror and corruption, the last state finally regaining its freedom 9 years later in 1876.

NORTHERN MOBILIZATION OF THE SOUTHERN NEGRO

With all that history has recorded of hardship, attempts at escape and other inequities of the Southern slave system, before the Civil War the average Negro was loyal and easily adapted to Southern customs. When the war came and women and children were left alone on the farms and plantations, their safety was for the most part secure, as Negroes continued to take care of the homes, work the land and protect the family as the fighting wore on.

When the men began to return home in 1865, beaten and demoralized after four years of bloodshed, it was another story. The close of the war marked the beginning of a socio-political experiment with the freed slaves—by northern interests—which has left an indelible impression in the southern mind with regard to the Negro in politics. Had the North allowed a gradual redevelopment to occur in the South during those crucial postwar years, the story might have been altogether different for the Negro as well as the white man.

As a desperation war measure, Lincoln had issued his Emancipation Proclamation early, in July of 1862. The slaves were formally freed much later by the Thirteenth Amendment which passed both houses of Congress on January 31, 1865 and was ratified by all the postwar state governments. Ostensibly to help the Negro establish himself and begin to make constructive use of his new status in life, Congress established the Freedmen's Bureau on March 3, 1865 under Lincoln. Funds were appropriated to set up agencies in counties throughout the South and the Bureau was given the power to divide up abandoned lands and

assign them in portions to the Negroes. The Bureau was also intended as a coordinating body to supervise charitable and educational activities among freedmen, exercise jurisdiction over controversies involving them, regulate their labor contracts and promote Negro suffrage.

Local agents of the Bureau were usually northern whites who had been brought into the South during the fighting or who were given subsequent assignments out of Washington. Those who later joined the corrupt political regimes became known as "carpetbaggers" because so many of them arrived in the South penniless, or with mustering-out pay from the Army, with nothing but bare essentials which were sometimes carried literally in a piece of carpet tied at the ends. Figuratively speaking, they carried their fortunes in a carpetbag, having come down to the South for spoils. For the most part, these were poor whites of whom many were criminals, others too young to have started a career, and still more who were failures back home. All were there by the grace of the Republican Party and the Union Army. Because of this, they referred to themselves deceptively as "loyalists." From then on, everyone who joined the Republican Party, white or Negro, received the same blessing.

The second northern faction which took an immediate interest in the Negro in 1865 was the Union League. The League was an organization started in Ohio in 1862 when it appeared that the South might be on its way to a victory. Raising troops within the states for the Union Army, the League paid their expenses, sent supplies to the front and distributed political literature. Within a year after its birth, the League had established itself in 18 northern states and transferred its headquarters to New York City.

With the war over, it became the intent of the League to move south as a promotional arm of the

Republican Party and set up local clubs throughout the black belts. In some districts, these units operated as "Loyal Leagues" making the Union League at once an organization for northern whites and southern blacks. The Union League henceforth worked for radical reconstruction of the Southern States, punishment of southern leaders, confiscation of property for equal division among the Negroes, and for Negro suffrage. Each southern state had its grand council and each county one or more councils. Each local unit operated as a secret, oath-bound order with a constitution, a ritual, passwords, obligations, etc., all of which were designed to appeal to the freed Negro. Members were sworn to uphold and support each other on all occasions, to vote in elections only for Negroes or northern whites, and to overthrow the southern "white oligarchy." (*Encyclopedia Britannica*, Eleventh Edition.)

As with the Freedmen's Bureaus, the Loyal or Union Leagues were administered by carpetbaggers who wasted no time setting out to build a political force for themselves. Immediately, they took the side of the Negro against his former master for all grievances, social, political or even personal. They were able to mobilize the colored vote within the space of two years which, with the help of Congress, gave them a personal basis for political victories, and turned command of the area over to the Republican Party for most local and all state and Congressional elections. The *Encyclopedia Britannica* states of the League:

No ex-Confederate and few southern unionists were permitted to join. At each meeting, the members were taught from a catechism prepared by radical members of Congress that they must beware of their white neighbors as their worst enemies, that the Democratic Party, to which the southern white belonged, had opposed emancipation and was still opposed to any rights for the Negro.

In order to prevent moral control of the Negroes by former masters, the League, by an 'exodus order,' required all Negroes who were still living with their former masters to find other homes. The Negroes were taught the equality of men and the right of the Negro to his master's property. The votes of the blacks during Reconstruction were controlled by the few white radical leaders. No Negro could safely break away and vote independently. Negroes who voted with the mass of the southern whites were persecuted, beaten or (as in a few cases) killed.

The League died out about 1870, but not before it had succeeded, with the Freedmen's Bureaus and other forces, in permanently arraying blacks and whites into opposing political parties.

The third most conspicuous northern element to dominate the southern landscape was composed of religious denominations which came — allegedly — to preach the Gospel to the Negroes on an equal basis, and philanthropic groups which came to set up schools. By 1874, most of the latter had pulled out of the experiment.

The southern whites were not opposed to education for the Negroes, but under carpetbag rule, "education" became a synonym for race agitation. In addition, most of the money raised to pay teachers' salaries and build schoolhouses went into the pockets of the politicians.

With schools eventually in abundance, few Negroes attended. About one in ten Negroes were willingly taking instruction five years after the start of the experiment in 1870 (*The Angry Scar*, by Hodding Carter, New York, Doubleday, 1959). Instruction of the Negroes usually consisted of partisan politics in the schoolrooms rather than as job training or the three r's. Consequently, Southerners refused lodging to northern teachers who then went to live with the Negroes, slept with them, ate with them, walked with them

and for the most part entered into a life of debasement. Northern teachers were rejected on other grounds, one of these being that they taught Negroes to despise themselves and their color and tried to turn them into white people rather than to teach them to become better Negroes. This created immediate frustrations for the Negroes that could only be worked off through violence and anti-white demonstrations.

Active in education of the Negro were the American Missionary Association, the Freedmen's Aid Society and the Methodist Episcopal Church, formed in Cincinnati in 1866. In 1866, the American Missionary Association sent out 353 teachers; in 1868, it sent 532 more. Most of them were members of the Congregational Church. The Wesleyan Methodists, the Reformed Dutch Church and the Free Will Baptists also sent teachers. In 1866, an estimated 1800 teachers were working in about 1000 schools with an approximate enrollment of 90,000 Negroes. Few southern towns, by that time, lacked Negro schools, and all worked closely with the Freedmen's Bureau.

Later, various funds were set up for the southern Negro, such as the Peabody Fund, the John F. Slater Fund (1882) and the Daniel Hand grant in 1888, the last going to the American Missionary Association to carry on its work. Under carpetbag rule, school graft flourished and school bonds were foraged to meet the expenses of the legislatures. After five years, literacy among the blacks was on the increase, which encouraged most of the benevolent groups to pull up stakes.

Banks were set up for Negroes. One was the Freedmen's Savings and Trust Company, which by the time of its failure had 32 branches in the South. Between 1865 and 1874 when it collapsed, free Negroes had put almost \$20 million into its coffers. Originally established to teach Negroes how to save and to identify

their interests with the Freedmen's Bureaus, the bank was ruined by bad bookkeeping, ill-advised loans and swindle.

Negroes who had once sat in the gallery of white churches were now whisked off to the newly-built Methodist churches with tales that they would be going back on their race if they were to sit in a segregated church. Most went along, fearing violence for failure to comply. Wealthy northern philanthropists, whose money was going into the building of many of these churches and schools, were on the scene demanding cooperation from the native whites and spewing doctrines of social equality. Thousands of northern ministers—some ordained, others self-confessed—flooded the area, turned the Negroes against the whites under the cloak of religion and on occasion burned and sacked the property of whites suspected of having pro-slavery sentiments. Methodism preached social equality and intermarriage to such a degree that in the southern mind it became synonymous with the advocacy of miscegenation.

Behind all this stood Federal troops. Stationed in most Southern States at the close of the war, they were to play a most significant role in the Reconstruction process.

With this mass conglomeration of interrelated social, political and religious indoctrination, the carpetbaggers soon set out to bring the colored population into the Republican fold through the Loyal Leagues. They told the Negroes that "freedom" was just another name for the Republican Party; the Republican Party had given them their liberty and would preserve it for them; the party was their closest friend, the organization that had led them out of the wilderness into the promised land. They did not have to be told never to vote for a white traitor or a rebel or the Democrats who had held them down as slaves. The Party

had fought for them on the field of battle, now they must organize and fight for themselves. Soon the land of the rebels would be confiscated and turned over to the Negroes to whom it justly belonged. Every Negro was to receive forty acres and a mule.

But the Party could not do this unless the Negroes gave it their support and their influence. If the white man of the South won any more elections, so went the story, he would put the Negroes back in slavery and refuse to let their wives wear hoopskirts. Political meetings were always preceded by a collection and followed by a statement which guaranteed repayment "a hundred-fold for every quarter and dime you deposit here tonight." (*Dixie After The War*, Myrta Avery, New York, Doubleday, 1906).

Demands now echoed through the chambers for equal rights—not later, but NOW! "We want our colored man's rights," which (demonstrably) had been denied them as human beings. The words "social equality" were everywhere. The Negroes were going to ride in the same carriages as white people, mingle in the same hotels, eat in the same restaurants, sit in the same theaters and drink at any bar, take seats in any church, approach white women and exploit their freedom in any manner of their choosing. They were taught that they could go out and have a carnival by merely voting, and that was the attitude with which they ventured for the first time into the established social order around them. The Negroes at these meetings became wrought up into a psychosomatic frenzy.

Nowhere were such antagonizing words as "work," "responsibility," "law and order" or "self-improvement" employed. No attempt was made to instruct the Negro in the obligations of citizenship, to respect the flag, to defend the country, to set up a business, to run machinery or to look upon the family as the basic sociological unit. He was free to take, with no

questions asked, and it would all be justified on the grounds of previous servitude. To this was added the superinduced fear that if he did not organize and grab the reigns of power, soon he would be back in slavery.

Most of this was pure falsification. Many of the Southern States had been moving toward abolition while the war was still on, and others had pursued it before the war began. Years before the Civil War, the Virginia State Legislature had missed passing a law to abolish slavery by one vote. During the war, the Confederacy guaranteed freedom to every Negro who would take up arms against the Union forces, and hundreds of thousands did so. As President of the Confederacy, Jefferson Davis approached the British Government at the height of the war to gain recognition of the Confederacy as a nation on the basis of abolition. He was turned down because Britain was not sure the South was going to win the war.

The propaganda fed to the Negro during those postwar years was unadulterated northern fanaticism, and it became the basis of Reconstruction. How fanatic it finally grew is yet to be seen. In Congress and the Republican Party, it represented the antithesis of Lincolnism and was represented by radicals who had opposed him throughout his political career. The radicals did not want a Negro on his feet as an independent, responsible human being—they wanted him under a political yoke to be led back to the polls every other year on the promise of things he was never allowed to receive and which were not rightfully his to have in the first place, such as the property and social immunity of others.

In the short space of two years, the Negroes were taught that freedom meant eternal rest, not work; a division of their master's plot of ground, not earned dividends; government rations three times a day and

enough cast-off army clothing to last them until they donned the white robes of Heaven and struck their golden harps in paradise. There was not the slightest confusion among the whites on either side of the political fence as to what the fate of the Negro was to be under carpetbag rule. The radicals were going to promise the Negroes Heaven, lead them up to the pearly gates and hitch them to the outside. No mystery to anyone but the Negroes themselves, the whites were met with continuous offers in the early period, mostly from scalawags (southerners who turned corrupt in politics), to climb on the bandwagon.

As it took shape, this tragic policy gradually transformed the American dream into a horrifying nightmare. In 1865, the freed slave had gained his liberty with no conception of its meaning or application. Thousands of Negroes packed small bits of gear and fell in behind Union troops crossing the countryside from town to town. After several weeks of this, most of them returned to the plantation discouraged and exhausted, to be swept into the open arms of the radicals. With the promise of forty acres and a mule ringing in their ears, many of them actually showed up at the polls with halters to lead their mule back home—a fairy tale which never matured nor was ever intended to. When Federal surveyors came through, knowing the Party had promised the freedmen 40 acres, they had prepared a harmless scrawl on pieces of parchment for Negroes who badgered them for information. These were supposed to pass for deeds and the Negro, being unable to read, figured that was just what they were. During the first voter registration drives in 1867, they were told to come to the Freedmen's Bureau where their elective franchise would be given them. Thousands of them showed up with bags and gunny sacks to carry off their "elective franchise" and in some cases mobbed the doors of the agency for fear there would

not be enough to go around. Others brought empty bottles in hope of taking theirs out in hard liquor.

The agitation was already underway when the Confederate war veterans headed homeward. And it was not at all inconceivable that they would return to find another kind of Negro. Although the South lived in relative peace during the two critical years from 1865 to 1867, in that same short period freedmen were filled to overflowing with visions of rights, power and plunder and had already begun to loot vacant homes, engage in crime, attack white women, and go on wild, drunken rampages—acts which before the war were unheard of. Rape became the illegitimate child of Reconstruction.

Louisiana had been occupied by Union troops almost since the start of the war, when the Emancipation Proclamation was issued. For four years colored detachments had had the word "freedom" dangling before their eyes until, by the time of Lee's surrender, they were getting out of hand. With the Army uniform as a front and armed, they forced their way into private homes, bullied and insulted white women and fought with each other in the streets and taverns. Upon resigning his command, General Weitzel wrote from La Forsche to General Butler in New Orleans that he could no longer command or control the colored regiments, and that women and children, left defenseless by the death of the father during the fighting, were in a state of terror. There was no protection (op. cit., *Dixie After The War*, page 377). General Halleck wrote to General Grant in April, 1865 that numerous cases of rape and assault had already occurred and he hoped Grant would remove the problem. Similar requests were made by other officers in other parts of the South (*The Evolution of the Negro*, by W. T. Parker, North American Revolution, 1899).

At Pocotaligo, South Carolina, Negro soldiers en-

tered a home, tied the man, and outraged the women. Governor Benjamin Perry wrote out a full report on the incident and sent copies to Generals Meade and Gilmore. In response, General Meade said he was trying to rid the Army of Negro troops but had to exercise great care not to offend northern sentiment, which was irrationally soft on the Negroes (op. cit., *Dixie After The War*, page 378). Federal commanders gradually relieved the South of colored troops, but carpetbag officials reinstated them as state militia after 1867. In his authoritative account of post Civil War conditions, Thomas Dixon has one of his characters say:

Captain, we must look to you for protection. The town is swarming with vagrant Negroes, bent on mischief. There are camp followers with you organizing them into some sort of Union League meetings, dealing out arms and ammunition to them and, what is worse, inflaming the worst passions against their former masters, teaching them insolence and training them for crime (*The Leopard's Spots*, Thomas Dixon, New York, Grossett and Dunlap, 1905).

But the military had no control over the radicals as they bore down to recruit the Negroes into the new Republican army. The freed Negro forthwith became a menace to the hunger, sorrow and devastation of the beleaguered South. Faced with a wave of crime such as they had never known, the whites seemed paralyzed and inured to dispossession and outrage. No one seemed to know what to do. In characteristic cases, a Negro about to be hung for ravaging a white woman would break down the last minute and beg for leniency, exclaiming that he wouldn't have done it but that a white Union League organizer had told him southern women were there to be taken along with the rest of the property.

Worst hit were the small farmers whose women were

left alone and unattended for extended lengths of time. On other parts of the farm, women and children alike were attacked and slain until by late 1866, people were becoming prisoners of fear. They could no longer risk a walk through the woods alone, or into the black belt, or go about the farms on necessary chores and duties, or even down a city street unescorted without some kind of approach from freedmen.

An immediate labor problem developed. Now the Negroes worked when they wanted, as long as they wanted, or not at all, if that was their pleasure. They walked around with guns slung over their shoulders and were rude and offensive to passersby. Planters returning to their farms could not find their Negroes even to put them on wages. Others approached their land after a four-year absence to find it barricaded and defended by several dozen Negroes with whom they had once been on the best of terms. Small bridges were pulled up and the owner fired upon to keep him from setting foot on his land. When a Federal officer was summoned to inform the Negroes that they did not own the land, nor did the government own it to give to them, they went to get reinforcements from the surrounding area and greeted the next approach with a colored army of four or five hundred strong. Some planters never recovered their land. In later years, when they could finally gain access, the farm had gone for taxes. The Union Leagues, the churches, the teachers—all were doing their work well.

Myrta Avery tells of a Captain Thomas Pinckney, who went back to his plantation on the Santee River near Charleston, South Carolina to find his house and adjoining buildings looted and sacked. Wild orgies had been thrown there by the freedmen. Brass door-knobs, art collections, furniture, personal items—even the moldings off doors—had been removed and carried off into the black belt. Before he arrived, Pinck-

ney was apprised by an English neighbor that the Negroes had apportioned his land and divided it up among themselves acting on instructions from the radicals (op. cit., *Dixie After The War*, page 341).

Pinckney's Negroes had been among the most cordial and contented just four years before. When he fetched them out of the forest to try and put them on wages, they told him the land was theirs, they had worked it for years, and now they were taking over as owners. Federal authorities were summoned. One lone Negro finally admitted to a commander that he wanted to go back to work and all of them probably would, but they were afraid of violence from other Negroes. They had just come back from a weary crosscountry march behind Federal troops and were anxious to settle down and do something constructive. But sustained agitation was hard at work organizing the Negroes on the other side and this made it increasingly difficult to stand off from their own. For every Negro who remained loyal, 1000 were going the other way.

In addition to the acute labor problem, commerce and agriculture had declined terribly. Banks folded and the South was covered with disabled war veterans. In one year, the State of Mississippi allotted a fifth of its revenue for artificial arms and legs (op. cit., *The Angry Scar*, page 43).

Regardless of handicaps, the South went to work during this same two year period to resurrect its state governments, draw up constitutions, and qualify its representatives for Congress as it had been told to do by Abraham Lincoln and following the liberal provisions he had drawn up while the war was still on. But as the South went for its governments, the radicals went for the Negroes and looked not to Lincoln but to the radical wing of the Republican Party for leadership. After Lincoln's assassination, succeed-

ing President Andrew Johnson continued on with the Lincoln plan. But the radicals in Congress pulled completely away, solidified their strength among the southern Negroes, and in 1867, launched the most drastic body of legislation in U.S. history.

SIX

*Southern Reconstruction**Phase II**The Republican Party Abandons Lincoln*

Lincoln's reconstruction plan for the South was one of immediate amnesty subject to several tolerant considerations.

"If we are wise and discreet," he said, "we shall reanimate the states and get their governments in successful operation with order prevailing and the Union reestablished, before Congress comes together in December 1865." (*Encyclopedia Britannica*, Eleventh Edition.)

In his proclamation on reconstruction for December 8, 1863, President Lincoln set forth practical qualifications for restoration. Amnesty was offered to those who would take an oath of allegiance to the United States, accept the acts of Congress, and abide by the terms of his proclamation regarding the status of slaves. Higher military, civil and diplomatic officers of the Confederacy, those who had abandoned their posts in Congress or commissions in the Army to aid in the rebellion, and those who had treated Federal officers unlawfully during the war, were denied amnesty.

These conditions also stipulated that 10 per cent or more of the voters who had been registered in 1860 could now proceed to establish republican-style state governments. This excluded the Negroes. If, in addition, these voters took the above mentioned oath, their

governments would be recognized and their representatives qualified subject to the approval of Congress to admit them.

Lincoln made it clear that he did not object to the Southern States establishing civil codes which treated the Negroes as a laboring, landless and homeless class, providing their freedom and education were taken care of. There were no clauses regarding citizenship or voting rights.

Up to that time, the abolition of slavery rested with the war powers of the President. The radicals objected to this claiming it did not provide firm enough guarantees and that Congress, therefore, should take over direct jurisdiction of the Negroes. Heated opposition to Lincoln continued to rise, the radicals demanding an oath of allegiance excluding not just higher military and diplomatic officers, but *all those who had borne arms against the Union* or who had encouraged hostility or voluntarily lent support to Confederate soldiers—in other words, all of the South's pre-war leaders plus enough more to cripple the Democratic Party in the South and assure Republican supremacy at the polls. Higher officers were to be denied the right to vote or hold office, and all state governments were to declare slavery abolished forever. These became the tenets of the first Reconstruction Bill which was submitted by the radicals and passed by both houses of Congress.

Lincoln vetoed the bill in July, 1864 and gave his reasons. Violently attacked for this action by Benjamin Wade and Henry Davis, two front-running radicals, Lincoln went on to win the election for his second term of office.

When Congress reassembled in early 1865, it passed the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution abolishing slavery. Just four years earlier another Thirteenth Amendment had been submitted to the states

by which no future amendment would ever authorize Congress to interfere with the institution of slavery anywhere. The war had produced a change of heart. Now Congress determined to place abolition beyond the power of the states to alter or deny. The Freedmen's Bureau was established by Congress on March 3, 1865. One month later General Lee surrendered at Appamatox.

Lincoln had already recognized the new state governments of Virginia, Tennessee, Louisiana and Arkansas. President Andrew Johnson picked up the reigns of government following Lincoln's assassination on April 15, 1865, and added what he thought necessary to the Lincoln program during the Spring months. Before Congress reassembled in December, 1865, all of the Confederate states except Texas had formed constitutions and all of their legislatures, except Mississippi, had ratified the Thirteenth Amendment. Mississippi soon followed.

Under the Lincoln-Johnson plan, the Southern States called upon their former leaders to shape their policies. The most pressing issue was the liberty of four million illiterate, untrained and uneducated slaves among whom months of carpetbag agitation had already borne harmful effect. Crime and lawlessness were gaining, the labor problem was acute, and the defeated states were rapidly reaching the point of civil emergency. Lincoln had recognized the problems the South would face with millions of idle and disorganized freedmen, but he was apparently unaware of the high-powered campaign by northern groups to turn the Negroes against the whites altogether.

Neither did Lincoln foresee the radical wing of his own party as a part of the plan. Within eight hours after his death a caucus of radicals under Thaddeus Stevens went to work to urge the realignment of the President's cabinet to destroy every vestige of the Lin-

coln influence (op. cit., *The Tragic Era*, page 6). In the midst of a growing crisis, the South commenced measures geared to the conduct of the freed slave.

Congress had not yet conferred citizenship or voting rights on the Negroes and some definition of colored status and movements consistent with public welfare had to be established. Without it, the Negro was at this stage half vagrant, half renegade. With no concept of his civil responsibilities, private property, the social immunities of others, or contractual labor obligations, he was the easy mark of intensive race indoctrination in his churches and political gatherings. The Negro was being molded to serve the purposes of armed revolution.

New precautions were soon to be taken, therefore, to put a stop to the looting, unjustified claims to property, and assaults on white women, and to ensure the general security of the community. One of the first acts called for the formation of state militias. This was followed by what were called "peonage laws" or "black codes."

The "black codes" of 1865-67 held, primarily, that it was necessary to treat the Negroes as a separate and dependent class. Most states forbade Negroes to possess weapons or to receive ammunition due to the threatening state of affairs already evident. Negroes could not serve as witnesses or give testimony in court. Laws against vagrancy were enacted as well as apprenticeship requirements governing labor contracts with employers. All of these were copied almost verbatim from codes on the books of all northern states at that time. Special provisions were made for colored orphans and children whose parents would not support them. They could be apprenticed out by probate court with their former masters as employers having first choice. In these instances, former owners had to support them and see that they were taught to read and write.

Miscegenation was forbidden under these laws, a policy against interracial marriage universal for all the states of the Union. Any white person who assembled with freedmen on terms of social equality, or who lived with them in adultery, could be punished with a \$200 fine plus six months in jail. A Negro was defined as any person having one-eighth Negro blood. Many states forbade giving liquor to Negroes and restricted them to farm or domestic labor or to husbandry unless they were specially licensed and had sufficient preparatory training. Other states defined boundaries within which freed slaves could own land. All were required to have a lawful home and to be able to supply proof of residence and job pay once each year.

Congress wasted no time interpreting these codes as attempts to restore slavery in a disguised form. But more to the point was the political power the South would be able to produce against Republican policies should these black codes be allowed to stand. The radicals, therefore, commenced a series of maneuvers to turn colored voting potential to greater political advantage.

The first move of Congress, upon convening in December, 1865, was to refuse to seat the southern representatives. A committee of 15 was formed to review the entire subject of Reconstruction from scratch. The committee immediately produced a bill to continue the Freedmen's Bureau indefinitely, which was vetoed by President Johnson on February 19, 1866. Congress passed the bill over Johnson's veto and added a resolution denying admittance to any reconstructed state until recognized by Congress. This deprived Johnson of any direct control over Reconstruction (op. cit., *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Eleventh Edition).

With this, Johnson lashed out at the radicals in a heated public address in which he bitterly assailed them by name as well as their policies, accusing them

of trying to destroy the foundations of American government. He even implied that they might be plotting an assassination. Johnson and the radicals never met on common ground again. The breach was sealed when the 39th Congress passed the Civil Rights Bill of April 9, 1865 over the President's veto declaring all free slaves citizens of the United States with the same civil rights as whites and entitled to Federal protection. The bill also provided punishment for those discriminating against Negroes under state authority, and thus usurped the rights of the states to regulate their own laws in the matter, a Constitutional guarantee upheld by Lincoln even at the height of the controversy.

To get this act out of reach of the courts, and to prevent its removal by any subsequent administration, Congress introduced the Fourteenth Amendment and submitted it to the states for ratification. The Fourteenth Amendment also conferred citizenship and equal civil rights upon freed slaves and provided that any southern state preventing Negro suffrage would be denied a proportional amount of representation in Congress. Congress then passed concurrent legislation declaring that upon ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment any seceding state would be readmitted to the Union, but also stipulated that civic, military and diplomatic officers of the former Confederacy were ineligible for Federal office. Also denied the right to hold Federal or state office were those who, having once taken an oath of allegiance to the Constitution, then engaged in rebellion or in the repudiation of their leaders. This took care of almost everyone South of the Mason-Dixon Line and provoked bitter outcries from all the Southern States.

By this drastic action, the southern white population would be deprived of its leaders and would be largely disfranchised. The Negroes would gain the vote and the South would automatically fall under Negro rule.

Consequently 10 of the 11 Southern States rejected the Fourteenth Amendment. Tennessee, already under the military regime of William G. Brownlow, ratified it.

That hatred of southern whites was the basis of this legislation was evidenced in part by the fact that in no way did it apply to the North. By 1868, the states of Connecticut, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Kansas, Ohio and Michigan had refused to give the Negro the vote while the North as a whole demonstrated its refusal to be bound by the doctrines imposed upon the South. Yet for the South, these policies remained as qualifications for readmittance to the Union and were removed only after the radicals lost their grip on the Federal government a decade later.

President Johnson, horrified at the direction the radicals were taking, now turned to the Democrats for support. Many Republicans stood with him. To try and head off the radicals and to prevent sectionalism, Johnson organized the National Union Convention at Philadelphia on August 14, 1866, bringing conservatives of both parties together. Here, Union and Confederate men joined hands and submitted resolutions agreeing to the equal protection of the law for freed slaves, the right of Negroes to own property, and other provisions. Johnson took these resolutions before Congress, read them off, and proceeded to tie into the radicals who, in turn, twisted the President's phrases to imply that he was planning to use military force to make them comply. This, they followed by setting up their own "Loyal Union Convention" in Philadelphia to reaffirm their own policies. Congressional elections were about to begin.

While the 1866 congressional campaign was underway, Johnson journeyed to Chicago giving inflammatory speeches along the way and lashing out at the radicals. But this was a North which had just fought

a war and his audiences were none too sympathetic. Moreover, his remarks were in poor taste. In Indianapolis and other cities the President was shouted down, jeered and even assaulted with flying debris by mobs already starting to root for Grant for President in 1868. This helped to pave the way for the victory of the northern extremists who piled up a two-thirds majority in Congress and went back to Washington to finish off the South once and for all.

James Garfield, a former Union general and later to be President, had asked Thaddeus Stevens if he were willing to turn the South into a "vast camp" for four years or more. Stevens was willing (*Congressional Globe*, May 8, 1866). Congress undertook this and more.

Through military rule, Congress determined to force the South to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment and write Negro suffrage into its state constitutions. On March 2, 1867 Congress passed the Reconstruction Act into law providing for a

... military government of the southern states while the drastic policy of Congress was being carried out. It was passed over the veto of the President and declared that no legal governments or adequate protection for life or property existed in the seceding states, except Tennessee.

These states it divided into five military districts, each to be placed under the command of a general of the army, whose duty it was to preserve law and order, using at his discretion either local or civil tribunals or military commissions. (*Encyclopedia Britannica*, Eleventh Edition.)

All southern governments were declared provisional only. The Army was empowered to control them, modify, supersede or abolish them altogether. All who had

participated in the Confederacy were disfranchised until July 4, 1870, while every adult male Negro who would register was enfranchised. Voter registration was placed directly under the control of district commanders.

In his veto message against the Reconstruction Bill, Johnson declared:

When I contemplate the millions of our fellow citizens of the South, with no alternative left than to impose upon themselves this fearful and untried experiment of complete Negro enfranchisement—and white disfranchisement, it may be almost as complete—or submit indefinitely to the rigor of martial law, without a single attribute of free men, deprived of all the sacred guarantees of our Federal Constitution, and threatened with even worse things, if any worse are possible, it seems to me that their condition is the most deplorable to which any people can be reduced. (Op. cit., *The Angry Scar*, page 126.)

To strip Johnson of his remaining presidential powers, Congress passed the Tenure of Office Act, and subsequent acts, forbidding him to remove any civil officers without the consent of the Senate (with obvious reference to Secretary of War Stanton); required the President to issue his orders only through the General of the Army (Grant); and denied him the power to remove or reassign Grant without the consent of the Senate. This prevented Johnson from securing control of the military, a power reserved to the Chief Executive under the Constitution. Now a mere figure-head, Johnson was deprived of all further influence over Reconstruction.

To prevent Johnson from exercising executive authority during the interim period, Congress convened the 41st session the day after the adjournment of the 40th (March 3, 1867). It then threatened to abolish

the appellate jurisdiction of the Supreme Court if that body tried to declare the Reconstruction Act unconstitutional. Congress even suggested abolishing the high court altogether by amendment if the judges attempted to interfere.

Congress then culminated its political romp by bringing impeachment proceedings against Johnson on grounds of attempting to disgrace Congress through his public speeches by assailing Congress as a body representing only part of the states. He was acquitted in the Senate.

Johnson had asserted that the *safeguards* this body of legislation proposed for the "security of the colored race" were but "another step toward, or rather a stride to centralization and the concentration of all legislative power in the national government," a statement that would be as good today as it was 100 years ago.

The nightmare of Reconstruction began.

THE REGISTRATION OF THE NEGROES

The Negroes had been told to be of good cheer. A great day was coming soon. Old Andy Johnson would be kicked out of the White House or hanged, one or the other, and the farms they had worked so long would be divided among them. Then they could rent their land to their old masters, sit back and live in ease for the rest of their lives. Stevens and Sumner were in control now and they'd soon live up to their promises. The carpetbaggers had shown them they could carry their states in a breeze and have anything they wanted if the vote could just be given to enough blacks and taken away from enough whites. The exalted southern white man was going to be made lowly and subservient.

When Stevens' Reconstruction Act finally came through, the floodgates flew open and through them poured a revolution worse than the Civil War. It was a political Pandora's Box. Negroes laid down their

hoes and plows and gathered in excited meetings. Crimes of violence rose in a wave.

When Stevens announced his Confiscation Bill, the uprising doubled in force. Stripped of their Constitutional protections, their local governments and their legal immunities and already vanquished by war, the people of the South were helpless but to stand by and watch.

Negroes unsure of their position were soothed and reassured by their radical leaders. Stevens and Sumner were running the country. There *was no* President, and anyway, Johnson would be out for good before long. They should shake their fists at old Andy Johnson, hold onto their land, and keep organizing. They had suffered—now it was the white man's turn! In Santo Domingo, no white man could vote, hold office, or even own one square inch of land. This was going to be a more glorious Santo Domingo. They would drive the last white man out of the country. The Negroes went on a binge of terror and drunkenness.

The summer of 1867 was an experience no southern man or woman would ever forget. Labor ceased to exist. Depression was everywhere. Farming and industry were paralyzed. Investments were dead. Property was insecure and the prospect of famine suddenly became a reality. Negro preachers openly instructed their flocks to take what they wanted from their white neighbors. If any man dared try to prosecute a thief, the answer was a burned barn or home. All traces of moral restraint vanished and an unbridgeable gap began to open between the races. Preachers said prayers before their people—mostly women and children—in the wake of panic and destitution. In Thomas Dixon's narrative, based on conditions as they were, Reverend John Durham tells his white congregation:

naked and unarmed in the blackness of the night
You are called to go down, man by man, alone,

and fight with the powers of hell for your civilization.

You must look this question squarely in the face. You are to be put to the supreme test. You are to stand at the judgment bar of the ages and make good your right to life. The attempt is to be deliberately made to blot out Anglo-Saxon society and substitute African barbarism. (Op. cit., *The Leopard's Spots*, page 96.)

The Freedmen's Bureau prepared to register Negroes. Announcements were posted everywhere. When a Negro applied, he was asked if he was a member of the Union League. If not, he was denied registration unless, as a servant to a white family, he was personally escorted to the Bureau by his employer. After that, however, this Negro became a marked man by other members of his own race. Most of the white population had been disfranchised by the Reconstruction Act and there was small reason for the others to attempt anything, except in those counties which had few Negroes.

When the shouting was over, the Republican Party had a stacked deck in every southern state built upon a solid base of Negroes and enforced by Federal bayonets. This was the vote that would create colored governments in every southern state and elect Ulysses S. Grant for two executive terms.

On Election Day in 1868, people wondered what had happened to the publications which usually announced locations of the polling booths. They had not been posted. Instead, notices had gone out only to the secret leagues. Others who still had a semblance of faith sought them out as best they could. Sixteen-year-old Negroes voted—and voted—and voted at as many polls as they could reach; inside, voting certificates were forged and added to the pile. Colored men try-

ing to vote a Democratic slate were met at the door of the booths by hungry mobs of Negroes standing guard. There were beatings and killings.

Ballots were then carried to the military bases and counted. When it was over, carpetbag regimes were swept into power and Washington received news of a Republican landslide south of the Mason-Dixon Line. Grant won handily over Seymour. Suddenly the Republican Party was invincible and remained so for the following eight years.

In the short space of two years, the Republican Party had repudiated Abraham Lincoln and turned its back on some of the greatest contributions to American political theory. This was the Party of "civil rights for the Negro."

COLORED GOVERNMENT AND ITS IMPACT

In from their respective counties came the new legislators—in overalls, unable to read, and anxious to make a quick change into walking clothes. Cots were set up inside the state houses, there being a lack of local accommodations. That would change. When the legislatures were finally seated, every southern state government was at least three-fourths Negro, enough to produce a quorum anytime, for almost anything. Eventually, the courts, juries, police and sheriffs departments, boards of education, city councils, and aldermanic posts became dominated by Negroes under the Party management of white carpetbag politicians.

Immediately the new legislators wanted to know when they were going to be paid. The first cash dividend came in the form of a per diem mileage and expense allowance for the trip into town. When it was discovered how easy it was to obtain pocket money by this novel method, new resolutions were introduced to raise travel allowances, each one always passing with

a round of cheers. The accepted signature was an "X" or facsimile. High per diem allowances were often passed under a threat that without them the legislators would steal openly—which many of them did anyway.

Graft and corruption skyrocketed. School bonds, railroad bonds and tax proceeds were divided and pocketed.

With hundreds of thousands of dollars appropriated for supplies, sundries, and incidentals, elaborate liquor stores were constructed next to the state houses or, as in the case of South Carolina, directly adjoining the capitol building. Warrants were issued, without names, to be served on anyone as the situation arose. The victim was tried in a stacked court before a jury one could not believe composed of half-drunk, jeering and cajoling Negroes. Or, if he had any money, the defendant could always purchase his freedom at the right price. (*Destruction and Reconstruction*, Richard Taylor, New York, 1879.)

Printing costs, previously held to within \$10,000 per year in most legislatures, soared to hundreds of thousands of dollars, part of the sum going to subsidize pro-Republican newspapers throughout the state, some of it to buy loyal editors, and the rest disappearing into private bank accounts. Billions were floated for railroads over the following eight years for which hardly a mile of track was laid. The railroad ring was the most effective group of thieves in existence during the carpetbag era. Judgeships and senate seats were bought and sold as bribery funds flowed into the pockets of legislators. Elaborate gifts went to favored lady friends—furs, jewelry, expensive dresses and even interior decorating—all at state expense. Eventually, different orders of thieves had to be organized to watch over each other within the fiscal machinery.

North Carolina under the reign of military Gover-

nor William Holden (1868–1870) was unbelievable. In one instance, \$420,000 in railroad stocks belonging to the Educational Fund for the Benefit of Poor Children were sold for \$158,000 to be applied to per diem allowances of legislators. This legislature kept a bar and a house of prostitution within the capitol building (op. cit., *Dixie After The War*, page 307). Thousands were gambled away in New York on frequent trips, then reimbursed out of the state treasury.

In South Carolina most of the urgent business of the State Legislature of carpetbag days was conducted upstairs over Fine's Saloon across the street from the capitol building. Here special accommodations were made available to legislators and visiting lobbyists. Due to the amount—and type—of business that was transacted in this tax-supported brothel, Fine's Saloon gained the more appropriate title, "Republican Headquarters." Before the Moses regime, the honor belonged to the well-patronized rooms of the Rollins sisters, mulattos of French extraction.

Frank Moses went down in South Carolina history as the "robber governor." In 1872, Moses outfitted himself with a black militia to protect the machine he had inherited from Robert Scott, the previous governor. These troops were armed with one-half million dollars worth of equipment for which the governor accepted gratuities worth \$10,000 for placing the order. The state house was completely overhauled: \$5 clocks were replaced by \$600 clocks; \$4 mirrors with \$400 mirrors; while \$200 sofas, \$175 desks, cuspidors costing \$14 and hundreds more expendable items were added to the repertory. Each legislator was provided with an ink stand and gold pen costing \$25 and \$10 respectively. Free railroad passes were handed out like lottery tickets; use of Western Union telegraph was free. During legislative sessions, forty bedrooms were supplied as "committee rooms." (*Ibid.*, page 353.)

Hams, oysters, liquors, baskets of delicacies, champagne by the carload, perfumes, complete wardrobes, gloves, gold watches, stick pins, diamond earrings, entertainment, girls—all showed up on the state account as school fund appropriations, "building improvements," etc. State paid gardeners worked at legislators' private residences. Coal and wood purchased for asylums went into furnaces in legislators' homes. Bonds for colored orphans were converted into cash to add to the merry-go-round. Moses once lost \$1,000 on horse racing which was later restored to him by the lower house as a "gratuity." The order on the State Treasurer, signed by Moses, is still on file in Columbia, South Carolina. (*Reconstruction in South Carolina*, by John S. Reynolds, Columbia, S. C., 1905.)

State Universities were taken over completely by Negroes and scholastic standards fell into nothingness. When confiscatory taxation finally drove white Southerners to near beggary, their once fine and tastefully furnished homes were taken over by members of this circus parade who lived in ease while others starved. Moses moved into the mansion of Wade Hampton who, two years later, was to become the first governor of the state after liberation. Hampton was reputed to have been the South's wealthiest planter before the war.

Southern by birth, Moses had fought in the Confederate Army, had passed the South Carolina State Bar, and came from a respected family. Then, for no apparent reason, he turned "scalawag," used the enfranchised Negro as the key to political escapades and, along with thousands of others, allied himself with the Loyal Leagues. Moses took bribes and dealt in bogus state pay certificates, pocketed money intended for the purchase of arms for his "black and tan" militia, sold pardons, political appointments and gubernatorial approval of legislation, defied the state courts

and wined and dined with the best and the worst of his day chalking everything off on the state account. Before his fall, Moses was spending \$40,000 a year, but he was broke when he took his last stroll through the State House doors four years later (*The Prostrate State, South Carolina Under Negro Government* by James Pike, New York, 1874).

Under Moses the stench of vice and corruption grew so foul that honest Negroes, unable to bear it any longer, went back to their former masters and asked to grow poor with them. Prior to 1867, they had been associated with gentlemen all their lives and the "Gig society" was more than they could absorb. No other figure during Reconstruction ever rivalled Moses in progressive degeneracy. Succeeded by Daniel Chamberlain in 1874, Moses left South Carolina without a dime and died in Winthrop, Massachusetts in 1906, an impoverished wanderer, a dope addict, a petty thief and a confidence man. His wife had divorced him, friends deserted him and members of his family changed their names to avoid identification with him.

In Georgia, carpetbag rule installed Rufus Bullock of New York as governor. In less than two years, his administration reeked with corruption. Bullock's right-hand man was H. I. Kimball for whom he built a first-class hotel, Kimball House, out of state funds. A semi-official agent of the commonwealth, Kimball had autocratic control and made no reports. Building railroads with state funds, he became a partner in the Tennessee Car Company, bought cars from himself and overlooked the detail of delivery (*The Tragic Era* by Claude Bowers, Cambridge, the Literary Guild of America, 1929, page 301). Treasury funds were disbursed for roads that were never built. In all, 42 newspapers were purchased by the state to publicize state policies and support the administration.

From honorable defeat in war, the South was being

driven to wanton degradation in peacetime. Once the Negro vote was organized it became the basis of infinite vice and debasement.

The state capitol at Tallahassee, Florida was putrid, the streets teeming with swindlers, bedraggled strangers and nondescript politicians all after their share of the spoils. Senate seats were bought and sold and their purchasers blackmailed with threats of exposure. At election time, candidates swarmed into the rural areas, kissed babies and played upon the credulity of the blacks promising them social equality and interracial marriage long enough to get reelected. The legislative chamber in summer was a humid, smoke-filled den with Negroes chewing, perspiring, jabbering, and lounging in all positions.

In Alabama, observes Claude Bowers, the first legislative sessions of Reconstruction were marked by Negroes packed in galleries, windows and seats, voting with the legislators with shouts and hysterical laughter, sleeping in chairs, eating peanuts, soaked with whiskey, fighting and chasing each other with intent to kill. The second legislative sessions in the 1870's were identical with one exception: now there was a private room off to one side where lobbyists could confer with legislators and distribute bribe money for desired legislation. Four more rooms were maintained in the Exchange Hotel in Montgomery for entertainment purposes and additional business. Legislators openly boasted of the amount of bribe money received for getting bills through. Alabama was a cesspool of malevolence and impropriety.

The Reconstruction capitol of Louisiana was at New Orleans. The first military governor there was a northerner from Illinois named Henry Clay Warmoth. When the Grand Army of the Republic—a veteran's organization—was established, Warmoth was made its commander at the age of 26 by his admirers

and later became governor with the help of colored backing. Another 26-year-old white man from Maryland, Mortimer Carr, presided over the House. The state capitol was in Mechanic's Hall. Lobbies were filled with laughing Negroes from the farms and rural areas and with colored women wearing bandanas and selling fruit, cakes and other items on the capitol steps and at the doors to the chambers.

Ignorant and illiterate whites and Negroes engaged in endless discussions and debates in the main hall. Raucous laughter, shouts, swearing and obscenities filled the legislative sessions. Amendments, too obscene to print, were offered on the spur of the moment followed by roars of laughter. Bad in the beginning, the debauchery grew into a hollow mockery. Behind the rows of seats were corks, bread crusts, empty whiskey bottles, peanut bags and picked chicken bones. When visitors to the city asked if there were any interesting sights to see they were sent forthwith to Mechanics' Hall (*Reconstruction In Louisiana after 1868*, by Ella Lonn, New York, 1918).

Measures involving millions of dollars for railroads, canals and levees passed without hearings with immense sums going directly into legislator's pockets and private bank accounts. Newspapers were, as always, subsidized out of the state treasury. Warmoth dominated the Board of Printing Commissioners and hired his own agents to edit newspapers which had been awarded state contracts. As a fourth owner of the *New Orleans Republican* (a newspaper), Warmoth profited financially as well as politically.

To deliver more centralized political controls, Warmoth ran four bills through which represented the condensed essence of Republican extremism. The Registration Bill made every parish registration official Warmoth's ward and gave his officials power to accept or reject votes without court interference, thus assur-

ing control of all nominations. The Election Bill superseded sheriffs on election days with appointees, forbade court interference, and authorized Warmoth to deny election certificates to successful candidates if he desired. The Constabulary Bill authorized Warmoth to name a chief constable in each parish who, in turn, could name a deputy. The Militia Bill gave Warmoth power to recruit, organize and equip as large a force as he needed and placed \$100,000 at his disposal for this purpose.

These four measures—open end authorization for tyranny—set off mass demonstrations, protests, and threats of murder and lynching. Warmoth was openly accused of creating legislation designed for no other purpose than pillage. But behind Warmoth was the legislature, then his militia, then his constables, and behind all this stood Federal bayonets (op. cit., *The Tragic Era*, page 365). The bills passed and became law.

Legislation of every kind, shape and form was introduced without debate or objection. There were bills to disarm whites and equip Negroes with modern rifles, bills to make the Confederate gray the garb of convicts with the sign of rank signifying the degree of crime, bills to prevent any person from calling another "nigger," bills requiring all men to remove their hats in the presence of civil or military officers, and bills requiring all disfranchised men to remove their hats in the presence of voters, with the Negroes always voting as one.

Most states under carpetbag government abolished all laws forbidding intermarriage. In bolder instances, attempts were made to declare all marriages between whites null and void so as to make white women more accessible. Mixed schools were demanded as well as the integration of all public places. The cost to northern taxpayers to enforce this carousal was millions

annually. Amidst the ruins of a once thriving cultural system, a tragic minstrel farce was being played.

A PROSTRATE SOUTH

As the debauchery grew, the situation of the whites became more desperate. With farms and commerce at a standstill, the tax gatherer hovered over the populace like an embalmer. Ruin and loss were everywhere. In the first two years of Reconstruction, thousands of homes were put up for sale by county tax collectors. The land became valueless. What crops remained were left rotting on the ground.

Tax sales were so frequent that on auction days, the red flag of the sheriff's auctioneer hung from a majority of the houses in town. Jewelry, beds, and personal belongings were sold to pay taxes until, ultimately, even these essentials and heirlooms were gone. Before the day of the sale, teams of Negroes filed through the houses on "inspection tours" to confiscate what remained of value. Whole towns went up for sale.

So plentiful were seized homes and property that subsidiaries were formed by corrupt governors and lesser officials to hold property until an increase in taxes would bring millions in profits. The scene was that of the widow, the orphan and the war wounded being driven to the wall by a war more terrible than the first. The best homes were seized by the state and turned over to colored officials to enjoy in comfort and luxury.

Pass Christian, a long line of fashionable homes stretching for five miles down the New Orleans seashore, was completely taken over by Negro officials; a Negro named Caius Ceaser Antoine who controlled what were called the "Black Leagues" became the district's social arbiter. The picture was essentially the same in every state. The propertied classes were slowly being impoverished and reduced to the status of beg-

gars. From 1867 through 1871, houses declined 80 per cent in value. One distinguished New Orleans citizen wrote in the *New York World* on July 8, 1873, "We are ruined here," and "to hold this property is to be taxed to death by our African Communists."

The Southerner of Reconstruction days would have waged the Civil War to extinction had he known what was to befall the South as a vanquished nation. The richest lands in Louisiana parishes were going to tax collectors for \$1.00 an acre. To collect \$61½ million per year in taxes was costing \$11½ million. The school system was wrecked—most of the appropriation money had gone into state pleasure circuits.

In just one Reconstruction year, 1874, two-hundred pieces of Charleston, South Carolina real estate were forfeited for taxes while, statewide, 343,891 parcels of land went into receivership (Williams, *Columbia State* newspaper, August 8, 1927).

Agents of the Freedmen's Bureau finally began to send alarming messages to Washington in 1867 of approaching famine and civil war. People were without food supplies and there was no protection for life and limb from marauding bands of armed, lawless Negroes. In answer, Washington assessed a tax of \$15 on each bale of cotton plunging thousands of southern farmers into immediate bankruptcy and giving Egypt and India control of the world cotton market. Congress was to become to the South what Attila the Hun had been to Eastern Europe, "the scourge of God."

The governor of each state had established a Negro militia to protect his empire and to man the election polls. During elections these militias drilled constantly in towns and cities intimidating the public with loaded guns and fixed bayonets.

In 1868 the "Gig society" took over in Columbia, South Carolina with R. K. Scott as governor under bayonet law. Within a year the streets were filled with

rubble, fine mansions were in decay and gambling dens, saloons and brothels flourished with a predominantly colored trade from the rural areas. Negroes jammed the dance halls and swarmed through streets as an arrogant, undisciplined mob. Scott pretended to be shocked by the scandals but his real concern was competition from other carpetbaggers. So he made a pilgrimage to Washington returning with 7,000 Winchester rifles for the colored militia he was then forming, disbanding the last white garrison when a Negro was given command. Immediately the colored "troops" were sent to districts where political opposition was most feared. Still unsatisfied, Scott imported hired gunmen from New York under the command of "Colonel" James Kerrigan to liquidate his enemies. Combing cities and hill country, Kerrigan's crew helped bring submission while the Negro militia stood guard in the precincts. Scott stayed in office four years by sheer terror and armed might.

Powell Clayton had been carried into Arkansas during the war and in 1868 became military governor after organizing support for his own election among the Negroes. Once in power, he ruled as an absolute monarch for two years. His state militia was so involved in voter registration that it operated openly as a partisan army. In one campaign, Clayton set aside registration in 11 counties, 10 of which had heavy Democratic majorities, on the grounds of interference with registration. In another, his cavalry wiped out a Democratic majority of almost 3,000 (*Reconstruction in Arkansas*, Thomas Staples, New York, 1923). When people objected, they were intimidated with a show of force. Armed, undisciplined Negroes in Democratic counties stole at will, arrested, imprisoned, executed men and violated women. Lists of names were sent out from Clayton's office for apprehension and in some cases execution. Clayton was determined to set

an example. This political army cost the taxpayers \$330,676.

Tennessee never underwent the rigors of carpetbag government on a par with the others but it was held under military rule all the same by "Parson" William G. Brownlow. Taking the chair early as occupation governor, Brownlow put his state militia together in short order and for two years ruled with an iron hand, at the polls and elsewhere, without the need of Federal troops. The same was true of Mississippi under Governor Adelbert Ames who was finally overthrown in 1876 despite his militia.

In North Carolina, Holden's militia was organized to terrorize the state and to protect stealing. When the political situation became especially strained in 1870, Holden made special arrangements with President Grant for an additional private army under Colonel George W. Kirk to see him safely through the elections that year.

The military regime of Henry Warmoth in Louisiana was the envy of every corrupt, autocratic, fortune-hunting carpetbagger in the South. His state militia disposed of all opposition for four years until a show-down in 1872 when Grant sent Federal troops to install Warmoth's successor, William P. Kellogg—also a carpetbagger—and to prevent a public rebellion.

Small towns were terrorized with the murder of whole families and outrages against white women. Negroes had control of jails, sheriff's departments and the courts, and it was not uncommon to see a colored guard walking white women off to jail. Negroes who attacked white women were tried, jailed and released in a few days to stalk the streets and farms again. If the judge was a member of the Union League, a pardon or short sentence was inevitable for a crime which, in a free country, would have brought the death penalty. Law enforcement was a sham.

In two short years the Negroes of the South had been mobilized, armed and turned against the whites to become a menace to civilization in a government-controlled reign of terror.

Into this medieval nightmare rode the Ku Klux Klan.

SEVEN

*Southern Reconstruction
Phase III**The Struggle For Freedom Begins*

The following is intended neither as a eulogy nor an attack on the Ku Klux Klan, but rather as an accurate account of the Klan's role in southern history for the eleven years from 1865 through 1876. Like any organization, the Klan must argue its own case and fight its own battles. Any changes in the Klan's character after helping to free the South from the injustices of Reconstruction relate to other historical circumstances and are properly the subject for another book by another author. This brief narrative is not concerned with the Klan as a century old southern order, but with conditions produced by the radical civil rights program that made the Klan the only remaining alternative to destitution under carpetbag rule.

The Klan began as a prank by six penniless Confederate war veterans looking for a way to break the monotony. The night was Christmas Eve, December 24, 1865. The place: Pulaski, Tennessee.

They decided to form a club and, needing a name, one of them brought up the word "Kuklos," which was Greek for "band," or "circle." Dividing up the work, they arrived at Ku Klos and from there settled on Ku Klux, adding the word Klan to signify a gathering. In search of costumes, they dug into old drawers

and came up with some white sheets and other garments out of which they made cloaks and hoods with slits for the eyes. Donning these improvised costumes, they set out on horseback for a midnight ride through the countryside.

The first Negroes to lay eyes on this forbidding scene thought they were seeing the ghosts of Confederate soldiers from nearby battlefields and, being superstitious by nature, fled in panic to relate their discovery.

Although done in amusement only, in the beginning, an immediate improvement could be seen among the Negroes and within three months the original small brick meeting place had outgrown itself. Seeking larger quarters and determined to capitalize on the macabre appearance of the order, a dozen Klansmen moved their headquarters to a half-demolished house on the side of a hill surrounded by the war-torn trunks of trees. The Negroes stood in awe before this haunting spectacle, watching it in the moonlit hours of the night, and a solemn dread fell over them (op. cit., *The Tragic Era*, page 307).

Soon the houses of lawless Negroes were surrounded in the dead of night by a hundred white-robed figures from another county who bound them and carried them off into the wilderness for judgment. The South had reached the desperation point with magistrates who freed criminals as well as with juries appointed to stand by them. If a rape occurred and the Negro was whisked through court and set free which happened regularly, the next day found him dangling at the end of a rope in the main square with a sign around his neck which read, "The answer of the Anglo-Saxon race to Negro flesh which dares to pollute the womanhood of the South," or similar rhetoric.

The Klan took immediate effect among the Negroes and soon expanded into other states. For the first time

since the end of the war, women were able to walk out and go about their chores with some sense of security. The burnings of houses and barns ceased. Looting, pillage, lawlessness, and the terror of the castigator's knife died out as quickly as they had appeared under this new form of harrowing reprisal. For two years, a campaign of hate and social equality had played havoc with a race naturally kindly and trustful. Now in the most unexpected way, the South began to emerge with a power it had not possessed under the old rule of planting aristocracy. Originally run by men of character, the plan was to manage the freedmen by playing on their fears and superstitions.

Novel schemes were tried. A night rider wearing hood and robe and with a big rubber sack under his garments would pull up in front of a Negro's hut and ask for water. After "drinking" three bucketsful, he would explain that he had just travelled a thousand miles in six hours and this was the best water he had had since he was killed in the battle of Shiloh. Terrified, the Negroes would flee.

Or, having sought out a Negro known to be lawless, a Klansman would appear before him on a lonely road at night and order him to shake hands. The Negro, too petrified to do otherwise, reached up and grabbed a hand of bones on the end of a skeleton arm extended from beneath the white cloth. There followed headlong flight into the darkness.

Tales were told of terrible, white-robed men 15 feet tall on horses 18 feet high sailing across the midnight skies, over villages, in search of bad Negroes. Could the offender escape? Never! Wherever he went, the spirits of dead heroes would follow until, one day, he would disappear and never be heard of again. Huddled together in their cabins at night, the Negroes exchanged these mysterious tales gradually drawing about them a phantasmagoria of fear.

Spine-tingling general orders appeared in the local newspapers or on the trunks of trees:

Shrouded Brotherhood! Murdered heroes! Fling the bloody shirt that covers you to the four winds . . . strike with the red-hot spear . . . the skies shall be blackened. A single star shall look down upon horrible deeds. The night owl shall hoot a requiem over ghostly corpses (Ibid, page 309).

The Klan's appeal to the superstition of the Negro at once restored order and respect for the law. By 1869 the Klan had spread like a prairie fire over the South, springing into being in every district faced with the same, terrible conditions. Justice was restored to stricken communities amidst Federal bayonets and marching, drilling state militia. It was the answer of organized citizenry to organized crime.

Other secret orders came into being during that period such as the Knights of the White Camellia in Louisiana which for a time rivaled the Klan in size and numbers, the White Brotherhood in Mississippi, the Knights of the White Rose, the Pale Faces, the Union Guard and the White League. But the success of the Klan and its kindred orders had not rid the Southern States of corrupt government. From the recovery of calm among the Negroes, it was a short step to challenging the radicals—who were back of the entire problem—and the Klan immediately developed into an agency to combat the Union Leagues.

The carpetbaggers were less susceptible to discipline than the Negroes, but where the Klan became a force in the community, a notice to leave was usually sufficient. On less fortunate occasions, pothouse politicians and agitators from Union League clubs were pulled from their quarters, thrashed, and sent on their way with a warning. Negroes emerging from Union League meetings ran terror-stricken past a long row

of mounted white figures amidst perfect silence. And that would be the last Union League meeting for that chapter. By 1870, the Union League fell out of power as a factor in race agitation and, while corrupt government still hovered overhead, the terror which had swept through southern communities for the previous four years was gone.

The original Klan was directed by responsible men of the highest caliber and committed very little violence. Its first national convention met in the Spring of 1867 in the Maxwell House at Nashville, Tennessee when the city was teeming with soldiers. At that time, General Nathan Bedford Forrest was placed at the head with the blessings of General Lee. Lee strongly urged that the Klan be kept a strictly protective organization.

In Alabama, the Klan leader was General James H. Clanton, a Whig who had opposed secession, but stayed with his native South to fight with the Confederate Army. Mississippi's early Klan was presided over by General J. Z. George who, in 1876, was to direct the final liberation of the state from carpetbag rule. In Arkansas, the head of the Klan was General Albert Pike, a prominent personality in Masonry for a half-century.

The purpose of the early Klan was to bring order out of chaos; protect the weak and the defenseless, the widow and the orphan; to drive thieves from power who were robbing the people blind; to put a stop to wanton murder and lawlessness, and to bring civilization back to the prostrate South. So says the *Britannica* (Eleventh Edition), adding:

. . . to protect members of the white race in life, honor and property from the encroachment of the blacks; to oppose the Radical Republican Party and the Union League; to defend Constitutional liberty, to prevent usurpation, emancipate the whites, main-

tain peace and order, the laws of God, the principles of 1776; in short, to oppose African influence in government and society and to prevent any intermingling of the races.

But with its rapid if not miraculous success, the Klan was bound to become involved in politics for the radicals still held down all the important government bodies. For them, the Klan produced a new challenge, and in 1870, fresh appeals were made to Grant and the Federal government for reinforcements to secure the polls. If they were denied, came the cry of the radicals, the Republican Party would be unable to retain its hold on the area.

At the same time, spurious Klan orders had started to form in distant places bent more on revenge and violence than self-defense. Other Klan units, flushed with victory, were becoming less law-abiding. A younger and less restrained generation of devotees was coming up which had a harsher answer for the bitter childhood memories of personal loss and desolation suffered during the previous years. Bogus Klans appeared that no longer wanted to be restricted by the more temperate codes of the old order while in many cases, Negroes, out to punish one of their own, often donned white robes and vented their wrath with whips or clubs. All this reflected badly on the Klan.

Elections were drawing near again and the radicals began to capitalize on the news of every fresh incident, pouring stories by wire to the northern press and stirring up a new case for Federal intervention. Many of them had been driven into exile or back to their homes in the North. Others were in prison. This was costing the Party dearly and without thought of the cost in human ordeal, new lines were forged and plans laid to prolong the military occupation of the South.

In 1869, General Forrest stepped out, ordered a gen-

eral unmasking, and led a ringing denunciation of the lawless Klan element. The Klan, he said, had accomplished its purpose and the mask now became a curse. He declared the legitimate order at an end and resigned. But his order was ignored by the bogus Klans which reorganized, closed ranks, and continued on. New outbursts of violence occurred reflecting personal vengeance; jails were broken into, family matters interfered with, and harmless Negroes disarmed who had not been engaging in insurrection.

Notwithstanding how much of it may or may not have been deemed necessary by its perpetrators, the truth either way would not have deterred the radicals. They were after an election and soon, the South would once again be placed under martial law.

NEW CHARGES, NEW TYRANNY— THE SOUTH REBELS

Synopsis. "Restoration" of southern representatives to Congress rested with the willingness of the states to enforce civil rights legislation, admit Negroes to the state legislatures, and ratify the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution. This had all been accomplished by carpetbag military government while the southern whites were denied representation. The "redemption" of the states to freedom had still to be won.

By 1871, the North was becoming restless over the extended occupation of the South. Congress, therefore, repealed the Ironclad Oath, which had required state and federal representatives to sign a guarantee that they had never borne arms against the Union. Partly due to this oath, a certain per cent of those who went to Congress under the Grant administrations were Negroes; the balance were white carpetbaggers. This was followed in 1872 by the General Amnesty Act which returned votes, old leadership and

a better class of potential candidates to the Democrats.

The 1870 elections went by with all the states except Tennessee still under carpetbag rule, but not without a contest. Tennessee had not had corrupt government as the other ten knew it, and Brownlow was removed in 1870 to make way for a Democrat, DeWitt C. Senter, and redemption was gained.

Georgia emerged in 1872, while Arkansas, North Carolina, Florida, Virginia, Alabama and Texas worked their way out in 1874. The three remaining states of South Carolina, Mississippi and Louisiana were not restored to freedom until 1876 and only after the use of the most extraordinary means. Corruption in state governments under the radicals, which was bad from the start, sank to new lows with each failing attempt by the whites to overthrow it. Thus, where it was unbelievable after the carpetbag victories of 1870, a saturnalia of corruption began with the elections of 1872, radical government becoming the pinnacle of Republican extremism in the three states remaining under carpetbag rule after 1874.

In 1872, Virginia and North Carolina were practically bankrupt. The capitols of Louisiana, Arkansas and Alabama were occupied by Federal troops and the remaining governments were so corrupt that only the organized underworld crime syndicates of New York and Chicago would ever run a close parallel. All that prevented the violent overthrow of these carpetbag regimes by outraged citizenry was the presence of Federal force.

Once able to regain their freedom in open elections, the southern states were then allowed to stand by and watch—once every two years—as Federal troops removed their representatives from the state houses. This recurring cycle gradually removed any old differences between white factions (e.g.: Whigs, conservative Republicans and Democrats, et al), all finally merging

under the Democratic label. It was this incensed opposition to the Republican Party under Grant and the radicals that produced the "Solid South."

1870

Probably the biggest event in the year 1870 was the Klan and Kirk war in North Carolina which will only be touched on here. Not satisfied with the ability of the Party in his state to deliver a victory for him, Governor William Holden made arrangements with President Grant for a "little private army" to deal with the Klan. Senator John Pool drew up a bill in Congress to create an army to serve the purpose of getting the Republican Party past the polls and paid another senator to introduce it. Senator J. W. Stevens wrote, "We are unable to administer the laws, and feel that unless you (Grant) can get our country under military rule, we cannot protect our people." (*Memoirs of W. W. Holden*, John Lawson Monographs, Trinity College Historical Society, Durham, North Carolina, 1911). In private circles, the bill was being discussed openly as the only way to get the Republican Party through the elections. It passed.

Command of the troops went to Colonel George W. Kirk of Tennessee, while Pool went back to launch the usual campaign of misrepresentation in the northern press. Pool had pressured Grant into submission and Grant now expressed open support for the move.

Kirk's "army" was a parody. It consisted of 670 criminals and juvenile offenders, ragged and undisciplined—mostly colored—about to engage in one of the most outlandish gags of all time. Four hundred of them were underage and 200 were from outside the state. Swaggering along the highway from town to town they sang obscene songs, held their guns haphazardly and shouted oaths at passersby. It was called the "march

of the vagabonds." (*Reconstruction In North Carolina*, J. W. Hamilton, New York, 1914.)

People were terrorized as Kirk's cutthroats entered Salisbury threatening to burn the town. In Newton, they bullied the citizens with loaded revolvers. Mass arrests commenced. Elected citizens were swept from office and thrown in jail on the slightest provocation and some were tortured for information on their Klan activities. Kirk marched his villains into a Democratic meeting at Yanceville and announced that he was going to meet resistance by shooting women and children. Such was the nature of the "war."

The Democrats swept the legislature anyway, impeached Holden, and placed Kirk under arrest. Grant then sent Federal troops to back Kirk, ordered the Democrats from the state house, and turned the administration back to radical rule under carpetbag Governor Tod Caldwell for another two years of vice and usury.

The same year, the citizens of Georgia rid themselves of occupation Governor Rufus Bullock who, from 1868 to 1870, had tried everything in the book. Bullock bought publicity everywhere, engaged in railroad swindles, used women as go-betweens, and went down in Georgia history as the worst governor the state ever had (op. cit., *The Tragic Era*, page 304). He had been placed in power when the state was under military law and after the whites had been excluded for refusing to sign the disability oath which forbade the exclusion of Negroes from the legislature. His carpetbag government was put together because the Party needed the legislature's vote on the Fifteenth Amendment. The amendment was finally ratified in 1870 and Georgia's representatives were admitted to Congress.

Bullock's 1870 election was by no means secure and,

after the previous two years, he was ripe for purge. A Democratic victory would bring an investigation. To avoid this, Bullock first went to Washington to have the election postponed for two years on the grounds that Federal military rule had intervened. But an amendment was introduced in Congress to deny the postponement and it passed. Bullock was desperate. Without waiting, he went back to Georgia to launch the investigation himself, blaming everything on his own fellow radicals. But he finally lost and fled back to his native New York. His chair went to Benjamin Conley, another Republican, and Georgia stayed down for another two years.

1871

The Union League clubs had been rendered semi-impotent in the South and the radicals were without a cadre system to keep the Negroes organized. But the Leagues were far from through as a lobby in Washington. Conservative strength in the South was growing, and carpetbag politicians were beginning to look more and more to renewed support from the Federal government. This would be a presidential year, moreover, and Grant would need all the support he could muster to oppose Horace Greeley in a bid for his second term of office. New devices had to be found to justify intervention.

In January, 1871, the Union Leagues met with Republican leaders in Washington to formulate an extension of the League's work in the South. With the right kind of guarantees, the League would begin a renewed drive among the Negroes to push the Republicans through to victory, but this would require additional legislation to allow Federal officers to supervise congressional districts and to keep more democrats away from the polls. No one had overlooked the growing militancy of the Klan, and while exaggerated to

achieve political ends, its actions furnished the radicals with all they needed to conjure up a state of civil emergency in the South on a charge of insurrection. Indiana's Senator Oliver Morton, the leader of the Senate radicals, introduced a resolution calling on the President for a report on "outrages" in the subjugated states and Grant responded without delay.

With the South enjoying a brief period of genuine law and order, the radicals began to flood the northern press with tales of scandals, murders, and atrocities by whites against Negroes. Civil rights were allegedly being denied and the Negro was being "subjugated" beneath a new wave of terrorism. Federal troops were said to be desperately needed to preserve life and limb. Orators invoked bitter memories of the war with virulent denunciations of the Southerners as traitors and murderers. Through this artificially-contrived atmosphere of panic and desperation, the Ku Klux Klan Act was introduced into the House of Representatives on March 28, 1871.

Greeley immediately took the side of the South, demanding that carpetbaggers get out of his own South Carolina and return to their homes in the North. His voice was drowned in the subsequent frenzy to reduce the Democratic margin to impotency in the coming months. But his own editorial reports of actual southern conditions made a considerable impression in northern journalistic circles, while at the same time, many northern papers sent their own representatives to the South who returned with corroborating evidence. There was no insurrection, no state of emergency, and no wave of terror; nothing but hundreds of desperate carpetbaggers running a footrace with the Democrats to keep themselves in power. Nevertheless, the foundations had been laid and the plan went ahead as scheduled.

The Ku Klux Act was a disguise by the Party to

re-ignite old war hatreds for the sake of party unity. Anyone accused of assault, robbery or murder with or without evidence to support the charge was turned over to Federal courts. Exceptional means by which politicians and courts could pick juries were provided. The President was authorized to declare martial law in those sections of the South said to be in a state of rebellion (congressional districts which held a democratic majority), and empowered to suspend the writ of habeas corpus to deny the accused of appeal in the courts. Indiana's Senator D. W. Voorhees opened up on the bill as an instrument of executive tyranny:

You tender General Grant the sword, and tell him to wield it upon his countrymen in any direction he chooses; strike him whenever his passions, his hates, his ambitions or his interests dictate, and upon such cause or provocation as to him alone may appear sufficient. Do you wish to establish lawless tyranny in this land? Here is its charter. (*Congressional Globe, Appendix, 42nd Congress, First Session*).

Voorhees was joined by others in the denunciation such as Allen G. Thurman, Lyman Trumbull and Vermont's Senator G. F. Edmunds. Even Charles Sumner, author of the infamous Civil Rights Act of 1866, assailed the bill as a measure "which proposes to confer upon the President the power to make war on the white people of America." (*Congressional Globe, April 13, 1871*).

Congress did not budge. In the midst of the scandals of the Scott regime, Grant acted by declaring martial law in South Carolina.

Federal troops moved in to supervise congressional districts and with them came a flank of detectives to dig up evidence for the ensuing Klan trials. Mass arrests ensued, people were hauled out of their offices and homes, business was suspended, and the trials

began. They were a travesty of justice. Hundreds of citizens in each heavily democratic district were marched off to jail there to lead each other in songs and cheers. Soon, all were released without charge or fine. At the U.S. circuit court in Columbia, juries were packed with partisans and radicals, Negroes, carpet-baggers and scalawags. There were some convictions, but most of the trials were political mockeries. Some counties had trials where there had *never been* a Klan. When the detectives went to work, they purposely sought out known cowards and, in short order, had long lists of Klansmen from surrounding districts. Then, the bottom fell out. Thousands of younger Klan members packed their gear and headed West lending a sudden population boom to the state of Texas. Thousands more were picked up on suspicion.

Grant forces took control of the Negroes and once again produced an invincible alliance. The state Republican convention was described as an appalling sight, jammed with depraved faces and colored delegates gorged with delicacies washed down with imported wines and liquors, and wanton women available without cost—a decadent scene lasting throughout the night amidst stifling heat and foul odors. The four year orgy of Governor Robert Scott came to an end, and a new and worse one began under the expertise of Frank Moses who purchased the nomination for an exorbitant sum acquired in lesser positions during his apprenticeship under the Scott regime.

Presiding at the North Carolina state convention was a Negro, James H. Harris who, with fist in the air, demanded complete social equality, "in your carriages, on your steamboats, at the tables and in the parlors of your hotels." (op. cit., *The Tragic Era*, page 314.) He then went on a tour with hundreds of campaign supporters blasting the "rebels" and disloyal Negroes who sided with them. The Loyal Leagues en-

joyed a slight revival, and in came another two years of degradation under military governor Tod Caldwell.

Key chairs in the Alabama Legislature were purchased with money from the Republican Congressional Committee in Washington, government funds from the Internal Revenue Bureau in Mobile and Montgomery, and from the U.S. Post Office Department. More than thirty members of the legislature were given Federal posts for their services.

In Louisiana the Democrats had gone to the polls to produce a sweeping victory for Governor John McEnery over a carpetbagger, William Pitt Kellogg. But the radicals had control of the Republican counting (returning) board which awarded the election to Kellogg without even counting the votes. The legitimate De Feriet Board was declared illegal by Federal Judge Durell who then instructed U.S. Marshal Stephen Packard (also Republican State Chairman) to take charge of the state house and prevent an "unlawful" seating there by the McEnery officials. (Ella Lonn, *Reconstruction in Louisiana After 1868*, New York, 1918).

New Orleans rose in protest and the scandal was heard all over the North. A Congressional committee found that McEnery had indeed obtained a majority of 10,000 votes and that his conservative cohorts had captured a majority of 39 seats in the House and 11 in the Senate. Subsequent authoritative reports on Kellogg's background and conduct were ignored by Congress and the fate of the Louisiana election was left to the discretion of Grant. Grant had already prepared a message recognizing McEnery when Oliver Morton bore down on him and forbade it, saying that it would cost the Party 80,000 votes. Recognition, therefore, went to Kellogg, and his forces took over the government buildings. McEnery's group went off to assemble a legislature elsewhere, and the state forthwith began

to function with two administrative bodies. One sent a conservative to the Senate that year, the other a radical.

Control of the militia, however, rested with the radicals who were ensconced in the U.S. Customs House, and their taxation policies were driving the people to desperation. The citizenry had already been taxed into near-bankruptcy by the Warmoth regime. Homes were stripped, piece by piece, to buy necessities and meet the stifling taxes, and once well-to-do families were sleeping on pallets, having sold their beds for food. In one parish alone, St. Landry, 821 plantations went for taxes in one two-year period while in New Orleans 47,491 pieces of property were seized by the sheriff. Conditions were intolerable and after Grant's deal with Kellogg, an atmosphere of rebellion was in the air.

The radicals chose this opportunity to begin disarming the whites. All of a sudden, hunters on the way back from trips were arrested without cause, and without redress. Women were insulted in all parts of New Orleans. There were some clashes. These were capitalized on by the radicals and in answer to their outcries, Grant ordered troops to strategic points where they too began to seize guns consigned to citizens, and to remove their right to bear arms.

Public protest reached a crescendo. McEnery's Lt. Governor sent out a call for 3000 armed volunteers to take charge of the legislature by force. Hatred of the radicals was almost universal. Kellogg's abdication was demanded and refused, whereupon McEnery's rebel army marched to the front of the state house, erected barricades and opened fire on the police under General Longstreet. In ten minutes, Longstreet retreated and moved his forces to the front of the U.S. Customs House. Inside sat a trembling Governor Kellogg. Fighting resumed, then died out during the night, and

the next morning Longstreet surrendered. The Democrats marched in and took their places as the legitimate government of Louisiana. Mass meetings all over the state were held in joyous approval of the action.

But Kellogg had fired desperate messages back to President Grant and finally the answer came. Grant ordered the people to disperse within five hours, and to enforce the order, sent three men-of-war and fresh detachments to the scene. An armed guard entered the state house and ordered the McEnery government from the premises. Kellogg was seated once again and the government was turned over to his leadership for two more years. Through such methods, carpetbag governments were retained throughout the South in every state but Georgia, which in 1872 joined Tennessee as the second state to gain its independence. The remaining nine states entered a period of license and lawlessness worse than before as Grant went back to Washington for his second term of office.

1874

By now, any old rivalries were completely forgotten as an enraged white population forged new lines and built their strength in a new determination to win during the 1874 elections. The Democratic Party had united into a Gordian knot which would not come undone for the next 90 years.

The Alabama Supreme Court had ruled that mixed marriages were legal and misanthropes were everywhere demanding mixed schools, mixed churches and hotels and integrated facilities of all kinds. The old days of racial differences were now gone, went the propaganda; there were to be civil rights for all without regard to race or color and heavy penalties would be exacted for discrimination. Entering a new campaign, the radicals fell upon the Negroes with renewed

promises about that better day of rest, comfort and equality.

With the Union Leagues on the scene trying to regain their foothold in the black belt, new tales of outrages and brutal atrocities by the whites flowed over the wires to the North. But the New York *Herald Tribune*, among other noted journals, had made its own investigation and found *no* murders, tortures, riots or rebellion. All available evidence pointed to the side making the complaints. (Walter F. Fleming, *Documentary History of Reconstruction*, Cleveland, 1906). After a decade of experience with the well-timed propaganda of the radicals (which always seemed to occur during elections), the Democrats had purposely committed themselves to a policy of nonviolence.

Nevertheless, Grant ordered troops held in readiness to mete out justice wherever "atrocities" could be found and immediately the drive was on to bring the colored vote up to campaign needs. But with or without the Army, the radicals were in trouble. Now the Democrats had strength and coordination. Demands flowed out of Alabama for a declaration of martial law as the only way to acquire victory and these were joined by the Attorney General, who urged that U.S. Marshals begin making arrests under the Enforcement Act of three years before.

In October 1874, Alabama was once again overrun with marshals, deputy marshals and agents of the Department of Justice, from 10 to 25 in each county, who went forth with armloads of warrants, commenced to drag citizens from political meetings, homes and offices and hold them without bail in distant jails. This only added fuel to the flames. The people gathered their forces and marched en masse to the polls to elect a Democrat, George S. Houston, governor with a

Democratic legislature. In a dash for freedom Carpet-bag politicians threw their loose gear together and caught trains to other parts to avoid prison terms. For a time, troops remained, but Alabama was free and joined Arkansas, Virginia, Texas, North Carolina, and Florida, all regaining their sovereignty that year.

Arkansas had labored under six years of the most vile forms of corruption. Pillagers, starting with \$319,000 in the state treasury, had by the time of their eviction run up a deficit of \$15,700,000. There were no new buildings or road improvements, no new schools and most counties were on the verge of bankruptcy. Carpetbaggers issued county scrip, sold offices, released prisoners for a price, and fleeced the public of millions in railroad bonds. Contracts for repairs were a special part of the haul. A colored politician, hired to fix a \$100 damage on a building, sent in a bill for \$900 and got paid in scrip worth 10 on the dollar, thus walking away with \$9000 out of the state treasury. (Charles Nordhoff, *The Cotton States in the Spring and Summer of 1875*, New York, 1875.)

That year, a well-organized Democratic Party walked through to victory, electing Augustus Garland governor and gaining a majority of the legislature. Powell Clayton, carpetbag governor from 1868 to 1870 and now a U.S. senator from Arkansas, set out to find an excuse to produce Federal intervention. Otherwise, the merry-go-round would soon be over. After a meeting at Hot Springs with Republican leader Oliver Morton, General Phillip Sheridan and a drunken Federal judge named McClure were dispatched to Washington to go before the congressional investigating committee of Rep. Luke Poland of Vermont. Using the "outrage" mill, they wanted Poland to draw up a report to Congress recommending emergency measures in Arkansas. In the meantime, Grant went to work on his own plan of declaring the Arkansas Constitution of 1874 null

and void and the recent elections held under it not binding. But Poland went the other way. His report for February 6, 1874 recommended that there be no interference in Arkansas, and Congress acted on it, also putting to rest Grant's own scheme. Garland and his Democrats were left in power.

With all eyes on Louisiana after the debauchery of 1872, the Democrats went to work early, publishing the names of whites who voted Republican, refusing advances to planters who rented to radicals, boycotting merchants voting with the opposition, firing Negroes who voted with the Republicans and challenging the radicals at their own functions. The usual cries of murder and atrocity went out from the Customs House crowd, and Federal Marshal Packard went to work with mass arrests and the seizing of Democratic leaders. Negroes were ordered from their fields to political rallies and threatened with arrest and imprisonment if they voted Democrat. By now, 5000 of them were already doing so. At the same time, an estimated 15,000 Negroes were brought into the upper parishes from Mississippi, Tennessee and Alabama to give the Republicans a plurality there (*New York Herald*, Oct. 11, 1874). On election day, Kellogg had at his disposal a protective guard of eleven companies of Federal troops and a fleet of gunboats on the Red River nearby.

The votes were counted in closed session by the Republicans, who spent two months at the job because they were not sure Grant would act. Once again, two legislatures were announced and in New Orleans another uprising seemed imminent. A later investigation disclosed 5200 false affidavits in New Orleans alone.

Grant had sent General Phillip Sheridan into the South with orders to do whatever he thought necessary to maintain order. Sheridan now entered the city of New Orleans, set up cannons, armed guard and cav-

ally, suspended the writ of habeus corpus and declared martial law. After expelling the Democrats from Kellogg's government buildings, he sent a profligate message to Grant suggesting that the white population be declared Banditti—bandits and outlaws—subject to trial by Federal commissioners. The North flew into an uproar. Newspapers assailed Grant for sending troops to upset a legitimate election. Mass meetings were held in New York and Boston to protest the action.

But a Republican majority under Morton's leadership backed up Grant's action and issued a report giving a clean bill of health to the Republican Party in Louisiana. Together with Mississippi and South Carolina, Louisiana went down again into a new deluge of spiraling debt, confiscatory taxation, and crime.

After New Orleans, Sheridan sent a detachment north to Vicksburg, Mississippi on a plea from the carpetbag city government there for protection during the forthcoming elections. In Vicksburg, black militia marched back and forth through the streets, drilling night after night with guns loaded and bayonets fixed (James Garner, *Reconstruction in Mississippi*, New York, 1901) in an arrogant show of intimidation. Who was in the saddle now? The Negroes! Anyone with eyes could see they were the men of the future since they controlled both state and local governments. Soon, white women would realize this and be there for the taking. The Democrats met all this by moving calmly ahead and nominating a strong ticket.

To fortify their ranks and secure the town for an open election, the whites organized themselves into taxpayer's groups and commenced the formation of a "white militia." Faced with this challenge, three regiments of black militia rallied outside the city

limits and proceeded to march on Vicksburg from three different directions, only to be repulsed and driven back by the armed taxpayers. The Negroes dispersed, withdrew to their homes and the election proceeded without interruption. An alarmed Governor Ames stalked before his carpetbag legislature to get authority to equip a much larger body of militia, but the legislature merely answered by summoning help from Grant. Grant responded with an order to the whites in Vicksburg to vacate the premises and about that time Sheridan's troops arrived from New Orleans to take charge.

This was the setting (1875) in which Mississippi began to prepare for the 1876 statewide elections.

1876

Mississippi's General J. Z. George was placed in charge of the Democratic campaign. Calm and efficient, George saw to it that strong Democratic clubs took shape in every county and thereafter called them to arms. In the meantime, Governor Ames appointed a drunken violent Negro, William Gray, to serve as his brigadier general. From podium to podium, Gray assailed the whites before his colored audiences asserting that the Republicans would win if he had to kill every white man, woman and child in the state. (J. S. McNeilly, *Climax and Collapse of Reconstruction in Mississippi*, Vol. VII of the Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society, page 377). This was mere rant, but the blacks were nevertheless whipped into a renewed frenzy of anti-white hatred and began to distribute bales of campaign leaflets which proclaimed that, if the Democrats won the election, every colored man would be back in slavery. And the propaganda took effect.

Among the whites, high esprit des corps prevailed, as the mobilization of Mississippi commenced under

a calm, commanding General George. During the day there were barbecues; at night, torchlight processions. The air was charged with a spirit of liberty, enthusiastic people parading from town to town, stopping on hilltops to fire cannons into the air (op. cit., *The Tragic Era*, page 455), and women cooking for the crowds as cavalry galloped down the highways. Political leaders inspired new confidence as they went from meeting to meeting. News of the "Mississippi Revolution" went out to all parts of the country and was greeted with special concern by Governor Ames inside the state house.

Whites were in the minority on a statewide basis and would have to devise novel methods of gaining a sufficient voting margin. One way was to rely on the disinclination of many Negroes to go to the polls; another was to form Democratic clubs composed of Negroes, of which there were already a few. But neither would produce a majority, particularly with agitation as strong as it was on the other side. Mississippians then discovered something that was to become the turning point in their drive for liberty and that of South Carolina after them.

They reasoned that white carpetbag politicians did not hold the blacks in abeyance because they had something dynamic to sell them, but because of the patience of the whites which the Negroes had been interpreting as fear. Colored faith in the radicals derived mainly from a feeling of confidence in their strength. This had to be changed.

A plan came into being. Forthwith, whites would go before colored political meetings and demand equal time to challenge their radical leaders. They would then assail the radicals as cowards who had used the Negroes for their own benefit and given them nothing; corrupted them, fed them with mountains of lies and used their votes to line their own pockets, all of which

was perfectly true. The whites were instructed to offer no reasons for their argument nor to overdo it—just to hurl violent assertions against the radicals and let them hang in the air, expose the thievery and rascality of the carpetbag regime and depart, leaving the leader to defend himself before his colored audience. If the theory held up, the sight of their own leaders on the defensive would upset the blind allegiance of the Negroes.

The plan went into being and produced immediate results. Radicals who tried to leave the meeting were ordered back and told to remain seated until the challenger had finished talking. Seeing their leaders quake and sink beneath these demands, the Negroes began to turn away, and the whites added an important weapon to their political arsenal. The "Mississippi Plan" became a main cog in the victory formula for 1876.

Governor Ames knew that his only hope lay in fomenting violence and conflict in order to supply proof of rebellion so as to demand Federal reinforcements for the area. Knowing this, George instructed his battalions not to respond to provocations but to remain calm at all costs, and his authority prevailed. In addition, whites set up an armed guard around the state house to remind Ames they would not tolerate any further arming of the Negroes. Acting mainly on the advice of onetime Mississippi (Republican) Governor James Alcorn, Grant refused to declare martial law, and Mississippi went ahead to win the election, thus delivering itself into the ranks of the living and out of the hands of the carpetbaggers.

In South Carolina, Governor Daniel Chamberlain had succeeded his vice-ridden predecessor, Frank Moses, and had every intention of remaining at the controls. Like Mississippi, South Carolina was setting up its Democratic clubs, arming, training, drilling, speaking and building enthusiasm. Red shirts became

the standard, campaign decor. The Democrats chose General Martin Gary to mold the campaign and Gary, in turn, sought out General Wade Hampton as the gubernatorial candidate. Both were popular and together produced an unbeatable combination providing they could gain the advantage of an open election.

As public spirit grew, Gary and Hampton began to hear rumors about the recent success in Mississippi and, after sending for information, received a complete transcript of the "Mississippi Plan." At once, colored meetings were invaded and their speakers assailed and denounced as cheap gangsters, rascals, thieves and corrupt fortune hunters. The Negro following began to crumble away. After one of his typical harangues before a large colored audience, Chamberlain got up to leave and was confronted by Gen. Gary, who ordered him to remain seated until he—Gary—had his say. If he tried to leave, Gary threatened to send his red shirts after him and haul him back. Thrown off balance by this unexpected outburst, Chamberlain sat down and this was his undoing. When Gary was through speaking, the Negroes did not wait for any countering remarks from Chamberlain but turned and walked away to be mobilized into Democratic clubs by Gary's campaign forces.

Enthusiasm grew by leaps and bounds. The "Mississippi Plan" was working again. Unfortunately South Carolina had several outbursts of violence and rioting which, while not of a political nature, were seized upon by a tense Daniel Chamberlain. Grant forthwith summoned all Federal job holders to Chamberlain's assistance and ordered troops to stand by to supervise the returns. But the Democrats emerged victorious and Hampton was elected along with a conservative state legislature. Chamberlain would not yield, instead, he

had the State House surrounded by armed guards. But eventually, seeing this was all that was keeping him in power, he packed his bags and went back to his home in the North closing the book on another historic episode of fraud and chicanery. South Carolina had its day of jubilation, set to work to regain its political footing and began the work of restoring a vanquished state to economic solvency and prosperity.

For a third time in a row, Louisiana's Democrats won an election, and were again set upon by mass arrests, confiscation of firearms and armed intimidation. Another handpicked Republican counting board composed of criminals and radicals spent a month finding ways to dispose of 30,000 Democratic votes to come up finally with a Republican victory. The whole world knew what was going on in New Orleans. The Republican presidential candidate, Hayes, was in a runoff with Samuel Tilden of New York and he needed those votes badly. Unable to conceal the scandal that was keeping his own party regulars in command in New Orleans, and acting through the delegation he had sent down there to personally supervise the returns, Hayes made a deal with the Democrats to pull all Federal troops out of the state in return for allowing the Republican count to stand. The troops had been there since 1861—16 years. On succeeding to office, Hayes lived up to his bargain and Louisiana emerged into the light of a new day.

Thus came to a close one of the darkest chapters in the history of a nation ostensibly founded to guarantee freedom and the protection of property, an experience ground into the minds and hearts of southerners and sealed by a determination to do all in their power to prevent another nightmare like Reconstruction.

FROM THE LESSONS OF THE PAST

(A Summary)

Current southern policies and attitudes take on a different meaning in terms of southern history. Northern agitation produced the Ku Klux Klan just as identical conditions are being installed by today's radicals which will facilitate the spread of the Klan or similar organizations all over the country. The Klan, in turn, freed the South from the worst of Reconstruction. Were the agitation to stop, the market for this type of defense measure would die with it. History has never known a period when citizens did not turn to clandestine organizations of some kind when left defenseless before government bodies which had begun to enslave them. We are in one of those periods now. The first "secret societies" to foment rebellion among the Negroes came out of the North and functioned as political arms of corrupt radical regimes whose headquarters were in Washington, D.C. The South reasons that from 1867 through 1876, it had either to inaugurate rigid racial standards or perish as a race in that section of the country, forfeiting its heritage to mulattoes and Negroes. It remains to be seen what the North will do under similar circumstances. Today, exactly one hundred years later, a more reckless and better-organized generation of radicals is back on the job. Only this time "civil rights" is pointed at every state in the Union, the (national) political vehicle is the Democratic rather than the Republican Party, and the Communists are in it up to their ears.

As in the past, dozens of groups flourish in the South and their ranks swell with every civil rights innovation out of Washington.

Probably the closest modern sequel to General George's taxpayer's groups of 1876 is the Citizen's

Council based in Jackson, Mississippi. The Council functions all over the South and is growing rapidly, numbering (as of this writing) close to a million dues-paying members. Reporters who travel to Southern States to cover sit-ins and peace marches find, to their surprise, that among a dozen competing organizations, the Citizen's Council is a progressive and stabilizing force in the community, with leadership composed mainly of business and professional figures. Organized for political action, the Council registers voters, organizes them for projects on a local and statewide basis and goes into the streets with loudspeakers during demonstrations by CORE, SNICK or SLATE to prevail on the crowd to prevent violence and maintain law and order. This is done for exactly the same reason as during Reconstruction. If the radicals can once throw a town into turmoil, the first thing they will do is cry out for Federal troops.

In southern cities where they have been assured their activities will receive no publicity in the press, rights workers will not even stage a demonstration. Wherever they do, the same caliber of misrepresentation is launched by the northern press such as characterized the scandal a century ago. The North is then deluged with an army of educators and politicians who spend their idle hours going before women's groups, service clubs and civic associations to weave tall tales about atrocity and outrage South of the Mason-Dixon Line. Some of these stories are masterpieces of pure fabrication. Convinced the speaker is fighting a martyr's cause for human justice and dignity, the North walks out of these propaganda sessions assured that "Dr. so-and-so is the most wonderful man!" It is Reconstruction all over again, letter for letter and word for word, as the South prepares to wage another struggle for its existence.

To an outside observer the South has not solved its

racial problems. No less obvious, however, are race problems in the North which the North has only recently even begun to recognize, as evidenced by demonstrations and agitation it cannot control, crime it cannot contain, "rights" legislation it cannot stop, streets and parks which are no longer safe at night, and government bodies which are solidly in the hands of radicals. It is the *North* that has the race problem, not the South. What the South has is a set of *codes* which are not to the liking of northern liberals, not because they are unjust, but because they stand in the way of the socialist power struggle. All of this may change, of course—for both sides—insofar as civil rights and race relations problems now face the nation as a whole. And each section is meeting these problems in terms of its own experience. The difference here is that whether right or wrong, the Southern States have the lessons of a bitter experience to fall back on. For the North, it all lies ahead.

The South is convinced that the nation is entering a Second Reconstruction. All the symptoms are here—in California and New York as well as Jackson and Birmingham—but with one exception: this one threatens to be a much bigger ordeal. In the language of the late Hon. Alfred H. Stone of Mississippi:

The younger generation of Southern people, as a rule, have no more technical knowledge of the details of history of which we are writing than have the people of the same age in other sections of the country. But the very word 'Reconstruction' has for the South and the Southern people a significance and a connotation which the word does not have anywhere else in the world. For the rest of the country, it merely means a disgraceful period of American history, which decent people would like to forget and which right-thinking people would like to expunge from the record. For any other part of America it

is merely a word in the dictionary. For the South it means gall and bitterness. It brings up a condition which defies description. But the description should be attempted, nevertheless, and particularly for the benefit of those who are so ignorant and so blind as to attempt to re-enact any of its features.

EIGHT

Distortions of American History

No single word has had more elastic application than the word "equality." Once the clarion call of the bloody French Revolution, it also became an idealistic counterpart of the American system which has been to this date the most productive enterprise of all time. Between France and America, "equality" as a political ideal has been used to serve completely opposite objectives: the seizure of power and the restriction of power. Today's misnamed Civil Rights Movement has adopted the phrase "social equality" to produce another revolution—after the French version. But any connection between this usage and legitimate American history is a stark forgery, as examination will show.

In the Declaration of Independence, observes Carlton Putnam, equality was given the same standing as liberty. "A moment's thought will show," he writes, "that the only sense in which equality can coexist with liberty is in the sense of equality of opportunity. In any other sense, if men are free they won't be equal, and where men are equal, they are not free." (*Race and Reason, A Yankee Review*, Washington, D.C., Public Affairs Press, 1961).

The phrase "All men are created equal" is used continuously to destroy equality before the law, which is the very heart and soul of Constitutionalism. As commonly expressed, however, this is a distortion of

the words of George Mason which first appeared in the Committee Draft of the Virginia Bill of Rights on May 27, 1776. Jefferson copied it from the newspapers. The original wording was, "All men are born equally free," which is more to the point of the American ideal (R. Carter Pittman, *American Bar Association Journal*, August, 1960). For this means simply that (in theory) the individual is at liberty to make his mark in open competition with others and by assuming the responsibility for his own actions. Nothing could be more in harmony with the spirit on which this civilization was founded.

Of the Constitutions and Bills of Rights of the 48 states up to 1917, only two used the equality clause in the Declaration of Independence and one of these, North Carolina, had it forced upon her by Federal bayonets during Reconstruction (op. cit., *Race and Reason*, page 61).

On the marble panel in the Jefferson Memorial in Washington, D.C. is a fragment of one of Jefferson's statements. It reads: "Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate than that these people (the Negroes) are to be free." But as originally written by Jefferson, there was no period after these words; there was a semi-colon, and the original sentence continued, "nor is it less certain that the two races, equally free, cannot live under the same government." (Op. cit., *Race and Reason*, page 62.)

At the time of the Lincoln-Douglas debates in 1858, Senator Stephen A. Douglas stated that:

... in my opinion the signers of the Declaration had no reference to the Negro whatever. One great evidence . . . is to be found in the fact that at that time every one of the thirteen colonies was a slaveholding colony, every signer of the Declaration represented a slaveholding constituency, and not one of them emancipated his slaves, much less offered citizenship

to them, when they signed the Declaration; . . . if they intended to declare that the Negro was the equal (social equal) of the white men . . . they were bound that day and hour to have put their Negroes on an equality with themselves.

. . . I am in favor of preserving this government as our Fathers made it. It does not follow that because the Negro is not your equal or mine, that hence he must necessarily be a slave. On the contrary, it does follow that we ought to extend to the Negro every right, every privilege, every immunity which he is capable of enjoying consistent with the good of our society. (See *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, edited by Roy P. Basler, Rutgers University Press, 1953.)

Earlier, in one of his replies to Douglas on October 16, 1854, Lincoln said:

I think I would not hold one in slavery (a Negro), at any rate; yet the point (about slavery) is not clear enough for me to denounce people upon. What next? Free them, and make them politically and socially, our equals? My own feelings will not admit this; and if mine would, we well know that those of the great mass of white people will not.

We cannot, then, make them equals.

Yet at the same time, it was Lincoln who helped to formulate the Thirteenth Amendment and he was in favor of abolition. The concept of equality set forth by the Founding Fathers held that beyond equality before the law, equality was a feat of individual achievement which could not be bestowed, but had to be demonstrated and earned. Anything more would serve to raise the indigent at the expense of the industrious.

This, sadly, has become the literal interpretation

of the word "equality" by contemporary standards. Many Negroes took the fullest advantage of their freedom to rise and prosper for which they felt a deep sense of gratitude. Today, great and strenuous labor is expended trying to eclipse the words of the Founding Fathers and to discount them as irrelevant to the current situation, and for good reason: their philosophy would provide guidelines for the Negro which he can never find within the Civil Rights Movement.

No bigger distortion of our greatest historical figures holds forth in American minds today than that which has been made of Abraham Lincoln. Modern politicians attempting to follow a liberal caricature of Lincoln woven out of whole cloth do not reflect their desire to emulate his wise counsel, but their determination not to. In his book, *The Agony of The GOP*, Robert Novak states that the Republican Party has never stood for integration. A chapter entitled *The White Man's Party* attempts to show that the Emancipation Proclamation, long hailed as standing proof of Lincoln's driving urge to get on with integration, was anything but an expression of humanitarian sentiment; to the contrary, it was conceived of economic and military necessity; as a method of promoting the end of the Civil War.

Burton Hendrick carries this point further in his coverage of the period, *The Bulwark of The Republic*, in which he remarks: "Here was an opportunity to end an enormous wrong; to perform an act of Christian justice. But this was not the point of view that appealed to Lincoln." The Emancipation Proclamation would be issued "only in the event that freeing the slaves would promote the end for which the war had been begun—the preservation of the Union," a policy sustained by Lincoln in all his actions and utterances. On September 13, 1862, Lincoln replied to an abolitionist delegation:

I raise no objection to slavery on legal or Constitutional grounds. . . . I view this matter as a practical war measure, to be decided on according to the advantages or disadvantages it may offer to the suppression of the rebellion. (*The Bulwark Of The Republic*, Boston; Little, Brown and Co., 1937.)

As the war progressed, Lincoln and his aids began contemplating a move that would appeal to abolitionist sentiment in England and at the same time encourage Negro uprisings within the Confederacy. The military features of the slave situation were becoming glaringly evident. Throughout the South, slaves were left at home to look after the plantations, thus releasing more white men for active service. They were employed digging trenches, building fortifications, cooking, and in general, performing functions for which the Northern Army had utilized regular detachments.

In the last phase of the war, slaves were enlisted in the Confederate Army under General Lee on the understanding that they would be given their freedom. It became a part of the Northern strategy to obtain the use of the 4,000,000 slaves of the South or at least a part of them, not only to weaken the Confederacy, but to strengthen the Union cause (see Richard Hofstadter, *American Political Traditions*, New York, Vantage, 1959).

Lincoln finally decided on Emancipation in July of 1862 only after all his other measures had failed. The advantages of guaranteeing freedom to the slaves would be to encourage mass desertions from the Confederacy, as well as to enable the North to enlist Negroes in the Union Army for service against their former masters.

The Proclamation was issued following the battle of Sharpsburg-Antietam and became one of the smartest

propaganda devices of all time. As a means of setting the slaves free, however, it had neither authority nor validity, for the Proclamation declared that all Negroes *within the Confederacy* were free. The Civil War was still very much in force and the South was in no way bound by Federal jurisdiction. Moreover, it did not apply to the northern states, which was the only place it could actually be enforced. The Proclamation could not be enforced where it was meant to apply, and did not apply where it could be enforced. It was pure unadulterated propaganda.

The official status of the Negro remained unchanged until the Thirteenth Amendment, which was passed on December 18, 1865, eight months after Lincoln's assassination (Lincoln died on April 15, 1865). This should not be used to diminish the fact of Lincoln's personal interest in emancipation of the slaves; he had helped to formulate the Thirteenth Amendment. Not by his hand, though, were the slaves freed, nor was the Emancipation Proclamation ever intended for that purpose.

Lincoln's singular standard throughout his political career was the Constitution, and he certainly labored under no more arduous conditions than those facing the nation today. He has become remembered in history for his ability to arbitrate between extreme political views to the *advantage*, rather than at the expense of, Constitutional precepts. If the Constitution did not advance him the right to take a particular course, his own sentiments were subordinated. This was never more clearly illustrated than by the position he took with respect to the right of the separate states to hold slaves not only while the war was still on, but after it had ended. In August, 1861, General Fremont, an abolitionist, declared martial law in Missouri and announced that all slaves of owners resisting the Union were free. Lincoln countermanded the order. The Con-

stitutionality of Emancipation was as yet legally undecided. Lincoln similarly cancelled the declaration of General David Hunter which set slaves free in three more southern states, Georgia, Florida and South Carolina.

Although one of the three principal reasons for Republican strength during the 1850's had been opposition to the spread of slavery into the Western territories, a Republican administration in 1861, under Lincoln, cast its support for measures which would have allowed organizing the territories of Colorado, Nevada and Dakota without prohibiting slavery. Also under Lincoln, in 1861, a Republican Congress prepared an original Thirteenth Amendment for ratification to the states which would have forbidden Congress to interfere with slavery thereafter. But the war produced a change of attitude.

Chief Justice Roger Brooke Taney had declared that Congress did not have the authority within the Constitution to exclude slavery from the territories or to abolish the institution in any of the states. Lincoln held to this view. It was up to the states to determine the nature of their own internal affairs; the states had created slavery and only the states could destroy it. It finally became the consensus of Congress that the government had *no* Constitutional authority to declare slaves free, but that it could confiscate the property of persons engaged in rebellion. Henceforth, slaves were regarded as "property" and set at liberty. Although axiomatic on its surface, what made Lincoln the hero of the hour was the simple expedient of sticking to his oath of office. With no less an issue than slavery under debate, states rights was to Lincoln the overriding factor. Today, the laurels go to the politician who can manufacture more reasons to do away with states rights.

PERSONAL VIEWS

A scheme to equalize the races would have been inconceivable to Lincoln for more than mere Constitutional reasons. Such a diversion which violated his entire sense of political judgment rose in even greater contrast to his personal idealism, as becomes infinitely clear by even a casual account of his remarks during the Lincoln-Douglas debates. In his Fourth Debate with Senator Stephen Douglas at Charleston, Illinois on September 18, 1858, Lincoln said:

While I was at the hotel today, an elderly gentleman called upon me to know whether I was really in favor of producing a perfect equality between the Negroes and white people (great laughter). While I had not proposed to myself on this occasion to say much on the subject, yet as the question was asked me I thought I would occupy perhaps five minutes in saying something in regard to it.

I will say then that I am not, nor ever have been in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races (applause) . . . that I am not nor ever have been in favor of making voters or jurors of Negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with white people; and I will say in addition to this that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality. (*Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, edited by Roy P. Basler, Rutgers University Press, 1953.)

A policy which contemplated giving the Negro his freedom but made no attempt to give him the vote or to enable him to hold office or act as lawmaker, nevertheless gave no scope to hatred or ill will toward the Negro. It was indicative of Lincoln's composure

that while he eventually supported abolition, his compassion for the Negro did not render him impotent in the face of attack by his adversaries. Throughout the debates, he was repeatedly assailed by Douglas as an advocate of racial intermarriage, arising from his attempts while in office to appease the Abolitionists yet stick to the letter of the Constitution to the extent that on one occasion he felt obliged to defend himself as follows:

I protest, now and forever, against that counterfeit logic which presumes that because I do not want a Negro woman for a slave, I do necessarily want her for a wife. My understanding is that I need not have her for either. (Burton Hendrick, *The Bulwark of The Republic*, Boston, Little, Brown and Co., 1937.)

Lincoln's conception of civil rights ran far enough at odds to contemporary standards to make the liberal caricature commonly held of him a triumph of pure fantasy. It was not within Lincoln's purview as a statesman to grant personal rights at the expense of property rights which he would have had to do to interpret his Emancipation Proclamation along the lines of the party radicals of his time (or ours). The place of the Negro in American government had rather fixed proportions in Lincoln's mind, judging from his reply to Senator Douglas on October 16, 1854:

In the course of his reply, Senator Douglas remarked that he had always considered this government was made for the white people and not for the Negroes. Why, in point of mere fact, I think so too. (Peoria, Illinois, October 16, 1854.)

Lincoln opposed the assimilation of the Negroes into the social and political pulse of the nation. He had,

however, worked for emancipation of the slaves. By his political actions, he defined what he believed to be the proper course for a minority located at that time on the perimeter of an expanding Western civilization. If his personal sentiments were not self-evident in his policies, his speeches left no illusions. At Springfield, Illinois on June 25, 1857, he said:

There is a natural disgust in the minds of nearly all white people to the idea of an indiscriminant amalgamation of the white and black races.

A separation of the races is the only perfect preventive of amalgamation, but as an immediate separation is impossible, the next best thing is to keep them apart where they are not already together.

If white and black people never get together in Kansas, they will never mix blood in Kansas. A few free colored persons may get into the free states, in any event, but their number is too insignificant to amount to much in the way of mixing blood.

In his Fourth Debate on September 18, 1858, Lincoln gave further assurance:

I have never had the least apprehension that I or my friends would marry Negroes if there was no law to keep them from it (laughter), but as Judge Douglas and his friends seem to be in great apprehension that they might, if there were no law to keep them from it (roars of laughter), I give him the most solemn pledge that I will to the very last, stand by the law of this state (Illinois) which forbids the marrying of white people with Negroes (continued laughter and applause).

Modern propaganda would have piloried Lincoln as a "bigot," a "racist," or a "white supremacist," although such a picture would hardly conform either

to his character or his work on behalf of the Negro. It has been argued, moreover, that his strong belief in race separation deserved every bit the place in public policy as did the civil rights mania which followed him insofar as segregation at least remained consistent with social and political construction at that time and did not violate any underlying principle in the Constitution. Also, Lincoln's convictions on the races did not require elucidation as public policy unless challenged by an administration which sought to subsidize the Negroes as a class.

The Constitution does not define social structures as such; certain social patterns (e.g., classes) are merely inherent in the feature of checks and balances which (theoretically) prohibit the rule of an entrenched minority or the subsidization of another. A legislator with Lincoln's views, therefore, was obligated to do no more than strive to make administration policy consistent with Constitutional precepts and leave the rest to natural processes. The problem of the free Negro did not become a major issue until certain vested interests began to overturn natural law for political purposes.

Both whites and Negroes have had their challenges under this system. Many have succeeded, others have failed. But the Negro could hardly be expected not to have had added initial barriers to overcome in a country overwhelmingly Anglo-Saxon and Caucasian and in pursuit of a European-style civilization. Thus, the problems of inherently foreign cultures probably stood before Lincoln's mind more than that of superior or inferior individuals as he attempted to define a proper course for the freed (or about to be freed) Negro.

Lincoln had a very simple answer. It is not the purpose here to justify, defend or debate that answer, but merely to allow it to dispel a long-standing myth,

which in the unfolding "rights" turmoil, is creating havoc for the nation, partly in Lincoln's name. Visualizing that the assimilation of the Negro into the American system might become more of a detriment than an asset for both races, he set his course for separate cultural development, and this apparently was taking the form of a political program during his first term of office. Three years before, Lincoln implied Republican support for this policy, as shown in his remarks on June 26, 1857:

I have said that the separation of the races is the only perfect preventive of amalgamation. I have no right to say all members of the Republican Party are in favor of it. There is nothing in their platform directly on the subject. But I can say a very large proportion of its members are for it, and that the chief plank in their platform—opposition to the spread of slavery—is most favorable to it.

On December 1, 1862, Lincoln issued an Executive Proclamation calling on Congress for funds to colonize the Negroes with everything they would need to become self-sustaining and at the same time imparting to them American cultural and economic standards. His words at the time were:

That portion of the earth's surface which is owned and inhabited by the people of the United States, is well adapted to be the home of one national family (Caucasians); and it is not well adapted for two, or more. Its vast extent, and its variety of climate and productions are of advantage, in this age for one people, whatever they might have been in former ages. Steam, telegraphs, and intelligence, have brought these, to be an advantageous combination, for one united people. . . .

In this view, I recommend the adoption of the following resolution and articles amendatory to the Constitution of the United States:

Article I—Congress may appropriate money, and otherwise provide, for colonizing free colored persons, with their own consent, at any place or places without the United States.

and,

I cannot make it better known than it already is, that I strongly favor colonization. . . . With deportation, even to a limited extent, enhanced wages to white labor is mathematically certain. (op. cit., Basler, *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*.)

Later on, before a deputation of Negroes in Washington, D.C., on August 14, 1862, he reiterated his belief that the Negroes were a festering source of continuous conflict in American life:

See our present condition—the country engaged in war!—our white men cutting one another's throats . . . and then consider what we know to be the truth.

But for your race among us there could not be war, although many men engaged on either side do not care for you one way or the other. . . . It is better for us both, therefore, to be separated. . . .

and,

You and we are different races. We have between us a broader difference than exists between almost any other two races. Whether it is right or wrong I need not discuss, but this physical difference is a great disadvantage to us both, as I think your race suffer greatly, many of them by living among us, while ours suffer from your presence. In a word, we suffer on each side. If this be admitted, it affords a reason at least why we should be separated.

It is time to dispense with Lincoln as a friend of the revolution or at least clear the air of such incred-

ible folklore as could develop about his single gift to the Negro. The cynical portrayal of Lincoln as a bleeding-heart liberal poises him against Constitutional principles for which he stood most strongly and represents one of the greater crimes of modern journalism. Is this not also an indication of how far today's radicals will go to achieve their goals?

No less warped is the conception so many politicians have about the Republican Party of that period, which may account in part for the failure of the Party to be able to produce a real answer to the Civil Rights Movement.

To get into the Reconstruction period, the Republican Party had to turn its back on Lincoln and repudiate his ideals (see chapters 5, 6 and 7). It is with the advantage of only a cursory knowledge of that tragic episode even the more determined civil rights advocates in the Republican Party today would probably lose much of their steam just to avoid implication with it. There is no darker period in American history. Whatever influence this fact may have on future Republican actions, the record should show that the Republican fanaticism which fathered the civil rights program of the Reconstruction period did so in violation of every code in the Lincoln book of ethics, the same fanaticism which guides the leaders of the National Democratic Party today.

NINE

The Progress of the Productive Negro

The closest approach to Abraham Lincoln's philosophy on civil rights in recent times has come not from Republicans but, oddly enough, from southern Democrats who began to work in this direction long before the advent of the current "rights" satire.

The plan to impart white culture, economic independence and personal responsibility to the Negroes, which was on Lincoln's mind during most of his years in office, has been the gradual policy of the South for decades. But this long range goal has always been subject to the desire of the Negro to advance his own cause. In the South, Negroes who show no inclination to make the effort are allowed to drift or disappear if that is their desire. The same holds true for whites, however. Once the general outlook of Americans everywhere, this philosophy has been turned around by liberal writers as a blot on the South for its refusal to force the indigent to rise. As Governor of South Carolina from 1951 to 1955, former Secretary of State James F. Byrnes undertook to establish facilities for Negroes in their own districts on a par with—if not actually above—those enjoyed by neighboring whites. The Congressional Record for May 17, 1956 carried the following statement by Governor Byrnes:

A realization of the inequality that existed between rural schools and urban schools, as well as between

the races, influenced me greatly to become a candidate for governor of South Carolina in 1950.

In my inaugural address, I advocated a bond issue of \$75 million and the levying of a sales tax of 3% for the purpose of equalizing the school facilities.

Of the \$75 million authorized, 70% was allocated to Negro schools, even though the Negro school enrollment constitutes but 39% of the total enrollment.

Subsequently, the bond issue was increased until it now is \$137.5 million. In every school district there is a high school for Negroes and more than one elementary school. On the whole, the Negro school facilities are superior to white schools because they are modern. The number of Negroes transported by bus to these schools was increased by 450%.

There is no difference between the scale of pay for white and Negro teachers.

Much the same type of development has been underway throughout the South since the close of World War II while, since Reconstruction days, the South has always had job and educational opportunities for its Negroes.

The State of Mississippi has three state-supported colleges for Negroes; Jackson State College, Alcorn and Mississippi College at Itta Bena. At the college level during 1961-62, state money spent for new buildings averaged \$497 per Negro compared to \$372 per white. Mississippi has 7,382 Negro teachers with a master's degree or better. Grants are available for Negroes who want to do work for which they must leave the state, such as medicine, law, architecture or engineering. In all, the State of Mississippi has aided over 5000 Negroes with this program (*U.S. News and World Report*, June 3, 1963). Every southern state has a similar program for Negroes, some educational facilities dating back 100 years.

It is in the Southern States—where the segregation fight is centered and where most schools are still segregated—that the greatest efforts have been made to improve Negro education. Rundown schools still exist in some rural areas but they do for white children also. School budgets throughout the South show that these backward facilities are rapidly giving way to up-to-date, consolidated schools with the most modern teaching equipment. As to crowding, the average southern schoolroom load is 27 pupils per teacher. A United Nations report says that in Western Europe, the average classroom has 30 or more students.

In Alabama, Tennessee and North Carolina, Negro teachers are generally paid more than white teachers. Mississippi school expenditures doubled from 1952 to 1957, while outlay rose 30 per cent.

Today, Negroes are employed throughout southern industry and many own their own businesses. When Negroes can do the same kind of work as whites, they earn the same wages. Negroes are employed on farms, and many of them manage the farm for their employers.

Most southern Negroes (as of this writing) are opposed to racial agitators upsetting a way of life which, to them, is comfortable and understood by the white population, as against the competitive individualism most of them step into upon moving North. The South has had colored educational institutions—such as Tuskegee—for decades longer than the North, and in greater abundance. There is no lack of opportunity for Negroes who genuinely want to succeed.

The southern educational system, of course, is based on the *separate-but-equal* philosophy. Separate-but-equal has a much broader significance, however, when measured against the demands of the Civil Rights Movement by keeping the story straight between purely social and economic opportunity. The Civil Rights Movement has publicized itself as a drive for economic

advancement for the Negro but actually revolves about an attempt to invade the social privacy of whites. Where the two motives are allowed to stand side-by-side as expectations, the tendency for many Negroes is to substitute one for the other. For the unproductive class of Negroes, this can only mean abandoning the proper course of self-improvement for a twilight hour of self-indulgence, a policy which will destroy initiative and set the Negroes farther back in their development than they were before civil rights ever came their way.

Separate-but-equal implied that there was no necessary connection between integration and a higher standard of living, a fact which had already been proven by hundreds of thousands of Negroes who used the available facilities to become successful. It also destroyed two main rallying-points of the entire Civil Rights Movement, which are (a) that the Negro has been denied equal opportunity, and (b) that he must go through the white society to obtain his share of prosperity. With his own facilities, the Negro would have to turn from them and seek integration as an end in itself in order to pursue the civil rights cause.

Integration was taken up by Communists and colored politicians as a means of discouraging the Negroes from working and of pushing them toward revolution to achieve Communist goals. And why wouldn't millions of them switch from personal effort to class war if the prospects were bright enough?

The only way sufficient numbers of Negroes could be mobilized for revolution was through the promise of "spoils," and separate-but-equal offered nothing but hard work. Possibly as an easy way out of a dilemma, the Supreme Court branded separate-but-equal unconstitutional and ordered the South to proceed with integration, with or without equal facilities for Negroes.

Separate-but-equal said in effect that Negroes must

strive for, and obtain, their economic advancement *as Negroes* or the demand was not sincere, and if this were the case, the goal was not "rights" but power or some other ulterior cause. Having been faced with these challenges before, the South is hesitant to allow its social order to be ravaged a second time. For the Communists, the rights movement has no other purpose than destruction of the Constitutional system.

Albert Lee Burton, an articulate Oakland Negro, remarks that through separate-but-equal educational institutions in the South, the Negro can be reached without shame or embarrassment because Negro ethnocentrism is being kept in harmony with the Caucasian social structure. This, Burton says, cannot be accomplished in the North under present circumstances, because the two cultures are in close conflict.

The most successful Negroes in America have been those who knew that segregation never stood in the way of their advancement but instead took advantage of what was available and made the most of it. Booker T. Washington was born a slave, yet he rose to become one of the nation's most respected Negroes. For over thirty years acting head of Tuskegee Institute for Negroes, Booker Washington wrote and spoke as a representative of Negro enterprise and Negro civilization during his lifetime. In a speech at the Cotton States International Exposition in 1890, he said:

It is well to bear in mind that whatever other sins the South may be called upon to bear, when it comes to business, pure and simple, *it is in the South that the Negro is given a man's chance in the commercial world*, and in nothing is this exposition more eloquent than in emphasizing this chance. Our greatest danger is that in the great leap from slavery to freedom we may overlook the fact that the masses of us are to live by the productions of our hands, and fail to keep in mind that

we shall prosper in proportion as we learn to dignify and glorify common labor and put brains and skill into the common occupations of life; shall prosper in proportion as we learn to draw the line between the superficial and the substantial, the ornamental gewgaws of life and the useful. No race can prosper till it learns that there is as much dignity in tilling a field as in writing a poem. It is at the bottom of life we must begin, and not at the top, nor should we permit our grievances to overshadow our opportunities.

The wisest among my race understand that *the agitation of questions of social equality is the extremist folly*, and that progress in the enjoyment of all the privileges that will come to us must be the result of severe and constant struggle rather than of artificial forcing. No race that has anything to contribute to the markets of the world is long in any degree ostracized.

It is important and right that all privileges of the law be ours, but it is vastly more important that we be prepared for the exercise of these privileges. The opportunity to earn a dollar in a factory just now is infinitely more important than the opportunity to spend a dollar in an opera house. (*Italics added.*)

The successful Negro has found that achievement and productivity are the only sure methods of advancement and that legalized *favoritism* merely substitutes for genuine fulfillment.

In the United States since the Civil War, there are few man-made barriers to advancement. Our law is as tolerant as a law can be and still keep order. Through it, thousands of Negroes have made their way to the top. The notion that the Negro has been held down is refuted in a dozen telling ways, but no more glaringly, perhaps, than by that class of Negroes who got

so busy in the world of open competition that they had no *time* for marches and demonstrations.

One of these is Chicago cosmetics manufacturer S. B. Fuller, head of Fuller Products Company, who controls a chain of newspapers serving colored communities in New York, Chicago, Detroit and Pittsburgh and is director of eight other corporations. Mr. Fuller has over 600 employees, 20 per cent of whom are white, and over 3000 sales people in the field carrying his products, 500 of whom are white. His company grosses \$10 million per year and in an interview with *U.S. News and World Report* on August 19, 1963, he revealed that in 1962, he paid personal income tax on \$100,000. He has never climbed the "rights" bandwagon, and asserts that once the Negro finds he can succeed all on his own, he realizes he has no further need of white patronage. Fuller belongs to the National Association of Manufacturers, the Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry, the Illinois State Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Direct Selling Companies.

With an economically poor background, Fuller left Louisiana at the age of 15 with a sixth grade education.

Asked by reporters if he thought the Negro in America was deprived of his opportunities and legal rights, Fuller said, "No," and explained the Negro has the same rights as others throughout the United States; he has a right to vote, to start a business and to find a job, providing he can find someone to sell his services to. Negroes, said Fuller, are not discriminated against because of their color, but because they have nothing to offer that people want to buy. And as soon as they develop themselves as individuals and excel in whatever they do, they will find they have no more real problems.

Was there any justification for colored complaints about their lot in life? Some, said Fuller, but not

many. The Negro has got to prove his point by performance; he can't sue a man and make him live next door to him. He must perform well at his job, train his children, keep his community as clean as the white man's and maintain his home on a par. Crimes in Negro communities like Harlem, Fuller explained, are caused by the Negroes there and are nobody's fault but their own. He said that when he was young, his parents kept him busy doing something worthwhile and people of all races and classes then had more initiative than they do now. Today, said Fuller it is difficult to find a colored boy in Harlem even to sell newspapers.

Fuller maintains that the quality of a man cannot be legislated; quality must develop from within. Once the Negroes discover this and what it can produce for them, they will not want to integrate but will follow their own patterns. No one held him down when he went into business. He had \$25.00, bought some soap with it one day, and started selling it door to door in the colored community. Out of it grew his company. There were others in there selling, including many whites. There will always be competition, he said, but there was no barrier because of his race. School facilities for Negroes, he finds, are about the same in Chicago as for others, but the attitude is lacking among Negroes; and it is the *attitude*, not the facilities, that counts.

Fuller believes the Negroes will work just as hard as other people to get ahead once they have been shown how. This is the main problem as he sees it. After that, it is business enterprise that offers the Negroes their greatest opportunities.

Another kind of experience has been gained by the white American writer, Eric Hoffer, who has grown familiar with Negro traits and attitudes after 40 years of work and association with them in the fields and

docks of California. Like thousands of others, Hoffer rode through the depression years on the bottom, working on farms and at odd jobs with members of both races. After his writings began to find a market, he continued to divide his time by going back to the docks in San Francisco where he spent most of the postwar years. He still goes there frequently.

In an article in *U.S. News and World Report* on December 28, 1964, Hoffer outlined his reasons for a complete rejection of the motives of the Negro Revolution. A hundred Baldwins, he said, could not convince him that the Negro who comes down to the hiring hall in the morning laughing, eating and cavorting, is haunted by unhappy childhood memories and bad dreams about his past. The Negro should have rights, says Hoffer, but no special privileges over the white man and no grievances against him. He has not done the white man's work for him; "our hands are as gnarled and work broken as his and our faces more lined and worn."

Even when it tries to be gentle, Hoffer asserts, the voice of the Negro Revolution grates on him, and others like him, who have worked for everything they have. Negro agitators seem to be saying, "Lift me up in your arms. I am an abandoned and abused child. Adopt me as your favorite son. Feed me, clothe me, educate me, love and baby me. You must do it right away or I shall set your house on fire, or rot at your doorsteps and poison the air you breathe."

The Negro Revolution, Hoffer says, has no faith in the character and potentialities of the colored masses; no taste for real enemies, real battlegrounds or desperate situations. It wants cheap victories the easy way. "To sum up," he adds, "the Negro Revolution is a fraud."

In Eric Hoffer's words, what the Negro needs is *pride*—pride in his people, their achievements, and

their leaders. Most of the black nationalist groups emerging all over the country today, he maintains, are nothing more than the manifestations of the Negro's passion for alibis and the easy way. They are a plunge toward the impossible to escape the arduous effort of the possible. To Hoffer, a genuine movement has to prove the validity and potency of its own faith, which it can only do by acting against overwhelming odds.

Working in the world of open competition—inside rather than outside the law—thousands of American Negroes have made their way as a separate minority group without need of integration with the white man, and without the need of special privileges or extra-legal advantages. In America, Negroes number 19 million as against a total world Negro population of 308 million, most of whom die of various diseases before the age of 40 and who are poverty-laden throughout their lifetime.

Statistics show that American Negroes had a combined income well over \$20 billion in 1960 which works out to an average of \$1000 per year per Negro (man, woman and child). This is higher than the per capita income in the whole of Western Europe. Negroes outside the United States do not begin to approach this achievement. The average European income is \$650, according to a United Nations Report.

Today, 5.5 million Negroes are employed in American industry. One-half of these are skilled or semi-skilled whose wages in recent years have been rising steadily. They are employed in aircraft and automobile factories, meat packing plants, chemical companies, steel foundries, electronics firms and other industries, as well as on farms and in the Civil Service.

U.S. Negroes own 4.5 million automobiles—one to almost every four persons. In the Soviet Union, there is only one car for every 350 people, and most of these are either state-owned or owned by high-ranking

officials. The 1960 census shows that close to two million Negroes owned their own homes and that two out of three of them were in good condition. The U.S. Public Housing Agency states that almost half of all public housing units in the United States are rented by Negroes, and in the North Negro occupancy runs to 90 per cent. Today, more than 120,000 Negroes are attending colleges and universities in the United States, compared with 23,000 in 1940.

In 1961 there were 33 Negro savings and loan associations in the United States with assets ranging from \$1 million to \$10 million, 53 Negro-owned life insurance companies with assets totalling \$230 million, and 14 Negro banks with combined assets of \$40 million. This is an amazing success story for a minority.

There are 25 colored millionaires in the United States, 400 Negroes earning between \$50,000 and \$100,000 per year, and 10,000 Negroes making between \$10,000 and \$50,000. Colored firms continue to grow with the realization of almost unlimited potential in the colored market. Competition among insurance companies is strong, but the Negro-owned firms mentioned above more than hold their own with over 10,000 employed and paying out \$80 million per year in salaries, wages and benefits. Many Negroes have discovered good selling techniques and have made the Million Dollar Roundtable, the insurance industry's top-ranking sales organization.

Cirilo McSween, a Panama-born Negro who came to the United States to compete in track at the University of Illinois, became New York Life Insurance Company's first colored agent after graduation.

Starting in Chicago in 1956, McSween wrote a million dollars worth of life insurance the first year and has been doing it ever since. Like most American companies, New York Life is anxious to sell to the

Negro market. In May of 1965, *Ebony* magazine carried an article on McSween describing how he devised a "million-a-month" sales program in 1964. It is this kind of production which offers the real challenge to other Negroes looking for opportunity.

In the *Ebony* article, McSween tells how he made every day count by interviewing clients from 8:00 AM to as late as required to get through the day's schedule. Aware of his competition, he knew he would have to make the best possible presentation. He started with 10 complicated cases involving business insurance and estate planning, and succeeded in selling one-half million dollars worth of insurance between them. This took many hours of homework. For the other half-million, he would have to sell smaller amounts so he started out with a long list of people representing a fair cross-section of different occupations and narrowed it down to a group of about a dozen probables.

With careful planning, more homework and a special approach to each client, he wrapped it all up in 10 more days working roughly 16 hours per day.

Here, work and performance present a glaring contrast to the depraved "freedom now" philosophy expressed through demonstrations in banks and new car agency showrooms. In the words of colored Oakland attorney Donald Warden:

Martin Luther King is typical of the middle-class segment of the Negro community. They all want to get enough money to get out—they do not want to help their own people.

King thinks this way too, but would not let the mass of the Negroes know it. He wants personal glory and wealth. He takes from the poor of his own race and buys a \$30,000 Cadillac for himself. If he wanted to uplift his own people, why doesn't

he take his money and invest in a Negro business, giving Negroes jobs and bettering the whole Negro community?

King should take a few seconds during his speeches to Negro crowds to tell the Negro youth to go back to school, to train themselves in the free schools available so they can get a job and earn their own way.

Dr. King could set a 'tone' for his marches if he would march through the public library and teach the marcher how to check out a library book. (Debate: the University of California, March 17, 1965.)

The same May, 1965 issue of *Ebony* shows 16 more Negroes who made the Million Dollar Roundtable for exceptional insurance sales in 1964, and there are similar examples everywhere. The Left attempts to keep evidence like this out of the news and concealed from public scrutiny for it refutes everything claimed by the "rights" movement.

Negroes now manufacture clothing, kitchen utensils and other commodities on a lesser scale in many U.S. cities, which serve the colored community on a growing scale. Chicago's S. B. Fuller, mentioned above, observes that American Negroes spend a combined \$23 billion annually. If they controlled 80 per cent of it, or \$18 billion, and were able to take 10 per cent of that amount as profit, they would have \$1.8 billion per year to work with. He adds that millions are spent on enormous colored churches. If Negroes can raise that kind of money for religion, they can do it for investment in industry which would net them proceeds and provide a basis for their own employment—besides affording meaning to their religion. It is Fuller's opinion that business is the "way out" for the Negro, where he learns to employ others, move goods and produce items for the consumer market. After the Negro discovers the *profit-motive*, the busi-

ness cycle and private capital investment, says Fuller, he is a changed man.

American Negroes today occupy a position of leadership over the colored 93 per cent living in other countries. Eric Hoffer maintains that it is to the American Negro that the colored populations of Africa and the other dark nations should be looking for national development and economic guidance.

Among many conclusions that could be drawn from this achievement are these:

(1) The more productive and industrious Negroes have made greater gains in the United States than their race has ever done before in any other nation in history; (2) they have brought their potential up to this level in a system maintained along ethnically separate lines from coast to coast and border to border; (3) this class of Negroes has neither asked for nor required integration or the help of government to make this accomplishment; (4) "civil rights," a cause fraudulently named on behalf of the Negroes, had to be overthrown and destroyed 100 years ago to make achievement by means of personal initiative even possible; and (5) with the reappearance of the Civil Rights Movement, after a century of continuous gains, colored progress is once again placed in jeopardy.

But there may still be an even bigger lesson to be learned. Productive Negroes advanced because they applied a principle which allowed them to rise. The majority of American Negroes—faced with the same challenges—have gone the other way: into the slums and onto the streets, onto welfare and into a cultural tug-of-war with the Caucasian system.

What has been their impact on society? What beliefs and social codes do they possess which have helped to change their direction? What is the gulf that separates them from the more individualistic and productive members of their race?

TEN

The Unproductive Negro and the Effects of Population Integration

Civil Rights programs exploded after World War Two. Many large American cities, New York for example, wasted no time setting an "example" for the rest of the nation by initiating public accommodations and housing codes. New York was one city with civil rights codes on the law books years before the integration issue marched into public prominence. Long the acknowledged cradle of New World Realism, New York's liberal research groups and academic belfries greeted the "lost generation" with boatloads of model arguments demanding complete integration as the solution to a crawling social psychosis which was supposed to be proof of the failure to apply the principles of democracy.

Years of sustained pressure, tea leaves and glory road propaganda have not brought integration to New York City—or to any other city—but instead, Harlem, the largest segregated Negro community in the world. As one spokesman has paraphrased it, the result of all the egalitarian outpouring of postwar years is that no white man or woman will live in Harlem under any circumstances.

A dormant and contained Harlem gave liberal college professors at Columbia and New York University a one-mile twilight zone from which to demand that New Yorkers abandon their "inverted" thought pat-

terns and learn to accept the integration requirements of 20th Century society. But as soon as Harlem's bulging population began to spill over in a downtown direction, out of the way fled these same professors to restricted neighborhoods where their children could be enrolled in all-white schools.

Over the years New York has conducted more than its share of experiments to determine just how much of the disparity between white and Negro accommodations is due to cultural deprivation and how much to other factors. Immense public housing projects—at the expense of the taxpayers—have risen on the sites of former slums. Two of these, Fort Greene Houses and Sound View Houses, were investigated and given a frank exposure in 1957 by the New York *Daily News*. After much research and careful surveys, this ranking metropolitan newspaper reported to the people as follows:

Fort Greene Houses, completed 13 years ago, is a rotting \$20 million slum. It is brick-and-steel Tobacco Road in the heart of New York, off the Brooklyn approach to the Manhattan Bridge.

The sprawling 37-building project is a city in itself, with 3,501 apartments and more than 14,000 inhabitants. Most of them moved into the state-subsidized project to get out of the slums and into a place where they could enjoy decent living conditions.

Today they are, in effect, right back where they started. Smashed windows in apartments are stuffed with rags, newspaper and cardboard. Obscenities scrawled in four-foot letters cover many walls. Knobs and locks are missing from doors; doorsteps are torn from their moorings.

Vandalism is a staggering item in the maintenance

of the project. Light bulbs are stolen by the gross. Doorknobs are stolen for their junk value. Hack-saws have been used to cut heavy brass nuts from firefighting equipment.

Their hygienic habits lead to another expense for the project. Urine running off floors of elevators corrodes the interlocks, which prevents the opening of doors unless the elevator is at the floor, and shorts the electrical equipment. . . . condensation on the walls of some apartments was so great that water ran down onto the floors in meandering rivulets.

Twenty million dollars is a very generous way to determine whether anyone in the area of Fort Greene Houses was being "held down." The *Daily News* continued with its coverage of integrated public housing:

In Sound View Houses, completed on October 29, 1954, is a 28-month-old baby suffering from rickets, cerebral palsy, scarlet fever, mumps, and dropsy. The 13 seven-story buildings occupy a 26-acre site, leaving ample space between the buildings and providing plenty of fresh air and sunshine.

The halls reek of urine and worse. Turning the elevators into mobile toilets is an uncontrolled affliction of many public housing projects but the practice has been carried to the last extreme at Sound View.

The halls bore scrawls written in lipstick and expressing sentiments that would put hardened criminals to shame. . . . In this project there are many tenants who have to mop not just the floors, but the ceilings. This is no exaggeration, and in a project just 28 months old.

Perhaps this is why Harlem is allowed to stand as it is. "Fair housing" has rarely been known to elimi-

nate slums, but rather to expand them. And the affliction is by no means restricted to New York City. Most large urban centers have made similar trial-and-error experiments since the war only to come up with the same general answer.

Few people are surprised by the high mortality rate of integrated public housing. Tax-supported maintenance often cannot keep pace with the systematic destruction of these facilities by the very people for whom they were originally constructed. Such costly indications that the cause is the individual and not his environment are rejected at city hall. The tendency there is to fall back on forgotten college texts and sociological theory to establish why these expensive efforts to eliminate slums rarely accomplish their purpose.

A typical slum clearance project removes one house inhabited by two colored families and builds 12 to 16 apartments on the same site, each with at least two bedrooms. This *increases* the slum potential from two families up to as high as 32 families on the same original lot. In a few years the once-contained old two-family slum explodes into a sky-rise slum colony with epidemic proportions. The one big accomplishment is to encourage slum dwelling and illegitimacy on a scale never before realized, always with the promise of endless public financing.

New York has other problems which go back to the same cause. Crime in that city is rising five times as fast as the population according to an FBI report on July 20, 1964. Not surprisingly, race riots are seen as a major contributing factor.

Across the Hudson River in Newark, a study was made in 1960 by the city's Market Planning Commission to determine the effects of integration during the previous 10 years. The Commission report found that the Negro population had risen from 17.1 to 34.7 per

cent between 1950 and 1958. One-third of the white population had moved out of the city for a total of 93,000 evacuees. In had come 143,000 Negroes.

Starting from one downtown slum, the Negroes had moved into one white residential district after another—each becoming integrated, then all colored. A public opinion poll showed that two-thirds of those surveyed were against any further influx of Negroes. The white reaction to the Negro invasion brought these statistics: 68 per cent said they would move out if Negroes moved in; 75 per cent said they would limit their contacts with Negroes to conversation only; and 15 per cent said they would refuse to have any contact with Negroes under any circumstances.

Following the 1954 integration decision of the Supreme Court, most of the white population of Washington, D.C. moved across the state line into neighboring Maryland. Washington lost a million whites in the first two years of integration. There were sound reasons. For one thing, crimes of violence rose in a wave making it unsafe to live there and conditions have worsened constantly with each succeeding year. Officials note that while sporting *official* integration on its books, the District of Columbia actually has *de facto* segregation. Crime is becoming uncontrollable.

The Supreme Court integration decision created other immediate hazards in Washington. One year after the Court ruling, a special survey of the effects of school integration in Washington, D.C. was ordered by Congress and conducted under the chairmanship of Representative John Bell Williams. Finally released on December 28, 1965, the survey report described increased disciplinary problems as "appalling, demoralizing, intolerable and disgraceful." (See *Committee to Study the Effects of Integration on Washington, D.C.*

Schools by the House Committee on the District of Columbia, December 28, 1965.)

School disciplinary problems included every form of fighting, lying, stealing, vandalism, obscene writing, vulgar and filthy speech, absenteeism and truancy—all officially described as abnormal when compared to conditions prior to school integration. For the first time in the history of the public school system, teachers had to police the corridors while city police were repeatedly called upon to restore order. In one year (1955) 13 colored girls, *age six years or younger*, were treated for Gonorrhea.

School personnel reported an epidemic of attempted rapes, assaults, colored boys chasing girls and in some cases teachers, colored girls soliciting boys, suggestive and generally foul language to teachers and other adults, and innumerable rapes in basements and vacant classrooms.

Illegitimate children born to 15-year-old girls increased a stunning 42 per cent during the first year of integration with very few whites involved. The increase for girls *under* 15 years of age was 23 per cent.

A separate survey by the District of Columbia Department of Health reported 854 cases of Gonorrhea alone among school children in 1955, Negroes accounting for 71.8 per cent. The same official source disclosed the following medical statistics for all ages:

| <i>Diagnosis</i> | <i>White</i> | <i>Negro</i> |
|--------------------------|--------------|--------------|
| Syphilis | 368 | 2,195 |
| Gonorrhea | 271 | 10,243 |
| Canchroid | 4 | 91 |
| Lymphogranuloma Venereum | 3 | 68 |
| Granuloma Inguinale | 0 | 24 |
| Total venereal disease | 646 | 12,621 |

ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS (ALL AGES)

| Year | White | Non-White | Total | Non-White (per cent) |
|------|-------|-----------|-------|-------------------------|
| 1951 | 552 | 2,516 | 3,068 | 82 |
| 1952 | 591 | 2,804 | 3,395 | 83 |
| 1953 | 620 | 3,049 | 3,369 | 83 |
| 1954 | 617 | 3,128 | 3,745 | 84 |

Of all persons arrested in Washington, D.C. for all reasons during 1962, 84.6 per cent were Negroes while comprising but 54.8 per cent of the total population. In 1962, 265 illegitimate children were born to girls aged 12 to 15; 250 of these were Negroes. Of 4,251 illegitimate births the year before (1961), 3,893 or 91 per cent were Negroes. Later reports on "the model integration city" described Washington as unparalleled in crime and immorality.

Among all U.S. cities with populations between 500,000 and 1 million, Washington now ranks first in aggravated assaults, second in robberies, and fourth in murders according to the Metropolitan Police Department and FBI Uniform Crime Reports for 1963. On Congress' doorstep, employees have been attacked and robbed. Others leaving work from the U.S. Supreme Court buildings now receive personal police escort to their cars for personal safety. In Washington's Spring Valley neighborhood and fashionable Cleveland Park residents have 24-hour police protection while the most critical areas are patrolled with police dogs.

Gradually the nation's capitol is being ravaged by the effects of a policy originally billed to the nation as a benefit to mankind. Faced with the same difficulties other cities are registering their discontent at the polls in more frequent rejections of integration. Even liberal Boston is gradually adding its name to the growing list of abstainers. In 1965, Boston elected Mrs. Louise Day Hicks chairman of the Boston School Board on a determined platform favoring the existing

system of neighborhood schools and against the busing of school children. This was Boston's answer to Governor John Volpe's earlier demand for all-out school integration throughout the state. Over a racial issue, Mrs. Hicks got the largest vote ever accorded a politician in Boston history (*U.S. News and World Report*, November 15, 1965).

In an article on the Chicago public school system, the May 4, 1965 issue of *Look* magazine explained that when a neighborhood school becomes predominantly Negro, a white exodus takes place not just from the school concerned, but often from the area as a whole all the way out to the suburbs. In the 10 years between 1940 and 1950, states *Look*, the urban white population of Chicago dropped by 14,000 while in moved 227,000 Negroes. From 1950 to 1960, some 400,000 whites left the Windy City to make room for an influx of 329,000 colored newcomers.

Today, Chicago has a predominantly segregated school system for its 530,000 public school pupils under a determined and popular school superintendent Benjamin C. Willis.

Conditions following the integration of Chicago's Hyde Park district several years ago are described in an autobiography by Dr. Dwight J. Ingle, Chairman of the Department of Physiology at the University of Chicago. Hyde Park surrounds the University. (See *I Went To See The Elephant*, by Dwight J. Ingle, New York, Vantage, 1964.)

Since an area redevelopment program was started to deal with Hyde Park's racial transition from white to Negro the neighborhood has become a bedlam of crime and prostitution. Chicago, states Dr. Ingle, would be corrupt with or without Negroes, but crime rises even more sharply as urban districts change from white to Negro.

Dr. Ingle's book relates how a once calm, academic

district around the University had been turned into a nightmare of robbery, rape, stabbings, beatings, tenements, street lawlessness and general mayhem to such an extent that the remaining whites—faithful to the last days of the redevelopment experiment—finally packed their belongings and left the city.

The trustees of the University, reflecting on the serious decline in neighborhood standards, have considered abandoning the school's entire academic plant and building elsewhere. White families who had worked with the redevelopment program by organizing homeowner's groups among the Negroes—to instill neighborhood pride and to keep the area clean—finally withdrew in dismay prompted by a new ordinance which forbade them to venture out after dusk without a police escort. They had been surrounded by a totally different way of life and thought.

According to Dr. Ingle, these chaotic conditions existed in direct contradiction to the many books, articles and journalistic accounts written to glorify the Hyde Park Redevelopment Program and how it had solved its racial problems. A firm believer in tolerance and fair treatment of minorities, Dr. Ingle summarized his belief that desegregation is morally and psychologically wrong. Not only are its results contrary to popular impression, but desegregation has neither achieved integration nor raised colored standards in any significant way.

Bitter and expensive irony faces the University of Chicago as it now seeks to escape an area ravaged by the physical results of its own integration theories. Chicago has been one of the leading exponents of multi-racialism over the years and will probably continue to be once safely removed behind the protective guard of another segregated community. Only one other environment can compete with Hyde Park for sheer folly. After a decade of integration decisions

and decrees fostering the breakdown of law enforcement Washington's crime-infested streets are converging on the U.S. Supreme Court building. Employees must have an armed guard to their cars in broad daylight as the nine men responsible for this shocking sight continue to act out a judicial travesty inside.

With variations, other cities face the same dilemma. In 1965, complaints began to emerge from one of San Francisco's integrated housing districts called the Hayes Valley where another slum clearance program had been underway for over a year. The Hayes Valley Project borders on the all-Negro Fillmore district of San Francisco.

On March 16, 1965, the *San Francisco News-Call Bulletin* carried a story of random street lawlessness, violence and personal threats to the white minority in the Hayes Valley Project. "None of the white women can dare go down to the corner grocery store without being insulted, accosted or followed—and sometimes attacked," was the news from one white mother.

A 17-year-old boy told reporters he did not want to go to school in that district anymore because Negroes "knock people down and beat them for doing nothing." One Australian family was particularly distraught. Mrs. George O'Neal complained that her oldest daughter had been beaten up by Negro girls, the mother of one of them taking part in the attack. Her other children she said, were terrified to attend the John Muir Elementary School, once all-white, because they were picked on "just because they're white," and had to endure daily abuse of all kinds.

Mrs. O'Neal told the *News-Call Bulletin* that in 1964 she received a letter which threatened to "decapitate your whole family. You're in the black belt now," the letter warned, "so you'd better watch your step. The chain across the door won't save you." According to Mrs. O'Neal, police told her that they

would not come out to investigate for fear of causing a race riot.

Other residents complained that "whole gangs of Negroes beat up the kids, rob their lunches, search them for nickles and dimes, and call them dirty names." Crime in the area is rife. One man said he had been held at knife-point and robbed twice in the same evening by the same group of Negroes, while a woman explained she had been accosted twice early in the evening and followed to her door.

While civil rights groups were demanding city-wide bus piloting to transport white children into San Francisco's all-Negro Hunter's Point district, the city's municipal bus drivers had another story to tell. After a wave of beatings and robberies, Thomas McGrath of the Carmen's Union went before the Public Utilities Commission in San Francisco to ask that evening bus service into Hunter's Point be discontinued unless the drivers could be provided with adequate police protection. McGrath's request followed the gang beating and subsequent hospitalization of 48-year-old driver William Miller, who had been ambushed by four colored youths two days before. (*San Francisco Chronicle*, October 13, 1965.)

To prove they weren't bigoted against Negroes, San Francisco's white families were being asked to submit their children to an ordeal that was sending grown men to receiving wards.

Los Angeles schools located in predominantly colored districts have been described in a shocking book by a white junior high school teacher there named Robert Kendall. The title of his book is *White Teacher in a Black School* (New York, Devin-Adair, 1964). Kendall's book carries excerpts from wild auditorium sessions of the Black Muslim cult in Los Angeles, which is both formidable in numbers and violently anti-white. This is another story of truancy, delinquency

and venereal disease characteristic of northern cities in the throes of the integration experiment.

Kendall refers to the pressures exerted upon teachers, from within the profession, to adhere to a school-integration doctrine which is refuted in daily practice. In tracking down several cases of Negro absenteeism and conflicts over grading, Kendall had his first exposure to the home and neighborhood conditions of young Negroes attending his school. Their mores, hygienic habits and the social codes of their neighborhood gangs convinced him that nothing could be accomplished through education which did not also take into full account the deeper causes of behavioral traits which sprang from Negro life itself. (See Chapter 12.)

Young Negroes are described in Kendall's book as "hate conscious from the time they know the difference between black and white. They use race prejudice like a weapon. They hear it at home. If their fathers get fired, prejudice. If they can't find a job, prejudice. If they don't get the grades they want in school, prejudice." Los Angeles also has had its riots, its skyrocketing crime, and its shifting ethnic proportions.

Through research, the focus of one's attention is immediately drawn from minority rights, lack of equal opportunity, standards of living and kindred theoretical subjects, to crime statistics, property values, personal safety in the streets, declining educational standards, loss of business volume, increased juvenile delinquency and civil disobedience—all characteristics of districts undergoing population integration. While sometimes extending over a period of 10 to 15 years, once-thriving, productive urban districts are transformed into expanding slums, making it both useless and unprofitable from any standpoint for whites to remain in the area.

Liberals are no exception to the rule. Frequently

the last to leave, the liberal shakes his head in wonderment at why some people won't integrate—as he packs his bags and loads his furniture to join the flight to the all-white suburbs. Whether produced by government coercion or by natural processes, the chief result of integration is social revolution. If the vote over a local civil rights bill goes the wrong way, the residents of a once-prosperous district may find themselves having to put their home up for sale within five or ten years. For most American families the home represents the largest single investment of their lives.

Blockbusting is big business for vested interests. Regardless of romanticism or charitable demeanor a community undergoing population integration is inevitably on the way down which means losses of untold millions of dollars originally invested by homeowners in the building of that community. For the promoter, it represents a whole new profit picture in suburban development. That is where most of these white families will eventually move. Suburbs mean freeways, automobile sales and expenses, supermarkets, commuter fares, real estate loans—everything that goes into the creation of a new environment. Over the past twenty years the volume in population migration across country and from the cities to the suburbs has been nothing short of phenomenal. As a boon to national prosperity, migration ranks with war spending, space research and other checks on economic lag, thus taking civil rights well out of a “moral” context where its economic possibilities can be visualized.

One can begin to grasp further advantages open to economic pressure groups through efforts to keep genuine solutions *out* of the colored community; to foster indigency, dependency, sloth and an abnormal trade in liquor and narcotics; and to discourage self-improvement or the remodeling of homes and apartments. For this the Negro casts his vote year after year.

Coming North the Negroes have moved into what were once among the most fashionable districts in town; large, sturdy homes originally built there because weather conditions were the most favorable, with broad tree-lined streets and close proximity to downtown centers. A lot could have been done with these neighborhoods. But not with six families eventually jammed into a home designed for one; where no attempt is made to repair floors or plumbing or to improve the grounds; where illegitimacy runs so high that colored children cannot remember their last name because their mother has had so many “husbands” (hence, changes of surname) over the years; where welfare checks are cashed in liquor stores to buy Muscatel instead of clothes, paint for the house or medical supplies; and where income from honest labor is always divided up equally among the relatives.

These are not evidences of suppression but of personal character traits. For a special class of proprietors the whole enigma is a gravy train which will invariably end in a nice, new industrial park, an urban renewal project or a high-rise apartment complex as the reward for patience. Because underneath all that rubble the real estate is as good as ever. Then out will go thousands of colored families to integrate a new, white neighborhood nearby and the cycle will begin all over again.

Old neighborhoods have been maintained in some parts of the country with vigor. Others have been restored from near-slum conditions to live again as prosperous, urban enterprises. At one time, Georgetown, a section of Washington, D.C., was a picture of delapidation. Then an ambitious group of developers bought the entire district and commenced to transform tenements and decay back into respectable dwellings for those who still wished to live within the city limits. Painting and decorating on moderate incomes in San

Francisco's Pacific Heights and Russian Hill sections has turned aging edifices into comfortable and picturesque symbols of a bygone era. Although in varying degrees of upkeep, tourists can still get a glimpse of old English influence in Boston's historic Back Bay and Beacon Hill districts. It can be done. The difference is in the desire of the individual, not the condition of his environment. Thousands of European villages have been standing for centuries which now offer attractions for tourists from all over the world who go there each year in great waves to pore through Europe's cultural legacy.

By contrast, Americans in the northern U.S. are being driven systematically out of their own cities, not by wild animals or machine gun fire, but by "rights" propaganda they cannot face which would assail them as "racists" or "bigots" if they refused to sell their homes to Negroes.

One could hardly maintain that civil rights propaganda was devised just to suburbanize the North after the close of the war. But it has certainly been a contributing factor. Employed as a moral sledgehammer against the white majority, the "rights" vigil has produced a merchant's paradise as well as a method of centralizing vast political powers in government. Those few urban residential sections in large northern cities which have remained intact during this 20-year bombardment are there mainly by the determination of their citizens to hold the color line. Would it not be ridiculous, at the same time, to say that the only residential districts where American history survives in the architectural grace of 40 and 50-year old homes are inhabited only by "racists" and "bigots"? And if such verbal sleight-of-hand does not apply to the older districts it does not apply to the new ones, a thought worth considering. Because in a few years, the North will have reached that point where a decision will have to be

made again as to whether whole suburban neighborhoods are going to take a stand there in a flat rejection of "rights" propaganda or be shoved farther out on the farm. That is, if we read the Johnson Administration correctly.

There are those who will cling to the concept of civil rights as a just cause in the struggle for human dignity. Either the cause is legitimate or Americans are the victims of a caliber of long-range political and economic planning such as would exceed the limits of their imagination.

ELEVEN

The Rights of the Criminal

A growing feature of the "rights" front today is the belief that one is vindicated who breaks a law he considers unjust, particularly if he is willing to pay the price and serve out a jail sentence.

Martin Luther King has claimed this privilege since the beginning of the Civil Rights Movement. In his path walk thousands more with the same brazen outlook and the number is growing. King's Nobel Prize was actually a civil catastrophe for law enforcement in America for it told 20 million Negroes that not only was King's crusade justified but his methods as well.

The practice of justifying deliberate lawbreaking on moral grounds has been assailed by members of Congress and authorities on government as the making of anarchy. Revolution has a way of following in the footsteps of dissenters who feel they can take the law into their own hands with impunity. Has this not been the pattern of violent overthrow for two centuries? In our case, only one thing could make matters worse: the legalization of this nostrum by the established court system. One may then ask: what exactly is the position of the population when one branch of its own government has sided with the revolutionaries? The answer: very precarious indeed.

But such has been the course of criminal law for the past two decades. Hardened criminals are caught,

hauled into court and freed by the judge—not on evidence but on technicalities reflecting a startling series of new Supreme Court decisions which, in effect, prevent local police agencies from enforcing the law in the public interest.

Since the mid-1950's, the United States has experienced a rise in crime unprecedented in the nation's history. Here are some random statistics:

Crime is vastly outstripping the population increase. *U.S. News and World Report* for March 22, 1965 reports a 40 per cent rise in crime from 1959 to 1963 as compared to a population increase of only 8 per cent during the same period. On an average, one murder, forcible rape, aggravated assault, burglary, major larceny or automobile theft takes place *every 15 seconds*, according to FBI files. In Washington, D.C. alone, an automobile is stolen once every 1½ minutes of every day and night, while on a national scale, 6 serious crimes occur each minute.

Crime is costing the taxpayers 27 billion dollars annually. From 1954 to 1964, the cost of maintaining police facilities doubled. In the big cities, robbery is the most prevalent form of crime. Cities with a population of one million or over have robbery rates four times higher than the per capita level of all other cities and 19 times higher than the rural areas. Street robberies account for 53 per cent of all robberies in large cities, a situation gradually prompting more people to stay indoors at night.

Setting the pace for this noticeable upsurge is juvenile crime. Youths under 18 years of age commit 62 per cent of all auto thefts, 51 per cent of all larcenies and 44 per cent of all burglaries. Though juvenile crime is every bit as serious as adult crime—and often sets a life pattern—juveniles are given preferential treatment and lighter sentences. Often they are turned loose with only a warning for crimes which send adult

offenders to jail. This policy is considered unrealistic by rank and file police officers who deal with juvenile crime first hand and has brought strong objections.

In 1963, stolen property was valued at \$785 million. The same year aggravated assault rose 6 per cent, robbery 5 per cent, burglary 9 per cent, larceny of \$50 or more 13 per cent and auto theft 11 per cent. Embezzlement doubled from 1956 to 1962 while bank robberies tripled. By 1962 the 10 most dangerous cities in the assault and robbery categories were:

| ASSAULT | | ROBBERY | |
|-------------|---------------|-------------|---------------|
| Washington | Baltimore | Chicago | San Francisco |
| Chicago | Houston | St. Louis | Pittsburgh |
| Los Angeles | San Francisco | Detroit | Cleveland |
| Detroit | Philadelphia | Los Angeles | New Orleans |
| St. Louis | New York | Washington | Philadelphia |

If Washington, D.C. is a sample of things to come, the American city is heading into a real storm.

In 1962, Washington's combined crime rate rose 41 per cent while the national average increased only 14 per cent. (Source: see the *F. B. I. Uniform Crime Reports*). In Washington 393.2 people out of every 100,000 suffer aggravated assault—the highest rate for any city in the nation. In second place is Chicago with 380.2 while Los Angeles holds third place with 329.8 assaults per 100,000 population. Compare this with a city which goes to greater lengths to enforce its laws. Using the same statistics, Seattle, Washington has an assault average of only 35.4 per 100,000 population.

In the murder category, Washington, D.C. had 132 murders inflicted by guns, razors, scissors, ice picks, incineration, drowning, strangulation, baseball bats and tire irons in 1964. This exceeded the 1963 rate by 30 per cent. By far the most crime-ridden city in the USA, Washington is also heavily integrated and is subjected to continuous civil rights agitation, which is one of the main points we are coming to. Washington is the only

city in the country which operates directly under Federal law.

On July 5, 1964, a thief broke into the home of Chief Justice Earl Warren—ironic, considering the lengths to which Mr. Warren has gone as the nation's highest magistrate to protect criminal and subversive elements. Employees leaving the Supreme Court building now require a police escort to their cars for protection against robbery and assault.

In one four day period (a) a woman government employee just back from South Vietnam was stabbed to death in her own house on Capitol Hill; (b) three separate store keepers were gunned down by bandits; (c) a 14-year-old Negro boy confessed to killing a cab driver "on a dare." The victim was a survivor of Bataan and Corregidor—but he couldn't survive the streets of the nation's capital.

The best residential districts in Washington, D.C., such as Spring Valley, are under 24-hour police patrol. Other sections are patrolled with trained police dogs.

As the nation's capital, Washington should be a model of culture and respectability. Instead, Washington stands as living evidence of a course no American city can afford to duplicate which expects to maintain civilized conditions for tourists and residents.

In U.S. cities everywhere concern mounts as to what steps can be taken to prevent a complete breakdown of law and order. New York City Police Chief Michael J. Murphy told New Yorkers on May 4, 1965 that crimes of violence in that city increased 13.8 per cent in 1964. Forcible rapes went up 28.1 per cent and major subway crimes an alarming 52 per cent. In all of New York's five boroughs, 1,399 police officers were assaulted during the first 8 months of 1961, a figure which has risen steadily in the years since. Crimes in New York City suburbs grew to such an alarming extent by late 1964 that one area organized a private

patrolling system (called the Macabees) to assist hard-pressed police.

The following table indicates the serious change in the climate of major crime for just one two-year period from 1961 to 1963:

| | | | |
|-------------------|-----|-------------------------|-----|
| Newark (crime up) | 24% | Indianapolis (crime up) | 50% |
| Chicago | 31 | Baltimore | 9 |
| Washington | 11 | Atlanta | 73 |
| San Francisco | 10 | Boston | 25 |
| Houston | 44 | Minneapolis | 32 |
| Philadelphia | 10 | | |

Several cities have shown a decrease in crime during the same period:

| | | | |
|----------------------|-----|---------------------|-----|
| Phoenix (crime down) | 17% | Dallas (crime down) | 20% |
| Columbus | 20 | San Diego | 14 |

(Source: *F. B. I. Uniform Crime Reports*)

Local police agencies reveal that race riots and attacks on police have become major factors in the relentless breakdown of law and order. In New York and other large cities several hundred Negroes will gang up on policemen, who usually work in pairs, to prevent the arrest of one colored person. This feature precipitated the Harlem and Rochester riots in 1964 and the disastrous Watts (Los Angeles) riot of 1965. When the arrest occurs, on comes a shower of bricks, water-loaded bottles, garbage and debris.

In the 15-month period from April 1960 to October 1961, 2,400 New York policemen had to defend themselves against criminals or hysterical colored mobs. This was mild by comparison with 1963 during which 55 policemen lost their lives in the public defense and 16,793 were assaulted.

In Newark, New Jersey on September 27, 1961, several hundred Negro youths attacked a handful of police at the doors of a precinct station. The riot began when officers tried to stop a fight in a schoolyard, and was finally broken up by turning on fire hoses.

Police everywhere find that regardless of the offense, Negroes will not support the arrest of one of their own. They not only resist arrest, but try to rescue other Negroes from detention amidst loud roars of "police prejudice." In court, Negroes will not testify or give evidence. Officials say that since the furor over civil rights began, Negroes have gotten it into their minds that anyone who tries to prevent their criminal acts is bigoted and discriminatory.

Similarly, a Detroit official said Negro crowds repeatedly interfere with arrests. During one Negro wade-in at Chicago's Lakeshore Beach area, police faced an angry colored mob of 10,000 in 1962. In Los Angeles, police took on a swelling mob of 1000 Negroes in Griffith Park in 1961 after arresting a Negro youth who was harrassing whites.

Police see little relief in this growing reign of lawlessness, partly because agitation behind the Negroes is increasing. But in addition, the public is apathetic and will not move behind its local police. A third factor: too much youth is already in the "pipeline" leading to major crimes to offer much encouragement for years to come.

ENTER THE U.S. SUPREME COURT

Next to agitation, the biggest factor in rising crime is the change in the posture of the courts. In a special article on spiraling crime, the March 22, 1965 issue of *U.S. News and World Report* describes how, through a series of new test cases, the Supreme Court is setting new and dangerous precedents in criminal law.

The pace was set with the *Mallory Rule* regarding confessions, handed down in 1957. Andrew Mallory is a Negro (19 years old at the time of the crime) who caught a white woman in the cellar of her Washington, D.C. apartment house while she was doing the family laundry and raped her. He confessed to the

crime and was tried and convicted in a Washington district court. His conviction was sustained by the District Court of Appeals.

On an appeal, the Supreme Court reversed the lower court's conviction in a unanimous decision and set Mallory free. The court raised no questions about Mallory's guilt, nor about police brutality. He was freed because police had questioned him before his arraignment.

The Mallory case established that police cannot question a suspect who has been taken into custody until after he has been before a magistrate. Confessions freely given by a criminal before local police under this circumstance are declared inadmissible and cannot be used against him even though he may waive the time factor to which he is entitled.

The *Mallory Rule* created immediate problems in the apprehension and conviction of crime. In the following five years, robberies in the District of Columbia increased an alarming 115 per cent due in large part to the new liberal code under which criminals knew they could now operate. The Mallory Rule, therefore, became an actual inducement to crime. As an example, an elderly man in Washington, D.C. was viciously assaulted in broad daylight, knocked down and robbed. He was injured so badly that he was unable to identify his assailant. Two days later, the same thing happened to another man, but this time the victim was able to make an identification. Police then picked up Charles Turner, a Negro, who was in the vicinity and answered the description.

Turner was taken to the police station where he confessed to both crimes. Police then drove him out to the homes of his victims to make a final identification, which he did in both cases. This was Sunday.

In court the next day, the judge set Turner free saying, that under the *Mallory Rule*, he was not required

to give advance evidence between the lapse of time from arrest to arraignment.

On March 18, 1963, the *Mallory Rule* was extended to cover all state courts, through the Supreme Court's decision that day in the case of *Fay vs. Noia*. By this decision, the Supreme Court ordered released from a New York State prison on a writ of habeas corpus, a man who had been there for 20 years for the crime of murder. The court ruled that at the time of his trial twenty years earlier, his rights under the Constitution had been violated because he had not retained an attorney and affected appeal to a higher court.

Through *Fay vs. Noia*, the Supreme Court invaded the right of state courts to prosecute their own crimes, a power expressly reserved to the states under the Constitution. In addition, the precedent was set by which criminals will be empowered to seek retroactive pardon because their rights were allegedly violated at the time of their conviction even though there was no such ruling in existence then to protect them. Dissenting in *Fay vs. Noia*, Justice Tom Clark remarked:

Beyond question the federal courts until today have had no power to release a prisoner in respondent Noia's predicament, there being no basis for such power in either the Constitution or the statute. But the court today in releasing Noia makes an abrupt break not only with the Constitution and the statute but also with its past decisions, disrupting the delicate balance of federalism so foremost in the minds of the Founding Fathers and so uniquely important in the field of law enforcement. The short of it is that Noia's incarceration rests entirely on an adequate and independent state ground—namely, that he knowingly failed to perfect any appeal from his conviction of murder. . . .

The Court . . . effectively swings closed the doors of

justice in the face of the State, since it certainly cannot prove its case 20 years after the fact. . .

There can be no question but that a rash of new applications from State prisoners will pour into the Federal courts, and 98 per cent of them will be frivolous. . . . This influx will necessarily have an adverse effect upon the disposition of meritorious applications, for . . . they will be buried in a flood of worthless ones. . . . (*Congressional Record*, March 21, 1963.)

Also dissenting, Justice John Marshall Harlan took a similar position, advancing that:

This decision, both in its abrupt break with the past and in its consequences for the future, is one of the most disquieting that the court has rendered in a long time. . . .

The Federal courts have no power, statutory or Constitutional, to release respondent Noia from state detention. . . . In what it does today, the Court has turned its back on history and struck a heavy blow at the foundations of our Federal system.

In *Gideon vs. Wainright*, handed down on March 18, 1963, the Supreme Court brought another foundation of criminal law tumbling to the ground. Gideon had been sentenced in the Florida State Supreme Court and had voluntarily waived his right to counsel, provisions for which had existed in Florida courts for many years. He was convicted on a plea of guilty. When news of *Fay vs. Noia* reached Gideon, he appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court which summarily ordered his release from a Florida state prison because he had not had an attorney at his trial.

Following Gideon's release, hundreds of demands for new trials began to flow into the Federal courts by

convicted murderers who had been held under maximum detention in the penitentiaries for years. One of these was Wallace Pless, a 65-year-old Negro. Pless had a criminal record dating back to 1917. In 1956, he murdered two men and pleaded guilty to both crimes, receiving a sentence of life imprisonment in Florida. After hearing about the Gideon decision, Pless demanded a new trial on the grounds that he had not had a lawyer at the time of his conviction in 1956.

Evidence to corroborate Pless's original confession of guilt was no longer available. At the new trial, he was again convicted, but this time released on five years probation. While on probation, he committed two more murders and was arrested again on September 15, 1964 at Tallahassee (*Associated Press*, September 16, 1964).

The Gideon decision was used again on June 22, 1964 by the Supreme Court in the case of *Escobedo vs. Illinois*. This was another case of murder in which the defendant, named Escobedo, had been arrested in the fatal shooting of his brother-in-law in Chicago, but had been released on grounds of insufficient evidence and upon invoking a writ of habeas corpus. Escobedo had retained an attorney. Ten days later, another man informed police in Chicago that Escobedo *had* fired the shots and police went out and picked him up again. Under questioning, Escobedo confessed to the crime at 11:30 P.M. that evening, but this time he was denied the use of a lawyer. The Supreme Court reversed a lower court jury decision which found him guilty of murder, and set him free, *not because he was not guilty, but because his rights under the Sixth and Fourteenth Amendments had allegedly been denied him.*

The Escobedo case established once and for all that a confession cannot be used against a defendant unless he has been informed prior to his confession that he

is entitled to an attorney and that anything he says may be used against him. The right to counsel gives the defendant another legal protection for his own crime. For if he knows he can have a lawyer and does not have to make a statement, he will not give evidence freely, even after being caught in the act.

Dissenting Judge Byron White exclaimed that "under this new approach, one might just as well argue that a potential defendant is Constitutionally entitled to a lawyer before, not after, he commits a crime." The criminal's right to counsel attaches a rule wholly unworkable, according to Justice White, and impossible to administer unless police cars are equipped with public defenders and undercover agents and if police informants have defense counsel on their side.

The dangerous position in which this leaves law abiding citizens was illustrated rather starkly by the actions of the California State Supreme Court on August 31, 1964, when it invoked the Escobedo decision in the case of *The People vs. Robert Arthur Anderson*.

Anderson, a San Jose cab driver, had been living with a woman and her three children. On December 7, 1962, he murdered the youngest of these, a 10-year-old girl, after committing a series of lewd acts upon her. The body of the girl was found in an adjoining room loosely concealed under some boxes and clothes. The murder weapon, a pair of scissors, was found in the house, and traces of blood were discovered in a trail leading from one room to another. Under questioning, Anderson broke down and confessed to the crime. A jury found him guilty of first degree murder and sane at the time of the assault.

The California State Supreme Court reversed the jury decision and set Anderson free—again, not because he was not guilty, but because he had no lawyer and had not been told he had a right to remain silent under

questioning. Anderson went back to haunt the streets of San Jose.

Another use of the Escobedo decision was made by the California State Supreme Court in the case of *The People vs. Robert Durado*, on January 2, 1965.

Robert Durado is a young convict serving a life sentence at San Quentin. Early in 1964, he took the life of a fellow inmate. Confession was obtained freely and he was sentenced by a jury for violation of California Penal Code 4500 which calls for an automatic penalty of death for this type of crime.

The California State Supreme Court reversed the decision of the jury ruling that the confession, although freely volunteered by the defendant, was not admissible as evidence in court because Durado had not been told that he was entitled to counsel or that he was within his right not to give self-incriminating statements. Durado had not requested counsel. After he learned of his new rights, he reversed all of his prior testimony and was summarily released of the charge. His accomplice in the killing had admitted his part, and the victim's blood stains had been discovered on Durado's clothes and hands.

In less than three weeks, 123 writs of habeas corpus were received from the Chino State Prison which serves Los Angeles County. Authorities believe that 400 inmates at Chino may eventually be set free by this ruling.

The right of a defendant not to have to give evidence which might incriminate him stems from the Supreme Court ruling in *Massiah vs. United States*, handed down in 1964. Massiah had been indicted for violation of the Federal narcotics law and had retained counsel. A Federal agent arranged to have a radio transmitting device concealed in his car and by this method obtained statements that were later entered as evidence. Because this evidence was obtained without

Massiah's consent or awareness, the Supreme Court declared it inadmissible, even though it contained a full confession.

The Massiah decision makes it illegal for the prosecution to enter into evidence a defendant's own incriminating words which have been gathered by police agents without his awareness (by wire-tapping, concealed microphone, etc.) or obtained from him directly after he has been indicted if his lawyer is not present. In support of its view, the Supreme Court cited the individual's rights under the Sixth Amendment to the Constitution.

In *Mapp vs. Ohio*, in 1961, the Supreme Court handed down another notorious ruling regarding the right of search and seizure. By this decision, a convicted felon is free to take the question of what is or is not a reasonable search all the way to the Supreme Court. Heretofore, probable cause for search and seizure had been a state matter only. Under *Mapp vs. Ohio*, probable cause requirements of the Fourth Amendment to the Constitution are a necessary part of the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment and are thus enforceable against all of the states. (See also *Ker vs. California* in the U.S. Supreme Court, 1963.)

These new provisions were upheld in a more recent Supreme Court decision on March 23, 1964 in the case of *Preston vs. U.S.* Here, police had arrested three men in a parked car for vagrancy and found two loaded revolvers in the glove compartment. Later, in searching the trunk, they came across various items adaptable to burglary. Upon presenting this evidence to the two men, one of them confessed that he and the other two had been on their way to a bank robbery. They were convicted and appealed the case to the Supreme Court.

In a unanimous decision, the Supreme Court reversed conviction by the lower court and set them

free to try again, saying that the search was unreasonable and the evidence obtained was, therefore, inadmissible. The search was allegedly unreasonable because it was made at a time and place different from that of the arrest and therefore was not incident to it. This, after a full voluntary confession.

In 1964, a Chicago motorcycle policeman received a radio message that a burglary was underway. He sped to the site and found two suspicious looking individuals with pockets bulging. He searched them and found the missing items. The Cook County criminal court judge, falling back on *Mapp vs. Ohio*, set them free, holding that the policeman did not see the men commit the crime and, therefore, did not know that a crime had actually been committed, despite the policeman having been directed to the address. The arrest and seizure were held illegal. This is generally referred to now as the *Exclusionary Rule*.

Search and Seizure is a vital part of police work. Not only does it provide support for conviction but when presented to the criminal, often induces a confession, provides fingerprints, etc. The court's new posture in these vital areas has had a highly demoralizing effect on local police and has placed in jeopardy their ability to stand between the public and wanton lawlessness.

In Washington, D.C., on May 24, 1961, police raided the room of a woman dope suspect named Ella Mae. They saw her leave the building and drop a package into a garbage can outside. A search of the can produced a package of dope. The U.S. District Court of Appeals in Washington reversed a lower court conviction and released the woman—not because she was innocent—but because evidence had been introduced which was derived from an allegedly unreasonable search.

Two kinds of criminals are getting preferred treat-

ment over and above the many new legal loopholes they now have at their disposal. These are juvenile offenders (those between the ages of 16 and 18) and lawbreakers who plead insanity. The *Durham Rule* (after Monte Durham) was handed down by the U.S. Appellate Court in Washington, D.C. and requires the prosecution to prove that a crime was not the product of a mental disorder, or disease, if the defendant pleads insanity. If the prosecution fails to do so, the criminal goes to an asylum where he gets a rapid "cure" and is speedily released to prey on society again. Or, he may legally sue for his release, as did Monte Durham.

Young hoodlums are sheltered in most states of the union no matter how vicious are their crimes. Juveniles are not tried in regular courts but get special handling and lighter sentences. According to J. Edgar Hoover in an FBI report for July 20, 1964, juvenile crimes show the largest growth of all criminal categories in recent years. Long delay is another roadblock open to criminals. Those who can afford a lawyer can stretch a case out for years, while police have to wait over and over again in court, thus adding greatly to the public expense.

In Chicago in 1963, two plainclothes policemen heard someone shout, "That crazy guy is trying to cut people with a bottle." They approached and found two men, one with a broken beer bottle in his hand. Both policemen drew their revolvers, identified themselves and ordered the man to drop the bottle. He refused to do so, swearing at police and challenging them to come and get him. Approaching to disarm the man, officer Thomas DeSutter was jabbed in the face and kicked until finally assisted by the other officer.

Twenty-seven stitches were required to close the wound and DeSutter spent 23 days in the hospital. In court, criminal Judge George N. Leighton, a Negro, set the man free, ruling that the "right to resist lawful

arrest is a phase of self-defense." "What is a citizen to do," he said, "when he is approached by two officers with a gun?" The decision stood Chicago on end and brought a demand by police officials for Leighton's removal from the criminal department. Leighton had been a former president of the Chicago chapter of the NAACP.

Willie Lee Stewart, a Washington, D.C. Negro, had been successively convicted three times for a murder that occurred during a holdup in 1953. Stewart had a long criminal record. By a 5-4 decision the U.S. Supreme Court held that an improper question had been asked him and ordered a fourth trial. In dissenting, Justice Felix Frankfurter said the Court had misused its power in turning a criminal appeal into a quest for error. He was summarily rebuked by Chief Justice Warren and assailed for "degrading this court" (*U.S. News and World Report*, May 29, 1961).

A prosecuting attorney can no longer inform a jury that a prisoner convicted under a term of life sentence is eligible for parole in nine years. This is classified as prejudizing the jury and is subject to mistrial. Criminals whose guilt is beyond question, who have had narcotics on them, have confessed to an assault, or have led police to the hidden body, are turned loose upon society by this assortment of new decisions.

In 1965, a top policeman in San Francisco, and a veteran of Iwo Jima, resigned from the force saying that "they let the hoods out faster than we can lock them up." (*U.S. News and World Report*, March 22, 1965.)

The Supreme Court has also set some new causes in motion regarding mass demonstrations which encourage mob violence and overturn local and state methods of maintaining law and order. In a case involving sit-in demonstrators in Columbia, South Carolina in March of 1963, the Supreme Court ruled that state and local

officials have no right to halt demonstrations or make arrests because this interferes with free speech. In another case on June 22, 1964, the Court reversed several local convictions of demonstrators who had been tried under various local and state statutes prohibiting trespassing on private property. No opinion was advanced to justify the decision and no explanation was offered; the Court simply set the demonstrators free and let it go at that. Dissenting Justices Harlan, Black and White remarked:

... (the 14th Amendment) does not prohibit privately owned restaurants from choosing their own customers. It does not destroy what has until very recently been universally recognized in this country as the unchallenged right of a man who owns a business to run the business in his own way so long as some valid regulatory statutes do not tell him otherwise (*AP*, June 23, 1964).

Among many law enforcement officers protesting this new type of law, Chicago Police Chief Orlando W. Wilson told a committee of the American Bar Association on August 13, 1963 that in the name of protecting individual liberties, the courts are permitting so many technicalities to creep into our system of criminal justice that they are no longer convicting a sufficiently high proportion of guilty offenders. Wilson lays the blame on restrictions which hamstringing local police forces, and court procedures which favor the criminal. In the name of the individual, basic Constitutional safeguards are being swept aside, such as individual property rights and the right of the states to prosecute their own offenses.

Court rulings have resulted in much of the recent rise in crime, says Detroit's Chief of Police Thomas Kochil. He claims police are bewildered by these high court decisions. Kochil admits he is confused and law-

yers and judges are amazed as well. Officials say public support is noticeably lacking and offers small encouragement to better and more qualified officers to stay on the job. (*U.S. News and World Report*, March 22, 1965.)

To add to the problem, attempts are now being made to tie the hands of police even more by setting up police review boards in all major U.S. cities. This is a left wing scheme pursued in particular by the American Civil Liberties Union (headquarters, Santa Barbara, California) to open the doors wider to lawlessness, more demonstrations and invasions of private property.

Police officials feel that if these review boards are allowed to come into being, local law enforcement will become a dead letter. What is needed is a better show of public support. There are still other reasons for supporting local police: they are all that stand between the criminal and the individual citizen; without police, local residents will be placed on purely personal resources to defend themselves at their own doorstep. In some cities, they already are.

PERSONAL SAFETY ON THE STREETS

How does this frightening picture relate formally to the Civil Rights Movement? Partly, in the way crime has risen commensurately with the growth of leftwing agitation among the Negroes. But mainly, through the high percentage of civil disorder and violence attributable directly to the Negroes in whose cause the rights movement is allegedly named.

Crime is broken down into categories such as aggravated assault, murder, robbery, narcotics violations, gambling, prostitution, disorderly conduct, receiving stolen goods, etc. Statistics show the most alarming gains where personal safety is involved—in other words, regarding crimes of violence and random street law-

lessness. In this category, Negro offenders make up 70 per cent of the whole.

In a speech before the Berkeley City Commons Club in May, 1965, Joseph D. Lohman, Dean of the School of Criminology at the University of California, cited police statistics which showed that, while comprising but 11 per cent of the population, Negroes are responsible for 60 per cent of all murders, 70 per cent of all aggravated assaults and 30 per cent of all robberies (which usually involve a mugging or other form of personal attack). In FBI terminology, "robbery" includes strong-arm tactics as well as seizure of personal property. *FBI Uniform Crime Reports* for 1963 showed that street robberies made up 53 per cent of all robberies in cities.

The record shows that crimes of violence affecting personal safety and property on streets, in parks, around the neighborhood, to and from school or the market, or to evening movies are primarily a problem of Negroes, as unpleasant or embarrassing as the facts may be in the light of current demands for more "rights" and a liberalization of race relations codes. In direct contradiction to propaganda, statistics indicate that the more liberal and tolerant inter-ethnic codes become, the more serious becomes the threat of a personal encounter.

Uniform Crime Reports are put together from the compilations of local police records which are sent in every year from cities throughout the country, summarized and made public by the FBI. They represent the amount of crime that is apprehended only. Dean Lohman states that 61.5 per cent of all burglaries are *not* apprehended, which means that burglary is roughly 300 per cent worse than available figures indicate, and investigations will show that this holds up fairly well for all the other categories of crime.

The 1956 *Uniform Crime Report* showed that Ne-

groes, who then represented 10 per cent of the population, accounted for:

- 74% of all gambling
- 68% of all aggravated assaults
- 46% of all other assaults
- 66% of all murders
- 61% of all dope violations
- 53% of all illegal possession of weapons
- 52% of all robberies
- 48% of all prostitution
- 45% of all rape
- 42% of all liquor violations
- 41% of all reception of stolen goods
- 41% of all disorderly conduct
- 33% of all offenses against own families
- 31% of all other offenses
- 30% of all burglaries

An interpretation of these figures produces odds of 7 to 3 that an aggravated assault on a city street will be committed by a Negro, and this is the most swiftly rising form of crime. This also means that two-thirds of the cost of apprehending crimes of violence is spent on the colored 11 per cent of the population. (Approximate annual cost of combined crime: \$27 billion).

Using the 1956 FBI crime reports, Congressman John Bell Williams showed that the crime rate throughout the North for Negroes is 681% of what it is proportionately for whites. In the South, where enforcement is strict and legal allowances are made for the Negro's higher capacity for crime, the colored crime rate is only 248% of the white crime rate, yet Negroes in the South comprise as high as 45% of the population in some states.

At the time, Rep. Williams was answering allegations in the press about a "reign of terror" in the Southern States. Observing these figures and noting that Southerners could still walk through their parks

on a nice evening or stroll through town after 10:00 PM, or go to and from work and school without incident, Representative Williams asked "Where is the reign of terror?" with obvious reference to cities like Washington, New York, Chicago and others in the North which long since approached the critical stage.

Williams also used this compilation with related data to indicate his belief that the Negro was two-thirds less prone to crime under separate conditions than when integrated. The *1963 FBI Uniform Crime Reports* reveal that the state with the lowest crime rate in the country is Mississippi, and it is also the most rigidly segregated. Conversely, the most racially liberal state in the union, California, also has the highest combined crime rate.

In May of 1965, a report issued by the U.S. Bureau of Prisons showed that more than half of those put to death for major crimes in U.S. prisons during the last 35 years have been Negroes, even though they comprise only about 11 per cent of the population. There were 3849 executions from 1930 to 1964, of which 2064 were Negroes, 1743 were whites and 42 were other races.

Negroes and whites were executed in about equal numbers for murder, while 48 whites were put to death for rape as against 407 Negroes. In Southern states, said the report, two out of every five prisoners executed are Negroes. (*San Francisco News Call-Bulletin*, May 29, 1965.)

A more exemplary view of the problem shows up in the pages of daily newspapers and magazines across the country. On May 30, 1964 in New York, a Negro caught a white school teacher alone in a self-service elevator and beat, raped and murdered her, leaving her with stab wounds in the forehead, neck and abdomen (*Associated Press*, May 31, 1964).

This was followed by an orgy of knifings, beatings,

rapes and terrorization by roving gangs of Negroes on New York city streets and subways (*U.S. News and World Report*, June 15, 1964).

United Press reported on June 4, 1964 that a 19-year-old World's Fair waitress was forced off a New York city street and into a car by two Negroes who drove her to a wooded area and raped her.

On the Staten Island Ferry to Manhattan, 20 Negro youths swarmed over the decks shouting obscenities at passengers, destroying a refreshment stand and robbing an attendant. The same article in *U.S. News and World Report*, June 15, 1964, told of the wild rampage of 30 Negroes in an elevated train at Coney Island who attacked white passengers, tore up seats, smashed light bulbs and beat one white youth into unconsciousness.

After four Negro boys attacked and stabbed a 17-year-old white boy on a subway train in lower Manhattan, they were released by the judge because the white youth had supposedly not been injured seriously (*Ibid*).

When New York policeman Thomas Gilligan tried to arrest a large Negro named Thomas Powell on July 16, 1964, Powell lunged at him with a knife and Gilligan shot him down. In reprisal thousands of Harlem Negroes swarmed out of their homes through the streets robbing stores, throwing bricks, bottles and gas bombs, pillaging and attacking bystanders in a bloody full-scale riot which required most of Police Chief Michael Murphy's 26,000-man police force to put down.

Civil rights groups and the local police review board demanded Lt. Gilligan's resignation on a charge of police brutality. This was answered by a 1700-page testimony before the New York Grand Jury, which found Gilligan well within the line of duty in having acted in self-defense.

Just eight days after the above incident, on July 24, 1964, a horde of 4000 Negroes tore through 50 downtown city blocks in Rochester, New York on a trail of terrorization, robbery, destruction and personal assault which finally required the National Guard to restore order. Four white men were killed, over 350 persons were injured (including 35 policemen) and the area suffered over one million dollars worth of property damage. This single incident had been touched off by the arrest of one lone, drunk and disorderly Negro. Rochester has been a model of civil rights, benefactions and gratuities to its Negro population—more so than almost any other U.S. city. After the riots, officials asked themselves if they had not been the victims of their own generosity.

On March 13, 1965, a gang of Negroes attacked three girls on a New York subway train, hauled them to the floor and tried to rape them. A white boy rushing in to help was stabbed to death on the scene. The Negroes fled while ten other passengers stood and watched (*Associated Press*, March 14, 1964).

In an article entitled "Gangs, Murder, Rape, Rampant in U.S. Capital," the *Chicago Tribune* on May 25, 1964, gave its readers a capsule view of Washington, D.C. today:

Thirty-six boys and girls from Maine who had come here to march in the National School Safety Patrol parade, walked out of their hotel for a little sight-seeing the other evening—into an ambush by one of the (colored) wolf pack gangs in the nation's capital.

The young visitors were stoned, manhandled and jeered by a mob of Negro boys before they could run back into their hotel. . . .

A 17-year-old girl, who fell while trying to escape a wolf pack, was raped by 10 (colored) boys. A pack

of 25 beat and robbed two women they had come upon in a stalled car. Two teenage (colored) girls who had hailed a cab and held up the driver, shot him in the back as he tried to flee. A bus driver was brutally beaten and robbed by a small pack, while 39 passengers watched without giving help.

All this is happening in the Capital . . . where 85 per cent of the cab drivers fear to work at night . . . where men as well as women are afraid to leave their homes after sundown . . . where the Johnson administration is pressing for millions to build a national cultural center, which lovers of the arts could visit only at the peril of their lives.

The Negro gangs know their "rights" under the new Supreme Court decisions. When apprehended, they talk down to police, saying, "I don't have to talk to you or give you my name unless you have got a charge against me." Liberals and rights groups defend these criminals on the grounds that they cannot find work. But, states the *Chicago Tribune*, housewives complain that they cannot find servants who will work; clubs complain of lack of available help, and building managers remark that they often have to do the work of their colored employees who do not show up at all.

An *Associated Press* dispatch on March 7, 1965, reported how eight Negroes in Philadelphia attacked a 16-year-old white girl on a subway platform and dragged her screaming and fighting down the tracks to rape her. A 23-year-old naval reservist in uniform rushed to help her, was mobbed and badly beaten, but he managed to escape to summon police, as six other men stood by without intervening.

After a year-long investigation, New York police finally arrested a 19-year-old Negro college student at Brandeis named Alfred Gonague. Gonague had a fetish for "girls—little blond girls," age 10 to 13—and had managed to rape no less than 30 of them at knife point

in a reign of terror lasting a year and a half. He was also questioned about a string of unsolved strangling deaths of women in the Boston area. Gonague told of how he roamed through the vast housing projects in Manhattan and the Bronx seeking out his victims on weekends and school holidays (*San Francisco Examiner*, June 13, 1965).

In Washington, D.C., a Congressional secretary was stabbed and robbed by a Negro as she knelt to pray in St. Peter's Catholic Church on Capitol Hill. Another Negro broke into the home of an Army general and attacked his wife in her bathtub. The granddaughter of a Washington official was assaulted by two Negroes who broke into her apartment in broad daylight. A retired minister's wife was attacked in her own home. A 17-year-old Negro broke into the home of Mrs. Brooks Hays, wife of the special assistant to the President, and robbed and injured her in her bedroom. (See *The Dan Smoot Report*, October 5, 1964.)

Every U.S. city has a long record of such incidents, mentioned only sporadically by the press, but always on file at local police departments. Great attempts are made by "rights" groups and politicians to keep these facts out of the news. Big city newspapers are under continuous pressure constantly to withhold the race of an offender. Police broadcasts, however, bring out the disproportionate amount of Negro crime merely in the course of apprehension. Because of pressures on the news media, police officers are often a much-preferred source of reliable information on the nature and extent of local crime.

The crime factor among Negroes is inseparable from the underdog psychology that is heaped upon them continuously by trained agitators. And as things progress, anti-white hatred is supplanting any earlier desire for more rights and opportunities.

The Left throws itself on these statistics in an at-

tempt to submerge them beneath reams of assumptions and rationalizations so as to decrease their impact on society. "If only society would integrate faster," comes the theory, "everything would be dandy." But in the everyday orbit of the average citizen, theory cannot substitute for hard fact, particularly when seasoned with the growing ratio of personal encounters. If made known on a day-to-day basis, crime statistics alone would sink one-half of the Civil Rights Movement. Programs of benefit to the Negroes might then be possible which also allowed for the general stability of the community.

A genuine solution to Negro problems would not be inspiring the Negroes toward rebellion along class lines. Crime statistics merely help to reveal that the relative role of the Negro under "rights" tutelage in America is declining, rather than progressing, whereas the direction of the races under a truly constructive plan would be toward greater harmony.

TWELVE

*White Patronism and the
Sociology of the Negro*

The North has generally assumed that in a consideration of such things as opportunity, broader political privileges and productive enterprise, the Negroes take the same view as the whites; that they have always desired these improvements in the same way and for the same reasons as the whites, but simply have not had the chance to acquire them. Through indoctrination, this generation has been taught to apply a single standard between all races and individuals. Or perhaps egalitarianism is embraced more or less subconsciously because too few people have been given sufficient reason to doubt its validity.

The question is, *do* the Negroes have the same interpretation of "equality," "rights," "production," and related goals as the whites do? Are "rights" weighed equally, for example, with their commensurate responsibilities, or prosperity with the effort required to maintain it, or the protection of the law with respect for the law? Do the Negroes visualize these features of American life as most Caucasians do or in terms of their own social codes? If white charity is not welcomed by the Negroes in the same spirit as it is extended, then the role of the humanitarian takes on a special significance in the swelling enmity between white and black which it will be well to record.

To the humanitarian, civil rights is a "good cause"

because it is charitable and is based on an instinctive desire to help people. And when you try to help people you assume they are going to appreciate it. Since the Negro had obviously been "held down," it became the self-appointed duty of the humanitarian to "help the Negro to rise"; a noble aspiration.

Consequently, you would have a hard time convincing the altruist that his efforts to help the Negroes have developed a silent loathing among large numbers of them all these years.

When are acts of compassion rewarded with contempt for the giver? And for what reasons? Usually, assistance derives resentment where it is either unwanted or undeserved, or where it is regarded as a gesture of condescension (hence, extended for an ulterior purpose). Charity can be an act of grace or an act of pity, but the two are bound to arouse opposite reactions in the recipient. In our democratic society, charity is usually regarded as a reflection of good will and humane conscience. But is it not possible that charity is liable to be interpreted differently by different social orders, each with its pride, traditions, and in-group preferences? Alms to beggars in Medieval Europe would have been one thing, alms to conquered royalty quite another. We must determine if there is not a fitting parallel in race relations.

Does white patronage present itself to the Negro as welcome assistance or as *supreme arrogance*? If the latter, then this form of philanthropy comes not as an aid to better race relations but as a source of *agitation*, and the good humanitarian appears not as a benefactor but as an intruder with presumptuous ideas on colored life and conduct. A demand by one person that another change his way of life also carries with it a condemnation of the life that (other) person had always looked upon as normal. Between proud nations, this would be tantamount to a declaration of war. Why would this not also be true for separate races? Few

Americans have stopped to consider race relations from this angle.

By coincidence, the humanitarian and the Communist have appeared side by side since 1945 to plead the cause of the Negro. Each has different motives: one to assist, the other to use and destroy. But both rest on the same postulates, namely, (a) that the Negro is suppressed against his will, and (b) that the Negro desires to rise *by white standards*. If the latter is false, then patronism, like Communist agitation, is turning the Negroes against the white population.

There is probably no better way to explore this point than to review it from the colored end of the spectrum: through a look at the Negro himself; his outlook, his family system, his chosen sociological environment, his psychology, etc. There follows a brief discussion of colored life by a Negro, Oakland businessman Albert Lee Burton. The purpose is to help determine whether the single, egalitarian standard, which the United States has broadcast to the world as proof of tolerance and fair play, has not actually provided the open door through which the Communists have invaded the race relations sphere.

SOUTHERN LIFE

In the South, few demands are leveled against the Negro to move upward, downward or sideways, to change his way of life or become something he does not believe he can, or to measure his status in terms of the Caucasian industrial pace. Psychologically speaking, he is left entirely alone to do what he wants in his own way in his own part of town, providing only that the law which holds Southern life together is upheld. But even here, for the Southern Negro, there are wide allowances. No contrast between white productiveness and a naturally slower colored pace is held before his eyes as a psycho-social guilt factor by

which he must evaluate himself. If the Negro wants to live in a slum, that is his business. The white Southerner does not invade, upset or try to change the colored district. There is no slum clearance or public housing development that forces him to crawl out, but there *are* housing projects he can move into if he has the desire. His social codes, his cultural habits, his way of life are sanctuaries which remain undisturbed throughout his lifetime.

The Negro is allowed to pursue life as a Negro; he has the right of privacy, but he gains an early understanding that social immunity extends in full to the white social order. After several centuries, social sanctity is respected by the Southern Negroes and they would resent being led in terms of the white man's ethnocentric codes. The Negro can get a job in industry or on a farm and draw the same wage scale as any white worker by producing at the same level. He can get an education and achieve honors in academic pursuits. Schools and colleges for Negroes abound in the Southern States and have been there for over 100 years. He is responsible for his own actions but is not asked to assume that responsibility by white standards. And consequently, there is tranquility.

When the Negro servant runs out of money or has to pay a bill, he knows he can get money from his white employer and this goes for food and other special favors. The Southerner always takes a personal interest in his colored help whether in sickness, death, money or the law. The relationship between white and Negro in the South is as father to son. In the North, this paternal relationship is replaced by an open conflict of cultures, each making demands upon the other.

Humanitarianism southern-style is tempered with a precise definition of the law which allows no social or cultural infringements. Based on what are felt to be

unalterable cultural differences between African and Caucasian, segregation has been embraced as in the best interest of both races and, for the most part, less for personal than for practical considerations. Rest-rooms, for example, are segregated mainly for hygienic reasons owing to the high prevalence of venereal and skin diseases among Negroes.

The crime rate of the Southern Negro exceeds that of the whites by roughly 248 per cent. In the North, the colored crime rate is more than 600 per cent higher than the white crime rate. This disparity is of such long-standing duration that the South accepts it and makes allowances for it throughout its court system and penal codes. If a Negro takes a knife to his wife it is classed as a misdemeanor. But if he should slash a white man, it is a felony. The penalty for raping a white woman is death, but not for raping a colored woman, and the same elasticity prevails for most other forms of criminal offense. If the Negro breaks the law and is freed by a liberal judge, he knows he will be punished anyway. Fear of the white man's wrath outside the law is one of the Negro's strongest incentives for remaining within it, although this has received various designations in the Northern press.

The South operates segregated schools due to differences in educability between the races, as well as for social reasons, color merely having become a convenient index after decades of corroborative testing (see Appendix, the *Stell* and *Evers* testimony.) This has been well-illustrated throughout the North since 1954 by the regularity in which whites and Negroes in integrated schools end up in separate classrooms, not because of color, but through individual achievement. Inability to compete (in the primary grades) is known to produce feelings of humiliation and inferiority which then become a chief cause of delinquency and anti-social class behavior among Negro minors. For this

and other reasons, the South abandoned integrated schooling 80 years ago, thus sparing the Negroes the injustice, and society its effects, by allowing them to identify more closely with their own scholastic element—other Negroes.

Southern life permits the Negro to achieve his own level within the context of Negro culture. In the North, the whites attempt to fit the Negro into a white environment which creates conflicts. While the southern social barrier is held in place by fixed laws and customs, integration occurs much more widely on a business basis than in the North, and the attitude between the races is immeasurably more relaxed because each has a clear definition of the other's sanctities. Negroes who move North walk into a harder and much less sympathetic environment. For this reason, many of them return years later to the paternal security of the South to live out their lives in a state of relative unconcern. Those who remain in the North often cling desperately to their Southern heritage for generations.

MOVING NORTH

When the Negro crosses over the Mason-Dixon Line, he enters into the maelstrom of competitive industrialism and leaves southern paternalism behind. Northern differences are not recognized or understood. Instead, there is one law of privacy, independence and individualism extending over all. He is no longer allowed to be a Negro on his own terms or to enjoy the psychological security of southern life in northern surroundings. While he could survive handily from day to day on a subsistence income and be satisfied, he is placed on the defensive by a northern white man who suddenly insists the Negro should demand more.

Frustrations develop from too close proximity to an unfamiliar industrial pace, and to a white man

who is too busy earning money to make special allowances for his negritude. In the North, he can vote and go where he likes. But these liberal codes suggest, in essence, that he set his sail by white standards, and against this, he builds a standing defense syndrome.

The Southern Negro leans on his southern background as a palliative against an intolerant white competitive society and as a method of self-justification for not jumping into the middle of the whirlpool on an equal competitive basis. The Negro identifies with it for years until subsequent generations bring about an adjustment as a fact of existence. Psychological problems and frustrations arise from a feeling that he can't equal the pace all around him. Through self-pity and various types of introversions, this gradually expands into resentment.

By nature easily led and possessed of an inborn tendency to dodge responsibility, the Southern Negro soon falls under the control of more ambitious middle-class Negroes who mediate between him and the surrounding white system for political and economic advantages, and who attempt to keep him in limbo by feeding on his frustrations. Any signs of ambition or initiative are assailed by these leaders. He is intimidated into falling back into line by being branded as a white man's Negro, as money-hungry, and as disloyal to the colored community. Negro intellectuals and agitators feed on his desires and self-justifications and tell him what he "should demand" and obtain from the white society, what he has a right to, how he is "held down," etc. Instinctively, he knows and can separate right from wrong in these arguments, but succumbs to, and actually admires, the leader's ability to sell him a line of hot air from day to day.

The northern environment is in conflict with the colored nature from the day of arrival because progressive industrialism, privacy, education, class sys-

tems, inherited wealth and cultural complexity are not native to him. Competition presents itself to him as a form of selfishness and it becomes a chief source of retrogression in northern life.

THE NEW WORLD OF WELFARE

For the thousands of new arrivals who are absorbed into factories and industries, several times their number step from the Greyhound bus directly onto welfare. Welfare immobilizes the Negro more than ever. Through welfare, the state takes the place of the southern white father. He can now vote for a living, and that puts the finishing touches on what is customarily referred to as "the Negro problem."

Once in the North he can rest easy—as a consumer rather than as a producer. He can go fishing, buy a bottle of wine or lounge with his friends until doomsday. Life in the slums offers low rent and the morale-building company of other slum dwellers. It pays for his children, his children's children and his illegitimate children. Welfare to the slum-dwelling Negro is like sex-insurance. The more children he can produce, the more government money finds its way into the colored district as an inducement to procreate. Social codes and life expectancies gradually grow up around this government check as the slum-dweller passes it on from father to son and generation to generation. To come in and upset this pattern would, to him, be like an act of treason, as one colored businessman has expressed it.

In a frank exposure of northern colored mores and attitudes, Oakland Negro Albert Burton reveals the cause of the developing culture conflict between white and Negro as he sees it. His book bears the improbable title *Whole Nigger or None* (Oakland, 1964) which is his way of captioning the "We, the Negro" philosophy which he feels has set him—and other Negroes in the

business world—apart from the majority of the unproductive members of his race. It is Burton's opinion that gross errors about the characteristics of Negro life have led the North astray from any possible hope of an understanding. As a Negro he holds that the real villain of the "rights" movement is the northern humanitarian, who has actually brought on the problem by creating a market for it through his almost total ignorance of the colored makeup.

To Burton, the Negro is the victim, not the beneficiary, of northern altruism. He has been bought off for the all-important Negro bloc vote, bribed into becoming a slum-dweller, then blamed for being there. As a full-fledged consumer, he resents being told that he must all at once become a producer, or that he must be moved all over town by public housing developments, or rise up and claim what he doesn't really want if it is going to involve worry and responsibility. While the Negro desires many of the same things as other people, he sees himself as a consumer, not a producer, and does not believe he should have to work for things the white man thinks he ought to have. In Burton's language, a desire for expensive possessions is not instinctive to the Negro. Minus all the agitation, the Negro would be content to sit back and take life easy, enjoying the prolonged, idle hours of welfarism without a care. Nothing is keeping him in the slum. But when he can have his welfare check, his illegitimate children, his Muscatel and his endless hours of inert contentment, he feels justified in staying where he is. For this he will go to the polls and vote for the welfare state until eternity.

When the humanitarian approaches to "better the Negro's lot," says Burton, he is reading the story in exact reverse order, which is like trying to grab the tail of a bull after first letting it out of confinement. This was demonstrated rather vividly in Oakland in

1964 when the City Council announced plans to renovate the westside slum and throw up a nice, new housing development. Such a roar came out of the slums that the city abandoned its plans.

The slum-dweller knows he can go out and get a job, or spend his money on job training or go to night school, or save portions of it from month to month. Instead, his money ends up on wine, the biggest possible car, or some fast night life, and the remainder is divided up equally among his relatives. If his slum is removed, it will mean higher rent or the energy of maintaining the new development and this is repugnant to him. The words "slum clearance" are depressing and impose upon his self-respect. "Fair housing" creates conditions which make it impossible for the slum-dweller to be happy, and he is forced to take privacy-destroying actions against them. He develops monuments to his ability to destroy the beauty of a clean environment: a wine bottle on a neighbor's lawn is such a monument.

Nothing can change until the man himself is rejuvenated (correction: rejuvenates *himself*) according to Burton and the first step is to remove welfare. No one is ever going to make the Negro over from the outside because external factors do not go to the cause of the problem. He must develop desire from within or he will never make the grade. As to the state, where it has placed the Negro on welfare, it should also *contain* the slum which is the natural by-product of the welfare philosophy, rather than create circumstances through "fair housing" and clearance programs which will simply expand the slum from one location to another. The slum should be protected by law for those who want to set a backward course in life, says Burton, but not at the taxpayer's expense.

The word "welfare" either should be stricken from the English dictionary or applied only to the truly

helpless. The slum is the natural environment of people who *by choice* will not produce, and society simply creates a burden for itself by upsetting the pattern.

One day, Burton trifles, astronauts are going to return from the Moon and the planets with amazing scientific discoveries. But to the Negro, this will have another meaning. His chief interest will be: "Are they segregating on the Moon or on the vehicles going to the Moon? Will there be welfare on the Moon?" Demonstrators will picket Moon stations on Earth for Moon rights. Preachers will promise the Negroes heaven on the Moon and their collections will grow proportionately.

The Negro in the slum feels he is right. He does not see why he should have to make a choice between working on the one hand or evaluating himself as a shiftless, lazy bum on the other. His pride is hurt when he is asked to make such an evaluation, yet this is what the Negro is forced to do when the misguided humanitarian tells the world how downtrodden he is and of the great things he could be doing if he weren't held down by the white man. He knows this isn't true and, if anything, it is his own colored leaders who convince him to stay there. The subsequent shame and embarrassment starts him on a downward psychosomatic cycle until he is ready to commit violence or go to war just to relieve frustration.

It is here, in the mind of the individual Negro, that one begins to visualize the folly of northern policies. The Northerner in pursuit of "rights," says Burton, is violating every social code in the Negro world.

THE NEGRO'S PERSONAL OUTLOOK

The Negro wants a job, but he does not want to pursue it by the standards of white humanitarianism, nor to measure his progress by white achievements. Where the Caucasian level of productivity is concerned,

he wants to fit into the picture as a consumer, not as a producer. Moreover, since it is the white man who wants him to have these things, he wants the white man to fit him into that picture, not himself. To demand that the Negro supply, by his own efforts, what the white man thinks he should have is, to him, heresy. The Negro wants equality by white standards but without the effort or transformation required to produce it. What is more, he wants it NOW, not tomorrow, which simply means he wants it as a substitute for having to work for it.

Equality by *colored* standards is quite another matter; he can fit himself into *that* picture without any effort at all.

Burton maintains that with rare exceptions the Negro is industrially asleep and feels small and helpless before Caucasian methods of production. He is not naturally inclined toward competitiveness, industrial independence, privacy, or any of the characteristics of Caucasian civilization. But like anyone else, he can enjoy them as a consumer, and this arouses jealousy within him. Private industrial freedom to him is hearsay, a wild story someone is trying to put over on him; but to demand that he understand this borders on treason. The Negro escapes the ordeal through emotion-packed theories of brotherhood and the hope of the socialization of production, which he understands very well.

This is the code of the entire colored world. His thought-pattern consists of a continuous appeal for more sympathy, brotherhood and pleasure. Caucasian privacy and independence are equivalent to the loss of sight, speech and hearing; they are that foreign and unimaginable to the Negro.

Still, the northern Negro measures his life by the standard of white achievements and the fast Caucasian pace he is unable to maintain. For his own inability

to match such a pace, he blames the white man. Imagining that he should feel, think and act like the white man but at the same time realizing he can't, says Burton, the Negro winds up wishing he were someone else but his pride prevents him from admitting it. So he projects himself into the white man's thoughts and actions, *but he never takes them on*. He excuses himself for mimicking white patterns and, at the same time, blames the white man for having to do so.

For the Negro, excuses preserve self-respect. The more the humanitarian tries to give him, the more disturbed he becomes, because an attempt to change him is being imposed upon him by white charity. Rejecting production on a progressive scale, he allows himself to accept this charity and it destroys still more of his pride. When life becomes too complex, the preacher is paid to make adjustments while he submerges himself in crowd patterns. This introjection is understood by the South very well—in the North, *not at all*.

When the Negro is agitated to believe he has a right to the production and status of the white man, he becomes rebellious. Why? Because for one thing, he does not have them, and immediately decides they have been denied him. At the same time, he is spoon-fed by his liberal leaders with tales of his subjection and maltreatment which only serve to fortify the idea. Because he is not industrially-inclined to begin with, the Negro does not believe he can achieve the very things he is told he should have. This intimidates him. The Negro learns to despise humanitarianism, for it tells him he should be demanding something that he has never been *denied*, that he cannot even form an image of, and this belittles him into a state of progressive hostility.

The only thing the Negro really understands, says Burton, is *jobs*. Equal rights, civil rights, equality, edu-

cation—these are words he uses but does not really understand. Education is of very small value in the colored community, while it has the highest market value in the white social order. The overwhelming majority of Negroes are in psychological *retreat* before the complex industrial system as well as before the Caucasian class system, but they are eager to enjoy their benefactions and would be content to live and work in their shadow, or on their periphery, if they were not asked to produce or think on a par with them.

To the Negro, the humanitarian attitude adds up to an act of comparison which he never asked for; to a deliberate attempt by the white man to cast himself in a superior role and make capital of it; to belittle the Negro by holding white achievements and way of life over him, and to demand that the Negro adopt them for his own or forever sink beneath his own self-evaluation as indigent and incapable. This strikes the Negro as the height of arrogance, and if it were not arrogance, the white man would leave him alone and stop trying to force his way of life upon him.

In Burton's words, the Negro's natural instinct under these circumstances is to destroy the white class system and bring the white man to heel as an end in itself. Although such a pursuit is destructive and negative, he will derive infinite pleasure from it by the mere thought that the white man is *coming down*.

His motivation in school, business or social surroundings, therefore, is often not to match the white man in achievement, but to compromise him and this is especially true of grammar and high school grades. The desire to debase the white man has become the main driving force behind the entire Civil Rights Movement.

Where the Caucasian caters to the Negro's own image of himself, this is another matter. This is what the South does, and what the Democratic Party has

been doing for thirty years. President Kennedy was particularly successful at identifying with the Negro cause; he always sympathized and never mentioned such discomforting things as costs, obligations, shortcomings, consequences, responsibilities, failures, etc. The South employs this to the end of tranquil race relations which is what arouses the indignation of the radicals. For a contented Negro cannot be inspired to serve the purposes of revolution.

The exception is served by the Negro who has broken free of colored ethnocentric codes, an accomplishment which Burton maintains he was allowed to claim from birth. The majority of the Negroes want identification with whites only because they are not proud of their race and have not discovered what their capabilities really are. Until they make this transition, Burton feels they should be kept at a distance, for their own psychological health as well as the progress of the Caucasian cultural system. The productive Negro, on the other hand, has discovered the world of property and what he can do with it, turns less to the white system out of spite and is ready for independence. He has achieved equality the only way it can be realized: through accomplishment on a foundation of pride, initiative and personal responsibility.

NEGRO SOCIALISTIC PATTERNS

The Negro is a socialist *in fact*, more than by choice of ideology. Equal shares are his way of life. He lives out a socialistic existence from the day he is born, dividing his income, sharing his house, and everything else he has, to live for the group. He identifies with the group rather than with his individual desires and ambitions. According to Burton, Negroes desire privacy, but only as a group—not as individuals.

When a Negro is arrested, regardless of what he may have done, he is sympathized with by every col-

ored person for miles around. This accounts for the increasing habit of colored mobs to defy police authority during the arrest of one of their own, or to refuse to give evidence against another Negro. They will be punished by their own people. But in addition, the Negroes' need for acceptance is stronger than their respect for the law. When a politician goes on nationwide television to sympathize with a particular Negro (such as Martin Luther King), that person becomes the idol of every colored person from Maine to California. Negroes think and behave as one, which is the reason for the title of Burton's book, *Whole Nigger or None*.

The Negro expresses himself toward the group as though it were his own personality. He is dependent on group acceptance and will do daring things, including breaking the law, to gain group recognition. By identifying with the aims, wants, frustrations of the group and methods of obtaining satisfaction, his creed becomes simply "we, the Negro," and this drives him toward the goals set for him by his leaders.

If there is wealth, the Negro feels it should be shared and divided equally; it is not right that some should have more than others, and this becomes one of the greatest deterrents to personal initiative. His socialistic share-the-wealth psychology parallels the welfare state and foreign-aid-give-away mania which characterizes American politics today because it symbolizes *benefits without production* and *equal shares without commensurate responsibilities*. Although a tailor-made socialist (by personal endowment, not political choice), the Negro has no conception of what life under a full-fledged socialist system will cost him. He admires the progressive income tax because it divides the wealth and places money in the public till which can then be doled out in welfare checks and government jobs. For this he will vote the liberal

ticket every time. To the extent that politics carves its way into Caucasian productivity, he is in perfect harmony and accord.

Migration patterns show that when a colored family moves into a previously all-white residential district, a colony of Negroes follows, and this family is soon back in an all-Negro district. They are simply following their own group law by moving as one. Hence, the paradox of the colored man who does not want another colored family moving in next door to him. But he won't object, because the others all feel they have a perfect right to be there—because they are Negroes.

When an industrious Negro, such as Burton, has set up a small business, the store soon fills with Negroes who, feeling brotherly, are there to socialize but not to buy. Such nuisances soon produce a second phenomenon: a sign put up by the Negro entrepreneur saying, "No Negroes allowed." He may be forced to take this action in order to save his business. But at once he is rejected by the entire Negro community and may even be approached by the NAACP or the National Urban League or told by wealthier Negroes that they no longer want to associate with him.

A male Negro who is witness to the rape of a colored woman by another Negro man will not generally intervene, although he may be fully aware of the crime that is being committed. He will be punished by other Negroes. Colored law does not condemn the action and he does not wish to face expulsion from the community. He is more dependent upon psychological acceptance by the group than he is upon the honor of staying within the law. Finally, this is a "crime" by white standards only, not by colored mores, so he feels justified in remaining uninvolved.

To Burton, there are only two really distinct classes in the colored world: Negroes and preachers. Economic divisions are not recognized by the Negroes as social

barriers or elements of privacy (even though they may retain these features). But the preacher is regarded with distinction because he is the liaison between the individual Negro and the powers of the Great Beyond. Even so, the preacher is not viewed as a judge who chastises the unworthy or prescribes rules and regulations on morals and behavior. He is a deliverer, a king who is going to lead the Negroes to the promised land.

Even a surface study of their habits and characteristics will show that Negroes move, act and think as a mob, says Burton, whether they are within or outside the law, and that they are easily led in terms of their prevailing ethnocentricism. For the moment, "rights" are ethnocentric to the Negro. They will not violate this code.

NEGRO CHILDHOOD

Mob law is reflected in the Negro's youth from the day he is born. He is taught by his family to share whatever he brings home and if he is caught with more money than he should have, he is punished and threatened with expulsion from the family. He will give way to this kind of pressure because to go against the black people is to go against himself, and he wants the psychological security of moving with the group. To enter the white man's world and have a go at productivity is beyond colored reasoning. From the start, therefore, open hostility exists between the colored and white ways of life.

Deprived of any desire and confidence to start working, the young Negro turns to the gang as his chief source of identification. In the Negro home, every technique of political or religious persuasion is tried, tested and either used or discarded at an early age. By the time he steps into the outer world of the neighborhood and the gang, the young Negro is a past master at the art of persuasion.

The home environment conditions the young Negro against work and tells him to get as much as he can while doing as little as possible and this becomes the beginning of his decline. He is frustrated from childhood because, while taught not to work, he learns to want the things that only work can bring him. He is told that because he is ignorant, he can never acquire these things; at the same time he is *never* told how hard other people work to get them. He is then forced to divide the products of his personal labors with the unproductive members of his family.

Many Negroes go to work, break away and make the grade. But no sooner are they economically independent, says Burton, than they are set upon by their family and their wife's family with tales of grievances and how badly they need assistance. Much time is spent weighing considerations of whose relatives will come first on the aid list, but the woman's pleas usually win out and forthwith in moves her mother. Soon, she is followed by other relatives, nephews and cousins who look over the house for unused floor space. Finding some, they beg to use it and almost always get consent until, ultimately, the house is sheltering four or five families and the industrious Negro is right back where he started. He will not reject them, as this would violate colored "equal share" mores. And although others have brought on these new obligations, they are automatically his as head of the family.

Burton summarizes by asserting that the Caucasian and Negro are as different as night and day and as far apart as the poles in their attitudes, ambitions, social mores, habits, and in every other conceivable way. He asks: How can their rights be equal when their identities are so totally different? To become equal, the Negro must change his cultural identity and begin to live by Caucasian ethnocentric codes if he is going to try and succeed in a Caucasian industrial society.

Burton claims this is how he, as a Negro, learned to appreciate the world of property and production.

Speaking before service clubs and women's groups in the North, Burton's comments usually boil down to one simple observance: an unholy combination of white patronism and Communist agitation is getting to the Negroes from both sides. The Negroes are organizing, consequently, and the white man had better "get off the dime" and do something before it is too late. Burton's theories on ethnocentrism are touched on briefly in Chapter 13.

What Burton and other colored leaders are trying to tell the North about the Negro, civil rights leaders treat as confidential information. On a visit to Alabama in 1965, Burton described the contents of his speeches on Negro life to a noted Negro civil rights leader there, and got this reply: "What are you telling them (northerners) *that* for? Those are our secrets!" As if to say, "Don't give them anything that will help them to get their *bearings!*"

White patronism displays in actions part of what the Communists have told the Negroes is true of white people. This sets up a market for Communist agitation and drives more Negroes toward militant revolution.

The humanitarian is saying to the Negro: "I know you can't help your position, your color or the way you live; the whites are to blame; *I* don't hate Negroes (Who said you did? Or, better still, who said anyone *else* did?); I want to help you become *equal!* Here, take this white five dollar bill and buy yourself a white handkerchief, or something; that will help a little." By this reasoning, the Negro must measure his worth by somehow changing shades. The Communists have a much simpler formula: "Overthrow the XYZQ white man!" And after months and years of fawning liberalism, class war does begin to look attractive. Far be it from the liberal to imagine that the Negro might *like*

what he is and the life he leads. "Moreover," asks the Negro, "where does this arrogant white stooge get off telling me I can be *his* equal if I want to?"

In the attempt to high-pressure the Negroes into pursuing life as Caucasians after goals and mannerisms which are not indigenous to them, while forcing the whites of the nation to adopt a Negroid cultural democracy (through music, dance, morals and social outlook as well as law) as their mode of existence in order to prove they are tolerant, therein lies the discrimination. There is little difference between hard-selling equality and exploiting the theme of inferiority. Both are definitive class terms or methods of comparison which produce ill-feeling and are of small practical value other than to prevent lump-brained whites from committing cultural suicide. The comparison is already too broad and obvious—particularly to the Negroes—to require definition, unless the laws protecting the rights of property and association have been swept away. Then, definitions become necessary in order to help restore the law. To stress cultural *differences*, however, is another and thoroughly necessary function.

If the Negroes feel inherently "unequal," telling them they are really equal but have been purposely held down is bound to intimidate them. For this implies that a) they have lacked the ability to rise, and b) they should always have had things—Caucasian things—which they may never even have desired before the issue was raised. Hence, the life they have been leading by choice is proof of failure. Suddenly, they are placed before world and national opinion to affirm or deny this assertion, an ordeal most of them would just as soon avoid and really do not deserve. With no prior motivation, they can only express their "equality" by pulling the white man down; that is, by demanding that the whites live as Negroes, which is the same.

To solve her race relations difficulties by the egalitarian dogma of the extreme left, the United States is asked to follow a wanton policy which advocates nothing more imaginative than a handholding ceremony between whites and Negroes—the sum total of integration. This, to try and artificially close the greatest cultural division of the centuries placed there by no more formidable a personage than God. Nothing so frivolous can possibly produce anything of positive value. And it is hardly worth the prospect of civil war, half-breed children, or subservience before the state—the three inevitable by-products of the Civil Rights Movement—to grind out a policy which can succeed only by destroying white civilization.

Within this perimeter of upheaval, Communist and liberal agitation make up the larger part of the problem, to be sure. But northern white ignorance of the Negro mind and mannerisms has created the market for this agitation, without which the success of Communist tactics in the race relations sphere would have been impossible. By demanding that the Negro compare himself to Caucasians by white standards, it is the liberals (and a lot of misdirected conservatives), not the Communists, who have brought on the culture-conflict. The Communists know that the equalitarian dialogue—in movies, books, television, and public utterances—is probably the best weapon of agitation they have.

THIRTEEN

The Roots of the Problem

To Manning Johnson, the Negro's value in the revolutionary struggle for socialism depends, not on initiative and self-improvement, but on his (a) feeling sorry for himself, (b) blaming others for his failures, (c) ignoring the countless opportunities all around him, (d) expecting the white man to do everything for him, and (f) looking for easy and quick solutions as substitutes for the realities of competitive life. Negroes in this classification confuse their own indigence with the hatred of white society and blame the latter for all of their own, personal problems. A Negro, and one-time ranking member of the Communist Party of the United States, Johnson lived to see this formula worked on thousands of Negroes under the false banner of civil rights. The result: a persecution complex; a warped belief that the white man's prejudices, the white man's social system, the white man's government, are responsible for everything. In this unreasoned state of mind, the Negro will more than likely seek compensation in unorthodox ways by commencing to serve the ends of the Marxist class struggle, a roaring personality contest inoculated with jealousy and seething hatred, constantly primed and poised for civil war (see *Color, Communism and Common Sense*, American Opinion Reprint Series, Belmont 78, Mass.).

"Ethno" means race. "Centric" means center, the more accurate physiological definition being *nerve*

center. Ethnocentric codes are the innate social and cultural mores that bring the members of a distinct race together and unite them, whether they be Negroes, Caucasians, Orientals or Indians. In Albert Burton's use of the term, ethnocentrism looks to changes in desire and outlook, rather than to physical or social adjustments (hence, the exterior) as the absolute basis of individual growth, from which all things follow. For the moment, says Burton, civil rights has become ethnocentric to the Negro.

Burton maintains that to make his peace with the Caucasian industrial system in which he finds himself, the American Negro must adopt not the exterior form but the driving impulse behind the Caucasian system—namely, the spirit of competitive individualism—as his psychological center. Successful Negroes in America have made this conversion; the others are still following the socialistic patterns of the greater Negro community. Those on the way to a transition would have to "un-learn" the entire African philosophy of life, start from cultural zero, and adopt "Caucasianism" as the nucleus of their philosophy, removing all forms of collective Negro cultural patterns. Productivity, personal initiative and responsibility make up the psychological basis of the American system. The system can hardly be expected to "socialize" itself to accommodate the indigent (unless the Communists have their way). It is therefore the Negro who must make the adjustment and this stands as no worse challenge for the Negro than for the mass of whites. By securing this nucleus, Burton speculates, the deeper the Negro tried to crawl back into his native past, the more into contact with competitive norms he would come. The "equal share, freeloader, mob law" mores would have to be removed from colored life and the Negro taught to apply thrift and self-discipline to his everyday affairs. Henceforth, equality would be measured by achieve-

ment rather than by personality cults which have no intrinsic growth value.

The more scientific word for this process is *enculturation*, where the thought patterns, folk habits and cultural norms of one group are adopted by another. Enculturation, however, implies that the standards of one class are *imposed* on another, which goes farther than the American tradition of free choice would allow. The mandatory or "managed" remolding of character is inconsistent with the priority of natural law. If Burton is using himself as an example, the transition would have to be made by the Negro himself without any outside inducements, where those who chose to remain where they are would have no legitimate claim against the American system. Neither the Chinese, nor the Japanese, nor the bulk of the whites in America are granted special favors and all have been taking their losses with their gains for generations.

The rest of the theory holds that once in contact with the healthy atmosphere of industrialism, the Negroes should then be allowed to develop their own form of cultural democracy as they have in the South. Burton feels this can be accomplished much more easily in the South than in the North, for in the South the Negro has not been placed on the defensive by a culture conflict with the Caucasians. There is (or *was*) harmony between the races in the South, and Caucasian ethnocentrism would be welcomed by the Negroes there as education and improvement rather than as a disgraceful cultural threat. Through the separate-but-equal educational mode Negroes can be reached without shame or embarrassment, after which colored ethnocentrism could be discarded easily.

No such improvement is possible in the North, now, because the two ways of life are in close conflict and the militant Negro will not accept the embarrassment

of prizing and valuing "Caucasianism" over "Negroism." In the North, middle-class leadership has deliberately brought on the conflict because it is politically profitable. Any change for the better would be treated as a threat to a way of life that is being actively defended at the political level by efforts to socialize Caucasian life in favor of Negro socialistic codes. In Burton's language, before any such hopeful transition can be accomplished, present colored leadership (King, Rustin, Berry, Baldwin, et al) will have to be removed or declared subversive and the Negro allowed to fall back on his own cultural democracy until he cools off.

Negroes could then be led just as easily by a better class of colored leaders and by informed Caucasians into cultural reconditioning. Whether even practical or obtainable, these are rather interesting revelations coming from a Negro surrounded by the kind of threats and pressures which plague the colored community today, not to mention the irony of having to wait for the Negroes themselves to come up with such suggestions—a century late—in a nation which boasts the largest educational plant in the world.

As things are now, according to Burton, the chief incentive for the "un-Caucasianized" Negro is to rape and destroy the white culture, which he can do because there are no Constitutional barriers to stop him. The liberality of colored social and economic norms is dead weight on a progressing western civilization, he adds, and if allowed to establish a political hold, will set the nation back indefinitely. Where colored motives are left completely free and without restraint of any kind, they invariably seek Negro fulfillment only, not fulfillment of, or even assistance for, Caucasian objectives. A collision occurs when the white man suddenly realizes he must protect himself and his property from the increasing inroads of Negroes into his cultural privacy.

Because of this, what the Negro needs, in Burton's mind, is *repression*. Once accomplished, the Negroes will be happy controlling their own primitive nature. In order to reestablish his own cultural identity and to test his ability to "equal" the white man in achievement, the Negro must separate. The integrated Negro demonstrates, demands extra privileges, and tries to abandon his identity. Education is pursued mainly to build an ego which has been damaged by the sight of an industrial pace he *believes* he cannot equal. *Separation*, by Burton's standards, is the only way the Negro can be spared the prolonged agony of having to measure himself in terms of white industrial aggressiveness.

Today's problem is summarized as the presence of a non-producing race standing too close to a producing race. The relative position has created the problem and no amount of acquiescence or patronage by the whites can alleviate or control it. If a community is to enjoy civil liberty, it must develop habits of self-control, self-discipline, initiative and personal responsibility. The Negro cannot blame the lack of these things on the white social order, past or present. He must, instead, develop them *right where he is*. There is no other way out for the Negro. (*Whole Nigger or None*, Oakland, California, 1964.)

The current civil rights formula of undefined freedom and the false doctrine of liberty without responsibility are enlarging the gap of genuine equality and setting the Negro back generations. And, of course, the nation suffers in like measure.

Burton's prognosis, while purely speculative, at least rests on reliable insight which one successful Negro has into the social life of his own people and exposes a side of the ethnic picture virtually hidden from northern thought. Issues are raised which can be explored only through exhaustive research. In the mean-

time, others have their own ideas. The point that should not be ignored is that there are alternatives which are attracting an ever larger number of responsible leaders among both races.

American writer Eric Hoffer believes the Black Muslims have achieved a certain success with Negroes by having turned idlers, criminals, dope addicts and drunkards into clean-living, purposeful human beings. By-passing the anti-white posture of the Muslim Movement in his November 29, 1964 *New York Times Magazine* article, Hoffer relates how Muslim leader Elijah Muhammad has been able to produce, within the individual Negro, what must be duplicated generally if the Negroes are ever to achieve note in the eyes of history. Elijah's big accomplishment, apparently, has been a rough parallel of Albert Burton's dream: he has stripped the Negro of his habits, his previous attitudes, his opinions, beliefs and memories. Muslim discipline has caused the Negro to stage a new identity, develop a new way of dressing, find a new purpose, a new religion and even a new name. Hoffer's word for this is "primacy."

Hoffer feels that the Muslim plan has distinct disadvantages. For one thing, the program is a mass movement in an American climate not suited to mass movements but only to the building of what he calls "viable communities." Though the Muslims do train many of their members for practical and meaningful independence, he asserts, they are not likely to obtain sovereign independence as a nation on U.S. soil. Their logical direction should be toward community building which would include various features of all U.S. cities: Negro centers, societies, agencies, loan associations, athletic clubs, discussion groups, etc. If the Muslim movement holds together as a body, states Hoffer, its logical culminating point will be Africa, not the United States. There, a real market exists for

colored leadership. Also, in Africa the Muslims would not have to contemplate the unhappy job of driving the whites off their own land in order to establish their black republic.

Thousands of Americans are trying to find worthwhile detours around the Civil Rights Movement but their voices are all but drowned in the clamour for "Freedom NOW!" "I believe in my own people," says Oakland Negro attorney Donald Warden. "... we have the intelligence—we can find the drive, only through our own heritage—with a pride in our *own* culture, not by imitating the white man." (Debate, University of California at Berkeley, April, 1965.)

INTEGRATION IN THE ABSTRACT

Admittedly, nothing conclusive can be drawn from these few paragraphs as they represent little more than visions of the course 20 million Negroes may or may not take in the future. They are the frank opinions of the dissenters exercising their right to disagree. Albert Burton has no professional standing in the academic world. He is a better-than-average Negro with an above-average mind who has made his own way in the business world. But as a businessman, he is one among thousands representing an entire breed of Negroes whose experience has taught them something that cannot be learned—and is not being taught—in the most erudite college courses on social theory: namely, that color does not stand in the way of Negro advancement.

Integration cannot help the Negro and the worst of his problems are not caused by segregation. They are due to: (a) the Negro's own nature and ethnocentric codes; (b) welfare money he has learned to depend on from birth to death, which turns him into an adversary of the American system; (c) ambitious, middle-class Negroes (and a lot of whites) who are out to

exploit him and who discourage him from pursuing a more productive life; (d) Communist agitators using him as a temporary political stunt to boost themselves to power; (e) misguided northern humanitarians who patronize him and heap pity on him for the wrong reasons; and (f) the simple absence of jobs. Job competition is just one of the harsher facts of everyday life. The labor market is competitive like any other market, but this still does not stop the more determined Negroes.

The Negro is not "suffering" from psychological suppression. He is drowning in agitation which is coming at him from all sides. Integration cannot help him to think better or produce more. Instead, the Negro needs to find some way to start exchanging goods and services for nickels and dimes and to hang onto every penny he gets. Let the blame fall where it may, but Americans should also clear themselves of responsibility where it does not apply. Integration is a chimera; a diversionary tactic used as a political power play because color is the softest spot in the American social makeup. Of course, many Negroes are in the Civil Rights Movement for power and nothing is going to change their minds until the scourge has run its course.

The question then arises, why would the Communists want to promote integration as an end in itself? Here are some of the reasons:

1. Integration drives the Negroes into conflict with the whites and the whites into reaction against the Negroes. This becomes an immediate source of race friction and potential race war.

2. All civil rights legislation is waged on behalf of integration, not opportunity as most people interpret the word. If integration is not actively pursued, there is no reason for rights legislation and the Communists forfeit the idealistic center of their drive for power.

3. The Communists and liberals need the Negro

vote. The impact of the Negro vote is tremendous because (minus approximately 8%) it always moves as one. But the promise of hard work, responsibility, self-improvement and the chance to move back into the colored community with a good-paying job would not offer enough incentive to most Negroes to vote *or* join in the Civil Rights Movement. Thousands of Negroes will not use the vote anyway, as currently demonstrated in a survey of Chicago's South Side. There must be the promise of spoils, of privileges without responsibilities, welfare, social cohabitation, consumption without production, all of which add up to a chance to cut into the white community in one way or another. Integration compromises the white community just like the income tax "compromises" the free enterprise economy. This is the basis of the Negro vote.

4. The Left needs the vote of the liberals and this it gets by championing the Negro cause.

5. Integration forces the whites to move outside their own law rather than comply. Estimates as of this writing show that two-thirds of the white population is either dodging integration, or voting down civil rights measures at the polls, or in some other related way is actively defying integration codes.

6. Integration breaks up white cliques and white cohesiveness, breaks down communications in neighborhood social life, and substitutes an atmosphere of suspicion, resentment and moral decadence. When whites cease to place a qualitative value on their environment, their apathy becomes reflected in their attitude toward national defense, respect for heritage, the instinctive desire to perpetuate kinship, etc. In this way, integration functions as a volatile source of demoralization.

7. Freely interpreted, social equality *means* integration and is symbolized by the achievement of the multi-racial or mixed society. Integration, therefore, is the

psychological foundation of the entire mythical class struggle between white and Negro which the Communists have so neatly forged.

As a force for revolution, integration has almost no parallel in the nation's history. Where integration succeeds the result is social and community disintegration; where it fails, the races line up on opposite sides poised for civil war. Either way, the totalitarianism of the liberals can't lose. The common denominator in both cases is a headlong plunge into political tyranny. Can anyone believe this could result from a genuine assistance program?

PERSPECTIVE

America must reestablish the difference between a legitimate request for opportunity and an unjustified claim for social partnership; between equality and equalitarianism; between discrimination and indiscriminance; between prejudice against Negroes and prejudice for them; between property rights and individual rights. The United States is being conquered through the use of applied semantics. What is the difference between refusing to hire a Negro because of his color and being forced to hire a Negro because of his color? The quota hiring rule stipulates that a business must have "X" number of Negroes on its payroll, not based on their talents, but strictly on their color. Which means that capable white help may have to be terminated to make room for them. Or, it can even mean that *colored* help will have to be laid off to meet that quota. Under pressure from a local business association in 1963, an Omaha proprietor said, "Sure, I'll meet your quota of 20% Negroes. I now have 40% Negroes, so that means I'll have to lay half of them off." And he did.

In order to integrate a white school clear across town, colored children must abandon qualified col-

ored teachers in their own schools. If civil rights is assumed to have been a "good cause" since the beginning, its edicts lead into a quagmire of meaningless and senseless motions. But if it is taken for granted that civil rights never has been anything but a disguised device to throw society into turmoil, all the impositions, detours and contradictions fit into an intelligent pattern.

Discrimination is not a synonym for prejudice. Prejudice is "preconceived judgment" or, as the case might be, unfounded hatred. The undistorted definition of discrimination is discernment or integrity, the ability to select, distinguish and differentiate; synonym: *acumen*. The bolder among our ministerial order often assail the *indiscriminance* between whites and Negroes in some of the isolated, "less chaste" quarters of big city life. The term, at least, is used correctly here. One is *indiscriminant* who has grown *promiscuous*, according to *Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*, and this can apply to whole populations as well. An indiscriminant nation, such as Rome during the Fifth Century A.D., is immeasurably worse off than one whose citizens carry the quality of personal integrity into their daily affairs. There is no reason to assume this does not apply in full to race relations. The Communists have no illusions about the use they are making of the word discrimination: they would like to destroy the personal integrity of the American people for the value this would have toward undermining morals and national resistance.

A noted politician expressed his belief recently that the words "civil rights" have only one meaning to most Negroes involved in the movement: to mix blood with white people. This would have to stand the test of debate. But it does serve to contrast the "social" side of civil rights with advancement via job training, home building, improved hygiene, respect for law and

order, and other aspects of equal opportunity. Even here, Negro agitators have decided that equal opportunity is not enough anymore; they demand *retroactive compensation* going back to the time the slaves first appeared on the face of the Earth. Should Americans allow "prejudice" to be heaped upon themselves as part payment for the alleged past prejudice of others? One can hardly suffice for the other even if the claim were justified. "Retroactive compensation" has only one meaning: the rule of blacks over whites, as occurred in the South during Reconstruction. In the language of Carlton Putnam, social equality cannot be established without tyranny. "A moment's thought will show," he writes,

that the only sense in which equality can co-exist with liberty is in the sense of equality of opportunity. In any other sense, if men are free they won't be equal, and where men are equal, they are not free. (*Race and Reason, A Yankee Review*, Public Affairs Press, Washington, D.C., 1961.)

The world can never eliminate the so-called "color barrier." In India, after centuries of liberalized social codes, color consciousness is stronger than ever. Attempts by a prospective bride to throw powder on her face in order to appear whiter for her race-conscious mate are grounds for divorce if the trick is discovered.

In South America, there are white people, black people, and the victims of integration in between, all in continuous competition. Civilizations in which lighter skin or the destruction of a lighter social class were sought as the substitute for the pursuit of life itself reached their depth of moral and spiritual degradation until nothing but interminable war and revolution lay before them.

Haiti was the scene of continuous racial bloodshed

until the blacks finally drove the last whites from the country. Then came an era of comparative tranquility broken only by political tension and conflict between blacks and mulattoes.

If anything is engraved on the conscience of mankind throughout the world, it is color—meaning simply, *species*; one's own ethnic identity. Nature provides different species, not so their features can be forcibly merged or exploited, but to accentuate them through unique cultural achievement.

American Negroes have made unparalleled strides since the end of the Civil War. A gentleman once asked, "How, then, can they fall for the same worn-out gag all over again that brought them usury and bloodshed before?" For the same reason as the liberals, no doubt. Either they have no understanding of history or they are too emotional to care. Civil rights is no bigger forgery today than it was when the cry first went up for "Negro equality" 100 years ago. If it was clear then, it surely can be no less evident now that this phrase is political double-talk for revolution. Which may explain how Lincoln could utter, in 1859, while bearing no malice toward the Negro:

Negro equality; fudge! How long, in the government of a God, great enough to make and maintain this universe, shall there be knaves to vend, and fools to gulp, so low a piece of demagogism as this? (*Fragments: Notes for Speeches*, September, 1859; Vol. III, page 399, *Basler's Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, Rutgers University Press, 1953.)

"Sooner or later," states Professor Wilmoore Kendall, "you (liberals) should try to face this truth: we run an unequal, discriminatory society; pretending it is something else only confuses the picture." (Debate, University of California at Berkeley, March 7, 1965.) Once again quoting Carlton Putnam:

One does not solve a problem by going to the other end and embracing error . . . we must arouse ourselves to recognize that the equalitarian has no compunction about using the instinct of pity in us to destroy us . . . it is a classic instance of virtue being kidnapped to serve vice. (Op. cit., *Race and Reason*.)

Admittedly, an "unequal" society is a class system. But either there are social inequalities or one is living in a *classless society* held in place by political tyranny. Which do you prefer? Equality before the law *produces* social inequality. What appears as a contradiction in terms is nothing but the purest logic of Constitutional law. The unique feature of the American system was the limitation originally placed upon its size. The Founding Fathers devised a system of checks and balances to prevent a minority from seizing the reins of government to suppress the majority and to prevent a tyranny of the majority (as described in de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*). In theory, this meant that no one was to be allowed the favoritism of government, but each would be placed on an equal footing with others to work out his problems in open competition.

Through competition, some succeeded, others failed. The result: gradations all the way up and down the line or a class system arrived at by purely natural processes. This was the first such natural class system in recorded history that survived. In nations past, classes were mostly the product of political decree and favoritism granted by an omnipotent government or ruling body which no one could successfully defy.

Checks and balances freed society from meddlesome, government intervention and stringent controls. When a well-meaning but under-educated humanitarian raises a hue and cry over certain local customs, statutes or political immunities which seem to stand in the way of his philosophy, he will usually find a logical reason

for it in the Constitution. Take the South, for instance, where States Rights is pursued with vigor. The Tenth Amendment to the Constitution gives the states the legal right to administer their own internal affairs. The Amendment reads: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people." This means, in effect, that a person who is not in sympathy with state and local ordinances is free to (a) challenge them through normal legal and political channels, (b) accept them and learn to live by them, or (c) resettle in an area where codes and social customs are more to his liking. There is only one other alternative: a single, all-encompassing Federal law, covering all the states and communities, from which no one can escape regardless of where he decides to move. Call States Rights a lesser of evils, it nevertheless functions as a check on unlimited government power. The alternative is close at hand. The 1964 Civil Rights Bill is the kind of sweeping Federal measure over which Americans once fought a revolution for freedom against the British Crown.

Measure for measure, the American system has proven more beneficial to more people than that of any nation on earth. Local self-government, which was once synonymous with checks and balances on the central governing body, distinctly took the matter of class divisions out of the political sphere and out of the hands of manipulating bureaucrats. We have been thrown back into the tug-of-war expressed in the title of Herbert Spencer's *Man vs. The State*. One small proof is that our races and minorities are invading each other's sanctity rather than working to improve and protect their own, a feature historically marked by the emergence of power blocs determined to pit one social element against another for their own aggrandizement.

Current trends favor tearing down an inch of politi-

cal liberty for every inch of political favoritism turned over to the Negroes, which, in Carlton Putnam's words, is a sure way "to kill the goose that laid the golden egg. This is a temptation as old as the human species and always ends with a dead goose and no eggs." (Op. cit., *Race and Reason*.)

The single standard now employed between whites and Negroes in the North is false and misleading. Personal equality is inherent in the fabric of Constitutional law for those who really wish to achieve it, which is all any government can bestow upon its citizens and still support a free society. The opportunity here for the Negro to become a better Negro through his own efforts surpasses anything ever dreamed of by other nations. But it is neither the obligation, nor the original intent, nor the legitimate function of the American system to turn the Negro into a facsimile of the white man.

WHERE THE ISSUES UNITE

Civil rights has thrown an ultimatum to the American people: "Give us a social revolution or we'll give you a political revolution." Having no reason to submit to either, they must make a decision as to where and how they are going to take a stand or be swept further into the grip of socialism. As is often heard, "You can keep on feeding the Crocodile hoping he'll eat you last, but eat you he will."

Although political tyranny is the clear objective of the Civil Rights Movement, social equality is its motivating center. Where there are Negroes in the community social equality means, very simply, integration. Where there are no Negroes civil rights adds up to the same state of regimental laws enacted in the *name* of social equality. Americans cannot hope to overcome the Civil Rights Movement, therefore, while embracing in principle its idealistic hardcore.

This presents much less a problem than Americans

have had to face before in U.S. history. For one thing, social equality does not even operate among *white* people, much less between other minorities. By a strict definition of the word, social equality does not exist *anywhere* (including the Soviet Union). It is as phony today as when first introduced into the salons of Paris by Jean Jacques Rousseau. In our particular circumstance, social inequality is most often symbolized by "racial imbalance" and decried as the epitome of evil in a democratic society. In reality, "racial imbalance" is nothing more complex than the demand among *both* races for *social privacy*. "The right *not* to associate is as important as the right *to* associate," said a political candidate during the 1964 elections. The whites have no business invading the colored community (with social and political schemes), but by the same token, they should not tolerate an invasion of theirs. Civil rights lays both social and political immunity on the line and the two must be defended *as a pair*.

Boston's newly-elected (1965) school board chairman, Mrs. Louise Day Hicks, was brought to the West Coast shortly after her victory, to lend moral support for the system of neighborhood schools and against bus piloting. Several California cities were waging their own battles at the time.

In San Francisco, Mrs. Hicks told reporters that she believed in integration but that Boston simply would not allow its school children to be bused out of their home environment (San Francisco *Chronicle*, November 22, 1965). One spokesman remarked that after allegedly receiving the largest vote in Boston political history, Mrs. Hicks does not even know what elected her. But even if that statement *were* a fair appraisal of popular sentiment in Boston, this casual approval of integration does no more than lend endorsement to the psychological basis of the entire Communist-

inspired class conflict between Negro and white. Such pronouncements have a capacity for turning up wherever local citizens (in the North) are about to reject a rights measure. Behind them usually stands a rigid fear of leftwing propaganda. The point is, that by this single act of self-defense, the whole theory upon which civil rights depends for its forward motion is then left unscathed—even bolstered—to return again in the form of new and brighter radical schemes. The less damaging way out would be to make no commitment either way on the subject of integration. But an even better solution is to become grounded on the relative merits and demerits of integrated schooling as reviewed in several important civil rights test cases (see Appendix).

"The problem is not the Negro," exclaims the student of world affairs, "it is the Communists and their allies in government. If we can just get rid of the Communists, everything will settle back to normal." This could hardly be denied. But this is the kind of conditional "if" which decides the fate of nations. The only force that can halt Communist agitation among the Negroes is government. Government will never intervene until a complete change of political administration to conservative leadership alters its course. So the word "if" (we could only stop the Communists) rests on a slightly Gargantuan problem.

In the meantime, the revolution in both the social and political spheres goes on. Until government can be moved to halt the build-up, millions of inflamed, agitated Negroes *are a problem*, at least in the big cities. Demonstrations, pressures on local businessmen to comply, the planned blockbusting of all-white neighborhoods; all these form part of the civil rights movement and they are waged with or without the aid of government. The effect of blockbusting on a community is to destroy property values and educa-

tional standards, raise the crime rate, contribute to increased juvenile delinquency, moral decadence and civil disobedience, jeopardize personal safety in the streets, produce race tension and civil strife, and bring about the inevitable evacuation of the entire white population. There is small difference between a social revolution produced by free choice and one initiated by government coercion. Either way, it is a social revolution. The oft-heard phrase, "I object to the force only," is the purest hypocrisy. For this suggests that if only the individual is allowed to make up his own mind, he will accept the same revolution he would object to if forced into compliance by government. It never works this way. The individual is simply trying to pin his own convictions on politics because liberal propaganda has made them temporarily unpopular.

The purpose of a political system is to protect the social system, not vice versa. If citizens cannot produce a political turnover, they are faced with the task of affirming or denying their own social system right where they stand. Where political protections have gone by the boards, *people* must defend their own community while they attempt to regain their footing in government. If they will not take this kind of a stand, what value is the law which protects them? "In every healthy state," writes Oswald Spengler, "the letter of the written Constitution is of small importance compared to the practice of the living Constitution." (*Decline of the West*, London, George Allen and Unwin, 1928.) The Communist movement is a movement to destroy the existing *social order* of things, of which people, their customs and property make up the primary basis of society, and their laws a secondary or protective level. America cannot abandon its customs and traditions merely because government is no longer there to secure them nor can it wait for scheming politicians to re-sanctify a way of life they have declared

obsolete by corrupting the letter of the law. A population which will embrace classlessness in its daily life and affairs would by necessity negate a law which gave rise to classes. The social system must survive with or without the demise of government or, to put it another way, where the social spirit is wanting a political turnover is impossible.

For the Communists, the victory will have been won in the environment long before they achieve complete political supremacy. But there are nations whose people would not allow an invasion of the community regardless of who had control of their government. One of these is Spain. Something very significant has gone generally unrecognized about the Spanish Civil War of 1936-39. This was not a revolution against the legitimate Spanish Government but against Socialists and Communists who had taken over the government and were in the process of enforcing their bureaucracy down into the provinces, Franco leading a rebellion by the army to drive the leftwing out of power. While enjoying a brief period of authority, government agents went into the villages to collect foodstores and supplies and were assaulted with eggs, garbage and flying debris by a peasant population that would not comply. Out of this spirit of defiance came the revolution which re-established the Spanish Government and destroyed a growing socialist dictatorship.

The North has few allies in government now; none, certainly, who are leading an offensive against government invasion through the Civil Rights program. Government from the local on up to the national level is solidly in the hands of civil rights advocates while police agencies are restricted in their efforts to enforce the law by a Supreme Court dominated and run by radicals. What does this add up to? Namely, to a situation in which citizens are gradually reduced to self defense with nothing but the tools in their hands. This is one

of the reasons why the radicals are so anxious to drive southern whites out of their own local governments. They will then be deprived of police power to protect themselves. Until Americans in the North can reestablish political immunity—which may be never—they are faced with the task of restoring *social* immunity with whatever methods they have left at their disposal.

Nothing can halt the civil rights invasion but a vigorous show of strength; a “united front,” to coin a liberal term. Timidity and retreat not only convince the majority of Negroes to join the radicals, but a policy of acquiescence on either the idealistic or political fronts gives civil rights *de facto* standing in the community. This means that rights workers will try any and every scheme that is not strictly defined as a violation of the law, such as constructing new schools on boundary lines between white and colored neighborhoods; using Federal money to pressure FHA homebuyers to sell or rent to Negroes; transferring teachers out of uncrowded schools to artificially create crowded classrooms so a demand can be made for bus piloting; *voluntary* busing; and all manner of legal restrictions for which there is no clear definition in existing statutes. The thing has no ending.

But a complete political turnover is not impossible. In fact, better conditions exist for one now than the nation has seen in three decades. If liberal Boston can run a semi-conservative for the school board and win, it can capture *all* the school board slots, the city council offices and county positions as well, and the same holds true for any city in the North. And if the issue is strong enough to claim local political offices, state-level positions and the governor's chair are also up for grabs. Needed are more politicians who will run on an anti-civil rights platform and who will employ more rights issues besides simply “bus piloting.” There are dozens of them, each one as unpopular as its prede-

cessor. This, in turn, depends on how anxious the North is to make a bigger and better grab for political power.

The whites of the North must overcome their “fear of the smear.” The Negroes will not follow timid leaders no matter how “right” they are. During Reconstruction the Negroes stuck with the radicals partly because they interpreted white tolerance and patience as fear. They are making the same analysis now, having no reason to do otherwise. There is no realistic resistance, in politics or anywhere else. Their view is fortified by the ease with which they can take over a bank or hotel lobby, drive whites into the suburbs, force the whites to make excuses for their convictions, take over an entire university, invade the halls of private meetings, stop traffic with demonstrations, demand and get favored political privileges, and hurl threats at white leaders which bring no visible reaction. Instead, millions are spent every year in the North trying to “retreat gracefully” before a few thousand organized, left-wing volunteers.

The North needs constructive answers, not acquiescence, where citizens will begin to argue all sides of the civil rights issue and arm themselves against Communist propaganda. Before the South could put all the pieces together 100 years ago, it had been pushed to the wall. After years of analyzing, thinking, suffering and planning, southern whites finally joined forces and went on the offensive assailing radical leaders wherever they found them—in local government, the churches, political rallies and among colored groups; attacking their usurious policies, hurling threats and ultimata at them, forming conservative units among the Negroes, running for all manner of political offices, and organizing. Then, the odds began to change.

Today, the setting is different but the rules of the

game have not changed. Where the South suffers few mixed emotions about civil rights, in the North, the story is altogether different. But the North has two things the South did not have before: wholesome majorities and a head start. The question is, will the North take that stand?

FOURTEEN

The Approaching Civil War

In a debate at Cambridge University in June, 1965, writer-columnist William F. Buckley told liberaldom's James F. Baldwin that if the rights crusade continued to foment Negro rebellion against whites in America, the whites would be forced to respond not just by all legal means at their disposal, but through force of arms on the beaches, from the rooftops, etc. In Buckley's view, the so-called Negro Revolution was not ambitious of genuine advancement, but power. If the American system had not provided adequately, he asked, would not the proper course be to improve, rather than destroy it?

One would rather not believe that today's protests and demonstrations are the start of a re-enactment of the horror of Southern Reconstruction. The setting is different. Some of the weapons have changed. But the methodology is identical and so must be the inevitable outcome.

As to physical array, there is all the similarity in the world to the Reconstruction period. Yesterday's (1865-75) thousands of Union League and Loyal League clubs are today's CORE, NAACP, SCEF (the Southern Conference Educational Fund), the SCLC (the Southern Christian Leadership Conference—King's organization), COFO (the Conference of Federated Organizations) and other front groups for concentrated race agitation. A new one called SCOPE, the Summer Com-

munity Organization and Political Education Project, also set up by King, reportedly went to work in 62 southern counties in June of 1965 (San Francisco *Chronicle*, July 12, 1965) to foment rebellion among the Negroes.

There is even a new group called the "Voter's League" which comes uncomfortably close for a title to the Union League of one hundred years ago. Behind these are the more openly Communist groups described in Chapter 2.

What was supplied 100 years ago by the Methodist Episcopal Church and other orders has been taken over by a much larger alliance of pseudo-religious orders under the National Council of Churches. Their ministers no longer concern themselves with "out-worn" antecedents such as mediation between God and man, or the teaching of religious principles, or the molding of character, or instruction in morality and conduct. Out on the farms they go to mobilize the Negroes into trade unions and to weave the romance of the coming black republic.

The political machinery for civil rights during the Reconstruction period was the Republican Party. All this has shifted; now it is the Democratic Party, with secondary support from liberal GOP regulars such as Senators Dirksen, Kuchel, and Javits. Tight Democratic solidarity gives Southerners control of their local and state governments which is all they are really after. On the national level, the Democratic Party is a one-way ticket to political oblivion. Today's carpet-bag government is home-based in Washington, D.C., with commissions and departments reaching out all over the country like an immense bureaucratic web.

With even a surface understanding of the Reconstruction period, one can hardly explore civil rights today without recognizing, as its ancestry, the plague that swept through the South a century ago. Under

the Grant Administration, the air was filled with dialogue: "We want our rights. We want them NOW!" or, "We demand interracial schools, hotels and residential districts," and, "An end to discrimination!" Nothing has changed.

Although most of today's carpetbag politicians are Democrats, the nomenclature, the strategem, the dramatics; all are the same three-act play. Even when the Negroes took over the most fashionable residential districts in the South, flashed diamond breastpins and lined their pockets out of the public till to sustain a decade of bread and circuses, out went the cry that the Negro was suppressed and held down! When that failed to get results, the tense was changed: "He *will* be held down if ever the Democrats get back in power." History itself has exposed the civil rights fable. Since Reconstruction ended, more Negroes have made the "greenback club" than ever before in history.

Then, as now, the land was filled with legitimate problems; in the schools, in sub-standard housing, problems of hygiene, etc. "Rights" were nothing but the tongue-in-cheek semantics of a political swindle, the orator clutching a train ticket on the evening express in case a fast exit became necessary; the other hand with fingers crossed. The Negro had inherited the whole of southern industry and had forsaken it; he would not *buy* land, because he kept expecting the government to confiscate it for him. Where illiteracy should have decreased, what with hundreds of northern philanthropies flooding the South, instead it grew, until the entire phalanx of indoctrination finally withdrew.

This is the civil rights centennial. One hundred years of rest and once again an army of radicals has swarmed over the land to promise the Negroes heaven, lead them up to the pearly gates, and hitch them to the outside. And as before, the Negroes are being told

to look forward to unlimited taxation and a division of the wealth into equal shares, civil rights without civil responsibilities, white women, a free invasion of private property, legal immunities to which no man is entitled; a merry-go-round—all for the price of a vote. Now that everyone is free, this is to be justified on the grounds of *psychological* suppression.

Alfred H. Stone, for years Chairman of the Mississippi Tax Commission, said in 1948 when the present civil rights drive was just getting under way:

Of course, it will be immediately argued that the present Civil Rights proposals have not the same background as those of the Reconstruction period. As a matter of fact, they have. The chief end to be accomplished in the present case, as in the former, is that of political control by a particular group or party in power. It means nothing now, just as it meant nothing then, to the proponents of these measures, that the people in whose alleged behalf they were proposed, would inevitably become the chief sufferers from the experiment. That is as true today as it was in 1867 and 1875.

There are bound to be exceptions. In the Northern States, the Negroes are in a decided minority. Due to shifts in population since the war years, the ratio has changed in the South also. But what does it matter whether socialism is spawned in the name of the Negroes or by Negroes personally? The outcome will be the same either way: white radicals sitting on top of everything on the thin promise of guaranteeing the Negroes preferential laws and a life of ease. Second, civil rights today is more than an act of revenge—if that is what Reconstruction was—or the work of a few greedy and unprincipled politicians. Not only does it now extend to every state in the Union, but it has much more sinister overtones—if that is possible. To-

day's plunge into political darkness is part of a much larger attempt to install socialism worldwide—not just within the continental United States—over the ruins of free society. And whether in Algeria, Rumania, China, Russia, the Congo, or Cuba, the pattern of global revolution takes the unmistakable form of violence followed by a reign of terror and suppression which is then institutionalized in order to put down the resistance.

The Second Reconstruction is not manned by gay Lotharios and fortune-hunting amateurs from another state, but by deadly-serious professionals who recognize no nation as their home. Their control of political machinery is infinitely greater than it was in 1865 and their propaganda has reached the zenith of tactical agility. Their image of the United States under socialism more nearly resembles the despotic systems of Tito's Yugoslavia, Gomulka's Poland or the silent, faceless nations of the USSR, in which there is no redress. If the radicals succeed, the least Americans can count on is a term of what has been called "managed chaos" by authorities on Communist methods.

Professor Willmoore Kendall (Dallas University, formerly of Yale) maintains that the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Bill was actually the end of the rights movement as such and that the direction now can only be backward into more violence and turmoil. The races will be thrown into still greater ferment by legislative reapportionment and by further orders to desegregate schools. In the February-March, 1965 issue of *Intercollegiate Review*, Dr. Kendall defines the approaching showdown as he sees it:

... we are moving rapidly in the direction of a Constitutional crisis comparable to and graver than that which precipitated the Civil War—'comparable to', because like the pre-Civil War crisis, it will take the form of a breakdown of government-by-discussion,

'graver than' the Civil War because it will pit neighbor against neighbor rather than section against section; and that the crisis is most likely to be triggered by the claims of hitherto unacknowledged rights represented by the Civil Rights Movement.

"Rights" for the Negro, in other words, which Americans will not buy; the kind of rights implied in President Johnson's speech at Howard University on June 4, 1965 (see Chapter 1) such as a law forbidding whites to move *out* of an integrated neighborhood; or a law forbidding private clubs, schools or fraternities to exclude Negroes or suffer heavy fines and possible imprisonment; or Federal troop escorts for Negroes into local governments throughout the South; or laws forbidding the use of "inflammatory" language against Negroes which can be classified as "discriminatory." What this boils down to is the simple abridgment of free speech. Great Britain, oddly enough, is the first Caucasian country to be saddled with such an arrogant and preposterous measure.

"The people of Britain have recently suffered an incredible restriction of their historic liberties," writes Ian MacLeod in *Western Destiny Magazine* for October, 1965 (see Better Public Enlightenment, Chapter 15). As in the United States, the freedom of the landlord to limit rights of admission to his own premises has been drastically cut, but—far worse than in the United States—freedom of speech has been restricted by the imposition of severe criminal penalties on incitement to 'race hatred'.

This incursion upon British liberties constitutes a fearful warning as to what may happen in other Western countries during the next few years if we are not alert; certainly it is a step toward that terrible liberal-dictatorship so well described in Orwell's graphic novel, *1984*. Under pressure from

well-established immigrant groups, the Race Relations Bill (1965) has passed through the British Parliament. It imposes criminal penalties of up to six months' imprisonment and one thousand pounds (\$2,700) fine for any person found guilty of using words regarded as threatening, abusive or *insulting* which are 'likely' to stir up hatred against any section of the public distinguished by color, race or ethnic or national origin.

The Race Relations Bill was introduced in Parliament by the Socialist Home Secretary, Sir Frank Soskice, a Russian-born immigrant, whose father was David Soskisse, Alexander Kerensky's private secretary. "That England is sick—and that the United States and the entire West is sick—and for the same reason," comments Ian MacLeod, "is clear to everyone."

As the melodrama unfolds, of course, the radicals place their own welfare in jeopardy as well as the safety of others, for somewhere down the line there is bound to be a breaking point. When a United States President can stand before the American people and demand the amalgamation of the Negroes into the white social order he is committing the nation to civil war. There can be no other outcome. The more the whites reject invasions of their liberty and property, the more violent become the Negroes. No simpler formula exists to produce premeditated chaos. And the deeper the struggle sinks into a personal schism between the races, the more violent become the possible dimensions of that war.

What other indications of a coming showdown are inherent in the civil rights build-up?

For one, the South (hopefully) is not likely to submit willingly to another round of terror, debauchery and personal suffering without some show of resistance even though thousands of its citizens are confused and apathetic as in other parts of the country. The southern

people were thrown under the tyranny of civil rights a century ago only after the South had been half-demolished by a crushing defeat in war. There was nothing they could do to stop it. Besides that, as a political scheme civil rights was an entirely new wrinkle and few understood its significance until they became its victims.

The picture is considerably different now. Not only are the Southern States healthy and better-organized, but having been through the ordeal once before, the wiser of them knows how to fight this kind of an invasion. This is not to suggest that the South is above defeat, by any stretch of the imagination. Several Southern governments are already in the hands of liberals and, in the end, no one may be able to throw off the power of the Federal government in Washington. But if governments are once again turned over to the radicals under Federal pressure, most Southern states can be relied upon to carry on the contest outside the halls of government where, as in all nations, there is an entirely different set of rules.

That this may be the inevitable course of southern affairs has not gone at all unnoticed. In the May, 1965 issue of *American Opinion Magazine*, former Congressman Martin Dies of Texas states that the South has unfounded hopes about its ability to regulate the colored population or to control its loyalties. Martin Dies was Chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (nicknamed the "Dies Committee") when that body uncovered the first substantiating evidence of in-depth Communist agitation among the Negroes. The findings of the Dies Committee have since been utilized by government bodies and research groups everywhere. Once the Negroes in the South are given the vote, Dies asserts, they will go to the polls and vote for the welfare state, not for the southern white father. This will increase the present

momentum toward Marxism and we will be in Communist hands.

A different kind of forecast of possible things to come is contained in this statement by Benjamin Gitlow, former head of the Communist Party of the United States:

The Communists are deliberately maneuvering among the Negroes to create a situation for the outbreak of racial violence, to such an extent that it can be turned into a civil war—a civil war on a racial basis. . . . In such a civil war, should they succeed in fomenting it, the Communists hope to so undermine the American Government and our social structure that they can take over power. In the racial civil war they envisage, they are sure the Negroes will be in the front ranks, the shock troops of the Communist revolution. . . . (*Congressional Record*, August 7, 1963.)

The Communists are supplying the engine, the octane and the pilots of this naked power grab and a period of anarchy is always a built-in feature of their methodical course for revolution. In the jargon of the Communists, Americans believe subconsciously that wealth has brought them security, and they act as though they could purchase safety and protection for the price of a beer. The experts disagree, laying part of the blame on the unrealistic attitude of Americans in the face of mounting revolutionary tempo.

Seeing how neatly everything is stacked in their favor, the more militant Negro revolutionaries build their hopes and lay their plans as Americans become more absorbed in pleasurable devices and completely oblivious to consequences. Here is some more of the caliber of prophetic lore Negro Communist Robert Williams funnels into the United States from Cuba to inspire his underground guerrilla forces:

The new concept of revolution defies military science and tactics. The new concept is lightning campaigns conducted in highly sensitive urban communities, with paralysis reaching the small communities and spreading to the farm areas. The new concept is to huddle as close to the enemy as possible so as to neutralize his modern and fierce weapons. The new concept . . . dislocates the organs of harmony and order, and reduces central power to the level of a helpless sprawling Octopus. During the hours of the day, sporadic rioting takes place and massive sniping. Night brings all-out warfare, organized fighting and unlimited terror against the oppressor and his forces.

And,

When massive violence comes, the USA will become a bedlam of confusion and chaos . . . the factory . . . telegraph . . . and radio workers will be afraid to report to their jobs. All transportation will grind to a complete standstill. . . . Essential pipelines will be severed and blown up and all manner of sabotage will occur. . . .

Obviously, Williams is counting on a lot. While perhaps optimistic, the Communists are confident that should things ever reach this stage, Americans will be too stunned and horrified to fight. In the language of Robert Williams, when the television set goes off, rather than ask questions or prepare, Americans will sit and wait for it to come back on (see *Esquire*, October, 1964, article by William Worthy). They will not defend themselves; they will not report to work, and they will not have organized, for no one will have been able to convince them about the stories of impending conflict amidst the carefree luxury of modern living. In the words of lifelong colored Marxist W. E. B. DuBois, “. . . the War of the Color Line will outdo in savage inhumanity any war this world has yet seen

(W. E. B. DuBois, the *African Roots of War*, Atlantic Monthly, May, 1915).

Another view of the problem holds that civil rights cannot deliver on its promises and this produces still another source of upheaval. Such was the prediction of Oakland Negro attorney Donald Warden before a student audience at the University of California (Berkeley campus) on March 17, 1965. In Warden's opinion, the Negroes are not going to get what they expected from civil rights legislation—namely, heaven:

When the voting is over, even if there is a Negro majority in certain local governments—they will have gained nothing. If the build-up continues, there will be a bloodbath, since sooner or later the Negro will realize that Utopia cannot be reached by merely voting or being able to sit in white restaurants. When the promises of the ‘Dr. Kings’ are not kept and they are still at the bottom, they will not be passive.

Warden's timing could not have been better nor, for that matter, his predictions. Not long after the debate at Cal, his prophetic vision materialized, in one sense at least, not in the deep South, but 500 miles close—in Southern California.

WATTS

On the southern outskirts of Los Angeles' downtown “hub” lies an area roughly 40 miles square which hosts a cool half-million Negroes, making up about 5 per cent of the population of Los Angeles County. When three million Americans began their migration westward after the war seeking out California's sunny shores, Watts became a deployment depot for incoming Negroes. Supplied by various funds and subsidies, private agencies specialized in importing Negroes into the area from all over the South and East. Using Watts

as a placement center, the Negroes were spread out from there all over the district wherever jobs and accommodations were available or, when nothing opened up, they stayed right there and either worked or went on Los Angeles' bounteous public assistance dole.

On August 11, 1965 at 7:00 PM in the evening, a 21-year-old Watts Negro named Marquette Frye commenced the more or less routine stunt of trying to guide his car home by osmosis on a belly full of red eye. Within sight of his house, Frye's meandering curves caught up with him and he was pulled over to the curb for drunk driving by two uniformed Los Angeles policemen. Acting in the line of duty, the officers proceeded to question Frye. The hostile sight of a squad car and her son in the clutches of the law brought Frye's mother stampeding out of the house along with several other Negroes and a struggle began over whose justice was going to prevail, their's or the white man's. "Go ahead and kill me!" shouted Frye rather bravely as a hostile crowd began to swell. After 40 tense minutes, the officers radioed for help, struggled free of clutching fists, bore Frye into the squad car and made their getaway followed by a shower of stones and epithets. Amidst emotionalized cries of "police brutality!" Frye's supporters lingered at the scene, hurled rocks and bottles at a few passing motorists, then dispersed and went to their homes.

Three hours passed and night fell calmly on another typical, sultry, California summer day. Toward 10:00 PM, dark figures suddenly appeared on the streets of Watts racing through the night air, down side streets and in and out of doorways, whispering, consulting, carrying and exchanging dark objects. Soon the shuffling was broken by the sound of pistol shots followed by a succession of explosions as a series of home-made gas bombs, thrown through store front windows,

turned a half-dozen buildings and rows of merchandise into soaring, billowing flames. After an interim period of perfect calm, out of Los Angeles came a race riot with magnitude unequalled since the Detroit riot of 1943 which left 34 dead and thousands behind bars and in hospital wards.

There was something all too mysterious about this three-hour lag. A genuine, spontaneous protest would hardly have waited three hours to reach a climax. On-the-scene observers seized on this unnatural time-span as convincing proof that Watts was wholly-contrived and stage-set probably to achieve some other, longer-range purpose, an assumption not without basis considering the months and years of Communist, Muslim, and rights agitation which had plagued the area.

Appointed by California's Governor Edmund G. Brown to investigate the riot causes was an 8-man commission headed up by former CIA Director John A. McCone. When the findings of the Commission were finally made public four months later, McCone told reporters that Watts was a mere "curtain-raiser" for future violence if some drastic changes did not take place in Los Angeles. He was at least right about the future. For six million Southern Californians accustomed to year-round pleasure, affluence and fair weather, flying bullets, soaring flames, dead in the streets and martial law right at their elbow were illusion-destroyers. Commission figures revealed a total of 1032 injuries, 3952 colored rioters and looters behind bars at Los Angeles' previously vacant Lincoln Heights jail, \$40 million worth of damage, 600 buildings damaged and 200 destroyed. (*San Francisco Chronicle*, December 7, 1965.) The official death toll: 34; but eye-witness accounts placed the figure closer to 250. From a localized and relatively insignificant flair of emotion, the riot had expanded to 150 square blocks in 48 wild hours, National Guard troops even-

tually sealing off an area 50 miles square by the following Monday, or a section roughly the size of the entire city of San Francisco. The first firemen to try and enter the area were driven back by gunfire. Under orders not to use tear gas and only to fire over the heads of rioters, a reinforced police squad of 50 was finally able to clear a corridor into the blaze while firemen went about their duty fully-equipped in bullet-proof vests.

On Friday, August 11, Los Angeles Mayor Samuel Yorty responded to a request from Police Chief William H. Parker for National Guard troops, a state of civil emergency was declared, and a general curfew was lowered over the riot area. Five hours later, an amazingly reluctant Lieutenant Governor Glenn M. Anderson signed an order sending 2000 National Guardsmen to Watts from California's 40th Division.

Once on duty, Guardsmen fired on anything and everything that moved and results were obtained. After watching the Guard's clean-up methods, police told the press that perhaps now the Negroes in Watts would believe them when they said their law enforcement system was not "brutal." By Monday, August 16, the number of Guard troops had been increased in stages to 15,000 and it was costing \$250,000 a day to keep them there. According to National Guard General Roderic Hill, what he was called into deal with was not a riot but an insurrection.

For sheer brutality, Watts surpassed anything Los Angeles had seen since the bloody Pachuco rebellion of the early 1940's, which also required the National Guard to restore order. Commenting on the action, colored newspaperman Robert Richardson said, "Negro arsonists raced autos through the deserted Los Angeles streets flinging Molotov Cocktails into store after store shouting 'Burn, baby, burn!' I too learned to shout 'Burn, baby, burn!' after several shots had

been fired at me." (*American Opinion*, September, 1965.) Whites who by accident had the misfortune to drive into the curfew area were hauled from their cars and beaten without remorse by irate colored mobs as though the Negroes had 50 years of hatred to unload all in the space of seconds. Before one white motorist could be rescued, he had been pulled from his automobile and beaten until his right eye was thrown out of its socket and hung down over his cheek bone. Police told interrogators of a colored youth who had kicked a fallen white motorist in the head so severely on recurrent attacks that by the time he could be driven off, he was slipping from the blood on his shoe. From the moment of the first explosion, Negroes of all ages from teens through hobbling elders began drinking and soon whatever sense of moral restraint had ever been there vanished in the confusion. Liquor stores, supermarkets, furniture and appliance outlets; all were emptied clean of their merchandise, some Negroes even backing pickup trucks up to store entrances to carry away their haul. Many Negroes were not so fortunate. Some who had ventured through store windows to carry valuables home were caught in the blast of Molotov Cocktails thrown in after them by their own buddies and they perished in the flames. From the time arms and ammunition were passed out to the Negroes at 111th and Mona, it was "Kill!" and "Get Whitey!" while at the same time, stores were left unmolested whose colored proprietors had the foresight to paint "Blood brother," or "Soul brother," in large white letters on the front window. Over the southbound Harbor freeway to San Pedro, bullets were flying. Negroes even shot at planes overhead on their eastern approach to the Los Angeles International Airport 10 miles toward the ocean.

Aside from statistics, what was actually so outstanding about the Watts incident? Hadn't other northern

cities had their riots and their enduring years of strained race problems? Yes, but not Los Angeles. The riot occurred in a city with a history of more than ideal race relations, welfare benefits and public assistance programs. Allegations about Watts being a "ghetto" or depressed area are simply not supported by the facts. One of the more humorous features of the six-day ordeal was the sound of the television announcer describing ghetto conditions in Watts—in a futile effort to compare Watts to aging Harlem or South Chicago—as the television camera scanned scene after scene of broad, sunny streets, swaying palms, single-dwelling tract homes and the latest in commercial construction. Far from a rotting cesspool of poverty, rats, and falling plaster, Watts has been a haven of pleasure and sunshined shiftlessness for any Negro fortunate enough to set foot there since the Los Angeles building boom began. Fifteen years ago, what is now Watts was mostly a great expanse of rolling, grassy plains and cultivated fields with wheat and other crops swaying gently to and fro with the incoming ocean breeze. The average colored family there has a median annual income of \$4,365, much of which is tax free, as 60 per cent of the Negroes are on welfare. On days when the welfare checks are passed out in Watts, police must add extra patrols to supervise the sudden increase in disorder and drunkenness. It's a freeloader's carnival. Like thousands of suburban tract developments which sprang up during the post war years, Watts is one, big expanse of sunshine and fresh air, immense supermarkets, sprawling used car outlets and tidy, stucco homes dependent only upon the desire of the inhabitants there to maintain them. The so-called "underprivileged" of Watts live within a 15-minute driving distance of 40 miles of the best beach and most accommodating surf on the entire North American Continent.

But probably the most unnerving item brought out by the McCone Commission was the fact that for all of the damage and expense incurred, the Watts rebellion was the work of only 2 per cent of the total colored population in that sector, thus making it a "curtain-raiser" in the most literal sense of the term. Compared to the possibilities of a 40 per cent or 90 per cent colored participation, the whole thing was nothing but a minor foray.

Watts demonstrated to the nation as a whole that even the healthiest and calmest of major American communities are vulnerable right down to their argyle socks. With months of preparation behind them, a handful of trained agitators manufactured enough flash and brazenness to convince thousands of Negroes that their best chances for kicks, thrills, and spoils lie in joining up with the revolution, rather than wasting away in the dull workaday world of effort and convention. Why settle for the monotony of Caucasian custom when swinging times are to be had through armed rebellion? And even for that, the whites will continue to pay the bill. Watts was a "chicky-run" on the complacency of the white community, a recess drill to test white reflexes so as to determine how fast and how far to proceed on the next round.

That the potential for more violence hovers constantly over U.S. cities, few will deny. But observers seem agreed that the introvert tendencies the Negroes think they see in the white population should not be seized on by them as a premature basis for optimism. In spite of all the evidences, the most unpredictable factor in the entire rights struggle is not Negro unrest, but the possibility of a sudden and unexpected change in white attitude toward retaliation.

After a generation, the white population has grown accustomed to leaning on external factors for what used to be supplied by self-control. As conditions in

the general environment change, so goes public disposition, and this is as true in Detroit or New York or Chicago or Philadelphia or Kansas City as it is in Los Angeles. Beneath a surface exercise of self-restraint, the American personality has become indifferent, impatient toward shortcomings, touch-sensitive, and given to displays of unconventional behavior. Today, it is a very uncertain force that keeps the white community passive as the bonds of collectivism tighten systematically over daily affairs, and should a sudden impulse sweep through the population to jar loose the drug-like grip of affluence and self-indulgence, white wrath could well surpass anything the nation has yet seen in the way of preliminary outbursts since 1960. This, some feel, is by far the biggest cause for concern and it would not be the first time in U.S. history that white mob rule ended in a wholesale massacre of Negroes.

So there is more than one cause for speculation as to which way violence can go. Suffice to say, the whites are less afraid than they are merely preoccupied for the moment with moving from day to day and pleasure to pleasure like a giant, sleeping-walking Gulliver. In Los Angeles, most of the population is armed. When the Negroes began to expand toward neighboring white districts during the riot, such as Lynwood and Beverly Hills, gun shops and sporting goods stores all over town were emptied of firearms, the whites returning to the tops of houses and behind parked cars to wait for the first Negroes to venture down the avenue. The riot never reached that stage as the Negroes were met by police barricades.

For the time being, the tendency is to treat civil disorder more as a change of pace than as cause for alarm. But the potential to turn 20 years of compressed energy into a social hurricane of senseless and merciless mob law shifts uneasily beneath the surface

more and more as the rights movement builds to a climax.

If ever left alone, the Negroes would lose their fervor for this artificial war. But the Communists are not going to stop agitating among the Negroes, and the government is going to do nothing about the Communists. Can anyone believe Washington would intervene in a movement it helped to build? And any chance of stopping the government went out with the 1964 elections. Should the government be expected to halt the exploitation of color any more than it has tried to stop the Communists in Cuba, on college campuses, in the churches and labor unions, or anywhere else? In November of 1965, the Supreme Court even went back on an earlier decision to force all Communists to register.

From local government through the state legislatures and into Washington, Americans (outside the South) are a people on the outside looking in. Where residents *are* able to produce a change of administration in their local governments or begin a slow transformation at the state level, Washington is sweeping away the powers of the states just as fast so as to expand its authority without interruption.

Those looking hopefully to either political party for a way out have still other problems to face, some of which are covered in Chapter 15. The Democratic Party (nationally) is sewed up tight by entrenched liberals. Even in the South, where it is supposed to rest on a conservative footing, the Democratic Party answers majority interests in only part of the states. Virginia, for example, placed a liberal governor in the chair in 1965.

Leadership in the Republican Party is of many grades. Most Republicans owe their political careers to the same anarchy of pressure groups that has placed the Democratic Party on top. Many are outright, self-

confessed radicals and defiantly so. The constant threat of gerrymandering hangs over the better class of conservatives like a political creditor, other than in those rare districts where conservative voters are too numerous to be affected by the juggling of political boundaries. Confronted every day with the reasons for voter-rejection of civil rights schemes, conservatives and liberals alike are cycling backward as fast as they can to avoid having to face the issue. Too many of both are dominated in their thinking—one way or another—by the intellectual Left. That is what it boils down to. Southern Republicans and a half-dozen northern congressmen have the only existing rapport with northern voters over the civil rights problem, enough to forge a political offensive with teeth. This is a bridge the Republican Party must cross by 1968.

FIFTEEN

Needed: A Realistic Political Formula

If it were possible for a conservative presidential candidate to come up through the Democratic Party, most lay analysts will concede that Alabama's George Wallace has outstanding chances for 1968, or at least would give his nearest competitor a run for his money. This reflects less the wishful thinking of the Right than it does the visible concern of the liberals.

When Nicholas Katzenbach, acting on a Presidential order, tried to march two Negroes into the University of Alabama on June 11, 1963, he ran into the restraining hand of George Wallace's outstretched arm. Katzenbach's gross form was kept standing there with loose arms dangling for a tense, history-making 13 minutes while Wallace read off a declaration of unwilling submission to Federal police power before a nationwide television audience. That single act expressed what was in the minds and hearts of Americans from coast to coast and border to border. Nothing has changed. From that day forward, Wallace has become a symbol of national defiance for Americans who do not like the shape or the arrogance of big government.

Wallace is probably the only really commanding figure left who can pull an honest conservative victory out of the bag in the race for President, a sweeping statement supported in part by his short-notice achievements in 1964's Wisconsin and Maryland Democratic primaries. Wallace's one-man united front

against Federal intervention makes him a 90-proof, bottled-in-bond "people's man," North as well as South, in spite of the free use he makes of Federal money in Alabama. Forward and affirmative, yet full of forbearance, Wallace is a study in platform magnetism. To the South, he is a self-styled Confederate air-raid on Washington's liberal hardcore, his verbal armor throwing up a kind of psychological twilight zone between the power of the state and the sanctity of Southern customs. His appeal to northern audiences includes a special talent for dismantling rights hecklers and delivering endless ultimata to the Washington axis. Whether realistic or not, anyone demanding unconditional surrender of the Civil Rights Movement has a market waiting for him in the politicized North. This, Wallace does with skill and countenance. Although every bit the politician, Wallace's brash approach to bureaucracy has won him popularity which, in this hour and under these circumstances, comes as political plasma to America's four big regions.

There are other conservative candidates on the horizon, but none who seem inclined to face civil rights in a showdown, and this is the biggest issue before the country today.

But even with the greatest sure-win formula of the half-century, a man in Wallace's position could not step into a greater political stalemate. He is a Democrat in a land where, barring a miracle, the Republican Party offers the only pipeline to the Executive branch of government as depressing a sight as the Republican Party may be since Goldwater turned national leadership back to the liberals.

Outside the South, the Democratic Party is a tight oligarchy run from the top down by one of the strongest collections of power and pressure in world history. The party radicals who sit like Attila atop the Democratic machinery, would not give Wallace breathing room at a national convention.

The Republican Party, on the other hand, is still a genuine "people's party" in the sense that (a) national leadership enjoys no remote, dynastic control over Republican affairs, and (b) most Republican money comes out of the precincts (as was proven during the '64 elections), rather than from the bank accounts of wealthy scions. When the Goldwater debacle was over, the Party still had a big pile of money left over, supplied mainly by housewives and working men who, with sufficient incentive, could always manage to reach down and come up with an extra ten or twenty dollar bill.

Big industrial and financial capital all goes into the Democratic coffers regardless of the undue billing the Democratic Party has received all these years as the party of the working man. The Democratic Party is the party of big capital and has been since the days of FDR.

The Republican Party needs the kind of leadership Wallace possesses for this day and hour, while Wallace needs what only the Republican structure can give him to make a try for the White House. But any hope for an accommodation between the two would be like expecting the Soviets to pay their bill in the United Nations. Wallace can either change his registration or form a third party, neither of which make good political sense even if they were likely to happen. The Liberal Establishment is not invincible any more than were the Chinese Communists who were pushed all over Asia by Chiang Kai-shek before the United States intervened. This, however, cannot alter the predicament conservatives face who still entertain visions of successful competition in 1968.

All that remains for the Republican Party is to pull a candidate out of the sky whose popularity on other grounds can somehow discount the importance of civil rights in his campaign. But this would have to be a terribly popular man indeed. Because at the rate the

Lyndon Johnson-Martin Luther King axis is moving, Americans will be feeling the full strength and distress of socialism by 1968, produced almost entirely by the civil rights drive.

Were the liberal flood waters to part and allow Wallace to walk through on the Democratic ticket, the Establishment would then probably swing all the way over to the Republican candidate just to keep white voting strength from being solidified in the Executive branch of government. For this kind of a drastic change would jar loose collective moorings which the Left has painstakingly installed under the civil rights banner all the way from Congress down through thousands of local governments, school boards and private agencies throughout the land. For a nation on the verge of tyranny, this is just too much to ask. One cannot count on the radicals having left that kind of a gate unfastened. Or, if they should find they have, they will push for a revolution without waiting for the 1968 elections. They may do it anyway.

Barring the need for a candidate, the Republican Party has other bridges to cross—or build, as the case may be. Among a score of dire needs, the consensus among conservatives seems to give priority to three, which are: (a) the Party must abandon any idea of ever garnering the Negro vote; (b) conservative factions must find a new way to gain the ascendancy within the party apparatus; and (c) conservatives should concentrate on capturing the lesser offices within the party structure and local government positions in the community. Of these, the first two concern us here.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY CAN NEVER CAPTURE THE NEGRO VOTE

By trying vainly to gain the Negro vote, by imagining they can, by regarding this as even a worthy goal, Republican leaders merely demonstrate how removed

they are from an understanding of prevailing social undercurrent. If America is moving out to the farms to escape integrated conditions, what special flair for the make-believe can prompt a Republican National Chairman to declare Republican support for a "long-range plan" to win back the Negro vote lost in 1964? This was National Chairman Ray Bliss' decree six months after the Goldwater defeat (*San Francisco Examiner*, June 30, 1964). No political masquerade is better calculated to destroy the Republican Party forever.

Reporting on the White House Conference on Civil Rights, the *San Francisco Chronicle* for November 21, 1965 ran this headline: "Racial Segregation Is Growing In The North." This may be a lamentable trend in American domestic affairs, but nevertheless *it exists*. Therefore, how can a social movement *away* from the Negroes be summoned to justify a political movement *toward* them? If social thought forms the basis of political deed, has it become the mission of Republican leadership to pursue a strategy of defeat by doggedly defying the consensus of American opinion on the subject of race relations? If the Bliss enclave does not like the way the majority behaves in America, the better play at this stage is to make *no* commitment on the position of the Republican Party with respect to the Negroes. That is, assuming a victory formula is the goal.

What about the *moral* logic of going against the consensus? Sometimes, this is definitely justified. But is it justified here? No, it isn't, and for this reason: Recognizing the small minority of Negroes who vote conservatively, the overwhelming majority of Negroes in America are voting for a division of the wealth, the benefits of production without the commensurate responsibilities, welfare, jobs under the quota-hiring rule, the right to invade private property, social rather than individual equality, greater taxes, and bigger

government. In other words, they are casting their vote for socialism. The Republican Party cannot hope to attract the colored vote without declaring for the same philosophy. There is nothing moral about socialism. And last, how can one get into politics, commit himself and his backers to a policy of defeat, and call that moral?

An example of how the Republican Party *cannot* win with the Negroes is supplied by Senator Everett Dirksen who has been trying to bag the colored vote for years. In *The Agony Of The GOP*, Robert Novak describes how after many attempts to corral the Negro vote with political bribes, Republicans have felt like the lover spurned and betrayed. By 1961, the general view even among liberal Republicans, writes Novak, was that the colored vote could not be had, a sentiment confirmed during the 1962 elections. The fact was even more firmly established through the actions of Dirksen himself who, as Republican floor leader of the Senate, had helped to push through the 1960 Civil Rights Act. After working to destroy the South's literacy tests in 1962, Dirksen grew hopeful and optimistic about support from Chicago's large Negro vote but was stunned and angered, states Novak, by the sight of a *drop* in colored support for him compared to 1956.

The same fate befell New York's liberal Senator Jacob Javits who has always been one of the more militant voices for civil rights reforms. Like Dirksen, Javits suffered a loss of Negro votes in 1962.

To harvest the Negro vote, the Republican Party would have to swing clear over to a position left of the Democrats, a long journey and hardly worth the trip. What could be gained by such a move? At the most, the 11% vote that makes up the colored population. With Americans actively seeking ways *out* of the civil rights squeeze, this would only drive white voting sentiment away.

If the Republican Party is going to take sides either way in this Communist-rigged color contest (which can hardly be avoided), it risks much less by abandoning the Negro vote altogether and starting to appeal to a vastly more promising white majority vote, which *is* within its grasp simply by moving in the other direction. And surely, it could be no worse to try and corner the white majority vote than to try and deliver the Negro vote—and fail from year to passing year.

The bigger argument over “white backlash” is covered in chapter three. What matters here is a definition of terms. The so-called “white vote” is the anti-civil rights vote, no more, no less. A candidate is soliciting the “white vote” who leads an offensive against the Civil Rights Movement or any of its features. So far, anti-civil rights sentiment has seen precious little action on the national scene, other than from the South, and there is really no way of measuring its potential until it shows up as the central issue in a major Republican campaign. One can discuss with better accuracy, however, what a showdown over civil rights is likely to develop in the way of political odds. That is, what is the ethnic breakdown on either side of the struggle and how deeply are the Communists committed to preventing the solidification of white voting sentiment in politics?

When the Left joined the drive for socialism to the cause of the Negro, the introduction of color into the political picture automatically threw millions of whites (a majority) onto the anti-socialist side—by accident, rather than by ideological preference. For the Communists, this was a rather daring move, for they already had a hold on labor, and the “Negro cause” immediately invaded the rights of the working man. Although color has been the sole impetus for the new alignment, the latent anti-civil rights vote is (at this

stage) more political than racial. The reasons are: (a) conservative Negroes are voting with the whites against civil rights, while radical whites have definitely gone over with the Negro bloc vote against Constitutionalism; (b) the entire conflagration is still restricted to the political sphere; and (c) the anti-civil rights vote does not represent a personal vendetta against the Negro—not yet, anyhow.

The harder the Left pushes the Negroes, the more personalized (hence, racial) becomes this division, which is also heightened by the refusal of northern political leaders to give anti-civil rights voting sentiment a constructive outlet at the polls. This odd refusal of leadership in the North to answer the desires of the majority actually says, in effect, that the only way Americans will be allowed to defend themselves against the state and its colored *avante garde* is through open conflict when, at least, legislation is *possible*. And yet, the same liberals who boast of tolerance are determined to ram civil rights down the nation's throat against popular will and at the possible cost of civil war.

Irrespective, we have seen what the "white vote" has accomplished in local and state battles against public accommodations ordinances, fair housing laws, bus pilot programs and related issues. As a force in national elections, anti-civil rights feeling was the subject of much speculation among Republican delegates and candidates in 1964. The chief element of concern was not fear of the subject as much as a failure to know how to accurately identify the distress of the voters and employ it without forfeiting a conservative image.

The implication evident in these discussions is that because of the ratio of whites to Negroes in the United States, the whites have acquired a potential plurality at the polls where civil rights is the major issue. This may or may not be true and it would be subject to a

host of variables ranging from the importance of other timely issues, such as impending war, to the inevitable hostility of the press. Although every Communist, socialist, Nihilist, Marxist, syndicalist and militant liberal is lined up on the side of the Negro bloc vote, the theory continues, the whole group still adds up to a minority. Only a responsible, conservative element can stop either the invasion of the state or a collision between the races and the last, best hope for a conservative presidential victory is an all-out war on the Civil Rights Movement.

The purpose here is not to affirm or deny any such strategy. Against the slow, relentless, backward drift of American domestic affairs, this would be something like a quarterback breaking signals and making an independent dash through an open hole in the line. At the same time, there has hardly been a more likely opening in national affairs for an unorthodox political move. Civil rights poses just that serious a problem to American liberty. The Republican Party rose to prominence over a century ago over just such a compelling issue, namely, to stop the spread of slavery into the western territories. There is little question about what the press would do to try and arouse the "moral conscience of mankind" against such a maneuver. "Conscience" is probably the most powerful political weapon in the Communist arsenal. But the fact remains, the removal of civil rights would be a blessing to the Negro—whether he thought so or not—first, by restoring Constitutional safeguards which apply to both races, and second, by removing the chief source of mounting race friction: government coercion.

Politicians seem to feel that to abandon the colored vote is at least feasible because this play would probably give more confidence to abstaining whites to join the Republican fold, particularly in the South and industrialized Northeast. Besides that, the Republican

Party has never really *had* the Negro vote in any appreciable sense, and the Party is not going to lose those Negroes who want to vote conservative no matter how far to the right it moves. Second, the liberal tempo of the Negroes is rising, not falling, and the Republican Party will never outwit the Democrats and Communists at their own game. Most Negroes now involved in the Civil Rights Movement are not going to abandon it until they live through enough misery and loss to suddenly realize that they have been its principal victims. So the abandonment of the socialist colored vote at this stage is not unthinkable, according to current discussions, particularly if the door is left wide open for conservative Negroes to cross over the line when they are ready.

For the Republican Party to make an open bid for the white majority vote—as such—would mean that the destruction, or at least the containment, of the Civil Rights Movement had become its central campaign issue, a considerable change from present policies. But could you call it gambling when civil rights is overturning every social and political standard in the American system? When the ill effects of civil rights touch every American—including the Negroes—regardless of his status or occupation? Is it any more of a gamble than the Communists took when they set out to mobilize the Negroes, knowing this would eventually solidify white voting sentiment on the other side?

Looking at this another way, do conservatives need a favorable press more than the Communists need to keep white voting sentiment from breaking into the open? Or is civil rights the kind of explosive issue that can overrule Communist propaganda?

These are just some of the questions that surround the burgeoning threat of civil rights. Civil rights in the last analysis is a dare by the Communists to Americans to lay their reputations on the line and come

out on the offensive, even with a clear majority on their side. Regardless of what the whites decide to do, here is something more concrete to “make book” on: the Communists are more or less *stuck* with the Negroes. They have staked their entire political future on establishing socialism by pleading the cause of the allegedly suppressed Negro. Without this cause, they have no whip by which to demand more sweeping changes in government. The Negroes are the Communists’ mealticket. So in all likelihood, more millions will be spent between now and the 1968 elections to keep the anti-civil rights vote from being turned into a power play against them. And this means more intimidation, more talk about “racists,” more pressure on businessmen and educators to integrate, more accusations of “hate” to whites who reject the civil rights invasion—the whole disgusting nightmare.

Suffice to say, whether or not the North decides to go for broke against the Civil Rights Movement, any American who honestly believes the radicals care whether you hate Negroes, like whites only, or hate everybody, has simply not been doing his homework. There is only one idea in the minds of the Communists and that is: who will end up with the reins of power, you (the people) or themselves?

CONSERVATIVE FACTIONS WITHIN THE PARTY

In the early 1960's, conservatives made a special attempt to gain control of the Republican Party in California by forming a new organization within the Party called the United Republicans of California (UROC) to compete with the older and unchallenged California Republican Assembly. Immediately afterward, the Republican Assembly came into its own as a conservative body and the liberals passed to the rear.

Referred to occasionally as “the party-within-the-

party," and by other designations, this method is now pursued in other states chiefly under the sponsorship of the United Republicans of America with headquarters in Washington, D.C. (Post Office Box 1522, Washington, D.C. 20013). Information on the URA was published after the 1964 elections in a brochure by Liberty Lobby entitled *Looking Forward; A Conservative Victory Plan* (Liberty Lobby, 300 Independence Avenue, S.E., Washington, D.C.). Promotional literature published by the United Republicans of America is now available everywhere.

As announced in its literature, the objective of URA is to unite conservative members of both parties within the Republican Party in an effort to nominate and elect qualified conservative leaders to every office from the precincts to the White House.

URA members in any precinct form a local organization and receive a charter from URA headquarters in Washington. Requirements are relatively easy to meet: URA members must total not less than 5 per cent of the total precinct Republican registration, and a petition for a charter signed by at least 51 per cent of the URA members residing in the precinct must be presented to the National Office.

City, county, congressional district and state organizations are chartered in a similar manner. For example, a city organization may receive a charter providing at least 5 per cent of the precincts are organized and chartered, and where at least 51 per cent of the elected local precinct chairmen subscribe to the organization by signing the petition. State organizations have the privilege of electing one representative to serve on the Board of Governors of URA.

Party processes which have bogged down for years are compensated for by this program. Noticeably lacking, for instance, has been an organization to assist the conservative candidate in the primary election by

(a) showing him how to set up a winning campaign organization, (b) giving him political advice born of experience in winning a primary election, (c) advising him on finances or supplying money he needs to conduct his campaign, (d) designing his literature, and (e) putting him in touch with other conservative candidates. URA sets up a special fund, for the use of conservative candidates in primary elections, administered by the URA Advisory Board composed of conservatives with proven practical experience.

URA's greatest growth, as of this writing, is in the West Coast states. Oregon was the first state after California to organize.

NON-PARTISAN REALIGNMENT OUTSIDE THE PARTY STRUCTURE

The party system is designed for elections to government offices only. After elections are over, the task of influencing government actions begins. If elected officials do not live up to expectations once in office, the voters are left without representation. Or, using a strictly hypothetical situation, even if a quorum of honest men somehow gets elected, the problem of producing good legislation is just beginning.

Once in office, legislators are set upon by hundreds of pressure groups, lobbies and vested interests working with promises, money and influence to get their bills enacted. After nearly two centuries, the American system has actually become a government by pressure groups—a pressure anarchy—rather than a government by the people as was the original plan.

Constant demands on a tight and complex daily schedule do not permit the elected official to read the fine print of all the bills which come his way or to do a thorough job on most major legislation without assistance. This creates immediate problems. The task then falls to paid staff, specialists and second and third

eschelon policy makers in the bureaucratic entanglement. Many court opinions are actually written by research assistants to Supreme Court judges. The legislators may also rely on some outside advice on how to vote, what to trade, or how to deal—in many cases, on pressure groups themselves.

Meanwhile, back in their district, pressure is exerted through thousands of liberal ministers, labor organizations, civic groups, educational and trade associations, local politicians on their way up, organized demonstrators, and liberal-controlled mass-communications. All these forces converge on the voter in a concerted effort to hold popular thinking in line behind liberal policies—and politics becomes a 365-day proposition.

So elections are only the beginning of a long, drawn-out process that will continue for the rest of the year, a merry-go-round of political leverage, manipulation and skill geared to government administration. The voters need facilities no party can provide, nor was ever designed to provide: the tools of public action. Without them, the majority of voters just fade away until the next election while government runs wild.

While acknowledged as the backbone of the representative system, the party structure has been usurped so as to actually disfranchise the mass of the voters, by dividing them over personalities and ideologies when they would normally be united over issues. They have become the victims of political skills such as caucuses, vote-swaps, backroom deals, high-pressure salesmanship, outright vote-purchases, promises of jobs and promotions within the party, and all manner of political maneuvers having little or nothing to do with existing national needs. Pressure and manipulation begin as soon as a potential winner throws his name in the hopper for nomination and stays with him through the duration of his political career. Under these circumstances even the best of Americans are known to take an occasional nose-dive.

Neither elections nor the presence of good men in office can guarantee good government. Whether they realize it or not, voters are in continuous competition with pressure groups over the shape of legislation and are at the disposition of public officials who either cannot or will not adhere to the fabric of the Constitution. With no better leverage than this on the actions of government, the next logical course is to move *outside* the party structure and intervene directly in the legislative process.

In the past, where the public has functioned as an organized pressure group on politics, voters of all political callings have come together under local leadership, gained political footing, and gone directly into the precincts. The more effective systems have linked local units together through strong inter-county ties and rooted the entire network in a strong state association.

The drift toward what adds up to a party *outside* the party has characterized all periods in which the direction of established government has turned toward irresponsibility. We are in one of those periods now. Early Americans had a town meeting. In the South during the Reconstruction period, dozens of political bodies took form outside the party structure to accomplish what was no longer possible within the party. Today's "town meeting" would be more on the order of a non-profit corporation built along the lines of a service club, such as Chamber of Commerce, while combining the features of a political party in its field operation. As already utilized by many liberal organizations in the North, this makes available the entire slate of political functions for which there are no facilities within the party apparatus.

Non-partisan political facilities have been a "missing link" between Americans and their government for generations in the North. Since Reconstruction, however, the South has experimented with every possible kind of non-partisan system over and over again. In

the better organized Southern States, candidates on either ticket must go through organized citizenry to get endorsement to run for office at all.

The Southern taxpayer's group does not supplant the public official, but it can supplant his authority by exercising control of his political district and by demanding satisfaction on issues which are first in the minds of his constituents. Problems begin where the right issues are missing entirely—issues in which local citizens do *not* have an overriding interest or about which they lack sufficient understanding. Failure in this case is not due to lack of political potential but to lack of education. The South, for instance, is fairly solid in its opposition to civil rights and integration schemes other than in those few states—like Virginia—where the citizens are not organized, or where neither party is representing the voters at the polls.

In most of the South, a candidate who supports the Civil Rights Movement has a small future. But he can vote for almost everything *else* the radicals adore—including foreign aid to Communist countries, farm price supports, federal aid to education, expanded welfare programs, medicare, paying other nations' bills in the bankrupt United Nations, lowering of immigration barriers, removal of protective tariffs, higher taxes, etc., and his reelection is still in the bag. All he has to do is promise always to vote "no" on civil rights. This is how the South manages to send some of the most determined radicals to Congress—such as J. William Fulbright—year after year—who, once in office, continue to support the very machine that thrusts civil rights upon the nation. Nevertheless, the physical apparatus of non-partisan political power does exist in most southern states should truth about these other issues ever find its way into southern hearts.

No such political phenomenon exists in the North.

Conservatives *do not control one city, county or state government*, and are the prey of the pressure anarchy from election to election. The main reason: they are not organized.

Realistic public action has developed into a coordinated program only in isolated instances when a truly objectionable bill or school board action surpassed the bounds of public tolerance. Such campaigns are usually defense measures only, are local in dimension, and temporary. Never has the North expanded non-partisan political machinery to statewide proportions with permanent and professional standing for an offensive against collectivism.

The potential is there, however, as is amply illustrated by the high mortality rate liberal and radical measures suffer when the public decides to act. In 1964, the citizens of New York overturned a school board action designed to "bus" their school children into Harlem. Gary, Indiana threw out a "fair housing" law in 1963 by the same methods, and the voters of Berkeley, California went to the polls in 1963 to reject another "fair housing" measure after promoting a successful referendum. We have seen the same pattern in dozens of U.S. cities since 1960.

California's Proposition 14 (1964) was one of those less frequent cases where an entire state was mobilized to block an invasion of property rights by the state legislature which had succumbed to minority pressure. "Fourteen" was an amendment to the state Constitution to forbid the legislature from enacting any future "rights" measures, such as the Rumford Act, designed to infringe on the buying, selling or renting prerogative of property owners. The campaign was not launched by a political party but by the California Real Estate Association (CREA) in conjunction with hundreds of citizen groups throughout the state. The result was a 2 to 1 conservative victory in a state where

liberals outnumber conservatives by roughly 3 to 2 (see chapter three). Proposition 14 was significant because of the non-partisan type of organization that produced victory, and because of its ethnic underpinning.

Today's Second Reconstruction will show the South capitalizing on a system it understands inside and out and has been using since the First Reconstruction. The only organization known to be developing this method on an expanded scale in the North is Civic Union, a Los Angeles based corporation (P. O. Box 76222, Los Angeles 5, California).

IDEOLOGIES VS. THE SELF-INTEREST FORMULA

Partisan or non-partisan, the best campaign of the century can't succeed without the right issues. And even with the right issues, truth alone does not communicate itself to the majority of voters. Liberal politicians have never sold ideologies to the voters; they have sold issues geared strictly to self-interest. With nothing but cold logic and hard facts to work with over the years, the liberal wing would have fallen as far out of touch with the voters as has the conservative movement today.

Americans who cast a liberal ballot from year to year are, for the most part, neither committed to, nor conscious of, the liberal ideology as such. Nor have they any conception of what life under a socialist system will cost them in the long run. They are fair game for politicians of all ranks and flavors from this election to the next and are proof of the axiom that there is nothing as unpredictable as the popular vote.

The ideological convictions of the informed minority are best communicated through the use of issues in which the voter has a definite personal interest; issues

which affect his daily life, income or convictions. The self-interest formula cuts the labor and frustration of painstaking conversion to a conservative stand into thirds. Moreover, were it not for this form of communication, the majority of voters would have no guidelines by which to register their sentiments at the polls, a fact which poses no worse problem for the Right than it does for the Left. When labor does buy the conservative package, which happens occasionally, the reason usually goes back to the success of the self-interest formula centered about vital issues which liberal leaders have refused to employ.

Such was the case with *Labor for Goldwater* in New York City during the 1964 election campaign. Its published formula for the working man was:

Goldwater opposes special privileges for the Negro race as embodied in the so-called "civil rights" law. He opposes forcing your local to take Negroes as members, thus destroying your seniority rights and your right to pass your trade to your son. He is opposed to "blockbusting" of peaceful neighborhoods, forced integration of schools and street lawlessness. He is for Freedom of Choice.

Reuther, Meany and the rest of the "Labor" Bosses are political water boys for the "Minority" Bosses, regardless of the welfare or desires of the overwhelming majority of union members. Why? (George Meany, before the Committee on Judiciary, House of Representatives, July 17, 1963.)

Goldwater believes in the right to strike. On September 5 he promised never to "impose the iron fist of compulsory arbitration on laboring men."

Lyndon Johnson is the greatest strikebreaker of the century. In the wheat-to-Russia case and in the rail-

road case and others he imposed compulsory arbitration. The Labor Fakers still want Johnson instead of Goldwater. Why?

Goldwater opposes the wasteful spending of "Foreign" Aid.

The International Bankers and Wall Street Money Sharks want more and more of your tax dollars to be funnelled through their sticky fingers to other countries. The Labor Fakers are the shills in this con game. They deliver the votes to the politicians to keep this Wall Street deal alive. Why? (Andrew J. B. Miller, before the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, May 5, 1964.)

Goldwater wants reform of the Income Tax.

The Income Tax is the biggest swindle of all time. While workers have a huge slice of their paycheck deducted every payday, the Fat Cats have armies of lawyers and accountants to find loopholes for them. The richest pay hardly any tax at all. Senator Douglas has said, *The average amount that people in the so-called 91 per cent bracket pay is less than 25 per cent.* (Congressional Record, January 23, 1964, page 1041.) Forty-seven per cent of all the Income Tax comes from taxpayers with less than \$10,000 per year income! (Internal Revenue Service, Tax Research Group.) The Labor Fakers find nothing wrong with this. Why?

Goldwater favors immigration control.

AFL-CIO Labor Fakers have urged Congress in effect to kill the McCarran-Walter Immigration Law and allow a million penniless coolies per year from Africa and Asia into America to compete with American workers for jobs. Why? (James Carey, before the Subcommittee on Immigration and Naturalization, House of Representatives, August 10, 1964.)

Goldwater is for a protective tariff.

The Labor Bosses are for Free Trade. They have demanded that Congress eliminate all American tariffs and let in cheap-labor products from overseas, thus throwing additional millions out of work. Why? (George Meany, before the Committee on Finance, U.S. Senate, July 24, 1962.)

Goldwater opposes farm price supports.

The Labor Bosses have put Hubert Humphrey on the Johnson ticket. Hubert votes 100 per cent for General Foods, the Food Monopoly and high food prices. Why? (Congressional Record, May 6, 1964, page 4482.)

In New York, Goldwater spoke out strongly against forced "bussing" of school children long distances to promote a "racial balance," a New York school board action which had infuriated 250,000 irate housewives. When the voting was over, Goldwater had won the 9th Assembly District in Brooklyn and the 3rd and 13th Assembly Districts in Queens.

In 1964, the most important issues were: freedom of choice (over forced integration programs), prosperity, war (Goldwater is "trigger happy"), employment, retirement security, tax reform, immigration control, and tariffs. But of these, the biggest of all was, and still is, *civil rights*.

Goldwater had the right line on Vietnam. The policy he recommended is the one now pursued—almost—by Lyndon Johnson against the Vietcong. But where Americans would vote against Goldwater for suggesting such a thing, they now attack Vietnam Day Committee demonstrations in support of Lyndon's plan. It could only happen in America. Goldwater's problem was a hostile press. With a neutral press, he would have had the greatest formula for the working man in thirty years.

The use of issues calls for communication with individual voters "in terms of *their* interest, not ours," as one spokesman has phrased it, and resorting more to communication where effective conversion leaves off. The rule which applies during elections applies with equal force to non-partisan bodies engaging in public action between elections. This, of course, means leaders who can recognize genuine voter interests and who will use the issues that fit, rather than relying on the demands of their respective "peer group" as the standard for measuring popular thought. This much in place, the "party-outside-the-party" offers an unlimited field of development.

CREATING A BETTER PUBLIC VOICE IN GOVERNMENT

Some of the best candidates turn into pillars of salt once they get into office. They don't necessarily abandon their conservative views. Something else happens when they get there which the "un-annointed" can hardly grasp. Suddenly camped on their doorstep are pressure groups from everywhere representing every form of vested interest. Salt Lake City's Mayor J. Bracken Lee once put it this way to a close friend:

Shortly after I was elected as Governor of Utah, a friend of mine, who had been elected to the state legislature at the same time, and whom I knew to be as dedicated to limited government as myself, began voting for various spending bills and to raise taxes. I was amazed, and at the first opportunity called him into my office for a chat. 'Bill,' I asked, 'why have you changed?' He replied, 'I haven't changed, Governor, the people have!' This little true story, I think, illustrates the power that the lobbyists have to change the voting record of even the best of men.

Americans have seen this turnabout among their

representatives for the past thirty years. Franklin D. Roosevelt campaigned for his first two terms on a "free enterprise, limited government, more-individual-freedom" plank—because that was a fair reflection of public tempo at that time—but once in office, FDR set up a bureaucratic regime that put all his predecessors to shame. All of the high-powered collectivist bills since 1944 either have been parts of the Roosevelt 12-year plan which were originally shelved for later use, or they have reflected precedents established then which are just now being implemented.

California's Senator Thomas Kuchel went into office in the shadow of conservative ex-Senator William F. Knowland, and even supported the Bricker Amendment. Since then, he has sidestepped to the left consistently. What Senator Kuchel already lacked in the way of a liberal philosophy was soon supplied by the lobby anarchy in Washington.

Lobbies represent private companies, foreign countries, minority interests, the designs of other legislators (in trying to get their own bills through), and special interest groups like taxpayers trying to prevent drastic bills from passing. There are hundreds of lobbies in Washington, as well as the state legislatures, representing everything from labor organization to veterans asking higher pensions to multi-million dollar space vehicle contracts. Until recent years, there was no pressure group in Washington which represented basic, Constitutional precepts rather than vested interests. Lobbying facilities were needed to provide the taxpaying public with a voice in the halls and committees of Congress on behalf of property rights, tax reform, foreign aid waste, immigration control and related issues. There was no fast, reliable or thorough coverage of important bills, Supreme Court decisions and Executive orders.

Attempts to close this gap between the people and

the distant power of their government in Washington have been supplied mainly by letter-writing brigades. But lobbying involves not only correspondence from constituents, but direct representation in the halls of Congress. Liberty Lobby went to Washington in 1957 with the intention of providing both and is probably the first organization of its kind to become successful. In its own building at 300 Independence Ave., S.E., Washington 3, D.C., Liberty Lobby maintains a full-time research staff, provides a mailing service to its subscribers all over the country, and tells them when, to whom and how fast to direct their correspondence. When urgently needed, authoritative figures are flown into Washington from different parts of the country to testify before various Senate and Congressional subcommittees.

As of July, 1965, over 150,000 Americans subscribed to the service and growth has been accelerating steadily since 1960. Liberty Lobby's monthly legislative report goes to subscribers for a volume price of \$1.00 per year to allow more people to acquire this kind of contact with Washington at a price anyone can afford.

Liberty Lobby also publishes special reports on important political issues, usually around election time, and holds annual leadership conferences in Washington for the benefit of subscribers to meet and talk with conservative members of Congress. Plans are now under discussion to install legislative facilities at the various state capitols to provide the same kind of public service on a more localized basis.

BETTER PUBLIC ENLIGHTENMENT

Public education depends on the availability of reliable information and the intelligent study of such material. Among journals covering a wide range of subject matter on national problems are:

American Opinion
Belmont 78, Mass.
(Carries an emphasis
on civil rights issues)

The Dan Smoot Report
P. O. Box 9538
Lakewood Station
Dallas 14, Texas

Human Events
410 First Street, S.E.
Washington, D.C.

Liberty Letter
Liberty Lobby
300 Independence
Avenue, S.E.
Washington 3, D.C.

*The South African
Observer*
P. O. Box 2401
Pretoria, South Africa

The Top of the News
Fulton Lewis, Jr.
Productions
Sheraton Park Hotel
Washington, D.C.

The Citizen
Plaza Building
Jackson, Mississippi
(Emphasis on civil
rights)

*Economic Council
Letter*
156 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

The Freeman
Irving-on-Hudson,
New York
(Emphasis on
economics.)

Intelligence Digest
Alderbourne Manor
Gerrards Cross
Bucks, England

*National Review
(and Bulletin)*
150 E. 35th Street
New York 16, New York

*U.S. News and World
Report*
Circulation Department
435 Parker Avenue
Dayton, Ohio 45401

The Wanderer
128 E. 10th Street
St. Paul 1, Minnesota

Western Destiny
P. O. Box 76062
Los Angeles, California
90005

EPILOGUE

I have said that the majority of Americans are not motivated by the political or Constitutional aspects of the civil rights issue. For personal reasons which are their privilege to hold, social reasons and economic reasons (reflecting the effect of population integration on community values) they simply do not want to mix the races and they also have an aversion to demonstrators and race agitators. Far from a personal advocacy, this is a statement of demonstrable, political fact while, of course, definitely subject to change. Civil rights legislation cannot be isolated from its inevitable social effects if there is to be an understanding any more than political leaders can separate themselves from the mass of the voters if there is to be a cure. Those entertaining visions of trying to combat the Civil Rights Movement in its present form, therefore, must concentrate on its sociological as well as political aspects if they are to give enough people sufficient reason to go to the polls against it. That an attempt should be made to do this goes almost without saying for to destroy the Civil Rights Movement is to destroy what has become the nerve center of the entire Communist Movement in this country.

Were property rights and freedom of association still being protected there would be small reason to pin the issue down this tightly for with our traditional political safeguards in place none of this would be possible and the races, rather than building for a showdown, would be content to work out their problems and follow their own patterns within established law. The intervening role of government has singularly made the conflict possible from which it now becomes necessary to give precise definition to racial and sociological problems of this kind for the second time in 400 years

of American progress. The first time was during Reconstruction where, as now, the real problem was government with unscrupulous politicians in control.

If the major resistance to civil rights is social rather than political, it stands to reason that the entrenched leftwing will concentrate its offensive in the race relations sphere in the years to come in an effort to break down existing social codes. In short, the Communists will step up the campaign for integration because they must gain popular acceptance of interracialism before the American people will submit to the codes imposed upon them by civil rights legislation. If Americans accept the mixed or multi-racial society, big U.S. cities may enter a period of wanton degradation and cultural dissolution without parallel since the closing and most decadent days of the Roman Empire. For, since Rome, there has not been a better-organized plot to undermine the moral and spiritual values of a population. If they reject integration, there will be an open reaction against state pressures in some form, whether at the polls or otherwise.

People who would have been content to speak only of politics and leave the subject of race to the Anthropologists will change their mind at the sight of what our government and communications and entertainment industry have in store for them, for the character of this last and final drive for political supremacy will surpass anything that can be dignifiably ignored. Actually, in most large northern cities, the downward cycle has already started. President Johnson's "Great Society," the society of the National Democratic Party (meaning its leadership), is an interracial society, the "last frontier" on the road to socialism. If this is what Americans wanted, they will have their chance to buy it now. A Negro will appear in every advertisement and televised audience scene. The cast of characters in major Hollywood productions will conform to the

"racial balance" requirement of the Federal government. There will be academy awards for the best interracial performance of the year; all dramatized and stage-managed to cast a purely fictitious view of life to the American people for the impact this may have on politics. Fictitious, because without dramatics a fitting parallel would be impossible to find or produce in real life. From Boston to San Francisco, some of the strongest resistance to integration comes not from the white but from the colored and oriental sections of town. People will move out of the cities to escape the degradation the Communists have planned.

Americans will be told, in effect, that they must make a choice between their own heritage and prejudice toward Negroes. That is the way the Communists have it rigged. Ten thousand interracial themes will not beat a path to brotherhood but into the moral sewers which, in turn, will open up a market for the advocacy of pure race doctrines from coast to coast and border to border for the first time in U.S. history. The cry will go up that subversive elements are trying to turn the United States into a nation of mulattoes and aboriginal gatherers. Having been partially submerged and withdrawn from the academic halls with the rise of progressive education during the thirties, physical anthropology, eugenics and the biological sciences will reappear and begin a renewed defence of the United States as a European-style civilization (which, of course, it is). After first *creating* the race issue, the Communists will now capitalize on their creation thus provoking a more or less logical reaction from Americans everywhere. The ugliness and injustice of this sordid form of warfare will attest for future generations to the determination of the Communists to get what they are after at any price and by any method.

It can be said with fair accuracy that while Amer-

icans do not regard themselves as "racists" in the sense the Communists and their allies are exploiting the term today, the vast majority of them is "race conscious" to the extent that they practice selective association and seek out members of their own race and culture to marry; they form business and social alliances among other Caucasians; they desire instinctively to bring beautiful and capable children into the world and are conscious of their Caucasian and Anglo-Saxon ancestry; they embrace theories of kinship and progression more or less without thinking and, for the most part, see themselves as forming a natural ethnic bridge between succeeding generations. This, they would not define as "racism" but as the expected measure of high regard for their own heritage and traditions. To take pride in one's heritage is not to entertain a hatred for someone else's, other than by the twisted jargon of Communism. Nonetheless, it is this centuries-long code of traditional values and beliefs which will now be assailed and downgraded in order to bring the "social revolution" of the Great Society into conformity with the laws an invertebrate Congress has already enacted.

The current attempt to deny that there is any connection between the status of a culture and the quality of its citizens does not afford convincing proof that 6000 years of historical record has—since 1950—suddenly become invalidated, but rather that the United States is in the throes of a serious intellectual decline. We have reached our depth in an understanding of cultural dynamics when what is historically and scientifically valid in the area of race relations is also socially the most inexpedient. For the sake of temporary favors, meagre political gains and a heightening of their image, even some of the most self-avowed conservatives will defy time-worn laws of cultural cause and effect in support of the Communist's own disguised

doctrine, a policy which can only defeat them at their own purpose. Americans are asked to adopt the posture of the faceless international man; to reduce themselves to their lowest cultural integer to please a generation of limp-wristed liberals and moral and intellectual elves who have momentarily seized control of their fad and opinion molding agencies. Instead, they should reject this decadent ideology now, while anti-white propaganda has half the population afraid to come out of doors. If there is a voice that will tell all Americans within the United States to embrace their own ethnic heritage with greater pride and work to improve its integrity, quality and potential, let them follow this voice and tell other voices to take a long walk off a short pier.

Americans are on legitimate grounds to protect their great inheritance and pass it forward *intact* if they can. Should they abandon this too, in the short space of one or two more generations, there will be nothing left of the American system—its laws, its economic system, or its culture—for posterity to look back on. The question now before us is, can this happen in the short space of only thirty years?

The United States must continue on the course set by four centuries of preparatory labor if it is to realize its destiny. For there will be no New Dispensation or Age of Responsibility dreamed of by our Fathers unless we develop a sense of balance about our problems now while the pressure to abandon all ideals, faith or concern is at its peak. The hour belongs to those who will close ranks and produce a greater show of stability until the evil that has fastened itself upon the United States crawls back into the woodwork; who have the sense to grasp the importance of the age in which they live and will help to forge the necessary link in the historical chain which unites our past to our future.

APPENDIX

Test Cases on School Integration

Following are excerpts from seven major court cases involving different aspects of the school integration argument. In spite of publicity to the contrary, and the 1954 Supreme Court integration decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*, not all the law supports the integration of public schools, even in the Federal courts. And there is a considerable cleavage in the treatment of these cases between the lower and higher courts, the former being apparently more concerned with law, the latter with reflecting administration policy.

These cases are educational in themselves. The more important of them describe with typical legal clarity the relative gains and losses to both whites and Negroes from integrated and segregated schooling and show the various ways by which citizens can still make constructive use of the courts to protect traditional education. In the more frequent struggle over the system of neighborhood schools, the law overwhelmingly sustains racial imbalance (as distinct from segregation) rather than integration arrived at by artificial means. The drawing of school attendance boundaries involves seven more criteria than merely a consideration of racial composition, according to one case heard in New York (see below). Where "separate but equal" education has been argued in its entirety and still received a flat "no" from the higher courts, there is clear evidence, by contrast, of the fact that the Federal courts are using something else besides "education" as their standard of value.

All test cases since 1954 are subject to the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, which in effect reversed all prior holdings by previous Supreme Courts on the subject of "equal protection of the law," and negated their determinations as to what constituted "discrimination" or violation of Constitutional rights. One should keep the *Brown* decision in the front of his mind while reviewing these cases, in particular its contradictory language that:

... the segregation of school children in separate schools because of their race, even though the physical facilities

and the methods and quality of instruction in the several schools may be equal, deprives the children of the minority group of equal opportunities for education and denies them equal protection of the law (347 U.S. 483, 493, 1954).

Those wishing to explore the full text of these cases will find them in any county law library. In the typical designation, such as 347 U.S. 483 (the Brown case), the first item is the number of the bound volume the case appears in, the second is the type of record, such as Federal Supplement or Federal Second, and the last item is the page number.

Unless otherwise stipulated, underscored emphasis has not appeared in the original testimony, but has been added. The seven cases reviewed here are:

Bell v. School City of Gary, Indiana, 324 F2d 209 (1963)

Application of (Michael) Vetere, 245 NYS2d 682 (1964)

Strippoli v. Bickal, 248 NYS2d 588 (1964)

Balaban v. Rubin, 248 NYS2d 574 (1964)

Stell v. Board of Education of Savannah, 220 F. Supp. 241 (1963)

Evers v. Jackson (Mississippi), 232 F. Supp. 241 (1964)

Other cases used in evidence appear in text as footnotes.

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Bell v. School City of Gary, Indiana

(school attendance zones)

Rachel Bell, a Negro minor, charged that the Gary, Indiana School Board maintained and operated a segregated school system in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, by virtue of school boundaries allegedly drawn by the city purposely to separate the races in the public schools.

The charge was dismissed by the lower court and appealed by Bell to the U.S. district court, where the dismissal of the lower court was confirmed. The Bell decision, therefore, now stands as law.

Deciding in favor of the Gary School Board, the court held that there was no affirmative constitutional duty to change innocently arrived at school attendance districts by the mere fact that shifts in population either increase or decrease the per cent of either Negro or white pupils. Cited

as evidence to support this opinion was this holding from the second Brown case (139 F. Supp. 468):

Desegregation does not mean that there must be intermingling of the races in all school districts. It means only that the races may not be prevented from intermingling or going to school together because of race, creed or color.

The court also cited *Briggs v. Elliott* (132 F. Supp. 776) which held:

The Constitution, in other words, does not require integration. It merely forbids discrimination.

The U.S. district court decided that the Gary, Indiana school boundaries were originally drawn in the light of population density and were therefore legal. Included were the remarks of Judge George N. Beamer of the appellate court which first dismissed Bell's complaint:

"Nevertheless, I have seen nothing in the many cases dealing with the segregation problem which leads me to believe that the law requires that a school system developed on a neighborhood school plan, honestly and conscientiously constructed with no intention or purpose to segregate races, must be destroyed or abandoned because the resulting effect is to have a racial imbalance in certain schools where the district is populated almost entirely by Negroes or whites (213 F. Supp. 819).

To which presiding Judge Duffy of the District Court added this conclusion:

... no affirmative constitutional duty existed (in Gary) to change innocently arrived at school attendance districts by the mere fact that shifts in population had increased or decreased the percentage of Negro or white pupils and the plaintiff's constitutional rights were not being violated.

Application of (Michael) Vetere
(bus piloting)

New York State's Commissioner of Education James E. Allen, Jr. had ordered the transfer of pupils from their attendance zones to other schools in Hempstead, New York to correct racial imbalance. Michael Vetere, a Caucasian

student, sought an injunction against Allen, asserting that such action was a violation of law. The facts in the Vetere case parallel the findings and conclusions in *Bell v. School City*. Vetere's action was upheld by the New York State Supreme Court and Allen's move to transport pupils enjoined. The pertinent features of the case were summarized by the court as follows:

(2) The Constitution forbids segregation by law in public schools. It does not, however, prohibit racial imbalance, nor does it mandate racial balance.

Upon these applications, these facts are undisputed; racial imbalance exists in the three neighborhood schools involved; such racial imbalance does not result from law but rather from *incidence of residence*; and there has been nothing improper in the drawing of lines for attendance zones.

The contention of the Commission, however, is that racial imbalance is harmful to education; and for that reason, and that reason alone, he (the Commissioner) has made the order under attack in this proceeding.

(3) The question here presented is whether the Commissioner has the power to abolish that concept, under the law as it now exists.

Section 3201 (of the New York Education Law, enacted in 1900) is clear and unmistakable. It says 'No person shall be refused admission into or be excluded from any public school in the state of New York on account of race, creed, color or national origin.'

When a number or percentage of pupils of whatever race, color or creed, normally entitled and indeed required to attend a public school in their attendance zone, *are denied admission, and, contrary to their wishes, are directed to attend a school in a different zone in order to eliminate racial imbalance, is this anything other than denial of admission on the ground of race or color, contrary to long established law?* Irrespective of whether the pupils be white or Negro, it would certainly seem that admission on such a basis *is* predicated on race or color. Admission so predicated, even though intended to alter racial imbalance, nonetheless violates the language of the statute. This court is constrained to find that Section 3201 of the Education Law precludes the Commissioner from making the determination which he did.

Accordingly, the motions to dismiss the petitions are denied, and the determinations of the Commissioner are denied.

Stippoli v. Bickal
(bus piloting)

In Stippoli, the Rochester, New York School Board had launched a busing program to transport Negro school children from predominantly colored School #3 (Burbank) to all-white School #30 (Garfield), without first consulting the parents and without legal consent. White parents of School #30 sought an injunction against the school board, the superintendent of schools, and the Commissioner of Schools, to halt the program. As in the Vetere case, the Board of Education had alleged discrimination and launched the busing program to correct racial imbalance. Petitioners (the parents) contended that the transfer was a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment (equal protection of the law) and an act of "reverse discrimination" (e.g.: that the School Board had no constitutional right to try and correct "racial imbalance").

The New York State Supreme Court, Judge William J. Easton presiding, ruled in favor of the parents and cited three supporting cases: *Henry v. Goodsell* (165 F. Supp. 87, 1958), *Bell v. School City of Gary, Indiana* (213 F. Supp. 819, and 324 F2d 209, 1963), and *Balaban v. Rubin* (shown ahead, 248 NYS2d 574, 1964). The ruling held

... that a child has no constitutional, guaranteed right to attend a public school outside of the attendance zone in which he or she resides.

... the desegregation required by the Constitution (as stipulated in *Brown v. Board of Education*) ... does not mean, for example, that white children who live in non-contiguous or outlying areas must be bused into a Negro area in order to desegregate a Negro school."

The transfer of non-white pupils to a school outside the area in which non-white pupils resided was held by the court to be *an unconstitutional exercise of power by the Board of Education*. The motion to enjoin transfer was

granted and the Board's action annulled, Judge Easton proclaiming:

The neighborhood school is a tenet of American educational faith which could scarcely be held unconstitutional, and indeed, never has been (Columbia Law Review, "School Segregation," Vol. 64, #2, page 27, et seq). Even with free choice, most children of whatever race, creed, color or national origin, tend to choose the neighborhood school (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights Report—Education II—1961). While segregation (not racial imbalance) in our schools by law or in fact, is to be abhorred, it is detrimental to both Negro and white children to uproot them from their communities and haul them from one school to another in order to force integration in an artificial and unworkable manner. Workable shifts (such as in this case) are harmful to both white and non-white. *That innocent children of any race should be used as pawns in these weird sociological schemes is nothing short of reprehensible.*

(18) *Petitioners are entitled to constitutional protection against arbitrary action. A Board of Education may not, under the guise of eliminating overcrowding, ignore constitutional rights.* It has been said that the Fourteenth Amendment is 'color blind,' like the proverbial scales of justice. It protects equally the rights of all races, creeds or ethnic groups. Preferential treatment demands a departure from the ideal which judges individuals by their own merits rather than by affiliations. The Fourteenth Amendment does not tolerate this. 'Positive integration,' the so-called answer to de facto segregation, sacrifices important community values imbedded in the neighborhood and in the ethnic institutions within which Americans have organized their urban life. It threatens to reduce an individual to an integer to be shuffled about by authority without reference to his own preference or other ties of family and other social groupings . . . *our law and our courts must not become mere extensions of sociologist's workshops. Our citizens must remain free individuals and liberty must not be subordinated to equality.*

Balaban v. Rubin
(school attendance zones)

A group of white parents in New York City brought an injunction against the New York City Board which, the

parents maintained, tried to draw new school boundaries in order to artificially produce a racial balance in a new junior high school (e.g.: that the Board tried to *gerrymander* the district). The Appellate Court ruled in favor of the School Board, holding that the zones the Board drew and the methods it employed were within the law. The value of the case lies in the *eight* criteria employed by the Board in establishing the new attendance boundaries upon which the court based its decision. These provisions were that:

(a) No children residing in another school zone are 'bussed' into JHS 275 (the new school);

(b) the zone fixed for JHS 275 is reasonable, normal, and regularly shaped with the school close to the zone's approximate geographical center (that it not be deliberately placed on a borderline between a white and Negro district);

(c) most of the children in the 12-block disputed area live closer to JHS 275 than to JHS 285 (the older school), and no child lives further from JHS 285;

(d) all of the children in the disputed area live within walking distance of JHS 275;

(e) JHS was to be opened in Sept., 1963 with only 7th grade pupils;

(f) none of the 51 children here (in the transfer) involved had ever before gone to any other junior high school;

(g) those children living within the disputed area who were already attending another junior high school were not being transferred to JHS 275 (they would be allowed to finish the school in which they were already enrolled);

(h) the children expected to attend JHS 275 as of September, 1963, would initially consist of 35.2 per cent Negro, 33.6 per cent Puerto Rican, and 31.2 per cent others.

In this case, the court admitted the factor of "racial balance" as a valid consideration, but far from the only one, making it subject to seven other qualifications.

The following two trials are unique for this series. They were promoted by the liberal wing in southern states to test the application of the *Brown* decision to southern policies of racially separate schooling. No such parallel is possible in the North. The South pursues separate schooling for educational and scientific, as well as social, reasons based on alleged merits to be gained by both races thereby. The North has no established index by which to measure the relative merits or demerits of separate (or integrated) schooling but merely adheres to the institution as a reflection of social and residential choice. To begin to take into consideration the academic aspects of separate schooling for the races, the North would be taking its first step toward what the South has felt justifiable on other than strictly social grounds for over a century. Thus, where the North is testing the law only, the South is arguing not only the law but education *per se*, as defined by continuous testing, case studies, achievement ratios, psychological observations, etc.

The value of these two cases is not to reveal what is already known about southern institutions, but to make known the *literal* (as against alleged) effects of integrated schooling on *northern* Negroes, hence on race relations. The tests employed in southern schools are in universal use, many of them having been developed in northern states (such as the California Mental Maturity Test), but have been applied to race relations problems only in the South.

In short, does integrated schooling benefit or inhibit the Negro (speaking mainly of the primary grades)? A reliable answer to this question would allow the North to begin to switch from a strictly legal to a scientific evaluation of its own (ethnic) educational problems. Whether the data presented here can serve this purpose remains to be seen.

Many of the findings covered here have a direct bearing on the racial issue covered in this book and for this additional reason are thought pertinent.

*Stell v. Board of Education of Savannah-Chatham
County, Georgia*

Ralph Stell, a Negro minor, brought action through his father and next best friend, against the Savannah-Chatham County Board of Education, to enjoin it from operating a

separate school system for whites and Negroes, complaining that admittance was by race and color only, thus causing him irreparable injury. While conceding the existence of a dual system, the defendants denied it was established on the basis of color solely, but instead upon the educational traits of the two races, of which race itself was only a convenient index. The two educational indices used were:

- (a) differences in specific capabilities, learning progress rates, mental maturity, and capacity for education in general;
- (b) differences in physical, psychical and behavioral traits.

The differences were alleged by defendants to be of such magnitude as to make it impossible for Negro and white children of the same chronological age to be effectively educated in the same classrooms. Defendants alleged that to congregate children of such diverse traits in schools in the proportion and under the conditions existing in Savannah would seriously impair the educational opportunities of both white and Negro and cause them grave psychological harm.

Plaintiffs objected to the motion for intervention, stating that the decision of the Supreme Court in *Brown v. Education of Topeka* created a conclusive presumption of injury to Negro students by reason of segregation which thereby *invalidated any right of the Savannah School Board to try and prove absence of injury resulting from segregated schooling*. Sitting without a jury, the court nevertheless allowed the intervention and proceeded to trial, reserving any ruling on the plaintiffs' objection until the conclusion of the evidence.

Throughout the trial, plaintiffs offered no evidence in support of their allegation of injury to themselves from the maintenance of separate schools.

Intervenors first called Dr. R. T. Osborne, Professor of Psychology and Director of the Student Guidance Center at the University of Georgia. Dr. Osborne was conceded by the plaintiffs to be an authority in the field of educational psychology.

Dr. Osborne stated that, on an annual basis since 1954, the County and City had, under a testing program devised by him, administered the California Achievement Battery and the California Mental Maturity Test to all students in the sixth, eighth, tenth and twelfth grades. The Battery was described as a set of nationally-accepted standard achievement tests in reading-comprehension and vocabulary, mathematical reasoning and fundamentals, and the application of mathematical concepts. The Mental Maturity Test was described as being a nationally-accepted standard indicator of the ratio between mental and chronological age, sometimes referred to as Intelligence Quotient or I.Q.

For test evaluation, Dr. Osborne made a comparative study of the training and experience of the teachers in white and Negro schools which showed Negro teachers with more collegiate and graduate training and teaching experience, higher pay and closer supervision in their schools. The court noted that plaintiffs made no suggestion that the schools attended by Negroes in Savannah were inadequate or that any differences in achievement resulted from a deprivation of educational opportunity.

The test results were analyzed by Dr. Osborne's staff at the University of Georgia and summarized in a 1962 monograph published by him (Osborne, Robert T., *Racial Differences in School Achievement, Mankind Monographs, No. III*). These results showed that major differences exist in the learning ability patterns of white and Negro pupils. In reading, Negro students are two school years behind the white children at the sixth grade level. This increases to a reading difference between the two of more than three school years in the twelfth grade.

The test results on arithmetic show a comparable difference in the sixth grade but show an even greater variation than in reading at the twelfth grade level. The average Negro pupil in the twelfth grade of the Savannah schools is below the eighth grade national arithmetic norm. White children who have been given the same course tested above the eleventh grade national norm.

Growth patterns can be considered separately from specific subject achievement. Learning rates are measured in terms of mental-ability intelligence quotients. Learning rates

were determined in Savannah-Chatham County by the California Mental Maturity Test. The sixth grade mental age of Negro students was two years behind their chronological age on the average. By the tenth grade this separation increased to a three year equivalent and remained at this point thereafter. Of the 10 per cent Negro students who scored at or above the white median in the sixth grade, only 1 per cent exceeded this median in the tenth grade where the white median I.Q. was 103, the Negro 81.

As an experimental control, Dr. Osborne matched the cards of all white and Negro pupils of the same chronological age who had equal mental ability at the sixth grade level in 1954. Noticeable differences appeared at the eighth grade level and increased thereafter. In the tenth and twelfth grades the differences in test performance between white and Negro members of the control group ranged from one to two grade placement years even though Dr. Osborne had found it necessary to select his subjects originally from the lowest quartile of the white pupils and the highest quartile of the Negro pupils in order to match a sufficient number of children to give a reliable result. Confirming the pattern of the unmatched group, reading achievement differences were less for the Negro in this group than his much greater variation in arithmetic.

Dr. Osborne stated that the differences in student capacity shown by these test results were of major importance in educational planning as they indicate the necessity for changing course content, subject selection and rate of progress-planning separately for each of the two groups if the schools are to endeavor to adapt to the different learning potentials of each.

The intervenors then called to the stand Dr. Henry E. Garrett, Visiting Professor of Psychology at the University of Virginia and Emeritus Professor of Psychology at Columbia University where he was the head of the Department of Psychology and taught for more than 30 years. *Plaintiffs conceded that the opinions of Dr. Garrett were authoritative in his field of experimental and differential psychology.*

Dr. Garrett stated that the test differences which Dr. Osborne reported in Savannah-Chatham County were of approximately the same order as those observed and re-

ported in the nation as a whole including both Northern and Southern schools (Shuey, Audrey M., 1958. *The Testing of Negro Intelligence*, Lynchburg, Virginia, J. B. Bell). *At this point in the trial further testimony on this point became unnecessary as plaintiffs' counsel conceded that the described differences do exist between achievement levels of white and Negro pupils.*

Dr. Garrett pointed out that it is psychologically predictable that a school failure is a source of frustration and will be compensated for by anti-social class behavior. He stated that the results predicted for a class made up of two groups of different learning rates would be quite similar to the classroom conditions reported in the District of Columbia schools following their integration in 1954 (See Chapter 10; source: House of Representatives, Eighty-Fourth Congress, Second Session, 1957. District of Columbia Subcommittee to Investigate Public School Standards and Conditions, and Juvenile Delinquency in the District of Columbia). The necessity for such differentiation is greatest at primary and secondary school levels where separate schooling has distinct educational advantages, said Dr. Garrett, lessening at collegiate and higher levels.

Dr. Garrett then gave his opinion that the differences in educability between Negro and white children were inherent, and that only minor changes could be achieved by educational readjustment or other environmental change. There was no scientific possibility that learning rate differences of the degree shown by Dr. Osborne's tests and the confirming national studies were either caused by or could be substantially altered by the student's environment.¹ In support of this thesis, Dr. Garrett described the tests of white and Negro groups where social and environmental factors had been equated without changing the result² and cited the larger percentage of individuals of mixed inheritance in the higher score areas of Negro testing. On this genetic or inheritance basis of ability patterns, the witness further referred to studies made over a 35-year period in Wilmington, North Carolina, showing identical nineteen-point Negro-white student test differences in 1925 and 1960 despite intervening improvement of the economic and educational conditions of the Negro families of that city.

Next witness was Dr. Wesley C. George, Emeritus Professor of Histology and Embryology in the School of Medicine at the University of North Carolina, who brought out anthropological and morphological differences, such as brain size, brain structure, and endocrine differences, confirming both Dr. Osborne's and Dr. Garrett's findings.³

Intervenors then produced Dr. Ernest van den Haag, Professor of Social Philosophy at New York University and lecturer on sociology and social philosophy at the New School for Social Research. *As with other witnesses presented by the defendants, plaintiffs conceded that Dr. van den Haag was an authority in his field.* This witness reviewed for the court a number of educational studies which investigated sources of *group conflicts* in the classroom and the patterns of association among students which affect their educational achievement.⁴ These studies, in whose conclusions Professor van den Haag concurred, show that interracial associational distinctions arise spontaneously in pre-school children without regard to whether they live in an area of segregated or integrated schooling. This is one aspect of group identification which every individual makes. Such identifications occur by sex, profession, interests or other common characteristics. Among children, such identification is strongest in areas involving visual distinctions, and between Negro and white infants takes the form of racial preference in group associations. Such group selection continues into and through the primary and secondary school ages, gradually becoming less compelling thereafter as the individual matures.⁵

According to this witness, any group having self-identification or associational preference closes its ranks in the presence of other groups. Prejudices, whether ethnic, religious or racial, increase rather than decrease in proportion to the degree of non-voluntary contact between separately identifiable groups. This is a psychological phenomenon which was noted in the time of Periclean Greece. Studies made of actual intermixing of groups in classrooms confirm the predicted result that *an increase in cross-group contacts increases pre-existing racial hostility rather than ameliorates it.*

This group-tension effect is greatest where obvious group identity criteria exist, such as physical appearance or variations in learning rate. Such grouping prevents a class from

having a natural homogeneity multiplies disciplinary problems in the classroom, and decreases attention to study.⁶

Dr. van den Haag stated that acceptable group identifications are essential to the well-being of the individual. Any attempt to de-identify one's self with a natural grouping would be harmful. To support this, Dr. van den Haag cited, in particular, the work of Dr. Gustav Ichheiser (Ichheiser, Gustav, 1949. Sociopsychological and Cultural Factors in Race Relations. *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 54, No. 5, page 395-399). One of Dr. Ichheiser's main conclusions was that the aim of Negro education should be to strengthen the degree to which Negroes identify with their own subgroup rather than with other groups. *Under integrated conditions, the Negro is denied opportunity to do this, resulting in varying degrees of pathological distortion of the Negro personality.*

As to the individual, Dr. van den Haag testified that *the sense of achievement essential to a healthy personality in a superior pupil is caused by excelling in a group with which he has strong group identification. This is limited or destroyed by placing him in a group with which such identification is lacking and whose progress rate is such as to diminish his own relative accomplishment. Additionally a pathological disturbance of the type described by Dr. Ichheiser occurs through the conflict between the transferred student's deep identification with other Negro children and the simultaneous necessity of attempting to identify with a student group which could not be expected to accept him.*

Dr. van den Haag then testified that the effects upon the slower Negro group would be even more serious than the injury to the transferred individual. Such children would be deprived of the natural leadership of their own group, would lose a sense of group achievement, be subjected to a demoralizing sense of rejection and with the consequent drop in their achievement level would suffer feelings of inadequacy or inferiority. Such a selective sifting would heighten any existing contrast between the two groups in the minds of each and substitute a definite superior-inferior comparison for the naturally occurring Negro-white consciousness.

The conclusions of Drs. Garrett and van den Haag as to the psychological results of academic frustration in Negro-white classes was confirmed by the experience of the witness, Dr. Clairette P. Armstrong, for some years Chief Psychologist of the Childrens' Court in New York and previously on the staff of the Chief Psychologist at New York's Bellevue Hospital. Dr. Armstrong's clinical work with delinquent boys revealed that one-third of all Negro truants gave inability to keep abreast of their school work as the reason for their running away from home.⁷

Dr. Armstrong's conclusions on the basis of her work with disturbed children was that a classroom organized around a socially homogeneous group of children having relatively similar learning rates could noticeably diminish the incidence of truancy and decrease attention-diverting anti-social incidents.

Intervenors proffered three additional scientists whom they had brought to court but when plaintiffs' counsel announced that they would submit no evidence in contradiction of the existing proof, these witnesses were withdrawn as cumulative. The proofs closed, the plaintiffs renewed their objection of irrelevancy and moved to strike the evidence submitted by the intervenors from the record. They said:

... the law is settled by the Supreme Court in the Brown case that segregation itself injures the Negro children in the school system. That is what the Supreme Court's decision is all about, so we do not have to prove that.

A ruling on the plaintiffs' objection therefore made it necessary to consider the legal parameters of the Supreme Court's Brown decision, which the intervenors then set out to do, producing such evidence as would adhere to the general tenor of their testimony regarding school integration. For a review of their remarks on the *Brown* decision, see the text of the original trial as appearing in book 220 of the Federal Supplement, page 667 at any county law library.

Arriving at a conclusion, the U.S. District Court found that:

(15) Throughout the trial, counsel for plaintiffs emphasized the conceded ability of certain superior Negro children to meet the progress norms of the white classes and implied that at least selective transfers of such students to white schools would not cause injury similar to the effects of group integration. The court finds that such selective integration would cause even greater psychological harm to the individual Negro children involved and to the balance of their group.

(16) Negro children so transferred would not only lose their right of achievement in their own group but would move to a class where they would be inescapably conscious of total social rejection by the dominant group. Such children must try to identify themselves with the white children while unable to free themselves from the continuing identification with other Negro children. Additionally, the children involved, while able to maintain the rate of the white class at first, would, according to all of the test results, thereafter tend to fall further back in each succeeding term.

(17) Plaintiffs' assumption of injury to Negro students by the continuance of segregated schools is not supported by any evidence in this case. Whatever psychological injury may be sustained by a Negro child out of his sense of rejection by white children is increased rather than abated by forced intermixture, and this increase is in direct proportion to the number and extent of his contacts with white children.

(19) Each study presented to the court, confirmed by the opinions of the witnesses, showed that the damaging assumptions of inferiority increase whenever the child is brought into forced association with white children. The principal author of the studies relied on by the Supreme Court in the *Brown* case came to the conclusion that compulsory intermixture rather than racial separation in school was the principal source of the damaging loss of race identification.

(20) The adverse effects of compulsory congregation are particularly harmful in the early formative school years. Intervenor's witnesses noted that the adverse effects of educational integration at higher levels lessens to some degree. The findings herein are limited to children of primary and secondary school ages.

Subsequently, the injunction sought by Stell was denied, Judge Frank M. Scarlett ruling in favor of separate schooling for whites and Negroes. The complaint was dismissed.

The Stell case was then appealed to the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals which reversed the decision of the lower court.

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Evers v. Jackson

Darrell Kenyatta Evers, a Negro minor, sought an injunction through his parents and on behalf of all members of the Negro race in Jackson, Mississippi, to prevent the Jackson Municipal School Board from operating a compulsory biracial school system. Plaintiffs alleged that they were injured by the refusal of the defendants to cease operation of separate schooling and that this action also violated their rights under the Fourteenth Amendment (as determined in the *Brown* decision).

This case is identical to the *Stell* case, both in argument and evidence, so a duplication will not be attempted here. The value of the *Evers* case in this synopsis relates to some of its unique testimony, excerpts of which appear below.

Defendants conceded that there were no schools in Jackson attended by both white and Negro students, but denied they operated a *compulsory* biracial school system and further denied that the existing school system and its racial breakdown came into existence under state law or that it was perpetuated or maintained by state law, usage, custom, or policy.

Defendants maintained that instead of being injured by separate schools, such schools were advantageous to the pupils of both races, and that they were acting within their judgment and discretion by having taken into consideration the *educational characteristics* of the Negro and white races, not the fact of their race itself.

The controlling issues in the case were:

- (a) Are the plaintiffs, or the members of the class they purport to represent, as a matter of fact, injured by the operation of separate schools for the races in the Jackson Municipal School District?
- (b) Are those charged with the responsibility for the maintenance and operation of the schools there authorized

to take into consideration the educational characteristics of the Negro and white races in the operation of such schools?

Defendants (as in *Stell*) produced seven distinguished scientists, whose areas of specialization included differential and social psychology, biology, genetics and child neurology. Plaintiffs challenged neither their qualifications nor the truth of the matters and conclusions which their testimony and exhibits established or supported.

Defendants also produced as witnesses Kirby P. Walker, Superintendent of Schools of the Jackson Municipal Separate School District, and James Gooden (colored), retired Director of the Negro Schools of the Jackson Municipal School District. Each testified, without contradiction from the plaintiffs, that, in his judgment, as an educator, the operation of separate schools for the members of the Negro and white races within the bounds of the Jackson Municipal Separate School District was for the best interest of the members of both races.

Gooden holds a Master's Degree in School Administration from Northwestern University. Mr. Walker testified that he had been connected with a study made by M. V. O'Shea, Professor of Education, University of Wisconsin, the results of which were published in 1927, pertaining to the school systems within the State of Mississippi; that such study had been impartially and fairly made and that the ultimate recommendation and conclusion of the study was that separate schools for members of the white and Negro race were desirable.

Walker and Gooden testified that the relationship between teacher and pupil in colored classrooms is one of *in loco parentis*, or substitute parent, the teachers having a very personal relationship with the pupils, involving personal habits, desires, attitudes, and behavior; and that an understanding by the teacher of his pupil is an essential preliminary to successful learning and facilitates educational progress.

They pointed out that disciplinary problems were minor where there were separate schools for the races, and that such schools had a much higher holding power over the pupils.

To confirm this, statistics were introduced by Walker and

Gooden which showed a greater average number of years of education attained by the (colored) adults in the City of Jackson than in comparable cities throughout the nation, and also more than in the large metropolitan areas of the nation where there have been "mixed schools" even though Mississippi does not have a compulsory education law.

To support his claim that separate schools were of greater educational benefit to Negro pupils, Mr. Walker pointed out that Negro pupils of the district were actually over-achieving in many subject matters. He added that a teacher of the same race as the pupil is much more likely to develop the substitute parent, or *in loco parentis*, relationship with the pupil, to understand the pupil and to obtain maximum effort from the pupil without antagonizing the child, creating an educational rejection, or inflicting psychological injury to the child.

Plaintiffs raised no objection or contradiction to this evidence.

The witnesses to the defense were unanimous in their contention that there were broad differences in the educability of each race (see *Stell* Case for background). Among the most fundamental distinctions in educational patterns were those of varying *subject interest and problem approach*. These differences were not only highly substantial in themselves but were of major importance in determining the method of teaching, the selection and content of courses and fixing the progress norms. This held true even though an individual of one (racial) group would overlap the other in one or more of the measured factors since these did not show a change in the over-all pattern. To test this, large numbers of Negro and white children were paired in one study for identical scoring on I.Q. tests and remeasured annually thereafter for a number of years. Instead of staying the same, the two groups drifted apart at a rate which was characteristic of normal group variation and after three years they were the typical one year apart in terms of I.Q., measured by the same tests.

It was testified that there has never been any substantial scientific argument as to the correctness of such test results, but that a number of sociologists and psychologists have argued that the Negro result will approach the white norm

to the degree that the socio-economic and cultural status of the Negroes involved in the testing have been raised to the comparable white group. This is the "environmental" or "Cultural Hypothesis" theory.

To the contrary, it was shown by the witnesses that these differences in educability are not and cannot be changed either by a change of the student's environment or the betterment of his social condition or intimate associations with members of the white race. The witnesses emphasized that the widespread economic and cultural improvement in the status of the Negro population in America over the past half century had not diminished the difference shown to exist between Negroes and whites.

The differences measured by the Army in 1917 are virtually identical to those shown by the latest comparative studies. Gooden testified that when he came into service in Jackson 35 years ago there was not a single Negro teacher holding a college degree, while today there is not one who does not. Yet the tests that measure learning potential and which have a high national correlation with success in public schools today still show the same variations between these two groups as existed in 1927.

A special test was also made to determine whether intelligence tests unduly favored white pupils because of containing cultural questions which might be less familiar to Negro families. The results were again contrary to the "Cultural Hypothesis" in that the Negro group scored relatively higher on those questions which had been rated by educators as being most highly cultural in content.

The Court found that educational differences between the races are so directly related to the learning process as to reasonably require separate forms of instruction in separate schools if equal educational opportunity is to be made available to the children of both races.

The evidence showed without contradiction from plaintiffs that effective learning can only occur under conditions in which the individual's attention can be given to study *without unnatural distractions*. Such receptivity occurs only when the learner is in a group with which he has an *emphatic relation (empathy)*: imaginative projection of one's own consciousness into another being), such as with his

family, his kind, his neighbors of like interests, or other groups with which he identifies himself as an individual and in which, because of his similarity of characteristic, he is an accepted member.

In the classroom, the intermingling of the two groups, each having a high degree of self-identity, causes a heightening of consciousness of group, a result which grows as the number of contacts between them is increased. *Compulsory intermixing therefore exaggerates rather than diminishes any divisive forces which exist.* This is particularly the case where one of two different groups differ in performance in a common effort or endeavor, such as learning in schoolrooms. In such a common environment or class, the slower of the two groups would be driven to compensate for its comparative shortcoming either by rationalization in the form of discrediting educational values and dropping out of school, or by substitution of diversionary, attention-seeking delinquent behavior.

While race preferences resulting from gross race differences may be consciously overridden by mature individuals, they remain as an inherent mechanism so that no individual ever becomes completely unconscious of such a difference.

Jack Greenberg, General Counsel of the NAACP (the organization conducting this litigation for plaintiffs) and K. B. Clark, the principal expert witness relied on by that organization in the school cases underlying the *Brown* decision of 1954, were shown to have published reports to the effect that a substantially greater percentage of Negro pupils from segregated Southern schools are able to meet minimal national college entrance standards than those from Northern integrated schools, and the Negro pupils from Southern segregated high schools have shown greater academic success in Northern interracial colleges than those who graduate from intermixed schools in the North. (See footnote 6 in Stell case.)

Finally, it was shown that Negro pupils educated in separate schools enjoy a much higher degree of mental orientation, personal assurance and peace of mind than those forced to compete in mixed schools. It was pointed out in this case that in the cases underlying the *Brown* decision, in order to prove injury resulting from segregation, the

witness, Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, referred to a test conducted by him on only 16 children in a segregated school, which was said by him to show that a majority of Negro children in a segregated school identified themselves with a white rather than a Negro doll, and that it could be concluded from this that they had suffered a loss of racial identity which injured their personality. By comparison, the same test was shown to have been conducted by a Negro principal of unquestioned integrity on 85 Negro school children in the segregated schools in Jackson. Ninety-five per cent of those in Jackson identified themselves with the Negro doll and showed a complete absence of the personality injury which Dr. Clark testified he found in his test of 16 which formed the sole basis for his testimony as to personality damage in Brown. To this, presiding Judge Mize added:

In another study by Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, not called to the attention of the Supreme Court in Brown, involving many scores of Negro children in integrated and segregated situations in the North and South, it was reported that injury from personality conflict, if any, is suffered primarily by Negro children reared and schooled in integrated classes of the North—not in the segregated schools of the South. From this corroborating evidence, I am forced to find that the principal evidence of injury relied on by the Supreme Court in Brown was unworthy of belief.

The witnesses were also unanimous to the effect that *there is no known scientific study showing the existence of injury resulting to Negro children through separate education.*

It was in fact pointed out that the two principal authors of the Social Science Statement submitted to the Supreme Court as an "Appendix" to the brief of counsel for the Negro children in Brown, Drs. Clark and Klineberg, have each since that time stated that nothing presented to the Supreme Court in that case was intended to mean injury to a Negro child arising from segregation *per se*. This shows what appears to have been a pattern of evasion of fact, if not an actual misleading concealment of fact in that case.

The court then launched into a review of the Brown decision to allow the defendants to reveal the baselessness of

the evidence employed in the Brown case and to show how its findings contradicted those of earlier Supreme Courts over the same, identical issues.

Special mention was made by Judge Mize of part of the opinion rendered in the Stell case where the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court (which reversed the lower court decision in Stell) said:

The real fallacy, Constitution-wise, of the classification theory is that many of the Negro pupils overlap many of the white pupils in achievement and aptitude but are nevertheless to be segregated on the basis of race. They are to be separated, regardless of how great their ability as individuals, into schools with members of their own race because of the difference in test averages as between the races. Therein is the discrimination. The individual Negro student is not to be treated as an individual and allowed to proceed along with other individuals on the basis of ability alone without regard to race.

To which Judge Mize commented that the facts in this (Evers) case are to the effect that even though there is an "overlap" of certain Negro pupils with white pupils in achievement and aptitude, nevertheless, such pupils do not progress at the same rate and therefore even though a Negro pupil and a white pupil may be similar in achievement and aptitude at the beginning of the school term, such would not hold true throughout the school year and the difference or disparity would become even more marked with each subsequent year.

While race or color as such, or "alone" has been held not to be a valid basis for the separation of Negro and white school children, nevertheless, it is well established, contrary to plaintiffs' position, that there is no affirmative obligation imposed by the Constitution to compel intermixing of school children (see *Bell v. School City of Gary*, 324 F.2d 209, 7th Cir., 1963; *Beson v. Rippey*, 285 F.2d 43, 45-6, 5th Cir., 1960; *Kelley v. Board of Ed.*, 270 F.2d 209, 229, 6th Cir., 1959; Cert. Den. 361 U.S. 924; *Borders v. Rippey*, 247 F.2d 268, 271, 5th Cir., 1957, 250 F.2d 690, 692-3, 1957; *Avery v. Wichita Falls Indep. School Dist.*, 241 F.2d 230, 233, 5th Cir., 1957, Cert. Den. 353 U.S. 938). *Separation of races by law or custom in and of itself is not proof*

of an unconstitutional discrimination, unless it appears that there exists no valid ground for such separation (*Arnold v. N. Carolina*, 32 L.W. 4340, April 6, 1964; *Wright v. Rockefeller*, 32 L.W. 4157, Feb. 17, 1964; *Hernandez v. Texas*, 347 U.S. 475, 1954).

Discrimination or classification, to be in conflict with the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, must be arbitrary, unreasonable, irrational or invidious. As held in *Morey v. Doud*, supra (463-464):

The rules for testing a discrimination have been summarized as follows:

'1. The equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment does not take from the State the power to classify in the adoption of police laws, but admits of the exercise of a wide scope of discretion in that regard, and avoids what is done only when it is without any reasonable basis and therefore is purely arbitrary. 2. A classification having some reasonable basis does not offend against that clause merely because it is not made with mathematical nicety or because in practice it results in some inequality. 3. When the classification in such law is called in question, if any state of facts reasonably can be conceived that would sustain it, the existence of that state of facts at the time the law was enacted must be assumed. 4. One who assails the classification in such a law must carry the burden of showing that it does not rest upon any reasonable basis, but is essentially arbitrary' (*Lindsley v. Natural Carbonic Gas Co.*, 220 U.S. 61, 78-79; 31 S. Cit. 337, 370; 55 L. Ed. 369).

Courts take judicial notice of the fact that there are such intrinsic differences between Caucasians and other ethnic groups as to constitute a rational basis for legislative or administrative classification between them (*Gong Lum v. Rice*, 275 U.S. 78, 86, 1927; *Farrington v. Tokushige*, et al, 11 F.2d 710, C.A. 9, 1927; *Wolfe v. Georgia R. & Elec. Co.*, 2 Ga. App. 499, 1907). Typical is the statement of former Chief Justice Richard B. Russell in the latter case:

Certainly every court is presumed to know the habits of the people among which it is held, and their characteristics, as well as to know leading historical events and the law of the land. . . .

We are not compelled to plant our decision on the ground of inequality or inferiority. We take judicial notice of an intrinsic difference between the two races. Certainly, if a court can take judicial notice of near a thousand things, some even of slight importance, which have been judicially recognized without proof, this court may be presumed to observe that there is a marked difference between a Caucasian and an African. Notice of this difference does not imply legal discrimination against either, and for that reason cannot . . . impugn or oppose the 14th and 15th Amendments. . . .

Mr. Justice Frankfurter expressed a great truth when he said in *Beauharnais v. People*, 343 U.S. 250, 262:

Only those lacking responsible humility will have a confident solution for problems as intractable as the frictions attributable to differences of race, color or religion.

Closing the case, Judge Sidney Mize stated that, without question, conclusive evidence rested entirely with the defense, as was admitted by plaintiffs throughout the trial. But he felt bound by the Supreme Court's decision in *Brown v. Bd. of Education of Topeka*, insofar as that decision rested on an identical premise. Judge Mize, therefore, entered an order making permanent the temporary injunction sought by the plaintiffs (Evers). But to emphasize his own personal sentiments in the matter, he said:

In the opinion of this Court, the facts in this case point up a most serious situation, and, indeed, 'cry out' for a reappraisal and complete reconsideration of the findings and conclusions of the United States Supreme Court in the Brown decision, as interpreted by the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit. Accordingly, this Court respectfully urges a complete reconsideration of the decision in the Brown case.

The ultimate value of the first four cases quoted above is to show that neither racial balance nor the integration of schools (whichever way you care to define it) is mandated by the Constitution as determined by the Brown decision, where attempts to integrate are clear instances of arbitrary action. People are still entitled to protection against arbitrary action under the Fourteenth Amendment. Racial im-

balance is not in violation of the law and, in fact, an attempt to produce racial balance is illegal when sought as an end in itself.

The last two cases bring out something far more significant and highly pertinent to the evidence produced in the preceding pages of this book, namely that school integration reacts *unfavorably* on Negro youth, producing feelings of rejection and failure that can only be worked off through delinquent behavior and anti-social group action. Crime has shown its fastest gains among youth, as brought out in Chapter 11, of which Negro youth excels the field. So there is a direct tie-in. Where "anti-social group action" is interpreted to mean roving gangs of Negro youths plaguing the streets of large cities, it may also be admitted as a factor in the gathering momentum for civil or race war. From the testimony of men who are experts in their field, a good percentage of whom are from Northern universities, school integration is rank discrimination against Negroes, the very problem alleged by the Civil Rights Movement to exist within traditional schooling. If this is true, the Communists are using school integration as just one more device to build race tension.

The Supreme Court's *Brown* decision has never been able to survive either legal or factual debate. *Brown* was a political decision and nothing more, designed to make it legally impossible for citizens to oppose the Administration's overall attack on the "existing social order." Thus, where the public may wage a lawsuit over schools, the Federal courts are no longer debating the *educational system*, but the *class system*, regardless of the nature of the case. The citizens' right to operate and maintain a neighborhood school system has been precluded by the government's decree forbidding them to preserve freedom of association in the public schools as a reflection of a separate social order. And the best neighborhood school system in the country will not survive population integration any more than will residential districts. Even though "neighborhood schools" or "attendance zones" are the stated issue of the case, *freedom of choice* is the *literal* issue at stake, meaning the legal right of whites and Negroes to social immunity not only from each other,

but from the state. And to continue to argue the surface issue is like trying to lay claim to a foxhole on the enemy's battlefield. As long as the Federal courts can nonchalantly ignore evidence given in support of freedom of association in order to make political decisions giving the government authority to invade the social sphere, the citizens' field of battle is politics, not the courts, and their point of issue is property rights, not neighborhood schools. Because Federal courts have the political power to overturn the Constitution, nothing but a political turnover will ever restore their integrity. And although citizens may win minor legal battles over isolated and, for the most part, tangential issues, they will lose the war until the true dimensions of the argument are clearly defined and brought to the surface.

In 1963, the citizens of New York City put together a large protest organization called *Parents and Taxpayers* to stop a busing program and preserve the system of neighborhood schools. They won their case and their tenets were both sound and admirable:

... children are not wards of the state but are the responsibility of their parents and, as such, must remain under their control; we affirm it to be the duty of the parents to assure that their children are reared and educated in familiar surroundings and receive a proper and adequate education. If our children are permitted to leave the family neighborhood, where we cannot control their environment or where certain conditions are beyond our reach, then good education and the molding of character is impossible. We object to the hardship, inconvenience and danger incident to their being forced to travel about the city instead of being near to us if sickness or accident should occur. We object to the early start and late return which will interfere or even curtail their after school religious instruction and their cultural enrichment programs, their daylight hours of healthful play and participation in scouting and other church and community programs. We object to the tremendous expense such a program will entail and its utilization of the scarce education dollar for purposes other than better education. We object further, as taxpayers, to assuming these extra costs as part of our already too-heavy tax bur-

den. (Excerpts from *Parents and Taxpayers* literature circulated publicly during the New York campaign.)

That the real argument over school integration has to do with the social system rather than the educational system has been revealed in more recent studies. On hand during the Parents and Taxpayer's legal struggle for neighborhood schooling was Dan W. Dodson, Director of the Center for Human Relations and Community Studies at New York University. When the California Department of Education held a statewide meeting of the Commission on Equal Opportunities in Education in March of 1965 (at Sacramento), Dodson was there as a principal speaker. Here was Dodson's opinion of the New York situation:

... as the Parents and Taxpayers group marched with hostility and hatred in their faces and one listened to their complaints he almost wished that what they said was because of bigotry rather than what he believed he heard. Some said, 'What if he had a bellyache and I wasn't there?' Another said, 'What if it rained and he didn't have his rubbers?' Another said, 'What if he should get hit, off over there?' And another was almost in tears and said, 'What if he had a feeding problem?'

In all charity, one wondered if the greatest gain out of the pairing of the schools might be that it extricated these white children from the clutches of dominating middle-class mothers who had been seduced by the feminine mystique and who were really latching onto their children and, in a sense, crippling them in an attempt to find meaning for their own unfulfilled lives." (*Conference Report*, Commission on Equal Opportunities in Education, California State Department of Education, March 16-18, 1965, West Sacramento, California.)

Dodson's (apparent) circumspect views of the family system and of "middle class" America are perhaps more indicative of his philosophy than his (apparent) concern for "quality education." A great attempt was also made at this conference to convince school board presidents, superintendents and other school officials of their "obligation" to set about on a course of accelerated school integration, and to imply that a legal foundation existed for it. Following a brief statement about the California State Board of Education's new

position on racial imbalance, Richard Mayers, Deputy Attorney General of California, launched into a review of the California State Supreme Court's ruling in *Jackson v. Pasadena* (School Board). In this case, presiding Judge C. J. Gibson maintained that the Pasadena School District had gerrymandered its school districts so that whites and Negroes ended up in separate schools, at least predominantly so. Attorneys for the School District stated that since there were some whites in the predominantly colored Washington Junior High School and some Negroes in the predominantly white Eliot Junior High School, there was no evidence of segregation. To this, Judge Gibson responded that "segregation" could still exist even where there was no evidence of gerrymandering or other affirmative discriminatory conduct by a school board, or where whites were enrolled at predominantly colored schools (or vice versa). What was his standard of value? Not schools, but residential districts. "A student under some circumstances would be entitled to relief," he said, "where, by reason of residential segregation, substantial racial imbalance exists in his school." And,

Residential segregation is in itself an evil which tends to frustrate the youth in the area and to cause antisocial attitudes and behavior. Where such (e.g.: residential) segregation exists it is not enough for a school board to refrain from affirmative discriminatory conduct. (*Jackson v. Pasadena*, 59 Cal.2d 876).

It can be seen from Judge Gibson's view that (a) he considers the social system to blame more than the particular educational system (which is the point at issue with regard to the Federal court system), and that (b) antisocial behavior among Negroes derives from segregation, which is refuted by the evidence presented in the Stell and Evers cases. According to the Stell and Evers testimony, just the reverse is true, integrated schooling (in the preparatory grades) being one of the chief causes of delinquency among Negro minors.

The Jackson decision has been hailed by liberalism in California as the final word on school integration and the conduct to be used by local school boards to correct alleged racial imbalance. In reality, the Jackson case has no validity

whatsoever in this matter, Attorney General Mayers' review amounting to nothing more apparent than a tongue-in-cheek attempt to influence the members of the conference. "Racial imbalance" by reason of innocently-arrived-at residential selection, is precisely that right accorded to citizens in the *Bell*, *Stippoli*, and *Vetere* cases cited above. *Balban v. Rubin* (also used by Mayers) establishes *eight criteria* for the drawing of new school zones, of which racial imbalance is only one consideration. Jackson *alleged* that the Pasadena School District had gerrymandered its school boundaries. Even Mayers admitted that there was never a trial on the facts of this particular issue (see page 24 of Commission Report, op. cit.). The Judge, in commenting on Pasadena's school boundary problem, was merely expressing his opinion in order to arrive at a ruling.

Fourth, and most important of all, the case in court that day was not discrimination or school boundaries. It was a trial to accept or reject the Pasadena School District's plea of demurrer which had been upheld by two lower courts and appealed by Jackson. A demurrer is an action by a defendant in court to establish that the plaintiff has insufficient legal grounds for a suit. On a plea of demurrer by the School District, the Los Angeles County Superior Court Judge ruled that Jay Jackson had no case. This decision was upheld by the District Court of Appeals. Jackson then filed an Amicus Curiae brief with the State Supreme Court to reverse the District Court's decision, and Judge Gibson ruled in favor of Jackson. His words were: "It follows from what we have said that the demurrer should have been overruled."

While gaining power through usage, the Jackson case gives local school boards no authority to initiate desegregation programs. At the same time, neither does it protect the constitutional rights of parents with children in school. In order to establish a clear definition of their legal immunities in school integration problems, Californians will have to initiate their own proceedings in the California courts and try to get a judgment in their behalf using precedents already established in other parts of the country. Until there is such a test case, nothing will exist to prevent a school board or the State of California Board of Education or some other government body from proceeding on its own course. In the

absence of specific legal restraint, California's radicals, like radicals in any other part of the country, will go as far as they can. At the Equal Opportunities Conference mentioned above, Deputy Attorney General Mayers said, "Since the California Supreme Court justified its approach (in the Jackson case) on the basis of California law, *only federal court cases holding that affirmative integration is contrary to or violates the U.S. Constitution or federal laws would be in order*. I know of no such case." (op. cit., *Conference Report*, page 26.) The second *Brown* decision, *Briggs v. Elliott*, and *Bell v. School City of Gary, Indiana* all hinge on this point, as did the *Strippoli* and *Vetere* cases, although the last two did not reach the Federal level. A more recent case, *Downs v. Kansas City Bd. of Education* was argued all the way to the Supreme Court which upheld a lower court ruling that a school board has no affirmative duty to eliminate de facto segregation resulting from racial residential patterns, and that the 14th Amendment prohibits segregation but does not command integration (336 Fed. 2nd 988). So by now, the law on this matter is quite clear.

In spite of isolated legal advantages, the real battleground is politics, not the courts. Blocked by the statutes, the liberals are employing every conceivable means to integrate schools, residences, and businesses where a clear legal barrier does not exist to stop them. Busing programs are proceeding on a voluntary basis for parents who will sign up for them. Administrative officials are deliberately transferring four or five teachers out of a colored school to artificially produce overcrowded classrooms so they can then cry out for a busing program to "relieve overcrowding." Some schools are allegedly giving \$2.00 an hour of the taxpayers' money to colored dropouts to stay in school, which they would probably do anyway once relieved of all the pressure. Reports are that the National Education Association is advising teachers who wish to "communicate" with "slum children" to go to live in the slums, so they can learn all about their social habits and customs and even adopt their one-syllable, four-letter word vernacular to make them feel "comfortable." What possible semblance of education remains in this twisted outlook on life only history and passing events will record.

School zones are being deliberately merged in order to

produce larger districts, thus facilitating integration by a kind of "backdoor" method, as through California's recent Unruh Bill. The NAACP, under a grant from the Ford Foundation, has come forth with the "educational park," or what New York's Dan Dodson refers to as a "cathedral of learning"; one massive school for the whole town, to accommodate as many as 100,000 students at a time. An engineering firm has devised a novel method of "upgrading" classrooms where the teacher's "station" can be changed (it's no longer called a classroom) by moving walls and merging rooms through a design which permits flexibility. This way, classes which have been "re-segregated" through achievement could be "re-integrated" through a surprise technique involving disappearing walls. The teaching day is to be transformed into an officially supervised musical chairs game, a hide-and-seek operation where the school principal presses a button and shouts with glee, "I've got you there!" whenever a child tries to sneak into a segregated classroom.

By comparison, the Princeton Plan is dull and obsolete: "X" number of grades will be forcibly integrated in one school and an equal number of grades integrated in another school. The liberals act as though they had been hypnotized into a frenzy of race-mixing and were running out of time. The victims are white and Negro school children and the taxpayers foot the bill, as the Pied Piper reappears, dressed as a school official, to lead the public school pupil on a sociological binge as far away as possible from the pursuit of academic learning.

In the long run, neither the law nor a Nobel Prize-winning integration scheme will accomplish what the liberals are after. For invariably, the whites will simply move quietly out of the area. Knowing this, the liberals are shifting their attention from schools to methods of changing the entire ethnic composition of whole residential districts. Methods will be devised to prevent whites from moving away; Negroes will be doubly-encouraged to buy into all-white districts; perhaps pressure can be applied on veterans through FHA loans which they have used to finance their homes; to do business in a particular area, realtors may one day have to conform to an ordinance which stipulates that they must sell a certain percentage of homes each year to whichever

race is needed to produce "total integration" in that district, or face heavy fines and stiff penalties.

This is not a struggle for schools or residences, but for political liberties. Americans are fighting for their social system, not merely the right to keep children close during school hours or to preserve property values. In the time it takes to catch up to the liberals in court, they have devised a dozen new ways to circumvent the law, which they can do as long as the administration in power stands behind them. Only one thing can keep the dike from breaking, and that is a political turnover; a grab for city, county, state and federal offices by citizens concerned enough to care and determined enough to bring the entire race relations issue into political prominence.

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