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Segregation and American world leadership, 1957.

Sunday Morning Service  
The Temple  
October 27, 1957

SEGREGATION AND AMERICAN WORLD LEADERSHIP

Are we defeating ourselves and  
confounding the free world ?

by

DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

My dear friends, the tragic problem of race has been with the American people ever since the first boat-load of Negro slaves was landed in Virginia in 1620. And that problem has been a festering sore in our national life, ever since;- at certain times and in certain regions of our country, more severe than in others. It led to a disastrous Civil War -- one of the bloodiest on record and it threatened the very existence and survival of the Union.

Slavery was abolished during the Civil War, but the race problem remained. The clear intent of the 14th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which was adopted in 1868, to the effect that "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States, nor deny to any persons within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws" -- this 14th Amendment was disregarded or resisted, by many States - in the matter of Negro suffrage - of Negro education - of equal economic opportunities for the Negro.

And various forms of segregation were enforced against the Negro by law, in most of the States of the South, and unofficially (but at times very effectively) in some of the States of the North. The Negro's privileges and immunities, as citizens of the United States were definitely abridged. They were denied the equal protection of the laws guaranteed unto them by the Amended Constitution of the

United States.

Our Federal Courts were frequently appealed to by Negroes - their spokesman - and by others - to rectify this situation and to insure the full implementation of the 14th Amendment. In the matter of school segregation - which was nigh universal in the South - the issue reached the Supreme Court in 1896. In the famous case, Plessy v. Ferguson, the Supreme Court of the United States interpreted the 14th Amendment, as it applies to public school education (public education) to mean that the Negro is entitled to an education equal to that of the white, but not necessarily in the same school. It advanced the principle of equal, but separate, schools, and it did not outlaw, as unconstitutional, the segregated school.

But since 1896, the agitation quite naturally continued. No group of people will accept, permanently, a status of inferiority - certainly no people in the twentieth century. And the issue came again before the Supreme Court of the United States in May of 1954. And this time the Supreme Court outlawed segregation in public education. It gave its reasons, which <sup>were</sup> clearly stated and forthright, and the decision represented the first official utterance of our government in nearly ninety years which was in full consonance with the letter and the spirit of the 14th Amendment as it applied to public education.

And it might be well to read a few sentences from this decision of the Supreme Court:

"In approaching this problem, we cannot turn the clock back to 1868 when the amendment (the Fourteenth) was adopted, or even to 1896, when Plessy v. Ferguson (the case which produced the "separate but equal" pronouncement or "doctrine) was adopted. We must consider" said the Supreme Court, "public education in the light of its full development and its present place in American life \* \* \*. Only in this way can it be determined if segregation in public schools deprives these plaintiffs of the equal protection of the laws.

Today, education is perhaps the most important function of state and local governments. Compulsory school attendance laws and the great expenditures for education both demonstrate our recognition of the importance of education in our democratic society. \* \* \*

In these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on

equal terms.

We come then to the question presented: Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other "tangible" factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities? We believe that it does. \* \* \*

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"A sense of inferiority affects the motivation of a child to learn. Segregation with the sanction of the law, therefore, has a tendency to retard the educational and mental development of Negro children and to deprive them of some of the benefits they would receive in a racially integrated school system."

"Whatever may have been the extent of psychological knowledge at the time of Plessy v. Ferguson, this finding is amply supported by modern authority. Any language in Plessy v. Ferguson contrary to this finding is rejected.

We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs \* \* \* are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment."

This is the clear voice of a free America speaking. A year later, this same Supreme Court, in another ruling, placed upon the school authorities (the school authorities) the primary responsibility for solving the various local school problems, which will arise in the process of <sup>the</sup> implementation of ~~the~~ desegregation, and it left to Federal District Courts the steps necessary to assure integration in public schools "with all deliberate speed". It called for a prompt and reasonable start toward compliance with its decision -- though it wisely allowed for a reasonable time differential to meet local conditions.

And this decision, you may recall, was hailed by freedom-loving Americans and by the free world generally, as an historic forward step in the march of social progress. Everybody felt that it removed a <sup>blot</sup> ~~black~~ -- a dark and ugly blot which had besmirched the bright shield of American democracy.

But the joy seemed to be somewhat premature. Violent resistance quickly made itself manifest against this decision of the Supreme Court, by most of the states most directly affected by it. Except in the peripheral states, adjacent to what we call the hard core of the deep South -- except in these peripheral states,

where sporadic efforts were made to comply, every indication was given by these hard core states, that the Supreme Court decision would be resisted - would be ignored - would be contravened - by every means possible. Some states threatened to close down the public school system altogether. Others - to cut off state funds for any school that would be integrated. Still others passed legislation to regulate pupil placement, or to gerrymander school districts in such a way as to defeat the integration decision. Nearly all of these states declared that the question of education are state matters and not under Federal jurisdiction. And the chief executives - the governors of some of these states in the deep South - have made themselves tremendously vocal spokesman of the most violent opposition to integration of any kind - in any form. Some progress has been made in the border states, such as Maryland and Kentucky - Tennessee, Texas - the District of Columbia -- in the direction of integration. West Virginia has been completely integrated. But no progress at all -- not even a token integration -- on a minimum basis, has been made in the states of Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana -- where the Negro population, percentage wise, is most heavily concentrated.

Thus progress has been painfully slow and resistance has been massive. And the recent affair at Little Rock in the State of Arkansas, which is not counted among the hard core resistance States - the affair at Little Rock, pointed out dramatically to what length the opposition to integration is prepared to go, and what drastic action the Federal Government might have to resort to to maintain the authority of our Federal Courts and of the law of the land.

In Little Rock, a small group of nine Negro boys and girls were admitted to the Central High School. There was no opposition from the school authorities. There was no opposition from the student body and no incident occurred which would warrant the intervention either of the police of Little Rock and certainly not of the State authorities.

But suddenly the Governor of the State, stationed members of the National

Guard of Arkansas around the Central High School with instructions to keep the Negro students - these nine negro students - from entering the school. A Federal Court then ordered Governor Faubus to explain the use of troops. A few days later, you will recall, Governor Faubus conferred with President Eisenhower, and it was assumed, by the people of the United States, that as a result of this conference, the Governor would withdraw, forthwith, the troops and permit the Negro children to attend school. But he did not. He kept the troops there a week longer, when an injunction was finally issued against him by Federal Judge Davies, ordering the government not to interfere, by the use of the National Guard troops, with the attendance of the Negro students. And when the Governor finally yielded under this pressure (of this injunction to withdraw the troops) and the troops did withdraw, enough of bitter partisanship and racial emotionalism had already been stirred up, that mob rioting broke out and shameful scenes were enacted. In every such situation there are always the irresponsible, the idle, the hoodlums, the bigots, the neurotics, the perverts, who capitalize on any tense situation - on any explosive situation, to permit them to express whatever it is that is pressing within them for an expression, and to express it violently. And these riots forced the President of the United States to order Federal troops into Little Rock and to Federalize the Arkansas National Guard, in order to maintain law and order -- in order to permit the children to attend school, in compliance with the decision of the Supreme Court, implemented by Federal Court orders.

Another attempt to come to a reasonable understanding with Governor Faubus, made by a group of Southern governors, in conference with the President, failed because of the characteristic double-talk of the governor who refused to give unconditional pledge or promise to back up the decision of the Federal Court. And thus Federal troops are still in Little Rock -- a fact not at all relished by any American -- a fact bitterly resented in the South -- and only regretfully accepted in the North as a dire and unwelcome necessity.

Governor Faubus' explanation of his action, and his argument in defense of

his defiance of the Supreme Court and of the President of the United States, is that he followed, in all his actions, the wishes of the people of the State of Arkansas, eighty five percent of whom, according to the Governor, are opposed to integration. This position of Governor Faubus is clearly untenable, from every point of view. The State of Arkansas can pass no law affecting any of its citizens, regardless by what majority, which is clearly in violation of the rights of such citizens, guaranteed to them by the Constitution of the United States. This is the clear meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment, and of certain provisions of the Bill of Rights. Similarly, the chief executive of the State of Arkansas, has no authority to engage in any action against any of the citizens of the State which violate their constitutional rights, regardless of how he himself feels about it and regardless of how the majority of the citizens of the State of Arkansas feel about it. And what these constitutional rights are, are matters to be determined by the Federal Courts, not by the Governor of the State.

But there is a deeper moral question involved here. What are the responsibilities of political leadership in the matter of guiding the people in the right direction? True leaders, in a political democracy, are of course, for the people, or should be, but not always with the people. To be with them always - to agree with them always - is in fact to fail to lead them. It is to condone and share always their popular errors and prejudices. When a people, ignorantly, or wilfully, moves in darkness there must step forward a few courageous men in responsible political positions, to bring them the light! Else there is no hope, ever, for social progress. Is a political leader to take steps, which he knows to be necessary, in keeping with the march of human progress, only when he is sure to be applauded? Is it statesmanship always to float with the tide?

Governor Faubus is really, on the basis of his past record, not among the worst of the segregationists. But in a critical hour he lacked the courage to risk a measure of unpopularity, or the loss of votes, and has thereby maneuvered himself and his State into a deplorable position, and injured the position of America in the eyes of the world.

And this is true of many of the leaders of government, of religion, of education and the molders of public opinion in press and literature in the South - from whom, in the last analysis, the ultimate solution of the problem must come. The ultimate solution of that problem will not come from the North - it will come from the South, if it comes at all. They must bring the change about -- they must create a new climate of opinion among their people -- they must lead.

What is being asked of them, we all fully realize, is not an easy matter. What is being asked of them is to bring about a fundamental change in the traditional way of life of their people. A change in their customary social fabric. And this is not an easy matter. Racial readjustments are the most difficult in the world to make. Every intelligent person knows that. But many ways of life have had to undergo change in the modern world and many are yet to undergo. It is a tortuous and distressing and melancholy story how, for example, Catholic, and Protestant, and Jew, had to develop new ways of life, and work up new mutual relationships in order to live together. And how capital and labor had to work out new ways of life - new relationships. And how Colonial Empires and their subject peoples had to do. Even these adjustments are far from being completed satisfactorily.

The point I am trying to make is that many changes, in many ways of life, have had to be made, in modern days - and made with extreme difficulty.- But life dictated these changes and they had to be made. And while they have not been completely satisfactory, nevertheless, the lines of progress are indicated and the basic principles are now generally accepted.

In this matter of race adjustments patience, of course, is required. Patience is required in the solution of any problem so indurate and so stubborn. But whereas patience is a virtue, endless procrastination is a vice. The South has had nearly a hundred years since the Civil War, in which to make basic adjustments. And the conditions of modern life will no longer permit endless procrastination. Eventual integration, which has no fixed terminal. Governor Faubus, speaking of "eventual integration", with a certain amount of cynicism, declared:

"Eventual is an all inclusive word. The Roman Empire integrated the descendants of its Ethiopian slaves but it took more than 1,800 years to accomplish."

But modern life will not wait for 1800 years to solve this problem. It is one thing to ask for a gradual change -- it is quite another thing to resist all change and to challenge the very principle of integration as many southern leaders are doing today, and as the advocates of "Apartheid" are doing, for example, in South Africa. These people, who try to do this thing, are very much like the Medieval King Canute who tried to hold back the irresistible tides. These people are trying to hold back the irresistible tides of human progress. I do not know what good they are doing themselves, or others, by their attitudes, but they are certainly doing their country irreparable harm on the world scene today.

The whole colored world is on the march today towards freedom, towards equality and towards independence. And the Communist propaganda is directed to them especially, hoping to win them over and winning them, Communism will come to dominate the whole world. Our own country - and the free world -- needs this world of the colored peoples if our free way of life is to triumph in the free world. But how can we appeal to them on the basis of the concept of the superiority of the white race?! which concept they regard with complete abhorrence. How can we make friends with them when we refuse to permit white and negro children to sit together in the same classroom? When we put troops around a high school to prevent a few colored children to attend school? The voice of America, which should speak with clear tones -- authoritatively -- of the basic ideals of America - becomes cracked and muffled. And this question of racial intolerance, in our own country, is raised, and it is being raised every day throughout the world -- the free world and the Communist world.

And surely the patriotic citizens of the South understand this. They are not blind to what is going on in the world today. And some of their more courageous leaders realize the trend of the times and recently, in the Congress of the United States, they withheld from opposing the passage of a Bill, the first real Civil

Rights Bill to insure the right of the Negro to vote -- a right which had been circumvented in a thousand and one ways -- devious -- all these years. There are constructive forces, far-visioned people in the South -- and these forces must begin to move forward again. They must take the lead. They must persuade their people to accept the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States on the matter of integration, in good faith as an urgent requirement of their own country, as far as its role of leadership in the world is concerned -- and for its ultimate security -- if not for basic humanitarian reasons.

This problem is not insurmountable, if there is a persistent determination to move forward. Last week a group of 170 clergymen in the city of Houston in Texas - of all denominations - ministers and rabbis -- issued an appeal to the people of Houston:

"We believe it to be the duty of every God-fearing citizen to encourage respect for our courts and obedience to all (their) decisions. We further believe that for an individual or group to defy decisions with which he or they are not in agreement is to encourage other dangerous elements in our society to follow the same destructive procedure for their own ends. This can only lead to anarchy in which the rights of none are respected."

Such statements should be often repeated, in every corner of the South, by its leaders of public opinion -- and especially of its churches -- for that is their primary responsibility. They, in the name of their religion, speak of the brotherhood of man. In the name of their religion they proclaim that there is no difference between white and black. God made of one blood all the peoples of the earth and they are all his children! Especially the clergymen - but not exclusively the clergymen - ought to speak to their people - often -- educate them, persuade them, lead them. The old road has come to a dead end. They must move into a new road, the road of the new world where the rest of humanity is marching today. That new road leads to equality for all men regardless of color, equality before the law - equality in government - equality in the voting booth - equality in the shop and the factory - equality in the schools.

If any man wishes to be regarded as superior -- by all means let him. The world has need of superior men and women. But let him demonstrate that superiority

in the classroom, the laboratory, in research, on the athletic field, on the stage, in the studio--where men and women can compete freely, on the basis of skill and talent, unhandicapped! No one should claim any unearned advantage or eminence on the strength of birthright or on racial antecedents or on vested interests or on any unearned prerogatives -- that day is over for that kind of superiority.

The challenge of the Supreme Court decision is a challenge primarily to the intellectual and spiritual leadership of the South. The burden is theirs! The answer is not that even in the North there exist forms of discrimination. There do exist many -- some of them despicable forms of discrimination -- and they are conditions which must be rectified as quickly as possible. And here too, leadership is called upon - should be called upon - to point the way. But after all, if the South were as far advanced in the solution of the racial problem as the North, the situation would not be as critical. The challenge is to the constructive forces - and there are many in the South - the men of character and integrity and patriotism and social vision - to cause their people to move forward along the line which ultimately they will have to take. There are no choices open any more in this world. The whole of America and the whole of the world - free or Communist - is watching, watching very closely, what is going to take place in the next few years in this matter of school integration in the South. It will either make or break American world leadership, and I say this, carefully measuring my words. It will either strengthen our position in the world, as the leader of the free world, or defeat us - ignored or mocked by the peoples of Asia and Africa to whom the concept of racial superiority and the degradation of human beings on the basis of the color of their skin are the most horrible and despicable of concepts.

I am not at all hopeless about the prospect. Being a Jew and knowing the long hard road which we had to travel, and in some parts of the world still have to travel, towards the winning of basic human rights -- knowing the great progress we did make in the last century -- I am confident that other minority groups -- and in our country the Negro minority group -- will ultimately win its full position of right -- the full protection of the law -- to which it is entitled by the law of God and the law of our country.

Rights Bill to insure the right of the Negro to vote -- a right which had been circumvented in a thousand and one ways -- devious -- for all these years. There are constructive forces, far-visioned people in the South -- and these forces must begin to move forward again. They must take the lead. They must persuade their people to accept the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States on the matter of integration, in good faith as an urgent requirement of their own country, as far as its role of leadership in this world is concerned -- and for its ultimate security -- if not for basic humanitarian reasons.

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And so the challenge of the Supreme Court decision is a challenge primarily to the intellectual and spiritual leadership of the South. The burden is theirs! The answer is not that even in the North there exists forms of discrimination. There do exist many -- some of them despicable forms of discrimination -- and they are conditions which must be rectified as quickly as possible. And here too, leadership is called upon - should be called upon - to point the way. But after all, if the South were as far advanced in the solution of the racial problem as the North is, the situation would not be as critical. The challenge is to the constructive forces - and there are many in the South - the men of character and integrity and patriotism and social vision - to cause their people to move forward along the line which ultimately they will have to move forward on. There are no choices open any more in this world. And the whole of America and the whole of the world - free or Communist - is watching, watching very closely, what is going to take place in the next few years in the matter of school integration in the South. It will either make or break American world leadership, and I say this, carefully measuring my words. It will either strengthen our position in the world, as the leader of the free world, or make us weak and defeated -- soft and mocked at by the great world of Asia and Africa to whom this concept of racial superiority and the degradation of human beings on the basis of the color of their skin is the most horrible and despicable of concepts.

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But suddenly the Governor of the State stationed members of the National Guard of Arkansas around the Central High School with instructions to keep the Negro students - these nine Negro students - from entering the school. A Federal Court then ordered Governor Faubus to explain the use of troops. A few days later, you will recall, Governor Faubus conferred with President Eisenhower, and it was assumed, by the people of the United States, that as a result of this conference, the Governor would withdraw, forthwith, the troops and permit the Negro children to attend school. But he did not. He kept the troops there a week longer, when an injunction was finally issued against him by Federal Judge Davies, ordering the Governor not to interfere, by the use of the National Guard troops, with the attendance of the Negro students. And when the Governor finally yielded under this pressure (of this injunction to withdraw the troops) and the troops did withdraw, enough of bitter partisanship and racial emotionalism had already been stirred up, that mob rioting broke out and shameful scenes were enacted. In every such situation there are always the irresponsible, the idle, the hoodlums, the bigots, the neurotics, the perverts, who capitalize on any tense situation - on any explosive situation, to permit them to express whatever it is that is pressing within them for an expression, and to express it violently. And these riots forced the President of the United States to order Federal troops into Little Rock and to Federalize the Arkansas National Guard, in order to maintain law and order -- in order to permit the children to attend school, in compliance with the decision of the Supreme Court, implemented by Federal Court orders.

Another attempt to come to a reasonable understanding with Governor Faubus, made by a group of Southern governors, in conference with the President, failed because of the characteristic double-talk of the governor who refused to give an unconditional pledge or promise to back up the decision of the Federal Court. And thus Federal troops are still in Little Rock -- a fact not at all relished by any American -- a fact bitterly resented in the South -- and only regretfully accepted in the North as a dire and unwelcome necessity.

Governor Faubus' explanation of his action, and his argument in defense of his defiance of the Supreme Court and of the President of the United States, is that he followed, in all his actions, the wishes of the people of the State of Arkansas, eighty-five percent of whom, according to the Governor, are opposed to integration. This position of Governor Faubus is clearly untenable, from every point of view. The State of Arkansas can pass no law affecting any of its citizens, regardless by what majority, which is clearly in violation of the rights of such citizens, guaranteed to them by the Constitution of the United States. This is the clear meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment, and of certain provisions of the Bill of Rights. Similarly, the chief executive of the State of Arkansas, has no authority to engage in any action against any of the citizens of the State which violate their constitutional rights, regardless of how he himself feels about it and regardless of how the majority of the citizens of the State of Arkansas feel about it. And what these constitutional rights are, matters to be determined by the Federal Courts, not by the Governor of the State.

But there is a deeper moral question involved here. What are the responsibilities of political leadership in the matter of guiding the people in the right direction? True leaders, in a political democracy, are of course, for the people, or should be, but not always with the people. To be with them always - to agree with them always - is in fact to fail to lead them. It is to condone and share always their popular errors and prejudices.

When a people, ignorantly, or wilfully, moves in darkness there must step forward a few courageous men in responsible political positions, to bring them the light! Else there is no hope, ever, for social progress. Is a political leader to take steps, which he knows to be necessary, in keeping with the march of human progress, only when he is sure to be applauded? Is it statesmanship always to float with the tide?

Governor Faubus is really, on the basis of his past record, not among the worst of the segregationists. But in a critical hour he lacked the courage to risk a measure of unpopularity, or the loss of votes, and has thereby maneuvered himself and his State into a deplorable position, and injured the position of America in the eyes of the world.

And this is true of many of the leaders of government, of religion, of education and the molders of public opinion in press and literature in the South - from whom, in the last analysis, the ultimate solution of the problem must come. The ultimate solution of that problem will not come from the North - it will come from the South, if it comes at all. They must bring the change about - they must create a new climate of opinion among their people -- they must lead.

What is being asked of them, we all fully realize, is not an easy matter. What is being asked of them is to bring about a fundamental change in the traditional way of life of their people - a change in their customary social fabric. And this is not an easy matter. Racial readjustments are the most difficult in the world to make. Every intelligent person knows that. But many ways of life have had to undergo change in the modern world and many are yet to undergo. It is a tortuous and distressing and melancholy story how, for example, Catholic, and Protestant, and Jew, had to develop new ways of life, and work up new mutual relationships in order to live together. And how capital and labor had to work out new ways of life - new relationships.

And how colonial empires and their subject peoples had to do it. Even these adjustments are far from being completed satisfactorily.

The point I am trying to make is that many changes, in many ways of life, have had to be made, in modern days-and made with extreme difficulty. But life dictated these changes and they had to be made. And while they have not been completely satisfactory, nevertheless, the lines of progress are indicated and the basic principles are now generally accepted.

In this matter of race adjustments patience, of course, is required. Patience is required in the solution of any problem so indurate and so stubborn. But whereas patience is a virtue, endless procrastination is a vice. The South had nearly a hundred years since the Civil War, in which to make basic adjustments. And the conditions of modern life will no longer permit endless procrastination -- eventual integration, which has no fixed terminal. Governor Faubus, speaking of "eventual integration", with a certain amount of cynicism, declared:

"Eventual is an all inclusive word. The Roman Empire integrated the descendants of its Ethiopian slaves but it took more than 1,800 years to accomplish."

But modern life will not wait for 1800 years to solve this problem. It is one thing to ask for a gradual change -- it is quite another thing to resist all change and to challenge the very principle of integration as many southern leaders are doing today, and as the advocates of "Apartheid" are doing, for example, in South Africa. These people, who try to do this thing, are very much like the Medieval King Canute who tried to hold back the irresistible tides. These people are trying to hold back the irresistible tides of human progress. I do not know what good they are doing themselves, or others, by their attitudes, but they are certainly doing their country irreparable harm on the world scene today.

The whole colored world is on the march today towards freedom, towards equality and towards independence. And the Communist propaganda is directed

to them especially, hoping to win them over and winning them, Communism will come to dominate the whole world. Our own country - and the free world -- needs this world of the colored peoples if our free way of life is to triumph in the world. But how can we appeal to them on the basis of the concept of the superiority of the white race?...which concept they regard with complete abhorrence. How can we make friends with them when we refuse to permit white and Negro children to sit together in the same classroom? When we put troops around a high school to prevent a few colored children to attend school? The voice of America, which should speak with clear tones -- authoritatively -- of the basic ideals of America - becomes cracked and muffled. And this matter of racial intolerance, in our own country, is being raised every day throughout the world -- the free world and the Communist world.

Surely the patriotic citizens of the South understand this. They are not blind to what is going on in the world today. Some of their more courageous leaders realize the trend of the times and recently, in the Congress of the United States, they refrained from opposing the passage of a Bill, the first real Civil Rights Bill to insure the right of the Negro to vote -- a right which had been circumvented in a thousand and one ways -- devious -- all these years. There are constructive forces, far-visioned people in the South -- and these forces must begin to move forward again. They must take the lead. They must persuade their people to accept the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States on the matter of integration, in good faith as an urgent requirement of their own country, as far as its role of leadership in the world is concerned -- and for its ultimate security -- if not for basic humanitarian reasons.

This problem is not insurmountable, if there is a persistent determination to move forward. Last week a group of 170 clergymen in the city of Houston in Texas - of all denominations - ministers and rabbis -- issued an appeal to the people of Houston:

"We believe it to be the duty of every God-fearing citizen to encourage respect for our courts and obedience to all (their) decisions. We further believe that for an individual or group to defy decisions with which he or they are not in agreement is to encourage other dangerous elements in our society to follow the same destructive procedure for their own ends. This can only lead to anarchy in which the rights of none are respected".

Such statements should be often repeated, in every corner of the South, by its leaders of public opinion -- and especially of its churches -- for that is their primary responsibility. They, in the name of their religion, speak of the brotherhood of man. In the name of their religion they proclaim that there is no difference between white and black. God made of one blood all the peoples of the earth and they are all his children! Especially the clergymen-- but not exclusively the clergymen ought to speak to their people - often -- educate them, persuade them, lead them. The old road has come to a dead end. They must move into a new road, the road of the new world where the rest of humanity is marching today. That new road leads to equality for all men regardless of color, equality before the law - equality in government - equality in the voting booth - equality in the shop and the factory - equality in the schools.

If any man wishes to be regarded as superior -- by all means let him. The world has need of superior men and women. But let him demonstrate that superiority in the classroom, the laboratory, in research, on the athletic field, on the stage, in the studio--where men and women can compete freely, on the basis of skill and talent, unhandicapped! No one should claim any unearned advantage or eminence on the strength of birthright or on racial antecedents or on vested interests or on any unearned prerogatives -- that day is over for that kind of superiority.

The challenge of the Supreme Court decision is a challenge primarily to the intellectual and spiritual leadership of the South. The burden is theirs! The answer is not that even in the North there exist forms of discrimination. There do exist many -- some of them despicable forms of discrimination -- and

they are conditions which must be rectified as quickly as possible. And here too, leadership is called upon - should be called upon - to point the way. But after all, if the South were as far advanced in the solution of the racial problem as the North, the situation would not be as critical. The challenge is to the constructive forces - and there are many in the South - the men of character and integrity and patriotism and social vision - to cause their people to move forward along the line which ultimately they will have to take. There are no choices open any more in this world.

The whole of America and the whole of the world - free or Communist - is watching, watching very closely, what is going to take place in the next few years in this matter of school integration in the South. It will either make or break American world leadership, and I say this, carefully measuring my words. It will either strengthen our position in the world, as the leader of the free world, or defeat us - ignored or mocked by the peoples of Asia and Africa to whom the concept of racial superiority and the degradation of human beings on the basis of the color of their skin are the most horrible and despicable of concepts.

I am not at all hopeless about the prospect. Being a Jew and knowing the long hard road which we had to travel, and in some parts of the world still have to travel, towards the winning of basic human rights -- knowing the great progress we did make in the last century -- I am confident that other minority groups -- and in our country the Negro minority group -- will ultimately win its full position of right -- the full protection of the law -- to which it is entitled by the law of God and the law of our country.

1) The tragic problem of Race has been with the <sup>sermon 92</sup> Am. people <sup>2</sup> ever since the first boat-load of Negro slaves was landed in Va. in 1620. It has been a festering sore, <sup>in our national life</sup> ever since; at certain times and in certain regions of our country were more severe than in others.

It led to a disastrous Civil War - one of the bloodiest on record and threatened the very survival of the Union.

Slavery was ~~not~~ abolished in 1863 but the race problem remained. The clear intent of the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment: <sup>- adopted in 1868</sup> No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privilege or immunities of citizens of the U.S. nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws. This was disregarded or resisted by many states - in the matter of Negroes' suffrage - education and econ. opportunities.

Various forms of segregation were enforced by law against the Negro in most of the S. states - and unofficially in some, the Northern states. The Negroes' privileges and immunities as citizens of the U.S. were definitely abridged - and they were denied the equal protection, the laws guaranteed to them by the amended Constitution, the U.S.

2) The Federal Courts were frequently appealed to - to rectify the situation and to insure full implementation, the 14<sup>th</sup> Amend. In the matter of school segregation - which was universal throughout the South - the cases reached the Supreme Court



integration in public schools "with all deliberate speed";  
It called for a prompt and reasonable start toward compliance  
with its decision - though it wisely allowed for <sup>various</sup> as time differences  
to meet local conditions.

2/ But this decision was hailed with joy by freedom-loving  
Americans and by the free world generally as an historic  
forward step in the march of social progress. It <sup>was</sup> seen <sup>as</sup> the <sup>beginning</sup> of <sup>the</sup> bright sun  
mark a blast a dark and ugly blot - ~~from~~ <sup>which</sup> the sun  
scintillation of Am. democracy.

But the joy proved to be somewhat premature. Violent  
resistance was quickly demonstrated against the l. Court  
decision by most of the states most directly affected by it.  
Except in the peripheral states, represent of the hard core  
the deep south, where special efforts were made to comply -  
every indication was given that the l. Court decision  
would be resisted, viewed, counteracted by every means  
possible.

Some states threatened to close down their public  
schools entirely. Others - to cut off state funds from  
schools which will admit Negro children. Other states  
passed legislation to regulate pupil placement or the per  
school districts in such a way as to defeat integration.  
Nearly all of them have declared that such questions of educa-  
tion are state matters and not under Federal jurisdiction.  
The Government, now, these states have made themselves the  
most obvious opponents, as integration at any time in  
any form.

3/ Law proposed was made in some, the border states like Maryland, Kentucky, and Texas, and in the District, Chambers in the direction of integration. W. Va has been carefully segregated

no proposals at all, not even a token integration on a minimal basis - in So. Carolina; Georgia; Florida; Alabama; Mississippi and Louisiana - where the Negro population percentage is most heavily concentrated.

4/ Thus proposals has been painfully slow, and resistance massive.

The recent affair at Little Rock in the State of Arkansas - which was not counted among the hard core resistance states - presented up dramatic to what length the opportunity to integration is prepared to go - and what drastic Federal actions Federal authorities might have to resort to maintain the authority of an Federal union and the law, the land.

A small group of rising boys girls were admitted to the Central High school, Little Rock. There was no opposition from the School authorities, nor the Student body. No incident occurred to prevent the integration of the State authorities - Robert, L.R. - not to oppose, the State authorities.

But the same, the State - Suddenly stationed members of the Nat. Guard around the Central H. school, with instructions to keep the Negro students from entering the school.

A Federal Court <sup>then</sup> ordered Gov. F. to explain the use of troops a few days later Gov. F. conferred with Pres. E. - It was assumed that as a result, these conferees Gov. F. would withdraw the troops and permit the children to attend school.

He did not. He left them a week longer - when an injunction was issued by Judge Davis - ordering the Gov. not to interfere by the use of the Nat. Guard with attendance, Negro student.

When he finally <sup>under pressure</sup> consented to withdraw the troops - and the troops were withdrawn - enough of bitter paragraphs had been stirred up - that with notes broke out - and showed

several enacted - which forced the Pres. of the U.S. to order Fed. troops into L.R. and to federalize the Ar. Nat. Guard

in order to maintain law and order and to permit the children to attend school - in compliance with a decision of the S. Court

Another attempt <sup>made by Gov. F.</sup> with Gov. F. - failed because of the character of double-talk of F. who replied to this in a vacillating manner to

back up the decision of the Federal Courts Fed. troops are still in L.R. a fact not relished

by any American - utterly resent in the North, especially accepted in the North as a disgrace unwelcome necessity.

Gov. F.'s explanation, his action and argument in defense is that he followed the wishes, the people, his state - 85% of them - according to F. - are opposed to interference

Such a position is clearly untenable. The State of Arkansas can pass no law affecting any of its citizens, regardless of what majority, which is clearly in violation of the rights of such citizens guaranteed them by the Constitution of the U.S. - This is the ~~clear~~ <sup>clear</sup> intent of the 14th Am. - and the Arkansas can in no way be authorized to engage in any action against any of its citizens which violate their rights - regardless how he himself feels about it - or the majority of his state. What these Constitutional rights are are matters to be determined by the Federal Courts - not by G. Faulkner.

6/ But an even deeper moral question is here involved. What are the responsibilities of a pol. leader in the matter of guiding their people in the right direction. Pol. leaders in a pol. system are always, of course, for the people - but not always with the people. To be with them always - to agree with them always, is, in fact, to fail to lead them. It is to condone and share always their popular errors and prejudices - When a people is dominated or willfully moves in darkness - there must steps be found a few courageous men - in responsible political positions - to bring them the light! Else there is no hope, ever, for prejudice is a pol. leader to take steps, which he knows to be necessary, in keeping with the word, of human progress, only when he is sure to be applauded? Is it

statesmanship & always to float with the tide?

Gov. Faulkner is really not, as his past record, the worst among the secessionists - but in a critical hour he looked to courage to risk a measure of unpopularity - or the loss of some votes - to thus maneuver himself and his state into a deplorable position - and his conduct is impaired the position of America in the eyes of the world.

7/ This is true of many <sup>in press and literature</sup> the leaders of Govt, <sup>and religion,</sup> and holders of public opinion, in the South - from whence in last analysis the ultimate solution the problem must come. They must bring the change about - they must create a new chemistry of opinions among their people - they must lead.

What is being asked of them is not an easy matter. It is to bring about a fundamental change in the traditional way of life <sup>of these people</sup> a change in their customary social fabric. Racial readjustments are the most difficult <sup>by the way</sup> to make. Every intelligent man knows that. But many ways of life have had to undergo change in the modern world - and many are yet to undergo it. It is a fortunate, distressing, unhappy, bitter, and unpleasant story - how the Catholic, Protestant and Jews had to develop new ways of life and new social relationships - and new capital and labor - and the several empires - and the colonial empires and their subject peoples.



in the same class-room - Troops

'The Voice of America' - cracked - muffled - raise  
questions

9/ Sincerely - The patriotic leaders, the South - understand  
not blind

- some of more conspicuous leaders - Congress -  
did not oppose passage - read Civil Rights Bill

- These constructive forces - must now move forward  
must take the lead - persuade - good faith -

urgent requirement

Not circumventable - if there is a persistent detour -  
mistakes - Americans  Publicities of Arkansas fight

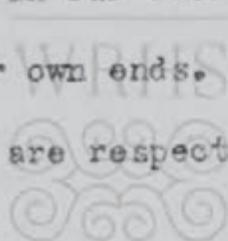
The old Road has come  to a dead end  
They must move onto a New Road - War rest

Equality for all men - regardless | color - before law  
in fact - in voting booth - in shops - in schools!

10/ If <sup>any one</sup> ~~you~~ <sup>is</sup> ~~wishes~~ <sup>to be</sup> ~~superior~~ <sup>by all means!</sup> ~~Demanded~~ (10)  
The world has need of superior men and women. But, please  
demonstrate ~~it~~ <sup>your superiority</sup> in the class-room, in the laboratory, in  
research, in the athletic field, on the stage and in the  
studio - ~~please~~ <sup>where</sup> demonstrate it by being a better ~~whenever~~  
~~man and woman~~ <sup>can</sup> compete freely and <sup>in</sup> hand-craft ~~or~~ on  
the basis of ability - skill - and talent. <sup>Don't</sup> ~~claim~~ <sup>any</sup>  
<sup>unmerited</sup> ~~advantage~~ <sup>or</sup> ~~eminence~~ <sup>in</sup> ~~the~~ ~~strength~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~your~~ ~~birth-right~~  
<sup>your</sup> ~~ancestors~~ <sup>your</sup> ~~virtues~~ <sup>your</sup> ~~unearned~~ ~~privileges~~



"We believe it to be the duty of every God-fearing citizen to encourage respect for our courts and obedience to all (their) decisions," the statement read. "We further believe that for an individual or group to defy decisions with which he or they are not in agreement is to encourage other dangerous elements in our society to follow the same destructive ~~praxx~~ procedure for their own ends. This can only lead to anarchy in which the rights of none are respected."



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December 10, 1957

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
Ansel Rd. and E. 105 Street  
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

I am enclosing five copies of the sermon you gave at the Temple Sunday, October 27, 1957.

We are thankful for the invitation extended to our family by Mr. and Mrs. Herman Moss to be their guest --- it was a bad morning, but we were rewarded greatly by your message.

As you know, I have had a copy prepared for each President of the 31 member colleges comprising the United Negro College Fund. I hope for your continued health and happiness.

Sincerely yours,

W. Barton Beatty, Jr.  
W. Barton Beatty, Jr.

WBB:mm  
Encl.

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## The Temple

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ABBA HILLEL SILVER

DANIEL JEREMY SILVER

Associate Rabbi  
Director of Religious Education

HERBERT H. ROSE

Assistant Rabbi

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## Confirmation Class of 1907 Holds Golden Anniversary Reunion

Sixty young people were confirmed at The Temple during the Shevuot services of the year of 1907 by Rabbi Moses Gries. Fifty years later, on June 23, 1957, this Confirmation Class held a reunion. It took the form of a luncheon party at which twenty-five of the class were present. Also proudly present were three of the teachers who had taught this class, Miss Ida Schott, Miss Ella Mahler and Mrs. Bertha Cevens.

Locating members of one class is a difficult task after fifty years; however, the committee did succeed in contacting fifty-eight of the members or their families. Thirty-five are living in Cleveland. Seven had moved to other cities. Sixteen members of the class had passed away. Only two could not be located.

Many of the members of the Confirmation Class of 1907 have been, and many still are, active members of The Temple family. The reunion, as far as can be determined, was unique. No other fiftieth reunion of a Confirmation Class is on record. Under the inspiration of Mrs. Samuel H. Vactor, Chairman, Miss Pearl Messing, Secretary, and Lawrence Rich, Master of Ceremonies, momentos of their Confirmation were shown at the reunion. On display were their class picture, clippings from daily newspapers, their the old 55th Street Temple in which they were confirmed.

The Temple wishes to congratulate the Class of 1907. Perhaps the Class of 1908 would like to follow their lead.

## In Memoriam

The Temple notes with regret the passing of the following members. We extend our heartfelt sympathies to their loved ones. May the beauty of their lives abide ever with them in loving benediction.

Aaron E. Abrams

Bert Abrams

Steven Lowell Arsham

Alex Aurbach

Alex S. Berger

Lenore Susan Brown

Adolph Frankel

Fred Friedman

Max L. Haas

Abraham J. Kane

Leah G. Klein

David Lee Kleinman

Moses S. Kopperman

Sigmund Korman

Dr. Louis Lieberman

Andrew Gregory Pearlman

Henry A. Pollack

Anna Rosenthal

Joseph M. Sands

Jacob Schwartz

Edward G. Spitz

Myra Straus

Roger Strauss

Hannah Thurman

Ruby Traub

Louis A. Unger

Louis Van Baalen

May Weil Wise

## SCHOOL SAFETY

The Temple Religious School has done all in its power to insure the safety of its students. Sunday morning guards have been posted at all exits, at the cross-walk to the parking lot, and in the parking lot itself. It is a policy of the School that children shall be picked up in their class rooms by a responsible adult unless a note stating otherwise is sent to the teacher.

Unfortunately, some parents do not take the time to leave their cars and come into the building. On more than one occasion a parent has been seen sitting in his car on Ansel Road simply honking his horn to attract the attention of his riders. The children dart across the street. Their driver has made them court danger.

In the interest of safety, please be sure that you take the time to park your car and come across the street for your young people. As soon as Ansel Road is closed, much of this danger will disappear. Until that time, please make sure of your children's well-being.

## WITH THANKS

The flowers which will grace the altar on Sunday Morning, October 27, are contributed in memory of the birthday of Samuel N. Goodman, by his wife Edna Goodman and daughter Laura, and sisters-in-law Misses Tillie and Pearl Katowitz.

## TEMPLE HOSTS

Again this year a group of Temple men are serving as guides and hosts to visitors to our congregation. Under the leadership of Mr. David L. Simon, members of the Temple Host Committee are present at all Sunday services and Temple functions, to greet and make welcome out of town guests and non-Jewish neighbors who wish to acquaint themselves with our Temple and its history and beauty.

The Temple Host Committee includes the following members: Messrs. Charles Aaron Jr., Richard Adler, Benjamin Baron, Justin Baum, William Beechler, Joel Bennett, Harold Dembe, Robert H. Deutsch, Irwin Duchon, Alan Englander, Jared Faulb, Thomas Felber, Sheldon Gerson, Eli Goldston, Max Gladstone, George Goulder, Louis N. Gross, Homer Guren, Lee Hartzmark, Dr. Julian Kassen, Dr. Robert Keller, Gerald Kerner, Norman Klivans, Nelson J. Lackritz, Leonard R. Lichtig, Alan L. Littman 2nd, Jerome Malevan, Stanley Meisel, Robert Pollack, James Reich, Robert Rogoff, Sylvan H. Rosenfield, Sheldon H. Sanders, Merrill Sands, Richard H. Shane, Herbert M. Shaw, Dr. Edward E. Siegler, George Schoen, Martin Schnell, Dr. Sol Sogg, Allan Unger, Roy B. Unger, David C. Vactor, Louis Weitz, and Jerome A. Weinberger.

This committee will be happy to include in its membership anyone who would be interested in working with them. Arrangements may be made by contacting Mr. Simon at YE 2-7848.

## THE MR. AND MRS. CLUB

### "HARVEST HOE DOWN"

Sunday, October 27, 1957

8:30 P.M.

Southeast "Y"

460 Northfield Road Bedford, Ohio

### SQUARE DANCING

Late Supper

Favors

\$1.00 per couple

Casual Attire



LOUIS UNTERMAYER

THE TEMPLE WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION

presents

LOUIS UNTERMAYER

Poet, Editor, Critic, Anthologist

His Subject:

MAKERS OF THE MODERN WORLD

Time: Wednesday, November 13th, 1957, 1:15 o'clock

Place: The Temple

Admission: Membership Card, Guest \$1.00

HIGHLIGHT LUNCHEON

Tuesday, October 29th, the Sisterhood Highlight Luncheon will take place at the Hotel Carter. It will be a thrilling lunch and afternoon for the ladies of The Temple. The fine program which has been developed is already familiar to you; it is fitting now to thank the ladies whose untiring efforts have made possible this wonderful affair.

A flair for doing things on a grand scale characterizes the general chairman of the Highlight Luncheon, Mrs. A. M. Luntz, who has Mrs. M. J. Koblitz, Jr., for her co-chairman. Assisted by over two hundred Temple women, they are bringing you a program charged with glamour and sparkling zest and excitement, a crystallization of many months of planning.

Mrs. Sydney Galvin and Mrs. Julian Kassen are co-chairmen of Pre-Campaign Solicitations. Mrs. Isadore Horvitz, Ticket Sales Chairman, has as her co-chairmen Mrs. Jared Faulb, Mrs. Albert Goodman and Mrs. I. B. Silber. Assisting in contacting over two thousand women are Mrs. Alan Littman II, Mrs. Sanford Curtiss, Mrs. Charles Auerbach, Mrs. Merrill Gross, Mrs. Eric Bruch, Mrs. George Rose, Mrs. Daniel J. Silver and Mrs. Raphael Silver. Mrs. George Goulder is in charge of Hotel arrangements. Arts and Decorations are under the co-chairmanship of Mrs. Marc B. Goldstein, Mrs. Hayden Kline, Mrs. William Loveman and Mrs. Paul Oppenheim. Seating arrangements are being planned by Mrs. Bertram Krohngold and Mrs. Richard Luntz. Hostesses are under the direction of Mrs. Robert Selden and Mrs. Al. Rosen; Mrs. Leonard Horvitz and Mrs. Jerome Squires head the Telephone Committee. Mrs. Leroy Kendis and Mrs. Robert Kearns are co-chairmen in charge of Fashion Co-ordination. Table prizes are being obtained by co-chairmen Mrs. Julie Kravitz and Mrs. Jack Mandel. Door prizes are under the direction of Mrs. Alvin Udelson. Gift wrapping will be handled by Mrs. David Rosenberg. Favors for each guest are being made under the supervision of Tuesday Sewing Chairman Mrs. Herbert Zipkin and her co-chairman, Mrs. Samuel Roth.

Mrs. Irwin Yoelson is Financial Secretary in charge of tickets. Mrs. Alfred Brock and Mrs. Stuart Halle are Financial Secretaries of the Luncheon. Clerical Secretary is Mrs. Maurice Goldstein. Mrs. E. R. Bergman is Report-Meeting Secretary. Mailing is under the direction of Mrs. Lloyd Koenig and Mrs. Sylvester Marx. Newspaper Publicity is in charge of Mrs. Lee Rotman and Mrs. Ralph Bing. Temple Women's Association Publicity for The Temple Bulletin is by Mrs. Leon E. Newman.

Models are Mrs. Edward Arsham, Mrs. Charles Ginsberg, Mrs. Haley Lipp, Mrs. Richard Luntz, Mrs. James Shipley, Mrs. Sam Stecker, Mrs. Victor Wise.

We'll see you all on Tuesday at 12:30 P.M. in the Rainbow Room of the Hotel Carter.

SUCCOTH DECORATIONS

As usual, a beautiful Succah adorned The Temple pulpit during the holiday. This year the booth was decorated by a committee of Sisterhood ladies under the chairmanship of Mrs. Milton Kane. The Temple wishes to thank her and her committee: Mesdames Charles S. Adelstein, I. Bernon, Leon Diamond, I. Evans, Sam A. Horvitz, Austin Klein, George Klein, Sam H. Klein, and Irving Stern.

Mr. Martin Evans graciously donated from his farm much of the material used.

TUESDAY SEWING

There will be no session of Tuesday Sewing on October 29th. It is, of course, the date of the Highlight Luncheon. The Sewing Groups will resume on Tuesday, November 3rd at their temporary quarters in the Auditorium of Mount Sinai Nurses Home.

Members are requested to leave their cars in The Temple parking lot. They may bring a sandwich or buy their lunch at the hospital snack bar. Coffee will be provided. Nursery care will be available in Room 13 of The Temple School Building. Mothers must pack a lunch for their children. The Temple will serve the children milk.

The Tuesday Sewing Group is featuring several knit ideas which are unusual and attractive. There are sweaters for the one to five year old and knitted helmets and wool mittens for the school age child. They are also selling fashionable bulky knitted vests, or sleeveless cardigans in a wide color range. The Apron Department is showing original cocktail aprons. The Toy Shop has a large selection of clever toys, including a Clown laundry bag, a gingham doll with yellow wool braids, and a wool flannel pussy-cat with long black eye-lashes.

Published weekly except during the summer vacation.  
Fifty cents per annum.

THE TEMPLE  
BULLETIN  
EAST 105TH ST. & ANSEL ROAD  
CLEVELAND 6, OHIO  
SW 1-7755

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### DATES TO REMEMBER

- Friday, October 25  
through  
Sunday, October 27 — High School Camp Wise Weekend
- Sunday, October 27 — Sunday Morning Services  
Mr. and Mrs. Club "Hoe Down"
- Monday, October 28 — Adult Hebrew Classes
- Tuesday, October 29 — Temple Women's Association "Highlight Luncheon"
- Sunday, November 3 — Sunday Morning Services  
High School Parent-Teacher Meeting and Luncheon
- Monday, November 4 — Adult Hebrew Classes
- Tuesday, November 5 — Mr. and Mrs. Club Arts and Crafts Classes  
Temple Women's Association Tuesday Sewing
- Friday, November 8 — Mr. and Mrs. Club Friday Evening Discussion Programs

**THE TEMPLE LIBRARY** is open Tuesday through Friday from 9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m.; Saturday, 9:00 a.m. to 12:00 noon. The Library will be closed on Sunday mornings except at the conclusion of services.

**THE TEMPLE MUSEUM** will be open at the close of Sunday Morning Services and during all major organization meetings. Arrangements may be made to view the Museum by special appointment at The Temple Office.

**THE ISRAELI GIFT SHOP** is open during Tuesday sewing sessions. Selections can be made at all times from the display case in the Ansel Road Lobby through The Temple Office.

## THE BASIC DOCUMENT

*Two Supreme Court decisions stand at the core of the current controversy over integration in the public schools of the South. The first was on May 17, 1954. This reversed a decision of 1896 and declared that segregation of school children by race was unconstitutional. In so holding, the court set a precedent by relying chiefly upon present sociological and psychological aspects of the problem. Excerpts from the first decision follow:*

MAY 17, 1954

Our decision \* \* \* cannot turn on merely a comparison of \* \* \* tangible factors in the Negro and white schools involved in each of the cases. We must look instead to the effect of segregation itself on public education.

In approaching this problem, we cannot turn the clock back to 1868 when the amendment [the Fourteenth] was adopted, or even to 1896, when *Plessy v. Ferguson* [the case which produced the "separate but equal" doctrine] was adopted. We must consider public education in the light of its full development and its present place in American life \* \* \*. Only in this way can it be determined if segregation in public schools deprives these plaintiffs of the equal protection of the laws.

Today, education is perhaps the most important function of state and local governments. Compulsory school attendance laws and the great expenditures for education both demonstrate our recognition of the importance of education in our democratic society. \* \* \*

In these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms.

We come then to the question presented: Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other "tangible" factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities? We believe that it does. \* \* \*

\* \* \* To separate them from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone.

"A sense of inferiority affects the motivation of a child to learn. Segregation with the sanction of the law, therefore, has a tendency to retard the educational and mental development of Negro children and to deprive them of some of the benefits they would receive in a racially integrated school system."

Whatever may have been the extent of psychological knowledge at the time of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, this finding is amply supported by modern authority. Any language in *Plessy v. Ferguson* contrary to this finding is rejected.

We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs \* \* \* are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment.

\* \* \*

*A year after its 1954 decision on segregation, on May 31, 1955, the Supreme Court, in another ruling, decreed the pace and method for compliance with it. This took note of "varied local school problems," put upon school authorities the primary responsibility for solving them, and called for a "prompt and reasonable start" toward compliance. It left to Federal district courts the steps necessary to assure admittance of students to public schools on a nondiscriminatory basis "with all deliberate speed."*

He was for "eventual integration" everywhere, but he gave a rather cynical explanation of what he meant. "Eventual is an all inclusive word," he said. "The Roman Empire integrated the descendants of its Ethiopian slaves but it took more than 1,800 years to accomplish."

Governor Faubus thought he was out of trouble on the integration issue. But segregation pressure was building up.

The Governor appointed a committee, heavily loaded with segregationists from eastern Arkansas, to study the so-called Virginia plan. The Virginia plan was based first of all on the doctrine of a state's "interposing" against what it regarded