OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

CONFIDENTIAL

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

March 9, 1956

BY COURIER SERVICE

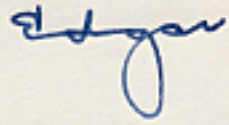
Mr. Maxwell M. Rabb
Secretary to the Cabinet
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Max:

In line with our conversation, I am enclosing a copy of the basic statement which I used in making my presentation at the Cabinet meeting this morning.

With best wishes and kind regards,

Sincerely,



Enclosure

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By DJH NLE DATE 1/13/77

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March 1, 1956

RACIAL TENSION AND CIVIL RIGHTS

INTRODUCTION:

The Attorney General has assigned to the FBI the responsibility of investigating allegations of violations of the Federal Civil Rights Statutes. In the investigation of these cases involving peonage and involuntary servitude, vote frauds and the depriving of a citizen of the right to vote; conspiracies to deprive others of rights and privileges guaranteed by the Constitution and laws of the United States; acts under color of law depriving persons of rights, privileges and immunities protected by the Constitution or laws of the United States and the investigation of subversive activities, the FBI has been brought into close daily contact with racial tensions and controversies. I shall therefore endeavor to present the background and development of the present situation concerning racial tension and related matters bearing upon Civil Rights.

Racial tension has been mounting almost daily since the Supreme Court banned segregation in public schools on May 17, 1954, and later, on May 31, 1955, required that integration be established at the earliest practicable date "consistent with good faith compliance." This mounting tension has manifested itself in overt acts on the part of individuals, organized resistance in legislative bodies, and the creation of organizations on a widespread basis in the South to resist integration.

In recent months, some of the opponents of integration have been using such terms as "preventing bloodshed," "there is going to be blood spilled," "bloodshed will come," "organized resistance," to mention only a few. Before

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12,000 persons at a citizens council rally on February 10, 1956, in Montgomery, Alabama, Senator Eastland urged resistance and claimed, "The Anglo-Saxon people have held steadfast to the belief that resistance to tyranny is obedience to God." Roy V. Harris, attorney and member State Board of Regents, told a Negro college gathering that if integration is forced on the South, "There will be bitterness, hatred and bloodshed." He then compared the NAACP to the post Civil War carpetbaggers. On the other hand, some of the proponents of integration have used terms such as "some white blood will flow too." Acts of violence against members of the white race have been advocated by at least one preacher and other talk of meeting resistance in the South has occurred.

In many areas, reason has given way to emotion. When such a situation exists, the potential for serious outbreaks of violence is ever present and can be triggered by incidents which in a calmer period would go unnoticed.

In recent weeks emotion has supplanted reason in an almost open and unheard of rebellion on the part of certain members of the Catholic Church against the local hierarchy over the issue of integration in Louisiana. A colored priest was banned from saying Mass at Jesuit Bend, Louisiana; a catechism class at Belle Chase, Louisiana, was disrupted and Negro children were forced to walk at the rear of a line of march from the classroom to the church; and a local political leader is reported to have put a Negro girl out of the church and cursed the priest. These incidents were investigated by the FBI at the direction of the Department of Justice.

Conflict Is a Part of History

The situation we face today does not represent an experience that is entirely new. History, tradition and economics are the basis for the present uneasiness and growing tensity.

Memories of the Reconstruction

Race relations still are affected by the deep and bitter feelings which have been handed down from generation to generation in the deep South. Memories of the Civil War period are being revived. There is still talk among some cultured and educated Southerners of rule by the "blacks," "carpetbaggers," and "scalawags."

It is a matter of historical significance that among the five states of Alabama, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina, where "black" voters were in a majority in the reconstruction period, we find our most troubled areas today, with the single exception of Florida.

If the bloodshed, which both the proponents and opponents of integration now discuss, is to be avoided, there needs to be real understanding and public education with regard to the factors contributing to ferment now taking place, which can boil over at any moment in acts of extensive violence.

Among the chief causes advanced for resentment against integration in the South are the following:

1. There has been a lack of objectivity and balance in the treatment of race relations by the press, and the South is in a state of explosive resentment over what they consider as unfair portrayal of their way of life, and what they consider as intermeddling.

2. The philosophy of "States Rights" has come to the fore and is either being seized upon as a justification for maintaining traditions and conventions or represents a resurgence of Jeffersonian principles of a constitutional government of delegated powers with the sovereignty remaining in the states.

3. The current tensions represent a clash of culture when the protection of racial purity is a rule of life ingrained deeply as the basic truth.
4. The paternalistic spirit which is a carryover from the days of slavery recognizes the need to provide for greater opportunity for Negroes as well as their acceptance but does not yet consider that mixed education is the means whereby the races can best be served. And behind this stalks the specter of racial intermarriages. The following specifics are cited most frequently:

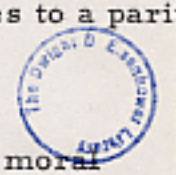
   (a) Health - the claim is made that colored parents are not as careful in looking after the health and cleanliness of their children. The claim of a higher incidence of venereal disease among Negroes is also cited as a reason for segregation in the use of lavatory facilities and gymnasiums.

   (b) Home life - the cultural background of most colored children differs radically from white children and regardless of the unfairness of judgments and the logical explanations in the public mind, the reason is still racial. The master and servant relationship in the South is still the rule.

(c) Morals - the benefit of matrimony and recourse to divorce give way to convenience and consequent illegitimacy.

(d) Crime - maintaining order is a primary concern among Southerners and they point to the higher prevalence of crime among Negroes than among whites. This argument is applied to integration by claiming that with the racial bars down the increase of daily contact would provide greater opportunities for interracial strife.

(e) Intellectual development - the claim is made that Southern Negroes are usually below the intellectual level of white children. The further claim is made that it would take a generation to bring the races to a parity.



The Crusade for Integration

The advocates of integration base their position on legal, moral and ethical grounds.

The proponents of integration feel that victory is within their grasp and are determined to press for what they consider is their constitutional right and have set 1963, the Centennial of the Proclamation of Emancipation, seven years hence, as their goal to achieve the reality of full equality. The proponents of integration have acquired a taste of victory and have learned the techniques of mobilization, pressure, and propaganda to build momentum for their cause.

When the Supreme Court ruled in 1944, twelve years ago, that no qualified voter could be barred on the basis of race or color from participating in "White Democratic Primaries," there were fewer than 200,000 registered Negro voters in the South. In 1948, there were 1,300,000 Negro voters in the South and the goal for 1956 is 3,000,000 Negro voters.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People claims that the blocking of Senate confirmation of the Supreme Court appointment of Circuit Judge John J. Parker in 1930 marked "the beginning of the Negro's political coming of age" and the time when "the Negro himself recognized his political power."

After the Parker confirmation was rejected 41 to 39 on May 7, 1930, they then mobilized to defeat all Senators voting for Parker and claim the defeat of such Senators in California, Kansas, Missouri, Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, New Jersey, Connecticut, and Rhode Island. (In evaluating the claim, the opposition of labor to Parker must be considered along with the fact that the depression was beginning to be felt and the ground swell had set in which brought the Democrats to power in 1932.) The fact remains that the victories thus achieved heighten the spirit of the proponents and at the same time provide a unifying force for those resisting integration and the advancement of race relations.

The troubled areas are further disturbed by the ratio between the races. The 1950 Census reflects those over 21 who were of the white race totaled 88,195,191, while the non-whites totaled 9,208,116. The geographic distribution of the races is as follows:

Area	Non-white	White
Northeast	1,376,701	25,642,897
North Central	1,519,841	27,722,586
South	5,693,181	22,616,312
West	618,393	12,213,396

The Southerners advance the view that the more Negroes who leave the South the better since this will distribute the "race problem" more evenly across the country and eventually will make for less tension in the South. From 1940 to 1950, the proportion of Negroes declined from 49.2 per cent to 45.3 per cent in Mississippi; 42.9 per cent to 38.8 per cent in South Carolina; 35.9 per cent to 32.9 per cent in Louisiana; 34.7 per cent to 32 per cent in Alabama and 34.7 per cent to 30.9 per cent in Georgia.

Proponents of Integration

The following organizations presently advancing integration are the ones which have figured in the rising tensions and are the principal targets of attack in the South:

1. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was created in 1909 and has more than a quarter million members in the various states. The NAACP has provided the leadership in forcing various issues involving the Negro before the Courts. Over the years, it has investigated acts of violence, racial disturbances and incidents.

Following the May, 1954, Supreme Court decision, there was a marked increase in NAACP activities. Court actions were initiated against a number of local school boards in the South and a campaign has been launched to extend the principles of nonsegregation in other areas such as housing, interstate travel, and health facilities.

The Communist Party has instructed all Negro comrades to join the NAACP but, despite the determined effort of the Communist Party to infiltrate the NAACP, this organization reaffirmed its anti-Communist stand at its last convention in Atlantic City in June, 1955. Since then the Communist Party has intensified its efforts to infiltrate the NAACP particularly at local levels. To illustrate, Ed Strong, Chairman of the Negro Commission of the Communist Party, was in contact with several NAACP officials in Texas in January.

In recent months, the NAACP has concentrated its activities around the Till case and the Mississippi shootings of Reverend George W. Lee, Belzoni; Lamar Smith, Lincoln County; and Gus Courts of Belzoni, Mississippi.

One recent incident which has a potential for acts of violence is a citywide boycott by Negroes of buses in Montgomery, Alabama, which started in December, 1955, designed to force an end to segregation on buses. Considerable tension and several shootings preceded the boycott. Police cars escort the buses through the Negro sections to prevent acts of violence. A bomb was exploded on the front porch of the residence of one of the leaders in the boycott; and two days later, February 10, 1956, an explosive device was detonated in the front yard of another leader. Two prosegregation groups promptly offered $1,000 reward for information leading to the conviction of the wrongdoers. After the boycott had been on for over two months, bus service had fallen off 50 per cent. There is considerable tension in Montgomery with the possibility of additional incidents. A State Grand Jury was convened on February 13, 1956, to determine whether the boycott was a violation of a state law making boycotts a misdemeanor punishable by 6 months in jail or $500 fine.

On February 21, 1956, the Grand Jury indicted 115 Negroes under a 1921 law which makes a conspiracy to interfere with or hinder business a misdemeanor. In reporting its findings, the Grand Jury reported growing tensions, observed that small incidents have been magnified and stated, "...if we continue on our present course...violence is inevitable. The leaders of both races are urged to take a long and thoughtful look into the future."

Dr. A. H. McCoy, President of the NAACP in Mississippi, in commenting on their demands for integration, warned that if violence occurred "some white blood will flow too." B. L. Hooks, NAACP leader in Memphis, Tennessee, on January 29, 1956, told local Negroes to "rock more boats and create more storms." He also said, "If it's necessary for us to stir up more tension and more interest to win our fight, I'm willing to do it."

The disgraceful incident at the University of Alabama on February 4, 5 and 6, 1956, is a symptom of the increasing tensions in the South. In a suit originally filed on July 3, 1953, the Federal Judge in Birmingham, Alabama, enjoined the University of Alabama on July 1, 1955, from denying admittance to two Negresses. The injunction was then suspended four months to allow an appeal. On February 1, 1956, Miss Autherine Lucy, age 26, was admitted but admittance was denied to Miss Pollyann Myers Hudson, age 23, on moral grounds. (On February 9, 1956, Thurgood Marshall, NAACP Counsel, ordered her suit withdrawn on the claim she was a hussy, i.e. had baby 6 months after marriage.)

A mob of 3,000 persons gathered at the University to protest the admittance of Miss Lucy and police used tear gas to disperse the mob. NAACP attorneys filed contempt proceedings against University officials and four mob leaders on February 9, 1956. At a hearing on February 29, 1956, the Federal Judge ordered that Miss Lucy be readmitted on March 5, 1956. On March 1, 1956, the

University issued a statement that she had been expelled for making false charges against the University.

The University of Southwest Library

2. Communist Party, USA

The expertness of the Communist Party in pitting class against class has long been devoted to publicly espousing the cause of the Negro as a tactic to recruit Negroes into its ranks and to use the Negro as a rallying point to further its aim of weakening the United States. For years, the Communist Party has had difficulty in making inroads in the South and seizes upon any incident to heighten tension and precipitate difficulties.

The Communists have decided now to concentrate their activities in Alabama, Georgia, and Mississippi since these are the growing areas of industrial concentration where Communists think they have the best chance to infiltrate and expand the Party strength. The Party is now engaged in an active program to send Party members from the New England States to these three states where they will concentrate in the textile industry.

The Communists intend to inject the Negro question into every possible issue. They claim that the unfortunate and brutal killing of 14-year-old Emmett Till is the finest thing that has happened from their standpoint. For public consumption they claim that the Till case is an historic event and the turning point in the Negro struggle for liberation.

The Communists are also maneuvering "an all out political mobilization," which they hope "will be an important factor in determining the position of the Negro people in the crucial Presidential election now at hand." The Communists thus hope to alienate support which the Administration has previously secured from the South and border states.

Communist leaders have sought to infiltrate the NAACP to effect a working agreement and a united front, although the national leadership of the NAACP remains anti-Communist.

The Communist Party has ordered each district to start a program of agitation designed "to put the heat on Federal authorities" and to demand that the Federal Government by immediate action support the Supreme Court decision on the desegregation issue.

To illustrate the potency of Communist pressure, I need only to cite the sequence of events in Chicago. In September, 1955, the Illinois-Indiana District C. P. started agitation with a 1-page leaflet on the Till case calling upon President Eisenhower to dismiss the Attorney General. This was followed by an agitation campaign by the Civil Rights Congress calling for pressure on the President and the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights. Mayor Richard J. Daley of Chicago on September 2, 1955, wired the President urging intervention. I hasten to say that Mayor Daley is not a Communist, but pressures engineered by the Communists were brought to bear upon him.

The Communists have long been clamoring for a march on Washington to bring pressure on both the Executive and Legislative Branches of Government.

The present Communist Party program calls for:

1. Intervention in the Till case since they claim that the Southern states, particularly Mississippi, are undergoing

a reign of terror.

2. Federal intervention, with Armed Services if necessary, is essential to preserve law and order in Mississippi.

3. The enactment by Congress of antilynching, antipoll tax and fair employment practices legislation.

4. The Mississippi delegation should not be seated in Congress and Senator James O. Eastland should be impeached.

5. No Federal funds should be given to public schools which are still segregated.

The Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

3. Afro-American Congress of Christian Organizations

The Afro-American Congress of Christian Organizations, an all-Negro organization, was reactivated in Chicago, Illinois, last October as a protest to the Till case. It is headed by Reverend Clarence William Harding of the Victory Baptist Church. Harding preaches racial hatred and retaliation against white people.

This organization sponsored a mass rally in Chicago on October 9, 1955, to raise money to send a delegation to Washington on October 22, 1955, to focus attention on the Till case. The Communist Party gave Harding $100 on October 7, 1955, to advertise his October 9 meeting. Harding asked for names from the Communist Party to

contact for contributions on a trip to New York City, Philadelphia, Detroit, and other places. He is reported to have an underground in the South with headquarters in Mississippi. Rumors in circulation are that Negroes are buying small firearms and sending them to relatives in the South.

Harding raised $370 at his October 9 meeting and 32 members of his group came to Washington, picketed the White House, and made protests to the Civil Rights Section of the Department of Justice, Criminal Division. Harding was convicted by court martial on 5-10-43 and sentenced to serve five years in a Federal reformatory for uttering disloyal statements. The Communist Party does not control the organization but does attempt to influence it.

4. Muslim Cult of Islam

The Muslim Cult of Islam is made up of religious fanatics who claim allegiance only to Allah and whose leader is Elijah Mohammed who resides in Chicago. This cult is anti-United States and violently antiwhite. It is a tightly knit and controlled organization with an estimated 1,000 members and temples in 15 cities. Last December, we had reports that a number of members were sent from Philadelphia to spread the teachings of the cult through the South. The prophet Mohammed recently made a trip South and is aware of a fertile field awaiting the teachings of his cult.

5. March on Washington

A national conference on civil rights under the auspices of the NAACP was originally scheduled to be held in Washington in February but the date has now been changed to March 4 through 6, 1956.

From December 3 to 5, 1955, a Communist Party Commission discussed plans for the March on Washington in connection with an NAACP conference. The Party has issued instructions to mobilize its forces for this March on Washington and it can be anticipated that the Party will try to exert influence on the NAACP conference. There is reliable information from the highest level of the Communist Party that Doxey Wilkerson, a Negro Communist leader, has had a secret conference with NAACP leaders in New York on a campaign on the Till case.

The Communist Party plans to use this conference to embarrass the Administration by causing a rift between the Administration and Dixiecrats who have supported it, by forcing the Administration to take a stand on civil rights legislation with the present Congress. The Party hopes through a rift to affect the 1956 elections.

The Party under the guise of NAACP delegations has already contacted Members of Congress in the Chicago area seeking to get them on record on civil rights legislation. There is some internal disagreement among NAACP leaders about the advisability of holding the conference.

A press release issued by the NAACP states the Washington meeting March 4-6, 1956, will be composed of some 50 organizations and

will seek an eight-point legislative program as follows:

1. A Federal F.E.P.C.
2. Withhold Federal funds from segregated projects
3. Make lynching and other race-inspired acts violations of Federal laws
4. Abolition of poll tax
5. Establish Civil Rights Division in Department of Justice
6. Create permanent Federal Commission on Civil Rights
7. Eliminate remaining segregation and other forms of discrimination in interstate travel.
8. Establish majority rule in the Senate and House. (Aimed at filibuster.)

Prosegregation Activities

We now come to a consideration of the organized activities in the South which either could control the rising tensions or become the medium through which tensions might manifest themselves.

To our certain knowledge, 127 organizations have come into being since May 17, 1954, all designed to maintain segregation.

In no instance have we been advised that any of the so-called Citizens Councils advocate violence. Senator Eastland in addressing a rally of the Citizens Councils of Alabama at Montgomery on 2/10/56 in urging resistance to integration said, "The fight we wage must be a just and legal fight. Acts of violence and lawlessness have no place in our organization." Their purposes include education against the evils of integration, advocacy of state sovereignty

and some have been formed to serve on a stand-by basis in the event the NAACP or Negro citizens petition for integration. Where no steps have been taken to advance integration, the organizations have been relatively quiet.

In some instances groups are being more aggressive and are advocating economic pressure on members of the NAACP, registered Negro voters and persons openly advocating integration. The most active organization in this area is the Association of Citizens Councils of Mississippi which now has 253 chapters in the State.

Membership

The Councils vary in size from as few as 30 members to as many as 60,000 in Mississippi. The 41 organizations for which figures are available reflect a total membership of 116,000.

The membership of these organizations reflects bankers, lawyers, doctors, state legislators and industrialists. In short, their membership includes some of the leading citizens in the South. Among the high-ranking officials who have given oral support to these organizations are Senators Eastland and Thurmond and Governor Marvin Griffin of Georgia.

The organizations to date have been open in their methods and their meetings have been reported by the press. The newspapers in the South carry advertisements and letters to the editor. For example, the Jackson, Mississippi, Clarion Ledger on September 14, 1954, quoted a planter as saying, "We won't gin their cotton, we won't allow them credit and we won't rent them houses if Negroes try to break down segregation." The same paper on

October 24, 1954, in a letter to the editor from Fred Jones, former State Senator, stated he was a member of the Association of Citizens Councils of Mississippi and pointed out, "We can accomplish our purposes largely with economic pressure...in dealing with members of the Negro race who are not cooperating, and with members of the white race who fail to cooperate, we can apply social and political pressure."

Economic Pressure

The Councils' program in some areas in applying economic pressure already has begun to make itself felt. In Humphreys County, Mississippi, a white farmer reported that 400 Negroes paid poll tax in 1954 and only 94 in 1955. One Negro was told that economic pressure would be applied if he didn't resign as President of the NAACP in Belzoni, Mississippi. He didn't resign but we cannot say if this was the sole reason for his being shot and wounded on November 25, 1955.

A Negro dentist was told by the local bank he would be given no more financial assistance. A Negro gas station operator who refused to put up a sign "For Colored Only" was notified by the gas distributor that he would have to pay cash for oil and gas in advance. The local bank fixed a short deadline on his repayment of a loan.

A doctor who was a member of the NAACP was told by patients that their employers would not pay their doctor bills in the future.

The Citizens Council in Yazoo City, Mississippi, ran a paid advertisement in August, 1955, setting forth the names of 53 Negroes who petitioned for integrated schools. As a result, many lost their jobs, those who were self-employed received no work, and grocery stores refused to sell the petitioners merchandise. As a consequence, several of the petition signers left Yazoo City and went North.

Two Negroes were asked if they had paid their poll tax when they took their cotton to be ginned. They had and were told to come back when they got straightened out. They had their names removed from the voting rolls in Isola, Mississippi, and their cotton was ginned without question.

When the Falstaff Brewery Company, New Orleans, Louisiana, contributed to the NAACP, merchants in Canton, Mississippi, discontinued their purchases. Subsequently, the Falstaff Brewery Company sent a letter to the NAACP saying it was contrary to Company policy to make contributions to organizations such as the NAACP and that the donation previously made was made on behalf of an employee. They then started selling beer again in Canton.

Federation for Constitutional Government

In January, 1955, representatives of 11 Southern states met at Jackson, Mississippi, for the purpose of creating a coordinating organization known as the Federation of Constitutional Government. In the last week of December, 1955, delegates from 12 states met at Memphis, Tennessee, to perfect the organization. Among the 100 persons selected for the advisory

board were Senator Eastland of Mississippi, Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, Governor Marvin Griffin of Georgia, 6 members of the House of Representatives, and 4 former Southern Governors. The organization has as its purpose "to fight racial integration" and "other efforts to destroy the Constitution" by coordinating the efforts in the various pro-segregation organizations. At the December meeting a resolution was adopted endorsing the Virginia proposal of "interposition" to nullify and void the Supreme Court antisegregation decisions.

Ku Klux Klan

The Ku Klux Klan was pretty much defunct after successful prosecutions of cases investigated by the FBI in Georgia, North and South Carolina and Florida in the early 50s. Since May, 1954, an effort has been made to reactivate it and it has promoted public demonstrations for the primary purpose of seeking publicity and increasing its membership. At a meeting on February 13, 1956, in Roswell, Georgia, Imperial Wizard E. L. Edwards charged that if the Federal Judge ordered that Miss Lucy be admitted to the University of Alabama and there were riots, he, the Judge, would be guilty of murder.

Evidence of Growing Tension

There has been an increasing number of inflammatory statements which reflects growing public opinion in the South with no effort being made to conceal the position of Southern leaders.

The Jackson, Mississippi, Clarion Ledger of September 10, 1954, in a story quoted unidentified legislators as stating: If Negroes know about the

Citizens Councils they will not try to enter white schools. They (the Councils) will prevent bloodshed.... "A few killings" would be the best thing for the State just before the people vote on a proposed amendment empowering the legislature to abolish public schools. The men banding together in Citizens Councils "want to persuade first but are determined to use force if necessary." Attorney General Eugene Cook, in addressing a rally of Citizens Councils in Montgomery, Alabama, on February 10, 1956, said, "The time has now come to...use defiance, nullification and refuse to obey." He also said, "We will not permit racial suicide in Georgia at any price...." and then observed that the goal of the NAACP is to remove all racial barriers including racial intermarriage.

Robert Patterson, Executive Secretary of the Associated Citizens Councils of Mississippi, on October 25, 1955, said, "Organized aggression must be met with organized resistance. We must unite and let the politicians know how we feel." Congressman L. Mendel Rivers of South Carolina in November, 1955, stated that the Supreme Court decision would bring mongrelization of the Caucasian race (the mixture of the races) and predicted bloodshed will come if the present trend is not stopped.

On December 30, 1955, Governor Hugh White of Mississippi in commenting upon a statement of Assistant Attorney General Warren Olney that the Department of Justice was giving attention to the activities of Citizens Councils stated that the Councils have nothing to hide from the Department of Justice, whom he called "a bunch of meddlesome jackasses."

Ellis Wright, President of the Citizens Council in Jackson, Mississippi, stated, "We now tell the NAACP people they have started something they will never finish."

Progress in Civil Rights

Despite the tension which now exists, progress in civil rights has been made. Acts of violence have declined. In 1939, the FBI, at the direction of the Department of Justice, started investigating civil rights violations involving acts of violence. In the past 17 years, a total of 39 lynchings have occurred, as contrasted with 317 lynchings in the preceding 17-year period. No lynchings have been reported in the past 4 years.

Gradual change has been taking place. In 1953, well before the Supreme Court decision requiring ultimate desegregation of the entire public school system, state-owned universities in 12 of 17 Southern and border states had opened their classrooms to Negro students. This was accomplished with little stir.

To date, 36 state-financed colleges previously all white in 12 Southern and border states have accepted Negro students. Ten Southern medical schools and 30 Southern nursing schools have admitted Negroes. This gradual trend has been free of violence.

More than 500 Negroes have enrolled in formerly all white state-supported colleges and universities from Texas to Virginia, with the marked exception of Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina. Even in Louisiana there are more Negroes enrolled in white colleges and universities

than any other state in the South. More than 350 there are taking graduate and undergraduate courses. Texas has more than 100 enrolled. Negroes are well represented in Kentucky, Arkansas, North Carolina and Virginia colleges and universities.

In the fiscal year 1955, we handled 1,275 cases involving alleged violations of civil rights as contrasted with 1,458 such cases in the fiscal year 1954. In the past six months, we have averaged 100 complaints a month involving alleged violations of civil rights. The FBI is directed to make preliminary inquiries upon receipt of information involving allegations of civil rights violations. However, full field investigations are made only upon direction of the Department's Criminal Division.

In the 4 cases which are most frequently mentioned, the FBI has investigated the shootings of Reverend George W. Lee at Belzoni, Mississippi, and the shooting of Gus Courts. The Emmett Till and the Lamar Smith cases were not investigated by the FBI since there was no Federal jurisdiction.

One of the most encouraging developments in civil rights matters has been the changed attitude of Southern law enforcement officers toward civil rights. For example, whenever a charge of civil rights violations is raised against the Dallas, Texas, Police Department, the Chief of Police personally reports the incident to the FBI with a request that we investigate.

In 1954 we conducted 6 specialized training schools on civil rights for local law enforcement agencies in the South, 5 in 1955 and so far this year 128 such schools have either been held or are scheduled to be held in the near future. In Monroe, Louisiana, for example, on

December 13, 1955, we had to run the school in two sessions. The night force went to classes in the morning and the day force went to classes in the evening.

Obstruction to Investigation of Civil Rights Matters

Invariably, when atrocious acts of violence break out we run into an iron curtain of silence. The difficulties which our Agents face at times are almost indescribable. The Negroes are afraid to talk and in case after case we have had to wait until nightfall to go see them if we hoped to secure any information.

The Dwight D. Eisenhower Library

In other instances, we are greeted by open antagonism on the part of some local authorities.

In the States of South Carolina, Georgia and Florida, we are not permitted to interview prisoners complaining of violations of their civil rights in state institutions without a prison official being present and in South Carolina we have to secure the written permission of the Governor. Circuit Judge George Wallace, at Union Springs, Alabama, on February 6, 1956, in a charge to a Grand Jury, asserted that if the FBI invaded the State sovereignity by investigating the selection of jurors in his county as we did in Cobb County, Georgia, he, the Judge, would order the arrest of every member of the FBI or any other Federal agency involved in such investigation on contempt of court charges. This Judge's jurisdiction covers Barbour, Bullock and Dale Counties.

Conclusion

The question of civil rights is interrelated with racial prejudices; charged with highly emotional surges. The law-abiding people of the South neither approve nor condone acts of brutality and the lawless taking of human lives. On

the other hand, historic traditions and customs are a part of a heritage with which they will not part without a struggle. Militant resources of both those who stand for and against segregation have been mobilized and impulsive precipitated action could unleash acts of violence. The mounting tension can be met only with understanding and a realization of the motivating forces. Delicate situations are aggravated by some overzealous but ill-advised leaders of the NAACP and by the Communist Party, which seeks to use incidents to further the so-called class struggle.

Calm, judicious judgment, public education and real understanding are needed to avert explosive incidents. The area of danger lies in friction between extremists on both sides ready with violence.