

damaging story in The New York Times, that the White House sought to impugn Don Reynolds' reliability as a witness by reading journalists excerpts from FBI files on Reynolds. A high White House personage, not the President, is represented as directly involved. This is a far more serious thing than a \$582 stereo set or the advertising of pots and pans, for this goes to the integrity of a free society and the security of citizens against selective persecution by the use of secret government police files.

**I**N MY OPINION—and I have considered it some weeks, and understand the different aspects of it — Democrats ought ask themselves two questions about Johnson and the Democratic convention, one a question of principle, the other of expediency.

The first is whether Johnson ought to be the Democratic nominee for president. Lest I be thought unrealistic, let me anticipate one of the rejoinders. It is beyond imagination that a Texas Democrat could buck an incumbent Democratic president from Texas. It is beyond possibility that the Democratic National Convention would fail to nominate Johnson. In effect, the liberals

who advance these arguments say, we're stuck; it is unDemocratic to ask that question; let's be grateful he's turned liberal and make the best of it.

But it is also true, is it not, that each man is responsible for what he does; responsible for each flexing of his personal influence, and each failure to flex it; responsible for each thing he says as a citizen, and for each time, also, that he is silent. In Texas we have a special responsibility this year; for Johnson is a Texan.

The second question is, Ought the Democrats act on the assumption that Johnson's past is inexpugnable? So, he is running very liberal, apparently. What about him?

Nothing more that is criticizable may be found, by the Republicans or by newspapermen; it is certainly to be assumed in fairness that it will not. But if it is, might not the Republicans lie behind the log until Johnson is nominated and then rise up with their shillelagns? It is certainly to be assumed, in the game of politics, that this is what they will do if anything turns up that gives them grounds to. Mostly rightists and racists believed strongly that Kennedy could be beaten, but there is a general feeling that Johnson could be beaten. There are

a lot of days, each one twenty-hours long, between March and November.

Of course, most Democrats now are committed to Johnson's nomination in the belief that it is the best, or the only, or the best and the only thing they can do. It is *not* the only thing they can do. It is just as possible for them to seek the nomination of someone just as liberal as Johnson talks, or more so, such as Senator Joseph Clark of Pennsylvania or, (even though there would be great difficulties,) of Adlai Stevenson of Illinois, in the belief that it is wiser to forego a certain advantage, running an incumbent president, than it would be to risk history on a politician one does not trust.

I write all this knowing that it is quite possible Johnson may be a great liberal president. The office has changed men before, and can again. Nevertheless, this is a subject that must be thought about and discussed in the open. I believe that everything should be considered and that no serious person should close his mind to any conclusion. I invite, not rhetoric or vituperation, but reflection. The arena is not Texas, where coy little masquerades so often pass for serious politics. The arena is the United States. R.D.

## Integration in Texas

Austin

The valley of segregation, below the white icy mountain, has been dry for lo these many years. The thaw, gradual like the coming of a millennial summer, has trickled into the valley a slowly rising river, lifting leaf by leaf, twig by twig, worrying loose great dead trees from their rotting roots, as it rises ever slowly, but steadily does rise. Surveying Texas since the Observer's last report on the thaw, ("Texas Is Integrating," Obs. June 28, 1963,) we must notice that the rising river has borne off some thickets of piled-up brush, some whole fallen-over timbers, but the valley is still wide and much of it cluttered and dry; the winter that began Nov. 22 has not yet become the spring.

**T**HE ASSASSINATION, for instance, cut off rising expressions of discontent among the 3,200 students at Prairie View A&M College near Hempstead ("the exception" noted in the Observer's account of Houston as a backwater of the civil rights revolt, Obs. Nov. 15, '63). The discontent found focus in an economic boycott of the merchants in Hempstead, and it found an on-campus target when the administration of the school refused to support the boycott. For the homecoming football game with Bishop College Nov. 9, the students stayed away to chastise the administration, and the stands were almost vacant—estimates did not go higher than 100 fans in attendance. On Nov. 16, three white ministers joined students in picket-

ing G. Kelley's Steak House and the KC Steak House on Highway 290, which passes through Hempstead. Then came Nov. 22.

Just before the assassination, major changes began to break loose in Texas college customs, and these have continued all winter. On Oct. 29, addressing the general faculty, University of Texas Chancellor Harry Ransom let drop that public areas in living units were no longer segregated, and the Texas Relays and Longhorn Band had been integrated. Four days before the President's death, U.T.'s athletic director and head coach, Darrell Royal, announced complete athletic integration at the university—a step put off for years on grounds that whites would resent seeing Negroes carrying forward the cause of the orange and white at Memorial Stadium. The announcement caused cautiously approving responses from other coaches in this area, and a spokesman who did not let himself be named said the University of Houston's intercollegiate athletics are integrated, too.

Rumors that Baylor, the Baptist college, and its medical college in Houston would integrate became fact in November. In January the trustees of Texas Christian University, which is run by the Disciples of Christ, voted to integrate completely, with no reservations. Neither of these schools took the step by unanimous vote, but majorities prevailed. T.C.U. acted "on the strong recommendation of Chancellor M. E. Sadler," the school's trustees said. Last month U.T.'s regents approved integrated housing for a married students' dorm and summer seminar participants,

completing U.T. integration in every major area of student life except one, student housing, which is the subject of pending litigation.

This left Rice University the only segregated Southwest Conference school. The difficulty there, of course, is the 1891 instrument by which William Marsh Rice created an endowment for Rice, prohibiting acceptance of Negro students. Rice's trustees last year filed a civil suit asking that the restriction be set aside. Dr. Kenneth S. Pitzer, president, told the jury in Houston last month that Rice, not strictly a first-class university now, could go nowhere but downhill unless the race restriction was lifted. He specifically referred to the difficulty of getting federal research grants for a segregated college. The two Rice alumni opposing the suit contended, obviously and plausibly, that the trust is what Marsh made it and that if the trustees cannot fulfill its terms they should resign. Under cross-examination, Pitzer acknowledged that he knew about the restriction when he took the presidency. He said he might leave Rice if it was not lifted. The 1/4 jury ruled, in effect, that Rice cannot be a first-rate college, as the founder intended, as long as whites are barred, as the founder required. Just what this means depends on Dist. Judge William M. Holland.

**W**ITH ALL THE STATE'S big city public schools already embarked on desegregation, changes in this area have begun to resemble the beginnings of mopping up operations.

Galveston's school trustees have already



announced they will fully integrate their system next fall after three "stair-step" years. An attorney for parents of Georgetown Negroes is arguing in federal court in Houston that the grade-a-year program in Georgetown, which would not be complete until 1975, would prevent the children of his clients from ever attending desegregated schools, would constitute a 21-year delay from the date of the 1954 Supreme Court ruling, and involved a "clearly unreasonable period of time." He asks four grades a year instead of one. Huntsville, in deep East Texas, will start stair-step integration in September.

NAACP spokesmen, such as Clarence Laws of Dallas, have been berating "tokenism" persistently, and the defenders of school separatism have been giving a little ground. Last fall, Negro students in integrated classroom situations increased from 16 to 182 in Dallas and from 66 to 155 in Houston. Austin integrated the last four of its segregated grades. Fort Worth, the last big city still segregated, gave way; so did Waco and Temple; and, in East Texas, so did Longview, Tyler, Canton, Edgewood, Athens, Bryan, Port Arthur, and Beaumont.

According to the Southern Education Reporting Service, an estimated 14,000 Negroes are attending classes in Texas now with about 186,000 whites. This means that about four percent of Texas Negro school children are now integrated, about twice as many in 1962-'63.

According to a map prepared by the Southwest regional office of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, there are only two parts of the state with large concentrations of Negroes where school segregation has not been breached. One of these is a 14-county area in extreme northeast Texas. The other is a thick arc of East Texas counties extending at its upper margin from the Louisiana border across underneath the East Texas oilfield to Fairfield, arcing through Rockdale and then dropping due south through Hallettsville to Palacios. The area includes all the Texas counties south and east of this arc except for Brazos County and the Houston-Sabine area.

To put this matter another way:

East Texas is still adamant against school integration, even of the token kind, except for a string of exceptions from Marshall on the east into Dallas; Brazos County; and the Houston area, Galveston, Beaumont, Port Arthur, and Orange. An interesting question next summer and fall will be the extent to which schools in the two large expanses of hold-out, rural East Texas will come to grudging terms with the law of the times.

Little-noticed in main-stem Texas was the decision by nine El Paso high school principals to boycott the Texas Assn. of Student Councils because it is segregated. The parent organization is the Texas Assn. of Secondary School Principals. El Paso's principals decided to take their delegates from the student councils, including a Negro delegate, to the New Mexico student council association in Farmington, N.M., March 20-21, where the Negro will be accepted.

This episode demonstrates the continuing segregation in the quasi-official Texas teachers' and administrative organizations. The question of a merger of the all-white Texas State Teachers' Assn. and the all-Negro Teachers State Assn. of Texas came up last fall at the TSTA convention in Fort Worth; a study was decided upon. The new TSTA president, Mrs. Elizabeth Little of Corpus Christi, said she is for total integration of the schools, but will not promote it.

One underlying issue in this area is a problem the San Antonio schools faced last September when they integrated teaching faculties at five of the public schools, including Negroes among white teachers, therefore, of course, placing Negro teachers over white students.

**A** GOOD DEAL of the recent disputation over civil rights in the cities has taken the form of demands by civil rights groups that city councils enact ordinances prohibiting discrimination against Negroes in places of public accommodation.



The only city with such an ordinance in Texas is El Paso. There, on June 21, 1962, after a protracted and complicated dispute, the city council unanimously overrode the mayor's veto and made racial or religious discrimination by hotels, motels, restaurants, and theaters a misdemeanor punishable by fine up to \$200. El Paso was already substantially integrated by the time the ordinance was adopted. Obviously the ordinance is just a local version, applicable to local businesses, of what the Congress is considering passing as the public accommodations section of the civil rights bill of 1964.

In San Antonio, Austin, and Corpus Christi, there have been demonstrations, petitions, pleas, cajolings, and demands, but the city councils have firmly refused to enact such ordinances. In San Antonio, the answer of the merchants and city councilmen has been intensified efforts to achieve voluntary desegregation. It was declared last fall that 98.5% of San Antonio's privately owned, publicly operated

businesses are fully desegregated. But, San Antonio Negro leaders have cited instances of "re-segregation" in places where the color line had temporarily been erased. In pushing for an "open city" ordinance, Negro leaders have said that partial integration—by raising doubt as to whether Negroes will or will not be courteously treated in an individual place—is therefore a more tension-filled circumstance than total segregation.

In Austin, where a legal officer of the city has written a four-page opinion that the city does not have the power to enact such an ordinance, civil rights advocates have taken a novel step. They prepared a statement of dire civil and commercial misfortunes they said would ensue if such an ordinance is not enacted and had the statement (1) certified as accurate by liberal councilwoman Emma Long and (2) hand-delivered to the White House with a copy of Mrs. Long's endorsement attached.

Volma Overton, NAACP president in Austin, has said that boycotts and lay-ins have been discussed. The point of the report to the President is to remind him—as picket signs did also during a recent demonstration here—that discrimination in Austin embarrasses him politically. Specifically, the civil rights advocates hope that Johnson will communicate with friends of his in the Austin power structure and get the ordinance enacted.

In Houston, the most significant thing that has happened in race relations since last summer may have been a public reception given Mrs. Charles White, the Negro member of the school board, at a downtown hotel. Instead of the 500 or so guests expected, 4,000 persons came (including Don Yarborough, now a candidate for governor again). Mrs. White had just been involved in another of her perennial disputes with the white school board majority, who have resisted integration to the maximum possible extent. (Most recently, they have declined to integrate kindergarten and been sued on the point.) In December, Dick Gregory, the militant Negro comedian, fired up 2,000 students at Texas Southern University; at year's end, the Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth, president of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, addressed a civil rights rally in downtown Houston attended by about 400 persons and sponsored by the NAACP. The University of Houston's Young Democrats participated in this latter event.

**N**EITHER DALLAS nor Houston schools have yielded yet to Negroes' demands that vocational classes be thrown open to all without racial bars. "In public schools," Laws of the NAACP says of Dallas, "Negro youth continue to be denied trade and technical skills even though school officials boast that more than 150 foreign-born students are obtaining such training annually." Dallas Supt. W. T. White's position is that actually, Negroes make up a higher portion of vocational classes than they do of the total student population in Dallas. Laws, of course, refers to the segregatedness of these



classes. H. Rhett James, a Dallas minister, charges that 41 Dallas craft unions discriminate against Negroes.

In February about 300 Dallas people met in a biracial situation to discuss unemployment among Negroes. The city of Houston, in apparent response to the wishes of the new mayor, Louie Welch, has dropped from its job application forms the spaces for specifying "white" or "colored."

And the churches—what have they been doing? There have been a few changes and statements, but they seem not yet to make a pattern. Perhaps the tone of this aspect of the situation was struck by the members of the Houston Baptist Pastors' Conference, who announced that they had voted unanimously to hold fellowship meetings with Negro Baptist ministers in Houston—at least once every three months.

The Baptist Standard, the mass-circulation Texas Baptist magazine, continues to plug for church integration. The Baptist General Convention of Texas surveyed 4,500 Texas Baptist congregations on the issue and received 1,259 responses, 234 saying they would permit Negroes to join their congregations as members and 747 saying they would permit Negroes to attend services. Last fall University Baptist Church in Fort Worth, the largest Baptist

church in that city, voted to accept Negroes in membership. Negroes have picketed First Baptist Church in Dallas. A white, Rev. William Oliver III of the United Church of Christ, is minister of an all-Negro congregation in Beaumont now and was recently jailed with other civil rights demonstrators in Beaumont.

There have been, of course, a few novel incidents from the far-right and the far-left on the race question. Fort Worth police have jailed three Muslims accused of roughing up another Muslim and breaking his car windows. (Last summer there were two reports of carloads of Negroes attacking and shooting at whites in Fort Worth.) The Secretary of State has issued a charter to the National Assn. for the Advancement of White People, whose agent is O. J. McCullough of Houston.

And there have been an interesting miscellany of episodes: Willie Jerry Jones, the Huntsville NAACP president, has filed suit to integrate the Walker County courthouse. The Federation of Women's Clubs in Dallas was denied a Marine Guard because the club meeting was segregated. Swimming pools in Levelland and Colorado City were integrated. The Fort Worth Bar admitted Negroes. In Sherman, where the whites' library had 23,044 volumes and the Negroes' 2,582, the white library was opened to Negroes.

**T**HE MILITANT Southern civil rights organizations have been edging into Texas, but they are so busily engaged in the Southern landscape, they have not committed many people to Texas work. Ike Reynolds, New Orleans field secretary for the Congress of Racial Equality, has helped organize CORE chapters in Houston, Austin, and San Antonio. A field secretary for the Student Non-violent Coordinating Cmte. was reported in Houston trying to recruit workers for SNCC's Mississippi voter registration program, which sounds innocent enough but is probably as dangerous a civil rights drive as there is anywhere in the United States. Four field workers for Rev. Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference were guests of Texas AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education at Arlington last month and sang freedom songs for the COPE delegates at a banquet the evening of Feb. 12. A new youth chapter of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People has been formed at the University of Texas. Last week James Farmer, national CORE director, spoke to the San Antonio CORE chapter, which picketed a cafe and liquor store a few days later.

Civil rights demonstrations can be expected in March in Dallas, Beaumont, and perhaps Austin. The suspension of a student leader at Bishop College in Dallas because of protests against cafeteria food and other grievances has made the situation there, between the students and the administration, quite unstable. Numbers of Negro students are now participating in the efforts to qualify Negroes to vote in federal elections without poll taxes, but after the March 6 deadline of the free registration period, they can be expected to turn their interests toward demonstrations.

1964, says Clarence Laws, will be "a year of truth or consequences." Unless real progress is made, he said, "the demonstrations of 1963 will look puny when compared to what is likely to happen in 1964."

Racial change is continuing to occur for one reason because these days it's often good business. The Waco chamber of commerce's community relations committee, for instance, recently bemoaned a story in the Dallas News reporting discrimination in a Waco cafeteria as an attempt to exploit the situation by a "competing" city. The committee added that continuing segregation was a threat to "the maintenance of our military installations and the permanent location of the VA regional office in Waco."

But racial change also continues to occur because the ethical and human difficulties of segregation are now a part of the national conscience. In Corpus Christi, where all public facilities and most public accommodations are integrated, Mayor James Barnard told the Ministerial Alliance that while Corpus Christians have made a lot of progress without major disturbances, "a challenge still remains before we can honestly say the city is integrated. That challenge is individual acceptance of the colored people—to think of them as individuals." □

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