

'And crown thy good with brotherhood

from seed to shining seed.

Segregationist has queer combination of views

(Editor's note: Oregon and Mississippi have much in common. Both are largely rural states. Industry in each is concerned largely with processing products of fields and forests. Both states assiduously seek new industry of a different character. Each has approximately the same population. There are major points of difference, too. The people of Oregon have much higher incomes than their Mississippi cousins. They are better educated, on the average. Climate and location aside, the basic difference between the two states is the makeup of the populations. Nearly half the residents of Mississippi are Negroes. It was to observe at first hand relations between Mississippi whites and Negroes that the editor of The Bulletin recently spent several days in the Southern state. This editorial and four others to follow contain his findings.)

A person who comes to Mississippi looking for the "average" man, or the "typical" man is going to be disappointed. He's nowhere to be found in this state. The labels which are used so easily elsewhere don't fit here, or don't fit in the meaning assigned to them in so many other places. Political labels, in particular, have meanings in Mississippi which are a far cry from the same labels in other states, in other sections of this country.

A large part of the white population of the state, for example, is dedicated to the principle of segregation of the white and colored portions of Mississippi's people. Yet the feeling is not unanimous. And even in the most ardent of segregationist strongholds, undeniable progress has been made by Negroes in gaining some form of more equal treatment than had been the state's custom since the first white residents, and their colored slaves, arrived.

Some of the state's most ardent race supremacists are relative newcomers. And some of its most moderate persons are those who have lived in Mississippi all their lives.

At first glance, segregation might seem to be complete, and uncompromising. It's true almost all the state's public facilities are segregated. But not all. Jackson, the capital, has a fine new airport, and the signs stayed off the restrooms and drinking fountains when the city was reminded that federal funds paid a considerable portion of the cost, and that the federal government was not building segregated facilities. It's true no Negroes attend white

public schools in Mississippi at the present time. But it's true one private school in the state has been integrated for about 50 years. And it's also true that most of the state's residents don't know it exists.

The white race supremacist, or segregationist, here has — to an outsider — a rather queer combination of views. He believes cemeteries should continue to be segregated, but doesn't know why the races were separated, after death, in the first place. He wants the colored man's business, and will let him try on wearing apparel to determine the correctness of the fit. But he insists that his customers use separate washroom facilities, or go elsewhere if they happen to be colored and he only maintains one set of rest rooms.

The race supremacist blames his state's race troubles on the efforts of "outside agitators and meddlers" (the words sometimes are run together quickly, just like the old stories about "danyankee," a phrase which we didn't hear once, even in jest, during our visit). To believe him, one would conclude the Negro residents of his state have no desire for better economic opportunities, better educations, or the right to vote. His views are not shared by the Negroes.

The race supremacist is an expert on the Negro. He will tell you the Negro is shiftless, good-humored, unintelligent and incapable of learning. He will tell you in the next sentence that the Negro is tricky, a Lothario of great abilities, a clever and inveterate gambler, and vicious. The segregationist apparently never realizes the essential hypocrisy in these completely conflicting views.

The race supremacist is dedicated to "keeping the Nigra in his place," and preserving the superiority of the race. Yet he is spending a tremendous percentage of his state's income on new and better schools, most of which are designed for colored students. (His motives are not the purest; he wants to reach the "separate but equal" doctrine in effect in this country prior to 1954 when it was outlawed by the Supreme Court.) He doesn't want any race "mixing," but the hues and pedigrees of the vast majority of the state's Negroes demonstrate infusions of white blood in the past, infusions which continue to the present day, from the looks of children in the schools.

The ardent segregationist will admit, in the quiet of his home, that the Negro has been exploited and ill-used in his state. He knows the past cannot continue. He blames the Negro for "pushing too fast," and insists things would "work out all right" if the "outside agitators" would just stay away. He classes as outside agitators the U.S. Supreme Court, the President of the United States, Northern newspaper, magazine, and teevie reporters, Justice Department lawyers, and members of various groups dedicated to the advancement of the Negro's situation in life. When asked just what he has in mind in the way of progress if "left alone" you soon discover that if there were no outside pressures there would be precious little progress.

The white supremacist talks of "preserving our Southern way of life," as if that way of life had been granted to him by some divine being, instead of having been assumed by his forefathers through the use of political, economic, and physical muscles.

Even as he utters these brave words, many a racist is troubled. He speaks loudly in a crowd. In the quiet away from the crowd, he is less sure, less vocal. The intensity of his attitude can, in many cases, be measured by his background, his education, and his station in life. The young are less likely to be violent on the subject of segregation than the old. The well-to-do generally see more need for progress than the poor. Those educated outside the state often are less bitter on the subject than are home-grown products.

But one can find many specific instances to disprove each of these statements. The question of the rights of the Negro in the South has been said to be the most significant social issue of the day. There is no unanimity of opinion on it in Mississippi, just as there is no unanimity on it in Oregon. The racists are high in the saddle in Mississippi these days; those who oppose them do so quietly, for fear of social or economic reprisals. Families are split on the subject, just as families were split by the Civil War, 100 years ago.

This, then, is Mississippi today, a state of paradoxes. Perhaps no other state in the Union is spending as big a portion of its income on education. Yet it has allowed the race question to wreak havoc with the University of Mississippi faculty, in a school which was improving as rapidly as most any

state university in this country. It has a fine record of attracting new industry, yet in some cases where plants have been built half the local population, because of color, is effectively barred from seeking work in them. It has plants in which the Negro work force is on a completely equal basis with the white workers; it has others in which a Negro is not employed in any but menial tasks. In still others no Negroes are employed at all.

It has a fine record of agricultural development. Yet it has been completely unable to cope with one of the main fruits of that development, the unemployed farmer or farm laborer. He, white or colored, is the real tragedy in Mississippi. He is uneducated, and unskilled. There is no work for him. But he is there. He eats, and his family eats, or must be fed. He has dragged his state down to the point that the average income of a Mississippi resident is only 52 per cent of the average income of the average resident of the other 49 states.

The white supremacist in Mississippi maintains his position through economic and social pressure, skillfully exerted. Physical violence is at a minimum; the stories of Emmett Till, of Mack Parker, of Medgar Evers, are still fresh in the minds of everyone. But the physical force is not stilled; it is there, ready to be used. The white supremacist would rather have duly constituted authority—the sheriff or his deputies, or the city police—use this force than use it himself. (A Jackson newspaper only a few days ago displayed a picture of a new city "riot truck," described as just like the one in Birmingham.)

Many white supremacists would hesitate to use physical force themselves, against the majesty and power of a government to which they still pay allegiance, even if they don't like its Supreme Court or President. But there are those few, mostly young hoodlums disliked by white and colored alike, around who will not hesitate to use it when the time comes. This lunatic fringe was in evidence at Oxford when James Meredith, a Negro, first was ordered admitted to the University of Mississippi. It was in evidence in Clarksdale when the home of Aaron Henry, state president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, was bombed with a Molotov cocktail. And it will be in evidence again if trouble arises, a trouble which seems almost certain to arise in the present order of things.

'Don't think I stand idly by—I keep asking them not to do this'



A chance to help yourself

The Powell Butte Farmers Club has initiated a project which should be of major help to persons in the Central Oregon area. The club could use a little help in putting over the program. The effort required is not great; the benefits should be many.

The club has initiated action with the state's Public Utilities Commissioner to help clean up a bum situation in the telephone service in the area. (This doesn't mean anyone thinks all the phone service in Central Oregon is bad. On the contrary, it's pretty good. But one thing has been a bother.)

The Powell Butte residents would like to work out an arrangement for an extended service area in Central Oregon, to enable toll-free calls from one part of the area to another. One of the big problem areas is in Powell Butte, of course. This is what aroused the club's interest. There, tolls are involved in

some calls to points as close as a hundred yards away. The same situation exists between the Bend and Redmond areas, between Bend, Redmond, and Sisters, between Redmond and Madras, and between Bend and LaPine and Gilchrist-Crescent.

The Powell Butte Farmers Club thinks its campaign would be helped if a number of area residents expressed interest, and made that interest known to the Public Utilities Commissioner, Salem, Oregon. "Nuff said."

Quotable quotes

I wish them success. And we shall watch how they fly there. — Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev, on the projected 1970 target date for a United States manned flight to the moon.

Washington Merry-go-round

Earlier underworld songbird murdered; fingers high-ups

By Drew Pearson

CHICAGO — The recent singing of Joe Valachi regarding underworld overlordship recalled the death of a man for which, indirectly, I was responsible. I dropped in at the morgue of Chicago's American to refresh my memory.

There it was, in a dusty clipping: The account of how James M. Ragen, head of the Continental Press and Racing Wire died Aug. 14, 1946, after being machine-gunned from a fruit truck at a Chicago street intersection.

The clipping brought back memories of other events identical with what Joe Valachi has been telling senators. James Ragen, before he died, had told me the same thing — only more so — which was why he died.

In 1946, four years before the Kefauver crime probe, I saw Ragen in Chicago. He gave me the story of Chicago mob rule with permission to take it to Attorney General Tom Clark. The story was a sordid one. It told how the hotels, the taverns, the nightclubs, the restaurants were dominated by the mob. To hire a bartender you had to talk to the mob. To buy ice cubes, to launder roller towels, to buy beer you had to do business with the mob. The mob ruled a very large part of Chicago.

I took the story back to Washington and Attorney General Clark authorized a dozen or so FBI men to check on Ragen's facts. A couple of weeks later they reported that they were true. They also reported that control of the underworld reached into very high places. Some of the rulers of the underworld had become supposedly respected businessmen and politicians whose names were household words in Chicago. Some of them, it was stated, had reformed. Yet they still controlled the mob.

State's Rights Protect Mob

In this respect Ragen's information was much more important than that of Joe Valachi.

However, the Justice Department in Washington had no jurisdiction. It raised the question of states' rights. The city of Chicago and the state of Illinois were responsible, not the FBI or the Justice Department.

A couple of weeks after the FBI report came in I received a call from Chicago. It was from Ragen. He said the mob was wise to him and was out to get him. He asked for FBI protection.

The FBI gave him a bodyguard for a while. It should be noted, of course, that Ragen himself was not exactly a saint. As czar of the Continental Racing Wire, he had worked with the late Moe Annenberg in distributing racing news to gamblers all over the country. He had been in some minor altercations when Annenberg directed him to increase race wire tolls to such publications as Flannagan's Turf Bulletin from \$200 a week to \$500.

But Ragen's real troubles began when the Chicago mob had started racing news competition. Hymie Levin and Greasy Thumb Jack Guzik directed the battle. A former Illinois state senator was also involved. Pat Burns, working for the mob, acquired property over the tracks where men with binoculars could flash the odds and the race results to offices which in turn flashed them to bookmakers all over the nation. Ragen's Continental Wire did the same.

The take from this was fabulous and the mob demanded that Ragen move over and let it take over completely.

Undoubtedly this battle was what induced Ragen to talk to me. He had had threats against his life even before this. However, when a man calls you on the long distance telephone to tell you in detail how two gunmen laid for him outside his home, you try to do something about it.

For a time, the FBI gave Ragen protection. But eventually they said that manpower was short, they had other problems to handle in Chicago. The anguished calls from Ragen continued. His life was in danger, he said, and I knew he was telling the truth.

Finally, Ragen hired two bodyguards on his own — Walter Pelletier, a retired policeman, and Marty Walsh, a truck driver for the racing sheet.

By Yvonne Franklin
Bulletin Correspondent

WASHINGTON — The sensitive issue of separation of church and state — which has sent many a federal aid to education bill toppling into the abyss over religious controversy — threatens once again to place Sen. Wayne Morse and Rep. Edith Green on opposing sides of the chasm.

They will lead their respective Senate and House conferees in attempting to compromise the differences in the recently passed higher education bills. Both have been warned, in effect, by their colleagues not to draw back on the differing points which their respective legislation contains.

But they must find some ground for compromise or there will be no college aid bill. Mrs. Green says she is "cautiously optimistic."

The House bill provides \$1.2 billion in grants and loans to all public and private colleges, except seminaries, for the construction of any academic facilities, excluding those in which sectarian subjects would be taught.

The Senate bill calls for \$2 billion in grants and loans, and carries the same restrictions against the religious use of buildings. But it further restricts the construction grants to certain categories: science and engineering buildings, laboratories and libraries.

Neither bill permits money to be used for buildings to which admission fees are charged, stadiums, gyms, or for dormitories, or for medical schools. (Both Houses earlier this year passed a bill to aid medical schools.)

There was southern opposition in the Senate particularly against grants. Morse himself believes such undesignated grants to be unconstitutional, but he believes categorical grants such as the Senate voted to be constitutional.

Mrs. Green and her House colleagues hold that if it is constitutional to grant money for certain categories such as the sciences, it is constitutional for arts and humanities buildings as well.

Sen. Sam Ervin of North Carolina attached an amendment which will allow any private citizen to bring suit in a federal court to test the law's constitutionality. The "sleeper" in the Ervin amendment was a provision that the government could not allocate any money once a suit is filed, which would in effect tie up the building funds.

Another amendment by Sen. John Cooper, R-Ky., which would have barred funds to private colleges, failed. Cooper argued that grants to private col-

Capital Report

Senator Morse, Mrs. Green split again on federal aid to education bill

leges violate the first amendment to the Constitution, which says that Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion. Cooper supported his arguments by quoting a Supreme Court decision which said in part:

"No tax in any amount large or small, can be levied to support any religious activities or institutions, whatever they may be called, or whatever form they may adopt to teach or practice religion."

Cooper conceded that Congress had voted millions of dollars in the past to colleges which were church-related, but he claimed this bill offering direct grants for construction was "going far beyond" what had been done before.

Morse argued that Congress, which only passes laws it believes to be constitutional, had established precedents in legislation "as long as your arm" for federal aid to colleges. He cited a direct grant for an atomic reactor for Notre Dame; the medical construction bill which gave grant money to sectarian medical schools; and a list of various programs such as the National Defense Education Act, National Science Foundation, and the like in support of his argument.

Mrs. Green was warned by Republicans in the House dur-

ing the August debate by the Republicans not to come back with a bill with categorical grants, that is, restrictions of federal money for science buildings, laboratories and libraries.

"I do not like categorical grants," said Mrs. Green. "I think there is too much emphasis on science and engineering and that there is a great need for aid in the humanities. This is especially true of the small liberal arts colleges. Their most urgent need may well not be a science or engineering building."

Morse served polite notice on the House conferees, which includes Mrs. Green, that the Senate had already compromised by not including scholarships in its bill, and in effect, that now it was the House's turn. Republican votes are essential for House passage of a bill.

PIGEON SHADES

INDIO, Calif. (UPI) — There was a storm of protests from ruffled bird lovers last week when they learned that city employees were trapping pigeons in cages atop downtown buildings.

After they claimed it was cruel to keep the birds penned up where the sun shone directly on them, shades were ordered put over the cages.

Sports Study

- ACROSS
- 1 Ty —
 - 5 Baseball stick
 - 8 Willie —
 - 12 Hog plump of India
 - 13 Before
 - 14 Bitter herb
 - 15 Hindu salutations
 - 16 Deed
 - 17 Choler
 - 18 Detroit —
 - 20 Dried crane
 - 22 Insect egg
 - 23 Moslem officer
 - 24 Stringed instrument
 - 27 Torture
 - 31 Buddhist sacred mountain
 - 32 City base
 - 33 Study
 - 34 Early auto
 - 35 Ann
 - 36 Crooked
 - 37 Baseball frames
 - 38 Pulped food
 - 40 Failure
 - 41 Fishless fish
 - 42 Nightmares
 - 45 Handbar
 - 49 Sewed line
 - 50 Reverential fear
 - 52 Cooking utensils
 - 53 Italian coins
 - 54 Weather
 - 55 Hindu land grant
 - 56 Miss Fitzgerald
 - 57 Roman bronze
 - 58 Baseball team

- DOWN
- 1 Fishing throw
 - 2 King of Israel (bib.)
 - 3 Sailing ship
 - 4 Breed of dog
 - 5 Animal
 - 6 Curved line
 - 7 Quadrangle
 - 8 Girl's name
 - 9 Expression of grief
 - 10 Acetic
 - 11 Observed
 - 12 River (Sp.)
 - 13 Keyed up
 - 14 Opera singer
 - 15 So be it
 - 16 Fluorescent
 - 17 Light
 - 18 Biblical prophet
 - 19 Freer
 - 20 Traffic area
 - 21 Grafted (her)
 - 22 Persian province
 - 23 Check
 - 24 Reservoir of spare pitchers
 - 25 Ancient Edom (Roman)
 - 26 Vegetable
 - 27 "Tinker to Chance"
 - 28 Island
 - 29 Boy's name
 - 30 Mr. Hubbell
 - 31 Caddoan Indian
 - 32 Mr. Mustal
 - 33 Man's name
 - 34 Sorrow

