## The Book The South Is Talking About

# An Epitaph For Dixie"

## BY HARRY S. ASHMORE

#### CHAPTER 2

see the search and the search of capite the South. It was not the slience of oncir. The handwriting on the wall of le- of exercation had clearly emerged in the set of cases involving voting. Jim Crow, setrictive real estate covenants and adission of Negroes to Southern graduate hools. Georgia and South Carolina had alticipated the inevitable by enacting preparedness legislation? subtorzing the sozing of the public achools if they were deeped integrated.

#### A Remarkable Act

Taken together, the initial Court decis-t and the implementing decrees that fol-act at a year later constitute a remark-ile act of judicial statesmanship. Essen

In effect the Court invited the South to work out its own evolutionary program for putting the newly pronounced public policy into practice. Moreover, it granted the time for which the Upper Southern states pleaded in their amicus curine briefs. As a practical matter every school district May, 1584, decision to prapate for the transition. And the language of the decision intimated that the process might be stretched over a period of years even after legal action had been initiated; the test for a school district under suit would not be the degree of integration it had achieved at a given point, but whether it was proceeding in good faith. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People could claim a famous victory in the decision which as from the new precedent, leading the suit of th

### A Wedge In The 'Solid South'

Briefly, it appeared that the decision had finally driven a wedge into the Solid South. Hard-core resistance was certain in South Carolina, Georgia, Alahama, Mississippi, and perhaps Louislans; but the Border States began immmediately to put into effect desegregation programs that have continued since in fairly good order. In the Upper South, while there was virtually no action, some planning for integration began. Educators indicated that they considered the new policy one they could live with, and they were echoed in significant number by the politicians.

#### A Pattern Takes Shape

out of the state legislatures has come as remarkable a collection of restrictive laws as the nation has seen since the days of the Know Nothings.

LEADER OF THE MODERATES the Know Nothings.

How did it happen? Alfred Friendly of e Washington Post, who has examined is political phenomenon in depth, gives nosiderable weight to the organizational ork of the Southern political leadership:

The state of affairs . . . did not just happen. It was planned that way, and with great skill, it was the achievement of determined, energetic, and effective men. Some were organized formally in such groups as the White Citizens Councils; sithers acted informally, but no less effectively, in political or community

of skill and technique.

I would agree that there is a degree of primitive political skill behind the resistance asture primarily exercised by those Deep Southern leaders who have managed to impose their will on their colleagues of the Upper South. But the pattern is more the product of default than of conscious design; the forces that brought it into being have been diminishing in the South, and in recent years whe and force them in check in times of comparable crisis. This time around no one has seriously tried.

#### An Unorganized Majority

There are still entire states in the South, and districts in all the others, where militant opposition to integration may well be the price of political survival. But over much of the region a man who is willing to endure the abuse of a raucous minority discovers: that a considerable majority, while still deploring the necessity, is looking for a way out of the impasse. It is, however, a hewlidered, unorganized maintenance of the surface of the survival more statement of the surface of the most part, without public or private leadership.

## **Buying Time**

As executive editor of Little
Rock's leading newspaper, Harry
Athmore was, of course, deeply involved in the dramatic integration
crisis in that city last September,
While bis editoral position has never
been outstandingly integrationist,
nevertheless Mr. Ashmore was a
leader of the moderates strongly opposed to Governor Fauhus' action,
In this chapter of "An Epitaph for
Dixie," Mr. Ashmore analyzes the
failures of leadership which resulted
in Little Rock's trugic episode.

—The Editors.

#### Almost A Conspiracy

Almost A Conspiracy

It is a measure of the Manifesto that it was the product of what amounted to a conspiracy. It was hammered out in weeks of negotiation on Capitol Hill; many of those who signed it were defensive, later explaining their action on the ground hast vatering down the original version prepared by Senator Thurmond of South Carolina. Yet with all this maneuvering it remained a well-kept secret. The first leak appeared in The New York Times on the morning of March 9, 1985, That alternoon official word that reached Stevenson head-quarters in Chicago. There was a touch of irony and a hint of disaster in the fact that I had to relay the text by telephone to Stevenson in Detroit a matter of minutes before he went out to share a platform with Governor Mennen Williams, petterne civil right legislation in the Democratic Party. The "Southern candidate's" statesmanship had been rewarded by an act of Southern sabotage.

#### A Blow To Stevenson

It is true that the loss of a single pres-idential campaign was a matter of little immediate moment to many Southern Democrats, particularly since their party managed to retain control of Congress and salvage their cherished committee chair-manships. But in the long haul every sig-natory of the Manifesto will have to reck-on its cost in personal, practical terms.

#### A Special Dispensation

# - - The Default Of Leadership

#### Virginia Initiates Defiance

tion has temporarily served both purposes. In many ways Harry Byrd is a tragic symbol of the crisis-cidden South. If he with an overly tight fist, he has ruled them well. His stewardship as governor was a period of necessary reforms, and no breath of scandal has touched the long line of his hand-picked successors. In national affairs as well he has remered as the very model of a righteous conservative. Yet comes now Harry Byrd, the apostic or order, he reported to register the service of the property of t

### The Spread To Arkansas

important objectives.

Little Rock, by any definition, was perhaps the most unlikely site in the South for a second Fort Sunter, And Orval E. Faubus was certainly the most unlikely candidate for the distinction of being the Southern governor who would attempt to recreate the sounds of the past in the very season when the first earth satellite was circling the autumn skies emitting the unnerving sounds of the future.

circling the autumn skies emitting the unnerving sounds of the future.

Still, for the time being at least, Orval
Faubus enjoyed a considerable local success. Employing the familiar tools of the
demagogue with a certain crude skill, he
managed to blur the real issues in the Little Rock impasse — including the salient
fact that when he called out his militia to
seize Central High School before it even
opened he was defying not only the federal courts but the local elected School
Board, which or or three years had patient
integration and had every reason to believe it could be put into effect with no
more than minor incident. As a result the
governor's constituents, seizing upon his
covert assurances that they would not after all be called upon to perform a constitutional duty some of them considered
painful, and most considered distastedul,
railled to his standard in impressive numbers. In the Deep South, a cheering section led by Governer Marvin Griffin of
graphed congratulations and stern injunctions to fifth to the last droop of Arkantions to fifth the last droop of the droop of

Courthouse, where there has never been a crisis that could not be resolved by a polit-

But on the Day of the Sputnik, in a private audience with a representative of the New York Times, Orval Faubus made perfect the property of the Section 1, and the section of the Calculus and the section that confronted Robert E. Lee when he was forced to choose between Virginia and the Union.

#### Nostalgic Headlines

These utterances made some resounding, nostalgic headlines in Southern newapapers, but all they really proved was that Orval Faulus, who is largely a soli-daudit gap between Faulus' dilemma and that of General Lee was at least equal to that between the Minie ball and the intercontental balliste missile. R. E. Lee was a man of conscience who in 1860 reluctantly shouldered a moral burden he would carry to his grave. O. E. Faulus was a practical political mobile in 1860 reluctantly shouldered a moral burden he would carry to his grave. O. E. Faulus was a practical political mobile in 1861 and managed to paint himself into a corner.

Perhaps the most cheatestable, then the

#### Expected A Deal

It is not even certain that the landing a detachment of the 101st Airborne Intury at Central High School in Little cock disabused Orville Faubus of the noon that he had won, or in time would in, a great victory, in any event, at that

#### lke Had To Act

Rice Had To Act

And, of course, on the other side Mr.
Elsenhower enjoyed no greater latitude, no matter what his personal disposition may have been in those early days when he received the club which, as Bob Considine observed, does not admit Negroes, Jews, Catholics, or poor Protestants, All moral considerations aside, the President could no more have tolerated the millifucation of a federal court order by state force than George Washington could have stood sidy by in 17st when the burgheer stood sidy by in 17st when the burgheer short with the state of th

on civil rights and win the next election.

Neither, ironically, could Mr. Faubus' own Democratic Farty, And so, as was not yet apparent to the boys at the South-to citizens of the great world like Richard P. Riussell and Lyndon B. Johnson), the end result of Orval Paubus' manufactured crisis at Little Rock might well be not to stay integregation, but to speed it. The Southern senators who tupoed through the evil rights crisis in the 1957 session of Congress would go to be seen to be supported to the senators who tupoed through the evil rights crisis in the 1957 session of Congress would go to be supported to the senators who had been willing to trade with them had been disarmed—and back home in New York Michigan, Illinois, Minnesota, and California their constituents had not only applauded the presence of federal bayonets in Little Rock, but suggested that since they were on

#### Southern Leaders Balk

## The Headache Capital: That's Tequila, Mexico

TROUITA. Mex. (B — This; the lower bluish leaves and upserson, the state of Jalieso sold per rosts, catually the heart and to find this caulty pour between 19 to specific of Mexico and probable community in the country.

Along with mecal and pulsue. Almost an and the states were the states and pulsue the control of the light and the country.

Hore's an A-B-C on the three, praised in legend and often the states are they besides being potent? Here's an A-B-C on the three, cursed the day after:

First, all are made the provides the country in the country in the country.

Hore's an A-B-C on the three, cursed the day after:

First, all are made the provides the cursed the day after.

First, all are made the provides the cursed the day after.

First, all are made the provides the curse of the Artes. The form huge manuey plant tains in Jalisco, Stanio, a Pubble, Hiddle, Missing the manuely plant.

This is tequila: from huge and other saldes with fairly depends on when all blooms for dream in color.

When the maguey plant is same and other saldes with fairly depends on when all blooms for dream in color.

When the maguey plant is same and selfs for a few centages and other saldes with fairly depends on when all blooms for dream in color.

When the maguey plant is same and a self for a few centages and other saldes with fairly depends on when all blooms for dream in color.

When the maguey plant is same and a self for a few centages and other saldes with fairly depends on when all blooms for dream in color.

When the maguey plant is same and a self from the same and other saldes with fairly depends on when is blooms for dream in color.

Stanios, Pubble, Hiddle, Office and the maguey plant is same and other saldes with fairly depends on when is blooms for dream in color.

Stanios, Pubble, Hiddle, Office and the maguey plant is same and the provided the same and the saldes with the form the provided the same and the sam