

THE IMMORALITY OF RACIAL SEGREGATION

Reports from the
LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE AND WORKSHOPS

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GREATER ATLANTA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

and GEORGIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

63 Auburn Avenue N. E.

Atlanta 3, Georgia

Because we believe that racial segregation is basically a moral problem, and that councils on human relations should face it as such, our annual conference and workshops this year were focused on this theme. James McBride Dabbs has held up a mirror for us to see ourselves as we (sometimes timidly) contrast our 'customs' with our ethical standards and learn to make deliberate choices.

Dr. M. Carl Holman's address Friday morning, "Some Specifics of the Inequities of Segregation," is not included in these reports. Dr. Holman spoke from the publication, A Second Look - the Negro Citizen in Atlanta, prepared and published by The Atlanta Committee for Cooperative Action, and is obtainable from the ACCA committee.

A tape recording was made of the evening address by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., "The Struggle for Racial Justice," and is available from the Georgia Council on Human Relations office in Atlanta. During the discussion period which followed, Dr. King had an opportunity to clarify his philosophy of non-violent resistance.

More than 200 people registered for the morning session of the conference, and others came in for the afternoon workshops. Each workshop was well attended, the largest being "The College Student in the Changing South." Approximately 800 people, many of whom were white students from the colleges and universities in the area, gave Dr. King a standing ovation at the beginning and again at the conclusion of his address. All sessions were covered by radio, TV, and press.

We wish to express our deep appreciation to all those who cooperated in making the conference a success: the speakers; the chairmen, leaders, and recorders of the workshops; and the participants.

Harry Boyte, chairman
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THE IMMORALITY OF RACIAL SEGREGATION

by James McBride Dabbs*

We have met here to consider the immorality of racial segregation. The fact itself is noteworthy. The South is not used to checking its racial customs against ethical standards. There are, of course, a certain number of people in the South who defend segregation on religious grounds, even quoting Biblical chapter and verse. There is probably a much larger group that maintains that segregation is not an ethical or religious matter, but is simply a matter of police action in the maintenance of law and order. The fact, however, that these people usually grow angry if their view is challenged suggests that they are stirred by something deeper than the advisability of a certain kind of police action. In my opinion, they seek to keep the question on the level of law because they fear they cannot argue it successfully on the deeper level of morality and religion.

It is this type of people who, questioning the leadership of the church--a leadership evident at least at the top levels--demand, "Why has segregation become sinful since 1954? Are the preachers now getting their instructions about sin from the Supreme Court instead of from God?" The proper answer is, We get our ideas about sin not only from the Bible but also from the Supreme Court and from any other voice speaking in the world. Since the voices of the world are continually changing, our ideas of sin are continually changing. Many of you, for instance, spend Sunday afternoons, your conscience sitting quietly beside you, in a way admittedly sinful two generations ago. But we may be misled by the voices of the world? Of course. But so have men been misled by the words of the Bible. We hear God's word where we can, and interpret it as we can, with many tragic mistakes. Often we don't hear it at all; often we misunderstand it; and ways of being lost and being saved change with the generations.

Consequently, there are many men today who believe segregation to be immoral who, twenty-five years ago, didn't give it a thought. Doubtless segregation produced essentially the same bad effects then as it does now, but the realization of these effects was far less clear and far more limited. The main events that have brought segregation under the ethical judgment we are expressing here today are, in summary, the growing education of the Negro, both academic and otherwise, the movement of the Negro

* Mr. Dabbs is a planter in Mayesville, South Carolina. He is a freelance writer, author of The Southern Heritage (1958. Knopf, New York), and president of the Southern Regional Council.

population from Southern farms to the cities of the nation, the attendant enlargement of economic opportunity and political power, the social concern of the American public aroused by the Great Depression, with its most recent expression in the enactment of civil rights laws, and, finally, the worsening of the democratic position in the world with the rise of communism, and the weakening of the white position with the rise of the colored races. Believe me, a lot's been said in the last fifty years, and he who cannot recognize the voice of God in any of it is lost indeed.

A change is occurring right here in the South that helps to explain our concern with the morality of segregation. By and large, the public morality of the South, especially its interracial morality, has been a matter of mores, of custom. Things were right because they were done. This is still one of the main defenses of segregation: it is the custom of the country. Since it is part of our mores, how can it be im-moral?

Well, it is becoming immoral--or at least is coming under ethical criticism--because we are moving from a customary, a folk, a traditional society, where that which is done is right, into a self-conscious, modern, industrial society, the mobility of which continually erodes all customs and makes many obsolete. With this failure of custom, it becomes increasingly necessary that we become conscious of our lives and continually subject them to ethical criticism. Without such criticism, we are headed for anarchy.

Now, I'm not sure that we're wise in rushing into the highly mobile, the highly uncustomary society of the industrial world. The great Irish poet, W. B. Yeats, asks:

How but in custom and in ceremony
Are innocence and beauty born?

I don't know the answer. I'm in favor of industrialization, but I think we ought to be more critical about it. After all, it is only one way of making a living; whether we can really live in it remains to be seen.

Nevertheless, since our society is moving at present from custom to deliberate choice, we must learn to make deliberate choices; in regard to segregation as in regard to everything else. And now that the question of the morality of segregation has been raised by all the forces I have enumerated, it is immoral not to face it. I'm not speaking at the moment of the immorality of segregation, I'm speaking of the immorality of those who refuse to face the ethical question, who try to dodge the issue, who in effect decide not to decide but to continue in the old habits. This is actually a decision for the status quo, and the person who makes it is immoral in that he has failed to make a deliberate choice in a matter on which the times demand a deliberate choice. Such a person is trying to maintain the relative innocence of a generation ago, when the question hadn't yet been raised. But the question has been raised now, and he is not innocent, but guilty, if he refuses to face it.

Well, let's face it; that's what we came here for. I take it as a basic moral proposition that people should always be treated as ends, never as means. All institutions exist for people, not people for institutions. The great evil of Nazi Germany, and of the communist states, is the idea that man exists for the state.

I take it then, that segregation is immoral because it uses the individual as a means toward the race as an end. Segregation was established and is maintained for the purpose of keeping the white race in a position superior to that of the colored race. Of course, the official formula, stated by the Plessy v. Ferguson Supreme Court decision of 1896, was "separate but equal." (The Court was composed of nine--or at least eight--gracious gentlemen then!) But the South made practically no pretense of living up to this formula until it became frightened by its impending reversal in the Brown v. Board of Education decision of 1954. Even now, trying belatedly to equalize the two school systems, the South tries to maintain the separation because it believes the white race is superior, and is trying to guarantee this superiority.

This is a basically immoral position whether the white race is superior or not. For the focus is upon the race, not upon the individual. If it were true that every Negro were inferior to every white, there might be moral grounds for keeping the two groups separate. In such a case, all the individuals concerned, both white and Negro, might be benefitted by the separation, though even here it could be argued under the Christian ethic that the superior group was shirking its responsibilities in pushing the inferior group off to itself. But this, of course, is not the case. Many Negroes are superior to many whites, and such Negroes are clearly punished by racial segregation.

I am largely bypassing the argument that the Negro race is inferior and should therefore be segregated from the white. For myself, I take the scientific position that this has not been proved; I add to it the democratic and Christian assumption that men are basically equal. As for the apparent inferiority of the Negro group in this country, there are too many explanatory factors for me to assume a racial inferiority. Segregation itself is one of these factors. Through segregation the whites have cut the Negroes off from the main stream of culture, have put them in a weak and unprivileged position, and have discriminated against them educationally, culturally, economically and politically; in brief, have kept them as a race inferior. This is the general moral condemnation of segregation as a system; but even more basically immoral than this, as I have said, is the intent to discount the person of the Negro--and the white--for the supposed good of the white race.

I said "the supposed good." It is possible that the whites have been more damaged by segregation than the Negroes against whom we directed it. In the first place, we have possessed great power and have used it irresponsibly--perhaps we have been more irresponsible under segregation than we were under slavery. As Lord Acton once said, "Absolute power corrupts absolutely." How we think we can hold such power over people and not be corrupted by it is more than I can understand. We are not the gods we

think we are. Our present foolish and in the long run futile fight against the passage of civil rights laws is a case in point. We claim to be protecting freedom; we are of course protecting privilege--white privilege. Basically, it isn't federal civil rights laws we're opposed to; we are opposed to any civil rights laws that might give the Negro a fair break. We want to maintain our privileges, codified in segregation, and we call this freedom. "Ah, Liberty, what crimes are committed in they name!"

But, in the imposition of segregation, we whites commit these crimes, or at least these sins, against ourselves as well as against the Negroes. This will be the theme of the rest of my talk. For segregation is a burden to the white as well as to the Negro. Basically a moral and spiritual burden, but also an economic and political burden. We have heard of iron curtains and paper curtains. Segregation may be called the Cotton Curtain, since primarily we wove it out of cotton. We can see through it, but dimly. To St. Paul's glass, through which all men in this life see but darkly, we in our foolishness have added a curtain which further limits and distorts our vision. Strictly speaking, it cuts down and refracts the light. The white man looking through this curtain at the Negro sees a dark figure diminished in size and beneath him; the Negro looking through this curtain at the white sees a light figure increased in size and above him. Is it any wonder that the Negro at least, having been made increasingly aware by all the influences of modern life that the white man does not really possess the divinity he has assumed, wearies of the game, and, tearing aside the curtain, sits down beside us at lunch counters and looks us in the eye? This is the whole revolution we're involved in: from paternalism to democracy, and the look straight across the table.

I said the curtain of segregation generally permits the white to see only a dark figure, the Negro to see only a light figure. The lineaments of the individual are blurred, only the racial color remains. This is not only the effect of segregation, it is also its intent: to prevent personal relationships, or to limit them to such personal meaning as could flow downward and upward along the master-servant, or the superior-inferior relationship. Segregation had to prevent full personal relationships. Without such a curtain whites could not have exploited Negroes as they have, nor could Negroes have accepted such exploitation, or exercised their petty exploitations in return, stealing from us a dime when we stole from them a dollar.

As a consequence of segregation, whites do not look straight at Negroes or Negroes at whites. I don't know whether Negroes find it hard to remember white faces or not; their daily bread has depended so much upon even our capricious moods that they may have learned to observe us closely; but I think we whites tend to see them as Negroes and that's all. They fall into the proper slot, like the punched cards of the computing machine. Why, in regard to the present student protest movement, it's hard for us to see real people; we see a set of cards punched in New York, or at least somewhere outside the borders of this happy region. In regard to Negroes, we have made of ourselves computing machines and of them the cards to compute with. I don't know which is worse, the machine or the card. Meanwhile, the Negro as a person generally escapes our glance; the humorous lips, the tragic eyes, the wise face, the beautiful face--the

curtain blurs these personal characteristics and only the dark color remains. And it isn't simply that we thereby lose the strength that would come from the recognition of persons and gain only the cunning knowledge punched upon cards. We lose also the opportunity to be freely our better selves: friendly, courteous, compassionate. We Protestants tend to think of the world as a place wherein we are tempted only to do evil; yet momentarily life is persuading us to be good and to do good. God's grace is continually operative, and the mask-like faces of segregation might suggest to us if only the curtain were torn away the elusive mystery of life itself.

Not only does segregation hinder the development in both whites and Negroes of the capacity to be friendly, courteous, and compassionate, and, thus hindering the development of our moral capacity, is itself immoral; segregation also makes difficult our realization of the tragic greatness of man. What I shall say now is the most fundamental thing I have to say. It is bad to restrict or be restricted, and needlessly, in economic, political, and cultural ways; it is bad to be prevented from expressing, or hindered in expressing, one's positive good nature; but, worst of all, is our fear as we face the human condition. Perhaps I should say, our fear before we face in ourselves the human condition. Segregation tends to keep us from facing in ourselves this condition. Segregation tends to keep us from realizing that we are human.

I imagine many of you will say, Why, everybody knows he's human. Not in the South, Brother, not in the South. Down here those who get around to boasting about it are Anglo-Saxon. They've forgotten this other point, but they have a racial god named Woden. These people ought to go to church on Wednesday; that's Woden's Day. I'm Anglo-Saxon myself, and I think Anglo-Saxons are human beings; but I also think Negroes are human beings, and Russians, and Chinese, and all the many others. But these Woden-worshippers don't think Negroes are human beings--not the way Anglo-Saxons are. Well, there're a lot of Negroes in the South. They look like human beings: they're forked bipeds, like other human beings; they even talk English. But your dyed-in-the-wool Anglo-Saxon--if I might risk a horrible pun, I'd say "your dyed-in-the-woad" Anglo Saxon, for that's the blue stuff they used to dye themselves in--anyway, your real Anglo-Saxon can't accept them just as human beings, and so their numerous presence here casts some doubt upon his thoughtless assumption that the Anglo-Saxon is a human being, and, finally, that he himself is a human being. And that's bad. Down that road waits quiet, perhaps even violent, desperation.

What I'm trying to say is difficult, and I'm not saying it well. Let me tell you a story. It happened to me. A quarter of a century ago, in a mood almost of despair, I suddenly realized that what was happening to me happens sooner or later to everybody; that I was merely sharing the human destiny; that I was simply a human being. With that realization, my mood passed swiftly from near despair to a joy such as I have seldom known, and I was walking on top of the world, one with the two million people in the world. We were walking shoulder to shoulder. I didn't know where we were going; I don't know now. But wherever it was, we were going there together. Going through tragedy, through darkness, through storm, with patches of sunlight here and there, but over all the wintry weather of the world. This, as I see it, is what it means to be a human being--any human being.

I ask you: What, in God's name, has segregation got to do with this? When the intuition came to me twenty-five years ago, I wasn't even conscious of the race issue. I was a sort of innocent segregationist, living according to the custom of the country. But when, through the world-movements I have mentioned, the custom of the country began to be challenged, I had no doubt as to where I stood. I had been baptized into the human race, and the various races of men had become for me a superficial detail.

Since that time my resource has been mainly, I think, the realization that we are together; and not in desperation--only he who is alone is desperate--but in considerable happiness. And remembering the gulfs that once surrounded me, and that nearly swept me down, I am concerned mainly, I think, to reach across the distance that intervenes between me and other human beings, and find the living person on the other side.

Segregation, as I have tried to show, tends to keep this person from coming alive for me, and to keep me from coming alive for him. Here we meet, two ship-wrecked sailors--as all men are or are destined to be--two ship-wrecked sailors on the wide sea of the world, and what I most deeply need to know from him and he from me is, What is the reckoning, and whither are we bound--if anywhere? But how can a computer ask this of its card or the card of its computer? And so we drift by one another, with at best a polite, though under segregation, a formal hail, and we are again alone. But now each of us is weaker instead of stronger, because each of us saw what looked like a man, like another human being, but neither could hail him as such, and now we begin to doubt both the humanity of others and of ourselves. For we recognize in ourselves only that which we recognize in others.

It is hard enough to cross the natural gulfs that separate men one from another, but cross them we must or we are lost. Many men are lost. Yet we in the South have added to the natural difficulties of life the artificial wall of segregation. It's existence strikes at the very core of man's being. I dare say the men who built it thought they were protecting themselves. I dare say that many men who not try to shore it up also think they are protecting themselves. They may be protecting their prestige and their property--though I don't think they're doing much for their race--if that means anything. But themselves? Themselves they are destroying. The destruction of the public school system that some of them contemplate is, in this light, only an episode.

I am glad with you that we are awakening here from our deadly slumber; that we are facing the real problems and asking the pertinent questions. Evidently there are some people in the South who have the courage to be where they are.

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EDUCATION IN GEORGIA

Chairman, Mrs. Edward M. Vinson

Recorder, Mrs. Suejette Crank

Leader, Dr. Ross Green

Some Propositions about Education and Georgia

1. The quality of a person's education is a function of the breadth, variety and depth of his experiences in and out of school. The better educated his parents, teachers, friends and so forth, the better educated he will tend to be.
2. Learning is a cumulative affair and requires time, lots of time, if it is to really change the individual. The importance of some particular learning experience, e.g., a year's instruction in arithmetic, is by itself small.
3. The importance of a learning experience depends on the extent to which it fits into a continuous sequence of experiences. If an experience is related to previous learning and becomes a foundation for further learning it is very important because it continues and may even accelerate the rate of development. Thus an improvement in the conditions of learning leads by itself to further improvement.
4. Inadequate learning conditions if prolonged have severe deleterious effects.
5. In the past, on the average, the quality of education offered Negroes in Georgia public schools has been markedly inferior to that offered whites.
- 5a. Negro adults raised in Georgia have had, on the average, an inferior education.
6. In the past, on the average, the quality of education offered whites in Georgia public schools has been inferior to that offered in other states.
7. On the average, Georgia schools have improved dramatically in the past 10 to 15 years.
8. Negro schools in Georgia have improved at a greater rate than the white schools, on the average, but in absolute terms the gap has widened in the past 25 years.
9. Georgia's white schools are still not up to par.
10. On the average, Georgia's Negro schools are still inferior to its white schools with respect to
 - A. per pupil capital investment
 - B. per pupil current expenditure for instruction
 - C. teacher salaries
 - D. teachers' knowledge of subject matter
 - E. student achievement
 - F. attendance (counties only)
 - G. classroom space (cities only)

11. On the average, Georgia city (independent) systems are better than county systems.
12. City Negro systems are better on the average than county Negro systems but are more crowded.
13. City white systems are better than county systems on the average and are not more crowded.
14. Georgia Negroes are migrating to the cities.

Some Inferences from these Propositions

1. The average educational status of both Georgia Negro and white citizens is improving, with the Negroes improving at the greater rate.
 - 1a. The absolute gap will get greater before it becomes smaller if the overall pattern is not changed.
 2. Since Negro schools are still on the average less satisfactory than white schools and especially since Negro adults, teachers in particular, have had less adequate training on the average than their white counterparts, the gap is partly self-perpetuating in spite of its diminished proportions.
 3. Negro migration to the cities reduces county incentives to improve Negro schools, thereby leading to a slowing in the current rate of improvement.
 4. Negro migration to the cities increases crowding in city Negro schools, thereby slowing the current rate of improvement.

Some Conclusions about Segregation and Desegregation

1. Desegregation in Georgia cities would reduce overcrowding and prevent the otherwise probable slowing of the rate of improvement and would provide an incentive for the counties to improve Negro schools.
2. Without desegregation the overall average educational status of the Negro population must remain inferior to that of the white for several generations.
3. Desegregation should have a catalytic effect upon the improvement rate among Negroes and therefore ultimately among whites as well. The improvement in the backgrounds of the next generation of Negro teachers and other adults should produce in at least the generation after that a Negro citizenry equal in educational status to the white. The results of desegregation in Louisville, Baltimore and Washington, D. C., confirm these conclusions.

Thus, entirely aside from legal, ethical, social emotional or moral questions, desegregation is a necessity if equal education is to be achieved.

EDUCATION IN GEORGIA

Chairman, Mrs. Edward M. Vinson

Recorder, Mrs. Suejette Crank

Leader, Mr. L. H. Pitts

The State of Georgia has made phenomenal progress in the last decade in providing education for all of the boys and girls in the state by erecting new buildings, improving old buildings and equipment, providing more transportation, raising salaries and providing professional service in the area of instructional improvement. Sixty million dollars more has been appropriated for physical plants, salaries, services, etc. The Minimum Foundation and State School Building Programs have received praise from the National Educational Association. Georgia has the largest film library in the world. These efforts to improve the quality of education for all are commendable.

Negro education in Georgia is, I think, 100% better than it was 10 years ago, in buildings, transportation, class offerings, curriculum, quality teaching and higher education. However, ten years ago it was a dismal picture. To increase this by 100 % sounds good, but what it was when the calculations were begun will affect the impact of the findings in the end. A casual look at the expenditures of the state and local systems on all levels of education is a shocking and disheartening sight.

MAINTENANCE AND OPERATION

Since 1951-52 the state has provided a stipulated amount per teacher for maintenance and operation. It is my understanding that during the school year 1960-61 the allocation will be \$450.00 per teacher excluding sick leave. There are counties in Georgia whose records will indicate that thousands of dollars which by every right ought to have gone for the maintenance and operation of Negro schools have never-reached the individual schools or classrooms for which they were intended. Janitorial services and supplies are denied to hundreds of Negro schools in the state while adequate services and supplies are provided for whites in spite of state allocation of funds for both. We have found that at the local level we have no assurance that local boards when left alone will provide fair distribution of allocated funds. There is one county in Georgia with more than 3,000 Negro students and less than 2,500 white students where the State School Building Authority has spent more than half a million dollars in constructing five new buildings and there is not a janitor in the entire county working in the Negro schools. This situation has existed for more than ten years.

TRANSPORTATION

In too many cases and in too many counties the problem of inadequate transportation for our children could be greatly alleviated by the careful rerouting of the bus routes. Such re-routing would go a long way in the annihilation of gross discriminatory practices, based on race. The practice of buying new buses for white schools and giving the old buses to Negro schools is still a glaring blight on the educational highways of Georgia. Negro boys and girls many times have to wait an unduly long time in all kinds of weather after having already walked a long distance to ride in substandard unheated and overcrowded buses and then have to get out in the mud and go to school in a building where they in many cases serve as janitors in unfinished, ill-equipped buildings.

SALARY DIFFERENTIALS

The average salary for teachers in Georgia is about \$3,600.00 advancing to \$4,000.00 in ten years. Georgia loses about 3,500 teachers a year. There is a shortage of both white and Negro teachers. By 1963 there will be one million one hundred sixty thousand children of school age. Less than a million are now enrolled. In comparing Georgia's average salaries with other states the picture would be as follows:

Georgia	\$3,625.00
South Carolina	3,305.00
Florida	4,980.00
Alabama	3,885.00
Mississippi	3,720.00
Tennessee	3,575.00
North Carolina	3,970.00
National Average	\$4,775.00

In 1957 a sample study by the Georgia Teachers and Education Association showed that in more than 50% of the counties in Georgia where salaries are supplemented by the local systems, Negroes are discriminated against apparently on the basis of race. In all probability this situation still exists. Salary supplements are paid to white teachers and not to Negroes. This practice cannot long be continued without adding immeasurably to our already over-burdened, misunderstood and misinterpreted situation, thus increasing the present tension. When the list of additional white teachers employed by local boards is considered in this matter, the differential is brought into even sharper focus.

EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

Negroes comprise about one-third of the total school population of the state and funds and services ought to be allotted on such a formula if we are going to live by the ruling of the Court of 1896. As for the number of schools in 1949, there were 1,596 white and 2,310 Negro schools. In 1959, since consolidation, there are 1,384 schools for white and 556 for Negroes. In many instances of consolidation the whites have been disadvantaged. About 18,000 of the 30,000 high school graduates of Georgia do not go to college. This suggests the staggering need for vocational schools and junior colleges. The state spends more than three million dollars per year on vocational schools owned and operated by the state for white and nothing for similar groups who by accident of birth are born black. There are 11 junior colleges for whites and none for Negroes at present. Three are in prospect. Negroes do not get one-fortieth of the funds allocated for colleges and universities. Improvement in this proportion is not now even planned.

Even though the state allocates textbook money for students on the basis of race, still in many counties Negroes get the used books and the new ones go to the white schools.

SOCIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF SEGREGATION

Education for Negroes in Georgia is better than it was a decade past. However, the gap is still wide and widening between what is true of opportunities for Negroes in the state and that for whites. These conditions and many more are the direct and indirect causes of increasing tensions in the state. Many, if not most, of our educational problems in Georgia involving race are not the results of the Supreme Court Decision of 1954, which apparently is not acceptable to the South, but are the results of the Decision of 1896, which apparently was acceptable to the South. Continued delay on the part of the political and educational leadership in the state will only serve to widen the gap of unequal opportunities and increase the tensions, which already have us sitting, as it were, on a powder keg. The many inequities and problems that prevent our state offering a better educational opportunity for all could be alleviated if all of those responsible would make a sincere effort to improve the quality of education for all of the children of Georgia. Our growth as a state, with our great human and material resources, is being sabotaged by this delay and continued discrimination.

Dr. Chalmers explained that this is a part of the process through which the South is going in its effort to grow beyond the experience of slavery. The white group is attempting to grow in relation to tensions which it does not know how to handle. Segregation is the result of these tensions and of fear. The fear, in turn, is projected upon the minority group. Under segregation, he explained, whites tend to perceive as fearsome their own inner feelings which they do not understand, and then to project their fear onto the Negro. Human beings rely on force when they are unable to love, and the use of force to obtain separation of persons or races is inhuman. When we destroy another person, in this process we fall ourselves. It is impossible to appreciate a person as a person until you are a person yourself. Aggression can be expressed in pseudo "love" relationship (not love between equals). It is necessary to reach some degree of self-awareness and self-acceptance before being able to accept others as equals and to love others as equals.

Dr. Clifford discussed the effects of segregation upon Negroes, especially children. He pointed out that a rejected minority status has a detrimental effect on the personality of children, and as a result, of adults. The children of a minority group learn of their inferior status at an early age, and react with deep feelings of inferiority and humiliation. As a result, great conflicts often arise. How successfully children cope with these conflicts depends upon many factors, such as the stability and quality of family relations, the amount of love and guidance received, etc.

Some of the harmful effects of this inferior status are that the Negro child assumes that skin color is important, that he must show deference, that he is excluded from job, housing and educational opportunities. Often he accepts as his own picture the stereotype supposed to characterize the Negro. No Negro child in America completely escapes these consequences.

SOCIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF SEGREGATION

Chairman: Dean Whitney Young

Leaders: Dr. Rives Chalmers
Dr. Paul Clifford

Recorder: Mrs. Harry Boytè

The workshop panel on the Social and Psychological Effects of Segregation was conducted by Dr. Rives Chalmers and Dr. Paul Clifford, with Dean Whitney Young presiding. Dr. Young introduced the topic by pointing out that the 1954 Supreme Court decision had a psychological basis in that it pointed out the inherent discrimination of segregation.

Dr. Chalmers discussed the psychological aspects of segregation as they affect the white group. He pointed out that segregation shuts a human being off from a portion of himself, inasmuch as "Each of you is me, and I, you". With segregation, the white person has separated himself from a part of his human self on the basis of color.

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RELIGIOUS BASIS FOR INTEGRATION

Another result of discrimination and segregation in the Negro's psychological development is low self esteem. Still another is anger, which is often converted into anxiety or into a show of good humor in an attempt to deny the anger. Many Negroes resign themselves to an acceptance of the status quo.

Dr. Young pointed out that both whited and Negroes suffer from segregation. He explained that Negroes are deprived of opportunities and forced into an inferior status, then condemned for being inferior. In other words, the community uses the results of inequality to sustain inequality. People grow from experiences in "differentness", from being able to see and know people and places that are different from those in their communities. The world is growing smaller each day, and we are continually being exposed to social change. To what extent are we preparing ourselves and our children for tomorrow's world?

PROCEEDINGS

The title of the group was changed from "Religious Basis for Integration" to "Christian Basis for Integration" by the discussion leaders who indicated that, as Protestants Ministers, they did not elect to speak for all religions.

Rev. McQueen opened the discussion by stating that in order to develop a reasonable basis for a Christian approach to an open or integrated society, it was necessary to examine some of the concepts or theological dogmas in our folk culture. He emphasized that---

- a) The liberal translations of the Bible are not God's final work; but he still speaks to those who seek to do His will;
- b) Man do good, not because it is good, but must be motivated by spiritual incentives;
- c) Belief in Christianity is not designed, primarily, to make life easy or make people happy. Its primary aim is to bring the human personality into full flower by rising to the challenge inherent in a kinship with God.

Dr. McQueen continued the discussion by focusing on the basic oneness of mankind, and man's identity with God. He pointed out that---

- a) The essential biological likeness of all human beings is not only obvious, but amply established by scientific findings;
- b) God's estimate of the individual, as revealed in the declaration that man was created in His image, justifies a religious or Christian basis for racial integration. For, to offend man is to offend his Creator;
- c) Man is made for fellowship with God and with his fellowmen;
- d) Love and brotherhood are the deepest essentials of Christianity.

RELIGIOUS BASIS FOR INTEGRATION

Chairman: Rev. Lamar Clements

Leaders: Dr. Homer C. McEwen
Dr. John M. McGinnis

Recorder: Ella J. Baker

Workshop Session #3 was chaired by Rev. Lamar Clements, Director of the Social Service Division, Greater Atlanta Council of Churches. Rev. Homer C. McEwen, First Congregational Church, and Dr. John M. McGinnis, Capitol View Baptist Church, served as discussion leaders.

The group opened with an attendance of 10 men and 8 women, but was increased to 13 men and 10 women during the session. The professional and occupational interest range of the group included several ministers, an industrial purchasing agent, retired government workers and students.

PROCEEDINGS

The title of the group was changed from "Religious Basis for Integration" to "Christian Basis for Integration" by the discussion leaders who indicated that, as Protestants Ministers, they did not elect to speak for all religions.

Rev. McEwen opened the discussion by stating that in order to develop a reasonable basis for a Christian approach to an open or integrated society, it was necessary to examine some of the commonly held concepts or theological dogma in our folk culture. He emphasized that---

- a) The literal translations of the Bible are not God's final work; but he still speaks to those who seek to do His will;
- b) Men do good, not because it is good, but must be motivated by spiritual incentives;
- c) Belief in Christianity is not designed, primarily, to make life easy or make people happy. Its primary aim is to bring the human personality into full flower by rising to the challenge inherent in a kinship with God.

Dr. McGinnis continued the discussion by focusing on the basic oneness of mankind, and man's identity with God. He pointed out that---

- a) The essential biological likeness of all human beings is not only obvious, but amply established by scientific findings;
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- c) Man is made for fellowship with God and with his fellowmen;
- d) Love and brotherhood are the deepest essentials of Christianity.

QUESTIONS AND OBSERVATIONS

The group did not attempt to reach fixed conclusions, but the questions and observations were revealing and suggestive.

Several persons were particularly concerned with whether the Bible could provide "proof" for integration. It was felt that this was important because of the number of less literate church members who have been indoctrinated to believe that the Bible supports racial segregation and cite such stories as Noah's curse on Ham as proof.

Other questions raised were:

- a) Should Negroes attempt to attend white churches?
- b) If churches are integrated would Negroes lose leadership roles?
- c) Should Negro church members welcome whites to their churches when they are not invited to visit the white churches?
- d) How can a liberal Christian have fellowship with such segregationist church members?

These questions provoked the following observations:

- a) Since literal, unscholarly interpretations of the Bible might well be used to support either segregation or integration, debates on "proof" found in the Bible probably would generate more heat than light among conservative, provincial churchmen. It would appear to be more promising to try to broaden the experiences of our less literate brothers and sisters, and in the meantime, remind them that the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man are joint tenets of the Christian faith, not to be separated.
- b) It was felt that the purpose of going to church should not be to break down racial barriers, but where there is honest desire to join in worship, Negroes should not hesitate to go to white churches.
- c) Because the need for maintaining even limited interracial fellowship is so essential to breaking down racial barriers, it was felt that Negro church members should accept visits from white church members, even though something always happens when the white church is scheduled to play host.
- d) As to whether integration would reduce leadership roles for Negroes, it was observed that the gain made in eliminating this unChristian practice would far out-weigh any possible loss resulting from leadership displacement.

- e) Although it might be difficult for a "liberal" Christian to fellowship with arch segregationists, it is a Christian imperative to withhold judgement, and to seek creative fellowship for purposes of redemption.

The disturbing observation was made that in the next five years, the Christian church would be the most segregated institution in the South, because the conservative church says this is our stand and here we stay.

However, it was agreed that the individual Christian should feel himself expendable in the effort to resolve the moral contradictions of our times.

Instead of "What shall I do to inherit eternal life?", the mature question should be, "What can I do to encourage love and diminish hate?"

These questions provoked the following observations:

- a) Since liberal, unacholarly interpretations of the Bible might well be used to support either segregation or integration, debates on "proof" found in the Bible probably would generate more heat than light among conservative provincial churchmen. It would appear to be more promising to try to broaden the experiences of our less literate brothers and sisters, and in the meantime, remind them that the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man are joint tenets of the Christian faith, not to be separated.
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THE COLLEGE STUDENT IN THE CHANGING SOUTH

Chairman: Dr. Tilman Cothran

Leaders: Lonnie King
James Alrutz

Recorders: Connie Curry
Reverend Otis Moss, Jr.

After a welcome from the Chairman, Connie Curry, Lonnie King and James Alrutz each made a statement based on their understanding of and experience with the "Southern student movement." Miss Curry commented that in light of the movement the afternoon's topic might well be changed to "The Changing Student and the Old South." On the basis of visits to many of the communities where "Sit-ins" had occurred and after talking to many of the student leaders involved, Miss Curry felt that several generalizations could be made: (1) The different ways in which the movement has become manifest in each community makes it impossible to believe that the movement has been organized or directed by any one individual or organization--it actually began with the spontaneous action of four freshmen in Greensboro, N. C., on February 1st. (2) The student leaders in each community show a very great maturity and sense of responsibility; they aren't demonstrating for the sake of it and they seem quite aware of the dangers and implications of their actions. (3) The student leaders involved show a great amount of unwillingness to accept the old order or older leadership, and their courage and determination seem to indicate that the movement will not die out with the summer vacations. (4) The movement has caused a certain amount of awakening on the part of white students in the South. They are beginning to question the contradictions in the theory and actuality of Christianity and democracy and are concerned about the gulf between what they are being taught and what they are allowed to practice.

Mr. King, who has been quite active in the Atlanta student movement, pointed out that activities this year have done much to dispel apathy on Negro campuses. He felt that the students were taking the ideas that they were being taught in class and turning them into action which they feel sure will bring them true freedom and equality. The students have become dedicated to the movement and, as Mr. King expressed it, the goals for which they are struggling have become indeed, "a magnificent obsession."

Mr. Alrutz discussed some of the elements involved in the response of white students to the movement. He pointed out that there had been much less white student involvement in the Deep South than there had been in some of the border areas like North Carolina. He emphasized that the movement had caused response in the North, not only in terms of fund-raising and sympathy demonstration, but also by having Northern students examine discriminatory policies in their own situations. The greatest problem in the South, according to Mr. Alrutz, is to get rid of the apathy that pervades most of the white campuses, to get the students to face the issue and to realize that this is their responsibility, and that, to do this, the lines of communication between the races must be opened.

After the three opening statements, the floor was opened for questions and discussion.

1. The first question raised was why the student movement had manifested itself in the economic sphere rather than in the spiritual realm of the churches where the true meaning of community should exist.

(Points made)

 - (1) The churches have taken no lead in shaping people's minds to accept each other in Christian love. *
 - (2) Churches should invite and be open to all people, and this should not have to come about through force.
 - (3) Many students are disillusioned with their churches and do not feel they would respond to the challenge.

2. Is the student movement based on love instead of hate?
 - (1) The basic philosophy of the movement is that of Christian non-violence where participants are taught that they must not hate even those who persecute them the most.
 - (2) This basic love may not always be articulated in the different movements, but it is there and must remain if the movement is to live.

3. How have different white communities reacted to the movement?
 - (1) There is sometimes economic reprisal by segregationists against Negroes in the community.
 - (2) Some communities have attempted to ignore it, as if in refusing to recognize its meaning, the movement would disappear.
 - (3) In some communities, tensions have become so great, that the "sit-ins" are not even to be discussed.

4. What is the true purpose of the "sit-in" movement--is it to test a law or dramatize the issue, and is it the right time?
 - (1) Time is not the question. When years and years pass by with a continuous denial of basic human rights, there is bound to be a normal eruption.
 - (2) The movement hopes to test laws and to dramatize the issue, but its true cause is the search for freedom. The immediate goals are not important, nor are the mistakes in strategy, etc., that will be made; the fact remains that history is being made, since the whole movement has brought the whole issue of freedom onto a different plane. It has become a movement of all those who react with impatience to the discouragement and disillusionment often found in Western civilization and who are willing to dedicate themselves to making the basic values of this civilization into reality.

5. What are future plans for the Atlanta Movement?
 - (1) Students hope to work with community leaders for support in their selective buying campaign and other plans in the future.

*Realistically speaking, it is economics that shape morality. (Omitted inadvertently)