IMMEDIATE RELEASE

September 5, 1957

James C. Hagerty, Press Secretary to the President

---

THE WHITE HOUSE

U. S. Naval Base
Newport, Rhode Island

THE PRESIDENT TODAY SENT THE FOLLOWING TELEGRAM TO THE HONORABLE ORVAL E. FAUBUS, THE GOVERNOR OF ARKANSAS

The Honorable Orval E. Faubus
Governor of Arkansas
Little Rock, Arkansas

Your telegram received requesting my assurance of understanding of and cooperation in the course of action you have taken on school integration recommended by the Little Rock School Board and ordered by the United States District Court pursuant to the mandate of the United States Supreme Court.

When I became President, I took an oath to support and defend the Constitution of the United States. The only assurance I can give you is that the Federal Constitution will be upheld by me by every legal means at my command.

There is no basis of fact to the statements you make in your telegram that Federal authorities have been considering taking you into custody or that telephone lines to your Executive Mansion have been tapped by any agency of the Federal Government.

At the request of Judge Davies, the Department of Justice is presently collecting facts as to interference with or failure to comply with the District Court's order. You and other state officials -- as well as the National Guard which, of course, is uniformed, armed and partially sustained by the Government -- will, I am sure, give full cooperation to the United States District Court.

Dwight D. Eisenhower

#######
S LRC182 PD=LITTLEROCK ARK 12 109PMC=
HONORABLE DWIGHT D EISENHOWER=
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES WHITE HOUSE WASHDC=

DEAR MR PRESIDENT! I WILL ARRIVE AT YOUR VACATION HEADQUARTERS FOR THE CONFERENCE AT 9 AM SATURDAY.

ARRANGEMENTS FOR TRAVEL HAVE NOT YET BEEN COMPLETED. WILL CONTACT YOUR HEADQUARTERS LATER AS TO THE FIRM ARRANGEMENTS=

ORVAL E FAUBUS GOVERNOR STATE OF ARKANSAS=

Pmk copy not sent to file 11-12-57

Contact made by phone

7/6
IMMEDIATE RELEASE

September 14, 1957

James C. Hagerty, Press Secretary to the President

THE WHITE HOUSE
U. S. NAVAL BASE
NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

At the request of Governor Faubus of Arkansas I met with him this morning in a constructive discussion regarding the carrying out of the orders of the Federal Court in the matter of the high schools of Little Rock.

The Governor stated his intention to respect the decisions of the United States District Court and to give his full cooperation in carrying out his responsibilities in respect to these decisions. In so doing, I recognize the inescapable responsibility resting upon the Governor to preserve law and order in his state.

I am gratified by his constructive and cooperative attitude at our meeting. I have assured the Governor of the cooperation of Federal officials. I was pleased to hear from the Governor of the progress already made in the elimination of segregation in other activities in the State of Arkansas.

I am sure it is the desire of the Governor not only to observe the supreme law of the land but to use the influence of his office in orderly progress of the plans which are already the subject of the order of the Court.

###

Over
STATEMENT BY THE GOVERNOR OF ARKANSAS

The President and I had a friendly and constructive discussion of the problem of compliance with Court orders respecting the high schools of Little Rock.

This trip to Newport has been worthwhile from my point of view.

I recognize that the situation calls for clarification, and I have assured the President of my desire to cooperate with him in carrying out the duties resting upon both of us under the Federal Constitution. In addition, I must harmonize my actions under the Constitution of Arkansas with the requirements of the Constitution of the United States.

I have never expressed any personal opinion regarding the Supreme Court decision of 1954 which ordered integration. That is not relevant. That decision is the law of the land and must be obeyed.

At the same time it is evident even from the language of the decision itself that changes necessitated by the Court orders cannot be accomplished overnight. The people of Little Rock are law-abiding and I know that they expect to obey valid Court orders. In this they shall have my support.

In so doing it is my responsibility to protect the people from violence in any form. As I interpret the President's public statements, the national Administration has no thought of challenging this fact. In meeting this obligation, it is essential that, in proceeding to implement the orders of the Court, the complexities of integration be patiently understood by all those in Federal authority.

When I assured the President, as I have already done, that I expect to accept the decision of the Courts, I entertained the hope that the Department of Justice and the Federal Judiciary will act with understanding and patience in discharging their duties.
Interview was held in the President's tiny office at the Naval Station at Newport. At the beginning of what was approximately a two hour session, the President and the Governor were alone in the President's office for about twenty minutes. They then adjourned to acw's office, which was larger.

"What he had to say was pretty well represented in the press releases given out that day (attached). Governor Faubus protested again and again he was a law abiding citizen, that he was a veteran, fought in the war, and that everybody recognizes that the Federal law is supreme to State law. So I suggested to him that he go home and not necessarily withdraw his National Guard troops, but just change their orders to say that having been assured that there was no attempt to do anything except to obey the Courts and that the Federal government was not trying to do anything that had not been already agreed to by the School Board and directed by the Courts; that he should tell the Guard to continue to preserve order but to allow the Negro children to attend Central High School. I pointed out at that time he was due to appear the following Friday, the 20th, before the Court to determine whether an injunction was to be issued. In any event, I urged him to take this action promptly whereupon the Justice Department would go to the Court and ask that the Governor not be brought into Court. I further said that I did not believe it was beneficial to anybody to have a trial of strength between the President and a Governor because in any area where the Federal government had assumed jurisdiction and this was upheld by the Supreme Court, there could be only one outcome -- that is, the State would lose, and I did not want to see any Governor humiliated.

"He seemed to be very appreciative of this attitude and I got definitely the understanding that he was going back to Arkansas to act within a matter of hours to revoke his orders to the Guard to prevent re-entry of the Negro children into the school.

"He told me of his war experiences and vigorously asserted his deep feelings of loyalty and dedication to the Federal government, and repeated several times that he had shown respect for the law in all his actions.

"After some 20 minutes of personal conference, we invited Governor Adams and Brooks Hays, and later, the Attorney General, to join us. The ensuing conversation was generally along the same lines as he had talked to me in private."
IMMEDIATE RELEASE

September 21, 1957

James C. Hagerty, Press Secretary to the President

THE WHITE HOUSE

U. S. NAVAL BASE
NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

In the last few hours three events of major importance have occurred in the City of Little Rock.

1. The Governor of Arkansas has withdrawn the contingent of Arkansas National Guard at Central High School.

2. The Little Rock School Board has announced its intention to proceed to carry into effect its plans for school admissions.

3. The local law enforcement agencies have announced that they are prepared to maintain law and order.

The sincere and conscientious efforts of the citizens of Little Rock prior to September second show that they are persons of good will and feel a responsibility to preserve and respect the law -- whether or not they personally agree with it. I am confident that they will vigorously oppose any violence by extremists.

All parents must have a sympathetic understanding of the ordeal to which the nine Negro children who have been prevented from attending Central High School have been subjected. They and their parents have conducted themselves with dignity and with restraint. As I said this morning, I am confident that the citizens of the City of Little Rock and the State of Arkansas will welcome this opportunity to demonstrate that in their city and in their state proper orders of a United States Court will be executed promptly and without disorder.

# # # # # # #
LITTLE ROCK ARK SEP 23 3:44 PM
THE PRESIDENT
THE WHITE HOUSE
THE CITY POLICE, TOGETHER WITH THE STATE POLICE, MADE A VALIANT
EFFORT TO CONTROL THE MOB TODAY AT CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL. IN THE
FINAL ANALYSIS, IT WAS DEEMED ADVISABLE BY THE OFFICER ON THE
GROUND AND IN CHARGE TO HAVE THE COLORED CHILDREN REMOVED TO THEIR
HOMES FOR SAFETY PURPOSES.
THE MOB THAT GATHERED WAS NO SPONTANEOUS ASSEMBLY. IT WAS

Little Rock, Ark., School Integration
AGITATED, AROUSED, AND ASSEMBLED BY A CONCERTED PLAN OF ACTION.

ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL AGITATORS IN THE CROWD WAS A MAN BY THE NAME OF JIMMY KARAM, WHO IS A POLITICAL AND SOCIAL INTIMATE OF GOVERNOR FAUBUS, AND WHOSE WIFE IS NOW WITH GOVERNOR'S PARTY AT THE SOUTHERN GOVERNOR'S CONFERENCE. KARAM HAS A LONG RECORD OF EXPERIENCE IN STRIKE-BREAKING, AND OTHER ACTIVITIES SUCH AS HE ENGAGED IN TODAY.

THE MANNER IN WHICH THE MOB WAS FORMED AND ITS ACTION, TOGETHER WITH THE PRESENCE OF JIMMY KARAM, LEADS TO THE INEVITABLE
CONCLUSION THAT GOVERNOR FAUBUS AT LEAST WAS COGNIZANT OF WHAT WAS GOING TO TAKE PLACE.

DETAILED INFORMATION ON THE EVENTS OF THE DAY WILL BE TURNED OVER TO THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT FOR SUCH ACTION AS THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT DEEMS APPROPRIATE.

IF THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT DESIRES TO ENFORCE THE ORDERS OF THE FEDERAL COURT IN REGARD TO INTEGRATION IN THIS CITY, THE CITY POLICE WILL BE AVAILABLE TO LEND SUCH SUPPORT AS YOU MAY REQUIRE.

I AM NOT MAKING THIS WIRE PUBLIC. THIS IS FOR YOUR INFORMATION AND FOR THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT TO USE AS IT CONSIDERS NECESSARY.

WOODROW W. MANN, MAYOR LITTLE ROCK ARKANSAS.
THE WHITE HOUSE
U. S. NAVAL BASE
NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND

OBSTRUCTION OF JUSTICE IN THE STATE OF ARKANSAS
BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

WHEREAS, certain persons in the State of Arkansas, individually and in unlawful assemblages, combinations, and conspiracies, have wilfully obstructed the enforcement of orders of the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Arkansas with respect to matters relating to enrollment and attendance at public schools, particularly at Central High School, located in Little Rock School District, Little Rock, Arkansas; and

WHEREAS, such wilful obstruction of justice hinders the execution of the laws of that State and of the United States, and makes it impracticable to enforce such laws by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings; and

WHEREAS, such obstruction of justice constitutes a denial of the equal protection of the laws secured by the Constitution of the United States and impedes the course of justice under those laws:

NOW, THEREFORE, I, Dwight D. Eisenhower, President of the United States, under and by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and Statutes of the United States, including Chapter 15 of Title 10 of the United States Code, particularly Sections 332, 333 and 334 thereof, do command all persons engaged in such obstruction of justice to cease and desist therefrom, and to disperse forthwith.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

DONE at the City of Newport, Rhode Island this twenty-third day of September in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and fifty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and eighty-second.

(SEAL)

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

By the President:

JOHN FOSTER DULLES

Secretary of State

(OVER)
Chapter 15, Title 10, United States Code

Section 332
Whenever the President considers that unlawful obstructions, combinations, or assemblages, or rebellion against the authority of the United States, make it impracticable to enforce the laws of the United States in any State or Territory by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, he may call into Federal service such of the militia of any State, and use such of the Armed Forces, as he considers necessary to enforce those laws or to suppress the rebellion.

Section 333
The President, by using the militia or the Armed Forces, or both, or by any other means, shall take such measures as he considers necessary to suppress, in a State, any insurrection, domestic violence, unlawful combination, or conspiracy, if it

1. So hinders the execution of the laws of that State, and of the United States within the State, that any part or class of its people are deprived of a right, privilege, immunity, or protection named in the Constitution and secured by law, and the constituted authorities of that State are unable, fail or refuse to protect that right, privilege or immunity, or to give that protection; or

2. Opposes or obstructs the execution of the laws of the United States or impedes the course of justice under those laws. In any situation covered by Clause (1), the State shall be considered to have denied the equal protection of the laws secured by the Constitution.

Section 334
Whenever the President considers it necessary to use the militia or the Armed Forces under this Chapter, he shall, by Proclamation, immediately order the insurgents to disperse and retire peaceably to their abodes within a limited time,
THE WHITE HOUSE
U. S. NAVAL BASE
NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND

EXECUTIVE ORDER

PROVIDING ASSISTANCE FOR THE REMOVAL OF AN OBSTRUCTION
OF JUSTICE WITHIN THE STATE OF ARKANSAS

WHEREAS on September 23, 1957, I issued Proclamation No. 3204 reading in part as follows:

"WHEREAS certain persons in the State of Arkansas, individually and in unlawful assemblages, combinations, and conspiracies, have willfully obstructed the enforcement of orders of the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Arkansas with respect to matters relating to enrollment and attendance at public schools, particularly at Central High School, located in Little Rock School District, Little Rock, Arkansas; and

WHEREAS such willful obstruction of justice hinders the execution of the laws of that state and of the United States, and makes it impracticable to enforce such laws by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings; and

WHEREAS such obstruction of justice constitutes a denial of the equal protection of the laws secured by the Constitution of the United States and impedes the course of justice under those laws:

"NOW, THEREFORE, I, DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, President of the United States, under and by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and statutes of the United States, including Chapter 15 of Title 10 of the United States Code, particularly sections 332, 333 and 334 thereof, do command all persons engaged in such obstruction of justice to cease and desist therefrom, and to disperse forthwith; and

WHEREAS the command contained in that Proclamation has not been obeyed and willful obstruction of enforcement of said court orders still exists and threatens to continue:

NOW, THEREFORE, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and Statutes of the United States, including Chapter 15 of Title 10, particularly sections 332, 333 and 334 thereof, and section 301 of Title 3 of the United States Code, it is hereby ordered as follows:
Section 1. I hereby authorize and direct the Secretary of Defense to order into the active military service of the United States as he may deem appropriate to carry out the purposes of this Order, any or all of the units of the National Guard of the United States and of the Air National Guard of the United States within the State of Arkansas to serve in the active military service of the United States for an indefinite period and until relieved by appropriate orders.

Section 2. The Secretary of Defense is authorized and directed to take all appropriate steps to enforce any orders of the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Arkansas for the removal of obstruction of justice in the State of Arkansas with respect to matters relating to enrollment and attendance at public schools in the Little Rock School District, Little Rock, Arkansas. In carrying out the provisions of this section, the Secretary of Defense is authorized to use the units, and members thereof, ordered into the active military service of the United States pursuant to Section 1 of this Order.

Section 3. In furtherance of the enforcement of the aforementioned orders of the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Arkansas, the Secretary of Defense is authorized to use such of the Armed forces of the United States as he may deem necessary.

Section 4. The Secretary of Defense is authorized to delegate to the Secretary of the Army or the Secretary of the Air Force, or both, any of the authority conferred upon him by this Order.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

THE WHITE HOUSE
September 24, 1957
NP328 P LRA006 LONG PRD RX=LITTLE ROCK ARK 24 916AMC =

PRESIDENT DWIGHT D EISENHOWER =
THE WHITE HOUSE NEWPORT RI =

THE IMMEDIATE NEED FOR FEDERAL TROOPS IS URGENT. THE MOB
IS MUCH LARGER IN NUMBERS AT 8AM THAN AT ANY TIME
YESTERDAY PEOPLE ARE CONVERGING ON THE SCENE FROM ALL
DIRECTIONS MOB IS ARMED AND ENGAGING IN FISTICUFFS AND
OTHER ACTS OF VIOLENCE. SITUATION IS OUT OF CONTROL AND
POLICE CANNOT DISPERSE THE MOB I AM PLEADING TO YOU AS
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE INTEREST OF
HUMANITY LAW AND ORDER AND BECAUSE OF DEMOCRACY WORLD

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE
WIDE TO PROVIDE THE NECESSARY FEDERAL TROOPS WITHIN SEVERAL HOURS. ACTION BY YOU WILL RESTORE PEACE AND ORDER AND COMPLIANCE WITH YOUR PROCLAMATION=

WOODROW WILSON MANN MAYOR OF LITTLE ROCK ARKANSAS=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE
Newport, Rhode Island,  
September 24, 1957.

Dear Al:

It is difficult but necessary to learn that anyone in public position must expect criticism, some of it based upon stupidity and ignorance, and even at times, deliberate misrepresentation.

You and I know that I had no part whatsoever in having you appointed to the head of the Red Cross. In fact, so far as I can recall, no one even asked me for a recommendation. We know that the Status of Forces Treaties were not negotiated independently of the military; in fact you and I were serving in the military at the time and we know that the Army was desperately anxious to get them enacted. Such knowledge as this makes you want to strike back at the perpetrators of such falsehoods.

It is better, I think, to learn to ignore the Clarks and the Lewises, remembering that such people are trying to achieve headlines and have discovered that it is far easier to do it by the demagogic method of attacking something that is constructive and practical, and by appealing to emotion and prejudice.

So take a relaxed stance when in the batter's box and hit them as you see them!

As ever,

P.S.: Thanks for your suggestion that I come back to Washington. From the beginning of the Arkansas trouble I have thought about the matter, but I feel about as follows:

(see page 2)
The White House office is wherever the President may happen to be. To rush back to Washington every time an incident of a serious character arose would be a confession that a change of scenery is truly a "vacation" for the President and is not merely a change of his working locale. This is untrue. I have never been away from Washington when the important problems did not follow me and the necessity for making the decisions remain with me.

Another portion of my thinking involves the idea that I do not want to exaggerate the significance of the admittedly serious situation in Arkansas. I do not want to give a picture of a Cabinet in constant session, of fretting and worrying about the actions of a misguided governor who, in my opinion, has been motivated entirely by what he believes to be political advantage in a particular locality.

The Federal government has ample resources with which to cope with this kind of thing. The great need is to act calmly, deliberately, and giving every offender opportunity to cease his defiance of Federal law and to peaceably obey the proper orders of the Federal court. In this way the actions of the Executive in enforcing the law -- even if it becomes necessary to employ considerable force -- are understood by all, and the individuals who have offended are not falsely transformed into martyrs.

On the other hand, for a number of reasons I wish I were back there. My work would be a lot easier to do.

D.D.E.

General Alfred M. Gruenther
Troops -
not to enforce integration
but
to prevent violence by orders of court.

In Arkansas -
Governor ordered troops,
armed and equipped and partially
maintained by Fed. Govt. with
instructions to prevent disruption
of plan supported by School Board
approved by Fed. Judge.

President can stand on
organization or system
and the entire way of things
dominate (meaning destruction of
can turn on him) or he can carry out
his oath of office.
FOR RELEASE AT 9:00 P.M. EDT, SEPTEMBER 24, 1957

James C. Hagerty, Press Secretary to the President

THE WHITE HOUSE

TEXT OF THE ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT
OF THE UNITED STATES, DELIVERED FROM
HIS OFFICE AT THE WHITE HOUSE, TUESDAY,
SEPTEMBER 24, 1957, AT 9:00 P.M. EDT

My Fellow Citizens:

For a few minutes I want to speak to you about the serious situation that has arisen in Little Rock. For this talk I have come to the President's office in the White House. I could have spoken from Rhode Island, but I felt that, in speaking from the house of Lincoln, of Jackson and of Wilson, my words would more clearly convey both the sadness I feel in the action I was compelled today to take and the firmness with which I intend to pursue this course until the orders of the Federal Court at Little Rock can be executed without unlawful interference.

In that city, under the leadership of demagogic extremists, disorderly mobs have deliberately prevented the carrying out of proper orders from a Federal Court. Local authorities have not eliminated that violent opposition and, under the law, I yesterday issued a Proclamation calling upon the mob to disperse.

This morning the mob again gathered in front of the Central High School of Little Rock, obviously for the purpose of again preventing the carrying out of the Court's order relating to the admission of Negro children to the school.

Whenever normal agencies prove inadequate to the task and it becomes necessary for the Executive Branch of the Federal Government to use its powers and authority to uphold Federal Courts, the President's responsibility is inescapable.

In accordance with that responsibility, I have today issued an Executive Order directing the use of troops under Federal authority to aid in the execution of Federal law at Little Rock, Arkansas. This became necessary when my Proclamation of yesterday was not observed, and the obstruction of justice still continues.

It is important that the reasons for my action be understood by all citizens.

As you know, the Supreme Court of the United States has decided that separate public educational facilities for the races are inherently unequal and therefore compulsory school segregation laws are unconstitutional.

more
Our personal opinions about the decision have no bearing on the matter of enforcement; the responsibility and authority of the Supreme Court to interpret the Constitution are clear. Local Federal Courts were instructed by the Supreme Court to issue such orders and decrees as might be necessary to achieve admission to public schools without regard to race -- and with all deliberate speed.

During the past several years, many communities in our Southern States have instituted public school plans for gradual progress in the enrollment and attendance of school children of all races in order to bring themselves into compliance with the law of the land.

They thus demonstrated to the world that we are a nation in which laws, not men, are supreme.

I regret to say that this truth -- the cornerstone of our liberties -- was not observed in this instance.

It was my hope that this localized situation would be brought under control by city and State authorities. If the use of local police powers had been sufficient, our traditional method of leaving the problem in those hands would have been pursued. But when large gatherings of obstructionists made it impossible for the decrees of the Court to be carried out, both the law and the national interest demanded that the President take action.

Here is the sequence of events in the development of the Little Rock school case.

In May of 1955, the Little Rock School Board approved a moderate plan for the gradual desegregation of the public schools in that city. It provided that a start toward integration would be made at the present term in the high school, and that the plan would be in full operation by 1963. This plan was challenged in the courts by some who believed that the period of time as proposed was too long.

The United States Court at Little Rock, which has supervisory responsibility under the law for the plan of desegregation in the public schools, dismissed the challenge, thus approving a gradual rather than an abrupt change from the existing system. It found that the school board had acted in good faith in planning for a public school system free from racial discrimination.

Since that time, the court has on three separate occasions issued orders directing that the plan be carried out. All persons were instructed to refrain from interfering with the efforts of the school board to comply with the law.

Proper and sensible observance of the law then demanded the respectful obedience which the nation has a right to expect from all the people. This, unfortunately, has not been the case at Little Rock. Certain misguided persons, many of them imported into Little Rock by agitators, have insisted upon defying the law and have sought to bring it into disrepute. The orders of the court have thus been frustrated.

more
The very basis of our individual rights and freedoms is the certainty that the President and the Executive Branch of Government will support and insure the carrying out of the decisions of the Federal Courts, even, when necessary with all the means at the President's command.

Unless the President did so, anarchy would result.

There would be no security for any except that which each one of us could provide for himself.

The interest of the nation in the proper fulfillment of the law's requirements cannot yield to opposition and demonstrations by some few persons.

Mob rule cannot be allowed to override the decisions of the courts.

Let me make it very clear that Federal troops are not being used to relieve local and state authorities of their primary duty to preserve the peace and order of the community. Nor are the troops there for the purpose of taking over the responsibility of the School Board and the other responsible local officials in running Central High School. In the present case the troops are there, pursuant to law, solely for the purpose of preventing interference with the orders of the Court.

The proper use of the powers of the Executive Branch to enforce the orders of a Federal Court is limited to extraordinary and compelling circumstances. Manifestly, such an extreme situation has been created in Little Rock. This challenge must be met with such measures as will preserve to the people as a whole their lawfully-protected rights in a climate permitting their free and fair exercise.

The overwhelming majority of our people in every section of the country are united in their respect for observance of the law -- even in those cases where they may disagree with that law.

They deplore the call of extremists to violence.

The decision of the Supreme Court concerning school integration affects the South more seriously than it does other sections of the country. In that region I have many warm friends, some of them in the city of Little Rock. I have deemed it a great personal privilege to spend in our Southland tours of duty while in the military service and enjoyable recreational periods since that time.

So from intimate personal knowledge, I know that the overwhelming majority of the people in the South -- including those of Arkansas and of Little Rock -- are of good will, united in their efforts to preserve and respect the law even when they disagree with it.

more
They do not sympathize with mob rule. They, like the rest of the nation, have proved in two great wars their readiness to sacrifice for America.

A foundation of our American way of life is our national respect for law.

In the South, as elsewhere, citizens are keenly aware of the tremendous disservice that has been done to the people of Arkansas in the eyes of the nation, and that has been done to the nation in the eyes of the world.

At a time when we face a grave situation abroad because of the hatred that Communism bears toward a system of government based on human rights, it would be difficult to exaggerate the harm that is being done to the prestige and influence, and indeed to the safety, of our nation and the world.

Our enemies are gloating over this incident and using it everywhere to misrepresent our nation. We are portrayed as a violator of those standards of conduct which the peoples of the world united to proclaim in the Charter of the United Nations. There they affirmed "faith in fundamental human rights and in the dignity of the human person" and did so "without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion."

And so, with confidence, I call upon citizens of the State of Arkansas to assist in bringing to an immediate end all interference with the law and its processes. If resistance to the Federal Court orders ceases at once, the further presence of Federal troops will be unnecessary and the City of Little Rock will return to its normal habits of peace and order and a blot upon the fair name and high honor of our nation in the world will be removed.

Thus will be restored the image of America and of all its parts as one nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.
My Fellow Citizens:

For a few minutes I would like to speak to you about the serious -- indeed the sad -- situation which has arisen in Little Rock.

In that city, under the prompt leadership of demagogic extremists, disorderly mobs have prevented the carrying out of proper orders of a Federal Court acting in conformity with the requirements of the Constitution of the United States.

Local authorities have not succeeded in enforcing the law, and when I yesterday issued a proclamation calling for the mobilization of military forces to maintain law and order, I warned the mob to refrain from obstructing justice. This was necessary because my Proclamation of yesterday calling upon all persons in the area to refrain from obstructing justice was not observed. Indeed, the situation has progressively worsened. Consequently, no reasonable choice remained open to me.

It is important that the reasons for my action be completely clear and fully understood.

As you know, the Supreme Court of the United States has declared that separate educational facilities for the races are inherently unequal.
Local Federal Courts were instructed to issue such orders and decrees as might be necessary to achieve admission to public schools on a nondiscriminatory basis with all deliberate speed.

During the past several years, many communities in our Southern States instituted public school plans for gradual progress in the enrollment and attendance of school children of all races in order to bring themselves into compliance with the law of the land. We thus demonstrated to the world that we are a nation in which the law, not men, is supreme.

I regret to say that this was not the case at Little Rock. It was my hope that this localized situation would be brought under control by local and State authorities. If the use of local police powers had been sufficient, our traditional method of leaving the problem in those hands would have been respected. But when large gatherings of obstructionists made it impossible for the decrees of the Court to be carried out, both the national interest and the law demand that the President take action.
Here is the sequence of events in the development of the Little Rock school case.

In May of 1955, the Little Rock School Board approved a moderate plan for the gradual desegregation of the schools in that city. It contemplated that a start toward integration would be made at the present term in the high school, and that the plan would be in full operation by 1963. This plan was challenged in the courts by some who believed that the period of time as proposed was too long.

The United States Court at Little Rock, which has supervisory responsibility under the law for the plan of desegregation in the public schools, dismissed the challenge. It found that the school board had acted in good faith in making effective a school system free from racial discrimination.

Since that time, the court has issued orders on three separate occasions ordering that the plan be carried out. All persons were instructed to refrain from interfering with the efforts of the school board to comply with the law.

Proper and sensible observance of the law then demanded the respectful obedience which the nation as a right to expect from all the people. This, unfortunately, has not been the case at Little Rock.
Certain numbers of people there have insisted upon defying the law and have sought to bring it into disrepute. The orders of the court have thus been frustrated.

The very basis of our individual rights and freedoms rests upon the certainty that the President and the Executive Branch of Government will support and insure the carrying out of the orders of the Federal Courts with all the means when necessary at the President's command. If the President did so, unless this were the case, anarchy would result. There would be no security for any of us except that which each one of us could provide for ourselves. The interest of the nation in the proper fulfillment of the law's requirements cannot yield to demonstrations by some few persons. Mob rule, even in one area of the nation, cannot be allowed to overrule the decisions of our courts.

The proper use of the powers of the Executive Branch to enforce the orders of a Federal Court is limited to extraordinary and compelling circumstances. Manifestly, such an extreme situation has been created in Arkansas. This challenge must be met with such measures as will preserve to the people as a whole their lawfully-protected rights and legal processes in a climate permitting their free and fair exercise.

The overwhelming majority of our people in all sections of the
country are united in their respect for observance of the law -- even in those cases where they may disagree with that law. They deplore the call to violence of extremists.

I have confidence that the overwhelming majority of the people in the South are of good will, united in their efforts to preserve and respect the law even if they disagree with it. They will reject the tempting court that ends, and they have resisted in two giant cases their legal call to violence of extremists. They recognize their moral and public responsibilities. They are keenly aware of the tremendous disservice that has been done to the people of Arkansas in the eyes of the nation, and that has been done to the nation in the eyes of the world.

I call upon all citizens of the State of Arkansas to bring to an immediate end all interference with the law and its processes. If resistance to the Federal Court orders is brought to an immediate end, the further presence of Federal troops will be unnecessary. It is my hope that proper order will soon prevail.

The decision The Supreme Court
TELEPHONE CALLS

Newport
September 24, 1957.

Note: of the many calls between the Attorney General and the President, only a few can be monitored. Below is gist of one at 8:35 the morning after the President issued a Proclamation to the citizens of Little Rock.

The President pointed out to the Attorney General, who agreed, that while he was working on a statement to be issued, that statement could not be issued unless or until something happened in Little Rock this morning. The President has softened, too, the statement sent up from Washington, i.e., instead of starting out with statement that the "law has been defied", he has substituted phrase about his sympathy being with the people, etc.

The President queried whether he ought to stay in the office this morning. Both he and the Attorney General felt not, that it would look as though he was frozen waiting for something to happen, and it would be better if he went about his normal routine. Brownell pointed out this was not the first time in history that similar things had happened, the Whiskey Rebellion, for instance, had once or twice in labor disputes. In the statement nothing is cited specifically, but the President thinks perhaps a reference might be made to "like mergencies."

Brownell said that Max Taylor is anxious to try the use of the National Guard before calling in troops. The President said of course, but that he did not think the units of the National Guard in Little Rock should be used, because it might be a case of brother against brother. He suggested using other National Guard troops stationed throughout Arkansas. Brownell said that would take time -- 6 to 9 hours -- but the President, and Mr. Brownell, agreed that in this case time was not of the essence. The President said it did not make any difference if the troops were on the scene Wednesday or Thursday.

Jim Hagerty then talked to Mr. Brownell -- the main question will be the statement by Governor Faubus that the Federal Government has no right to intervene. Jim will simply cite Titles 332, second part of 333 and 334, and not try to interpret.
TELEPHONE CALLS
September 25, 1957

Attorney General 8:35 -- report made

11:17 Attorney General again, no notes

11:45 Senator Knowland called, offering to do anything that can be helpful. President read telegram of the Mayor of Little Rock; explained what he is going to do. Knowland suggested returning to Washington. President said he was not going to do so; weakened and said he might. Some comments about California

12:08 President decided he would sign the order to Federal troops and called the Attorney General.

12:15 President called Max Taylor. His concern was whether the National Guard if federalized, would be mobilized quickly enough. He thought better to call in regular Army units, to show that the Army could respond within (six) hours. General Taylor agreed. President gave the go-ahead. The troops are to be replaced by National Guard units as soon as they demonstrate they are ready to take over.

President also spoke briefly to Secretary of Defense, but he gave all the orders to Max Taylor.

12:47 President called me, to say departure would be at 3:30.

12:47 President called Captain Aurant.

From Washington
the President called Mrs. Eisenhower at 5:11, 8:34 and 9:28.
110 W. Main St.
ELDORADO ARK SEP 25 1203PMC

The White House
Washington

1957 SEP 26 AM 6 06

The President

THE WHITE HOUSE

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I RESPECTFULLY WISH TO STRONGLY
PROTEST YOUR PRECIPITOUS ACTION IN ORDERING FEDERAL
TROOPS TO ARKANSAS FOR THE PURPOSE OF ENFORCING SCHOOL
INTEGRATION.

IN RECOGNITION OF THE RESPONSIBILITY OF STATE AND LOCAL
AUTHORITIES AND IN JUSTICE TO THE PRINCIPLE OF STATE

L. Jack Martin

SEP 27, 1957
CARDED
RESPONSIBILITY IN LOCAL MATTERS, I URGE YOU TO WITHDRAW ARMED FEDERAL TROOPS IMMEDIATELY.

IF THE PEOPLE OF THIS STATE ARE GIVEN TIME AND OPPORTUNITY THEY WILL RESOLVE THIS AND OTHER LOCAL PROBLEMS ON A SOUND AND EQUITABLE BASIS UNDER LAW. THIS QUESTION AT LITTLE ROCK IS A PART OF THE OVERALL CIVIL RIGHTS PROGRAM LONG CONSIDERED AND DEBATED IN THE CONGRESS.

ON PROPOSED LEGISLATION RECOMMENDED AND URGED BY YOU COVERING THE ENTIRE FIELD OF CIVIL RIGHTS, THIS YEAR, WHICH
INCORPORATED THIS QUESTION IN LITTLE ROCK TO IMPLEMENT THE
SUPREME COURT DECISION AND THE SAME QUESTION IN FEDERAL
SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION RECOMMENDED BY YOU, THE CONGRESS HAS
REFUSED TO ACT.

AS I RECALL WHEN YOUR CIVIL RIGHTS BILL AS ORIGINALLY
PROPOSED WAS BEING CONSIDERED YOU WERE ASKED HOW SUCH
LAWS WOULD BE ENFORCED AND RESPONDED, I BELIEVE, THAT BY
"COURT ACTION". YOU WERE ASKED, AS I REMEMBER, IF YOU WOULD
ENFORCE SUCH LAWS BY THE USE OF FEDERAL TROOPS AND YOU
STATED EMPHATICALLY THAT YOU HAD NO INTENTION OF USING
MILITARY FORCE.
YOUR ACTION YESTERDAY IS CONTRARY TO THIS STATEMENT AND I THINK A REFLECTION AND DANGEROUS ENCROACHMENT UPON THE PREROGATIVES AND RESPONSIBILITY OF STATE AND LOCAL AFFAIRS

OREN HARRIS M C.
Newport, Rhode Island  
September 30, 1957

Dear Mr. Harris:

The feeling that prompts your telegram I can readily appreciate, for in my more than four decades of service to our country few events have sadder me as much as the necessity of resorting to Federal force to carry out Federal court orders in your State. I know of no State in the Union that cannot, if it so wills, carry into execution its own and Federal law, and this I feel has been quite as true of Arkansas as any other State. Unfortunately, however, the decision was reached to employ the power of Arkansas to frustrate instead of to effectuate the orders of the Federal court.

Your telegram rightly infers that ours is a Federal Union in which State Governments play an exceedingly vital role. That role I have sought in a host of ways to accentuate during the past five years. However, acquiescence in State use of force to block the implementation of Federal court orders, and acquiescence in the use of violence to thwart the Federal judiciary, would be acceding, first, to anarchy, and second, to the reversion of our Federal system to the impotent confederacy of 200 years ago from which our Union sprang.

I deplore quite as feelingly as you do the fact, almost incredible in these times, that extraordinary actions became imperatively necessary in Little Rock to ensure compliance with our Federal processes of government.

With kind regard,

Sincerely,

The Honorable Oren Harris  
Member of Congress  
1110 West Main Street  
Eldorado, Arkansas

[Signature]

CROSS CARD FOR STAFF SECRETARY.
MRS WHITMAN, NEWPORT

FOLLOWING TELEGRAM FROM SENATOR RUSSELL:

WA580 GOVT PD

SN WASHINGTON DC SEP 26 717PM

THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE

AS A CITIZEN, AS A SENATOR OF THE UNITED STATES,
AND AS CHAIRMAN OF THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES,
I MUST VIGOROUSLY PROTEST THE HAM-Fisted AND ILLEGAL METHODS
BEING EMPLOYED BY THE ARMED FORCES OF THE UNITED STATES UNDER
YOUR COMMAND WHO ARE CARRYING OUT YOUR ORDERS TO MIX THE RACES
IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS.

IF REPORTS OF REPUTABLE PRESS ASSOCIATIONS AND NEWS WRITERS ARE TO
BE BELIEVED, THESE SOLDIERS ARE DISREGARDING AND
OVERRIDING THE ELEMENTARY RIGHTS OF AMERICAN CITIZENS BY
APPLYING TACTICS WHICH MUST HAVE BEEN COPIED FROM THE MANUAL
ISSUED THE OFFICERS OF HITLER'S STORM TROOPERS. THE OVERPOWERING
MILITARY MIGHT YOU HAVE ASSEMBLED THERE MAKES SUCH ACTIONS
AS THESE NEWSPAPER ACCOUNTS DESCRIBE COMPLETELY INEXCUSABLE
UNLESS THE PURPOSE BE TO INTIMIDATE AND OVERawe ALL THE PEOPLE
OF THE COUNTRY WHO ARE OPPOSED TO MIXING THE RACES BY FORCE.

THESE DISPATCHES AGREE THAT AN UNARMED CITIZEN HAD
HIS HEAD CRACKED BY A RIFLE BUTT WHILE STANDING PEACEFULLY ON
PRIVATE PROPERTY MORE THAN ONE BLOCK REMOVED FROM THE SCHOOL
AFTER HE HAD TOLD YOUR TROOPERS THAT HE WAS THERE WITH THE
CONSENT OF THE OWNER OF THE PROPERTY.

ANOTHER ACCOUNT RELATES THAT THREE OR MORE CITIZENS
WERE PUSHED DOWN A STREET, WITH BAYONETS AT THEIR THROATS,
WHILE A BELlicose SERGEANT SHOUTED AGAIN AND AGAIN QUOTE "KEEP
THE BAYONETS AT THEIR THROATS UNTIL YOU KILL.IsActive

AN ASSOCIATED PRESS DISPATCH FROM LITTLE ROCK DATED
TODAY STATES THAT EIGHT PERSONS ARRESTED BY YOUR TROOPERS AT
VENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL YESTERDAY HAD BEEN HELD IN JAIL
INCOMMUNICADO OVERNIGHT WITHOUT ANY CHARGES HAVING BEEN FILED
AGAINST THEM AND HAD BEEN DENIED THE RIGHT TO CALL A LAWYER.
THE DISPATCH FURTHER STATES THAT EFFORTS TO FIND OUT WHAT
WOULD BE DONE WITH THE EIGHT PEOPLE WERE FRUITLESS, AND BOTH
THE FBI AND THE UNITED STATES MARSHAL DISCLAIMED ANY KNOWLEDGE
OF THE CASE.

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON DC SEPT 27 1957
THE PRESENT SUPREME COURT HAS IN A NUMBER OF CASES FREEED
CONFESSED NEGRO RAPISTS AND MURDERS BECAUSE THEY WERE NOT
ARRAIGNED WITHIN I PERIOD OF TIME THAT THESE EIGHT PEOPLE HAVE
BEEN IMPRISONED AND DENIED THE RIGHT OF COUNSEL BY MILITARY MIGHT.

UNDER THE DECISION OF EX PARTE MILLIGAN, MILITARY
COURTS HAVE NO JURISDICTION WHERE CIVIL COURTS ARE AVAILABLE.
I WOULD NOT CHALLENGE ANY CONTENTION THAT THE PRESENT SUPREME
COURT WOULD REVERSE THIS DECISION IN ANY CASE INVOLVING SCHOOL
INTEGRATION, BUT THEY HAVE NOT YET DONE SO; AND UNDER EXISTING
LAW THESE EIGHT MEN, WHATEVER MAY HAVE BEEN THEIR CRIME, HAVE
BEEN CLEARLY DENIED THEIR CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS.

I DO NOT HAVE FIRST HAND INFORMATION OF THE FEELING
OF THE MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE IN LITTLE ROCK. THE ATTENDANCE
IN THIS SCHOOL WOULD INDICATE THAT A MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE
DO NOT HAVE VERY STRONG FEELINGS AGAINST INTEGRATING THE SCHOOLZ.
BUT IF A MINORITY OF ONE WHO HAS CONFERRED THE CRIME OF RAPE
AND MURDER IS ENTITLED TO EARLY ARRAIGNMENT AND COUNSEL, THE
EIGHT DISSENTERS AT LITTLE ROCK SHOULD NOT BE DENIED THEIR
RIGHTS MERELY BECAUSE THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES SAW
FIT TO PLACE THE SCHOOL UNDER MILITARY CONTROL.

THE LAWS OF THIS COUNTRY GIVE AMPLE AUTHORITY TO
UNITED STATES MARSHALS TO DEPUTIZE A POSSE OF SUFFICIENT
STRENGTH TO MAINTAIN ORDER AND CARRY OUT ANY DECISION OF THE
COURTS. IT HAS NEVER CONTEMPLATED THAT SUCH A GREAT AGGREGATION
OF MILITARY MIGHT WOULD BE DIVERTED FOR THIS PURPOSE.

HOWEVER, SINCE YOU HAVE SEEN FIT TO ORDER THE TROOPERS
INTO ACTION, THEY SHOULD OBSERVE THE ELEMENTARY RIGHTS OF
AMERICAN CITIZENS WHO ARE VIOLATING NO FEDERAL LAW, ESPECIALLY
IN THE ABSENCE OF A DECLARATION OF MARTIAL LAW.

THERE ARE MILLIONS OF PATRIOTIC PEOPLE IN THIS
COUNTRY WHO WILL STRONGLY RESIST THE STRONG ARMED
TOTALITARIAN POLICE-STATE METHODS BEING EMPLOYED AT LITTLE
ROCK. THE FACT THAT THESE TACTICS ARE UNNECESSARY MAKES
IT EVEN MORE TRAGIC.

THERE ARE A NUMBER OF OTHER ASPECTS OF THIS CASE
AS REPORTED IN THE PRESS WHICH DO NOT REFLECT CREDIT UPON
THOSE IN COMMAND OF THIS ARMY OF TROOPERS. UNLESS CORRECTED
THIS WILL BRING THE ARMED SERVICES INTO DISREPUTE.
I EARNESTLY INSIST THAT ORDERS BE ISSUED PROHIBITING THESE
ACTS OF VIOLENCE WHICH ARE WHOLLY UNNECESSARY, ESPECIALLY
IN VIEW OF THE FACTS THAT THE NEGRO CHILDREN HAVE A LARGE
ARMED PERSONAL ESCORT TO AND FROM THE SCHOOL; THAT ARMED
TROOPERS PATROL THE CORRIDORS AND CLASSROOMS; AND THAT A
CORDON OF ARMED TROOPERS SURROUNDS THE SCHOOL.

THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT IS UNDOUBTEDLY LIABLE
IN PEONIARY DAMAGES FOR ANY ATTACKS UPON UNOFFENDING
CITIZENS. WE HAVE SURRENDERED AN AMERICAN SOLDIER ACCUSED
OF AN ATTACK OF VIOLENCE AGAINST A JAPANESE NATIONAL TO THE
JAPANESE COURTS FOR TRIAL. WE CANNOT DO LESS THAN INVESTIGATE
THESE ATTACKS AND PROPERLY PUNISH ALL OF THOSE WHO MAY HAVE
BEEN GUILTY OF UNNECESSARY VIOLENCE AGAINST INOFFENSIVE AND
PEACABLE AMERICAN CITIZENS.

RICHARD B RUSSELL
NIGHT LETTER

Newport, Rhode Island,
September 27, 1957

The Honorable Richard B. Russell
United States Senate
Washington, D.C.

Few times in my life have I felt as saddened as when the obligations of my office required me to order the use of force within a state to carry out the decisions of a Federal Court. My conviction is that had the police powers of the State of Arkansas been utilized not to frustrate the orders of the Court but to support them, the ensuing violence and open disrespect for the law and the Federal Judiciary would never have occurred. The Arkansas National Guard could have handled the situation with ease had it been instructed to do so. As a matter of fact, had the integration of Central High School been permitted to take place without the intervention of the National Guard, there is little doubt that the process would have gone along quite as smoothly and quietly as it has in other Arkansas communities. When a State, by seeking to frustrate the orders of a Federal Court, encourages mobs of extremists to flout the orders of a Federal Court, and when a State refuses to utilize its police powers to protect against mobs persons who are peaceably exercising their right under the Constitution as defined in such Court orders, the oath of office of the President requires that he take action to give that protection. Failure to act in such a case would be tantamount to acquiescence in anarchy and the dissolution of the union.

I must say that I completely fail to comprehend your comparison of our troops to Hitler's storm troopers. In one case military power was used to further the ambitions and purposes of a ruthless dictator; in the other to preserve the institutions of free government.

You allege certain wrong-doings on the part of individual soldiers
at Little Rock. The Secretary of the Army will assemble the facts and report them directly to you.

With warm regard,

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER
WA037 NL PD

LITTLE ROCK ARK SEP 30 & 1957 OCT 1 AM 7 43

THE PRESIDENT
THE WHITE HOUSE
WE THE PARENTS OF NINE NEGRO CHILDREN ENROLLED AT LITTLE
ROCK CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL WANT YOU TO KNOW THAT YOUR
ACTION IN SAFE GUARDING THEIR RIGHTS HAVE STRENGTHENED
OUR FAITH IN DEMOCRACY STOP NOW AS NEVER BEFORE WE HAVE
AN ABIDING FEELING OF BELONGING AND PURPOSEFULNESS STOP
WE BELIEVE THAT FREEDOM AND EQUALITY WITH WHICH ALL MEN
ARE ENDOWED AT BIRTH CAN BE MAINTAINED ONLY THROUGH
FREEDOM AND EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY FOR SELF DEVELOPMENT
GROWTH AND PURPOSEFUL CITIZENSHIP STOP WE BELIEVE THAT
THE DEGREE TO WHICH PEOPLE EVERYWHERE REALIZE AND ACCEPT
THIS CONCEPT WILL DETERMINE IN A LARGE MEASURE AMERICAS
TRUE GROWTH AND TRUE GREATNESS STOP YOU HAVE DEMONSTRATED
ADMIRABLY TO US THE NATION AND THE WORLD HOW PROFONDLY
YOU BELIEVE IN THIS CONCEPT STOP FOR THIS WE ARE DEEPLY
GRATEFUL AND RESPECTFULLY EXTEND TO YOU OUR HEARTFELT
AND LASTING THANKS STOP MAY THE ALMIGHTY AND ALL WISE
FATHER OF US ALL BLESS GUIDE AND KEEP YOU ALWAYS

OSCAR ECKFORD JR 4405 WEST 18TH LOTHAIRE S GREEN 1224
WEST 21ST ST JUANITA WALLS 1500 VALENTINE W B BROWN
1117 RINGO LOIS M PATTILLO 1121 CROSS H C RAY 2111
CROSS ELLIS THOMAS 1214 WEST 20TH W L ROBERTS 2301
HOWARD H L MOTHERSHED 1313 CHESTER.
October 4, 1957

PERSONAL

Dear Mr. Brown:

I deeply appreciate your September thirtieth telegram, signed also by other parents. The supreme law of our land has been clearly defined by the Supreme Court. To support and defend the Constitution of the United States is my solemn oath as your President -- a pledge which imposes upon me the responsibility to see that the laws of our country are faithfully executed. I shall continue to discharge that responsibility in the interest of all Americans today, as well as to preserve our free institutions of government for the sake of Americans yet unborn.

I believe that America's heart goes out to you and your children in your present ordeal. In the course of our country's progress toward equality of opportunity, you have shown dignity and courage in circumstances which would daunt citizens of lesser faith.

With best wishes to you,

Sincerely,

(sgd) DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

Mr. W. B. Brown
1117 Ringo Street
Little Rock
Arkansas

PERSONAL

(Sent to Mr. David H. Stephens, Chief Postal Inspector, Room 3426, Post Office Dept., for delivery)
The White House
Washington

WA136 GOVT PD

1957 OCT 1 PM 6 35
SN WASHINGTON DC OCT 1 422PM

THE PRESIDENT
THE WHITE HOUSE

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: THE UNFORTUNATE SITUATION CONCERNING OUR SCHOOLS, WHICH CAN RAPIDLY AND STEADILY WORSEN, PRESENTS THE MOST SERIOUS AND THE GRAVEST DOMESTIC CRISIS OF THIS CENTURY. I AM CONVINCED WE HAVE NOT YET MADE CLEAR TO YOU THE STRONG AND ALMOST UNANIMOUS SENTIMENT PREVAILING AMONG THE MOTHERS AND FATHERS OF THE SOUTH AGAINST ENFORCED INTEGRATION OF OUR SCHOOLS. THIS
APPLIES TO BOTH WHITE AND COLORED PARENTS. NOR HAVE WE MADE CLEAR TO YOU WHAT WILL BE THE ULTIMATE AND FATAL CONSEQUENCES OF ENFORCED INTEGRATION. THIS IS NO LONGER A QUESTION MERELY OF CIVIL RIGHTS, NOR A QUESTION OF STATE'S RIGHTS. THE REAL ISSUE AT STAKE IS THE SURVIVAL OF OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS. SCHOOLS ORIGINATE AND ARE SUSTAINED THROUGH THE COMBINED ACTIVE SUPPORT AND COOPERATION OF PARENTS AND THE EFFORTS OF DEDICATED TEACHERS. THIS SUPPORT AND COOPERATION CANNOT EXIST WITH SCHOOLS INTEGRATED BY FORCE. CONTINUED OPERATIONS OF A MILITANT DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE IN THE FIELD OF PUBLIC EDUCATION AT THE STATE LEVEL,
WITH THE USE OR THREATENED USE OF SOLDIERS MARCHING FROM SCHOOL TO SCHOOL, WILL TOTALLY DESTROY THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM IN GREAT AREAS OF THE SOUTH. THE INNOCENT VICTIMS WILL BE THE CHILDREN OF BOTH RACES. OPPOSITION TO INTEGRATION IS ACTUALLY THE OVERWHELMING VOICE OF THE MOTHERS AND FATHERS OF THESE CHILDREN, THOSE MOST DIRECTLY CONCERNED. THEIR OBJECTION IS IN NO SPIRIT OF DEFIANCE OR LAWLESSNESS ON THEIR PART, THEY ARE SINCERE, PATRIOTIC AND LAW ABIDING CITIZENS. TRADITIONS AND CUSTOMS FOR A PATTERN OF SEPARATE SOCIAL AND CIVIC ACTIVITIES BETWEEN THE RACES HAVE BEEN HANDLED DOWN FROM MOTHER TO DAUGHTER, FROM FATHER TO SON.
THIS PATTERN HAS AFFORDED GENERATIONS OF PEACEFUL AND
HARMONIOUS COOPERATION AMONG THE PEOPLE OF THE TWO RACES. THESE
TRADITIONS CANNOT BE ERASED BY COURT ORDERS, NOT SWEPT ASIDE BY
FORCE. I HAVE GREAT RESPECT FOR YOUR SINCERE DESIRE TO SERVE
THE PEOPLE AND YOUR DEEP CONCERN FOR THE WELFARE OF ALL
CITIZENS. TO GET THE TRUE FACTS AND TO CHART ANY SOUND COURSE
OF ACTION, I BELIEVE YOU MUST SEEK INFORMATION AND ADVICE BEYOND
YOUR ORDINARY CHANNELS. I THEREFORE SUGGEST THAT YOU SELECT A
GROUP OF TWENTY OR MORE PERSONAL ADVISORS IN EACH SOUTHERN STATE,
REQUESTING EACH OF THEM TO TALK DIRECTLY WITH A MINIMUM OF
FIFTY SCHOOL PATRONS, AND THEN TO REPORT THEIR COLLECTIVE FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS DIRECTLY TO YOU. I PLEAD FOR YOUR EARNEST PERSONAL REFLECTION ON THESE FACTS. ANY DECISION ON YOUR PART FOR ACTION IN THE PRESENT CRISIS WHICH FAILS TO TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION THE BASIC DESIRES AND FIRM CONVICTIONS OF THOSE MOST DIRECTLY CONCERNED WILL PLAUGE OUR NATION FOR GENERATIONS TO COME, COMPLETELY WIPING OUT PROGRESS MADE THUS FAR IN PEACEFUL AND HARMONIOUS RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO RACES, AND TOTALLY DESTROYING OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS. RESPECTFULLY YOURS

JOHN STENNIS UNITED STATES SENATOR.
October 7, 1957

Dear Senator Stennis:

I am much impressed by the earnestness of your telegram of October first. I sense, however, that you may be laboring under a misimpression as to the relationship of the President and the Executive Branch to events now unfolding in Little Rock and elsewhere throughout the South.

First, as to the mission of Federal soldiers in Little Rock, I emphasize that they are there not to enforce or to advance any governmental policy respecting integration, desegregation or segregation. They are there, simply, because the normal processes of law have been frustrated. Due to State use of force, first, to block Federal court orders; due next to State refusal to use troops to prevent mobs from blocking Federal court orders, and due finally to local inability to comply with Federal court orders because of mob violence unrestrained by State authorities, other than normal means had to be found to uphold the law. State and local law enforcement agencies being either unwilling or unable to uphold the law, it became imperatively necessary that the law be upheld by the Federal Government.

The alternative to supporting the law in such a situation is to acquiesce in anarchy, mob rule, and incipient rebellion. Such unthinkable consequences would be quite as disastrous for the South as for any other region. Ultimately, of course, such a course would destroy the Nation.

Your earnest plea for understanding and for adequate consultation with representative leaders of the South I have every sympathy for. Repeatedly I have stressed the same point of view in press conferences, and it was emphasized once again in my statement to the Nation a few nights ago in respect to the Little Rock situation.
I have, in fact, just concluded a thorough discussion of this problem with the group who visited me on behalf of the Conference of Southern Governors, and certainly there is no disinclination on my part to have additional discussions with responsible officials and other leaders either of the South or of other regions concerned by the present course of events.

I must repeat, however, that my relationship to the problem at the moment is not one of attempting by force of arms to advance, impede, or otherwise affect the course of desegregation in the Nation's schools; that responsibility has been vested in United States District Courts by the Supreme Court of the United States. The Executive responsibility is presently confined to carrying out such duties as are placed upon it to support the orders of the District Courts.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

The Honorable John Stennis
United States Senate
Washington, D. C.
October 28, 1957

Honorable Sherman Adams
Assistant to the President
The White House

Dear Governor Adams:

Attached are the original and a copy of a list of the Court orders and plans for school desegregation that you asked us to have prepared for you.

In order that the list might be most helpful they have been arranged in the following manner:

1. Schools under court order to desegregate and now complying with the order.

2. Schools under court order to desegregate but not complying with the order.

(Note: In both 1 and 2 the effective date of the order was the fall of 1957 or earlier.)

3. Schools under court order to desegregate in 1958.

4. Schools under a court order to desegregate at an unspecified date.

5. Schools in which local policy has established desegregation date for the fall of 1957 or a later specific date.

6. Court orders effecting admission of negro students to institutions of higher learning.

Orig. not sent to files as of 12/13/57
7. A selected list of desegregation matters still pending.
(The principal sources of this information were the Southern School News and the Race Relations Law Reporter, generally regarded as reliable in this field.)

If this information is not sufficient we shall try to supply promptly anything further you may desire upon request.

Sincerely yours,

J. Lee Rankin
Solicitor General
Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Military Operations

SITUATION REPORT: ARKANSAS
161700 - 171700 Eastern Standard Time December 1957

1. Summary of Events
   
a. Mimie Brown, a Negro student, was suspended from Central High School for three days by Mr. Mathews, the school principal, for having spilled some food on two or three white students during the lunch period on 17 December 1957. Mr. Mathews has released the incident to the press.


   c. There was no significant change in attendance at Central High School.

2. Dispositions
   
a. Central High School
      
      One Platoon, 1st Battalion, 153d Infantry (Reinforced)

   b. Camp Robinson
      
      One Platoon, 1st Battalion, 153d Infantry (Reinforced) (30 minute alert)
      One Company, 1st Battalion, 153d Infantry (Reinforced) (1 hour alert)
      Balance of 1st Battalion, 153d Infantry (Reinforced)
CONFIDENTIAL

Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Military Operations

SITUATION REPORT: ARKANSAS
051700 - 061700 Eastern Standard Time February 1958

1. Events at Central High School
   a. Central High School opened at 0830 hours, Central Standard Time, 6 February 1958 and closed at 1530 hours, Central Standard Time. Eight Negro students arrived and departed in private vehicles (Minnie Brown departed early). One Negro student was absent because of illness.
   b. There was no significant change in attendance at Central High School.

2. Dispositions
   a. During school hours
      (1) Central High School
         One Platoon, Task Force, 153d Infantry
      (2) Camp Robinson
         One Platoon, Task Force, 153d Infantry (30 minute alert)
         One Company (-), Task Force, 153d Infantry (60 minute alert)
         Balance of Task Force, 153d Infantry
   b. During all other hours - Camp Robinson
      One Platoon, Task Force, 153d Infantry (30 minute alert)
      One Company (-), Task Force, 153d Infantry (60 minute alert)
      Balance of Task Force, 153d Infantry

3. Items of Significant Interest
   a. Shortly after the opening of school, a military guard observed Minnie Brown (colored student) walking down the hall, followed by Frankie Gregg, a white female student. The colored girl stopped and the white girl bumped into her. Both girls then proceeded down the hall exchanging words. The guard overheard Frankie Gregg saying something to the effect, "Don't call me white trash, you nigger." After Minnie Brown had entered a class room, Frankie Gregg threw her purse into the room. The guard was not in a location to see where the purse landed but the colored girl came out with the purse and dropped it in front of the white girl. The guard took both girls to the office of a school official. Frankie Gregg is withdrawing from school at her own request.

CONFIDENTIAL

DECLASSIFIED

Authority: MR 79-96 #8

By: [Signature] NLE Date: 3/28/75
b. At 1020 hours, Central Standard Time, a telephone call was received by the switchboard operator at Central High School stating that there was a bomb in the school. A routine search was conducted by a city policeman and school custodial personnel with negative results.

c. At 1200 hours, Central Standard Time, Charlotte Walls (colored student), accompanied by two white boys (Herbert Blount and Dennis Jylon) approached a guard. She stated she had been kicked by the two white boys. The guard took the three students to the Principal's office. Action taken is unknown at this time.

d. At 1210 hours, Central Standard Time, the switchboard operator at Central High School received a call stating that there was a bomb in the school. A search was conducted by a city policeman and school custodial personnel with negative results. In addition, there were two city detectives sent to the school to investigate the incident.

e. At 1225 hours, Central Standard Time, Minnie Brown (colored student) and Lester Judkins (white student) were involved in a soup spilling incident. Sergeant Blackwood, a military guard, saw the complete incident. A teacher held Judkins' arm and restrained him until Sergeant Blackwood, who was outside the door, could get inside. As Sergeant Blackwood accompanied Judkins to the Principal's office, Judkins bragged in a loud voice that he had poured soup on Minnie Brown. On hearing this, a group of about 15 students rushed to the telephone booth in the lobby. Ten minutes later the incident was reported during a news broadcast. Lester Judkins has received a normal three day suspension for the incident.

f. Minnie Brown received a normal three day suspension for the incident described in 3a above.
Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Military Operations

SITUATION REPORT: ARKANSAS
131700 - 141700 Eastern Standard Time February 1958

1. Events at Central High School

   b. There was no significant change in attendance at Central High School.

2. Dispositions
   a. During school hours
      (1) Central High School
         One Platoon, Task Force, 153d Infantry

      (2) Camp Robinson
         One Platoon, Task Force, 153d Infantry (30 minute alert)
         One Company (—), Task Force, 153d Infantry (60 minute alert)
         Balance of Task Force, 153d Infantry

   b. During all other hours - Camp Robinson
      One Platoon, Task Force, 153d Infantry (30 minute alert)
      One Company (—), Task Force, 153d Infantry (60 minute alert)
      Balance of Task Force, 153d Infantry

3. Items of Significant Interest
   a. Ernest Green (colored student) reported to school officials on 13 February 1958 that his locker had been damaged. (This is in addition to the previous report of three damaged lockers on 13 February 1958.)

   b. At 1250 hours, Central Standard Time, 11 February 1958, Ernest Green (colored student) reported that his locker had been damaged beyond use, and that all his books had been stolen.

   c. The original three-day suspension of Minnie Brown of 6 February has been increased to two weeks. The two-week suspension is not in addition to the original three days as previously reported.

   d. The three white boys, who were suspended for a minimum of three days on 30 January 1958 for starting a fire in Central High School, have been permitted to return to school.
e. No action will be taken against Raymond Robinson (white student) who was reported as having spit on two colored students on 13 February 1958.

f. Upon the release of the students at Central High School at 1530 hours, Central Standard Time, 14 February 1958 a snowball throwing developed among the students. As the game developed, several students were observed throwing stones and gravel. Primary targets were the cars of the parents of colored students. Two police cars were called to the scene by school officials, but the policemen made no effort to stop the disturbance. School officials have no knowledge of any injuries.
Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Military Operations

SITUATION REPORT: ARKANSAS
141700 - 171700 Eastern Standard Time February 1958

1. Events at Central High School

   a. Central High School opened at 0830 hours, Central Standard Time, 17 February 1958 and closed at 1530 hours, Central Standard Time. Eight Negro students arrived and departed in private vehicles (seven arrived late because of snow. See 3a below). Minnie Brown (colored student) is in suspended status.

   b. There was no significant change in attendance at Central High School.

2. Dispositions

   a. During school hours

      (1) Central High School

         One Platoon, Task Force, 153d Infantry

      (2) Camp Robinson

         One Platoon, Task Force, 153d Infantry (30 minute alert)
         One Company (-), Task Force, 153d Infantry (60 minute alert)
         Balance of Task Force, 153d Infantry

   b. During all other hours - Camp Robinson

         One Platoon, Task Force, 153d Infantry (30 minute alert)
         One Company (-), Task Force, 153d Infantry (60 minute alert)
         Balance of Task Force, 153d Infantry

3. Items of Significant Interest

   a. School officials have announced that, in order to prevent snowball incidents, the colored students will be permitted to enter school after classes have started on days when there is snow.

   b. Shortly after the opening of school on 17 February 1958, several white students were observed passing out small cards which read, "One down and eight to go."
c. Billy Ferguson (white student) received a normal three-day suspension for pushing Gloria Ray (colored student) down a flight of stairs. Miss Ray maintained her footing and was not injured.

d. Howard Cooper (white student) received a normal three-day suspension for having a slip pinned on his clothes, which read, "One down and eight to go." This was in violation to a previous agreement that he would not display items of this nature on his clothes.

e. Sammie Dean Parker (white student) received an indefinite suspension for passing out slips which read, "One down and eight to go."
Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Military Operations

SITUATION REPORT: ARKANSAS
261700 - 271700 Eastern Standard Time February 1958

1. Events at Central High School

a. Central High School opened at 0830 hours, Central Standard Time, 27 February 1958 and closed at 1530 hours, Central Standard Time. Eight Negro students arrived and departed in private vehicles. (One of the eight Negro students (Carlotta Walls) arrived two hours after school had opened. The reason for her tardiness has not been revealed.)

b. There was no significant change in attendance at Central High School.

2. Dispositions

a. During school hours

(1) Central High School
   One Platoon, Task Force, 153d Infantry

(2) Camp Robinson
   One Platoon, Task Force, 153d Infantry (30 minute alert)
   One Company (-), Task Force, 153d Infantry (60 minute alert)
   Balance of Task Force, 153d Infantry

b. During all other hours - Camp Robinson

   One Platoon, Task Force, 153d Infantry (30 minute alert)
   One Company (-), Task Force, 153d Infantry (60 minute alert)
   Balance of Task Force, 153d Infantry

3. Items of Significant Interest

On the evening of 26 February 1958, Superintendent Blossom and two other school officials had a conference with Sammie Dean Parker and her parents. As Mrs. Huckaby, Assistant Principal, was leaving the meeting she was viciously and physically attacked by Sammie Dean and Mrs. Parker and had to be protected in a separate room until the Parkers finally left. Mr. Blossom has indicated that he will strongly recommend to the School Board that Sammie Dean be permanently expelled.

DECLASSIFIED
Authority mh 79-96 #2
By dc NLE Date 3/28/79
CONFIDENTIAL

Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Military Operations

SITUATION REPORT: ARKANSAS
071700 – 101700 Eastern Standard Time March 1958

1. Events at Central High School
   b. There was no significant change in attendance at Central High School.

2. Dispositions
   a. During school hours
      (1) Central High School
      One Platoon, Task Force, 153d Infantry
      (2) Camp Robinson
      One Platoon, Task Force, 153d Infantry (30 minute alert)
      One Company (-), Task Force, 153d Infantry (60 minute alert)
      Balance of Task Force, 153d Infantry
   b. During all other hours - Camp Robinson
      One Platoon, Task Force, 153d Infantry (30 minute alert)
      One Company (-), Task Force, 153d Infantry (60 minute alert)
      Balance of Task Force, 153d Infantry

3. Items of Significant Interest
   a. On 7 March 1958, Elizabeth Eckford (colored student) reported to school officials that she had been splattered by fragments from a raw egg while changing classes. She had no knowledge of who threw the egg.
   b. On 7 March 1958, the wife of Superintendent Blossom received a call from an unidentified male who threatened her husband's life.
   c. While driving home on the night of 8 March 1958, Superintendent Blossom heard a shot when he was within two blocks of his home. He found evidence which indicated that his car had been hit by a bullet. This evidence is being investigated by local police.
The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. President:

I was sitting in the audience at the Summit Meeting of Negro Leaders yesterday when you said we must have patience. On hearing you say this, I felt like standing up and saying, "Oh no! Not again."

I respectfully remind you sir, that we have been the most patient of all people. When you said we must have self-respect, I wondered how we could have self-respect and remain patient considering the treatment accorded us through the years.

17 million Negroes cannot do as you suggest and wait for the hearts of men to change. We want to enjoy now the rights that we feel we are entitled to as Americans. This we cannot do unless we pursue aggressively goals which all other Americans achieved over 150 years ago.

As the chief executive of our nation, I respectfully suggest that you unwittingly crush the spirit of freedom in Negroes by constantly urging forbearance and give hope to those pro-segregation leaders like Governor Faubus who would take from us even those freedoms we now enjoy. Your own experience with Governor Faubus is proof enough that forbearance and not eventual integration is the goal the pro-segregation leaders seek.

In my view, an unequivocal statement backed up by action such as you demonstrated you could take last fall in deal-
ing with Governor Faubus if it became necessary, would let it be known that America is determined to provide -- in the near future -- for Negroes -- the freedoms we are entitled to under the constitution.

Respectfully yours,

Jackie Robinson

JR:cc
Dear Mr. Robinson:

Thank you very much for taking the time to write me some of the thoughts you had after the meeting of the Negro leaders here in Washington. While I understand the points you make about the use of patience and forbearance, I have never urged them as substitutes for constructive action or progress.

If you will review my talk made at the meeting, you will see that at no point did I advocate a cessation of effort on the part of individuals, organizations, or government, to bring to fruition for all Americans, the enjoyment of all the privileges of citizenship spelled out in our Constitution.

I am firmly on record as believing that every citizen of every race and creed deserves to enjoy equal civil rights and liberties, for there can be no such citizen in a democracy as a half-free citizen.

I should say here that we have much reason to be proud of the progress our people are making in mutual understanding -- the chief buttress of human and civil rights. Steadily we are moving closer to the goal of fair and equal treatment of citizens without regard to race or color.

This progress, I am confident, will continue. And it is gifted persons such as yourself, born out of the crucible of struggle for personal dignity and achievement, who will help lead the way towards the goals we seek.

Sincerely,

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

Mr. Jackie Robinson
425 Lexington Avenue
New York 17, New York