

SNCC: A SPECIAL REPORT
ON
SOUTHERN SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

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- 1965 school desegregation figures
- Documentation of the lack of enforcement of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964
- Complaints from 35 Black Belt counties submitted to the Office of Education

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SNCC: SPECIAL REPORT

INTRODUCTION

In its 1954 decision that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal" the U.S. Supreme Court established a new but obvious constitutional principle. In each succeeding year, newspaper writers, government officials and educators have constantly pointed to the ever-increasing number of Negro children admitted to previously all white schools. But, eleven years later--even with the additional impetus of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964--the number of Negro children in previously all white schools remains pitifully low. September 1965 surveys by SNCC in the eleven Southern states show that more than 92% of all Negro children still attend segregated and unequal schools. (In 1964, 97.86% were in such schools.*)

But these figures fail to tell the real story. Behind the headlines and the statistics is another story--one of increased harassment, brutality and economic intimidation against the brave Negro children and parents who have tried only to get the best education possible. It is also a story of gross negligence and abrogation of responsibility on the part of the U.S. Commissioner of Education Francis Keppel, and David S. Seeley, Acting Director of the Equal Education Opportunities Program--the civil rights compliance section of the Office of Education.

This special report from the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee will tell the other story.

*Southern School News - December, 1964

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE EQUAL EDUCATION OPPORTUNITIES PROGRAM

The Civil Rights Act became law in July, 1964. Title VI prohibited discrimination in Federally Assisted Programs:

Section 601. No person in the United States shall on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving federal financial assistance.

Section 602. Each Federal Department and agency which is empowered to extend Federal financial assistance to any program or activity, by way of grant, loan, or contract other than a contract of insurance or guaranty, is authorized and directed to effectuate the provisions of Section 601 with respect to such programs or activity by issuing rules, regulations, or orders of general applicability which shall be consistent with achievement of the objectives of the statute authorizing the financial assistance in connection with which the action is taken. No such rule, regulation, or order shall become effective unless and until approved by the President . . .

Thus, under Title VI, each department was to draw up regulations for insuring compliance with the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The then Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, Anthony Celebrezze, knew that his Office was responsible for drawing up such regulations. Yet the seven-page "rules, regulations, or orders of general applicability" to implement Section 602 were not printed in the Federal Register until December 4, 1964, five months after the Bill became law, and exactly one month after the Presidential election.

All public schools receiving federal aid were required to execute HEN Form 441, a sworn assurance of compliance, or, as in the case of most southern school districts, to submit a final court order or a voluntary plan for desegregation. The plan or court order was to be "adequate to accomplish the purposes of this Act . . . and provide reasonable assurance that the school district will carry out such plan."

INSTRUCTIONS WERE SKETCHY

Later in December, 1964, a three-page "Instructions to School Districts Regarding Compliance with Title VI" was published. These instructions and the regulations in the Federal Register were at best sketchy and at worst so vague as to render them absolutely meaningless and ineffective. School districts were told that they had to submit a final court order or a voluntary desegregation plan which met certain minimum requirements. Any plan submitted--whether "geographic zoning" or "freedom of choice"--had to eliminate race, color, or national origin as a basis for the assignment or transfer of pupils and provide for a "substantial good faith start" by the beginning of the 1965-66 school year. Districts also were required to give an indication of "appropriate preparatory steps to prepare the staff and community for desegregation" and to provide for "public notice" of the plan and "rules and regulations" for assigning pupils to schools. The remaining instructions dealt with application for funds and the need for an assurance of compliance from the district before the state could make any new commitments for funds after January 3, 1965.

It is difficult to know exactly what the "Instructions" were intended to accomplish. What was "adequate"? What was a "substantial good faith start"? Even the five "minimum requirements" were vaguely spelled out. Surely Commissioner Keppel and his staff knew of the difficulty with court orders directing desegregation "with all deliberate speed." Did Commissioner Keppel expect Alabama school district superintendents to interpret "substantial good faith start" as being more than nothing? Did he not know that many of these same school districts had had eleven years of practicing the art of evasion, delay and circumvention of the 1954 Supreme Court Decision and that more than 450 pro-segregation school laws had been passed by the eleven southern states since 1954? Did

Did he really expect three pages of vague instructions to be anywhere near sufficient--even for those districts that wanted to comply with the Act?

The fact is that soon after the instructions were issued, many school districts complained that the instructions were not at all helpful in guiding submission of plans. Not until April 29 did the Commissioner and his office make public any information that clarified the "Instructions" although March 4 was set as the suggested date for compliance with Title VI.

With the March 4 deadline fast approaching, the Commissioner must have been in a dilemma--2000 school districts would be submitting plans by that date. Not until January did he assign David Seeley, his special assistant, to be acting director of the Equal Education Opportunities Program (EEOP), as the Title VI compliance section is called. By late February, Mr. Seeley had only a small staff--several persons detailed to him from other departments, one consultant and secretarial assistance. Obviously, March 4 was an unrealistic deadline. It was soon extended to April 17. But more specific guidelines had not yet been issued from the Commissioner's office. The process of hiring personnel or obtaining staff workers from other sections of HEW and the Justice Department to work on the EEOP was still at a crawl in April.

On March 20th, the Saturday Review published an article called "Title VI: Southern Education Faces the Facts," which the editors introduced by saying: "SR hopes that Southern school authorities will find these guidelines useful in making fateful decisions that confront them." Parts of the article, written by G. W. Foster, Jr., the first consultant to the Office of Education's EEOP, later became the official "General Statement of Policies" which school districts were to use as guidelines in submitting and revising their plans.

Imagine the distress of those school boards which passed early resolutions of intent to comply. For example, the Forrest City, Arkansas School Board submitted its three page resolution of February 8 only to receive from Commissioner Keppel a letter, dated April 28, indicating that the resolution was not adequate. The School Superintendent replied that he was sorry the resolution was not adequate but that Keppel had to remember that there were no guidelines for him and his school board to follow in February.

GUIDELINES ISSUED APRIL 29

The April 29th "General Statement of Policies" was slightly more specific, but it contained innumerable loopholes and muddy language. We recognize that the guidelines had to be broad and flexible enough to take into account differences in school districts, but broadness and flexibility were not their major weakness. Listed below are examples of specific problems with the guidelines. After that section we will show how the inadequate guidelines resulted in glaring inconsistencies in the approval of plans.

"Faculty and staff desegregation. Steps will be taken for the desegregation of faculty, at least including such actions as joint faculty meetings and joint inservice programs. . . steps shall be also taken toward the elimination of segregation of teaching and staff personnel in the school resulting from prior assignment based on race, color, or national origin."

This language would never bring about desegregation of faculties. A plan might call for a joint faculty meeting in 1967 and be acceptable under this guideline. In general, the section on faculty and staff desegregation gives no idea of concrete steps to be taken, when they are to commence, or the maximum or minimum time that a school district has to effect these changes.

"All desegregation plans shall provide for the elimination of discrimination based on race, color, or national origin, with respect to services, facilities, activities and programs sponsored by or affiliated with the schools of the system."

This section, too, indicates no date or what is enough. For example, there is nothing in the guideline to keep school districts from not allowing Negro students to participate in athletics, band and other activities-- or to delay this until 1970.

All desegregation plans shall contain specific information as to actions that will be taken to prepare pupils, teachers, staff personnel and the community for the changes that will be involved in desegregating the school system.

Again, what does this mean? Will notice in the paper be enough? Is the school board required to encourage desegregation? It is our belief that school boards should have been required to hold meetings with Negro groups, to publicly denounce those who would intimidate Negro parents from enrolling their children in white schools, and to prepare literature with a positive attitude toward desegregation.

All desegregation plans shall provide for their publication in a conspicuous manner in a newspaper having general circulation in the geographic area served by the school system, reasonably in advance of the time for any action which may be taken by pupils under the plan.

What does "conspicuous" mean? Was printing the plan in the legal notice section of the paper enough, as many districts did? "Public notice" requirements should have been uniform; for example, a one-half page ad in the local newspaper, plus leaflets to be distributed in the Negro community. Moreover, radio announcements should have been required, since in some areas white papers are so bad that Negroes don't read them.

Every school system which submits a plan that fails to provide for the desegregation of every grade in all the schools within its system by the beginning of the school year 1965-66 must sustain the burden of justifying the delay and must include in its desegregation plan a time schedule for such desegregation.

The fall of 1967 is set as the target date for the extension of desegregation to all grades of school systems not fully desegregated in 1965-66 as a qualification for Federal financial assistance.

While we recognize that there are some problems of space in changing from a completely segregated system to a desegregated one--and since most freedom of choice plans contained an overcrowding provision--we can find no justification whatsoever for accepting any freedom of choice plans that allowed for desegregation of fewer than 12 grades.

Moreover, the guidelines stated that in "exceptional cases" the Commissioner may, for good cause shown, accept plans which provide for desegregation of fewer or other grades. . .provided that the school districts.....(will) meet the 1967 target date." How did a school district know whether or not its case was "exceptional"? In fact, many districts tried to be "exceptional." A large number of Mississippi districts submitted plans calling for desegregation of one or two grades in 1965. Their hope was that their plans would be approved even though they did not even attempt to justify the need for opening only one or two grades to Negro pupils.

PLAN APPROVAL

The publication of the new guidelines brought a flood of plans into the United States Office of Education. From all indications, the EEOP was totally unprepared for reviewing and approving these plans. As late as June 1st, Mr. Seeley had hired and brought to EEOP from HEW and other government agencies only 30-35 people. Not only was the staff insufficient but the operation of EEOP was completely disorganized. On one day, an attorney might read a plan from a rural district in Mississippi and on the next day a plan from an urban center in North Carolina.

This disorganization was coupled with the fact that very few of the reviewers had any extensive knowledge of civil rights in general, (through no fault of their own), or had little or no experience with the conniving,

scheming, or downright dishonest tactics of most southern school superintendents and boards. And, what is worse, it appears that no serious effort was made to orient the plan approval staffs to these tactics.

The reviewer had before him only a plan submitted to him by a school official from a district he knew nothing about--and probably had heard of only the day before--and a copy of the General Statement of Policy. If he had questions, he would call the superintendent or school board members. Hardly ever were Negro community groups or civil rights organizations contacted. If there were very serious problems, school officials came to Washington for conferences, and in rare instances a plan-approval staff member traveled to the county in question. Because the guidelines were published late and the staff was poorly trained, there was an enormous backlog of plans awaiting approval. Also, the cursory process of approval left much to be desired.

It was only in early June while acting Director Seeley was on vacation that some semblance of an organized approach to plan approval was developed. Geographic area offices were established. From then on, a team of attorneys, law students, and EEOP professional staff members worked on plans from a specific state or a group of states. However, there was still little effort to get background information about school districts except through the superintendents. In some instances, when reviewers really tried to study plans and look for loopholes, they were told that they were working too slowly and should hurry and get the plans done.

SLOW PAGE

With over 2000 school districts required to submit plans, only 352 had been approved by June 31st. This slow pace continued, and as late as July 19th, only 466 plans had been approved, although 1839 districts in the 17 southern and border states had sent their plans to Washington by that date.

With less than six weeks to go before school opened, everybody began to scream--the President, the school boards, Congressmen, and parents. As a result, emphasis was increasingly placed on getting out as many plans per day as possible rather than on plans which would assure compliance with Title VI. EEOP published a daily check sheet during the summer showing "progress" in terms of the number of plans submitted to date, the number of plans approved, and the number of plans still under negotiation.

The rush was on. Many plans slid through without even meeting the minimum guidelines.

For example, the General Statement of Policies indicated that if a school system desegregated fewer than twelve grades this year, it had to "sustain the burden of justifying the delay" but must make a "substantial good faith start"--defined as at least four grades in 1965. Since many school districts were willing to meet only the minimum requirements, most submitted four-grade-a-year free choice plans. In many instances, the Office of Education accepted these without question and made little or no effort to require justifications for four instead of twelve grades. If the school districts, by some chance, tried to justify four grades a year, the justifications went something like this:

The emotional atmosphere of our patrons requires that we not go faster than the majority of our neighboring districts (Clarendon, Arkansas School District).

Whereas (b) the achievement level of the Negro students is substantially below that of white students and this difference in achievement level is progressively greater from the first through the twelfth grade and (c) the cultural background and home environment of the Negro students is entirely different from that of the white students making it difficult to assimilate them into desegregated schools..." (Columbus, Mississippi School District)

Whereas the board of trustee of the Holly Springs Municipal Separate School District, after exhaustive study and long consideration of the various possible alternatives has concluded that it is absolutely essential to the continued operation, progress and welfare of the public school system of said districts to formulate an acceptable plan eliminating the dual school system. Now, therefore, be it and it is hereby resolved by the Board of Trustees of the Holly Springs Municipal School District that in order to comply with the laws of the land the said Board of Trustees does hereby place in effect the following policies, effective on the date of adoption of the resolution. (Holly Springs, Mississippi, School District)

The Holly Springs "freedom of choice" plan for four grades--1, 2, 7, 12--was accepted with that introduction--which is hardly justification for four instead of twelve grades.

In Mississippi where some two-grades-a-year plans were accepted, several indicated overcrowding as the reasons. But every free choice plan submitted had a built-in overcrowding clause which usually read: "In cases of overcrowding, students will be assigned on the basis of proximity of residence."

And, given the history of the effect of "freedom of choice" plans in producing "tokenism" there was no excuse for accepting four-grade-a-year plans. "Freedom of choice" for fewer than twelve grades also breaks up families where parents would rather have all children in the same school. In addition, the moral support of a brother or sister helps in adjusting to a possibly hostile school environment. (To make certain that these plans were no exception, we examined over 100 four-grades-a-year plans. The same pattern prevailed throughout.)

There were other inconsistencies. Some districts were required to state specifically the dates that their "public notice" would be given. The Selma district, for example, was ordered:

.....upon acceptance of this plan by the U.S. Commissioner of Education that a one-half page ad will be conspicuously placed in the Selma Times Journal, a daily newspaper serving this general area, at least twice within a three-week period prior to the closing date for making choices giving a description of this plan along with the letter to parents and choice of school form. In the event that front page coverage is not given, the type ad described above will be run an additional day within three weeks prior to the closing date for making choices. (from a letter to the Selma School Superintendent from Commissioner Keppel.)

Still other districts were more fortunate--the definition of public notice was left up to them,

BUMBLING, BUNGLING AND WHITE RIGHTS

Given the disorganized nature of the plan approval operation it was inevitable that bungling and bumbling would soon rear their ugly heads. But our survey of over 100 plans approved by the U.S. Office of Education produced another unexpected and alarming discovery--protection of white rights instead of enforcement of Title VI.

Below are just a few of the examples that could be included here.

The guidelines state very clearly that:

No pupil shall be publicly supported in a school outside the school district unless such support is available without regard to race, color, or national origin of all pupils residing in the school district; and in any case no student shall be required to attend a school outside the school district in order to maintain racial segregation or minimize desegregation in a school within the district.

1. Washington School District #12, Arkansas. (from a letter written by the School Superintendent to Commissioner Keppel justifying free choice in grades 1-8 for 1965-66)

We are willing to give the freedom of choice to all 12 grades in 1965-66 but it is not possible. We do not operate a school for those grades for white students. We have been bussing them to Hope School District for the past ten years. We are willing to grant that choice to Negro students but Hope's approved plan does not provide for freedom of choice for 9-12.

The school (white) at Hope is a North Central rated school. Our high school (Negro) has only a "B" rating.

The 23 whites will be bussed to Hope.

/s/ Thurston Hulsey, Supt of Schools

This plan was accepted although it violated the guidelines which forbid bussing out of the district. More important, though, it allowed the 23 students (white) to continue in an all-white school and denied any possibility of choice to the Negro high school students in Washington #12. Conversely, Hope's freedom of choice plan for 1-6 was accepted without question, even though the Superintendent explained the attendance of

white students from Washington had been going on for ten years and would continue.

2. Gould, Arkansas. This "freedom of choice" plan provided for choice in grades 1-12 but the School Board could refuse Negro transfers in grades 5, 10 and 11 because of overcrowding. The office of Education accepted a provision that white high school students would be accepted from Wells Bayou School District.

Here again is a case where the Office of Education accepted a plan which restricts the choice of Negro students and gives first preference to whites outside the district. Thirty Negro students were, in fact, refused the right to transfer in grades 5, 10 and 11.

3. Linwood in Jefferson County, Arkansas. The school district has 1111 whites and 460 Negroes. Linwood School for whites grades 1-8 and Baxter School for Negroes in grades 1-9. Children in higher grades attend Pine Bluff schools. The approved plan had freedom of choice in grades 1, 7, 8, and 9 in 1965-66. The Pine Bluff accepted plan allows freedom of choice in grades 1-8.

In this situation, white ninth graders were allowed to go outside the district and continue in white Pine Bluff schools (where Negroes couldnot go) rather than attend a desegregated ninth grade in the Linwood district. The only possible transfer choices for Negro students in 1965 were to grades 1, 7, and 8. In addition, the approved Linwood plan provides for desegregation of grades 5 and 6 in 1966 and finally all grades in 1967. The Pine Bluff plan provides for grades 1-10 in 1966. This plan gives Negro high school students the opportunity to exercise free choice in only one grade in 1966. The approved plan(s) were clearly designed for white students and to delay the process of desegregation as long as possible.

On the other hand, in Arkansas districts where there were only a few Negro students who had previously been bussed out of the county or attended small Negro schools, the approved plans provided for all

students in the district to attend the central school. In Fountain Hill in Ashley County, Negro students, 66 in total, now attend the same school as the 210 whites in the district. Similarly, the deQueen District closed its Negro school and enrolled all 63 Negroes in the central school with 1073 whites. In fact, the deQueen Superintendent, Jack Bell, said he had received a call from Washington to the effect that nothing less than freedom of choice in all 12 grades would be acceptable. This led to the deQueen decision to put all students in the central school. Here is a situation just in reverse of the Washington District #12: 440 Negroes and 76 whites. Why wasn't the same telephone call made to Washington Superintendent Hulsey and the same solution required?

4. Wheatley in St. Francis County, Arkansas. Approved plan was freedom of choice in grades 1-4 in 1965-66. The Wheatley District has a tuition arrangement with the Brinkley District which allows Negro students to attend Anderson Negro High School. There are 310 Negroes and 86 whites in the district. Superintendent J.C. Flowers indicated that when the number of Negro students choosing Anderson High School drops below 25 then all the Negro students will attend the white high school in Wheatley.

This arrangement also violates the anti-bussing-out-of-district regulation. There is no apparent reason why all Negroes couldn't have been enrolled in district schools this year.

5. Calhoun County, Georgia. An August 20 Calhoun County School Board letter to Mr. Stalvey at EEOP justified a four-grade-a-year plan in this manner:

To justify the four grades a year it is only necessary to look at this district's Negro-white pupil ratio. Of 2372 students, 68% are Negro and 32% are white. In addition, there is no overcrowded school.

The plan was accepted.

6. Western Line Consolidated Schools, Glen Allen, Mississippi. The School Board submitted a two-grade-a-year plan and asked that it be accepted. A staff memo to Commissioner Keppel urged that this plan be accepted since the district has such a high Negro percentage and to open more than two grades might "frighten" the white children out of the school.

The plan was accepted.

7. Bertie County, North Carolina. The district had a free choice plan for all grades. There are several schools in the county for Negroes. Three of them are small wooden schools which have no plumbing and are abysmally inferior. When students from these schools applied for transfer, they were rejected. After considerable negotiation with the U.S. Office of Education, those students who had requested transfer from the wooden schools to white schools were accepted, while those who had applied for transfer to other Negro schools were rejected. The Superintendent was unwilling to close the three little Negro schools, but he had closed a white school which has a capacity of 250 but which was attended by only 90 white students.

The white school was obviously closed to avoid creating a situation in which Negro children might outnumber the whites in the school. The Bertie County plan was, needless to say, accepted.

Similar conclusions can be drawn from many other desegregation situations. In fact, from looking at plans and negotiation letters in the Office of Education/^{public}files and studying school enrollment figures, it appears that a conscious decision was made to automatically allow a district to desegregate fewer than twelve grades if the Negro enrollment was over 40% of the total school population. But, this decision seemingly was not made until the "rush" was on.

After July, correspondence in the accepted plan folders dwindles. And, although more specific requests are made of districts with respect to such things as "public notice", there is little evidence to show that attempts were made to have school boards consent to opening all twelve grades. This is particularly, and absolutely, true of Mississippi plans. By July 15th, only one Mississippi plan had been accepted--from Long Beach which submitted a 12 grade "free choice" plan. Yet, by September 15th, with 62 Mississippi plans accepted, the breakdown was like this: 5 called for desegregation of all grades this year under "free choice" and 57 plans were plans calling for desegregation of four or two grades under free choice in 1965.

Clearly, Commissioner Keppell and the Office of Education were willing to accept tokenism as the definition of compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

COURT ORDERS

Every school district that submitted a court order as its plan for desegregation was considered to be in compliance with Title VI. (At least we found no evidence to suggest otherwise.)

Court orders, the "General Statement of Policies" stated, had to be (1) final and (2) a class action covering all students in the district and not just certain families. A final court order was defined by the Office of Education as any District Court ruling calling for desegregation of the school system. In fact, not only were all of the court orders on appeal accepted by Commissioner Keppell, but also they were incredibly bad. It was an unpardonable error for Commissioner Keppell to accept, as being in compliance, court orders handed down by racist Southern judges such as Cox and Clayton in Mississippi and Elliot in Georgia.

Certainly there was a conscious policy decision made to accept every court order. G.W. Foster, Jr., a consultant to the Office of Education and the main author of the "General Statement of Policies," admits in his Saturday Review article that:

Neither Title VI nor the regulations adopt court rulings as the standard to be followed by the Commissioner of Education. But under the regulations the Commissioner must accept court ordered plans of desegregation and it would appear unlikely that he will accept less than required by judicial standards in passing on voluntary plans.

There was no wording in Title VI that stated that court orders had to be accepted. Nor was there any specific standard outlined to judge compliance. Thus it was the regulations published by HEW in December and later the "General Statement of Policies" that embodied the decision to

accept any court order. Obviously, there should have been some distinction made as to what orders were acceptable. In the Circuit Courts of Appeal there have been some very good decisions handed down while some lower federal courts require next to nothing in desegregation plans.

The Arkansas court cases--Fort Smith, Dollarway #2, El Dorado #15, Little Rock, and West Memphis--and the Mobile, Alabama and many of the Louisiana school cases that were approved by Commissioner Keppel are among the examples of cases on appeal. Moreover, even if the orders were not on appeal they were so worded as to render them useless in accomplishing school desegregation. Many court orders have no timetable; they simply direct the desegregation of certain grades. Others allow for complete desegregation as late as 1972; listed below are some examples:

Bib County, Georgia	all grades by 1972
Macon County, Alabama	all grades by 1968
Iberville Parish, Louisiana	all grades by 1968
Mobile County, Alabama	as amended, all grades by 1969
St John the Baptist, La.	all grades by 1971

Thus many court orders will delay desegregation beyond the 1967 target date set by Commissioner Keppel.

The majority of the court orders say nothing about teacher desegregation, teacher dismissal, desegregation of school facilities and activities or community preparation. Registration procedures are very seldom spelled out and provisions for public notice are non-existent.

Moreover, to the extent that court orders have any semblance of a "plan" in them, the principle is freedom of choice. But what kind of freedom of choice is possible with the following provisions for evaluating transfer applications?

Given these and other examples we submit that most court orders do not even meet the provisions in the guidelines. The "General Statement of Policies" provides that court orders will not be accepted by the U.S. Office of Education if they "otherwise fail to require the elimination of the dual or segregated system of schools based on race, color, or national origin."

Furthermore, it is our belief that any school district under a court order which did not meet the minimum compliance requirements in the guidelines should have been directed to submit voluntary amendments which would bring the court orders at least to the level of those voluntary plans accepted. This should have been a condition for continued receipt of federal funds.

Finally, another problem with court orders is that they have to be policed by the courts or by the Justice Department and not by the U.S. Office of Education. There are two problems to this. First, to the extent that school board actions in neighboring counties have an effect on each other, it is important to apply a consistent desegregation standard. Once county officials see that the court desegregation rulings do nothing to endanger their federal funds and require less than the U.S. Office of Education, they will be eager to find a local Negro who will file a desegregation suit.

Secondly, the remedy for bad court decisions is more drawn-out litigation and not the enforcement of Title VI. And, in most cases, the burden of appealing court rulings will fall to the Negro families who initiated the action -- an often difficult process considering the time involved and the small number of lawyers in southern states committed to desegregation.

FREEDOM OF CHOICE

Many of the so-called "freedom of choice" plans accepted by Commissioner Keppel, although seemingly workable on paper, are in fact a farce. They offered no meaningful choice and certainly no "freedom of choice". How can a choice be free when often it is a choice between a students' parents' losing their jobs or transferring their child to a white school?

We are sure that Commissioner Keppel knew about the failure of "freedom of choice"--as applied in Prince George, Dorchester, and other Eastern and Southern Maryland counties for the past nine years--bring about any meaningful desegregation. Yet, after the Lauderdale County, Alabama "freedom of choice" plan was accepted on May 5th, Commissioner Keppel and the Office of Education actively promoted "freedom of choice."

It is reported that the Lauderdale plan was sent to other districts as a model plan, and that suggestions were made to those districts to prepare a plan along those lines. In addition, two model plan forms were prepared--one for "freedom of choice" and one for "geographic zoning." School superintendents were told that they need only copy the model plan on their own letterhead, fill in appropriate dates and names, sign, and return as evidence of their intent to comply.

Since "freedom of choice" required only minimum compliance and because the Office of Education made it easy for districts to have their "free choice" plans accepted, over 90% of those districts in the eleven southern states submitting voluntary plans used the "freedom of choice" principle. Seventy-six of the seventy-seven Alabama voluntary plans accepted, forty-three of the Florida plans accepted, and 75 of the 90 North Carolina plans accepted were "freedom of choice." The pattern is similar in the other eight states.

In a June 4th letter to Commissioner Keppel, Galen Martin, Executive Director of the Kentucky Commission on Human Relations, partly stated the case against freedom of choice:

. . . Turning to the matter of so-called "free choice" plans, as applied to Kentucky situations, the Office of Education is approving plans for continuation of very small schools for Negroes that may not even meet the test of separate but equal under Plessy v. Ferguson, 1896, much less the principles of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. While we do not have complete information, our examination of plans that you have approved causes sufficient concern for us to raise this question with you, before it is too late.

It seems to us that the Office of Education is misapplying court decisions which allow "free choice" plans in cities where residential patterns supported larger schools for Negroes that were somewhat comparable to the schools for whites. It does not appear to us that these decisions, made for states quite unlike Kentucky should be applied here to maintain very small inferior and unaccredited schools for Negroes who should attend more adequate schools in the same town. In at least two situations the Federal District Courts of Kentucky have rejected "free choice" plans for pupil desegregation. For instance, in the hearing on the Frankfort schools, the Honorable H. Church Ford, made it unmistakably clear that a "free choice" plan which could result in continued segregation would not be approved.

There are at least three additional arguments against "freedom of choice."

1. FREEDOM OF CHOICE PLANS PUT THE BURDEN OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR DESEGREGATION ON NEGRO CHILDREN AND THEIR PARENTS RATHER THAN ON THE SCHOOL BOARD.

The General Statement of Policy states that "the responsibility to eliminate segregation rests with the school authorities and is not satisfied by rules and practices which shift the burden of removing discrimination to the class or classes of persons previously discriminated against." Yet, the "freedom of choice" plans accepted by Commissioner Keppel and the Office of Education shift the responsibility from the local school boards to the Negro parents and children. For, in most Southern states, it was the Negro parents and children who took almost all the physical risks. Many were fired from their jobs, lost their credit, had their homes shot into or crosses burned on their lawns. In county after

county where the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee field secretaries work, the pattern was the same--most Negroes were afraid because of past and present intimidation and brutality by the Ku Klux Klan, White Citizen's Councils, and local law enforcement officials.

The 8 incidents listed below (and others in the county by county complaint appendix to this report) are only a few examples of what happens when Negro parents choose to send their children to white schools. Each incident would be multiplied a hundred times if all instances of harrassment and intimidation were reported.

- a) In Neshoba County, Mississippi, Negro parents going to the white school to transfer their children were asked "Where do you work?" as a part of the process for registration. Of those 12 who completed the procedure, several lost their jobs.
- b) In Aberdeen, Mississippi, 32 shots were fired into the home of the Walker family, one of two Negro families which registered children for the second grade in a white school.
- c) In Rankin County, Mississippi, the head of a timber firm sent an employee to Negro parents who had "worked with him" to pressure them into withdrawing their children from school.
- d) In Sharkey County, Mississippi, during the registration process, school officials asked such questions as "Whose plantation do you live on?" or "What white man lives nearest you?" There were also reports of white plantation owners going to the fields with lists of those Negroes who had applied for transfer for their children to white schools.
- e) In Star City, Arkansas, a Negro bus driver who enrolled his daughter in the white school didn't get his contract renewed.
- f) Willie Lemon, a Negro from Camilla, Ga., was brutally beaten by the Deputy Sheriff after he registered his three daughters in the white school.
- g) Baker County, Georgia, not only have many people lost their jobs, one Negro family with six children was threatened by Mrs. Elma Andrews, the local welfare agent, with loss of welfare for requesting transfer of their children to a white school.

- h) In Holmes County, Mississippi, Negro elementary school students going to Goodman schools have to ride the bus with Holmes Jr. College and High School students. The white teenagers slap, kick, shove and curse the young Negro children.

Thus, it is not surprising that many deep South school officials now report that not one Negro is enrolled in their white schools. In an article in the September 21, 1965 edition of the Los Angeles Times, columnist Jack Nelson writes:

Through "freedom of choice" plans approved by the Office of Education many southern districts have managed to remain completely segregated while continuing to qualify for federal funds.

. . . Claude Purcell, Georgia's Supt. of Schools estimated the number in Georgia alone at 50 to 60.

In Berrien County, Georgia, 32 Negro parents chose white schools for their children, but the school Supt. told the U.S. Office of Education that all 32 parents came to him before school opened and said that their names had been forged on the choice forms. In Bradley County, Arkansas, all 98 Negro children have chosen to stay at Westside School for Negroes in Hermitage. The enrollment at Bradley County School is still all white.

In the following counties or school districts, there are no Negro students going to white schools. The total Negro enrollment in the district is in parenthesis. This is only a partial list.

ALABAMA: Chambers (137); Franklin (38); Houston (1760); Lee (2114).

ARKANSAS: Snowlake in Desha County; Carthage in Dallas County (198); Aubrey (345); Guernsey (85); Hermitage (474); New Edinburg (132); Patmos (44); Village (95); Washington #12 (440).

GEORGIA: Brooks (2376); Jones (1426); Crawford (1079); Sumter; Pulaski (757); Buford (344); Cook (1155); Hawkinsville (1189); Lanier (499). Clay; Miller (667).

MISSISSIPPI: East Jasper (2041); Scott County (1959); Attala County (1551); Simpson County (2410); Kosciusko; Perry (547); Monroe (300); Lafayette (2649).

According to the Arkansas newspaper, a spokesman for the U.S. Office of Education said his office would not be concerned if no Negroes chose to attend formerly all white schools in districts with accepted "freedom of choice" plans. The newspaper was reporting on a telephone conversation between the Office of Education and a school official in Monticello, Arkansas. This attitude is incredible. We also suspect that little or no effort will be made by the Office of Education to find out what actually happened in those counties where no Negro students applied for transfer. In most counties where no Negroes have applied for transfer to white schools we know that fear of retaliation was the reason.

Because of this, we feel that the Office of Education has a responsibility to conduct thorough investigations in every county where no Negro students are enrolled in formerly all-white schools.

2. "FREEDOM OF CHOICE" ENCOURAGES AND PRODUCES TOKENISM.

There are at least three ways to measure school desegregation. One can compare the number of districts where no Negroes are in school with whites. The second method counts the total number of Negro students enrolled in all desegregated districts. This is the method SICC has used. The third and most accurate method is to count the number of Negro students actually enrolled in white schools and compare that with the number of Negro students residing in the district. If one examines the enrollment figures for Negroes in free choice districts actually enrolled in schools with white students, a very clear pattern emerges--only tokenism.

The statewide enrollment figures for September 1965 speak better than words.

STATE	ENROLLMENT		Negroes En- rolled with whites	Percent
	White	Negro		
ALABAMA				
1964-65	549,543	293,476	94	0.032
1965-66	575,000	300,000	1500	0.5
GEORGIA				
1964-65	752,620	354,850	1337	0.377
1965-66	800,000	375,000	6000	1.5
LOUISIANA				
1964-65	489,000	321,000	3581	1.12
1965-66	506,000	331,000	1850	0.6
MISSISSIPPI				
1964-65	308,409	295,962	58	0.020
1965-66	350,000*	325,000	1500	0.5
NORTH CAROLINA				
1964-65	828,638	349,282	4918	1.41
1965-66	900,000	375,000*	8000*	2.2
SOUTH CAROLINA				
1964-65	371,921	260,667	260	0.10
1965-66	383,902	272,000	3500	1.3

*Estimates

From 64-65 enrollment figures from Southern School News, Dec. 1964.

3. FREEDOM OF CHOICE PROMOTES NON-COMPLIANCE

One of the easiest ways for school boards to comply with Title VI and yet "not comply" is to adopt a so-called "freedom of choice" plan. The method is simple--submit a free choice plan, get a few Negroes to sign up to attend white schools, and then let the local citizens "encourage" them to withdraw their applications. An even better way is to reject all Negro applicants because of overcrowding, bad character, improper registration, or any other excuses the school board wants to use. But, if by chance a few Negroes slip through--go directly to the parents' employers or to local welfare agent.

By using evasion, dishonesty, and duplicity, school boards have successfully maintained "separate and unequal" schools. Similar tactics were used to "hoodwink" the US Office of Education. Below are a few representative examples of devices used to keep Negro children from going to white schools.

- a) Crisp County, Georgia. Seventeen Negro students applied; all five boys and five of the twelve girls were rejected. The reasons given were "bad character" and "poor record."
- b) Neshoba County, Mississippi. One 12th grade Negro girl who applied for transfer was told she did not have enough credits to be a senior at the white school. The Neshoba "free choice" plan did not include the 11th grade and thus her application was turned down. She did not want to spend an additional year in high school and thus is presently enrolled as a senior in the Negro high school.
- c) Scott County, Mississippi. The school superintendent told those parents wanting to transfer their children that there would be no transportation, no protection at the school, and that there might be Klan reprisals if they enrolled their children.
- d) Perry County, Alabama. Parents were told on the first day of school to take their children back to the Negro school and to come back in ten days to fill out transfer forms. When the ten days were up, several parents tried to register their children in the white schools and were not allowed to do so.

- e) Baldwin County, Alabama. The letters informing parents of the "free choice" plan arrived two days before the close of registration. A few selected Negro families received letters a number of days earlier.
- f) South Pike Consolidated School District, Mississippi. Over 100 students applied for transfer to white schools. All were required to take written tests and then all received letters assigning them back to Negro schools.
- g) Gifford, Florida. Controversy arose over the school decision to transport fifty Negro students in Gifford to a Negro school in Wabasse, ten miles away, rather than absorb them in a white school in Gifford. The Superintendent, J.A. Thomas, said overcrowding forced the decision.
- h) Lafayette County, Mississippi. School officials first said that only Negro children who had "A" averages could transfer to white schools. Later they limited acceptance to the daughter of a wealthy Negro in town. He refused to send his daughter alone; therefore, no Negroes are enrolled.
- i) Benton County, Mississippi (under court order). Registration for transfer to the white schools was held on two different days. Registration for the Negro schools was open for at least thirty days. Some registration for transfer periods were as short as four hours on one day, i.e. 8am to 12 noon.

Also, one mother was told by the Superintendent that since a Negro school bus ran right by her door, if she wanted to send her twin first graders to the white school it wouldn't hurt them to walk three or four miles.

- j) Waycross, Georgia. One hundred students applied for transfer. The next day their parents received letters (see text in county-by-county complaints) asking that they come for an interview with the Superintendent. Fifty-three parents immediately withdrew their application for transfer.
- k) Marks, Mississippi. A father and his daughter went to register for the white school. The Superintendent told them that he wouldn't enroll anyone in the white school who had been on split session because they would be two months ahead of the white students. The father asked if he could wait two months and then enroll his daughter. The answer was no.

COMPLIANCE AFTER PLANS ARE APPROVED

Commissioner Keppel and EEOP Acting Director Seelcy, must have known that paper plans for desegregation submitted by racist Southern school boards and superintendents would not be enough to insure compliance with Title VI. Yet little or no effort was made to have a compliance section functioning by the opening of the 1965-66 school year.

It was not until August 4 that Harry Wright, a consultant to EEOP, was named special assistant in charge of compliance to EEOP Director Seelcy. For several weeks in August Mr. Wright traveled in the South, speaking at conferences and explaining the complaint procedure. In addition, one other persons and a secretary handled complaints that came into the office in Washington. Complaints during August were usually answered by a short and simple form letter. It normally took two weeks just to answer the complainant.

On or about September 1st, Seelcy began assigning staff members to the compliance section. Eleven persons had been added to the original three by September 22. The eleven were either newly hired or shifted from other HEW and EEOP jobs. There were only three Negroes--including the Director--among the 14. Twelve are professional (10 white and 2 Negro) and two are clerical (1 white and 1 Negro). It seems incredible to us that a department of the federal government dealing with civil rights compliance could be so lily-white.

Only one investigation has been made since school opened this fall. The investigation was carried out in the second week of September in Baker County, Georgia. If Baker County has not been complying with its "good faith" plan, it is important that a public announcement be made immediately.

There is already evidence of non-compliance in hundreds of school districts across the South. A strong statement from Secretary of HEW Gardner, or President Johnson regarding Baker County would have an important effect upon the future actions of school board members, school superintendents and local citizens who are flaunting the law of the land.

Commissioner Keppel said the following in plan acceptance letters

In order that we may evaluate the progress your school district is making under its desegregation plan, it is requested that you forward, as soon as possible, data on the racial composition of your schools for the 1965-66 school year as a result of your pre-registration, together with the comparable figures for the school year 1964-65. The data should include at minimum the racial composition of each grade of each school in your district.

The guidelines, however, ask for information not only on racial composition and distribution of teachers and students, but also on "past and present rules and practices for the initial assignment, re-assignment and transfer of pupils within the system." Still there is no evidence to suggest that attempts have been made by the EEOP staff to obtain this information from those school districts not bothering to send it in.

A few of the districts have forwarded to the Office of Education information on the racial composition of their schools by grade. Perhaps more important is that the information which has been received indicates nothing more than the number of Negro students attending classes with whites. Will these reports be accepted as measure of compliance? We hope not. It would be naive to assume that "all's well" because a so-called compliance report is in. We cannot stress enough that southern school boards and local officials, who have consistently maintained segregation in their schools, will continue to falsify information and maintain

small attempts to establish these contacts have been made--but, because federal agency policy is to work primarily through local and state governments, it will be difficult for the EEOP compliance staff to develop a meaningful program along these lines. Government officials in Washington must learn, however, that compliance with civil rights legislation can only become more than token if voluntary organizations are closely involved in the process. And, this work cannot be done from a desk in the capitol city. More emphasis must be placed on finding competent field investigators.

The final problem in assuring compliance is the most crucial. Federal funds which are supposed to be held back if a district does not comply with Title VI have already been released to the State Departments of Education. And, once a district had its plan approved, the State was free to release money to it. Already hundreds of thousands of dollars have been distributed to school districts which have only superficially complied with Title VI. Federal money is again being used to continue segregation in southern classrooms, and to deny Negro students equal educational opportunities.

HEARINGS

Those school districts that did not send in desegregation plans will be brought to a hearing in the middle of October. One hundred and fourteen districts were mailed notice of hearing on September 14, 1965. Since that time 11 of these districts have submitted plans for approval. The first hearings were scheduled to begin on October 6th but they have been postponed until October 18th.

Commissioner Keppel's letter to these 114 districts said in part:

We take this step reluctantly. If a finding of noncompliance is made it will, regrettably, result in depriving the children of your school system of substantial educational assistance. . .

Since the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 we have increasingly made every effort in our power to avoid excluding school districts from Federal assistance programs because of discrimination. . .

We shall therefore continue to make every effort to bring about voluntary compliance. . .

There are two important things to be said about these hearings. First, they are only a preliminary step toward actually cutting off federal funds. Judicial review is available to any district which is cited for non-compliance with Title VI. Second, it appears that every effort is being made by the Commissioner, President Johnson and others to allow districts as much leeway as possible to "comply" before the hearings are held. We expect that the hearings will be postponed again and that pressure will be exerted on the 103 counties to submit some kind of plan which meets the minimum requirements. This would be a great "victory" for the President--100% of the school districts required to submit plans in But, not "compliance". ,the proof of compliance is/found in the plan, as written, but rather it must be seen through the actual process of desegregation. And decidedly better work must be done by the Office of Education lest others cite (as we have done) Commissioner Keppel and EEOP Director Seeley for non-compliance with their responsibility under Title VI.

We are compelled, too, to point out that as of September 21, 1965 there were 277 districts that had submitted plans which had not yet been approved. Fifteen of the 277 were agreed on in principle; 116 had been provisionally accepted. Sixty-three of the 277 unaccepted plans required extensive negotiations. Additional information was required from each of 83 districts before their plan could be reviewed.

In several Alabama counties where plans had been submitted but not yet approved, official intimidation occurred. For instance, in Greene County, Alabama, Negro students went to the white high school on opening day in an effort to register. State troopers, local police, and white students with arms had surrounded the school. The Negro students left. Now one Negro girl is enrolled. The registration and transfer procedures were non-existent. There was no "free choice" involved. Yet Greene County's "free choice" plan is under "negotiation". The Office of Education will require that the Greene County School Board hold another registration period when the plan is accepted. This could be in the middle of the semester. What student will transfer then? Greene County will not be required to hold another registration period until the fall of 1966. But, Greene County will have its federal money. Any school districts wishing to circumvent compliance could do what Greene County did--submit a bad plan just before the "deadline", which would necessitate numerous discussions with the Washington "plan approvers". The idea is to continually include provisions which will have to be deleted, cling obstinately to some of them, but always express a desire to comply.

There is no excuse for "reluctance" on Commissioner Keppel's part to take decisive action against school boards which obviously do not intend to comply. We suggest that, as of October 15, all districts which have not had plans approved be brought to an immediate--not six months away--hearing. Otherwise, we may have 200 school boards who have effectively dodged

compliance with Title VI but will continue to receive all the benefits of compliance. . . and more, for they will not need to desegregate until September of 1966.

CONCLUSION

On the basis of the information contained in this report, we conclude that Commissioner Keppel and Acting Director of EEOP David Seeley were more concerned about facilitating the flow of federal funds to racist school boards than in insuring equal educational opportunities for all. We do not absolve the President of his responsibility in this matter either. We are certain that our chief executive contributed to the pressure placed on the Equal Education Opportunities Program staff to approve plans as quickly as possible. We are certain, too, that he could have played a greater part in the early months after the passage of the Civil Rights Act in making certain that an adequate program for enforcing Title VI in Federally assisted educational programs was developed. It is ultimately the responsibility of the President to administer cabinet departments and to insure that legislation is adequately enforced. We are asking that President Johnson instruct his cabinet appointee, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, John W. Gardner, to act immediately on the five recommendations below:

- 1) That Acting Director of EEOP Seeley's resignation be ^{Obtained} ~~accepted~~ immediately.
- 2) That Secretary Gardner conduct a personal investigation of the EEOP.
- 3) That steps be taken at once by Secretary Gardner to use the power of his office to withhold all federal education funds from any school district when there is evidence to suggest that district is out of compliance.

- 3) That steps be taken at once by Secretary Gardner to use the power of his office to withhold all federal education funds from any school district when there is evidence to suggest that district is out of compliance.
- 4) That any school district without an acceptable plan by October 15th be brought to a late October hearing to show cause why federal education funds should not be cut off.
- 5) That the EEOP staff be expanded so that investigations may be begun immediately in every southern school district where no Negro students are enrolled in white schools and in every county from which any complaint information has been received.

COUNTY COMPLAINTS

What follows here is a county by county summary of incidents and circumstances surrounding school desegregation. For the most part the information is collected from field secretaries who work for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and local people who work and live in the counties mentioned. The list is not by any means complete. Each instance of harassment and economic intimidation could be multiplied a hundred fold. Similarly, specific reports of non-compliance with the plans school boards submitted go much beyond the incidents mentioned here. Where references are made to "a local woman" or "one man", we have omitted the names to protect people from further intimidation or retaliation.

On the basis of the information compiled below, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is demanding that immediate steps be taken by the Equal Education Opportunities Program to withhold federal money from the school districts listed until complete investigations can be held to determine compliance with Title VI.

Governor Wallace has been urging school districts in the state to desegregate no more grades than "you have to" this year. Wallace has also been saying that the federal government has "deliberately confused, badgered and browbeaten" local boards into signing compliance forms and "has not been truthful in many respects."

Private school groups are organizing in Demopolis (Marengo County), Greensboro (Hale County), Marion (Perry County) and Selma. State law allows tuition grants of \$185 per child each year for attendance at private schools. Parents supposedly have to show that their children were denied transfer to another school, and that attendance at the current school would be bad for the child's "physical and mental health."

In three Alabama counties operating under court order, the school board set maximum figures for Negro enrollment. Courts ordered the admission of several others in each case:

Bullock County -- School board accepted 15. Two others had applied. The court directed them to admit 29 students total, i.e. 14 of the 29 who had been rejected.

Montgomery County -- School board accepted 20 applications. The court ruled that 6 others should be admitted. This left 25 students who had wished to enter and could not. 6 of the 8 students who had been enrolled last year returned, giving a total of 32 accepted students. One parent lost a laundry job after the son was registered in the white high school.

Macon County --- The school board only accepted 17 Negro students. Twenty-five had been denied the right to transfer. The court asked that 2 more be admitted bringing the number of Negroes in the white high school to 31 students (including 12 who had been enrolled in 64-65.)

ALABAMA

- Baldwin County ---Parents of children, grades 1-4, got letters saying children could go to any school in the county. Letters arrived 2-3 days before the registration deadline of August 27. One man said a few selected Negro families received their letters many days before everyone else. The parents are beginning legal proceedings against the school board.
- Butler County --- A number of students applied but only three girls were admitted.
- Eufaula City ---- Generally the community was not informed of the submission of a desegregation plan. Reports are that the School Board wants to pick four "good" Negroes to go to the white school there. This is a town in Wallace's home county. Two Negro schools in the county are in condemned buildings. A new all-white school was just built.
- Greene County --- Schools opened August 27. Negro students went to the white high school and were turned away by state troopers. Many white students had billy clubs and the school was heavily guarded. Governor Wallace filed an injunction which the court accepted enjoining Greene County Negroes from demonstrations in Eutaw or from a boycott of the city schools. Parents in Greene Co. had decided they would boycott the Negro schools if they were not integrated. One girl who is enrolled in the white high school is having a very hard time. She was not allowed to attend school the first day and now faces harassment primarily from white students. Rev. William Branch, Pres. of the Greene County Civic Organization, was fired from his job as a teacher in the Greene County Public School system August 26. He was told by the Superintendent of Education that because of his part in the movement his services were no longer needed.
- Hale County ----- 81 students applied for transfer. 6 of the students were notified by School Supt. Robert Raymond, that they were accepted. The others were rejected. The Negro parents decided on Friday, Sept. 3, even though they had been rejected, to take their children to the white school on Friday. Gov. Wallace obtained an injunction against the planned boycott of the Negro schools.

Hale (cont) ----- As the rejected students approached Acron High they were turned back by local whites with guns who were standing around the school. At Greensboro, the four students who were accepted were able to enroll, but 24 other students and their parents were turned around by the sheriff and police.

On Friday evening, Sept. 3, the home of a local woman who had carried her children to the white school that day to try to get them admitted was shot into. The shots went completely through the house--one lodged in the woman's cedar chest and another went in the pants leg of one of her sons.

On Saturday, Sept. 4, three whites in a 64 Rambler continually circled the church where a mass meeting on the school situation was being held. They were visibly armed but did not shoot.

On Thursday shots were fired into the car of a local man who was returning from the mass meeting on schools in Greensboro. Another local man, Negro, was beaten that night.

Lowndes County ---41 students applied for transfer; only 5 were accepted. The parents didn't send their children on the first day for they felt it was too dangerous. On Tuesday (second day of school) 4 students went. The fifth had transportation problems--Mrs. Coleman, Supt. of Schools and sister of Tom Coleman, killer of Jonathan Daniels, told the boy's parents to leave him on Highway 80 where he would be picked up. (Mrs. Liuzzo was shot on Highway 80 and the stretch of road by Lowndes County is absolutely desolate.) Two homes were shot into in Haynesville that week--both people were involved in the school situation.

Local white merchants and landowners, as well as Klan members, visited parents to coerce them to withdraw children's names. It is also reported that tests were administered to the applicants.

Marion City ----- Parents were told that if they sent their children to the Negro school the first day that they could apply for transfer in ten days. Four parents (six children) tried to register after ten days; all children were rejected. Some children went by bus to the Perry County schools in the interim since they refused to attend the Negro schools in the city of Marion. They couldn't boycott because of a court injunction against boycotts obtained by Governor Wallace.

Sumter County ----Children were given a form in June which asked them to "check the school you would like to attend." No other instructions or information was given. People were confused; some thought it was a poll and not an actual choice. Articles appeared in the paper about the desegregation plan after the forms were sent in. When people found out about the fact the schools would be open some tried to change their choice. Negro students who checked white schools and wanted to stay in Negro schools were allowed to do so. Negro students who had checked Negro schools and wanted to go to white schools were not allowed to change their choice.

Note: We realize, in submitting this Alabama information, that the Lowndes, Greene and Hale County plans have not yet been accepted.

NORTH CAROLINA

Bertie County --- There are three small Negro schools in the southern part of the county: Carter-Bond, Woodard, and Indian Woods. All of these schools were built around 1927. They have not been remodeled since. They are wooden structures, built in an area which floods when it rains. At such times, water rises to about ankle high. It is impossible to drive into the schools driveway and the outdoor privies overflow. When school opened at Carter-Bond this year, the privies were so full that the children had to use buckets. For the first time there was a pump outside the school, but it didn't work. There is, of course, no inside plumbing or water supply.

The schools are heated, if somewhat inadequately, by pot-bellied stoves. But children who arrive at the school early (a peculiar bus schedule gets them there two hours ahead of time) sit for those two hours with no heat at all since there is no janitor. The schools have three teachers to teach eight grades. Generally the schools are extremely unsanitary and grossly inferior to any white school in the county.

The "worst" white school in the county is in Merry Hill. It is a brick structure with inside plumbing. It has four teachers for eight grades--fewer than any other white school in the county. Just this year a white school, one which the Supt. says was one of the best structures in the county, was closed. The decisive factor in closing the school was the transfer of Negroes into it which would have resulted in a composition of about 50-50. A year ago a new school was built in Askewville and the old one there closed. The school, although a wooden structure, did have inside plumbing and was decidedly better than any of these three little schools.

Bertie (cont)

When students from these three schools applied for transfer under the Bertie County "freedom of choice" plan, all were rejected. The Supt. stated at that time that if these children were allowed transfer there would not be a sufficient number of students left at the three little schools to keep them operating. After considerable negotiation with the U.S. Office of Education, those students who had applied for transfer to white schools were accepted, but the majority of the students, those who had applied for transfer to another Negro school remained rejected.

There appear to be several means by which these schools could be closed:

(1) Transfer. According to the Sept. 13 report of the Supt. of Education on enrollment and a recent VEPCO report indicating capacity at these schools, it appears that there is room for an additional 413 students in surrounding elementary schools. The total enrollment as of Sept. 13 at the three little schools is 208, about 70 students in each. Schools in Windsor would be closest to all three of the schools. In Windsor, there is room for 25 more pupils at the white school and 102 more at the Negro school.

In Merry Hill the white school would have room for 273 more students; the Negro school is at capacity. The white school would be from 8-20 miles from students attending Carter-Bond and Woodard. Students would have to cross a ferry to get there by the shortest route. The county does have small size buses that would definitely be permissible weight-wise. In Lewiston the Negro school would have room for 81 more, the white for 13 more. This would be a 15-25 mile ride for Indian Woods students.

(2) Use of mobile classrooms. The State Supt. of Public Instruction has indicated that there are probably unwanted mobile classroom units available in the state.

(3) If for some reason any one of these schools could not be closed this year, certain minimal improvements could be made; running water, another teacher, janitorial services, etc. (New privies were built at Carter-Bond after the School Supt. learned that the Negro parents themselves were going to build them.)

There is good reason to believe that the school superintendent, Mr. Dupree and the Chairman of the Board of Education, Mr. Capehart, personally contacted Negro parents and influenced them, in some cases by threats and others coercion, not to transfer their children to formerly white schools.

The Bertie County Board of Education did misrepresent the facts to the Office of Education by failing to mention that the Mars Hill (white) elementary school with a capacity of 250 students was closed. They also made no mention of the ferry which crosses the Cashie River but instead said that Negro students who might go to the school across the river would have to go around--a distance of some 35-40 miles.

In summary, we charge that the Bertie County Board of Education has not administered in good faith the provisions of the compliance plan that the US Office of Education accepted.

--from a special report in complaint form by Virginia and Buddy Teiger, field secretaries for SNCC.

Northampton County--284 Negro students applied for transfer to other schools in the county. 54 of the requests were accepted. Approximately 110 of the refused requests were for transfer of Negro students to other Negro schools. 118 of the rejected requests were for transfer of Negro students to white schools.

In addition, the Northampton schools first submitted a freedom of choice plan for all 12 grades and then revised its plan to include only four grades.

Negro parents in Northampton County protested early and asked for a new registration period, which would be publicized by extensive use of mass media. They also asked that the Board members speak before Negro groups to explain the desegregation plan and that they make public statements discouraging those who would want to intimidate children (or their parents) who tried to transfer.

Needless to say the demands of the parents were not met. No new registration period was held in the county although one of the conditions on which the new plan was approved was to accept requests from Negro students still wanting to attend white schools. The letter reads:

"... As expressed in discussions with my staff, although the plan is being accepted at this time, we are concerned about the requests made last spring by a number of students to transfer to other schools. This problem may have to be discussed further this year. In the meantime, it is understood that your district has agreed to accept any reasonable, individual requests by Negro students to attend previously white schools that may be made in the course of the 1965-66 school year." (emphasis added)

The only problem with this "agreement" was that it was never publicized in the county. Nor, apparently, did the Office of Education request that this be made public knowledge.

ARKANSAS

Across the state there were many problems connected with school desegregation.

Generally, parents and students were intimidated and given bureaucratic run-arounds. For example, in some places children were told that if they went to white schools they would be set back a year because they weren't at the learning level of the white children. When Negro students applied for transfer and were turned down reasons were seldom given. In some places children received forms to fill out at the school which had a space for the parents signature. The forms were collected without parents signatures but if the Negro students had applied to the white schools parents were required to sign. Many children were told they could not participate in extra-curricular activities or athletics if they transferred. Students who applied for transfer in other districts were asked to fill out the forms again, i.e. to reconsider. Negro students who had first selected Negro schools were not allowed to reconsider.

Forest City --- On Thursday and Friday, Sept. 16th and 17th, Negro high school students demonstrated at the Negro and then at the white high school.

They were generally protesting inferior conditions at Lincoln High School for Negroes and were specifically demanding that registration for transfer to the white schools be re-opened, that they have free lunches and free text books, that the Negro high school principal be removed and that a female gym teacher be obtained for the girls.

198 people were arrested while picketing on the sidewalk around the white school. Among those arrested were Mrs. L.C. Bradley a Negro candidate for the School Board, and 3 SNCC workers. The demonstrations were jointly sponsored by the St. Francis County Achievement Committee and SNCC. Minors were charged with disturbing the peace on school property and adults with "contributing to the delinquency of minors."

A boycott of the Negro school was begun Monday, Sept. 20, and will continue until the inferior conditions are corrected.

West Helena --- Four grades (1,4,7,10) were desegregated this year under a free choice plan. 20 students applied and two were rejected because they lacked birth vaccination certificates. There were some rumors of violence. The letters notified parents of open registration only a week before the deadline--leaving them little time to talk with friends and think about registering children at white schools.

A group of parents protested to the U.S. Office of Education about this. There are heavy fees in the Negro schools for books, registration, and so forth. If students

West Helena --- cannot pay them they are thrown out. In the white school
(cont) the fees are smaller and the students are given more time to pay. Texts in the white schools are newer and better, as is science equipment. Some of the Negro teachers haven't finished high school. The students are forced to contribute money for fund drives--and such collections are never accounted for. Lunch in the Negro school costs 30¢ although the federal limit is 35¢.

The students who attend the white school have been well treated so far.

Gould, Arkansas--This school district had a plan accepted which provided for free choice in all grades in 1965 except that the School Board reserved the right to turn down students who wanted to transfer to the 5,10 and 11th grades. At the same time, white high school students were accepted from a neighboring district, Wells Bayou. The reason given for limiting transfers in grades 5,10 and 11 was overcrowding.

Approximately 30 Negro students were refused admission to those grades. 15 transfer requests were accepted. The students who had been turned down said they would re-apply to transfer September 6th and if turned down they would sit in at the Gould High School. The School officials then obtained a temporary injunction which prohibited picketing or other demonstrations within a block of the school and "any meeting being held in Gould for the purpose of 'heaping disgrace' on the school system."

20 Negro students entered the school building on Tuesday, Sept. 6, and requested transfers. They were accompanied by SNCC workers. No demonstrations took place.

Later that afternoon after the new requests for transfers were turned down, 16 Negro students in grades 5, 10 and 11 filed a complaint in Federal court calling for a court order to have them admitted to the school and an injunction against the police and school board "from threatening and intimidating the plaintiffs in the assertion of rights secured by the 14th amendment." The students alleged that Police Chief Pearson and a school board member had threatened them on Sunday before school opened with bodily harm if they didn't stop their protests.

The complaint also stated that the Field High School for Negroes was badly in need of repair, over-run by rats, and without laboratory facilities. The library had only two worn sets of encyclopedias, they said. The white school has an "A" rating but the Negro school is not rated at all.

The petition also asked that the School Board and city officials be restrained from spending any more money on improvements or operations at the white school until the Negro school facilities were on a par with the white.

Gould (cont) -- The Pine Bluff Commercial reported Sept. 8 that a spokesman for the U.S. Office of Education said Gould seemed to be meeting the federal requirements for desegregation.

In Gould also police entered homes of some parents who had requested transfer for their children on a pretense of looking for illegal liquor. The police searched the homes and left.

Marvell District--In this rural district in Phillips County, the Negro schools are delapidated and sometimes lack toilet paper and other small necessities. The white schools are much nicer. Students taking typing are forced to buy their own typewriters. In the white schools the typewriters are free. Fees in the Negro schools are higher. Some threats were made against those wishing to transfer and although no definite evidence has been found, they seem to have originated in the superintendent's office.

Star City ----- A Negro school bus driver who wanted to transfer his daughter to the white high school didn't have his contract renewed.

GEORGIA

Ware County (Waycross) -- 100 students applied. Three days later all Negro parents who had requested transfers for their children received the following letter:

Dear Parent:

Yourchild's application to transfer to a different school for the 1965 term has been received.

We feel that a brief interview with the parents of each child would be helpful to the parent and to the schools.

Therefore, we ask that either one or both parents drop by the Superintendent's office at 1007 Mary Street at some time on Wednesday, August 18 for this purpose. The office will be open from 8 am until 8 pm on this day.

It is our sincere wish to do everything in our power to provide the best possible educational experience for your child. We feel this interview will help us in accomplishing this objective.

/s/ Carl Hodges
Superintendent of Schools

53 applications were immediately withdrawn 43 of the remaining 47 students were accepted. A letter of complaint from the Keystone Voters and Civic League in Waycross was sent to the US Office of Education protesting this. The complaint indicated that this letter was only sent to

the Negro parents requesting transfers and that the letter, plus the requirement for an interview, was, in itself a form of intimidation.

Of the 43 accepted only 18 entered school in September. This county is still receiving federal money.

Baker County --- Approximately 160 Negro students applied for transfer to the previously white Baker High schools on the understanding that this information would be kept confidential until school began. Approximately 100 parents withdrew applications due, in large part, to intimidation by white people who somehow obtained a list of transfers from the school department.

People who dared to sign their children to the white schools have lost their jobs, have been threatened with expulsion from their homes, and their plantation shacks, and have been intimidated by policemen. The sheriff, L. Warren Johnson, made statements to the effect that no Negroes could go to the white schools. Mrs. Elma Andrews, the welfare agent in Newton, threatened to cut off the check of Mr. and Mrs. Katie Cole who have six children enrolled at the white school. 5 Negro bus drivers lost their jobs. One woman lost a laundry job when she registered her children. These and other forms of intimidation show that the principle of "free choice" is not functioning in Baker County.

The people who applied for transfer to the white schools received notice of acceptance or rejection only a few days before school began (and then only because the Justice Department called Baker County while a delegation from the Baker County Movement was in Washington, D.C. Only seven students were accepted.)

When school opened on Sept. 7, 60 students went to the white school but were turned away by the Sheriff and his deputies. On the second day one of the seven girls accepted for transfer, her parents, and Charles Sherrod, a SNCC field secretary, went to the school, but the principal said that only the girl (a second grader) and her parents could come on the school grounds. The girl was frightened, and the parents refused to continue unless Sherrod could accompany them.

A short lived boycott of the Negro school followed. After pressure from the Office of Education, the Board agreed to accept 20 students. Since that time the 4 girls who actually enrolled in the high school have withdrawn in the face of constant harassment. 10 elementary school children are still enrolled.

(Georgia)

Mitchell County -- 30-40 students applied for transfer. Only one student (Camilla) is enrolled.

August 27 Mr. Willie Lemons, a Negro renter on a white man's farm, was asked by his landlord if her were going to transfer his three daughters to the white school. He said yes. Then the owner came back with the deputy sheriff who handcuffed Lemons, beat him in the police car, drove him to jail, beat him in the jail with a blackjack for fifteen minutes, and had a prisoner beat him. The deputy sheriff then drove him out of town, beat him some more, and left him there. As Lemons was walking back to town, the deputy drove up beside him and slammed the car door in his back. Then they told him to get himself and his family out of town or they'd kill him.

Irwin County (Ocilla) -- 8 students are enrolled in white schools.

One student was turned down because he didn't have a birth certificate. The Negro schools are overcrowded, poorly maintained and have terrible libraries. 40 students applied initially and were accepted. 31 did not try to enroll on the first day because of phone and other threats. The 8 enrolled have been fairly well treated except one girl who was harassed by a school bus driver.

Sumter County (Americus) -- In Americus, the county seat of Sumter County, 87 students applied for transfer. Approximately 40 students were actually enrolled. In Sumter County, a separate district surrounding Americus, not one Negro applied for transfer.

Early in the school year there was a fight between some Negro and white students at Americus High School. The Negroes who were involved were expelled, but the whites were not. There were originally 40 students in the white schools--by the end of September there were just 15 enrolled because of expulsions and drop-outs.

Crisp County (Cordele) -- 17 students applied for transfer. All five of the boys and five of the twelve girls were turned down. Reasons given were bad character and poor record.

Augusta City --- Richmond Academy, a high school desegregated this year, will be re-segregated by sex.

Americus -- Addendum to previous report: 87 Negro students applied for transfer to the white High School in Americus. Only 40 of those students actually enrolled because of threats and other forms of intimidation. At the end of September the number of Negroes enrolled had dropped to between 15 and 18 students. This was due to harassment of the Negro students by their white counterparts. Some Negro students were hit by bricks and bottles thrown by whites, hit with sticks and harassed constantly. When Negro students complained the principal and teachers said they would "look into the matter." Nothing changed.

Near the end of September a Negro girl, Jeanette Wesberry, was hit with a rock and knocked unconscious. She was taken to the hospital where she remained for two days. As of September 30th she was still too ill to return to school.

The general feeling among the Negro students at Americus High is that since they will get no protection or help from anyone, it is better to transfer back to the Negro school. School officials have been very uncooperative and deceitful. For example, Tyronne Harris moved to Americus from Savannah, Ga. and tried to register at the formerly white Americus High. He was told by Mr. MacKennon, the principal, that he had to see Supt. Mundy. According to Tyronne, Mundy told him that in order to attend Americus High he had to pay \$35.00 per month tuition since he had just moved into the district. Tyronne could not afford the tuition and two days later enrolled in the Negro high school without being asked to pay a tuition fee.

It is reported that classes at the Negro high school are overcrowded, and that there are no textbooks for some subjects and that the sewing machines were given to the Negro school when the white school purchased new ones.

This city is under court order to desegregate the schools. This however, is an important example. What happens in Americus will greatly influence and affect the attitudes toward school desegregation in the surrounding counties.

Sumter County, Ga. -- This is the rural area surrounding the city of Americus. There is a long history of police brutality and intimidation by public officials. No Negro students are enrolled in white schools in the county district. One Negro girl tried to register at the white school but her parents were threatened and she withdrew her application. The family lives on the Desaret Plantation. SNCC workers in Americus stated emphatically that fear of reprisals kept police from transferring their children.

MISSISSIPPI

East Jasper County - East Jasper filed an acceptable plan for desegregating the first and second grades on the so-called "freedom of choice" system.

People in the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party first heard about this at a barbecue on the final day of the schoolboard-sponsored Project Headstart. The Negro principal, Professor Berry, spoke. The gist of his remarks were that Negro parents didn't have to transfer their children to the white school if they didn't want to. If Negro parents intended to exercise a so-called "freedom of choice", they were told to bring their first and second graders to Southside (the Negro school) on August 24 between 8 am and 12noon. Otherwise the children would automatically be enrolled in the Negro school.

The plan was printed in the Jasper County News which has very limited circulation among Negroes especially. Most people get the Laurel Call-Leader which did not print the plan. No letters were sent to parents, either.

The only mother who tried to register her children for the first grade at the white school was told by Mr. Berry that they would probably lack both protection and transportation. She filed her own complaint with President Johnson and the Department of Justice.

Scott County ----- Two crosses were burned in Beat 4 (a beat is like a precinct) during registration at the beginning of September. There was talk that the beat Constable 'Doc' Webb was in some way implicated. In Beat 1, nightriders shot into the house of Mr. Howard Odum. Two of Odum's girls had enrolled the day before at the previously all white school in Forest. Four girls in all entered the school, all in 12th grade. They are receiving a pretty hard time from some students and some teachers.

In Beat 4 an attempt was made to enroll five Negro students in the school at Moreton. The principal told families involved that there would be no protection, no buses, and there might be reprisals from the Klan. This and other talk completely discouraged the parents. None registered their children for transfer.

Carroll County ----- At Carrollton 27 Negro students applied for transfer. All were accepted but only 3 are enrolled. There was no overt intimidation but a great deal of fear in the county caused the withdrawals.

Carroll County (cont)-At Vaiden, 27 applied and were accepted. Only 8 students are attending. Originally there were 10 Negro students in attendance at the white school but 2 boys in the 12th grade were turned away from the school after they had been going for several days.

A few days after registration the Freedom House in Carroll County was burned. The Freedom Democratic Party was very active in getting kids to register for transfer to all white schools.

East Tallahatchie -- The school superintendent went around and told parents not to send their children. Four students in Charleston signed up to attend white schools but only one Negro student is enrolled there now.

Lauderdale County -- The dates for registration were August 25 and 26, four days after the plan was printed in the newspaper. The Parents of the students in the affected grades were written a notice on August 20--hardly enough time to prepare to send one's child to a formerly all white school. This allowed no time to get together with friends and schoolmates to make plans and discuss this big step.

Two civil rights workers were arrested when they drove three Negro 12th grade students and their parents to the white school to register. The workers were arrested while sitting in their car and waiting on the Negro parents to come out of the school. Consequently, the students and mothers had to walk and hitchhike to Meridian. The father of one of the girls was told he would be killed, and thus took his daughter out of the desegregated school. The local constable told the man that nothing could be done to protect him.

The sister of one of the 12th grade students was fired from her job as a maid a few days after her sister was enrolled in the school. The lady who employed the sister told her: "I won't need your help anymore. I will be able to handle it." Another of the families with a 12th grader enrolled received 3 or 4 threatening phone calls.

Many of the white students in the school curse and call the girls names. Rocks have been thrown at them many times. One Negro girl was hurt.

Aberdeen --- After a two-grade-a-year "free choice" plan was tentatively accepted by the Office of Education, the Justice Department filed a suit in a Federal district court against the Aberdeen schools. The case was heard before Judge Clayton who said that he would not make a decision on the petition until the Office of Education made final decision on the plan.

The Office of Education rejected the 2 grade plan. Now the school board is filing a 4 grade-a-year plan. This is still under going negotiation with OE. Two children have enrolled at formerly all white school. Both are second graders. The first week of school was quiet. During the second week Amos Walker's house (the father of one of the boys) was shot into 32 times. Russell Jackson, the other father, received telephone threats: "integration and dead niggers go together."

South Pike -- 117 Negro students in the South Pike district applied for transfer to white schools. An achievement test was administered to all of those seeking transfer. A short time later each parent received a registered letter indicating that his child had been re-assigned to the Negro school. No reason for the rejections was given. (The South Pike school plan is still being negotiated with the Office of Education.)

Lafayette County -- It was reported that school officials announced that only students with an "A" average could transfer. Later only the daughter of a middle class Negro was accepted. The father refused to send her alone and thus no Negro students are enrolled. The county had its 4 grade-a-year free choice plan accepted.

Columbia -- On the second day of school, free choice forms were passed out in Columbia to first and second graders. The School Board said they were waiting for a court order. Most Negro parents chose the Negro schools and sent the forms back immediately. Very few instructions were given when the forms were passed out. Many people were confused for the form was simply titled: "Check the school of your choice". If the city of Columbia did submit a plan to OE it has not been accepted yet, and should not be accepted unless registration is part of the plan.

Drew --- The plan accepted was for free choice in all grades. One man with seven children applied for all of them to transfer. Pressure was placed on him to withdraw the children.

West Point -- Twenty Negro students are enrolled in the first and second grades of the white school. At first there was no transportation for these children at all. The parents protested and now the children ride a segregated bus which lets them off at the white school and continues on to the Negro school. One father who enrolled his child in the second grade was told by the white farmer for whom he works that he would no longer extend any credit or loans.

SOUTH CAROLINA (1965-66)¹

Table VI

School District	Enrollment ²		Negroes En- rolled with		Plan and grades Desegregated
	White	Negro	whites		
Allendale County	1060	2162	0	0.0	FC, all by 65
Ballantine, Lexington Co #5			0	0.0	
Bamberg Co. #1	814	921	5	0.54	FC, all by 65
Barnwell Co. #45	1356	939	0	0.0	FC, 1,7,9,12 by 65
Beaufort Co. #1	4166	5994	220	3.6	FC, 1,7,9, by 65 all by 66
Berkeley County	7669	7492	81	1.0	FC, 1,7 9,12 by 65 all by 66
Blackville, Barnwell Co. 19	591	785	4	0.5	FC, all by 65
Cherokee County	6600	2400	25	1.0	FC, all by 65
Cooper River SD4	15805	5864	170	2.7	FC, 1,8,10,12 by 65 all by 66
Dillon, Dillon SD2	932	1455	21	1.4	FC, all by 65
Fairfield County	1908	4034	160	4.0	FC, all by 65
James Is. SD3	3303	1641	36	2.2	FC, all by 65
Jasper County	1255	2502	73	2.0	FC, all by 65
Johnsonville, Flor. Co. #5	855	660	0	0.0	FC, all by 65
Kershaw County	5000	4000	58	1.2	FC, all by 65
Lake City Olanta, Flor. 3	2686	3327	0	0.0	FC, all by 65
Lakeview, Dillon #1	932	1455	10	0.7	FC, all by 65
Lee County	1748	4823	5	0.1	FC, all by 65
Lexington Co. #7	1533	1013	0	0.0	FC, all by 65
Monetrie SD#3	2479	1938	66	3.0	FC, all by 65
Mullins, Marion #2	1589	2230	4	0.18	FC, all by 65
Edisto, Orgbg, #5	662	776	81	10.0	Court Order
Pamplico, Florence #2	1005	1119	0	0.0	FC, all by 65
Ruby, Chstrfld #6	456	125	120	96.0	Unit SB
St. John's SD#9	652	1670	26	1.6	FC all by 65
Spartanburg City #2	3664	1241	107	8.0	FC, all by 65
Timmons-ville-Florence #4	715	1546	0	0.0	FC, all by 65
Union County	692	555	18	3.0	FC, all by 65
Ware Shoals SD#51	1378	373	0	0.0	FC, all by 65
Willison, Brnwll #29	825	900	0	0.0	
Anderson Co. #3	1610	659	0	0.0	FC, all by 65
Anderson Co. #4	1429	616	0	0.0	FC, all by 65
Anderson Co. #5	9202	2613	63	2.4	FC, all by 65

¹Enrollment figures obtained by SNCC.²From the public files of the Office of Education.

Statewide Enrollment*	Negro		Negroes En- rolled with	%
	White		whites	
1964-65 b	371,921	260,567	260	0.100
1965-66	383,902	270,000	3500	1.3

*Southern School News, Dec. 1964

Marshall County -- A four grade "free choice" plan was approved for this county. Seven Negro students are enrolled in the white schools. One woman attempted to register her 7th grade child at the white school but was told that registration was closed. She then went to the Negro school and registration was still open. She later went to Byhalia and Holly Springs and was told, after asking school officials why she could not register her child, that it was none of her business. No bus service is provided for Negro students although white buses go past the Negro homes.

South Panola -- Forty-one Negro students registered at the white school, but we do not know how many are actually enrolled. Three families living in houses owned by whites were asked to move.

A white man, Mr. McGee, forced a Negro, Roger Home, to move out of a house he rented to him. Catherine Scott, who enrolled her child in the white school, was forced to move off of Mr. Herman's plantation. Another parent, Samuel Johnson, was told by a plantation owner that he would have to move away after he picked his crop of cotton.

There is one parent who lives in the town of Pope who registered her son in the white elementary school at Batesville. However, no transportation is provided for him. Pope is around 10 miles from Batesville.

She enrolled her son at the Batesville school because he would have been the only Negro at the Pope Elementary school. The Supt. turned down her request for bus transportation, although there is a high school bus that runs between Pope and Batesville. The woman, felt too, that if the Supt. made the move to transfer her son to the Pope school the child would have fewer problems there.

North Panola -- Thirty-six Negro children were registered to attend the white schools but 26 backed out because of fear of reprisal. Ten students were enrolled at the beginning of the term.

Rankin County -- The highway patrol and local police were present during the registration for the white school. A total of twenty Negro students applied for transfer, but by the first day of school all had withdrawn their applications. Two men, both parents of kids who registered at the junior high school, were threatened with death; another man lost his credit. Other parents were sent papers by their landlords and asked to sign them. The papers contained a promise that they would withdraw their children from the white schools. In addition, registration of Negro students at Pisgah was done after white students had been processed. School authorities did not allow both races to register together.

(We do not know if this county is under court order or submitted a voluntary desegregation plan. Rankin County is listed on the negotiating list by OE.)

Table I

ALABAMA (1965-66)¹

School District	--Enrollment ² --		Negroes En- rolled with whites	%	Plan and grades desegregated
	White	Negro			
Anniston	4185	3057	62	2.03	FC, all by 65
Athens	2168	412	15	0.34	FC, all by 65
Baldwin County	10154	3761	14	0.37	FC, 4 a year
Bessemer	2913	5218	13	0.25	Court Order
Birmingham	37861	35162	53	0.15	Court Order
Bullock County	940	3078	29	0.96	Court Order
Butler County	3111	3422	3	0.09	FC, all by 65
Calhoun County	10385	1589	8	0.50	FC, all by 65
Carbon Hill	984	137	4	2.92	FC, all by 65
Chambers County	3658	3610	0	0.0	FC, all by 65
Clay County	2311	633	3	0.49	FC, all by 65
Cleburne County	2403	205	5	4.44	FC, all by 65
Coffee County	2262	513	22	4.29	FC, all by 65
Colbert County	4120	1254	50	3.91	FC, all by 65
Conecuh County	2103	2567	0	0.0	-
Coosa County	1588	1229	8	0.65	FC, all by 65
Decatur	6361	1255	31	2.38	FC, 1,2,9-12 by 65
DeKalb County	8506	186	0	0.0	FC, all by 65
Dothan	5572	2413	2	0.08	FC, all by 65
Etowah County	7780	68	25	36.76	FC, all by 65
Fayette County	3042	837	15	3.35	FC, all by 65
Florence	6154	1402	130	9.28	FC, all by 65
Fort Payne	1821	62	29	46.77	FC, all by 65
Franklin County	3758	38	0	0.0	FC, all by 65
Gadsden	9810	3483	60	1.72	Court Order
Green County	577	3489	1	0.0003	
Hale County	1340	4332	6	0.14	
Houston County	3925	1760	0	0.0	FC, all by 65
Jackson County	7361	314	50	15.92	FC, all by 65
Jasper	1766	0	0	0.0	
Jefferson County	44454	18650	9	0.05	
Lauderdale Co.	7416	792	75	0.94	FC, all by 65
Lawrence County	5202	1894	8	0.42	FC, 1,7,10,12 in 65
Limestone Co.	5493	2059	11	0.53	FC, all by 65
Lowndes Co.	631	4076	4	0.09	
Macon County	852	5348	34	0.63	Court Order
Marion Co.	4476	174	12	6.89	FC, all by 65
Marshall Co.	2521	326	22	6.76	FC, all by 65
Mobile Co.	22581	10038	39	0.39	Court Order
Montgomery Co.	1159	3951	32	0.80	Court Order
Morgan Co.	8506	828	14	1.69	FC, all by 65
Mountain Brook	2680	0	0	0.0	

¹58 of Alabama's 119 Biracial school districts (enrollment figures were difficult to obtain.)

²Enrollment figures from 1964 Annual Report from State of Alabama Department of Education.

Alabama (cont)

Muscle Shoals	1270	216	20	9.25	FC, all by 65
Phenix City	3866	2817	30	1.06	FC, 1,7,10,12 by 65 2,8,9,11 by 66
Pike County	1853	2267	5	0.22	
Randolph Co.	1906	1382	2	0.14	FC, 1,7,9,12 in 65 2,8,10,11 in 66 all by 67
Russellville	1611	344	48	13.95	FC, all by 65
Selma	3376	3719	30	0.81	FC, 4 a year
Sheffield	2468	706	75	10.62	FC, 1-6 Geog. Zone, 7-12
Sumter Co.	907	5175	3	0.057	FC, all by 65
Tarrant	2056	144	0	0.0	
Tuscaloosa Co.	8152	3753	17	0.45	FC, 1,10-12 in 65 all by 67
Tuscaloosa City	8192	5929	73	1.23	FC, 4 a year
Tuscumbia	1832	610	38	6.23	FC, all by 65
Walker County	9960	1484	37	2.49	FC, all by 65
Winston County	3756	16	4	25.0	FC, all by 65

Statewide enrollment			Negroes En rolled with	%
	White	Negro	whites	
1964-65*	549,543	293,476	94	0.032
1965-66	575,000	300,000	1500	0.5

*Southern School News, Dec. 1964.

(Figures for 1964-65 are statewide estimates).

Table II

School District	Enrollment ²		Negroes En-rolled with		Plan and grades Desegregated
	White	Negro	whites		
			%		
Aubrey SD #C	190	345	0	0	FC, 4 a year
Barton-Lexa #4	450	670	40	6.0	FC, 1,4,7,10 in 65 all by 66
Bay-Brown	1000	20	20	100.0	Geographic zone
Benton	3444	279	110	39.0	FC, all by 65
Blevins	257	309	4	1.3	FC, all by 65
Blythville	3629	2487	14	.5	FC, 4 a year
Bradley Co. #14	136	98	0	0	Full SB, all by 65
Brickleys	143	536	4	.7	FC, 4 a year
Carthage #9	125	200	0	0	FC, all by 65
Crossett #52	2152	911	4	.4	FC, 1,7,10,12 by 65 all by 67
Dardanelle	921	61	45	73.0	CNS, all by 65
Dermott	594	805	10	1.25	FC, 1-6 by 65; 7-9 by 66; 10-12 by 67
Desha Central	270	254	3	1.0	FC, all by 65
Desha Co. #4	105	163	0	0	FC, all by 65
Desha-Drew	190	390	18	4.6	FC
Elaind #30	642	1033	11	1.0	FC, 1,4,7,10 by 65 all by 67
England	1100	600	10	1.6	FC, 4 a year
Fordyce	772	617	21	3.5	FC, all by 65
Forrest City	2995	3933	20	0.5	FC, all by 65
Fountain Hill	210	73	17	24.0	FC, 1,9-12, by 65 all by 66
Garland #4	102	103	13	13.0	FC, all by 65
Gillett	385	197	27	27.0	FC, 1,9-12 by 65 all by 67
Gould			65	13.0	FC, 1-4,6-9,12 in 65 all by 66
Grapevine	137	84	17	20.2	FC 9-12 in 65; 1-8,66
Guernsey	165	85	0	0	FC, all by 65
Harmony Grove/Camden	480	320	9	2.8	FC, 1,2,7,12 in 65 all by 67
Hermitage	444	474	0	0	FC, 4 a year
Hope	1525	1092	30	2.7	FC, 1-6 in 65; 7-9 in 66; all by 67
Horati9	402	27	19	70.0	Geog. zone, all by 65
Izard	1700	2	2	100.0	Geog. unit, all by 65
Jonesboro	4344	494	38	7.6	Zone, all by 66
Kingsland	252	88	10	11.0	FC, 9-12, 1,7, by 65 2,3,8, in 66
Lake Hamilton	1050	15	15	100.0	Geog., all by 65
Lakeside	948	1115	5	.4	FC, 4 a year

¹Enrollment figures obtained by SNCC, September, 1965.

²1964 Arkansas School Census

ARKANSAS (cont)

Leola	125	12	10	83.0	Geog., all by 65
Leponto	1065	109	0	0.0	FC, 7-12 in 65
Little Rock	17,000	7500	621	8.0	Court Order
McNeil	190	340	0	0.0	FC, 1,2,7,12 in 65 all by 67
Magnolia #14	2093	1175	30	2.5	FC, all in 65
Malvern	2740	993	28	2.8	FC, 1-6 in 65; 7-9 in 66; 10-12 by 67
Marianna	1369	2548	11	0.4	FC, 4 a year
Marion	780	1350	2	0.14	FC, 1,2,7,12 in 65 3p4,8,11 in 66 all by 67
Marvell	690	1765	19	1.0	FC, 4 a year
Mountain Pine	500	100	100.	100.0	Geog, all by 65
N. Little Rock	10,334	3219	117	3.6	
New Edinburg	177	132	0	0.0	FC, 4 a year
Patmos	69	44	0	0.0	Geog., all in 65
Pulaski Co. Spec.	16837	4440	933	20.9	FC, all by 65
Spring Hill	169	26	19	73.0	
Stamps	536	490	7	1.4	FC, all in 65
Stuttgart	1900	1031	7	0.6	FC, 4 a year
Texarkana	4645	2257	20	0.9	FC, all by 67
Village	92	95	0	0.0	FC
Union	183	85	19	22.0	FC, all by 67
Washington SD#2	76	440	0	0.0	FC, 1-8, 65. All, 66
Watson	270	250	13	5.2	FC, all in 65
West Memphis SD#4	3195	2828	22	0.8	Court Order
Woodlawn	365	15	6	40.0	unit, all in 65
Wynne	2654	897	4	0.44	FC, all in 65

Table III

School District	Enrollment ²		Negroes En-rolled with		Plan
	W	N	whites	%	
Americus	1812	1676	15	.89	FC
Atlanta	54658	51738	2000	3.8	C.O.
Baker Co.	456	839	10	1.2	FC, all-65
Bolivar Co.	3240	2816	8	0.2	FC, 1,4,11,12 - 65 2,3,7,10 - 66 all - 67
Berrien Co.	2692	577	0	0	FC, 1,7,9,12 - 65
Bibb Co.	23323	13909	242	1.7	Court Order
Bryan Co.	1254	901	18	2.2	FC, all by 65
Buford	831	344	0	0.0	FC, all by 65
Butts Co.	1161	1402	4	0.2	FC, all by 65
Calhoun Co.	280	1665	1	0.06	FC, all by 65
Camden Co.	1767	1305	3	0.2	FC, all by 65
Candler Co.	1172	752	1	0.13	FC, 1,2,8,12 - 65 3,4,9,10 - 66 all - 67
Carroll Co.	5195	1248	82	6.5	FC, all by 65
Carrollton Co.	1977	1113	26	2.3	FC, all by 65
Cartersville	2013	686	8	1.1	FC, all by 65
Catoosa Co.	6716	81	42	51.0	Geographic Zone
Cedartown	2626	479	4	0.8	FC, all by 65
Chatham Co.	28261	17731	300	1.6	Court Order
Chattahoochee Co.	404	301	6	1.9	FC, all by 65
Clark Co.	6635	3469	200	5.7	FC, all by 65
Clayton Co.	15675	1739	43	2.5	FC, all by 65
Cobb Co.	31301	1153	55	4.9	FC, 4,7,9-12 - 65 all by 66
Coffee Co.	4046	2075	13	0.5	FC, all by 65
Crisp Co.	2472	2446	7	0.3	FC, all by 65
Dade Co.	2552	35	8	22.0	FC, all by 65
Decatur City	2986	914	3	0.32	FC, all by 65
Dekalb Co.	65000	3706	234	6.3	Geographic Zone, all by 65
Dodge Co.	2698	1313	3	0.2	FC, all by 65
Dougherty Co.	15298	8397	173	2.0	Court Order
Douglas Co.	1709	862	35	4.0	FC, 1,8,11,12 - 65 2,3,4,9 - 66 all by 67
Decatur Co.	3632	3203	3	0.09	FC, all by 65
Emanuel Co.	3117	2022	24	1.1	FC, 1,2,9,12 - 65 3,4,10,11 - 66
Fitzgerald	1267	978	12	1.6	FC, all by 65
Floyd Co.	9171	119	21	17.0	Negotiating
Franklin Co.	2966	670	3	0.4	FC, 1,2,9,12 - 65 3,4,8,10 - 66 all by 67
Fulton Co.	28122	4030	9	0.2	FC, 4 grades a year

¹Enrollment information obtained by SNCC for 90 of Georgia's 118 districts.

²Enrollment figures from 1964 Annual Reports of the Department of Education to the General Assembly of the State of Georgia.

School District	W	N	Negroes En- rolled with whites	%	Plan and grades deseg.
Gainesville	2709	1838	15	0.8	Geographic Zone, all by 65
Glynn Co.	9287	3518	59	1.6	.
Greene Co.	1163	2000	17	0.85	.
Gwinnett Co.	11822	768	62	8.05	FC, all by 65
Habersham Co.	4650	206	11	5.3	FC, 1,2,8,12-65 all by 66,67
Harris Co.	1311	2024	3	0.14	FC, 1,2,8,9,12 - 65 3,4,10,11 - 66 all by 67
Hart Co.	2834	1150	3	0.26	FC, all by 65
Hogansville	814	467	25	5.3	FC, all by 65
Houston Co.	10061	3211	98	3.05	Court Order
Irwin Co.	1341	1194	8	0.67	FC, all by 65
Jeff Davis Co.	2293	634	5	0.7	
Jefferson Co.	1757	3234	17	0.5	
LaGrange	3745	2242	25	1.1	
Lamar Co.	779	1255	1	0.08	
Laurens	2677	2374	17	0.7	
Lowndes Co.	4181	1936	1	0.05	Geographic Zones (FC with- in) 1,8,9,12 - 65 2,3,7,10 - 66 all by 67
Macon Co.	1030	2734	13	0.4	FC, 1,6,9,12 - 65 2,5,7,10 - 66 all by 67
Marietta	4460	1418	25	1.6	
Meriwether	2165	3042	19	0.6	FC, all by 65
Mitchell Co.	1544	2470	1	0.04	FC, all by 65
Monroe Co.	1200	1600	3	0.1	FC, 1,5,8,12 - 65 2,6,10,11 - 66 all by 67
Moultrie	3426	1072	35	2.3	Court Order
Muscogee Co.	32489	11648	125	1.07	
Newton Co.	3603	2163	15	0.6	
Newnan	1767	518	3	0.19	
Oconee Co.	1258	399	1	0.25	FC, 1,2,8,12 - 65 all by 66
Paulding Co.	3494	450	28	6.2	FC, all by 65
Peach Co.	1621	2474	11	0.4	FC, 1,4,8,12 - 65 2,5,9,11 - 66 all by 67
Pierce Co.	2172	719	3	0.41	FC, all by 65
Pike Co.	1014	1021	2	0.19	
Putnam Co.	995	1352	6	0.4	
Randolph Co.	920	1945	5	0.25	FC, all by 65
Richmond Co.	19778	11902	32	0.26	FC, 1-6,12 - 65 all by 66
Rome	5587	2569	70	0.26	
Stephens Co.	2700	172	43	25.0	
Spaulding	6421	3429	70	2.05	
Telfair Co.	1933	1422	6	0.42	

School District	W	N	Negroes En- rolled with whites	%	Plan and grades deseg.
Terrell Co.0	1113	2558	7	0.2	FC, all by 65
Thomas Co.	2430	2214	11	0.49	Geographic 1-6 FC 7-12
Thomaston	2449	878	5	0.5	
Thomasville	2605	2148	32	1.5	FC, all by 65
Tift Co.	4781	2518	3	0.11	
Toccoa	1110	621	4	0.64	
Troup Co.	2288	1619	1	0.06	FC, all by 65
Upton Co.	1691	1299	5	0.3	FC, 1,2,8,12 - 65 3,4,5,9 - 66 all by 67
Valdosta	4452	3277	30	0.9	FC, 1,7,10,12 - 65 2,6,8,11 - 66 all by 67
Walton Co.	3629	1963	5	0.25	
Warren Co.	563	1456	5	0.33	FC, all by 65
Washington Co.	1909	3394	14	0.41	
Waycross	3225	2543	23	0.92	FC, all by 65
Wayne Co.	4209	1327	1	0.076	FC, 1,7,9,12 - 65 2,8,10 - 66 all by 67
Wheeler Co.0	795	657	2	0.303	FC, 1-8 - 65 all by 66
Wilkes Co.	1144	1696	5	0.30	FC, all by 65
Worth Co.	2292	2500	9	0.36	FC, 1,7,9,12 - 65 2,3,4,11 - 66 all by 67

Statewide enrollment*	Whites	Negroes	Negroes En- rolled with whites	%
1964-65	752,620	354,850	1,337	0.377
1965-66		385,000	6,000	1.5

*Southern School News, Dec. 1964.

Table IV

LOUISIANA (1965-66)¹

School Districts	Enrollment ²		Negroes En- rolled with whites		Plan and grades desegregated
	White	Negro			
East Baton Rouge	21950	21110	158	7.4	Court Order 1,2,10,12 in 65
Jefferson Parish	14975	10068	297	3.0	Court Order 1,10,12 in 65 2,3,8,9, in 66 all by 67
Lafayette			0	0	Court Order 1,5,11,12 in 65
St. Helena Parish	1116	2009	16	.80	Court Order 1,9-12 by 65 all by 71
St. Landry Parish	10770	10730	13	0.11	Court Order 12 in 65 1,2,10,11 in 66 all by 68
Tangipahoa Parish	8899	6938	6	0.3	Court Order 1,12 in 65 2,11 in 66
West Baton Rouge	1858	2349	2	0.086	Court Order 1,12 in 65

¹Enrollment information for seven of Louisiana's 67 school districts, obtained by SNCC.

²From State Supt. of Education.

Statewide Enrollment *	White	Negro	Negroes En- rolled with whites	%
1964-65	489,000	321,000	3581	1.12
1965-66	506,000	331,000	1850	0.6

*Southern School News, Dec. 1967

Table V

MISSISSIPPI (1965-66)¹

District	Enrollment ²		Negroes En-		Plan and grades
	White	Negro	rolled	with whites	
Adams Co.	4499	5147	0	0.0	- desegregated
Aberdeen Mun. Sep. (Monroe)	1321	1954	2	0.10	FC
Attala County	1191	1551	0	0.0	FC, 1,7,10,12 in 65 2,6,8,11 in 66 all by 67
Benton County	1012	1191	48	3.0	Court Order
Biloxi Mun. Sep. (Harrison)	8341	1328	115	8.8	Court Order
Brookhaven Mun. Sep. (Lincoln)	2372	1761	0	0.0	FC, 1,7,10,12 in 65 3-6 in 66; all by 67
Calhoun County	2746	1685	4	0.24	FC, 1,7,10,12 by 65 2,6,8,11 by 66
Canton Mun. Sep. (Madison)	1469	3709	25	0.07	Court Order,
Carroll County	1061	2052	11	0.5	-
Clay County	355	763	20	2.6	FC, 1&2 in 65
Cleveland D#4 (Bolivar)	2304	2821	8	0.28	-
Columbus Mun. Sep. (Lowndes)	5360	3507	35	0.20	FC, 1-4 in 65
Corinth Mun. Sep. (Alcorn)	2074	934	17	1.8	FC
DeSoto County	3705	4958	30	0.60	FC, 1-4 in 65
Forest Mun. Sep. (Scott Co.)	1116	723	0	0.0	1,2 in 65; 3,10,11 in 66; all by 67
Forest County	3621	1235	0	0.0	Hearings
Greenwood Mun. Sep. (Leflore)	3274	2620	0	0.0	Hearings
Greenville Mun. Sep. (Wash.)	6250	5822	146	2.5	FC, 1,2,7,12--65 4,8,10,12--66 all by 67
Gulfport Mun. Sep. (Harrison)	2746	849	60	0.7	FC, 1-3,9 in 65 4,8,10,12 in 66 all by 67
Hattiesburg Mun. Sep. (Forrest)	1333	1404	29	2.0	FC, 4 grades a year
Holly Springs Mun. Sep. (Marshall)	1115	2482	24	0.96	FC, 1,2,7,12--65 3,6,8,11--66 all by 67
Holmes County	1650	6323	189	3.0	Court Order
Jackson Mun. Sep. (Hinds)	20411	14319	145	1.0	Court Order
Kosciusko Mun. Sep. (Attala)	1460	1531	0	0.0	FC, 4 a year
Lauderdale County	3076	2047	5	0.15	FC, 1,12 in 65 2,3,7,8--66 all by 67
Leake County	2489	2649	28	1.07	Court Order
Leflore County	1087	5944	0	0.0	Hearings
Leland Cons. (Wash. Co.)	1186	2195	0	0.0	-
Long Beach Mun. Sep. (Harrison)	1907	95	95	100.0	Geographic Zone
Louisville Mun. Sep. (Winston)	2628	3032	28	0.9	FC, 4 a year
Madison County	879	3676	4	0.11	Court Order
Marshall County	1283	3810	7	0.189	FC, all by 67
Meridian Mun. Sep. (Lauderdale)	7510	4636	23	0.5	1,6,9,12 - 65, FC 2,3,7,10 - 66
Monroe County	1838	300	25	8.3	FC, 1, 9-12 in 65 2-4 in 66 5-8 in 67

¹Enrollment information for 49 of Mississippi's 163 school district,

²obtained by SNCC.

From State Department of Education Annual Report to the Legislature, 1963-64.

Mississippi (cont)

School District	White	Negro	#	%	Plan
Moss Point Mun. Sep. (Jackson)	4018	1813	87	4.8	Court Order
Natchez Spec. Mun. Sep. (Adams)	4499	5147	0	0.0	Hearings
Neshoba County	2107	972	10	1.03	FC, 1,4,7,12 in 65
N. Pike Cons. (Pike Co.)	760	722	4	0.55	-
Perry County	1003	547	0	0.0	FC, 1,10-12 in 65 2, 7-9 in 66
Phila. Mun. Sep. (Neshoba)	999	501	9	1.8	FC, 1-3, 12 in 65 4-6,11 in 66
Picayune Mun. Sep. (Pearl River)	3492	1381	0	0.0	FC, 1,2 in 65 3-5, 7, 12 in 66
Pontotoc County	845	306	0	0.0	FC, 1,7,9,12 in 65 2,4,8, 11 in 66
Rankin County	5602	3392	4	0.11	-
Scott County	2584	1959	0	0.0	FC, 1-3,12 in 65 4,6,8,11 in 66
Sharkey-Issaquena Line Cons.	745	2417	108	4.5	-
Simpson County	3074	2410	0	0.0	FC, 1,6,8,12 in 65 3,7,9,11 in 66
Tate County	1263	2954	3	0.10	FC, 1,2 in 65 all by 67
Tupelo Mun. Sep. (Lee Co.)	3627	1223	17	1.4	FC, 1-4, in 65 4 a year
Vicksburg Mun. Sep. (Warren)	2730	3326	63	2.0	FC, 1-4 in 65 5,6,7,10 in 66 all by 67

Figures from School Board 1965 estimates, and "1963 Biennial Report of State Superintendent of Public Education--Mississippi."

Statewide enrollment*	White	Negro	Negroes En-rolled with whites	%
1964-65	308,409	295,962	58	0.020
1965-66	350,000	325,000	1500	0.5

*Southern School News, Dec. 1964.