# TABLE OF CONTENTS

**EDITORIAL NOTE:** The Courts and Racial Integration in Education .......... 229

**SESSION**

## I. The Present Status of and Future Outlook for Racial Integration in Education in the United States

- **Welcome Address and Explanation of the General Purposes of the Conference** ................................................................. 233  
  - Mordecai W. Johnson, President, Howard University
- **Racial Integration in the United States, with Especial Reference to Education** ......................................................... 241  
  - Horace Mann Bond, President, Lincoln University (Pennsylvania)
- **Some Major Problems Involved in Achieving Racial Integration, with Especial Reference to Education in the South** .......... 250  
  - Harry S. Ashmore, Executive Director, The Arkansas Gazette

**DISCUSSION OF PAPERS:**

- **George T. Guernsey, Associate Director in Charge of Education, Department of Education and Research, Congress of Industrial Organizations** ................................................................. 255
- **Robert C. Weaver, Director, Opportunity Fellowships, John Hay Whitney Foundation** ................................................................. 258

**GENERAL DISCUSSION**

## II. Some Problems Incident to Racial Integration in the Public Schools

- **The Elimination of Segregation in the Public Schools of the North and West** ................................................................. 265  
  - W. Robert Ming, Professor of Law, The University of Chicago
- **The Development of Racially Integrated Public Schools in the North** ................................................................. 275  
  - Joseph L. Bustard, Assistant Commissioner of Education, State of New Jersey; Director, Division Against Discrimination, Newark
- **Some Anticipated Problems Incident to Racial Integration in the Public Schools and Some Suggested Approaches to the Problems** ................................................................. 285  
  - Ward I. Miller, Superintendent of Schools, Wilmington, Delaware

**DISCUSSION OF PAPERS:**

- **Virgil A. Clift, Professor and Head, Department of Education, Morgan State College** ................................................................. 293
- **Walter G. Daniel, Specialist in Higher Education, U. S. Office of Education** ................................................................. 294
III. Court Action as a Means of Achieving Racial Integration in Education

*CAN THE COURTS ERASE THE COLOR LINE?* ........................................... 304
**JOHN P. FRANK, Associate Professor of Law, Yale University**

*AN EVALUATION OF RECENT EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE RACIAL INTEGRATION IN EDUCATION THROUGH RESORT TO THE COURTS* ........... 316
**THURGOOD MARSHALL, Special Counsel, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People**

DISCUSSION OF PAPERS:

**WILL MASLOW, Director, Commission on Law and Social Action, American Jewish Congress** ................................................................. 327

**MARJORIE McKENZIE, Attorney-at-Law, and Columnist, The Pittsburgh Courier** ......................................................................................... 329

**MOZART G. RATNER, Assistant General Counsel, National Labor Relations Board** ................................................................. 330

**SPOTTSWOOD W. ROBINSON, III, Attorney-at-Law, Richmond, Virginia: Counsel, N.A.A.C.P., Southeast Region** ......................... 332

GENERAL DISCUSSION

IV. Some Tactics Which Should Supplement Resort to the Courts in Achieving Racial Integration in Education

**WALTER WHITE, Executive Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People** ......................................................... 340

**LESTER B. GRANGER, Executive Director, National Urban League** 344

V. Problems Incident to Racial Integration in Higher Education

*THE PRESENT STATUS OF AND FUTURE OUTLOOK FOR RACIAL INTEGRATION IN THE CHURCH RELATED WHITE COLLEGE IN THE SOUTH* .................................................. 350
**BENJAMIN E. MAYS, President, Morehouse College**

*THE PUBLIC NEGRO COLLEGE IN A RACIALLY-INTEGRATED SYSTEM OF HIGHER EDUCATION* ......................................................... 352
**RUFUS B. ATWOOD, President, Kentucky State College; Secretary, Conference of Presidents of Negro Land-Grant Colleges**

*THE PRIVATE NEGRO COLLEGE IN A RACIALLY-INTEGRATED SYSTEM OF HIGHER EDUCATION* ......................................................... 363
**F. D. PATTERSON, President, Tuskegee Institute; President, United Negro College Fund**
DISCUSSION OF PAPERS:

Dr. Rufus E. Clement, President, Atlanta University .............. 369
J. Oscar Lee, Executive Director, Department of Racial and 
Cultural Relations National Council of Churches of Christ in 
the U.S.A. ........................................................................................................ 370
C. H. Parrish, Professor of Social Science, The University of 
Louisville ........................................................................................................ 371
Richard L. Plaut, Executive Vice-Chairman, National Scholar- 
ship Service and Fund for Negro Students ................................. 374

GENERAL DISCUSSION

VI. Court Action and Other Means of Achieving Racial Integrat- 
ton in Education

Panel Discussion, Chairman: Ira Dea. Reid, Professor of 
Sociology, Haverford College ............................................................. 384
Oliver W. Hill, Attorney-at-Law, Richmond, Virginia; Member, 
The President’s Committee on Government Contract Com- 
pliance ........................................................................................................ 385
John J. O’Connor, President, Catholic Interracial Council of the 
District of Columbia ........................................................................... 386
Walter White, Executive Secretary, National Association for the 
Advancement of Colored People .................................................. 386
Herman H. Long, Director, Race Relations Department, A.M.A. 
Division, Congregational Christian Churches ............................. 387
Ruth A. Morton, Field Secretary, Race Relations Division, Amer- 
ican Friends Service Committee ................................................... 388
Howard H. Long, Dean, Central State College, Wilberforce, 
Ohio ........................................................................................................ 389

GENERAL DISCUSSION ........................................................................ 390

VII. The Courts and Racial Integration in Education—A Critical 
Summary

Problems Incident to Racial Integration in Education and 
Some Suggested Approaches to These Problems ..................... 411
Martin D. Jenkins, President, Morgan State College

An Appraisal of Court Action as a Means of Achieving Racial 
Integration in Education ............................................................... 421
James M. Nabrit, Jr., Professor of Law and Secretary, Howard 
University

The Development of Cooperative Acceptance of Racial In- 
tegration ............................................................................................... 430
John LaFarge, S. J., Associate Editor, America (National Catholic 
Weekly), New York City

DISCUSSION OF PAPERS:
P. L. Prattis, Executive Editor, The Pittsburgh Courier .......... 434
Albert W. Dent, President, Dillard University ......................... 435
Frank S. Horne, Assistant to the Administrator, Housing and 
Home Finance Agency ................................................................. 437