

say that he was taking this action partly for the reason of removing the guidelines issue from the political area (*Columbia State*, August 13, 1966). In late August, GOP nominee for State Superintendent of Education, Dr. Inez C. Eddings, said that Gov. McNair had told a closed meeting of school administrators that "token" faculty integration and a 3% Negro transfer would satisfy federal officials this year. According to Dr. Eddings, the Governor told the administrators that the 1966 desegregation guidelines would not otherwise apply to South Carolina "since it has acted in good faith." The Governor was also reported to have said that he had received these assurances from HEW officials and "other top officials" (*Charleston News & Courier*, September 1, 1966).

At the Southern Governors' Conference, Gov. McNair presented a resolution which called for the governors to express "disapproval" of the guidelines, and also called for a congressional investigation of HEW (*Columbia State*, September 20, 1966). Gov. McNair's resolution was adopted in a milder form by the Southern Governors' Conference, and McNair later said that he was optimistic that Congress would initiate an investigation of the guidelines (*Columbia State*, September 23, 1966).

Also in September the South Carolina Education Association defended Gov. McNair after he had been attacked by Republican gubernatorial nominee Joseph O. Rogers for doing nothing to weaken the guidelines. The SCEA stated that "on numerous occasions during the past several months the governor has met with the South Carolina Association of School Superintendents, its executive committee, and other randomized groups of superintendents" to discuss the guidelines and problems related to school desegregation. The SCEA quoted Gov. McNair as saying that while South Carolina would comply with the law, the 1966 guidelines appeared to go beyond the law and the State was not asking any South Carolina district to go beyond the requirements of the law to fulfill the requirements of the guidelines. Gov. McNair was also reported to have told the superintendents that the protection and preservation of the educational program was more important than meeting some quota or percentage of desegregation required by the guidelines. Gov. McNair pointed out that boards of education and school superintendents had shown courage and restraint in dealing with the difficult problems, especially harassment and "wishy-washy" interpretations by federal officials (*Columbia State*, September 23, 1966). Though McNair had previously stated that a suit against the guidelines would be filed before the opening of school, it was not until mid-October that the state Attorney General filed suit in behalf of Lee County challenging the 1966 school desegregation guidelines (*Columbia State*, October 8, 1966).

The Legislators

State officials were aided in their efforts to weaken the enforcement of the guidelines by members of the United States House of Representatives and the United States Senate from South Carolina. These men were not only extremely vocal in their opposition to the guidelines and to the Office of Education's attempts to enforce them, but they constantly bombarded the Office of Education with letters of protest which set forth complaints on behalf of individual school districts. One official in the Office of Education has said that these letters were numerous, and since they had to be answered, it was difficult for the Office of Education to do its real work of enforcing compliance with the guidelines.

In April, Republican Senator Strom Thurmond said of the guidelines, "Oppression through arbitrary power is no longer just a threat, it is a reality" (*Charlotte Observer*, April 18, 1966). Thurmond also sent two telegrams to President Johnson and called the denial of federal funds to two South Carolina school districts "irresponsible, inequitable, and illegal" (*Columbia State*, June 29, 1966). In July five members of the House from South Carolina sent a letter to Commissioner Howe declaring that, "Good education is being sacrificed to arbitrary and vascillating interpretations of the law" (*Columbia State*, July 1, 1966). Thurmond's Republican colleague, Rep. Albert Watson, attacked the guidelines when they were first issued and even met with Commissioner Howe in an effort to have the guidelines rescinded (*Columbia State*, July 3, 1966).

One of the vehement attacks against the guidelines and Commissioner Howe came from Rep. L. Mendel Rivers. Rivers, a former Citizens Council member, had once said that the 1954 Supreme Court decision would bring "mongrelization of the Caucasian race" (*Columbia State*, November 29, 1955). He had also said that, "Regardless of the court decision, we will never see integration in South Carolina in our lifetime" (*Charleston News & Courier*, March 24, 1965). This