

Garner-Howard Smith-Harry Byrd-John McClellan congressional Democrats; and the Allen Treadway\*-Robert Taft-Charles Halleck congressional Republicans."

These are not mere party wings, claims Burns; their differences are institutional and ideological. The power fulcrum of the presidential parties is the national convention, where they dominate rank-and-file delegates. "The Robert Tafts and the Lyndon Johnsons usually do not win at Chicago or Philadelphia." The Electoral College compels the presidential parties to "cater to the urban masses and their liberal dogmas." For leadership, they draw from the ranks of big-city lawyers, Eastern financial executives, academicians (Republican examples: Elihu Root, Henry Stimson, John Foster Dulles, Douglas Dillon). These parties are generally internationalist, favor activist government, are concerned with broad "way-of-life" issues.

The congressional parties, on the other hand, use their control of legislative machinery to block the presidential parties. They draw their leadership from the small towns, concentrate mainly on bread-and-butter economic issues. Many Congressmen are from districts with little competition (Burns contends that a mere 125 of the 435 House districts are even reasonably competitive), gain powerful seniority advantages over Congressmen from swing districts who ideologically incline toward the presidential parties. Among Democrats cited by Burns as presidential party members: New York's Emanuel Celler, Rhode Island's John Fogarty, California's Chet Holifield; among Republicans: New Jersey's Senator Clifford Case and New York's Senator Jacob Javits. John Kennedy, says Burns, shifted to the presidential party while still in the Senate.

**Tantalizing Question.** The resulting deadlock, writes Burns, can and should be broken—by helping the presidential parties swallow their congressional counterparts. To bring this about, he urges elimination of the seniority system in Congress, reapportionment of gerrymandered districts,† uniform election laws for the Senate, House and presidency, mass dues-paying memberships for the parties. "It is better that a lot of people give a little money than that a few give a lot."

The rewards for such reorganization of the parties, Burns argues, would be

\* Treadway was a conservative Republican from western Massachusetts mountain country who served 32 years in the House of Representatives (1913-44), 25 of them on the Ways and Means Committee. Burns cites him as an example of congressional Republicans from non-competitive districts, similar to many Southern Democrats.

† Columnist Roscoe Drummond contends that present malapportionment works to the disadvantage of Republicans: Republican candidates for the House won 48% of the nationwide congressional vote in November but captured only 40% of the seats. The G.O.P., he claims, won one seat for every 137,000 of its votes, the Democrats one for each 100,000 of theirs.

immense. "The great task of the presidential party is to forge a new majority organized down to the wards and precincts, towns and villages and effective in Congress as well as in the executive branch. Whether this task will be accomplished by the presidential Democrats under John F. Kennedy, or by the presidential Republicans under someone like Rockefeller, is one of the tantalizing questions of the future."

Tantalizing it certainly is. But is it realistic? After all, one of Burns's favorites, Franklin Roosevelt, tried hard to swallow up the Democratic congressional party—and got bloodied up in the attempt.



ATLANTA'S WALL

## THE SOUTH

### Divided City

*It was in Berlin that the tragic and dramatic lesson of what happens to a divided city came home to me, and if I could make you see it as I saw it, you would share with me my feeling that Atlanta must not be a city divided.*

In his inaugural speech last year, Atlanta's Mayor Ivan Allen Jr. thus warned his fellow citizens of the effects of the Berlin Wall, which he had recently viewed. But last week Atlanta itself was divided by a pair of 2-ft.-10-in.-high steel-and-wood barricades set up by the city to prevent Negroes from moving into a white neighborhood.

Atlanta's white-Negro relationships have long been considered among the best in the South. But the city's 200,960 Negroes (39.9% of the population) are hard pressed for living room. They live on 24.6% of the total land zoned for residential purposes, are largely confined to a black belt running northwest to southeast through the heart of the city. In this belt, one of the best districts is Collier Heights, in northwest Atlanta. The main trouble with Collier Heights is that it is

tantalizingly close to a white neighborhood called Cascade Heights, where homes range from \$20,000 to a few at \$50,000.

**Block-Busting.** Both Negroes and whites acted badly in the events that led up to the barrier between Collier Heights and Cascade Heights. Negro real estate brokers used block-busting techniques to try to buy homes in the Peyton-Utoy subdivision of Cascade Heights. They falsely told white residents that their neighbors had put their homes up for sale and conspicuously drove Negro clients through the area on Sunday to frighten white owners. A white real estate man threatened to sell his home and some lots to Negroes in order to get a higher price from white buyers in the area; he actually ended up signing contracts with both a white owners' group and a Negro. Since



WAYNE WILSON, LEVITON-ATLANTA

MAYOR ALLEN

A lesson unlearned.

July, it has been impossible to sell a house in Peyton-Utoy to a white buyer, and white owners were panicked by the threat to their property values.

Virgil Copeland, president of the Southwest Citizens Association, a group of homeowners in Cascade Heights, finally went to Mayor Allen and suggested closing off two roads that run between the Negro and white areas to prevent encroachments by Negroes and act as a psychological stimulant to white buyers. Allen called in Negro leaders to discuss the possibility of erecting barriers. In return, the city would rezone 250 acres for Negro residential use. Understandably, the Negroes protested.

**Into Court.** Mayor Allen turned the matter over to the board of aldermen, which voted to erect the barriers. At 7 the following morning, workmen were on Peyton and Harlan roads driving I beams into the pavement. The Negroes of Atlanta, represented by a new All-Citizens Committee composed of most Negro organizations in the city, refused to deal with the city until the barriers come down. Negroes have lost one suit in court to have the barriers torn down, but a further test is pending before superior court in Atlanta. Last week the board of aldermen considered a resolution to remove the barriers—and voted it down 10 to 3.