

On May 8th 1963, Hartman Turnbold return gun fire with white men in Holmes County, deep in the Delta of Mississippi. In the Hour before dawn, white men cocktailed his cotton-farm home. He spit automatic rifle fire at their guns, sent them running, spun to his pump with his wife and daughter and carried buckets and tubs of water to save their burning house. In the house after dawn the sheriff, confronted with Turnbold, his wife, his tale and the blistering sooty ceiling of his bombed living room, turned the corner of rationality arrested four young Negro voter registration workers and Turnbold, locked them in jail and charged them with arson.

Sweaty hot concrete walls surrounded the next four days, then the vote workers were released and the arson charge dropped; Turnbold was bound over to the grand jury, however, and out on bond, waits, wondering what will happen.

The Attorney General has interviewed and promised justice and injunction against the sheriff, but justice happens, if at all in the Federal courts a distant place Negroes in the Delta seldom frequent and don't understand. At home, among the cotton fields they know, white men now carry rifles in their pick-up trucks and Negroes bury shotguns under their beds at night.

Negroes confronting the white man deep in the rural south are not yet executioners, and will no longer be victims. But the Negro is leaving and he has left the rural south. The mechanization of farming used in the age of agricultural abundance and made the small rural Negro farmer, the sharecropper, the cotton choppers and pickers surplus commodities. ~~White~~ With the help of the "free" market and the White Citizens Councils he is shipped for storage to large city slums where he is fast becoming a glut on human beings, the suspicion grows that there is no room anywhere in America for too large a percentage of Negroes.

They form a majority of the population of Washington D.C. and confront that city as potential executioners. For the first time in this countrys race conflicts therein to put the entire social structure of a city in doubt. There is widespread agreement about the course but the solution await a crisis large enough to cut through the tangle of vested institutions aneeling of the South. To aneel an object is to subject it to high heat and then mold it shile it is cooling off. This has been the dominate pattern for the Social Change that has been moving across the south. Little Rock, New Orleans, Atlanta, Albany and now Bumingham. The Federal Government moves only when the heat is white hot to mediate for the Negroes and whites who bound together in a desprate conflict-partnership, Martin Luther King calls it creative tension, the southern power structure alien revolutionary agitation, the country views it as for gradual evolutionary change the gains date of er little relief to the masses of the Negro who are caught up in pepetual poverty, in cycles of slum housing, poor schooling and increasing unemployment. Looming large in the near future is the prospect of unemployed wages made unemployable by ~~wesing~~ sweeping teachers to logical change. It will do no good to be Intergrated into a job which is dissappearing. Unemployment runs across the opaque problems of the defense budget, the military-industrial employ, the senate power bloc of the nation to confront the region was politicall independent of the United States the Negroes would organize terroist groups, plan assasinations and plant plostiques as revolutions have done around the world (They would operate out of the hills of Carrol and Tallahatchie Counties in a desperate, Desprate guerilla war.) But the region is part of Mississippi and the United States and the presence of the Federal Government opens the possibility fo non vialent evolutionary change.

these issues. The Negro problem will not be solved if the unemployment problem remains and grows.

On May 1963, seven Negroes ~~would~~ marched ~~from~~ from Rueville, Mississippi in Sunflower county, and the home of toward Indianola, ten miles away they left town singing loud defiance at the white man; "this little light of mine, I'M going to let it shine". Eight miles down the road they received word to turn back and they stoped. Their average age was 45. When their children grow-up drop out, or ever graduate, from thair inadequate schools and canot get jobs, ~~wik~~ they will join others to march on Washington and will we witness the aneeling of the nation, or ~~will~~ will we expeuise of the deteriorat on and despou of the Negro.

The Negro who seeks Techieueneuie the total society confront himself with the dilemo whether, " He can be a man who is also a Negro, rather than a Negro who is also a man, ." And many Negroes have succeeded in taking advantage of oportunites, entering as individuals into the competetive stream of American life, but they don't carry the rest with them. (On the contary, they must leave them behind, because the American compoitmental- zation of people into roles does not allow for the businessman toc cursade during office hours or even after.) This entering wedge which came mostly after W.W.II is what is ment by notable progress. The new movement for equality has ~~dis~~covered Negroes who are said to be in another American tradition. The presedent calls it the "Highest traditio of American freedom; The sprit which moves them is undoubtly American, what else could it be? But it is like the American ~~sprit~~ spirit that sent grim troops in W.W.II to do a duty job in Germany, and still more like the French spirit of the resistance to the German occupation.

Prejudice, like the plague, stands in the shadows of history, deeply rooted in man.

in man, ready to spill out when passions rise. These prejudices run deep in glacier-beds and are not easily moved, All this is true but not our immediate concern to Negro fight for the removal of those institutions which promote prejudice and creation of new ones which will no allow individuals to crackle their private race hatreds with a public whip. Now the Negro confronts us.

\*\*\*\*\*Confrence\*reference\*with\*reference\*\*\*\*\*on\*my\*8th\*1963\*Waltman\*Turner\*  
returned