

THE STORY OF SELMA

or

"The Other Side of The Coin"



Distributed By

THE SELMA AND DALLAS COUNTY CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

Selma, Alabama

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SELMA, ALABAMA

Selma, Alabama, is a thriving city of approximately 34,000 population in the police jurisdiction of about 3½ miles radius from the center of the city. At one time its main economy centered around cotton but now the cattle industry has surpassed cotton and, undoubtedly, industry has taken over the highest economic level. There are 24 such concerns within the area, all employing 50 or more employees, 15 employing more than 100 each and 11 having over 200 or more on their payrolls.

In the last five years Selma has experienced more than \$85,000,000 in new construction. (This takes into account two recently acquired industries.)

CITY EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES

Number of Elementary Schools: 6 White; 5 Colored

Parochial Schools: 2 White; 1 Colored

Number of High Schools: 1 Junior and 1 Senior High (White); Same (Colored)

Enrollment in White Public Schools: 3,247; 134 teachers

Night Schools: University Center of the University of Alabama and General Continuation School.

COUNTY EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES

For Colored: Selma University, and Lutheran Academy and College, a private school.

The public school system of the County consists of the following:

6 white and 16 non-white elementary schools; 1 white and 1 non-white junior high schools; 3 white and 7 non-white senior high schools.

CULTURAL AND CIVIC

CHURCHES

The religious life of Selma and Dallas County is promoted by numerous churches, representing most of the larger denominations. Appreciation of their work is demonstrated by the fact that in many cases in the more populated sections, the congregation of a single denomination has grown so much that two or more churches have had to be established to accommodate the worshippers. In Selma alone there are 17 denominations and 75 churches.

PUBLIC LIBRARY

The Carnegie Library, Selma, Alabama, has on its shelves some 22,179 volumes. The annual report issued in October, 1962, shows that for the preceding year the circulation comprised 54,382 books.

RECREATION

Recreation facilities in Selma and Dallas County are: Valley Creek Park, Valley Creek State Park, Dallas County Public Lake and Recreation Park, Bloch Baseball Park, Memorial Stadium, with a seating capacity of 9,822 and temporary bleachers for 6,000; Municipal Swimming Pool; tennis courts, softball diamonds and playgrounds. Large playgrounds are located on all school properties. Riverside Golf Course is a public course. There is also a rodeo arena with bleachers and a pony training ring in the vicinity of Memorial Stadium. There are three motion picture theatres and one drive-in theatre in Selma, also a bowling alley, Y. M. C. A. and Health Club.

Some of our natural recreation facilities are: Hunting and fishing—dove, quail, turkey and small game throughout the County; deer are available in North Dallas in Talladega National Forest and adjoining counties, fishing in Valley Creek State Park Lake; also in Dallas County's 100-acre fishing lake; various fishing and hunting clubs; City fish ponds, creeks and rivers throughout the County, and numerous commercial fishing lakes.

Related outdoor recreational activities are: Boating and skiing on the Alabama River; baseball, horseback riding (riding stables); softball and Little League teams; Municipal and other swimming pools, golf and tennis.

All theatres, motels and restaurants in Selma are integrated. Under the Civil Rights Act, schools will start an integration program in September, 1965.

(except *Carters Drug*) and the *Silver Moon*

*all white. no
Negro ever used
without out being
arrested*

*and for a Negro to use it is an
act of man courage*

THE SELMA TIMES-JOURNAL

JANUARY 21, 1965

Joint Declaration Of The City and County Governing Bodies

The City Council of the City of Selma and the Dallas County Court of County Revenues, recognizing the seriousness of the present situation in this community, do affirm unanimously our belief in law and order.

Each of us strenuously opposed passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, being mindful of the consequences to our community.

We are confident that the overwhelming majority of our citizens believe with us that law and order must prevail, and that there can be no other solution to this problem.

However strong the provocation, calmness and self-restraint by each of us is the greatest protection for all concerned in this time of crisis.

We sincerely and earnestly recommend this course to the whole community with the heartfelt conviction that it is the best course at this time for the entire city and county.

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| DALLAS COUNTY COURT OF COUNTY REVENUES | CITY COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF SELMA |
|---|--|

John H. Traylor
Tom Martin, Jr.
Seawell Jones
R. Furniss Ellis
B. A. Reynolds

Carl Morgan, Jr.
Irby Moore
George Swift
Billy Driggers
Leon Gillis
Frank Skinner
Herman M. Blagg, Jr.
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THE WRONG WAY

BY DAVID LAWRENCE



THERE IS A RIGHT WAY and a wrong way to try to achieve reform, whether it be in the realm of government or in the social life of our nation.

We pride ourselves on a belief in democracy—on the exercise of a rule of reason in our national life.

We have rejected mobocracy as the manifestation of anger, of bitterness, and of unwillingness to let the rule of reason and the processes of law prevail.

The American people have been witnessing in recent events in Alabama a failure to rely on the normal functioning of a democracy.

Whatever the provocation, the fact is that passion and threats of physical force have never bred a spirit of confidence in any constitutional system.

Unfortunately, the "demonstrations" have been led by men who should know better. The leaders have included not merely protagonists for meritorious causes, but clergymen who, while preaching nonviolence, have closed their eyes to the incitement to violence which results from street "demonstrations" and, in some cases, from defiance of the law itself.

It has been argued that the police in the South are prejudiced. But how can we explain the outbreaks in cities like Chicago and New York, where the officers of the law have been attacked and, indeed, where the cry of police "brutality" has been raised? Yet the handling of disorders and incidents that may lead to violence is the duty of the local police. We cannot delegate it to a national police force.

Understandably, "demonstrations" get publicity from coast to coast and are designed to mobilize public opinion behind worthy causes. But does this mean that we cannot utilize effectively the public forum, the printed word of the press, and the spoken word of radio and television? Cannot a righteous cause be successfully or persuasively espoused except by mobs in street "demonstrations" or by fanatics who have carried their campaign of intimidation even to the inside of the White House, only to be dragged out by police and arrested when they ignored requests to leave.

Have we had a dispassionate discussion of the race problem itself? Have we endeavored to make people on both sides of the controversy in other sections of the country, as well as in the South, aware of the complex nature of a social problem of this kind?

Essentially, the prejudices that are expressed on racial issues are not really based upon ethnic differences. They are based on the differences between man and man. Segregation has reflected a custom—a habit

of our people—not merely in the South but also in the North. Gradually, the laws have decreed that the principle of segregation is invalid.

But can the principle of integration be applied by law to the satisfaction of all who have felt the sting of discrimination? Isn't there also a problem in human relationships, in educating individuals, and in paving the way for better understanding between all groups in the nation? And can this be accomplished better by mob violence than by the processes of reason?

Does anyone who is familiar with life in a Southern community believe that there is hate in the hearts of a preponderant number of the citizens toward any race or population group? Even in the days of rigid segregation, whether in railroad stations or in hotels or in restaurants or in schools, the relations between whites and Negroes were far better in many parts of the South than they have become in recent years in the North.

The key to a solution of the racial problem in community life lies in a better understanding of human nature. Does anyone who has studied this problem in the South or elsewhere think for a moment that white people who have known Negroes over the years and have had personal and business relations with them are bent on inflicting hardships upon them, such as a denial of facilities for travel or of hotel accommodations or of an opportunity to get a job?

One finds that the responsible individual, irrespective of race, who is able to conduct himself or herself honestly and with due regard for the rights of others invariably wins friends who remain true to that friendship, not for just a few years but throughout their lives. Why is it that we cannot widen this relationship to that of a community? Ministers of the gospel might better devote themselves to this task than to participation in street riots.

The race question will never be solved with a policeman's club any more than by "sit-ins" or other incitement to disorder and mob violence.

We are dealing with the facts of life. Some of the "demonstrations" have turned out to be a form of organized tragedy—a way of inflaming rather than cooling passions. If this is continued, the end result can only be a retrogression, an emergence of hate and bitterness on a wide scale, with the ultimate loss of the objective itself.

There is a right way and a wrong way. The rule of reason is the right way. "Demonstrations" provocative of violence are the wrong way.

For the last four years the nonviolent method has been applied to the problem of public accommodations, and has proven itself effective in this area. We have come to realize that segregation in public accommodations was a symptom rather than a cause. Now we are trying to apply the method of nonviolence to the problem of disenfranchisement which has plagued the Negroes in the South for almost one hundred years. Thus we hope to deal with the cause of most of the problems that face Negroes. We feel that if once the negroes in the South gain the right to equal representation in government, many of the problems that are not being dealt with by the southern racist governments can and will be dealt with by moderate whites, and negroes who have not a chance to get into office as long as negroes are kept from freely registering to vote.

1. PROGRAM - The negroes of Alabama will be organized into a unit that can effectively carry out a state-wide nonviolent campaign. Therefore, the program will consist of organizing around the issues: 1- Taxation without representation; 2- Mass nonviolent education; 3- The conducting of freedom registration and mock elections to send men to the House of Representatives and Senate of Ala. to represent negro people; 4- The execution of a mass direct action program that will dramatize these issues.
- A. All organizations and affiliates that are interested should invite SCLC and other civil rights organizations into the state to help conduct such campaigns.
 1. A newspaper will be published for wide distribution in Ala. 2. Medical and legal help shall have been contacted for the Selma operation.
- B. The Project will hold a state-wide meeting to discuss the issue of equal representation in government.
 1. In this meeting, a committee should draw up a "Declaration of Freedom." 2. An Advisory Board, consisting of religious, civic and civil rights leaders should be formed.
- C. Announcement and Initiation.
 1. The Advisory Board will take the Declaration to Gov. Wallace, asking that he immediately remove all barriers that keep Negroes from full participation in government. 2. A press statement will be made concerning the Declaration. 3. 200,000 copies of the Declaration will be distributed throughout the state, mostly to negroes. 4. As soon as possible, newspaper ads should be taken in the 21 counties of the heaviest negro population. 5. The King-Douglas Workshop will start operation. 6. The Advisory Board and the Project should know by this time what they must have from the May 4 and after confrontation.
- D. Selma Operation:
 1. The Advisory Board and the Project in Alabama will then make known that they plan to register all Negroes through a Freedom Registration Drive - starting with a state-wide mass meeting to be held in Selma, Ala. 2. A fact sheet will be gotten out of Selma, its past problems, and present situation; to be distributed to Selma residents, selected individuals in Alabama, the press and northern supporters. 10,000 copies. 3. At the state-wide meeting, held in Selma, arrests will be made, as there presently exists an injunction against 3 or more individuals meeting together. The arrests and violence should be interpreted as an abridgment of freedoms fought and won in the Revolutionary War, but able to exist today because officials are not responsible to citizens of the state, those citizens not having the right to equal representation or the right to vote. Arrests should continue over months to create interest in Freedom registration and Freedom Vote. After Dr. King is in jail, a letter dealing with bombings, violence, not being represented, etc., should be widely distributed to Negroes in Alabama (Letter from the Selma Jail). At the proper time the Advisory Board and Project Leaders shall formally declare that the problems of Selma and other similar Blackbelt areas will only be resolved when Negroes participate in the government of Alabama. On May 4th, with the opening of the Alabama Legislature, the seating of present legislators and senators will be challenged and emphasis and major action will shift from Selma and other similar towns and counties to Montgomery. 4. During the arrests and Freedom Registration in Selma and other areas, Dr. King and other top Civil Rights leaders will tour the state, appearing at mass meetings and making crystal clear the objectives of the state-wide project. 5. 100,000 Project Brochures will be distributed throughout Alabama to Negroes and whites. 6. Trainees from the King-Douglas Nonviolent Workshop and Project workers will already have started developing 21 counties, establishing contacts for the precinct organization to come. 7. Mass meetings, film showings and nonviolent workshops begin with rotating speakers and films, co-ordinated through the Montgomery office.
- E. Freedom Registration Drive
 1. Counties will be broken into beats and precincts; precinct leaders, block captains, and block workers secured. 2. 300,000 Freedom Registration forms, 300,000 "Free Citizen's Cards" saying, "Having taken part in the Freedom Registration of Alabama, this certifies that I am a Free Citizen entitled to all the rights an American citizen is entitled to." 3. The 8,000 Freedom Registrations posters shall be distributed throughout the state, having the candidates' pictures and a statement of our state-wide objectives. 4. Operation Dialogue should begin with the white communities informing them of our frustrations and objectives in going to jail and conducting Freedom Registration. 5. An analysis of the economic situation of Alabama will be taken; searching out the point where a boycott would be most devastating, and which new and expanding industries are taking place in Alabama.
- F. Freedom Vote
 1. Alabama Negroes will hold a convention to elect Negroes to run for seats in the House of Representatives and Senate in the State of Ala. 2. 10,000 Freedom Army Handbooks will be distributed throughout the State of Alabama and non-violent workshops intensified. 3. Posters and handbills for the candidates will be distributed in the appropriate districts. 4. Registration for the "Freedom Vote" shall continue up to and including election day. Quotas, that must be met should be set for each district with the idea of topping the number of votes gotten by the white representatives or senator in that district. 5. Elections should be held for said offices. 6. The elected should attempt to be seated on the May 4th session of the Ala. legislature. Demonstrations should ensue until legislators elected by the Freedom Vote attain their rightful

seats, or until people can freely register.

Administration and coordination will come from the Project Office in Montgomery. All other offices in Alabama will be called Field Offices.

G. Project Office

Functions: 1. The location, coordination and movement of staff in Alabama will be administered from here. 2. The WATS line will be located here and administered from the Project Office. 3. The assignment and use of all SCLC cars and busses will be administered from the Project Office. 4. All legal and medical help can be secured through the Project Office; this includes bonds, payment of fines caused by harassment, and doctors bills. 5. The distribution of all office supplies, such as mimeograph paper, ink, pencils, typewriters, etc., or the distribution of money for these supplies will be from the Project Office. 6. All funds for Freedom Houses, gas, car repairs, travel expenses, projector repairs and petty cash will come from the Project Office. 7. The payment of the (20) volunteers at \$10.00 a week will be administered from the Project Office. 8. All press and publicity statements will be made by the Project Office. 9. Distribution of all printed literature like the Freedom Registration Forms, posters, etc., will begin at the Project Office. More of this literature can be secured from the Project Office. 10. All facets of Operation Dialogue will be administered from the Project Office. 11. Mass mailings will be made from the Project Office. 12. All the Freedom Registration Forms will be filed and collected by the Project Office. 13. Continual contact with the Field Staff will be kept by the Project Office, as to their location, problems and needs. 14. Coordination of the Speakers Tour is from the Project Office. 15. Formats of Mass Meetings at different times during the project will come from the Project Office. 16. All general communication to the Project should be made through the project office. 17. Information concerning the economic conditions of Ala. and where boycotts may be will come from the Project Office. 18. Recruitment for the King-Douglas Nonviolent Workshop shall be through the Project Office. 19. The Field Staff should keep in contact with the Project Office, and a summary map of the Negro precincts for the election should be made with the Project Office, as well as informing how Registration is progressing in each area so new staff can be supplied if help is short. 20. The newspaper will be edited from the Project Office. 21. Counting of votes will take place at the Project Office. 22. Administration of Direct Action will be from the Project Office.

H. Staff

There should be enough staff to keep an efficient office in Montgomery, and recruit and train workers in the ten largest cities and in 12 Negro majority counties and to communicate with the white community.

There are 21 communities in which intensified organizing and training should be done. The staff needed for this would include: 1. Project director; 2. Project coordinator; 3. Central office secretary; 4. Operation dialogue director; 5. Traveling affiliate organizer; 6. Citizenship education director; 7. Field secretary for Mobile; 8. Field secretary for Macon, Bullock and and Barbour counties; 9. Field secretary for North Alabama; 10. Field secretary for Sumter, Greene, Hale and Perry counties; 11. Field secretary for Marengo, Wilcox, Monroe and Lowndes; 12. Field worker for Tuscaloosa; 13. Field worker for Gadsden; 14. Field worker for Anniston; 15. Field worker for Talladega; 16. Field worker for Huntsville; 17. Field worker for Birmingham; 18. Field worker for Montgomery; 19. Field worker for Dothan; 20. Director for the Martin Luther King-Frederick Douglas week end workshops; 21. Twenty volunteer workers that will receive \$10. a week.

I. Staff Duties:

A. Project director responsibilities are: 1. Contacting people in 21 communities and securing invitations from organizations for SCLC. Help contact people for state-wide meetings.

2. Establishing a central office in Montgomery. 3. Projecting literature for explaining program. 4. Securing place and producing materials for week end workshops. 5. Helping to keep communities programs developing. 6. Securing transportation for staff. 7. Recruiting, assigning and conducting training sessions for staff.

B. Project coordinator responsibilities are: 1. Coordinating program from the central office. 2. Buying materials for staff. 3. Dispersing funds for the Alabama Project. 4. Managing office in Montgomery. 5. Liason between Atlanta office and Field work. 6. Setting up and coordinating speaker bureau.

C. Central Office Secretary responsibilities are: 1. Working directly with coordinator. 2. Doing the general clerical work for central office.

D. Operation Dialogue Director responsibilities are: 1. Developing and refining the mailing list to strategic white people in Alabama. 2. Setting up lines of communication wherever possible, between whites and Negroes. 3. Mailing materials to white people.

E. Affiliate Organizer responsibilities: 1. Organize SCLC affiliates wherever possible. 2. Organize communities around project. . ex, if SCLC has an affiliate organized, maybe we need the affiliate organized with the rest of the community around the project. 3. Set up statewide meet

F. Citizenship Education Dir. responsibilities: Recruiting and developing citizenship schools in 21 counties where we will be doing intensified work.

G. Political Education Dir. responsibilities: 1. Helping those communities set up the best political organization possible. 2. Helping these communities conducting voter education clinics. 3. Help-to train 30 young men in the weekend workshops.

H. Weekend Workshop Dir. responsibilities: 1. Recruiting for the workshop. 2. Securing teachers for the workshops. 3. Coordinating the workshops.

I. Field Workers responsibilities: 1. Working with local organization. 2. Conducting youth workshops. 3. Recruiting for weekend workshops. 4. Conducting freedom registration. 5. Recruiting for Freedom army. 6. Conducting freedom vote. 7. Work with local leader to get mass meeting from other parts of the state. 8. Defining goals of Alabama project.

NOTE: While the Field Secretary and Field Work jobs will be usually the same, the Field secretary will be in areas that are more difficult to get people organized in.

J. Volunteer Workers will assist field secretary, field worker, office secretary in organizing and executing freedom registration.

STATEMENT BY JOHN LEWIS, CHAIRMAN
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
AT STAFF MEETING, FEBRUARY 1965

(DISTRIBUTED BY THE SELMA AND DALLAS COUNTY CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, SELMA, ALABAMA)

With a deep sense of humility I speak to you today in an attempt to share with you some of my feelings and thoughts on SNCC and the Civil Rights struggle. I have no words of wisdom, nor have I been dreaming great dreams. From the outset I am aware of the fact that we are at a crucial juncture in the history of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. The situation demands clarity, firmness and certainty, as well as an unmatched capacity for planning and foresight.

On my arrival in Atlanta after having been out of the country for two months, I was thoroughly informed about the questions and issues that were raised at both the staff meeting and the staff retreat. I have read the positions papers, the minutes, and have talked with many members of the staff with great interest concerning the nature of your deliberation in Atlanta; in Bay St. Louis.

I only regret that I was unable to take part in the many sessions of serious discussion and thinking. Fortunately or unfortunately I was in Africa on what I like to call a mission of learning, or an attempt to cement the relations between the liberation movement of Africa and the Civil Rights Struggle in this country. I am convinced more than ever before that the social, economic and political destiny of the black people of America is inseparable from that of our black brothers in Africa.

It matters not whether it is in Angola, Mozambique, Southwest Africa or Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Harlem, U. S. A. The struggle is one and the same. Call it what you may - racial segregation, social economic, and political exploitation, or what the Freedom Fighters of South Africa are demanding an end to. . . imperialism and colonialism. It is a struggle against a vicious and evil system that is controlled and kept in order for any by a few white men throughout the world.

We are struggling against the same powers. We must, must question the United States intervention in the Congo. We in SNCC must in good conscience ask of the United States government whether it stands with struggling freedom fighters of South Africa, or with the U. S. supported oppressive government.

The cry in the dependent countries of Africa is still One Man, One Vote. It is a cry for Freedom, Liberation and Independence. It is a cry of People to have some control over their political destiny. The cry of SNCC is essentially the same, for it is a cry to liberate the oppressed and politically denied black people of this country. I think we all recognize the fact that if any radical, social, economic and political changes are to take place in our society, the masses must be organized to bring them about. We must continue to inject something new and creative into the very vein of our society. We must continue to raise certain questions and certain problems that we can neither answer nor solve, but must dramatize them in such a way that they would force the government to address itself to the demands and basic needs of all people.

I have noticed the constant use by the staff of words "it seems to me." These words are extremely significant. For our job in Mississippi, Alabama, and the deep South is to get people to say, "It seems to me," to get people to express their ideas, their opinions. One of the bases for the Freedom School is that the students say, "It seems to me."

Those of us in SNCC are only playing roles on the American scene, for we are here today and gone tomorrow. SNCC is one of many forces at work in our society for certain basic changes. There is something unique about SNCC which sets us apart from other organizations and groups -- at least we tend to think that way. In a real sense I would like to consider SNCC as a spark to begin the flame of basic, social, economic and political changes. SNCC is the shot in the arm of a sick society. We are the birth pains of the body politic. We have made summer projects respectable; we have made Freedom Registration acceptable. We have even made the idea of One Man, One Vote "respectable;" just look around at some of the other civil rights groups.

Our job is to help educate, help prepare people for political action. Our job is to organize the unorganized into a vital force for radical, social, economic and political change. Our job is to create what I like to call pockets of power and influence, where the people can say, "This is what I want and need." Our primary concern must be the liberation of black people. At the same time knowing that there are many white people in this country who are victims of the veils of the economic and political system. Black people feel these evils more for we are not only economically exploited and politically denied but we are also dehumanized by the vicious system of segregation and racial discrimination. So our work must continue to be in the black communities, in the rural areas, the farms and hamlets of the slums and ghettos of the cities.

Too many of us are too busy telling white people that we are now ready to be integrated into their society. When we make appeals for active, moral and financial support they have been geared toward the white community and for the most part not at all toward the black community. This is true of all the major civil rights organizations including SNCC. We must dig deep into the black centers of power throughout the nation not just for financial reasons but as a base of political support. I am convinced that this country is a racist country. The majority of the population is white and most whites still hold to a master-slave mentality.

Father Thomas Merton raises this question in his book, "Seeds of Destruction." Is it possible for Negroes and whites in this country to engage in a certain political experiment such as the world has never yet witnessed and in which the first condition would be that whites consented to let Negroes run their own revolution, giving them the necessary support, not being alarmed at some of the sacrifices and difficulties this would involve?

We have reached a crucial moment in American history and the history of the world. For the word revolution is becoming common. In 1960 with the Sit-in revolution movement, the Freedom Ride in 1961, and the other events through the spring of 1963, the word "revolution" was at first accented with tolerance, and as a pleasantly vivid figure of speech. With the Negro masses demanding jobs, Southern Negroes demanding the vote, with the Democratic Convention Challenge and now the Congressional Challenge by the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, the word revolution is becoming a bad word, with more and more disapproval, because it comes too near the truth. Why? What is a social or political revolution?

What does it mean to say that a people struggling for civil rights amounts to a revolution? Much as it may anger some die hard whites, the fact that a Negro sits down next to a white woman at a lunch counter and orders a coke and a hamburger is still short of revolution. When the Negroes in Lowndes County, Alabama, where there are 12,000 Negroes and 3,000 whites, and not a single negro is registered, get the vote and actually manage and cast their vote on election day without getting shot; this is still not revolution, though there may be something radically new about it. The real question still is who will they vote for: Governor Wallace, Bull Connor or Jim Clark?

Southern politicians are much more aware of the revolutionary nature of the situation than are the good liberals in the north, who believe that somehow Negroes (North and South) will gradually and quietly "fit in" to the white society, exactly as it is, with its power structure, its affluent economy, its political machine and the values of its middle class suburban folkways. White America as a whole seems to think that when Negroes of the South begin to use the vote, they will be content with the same candidates who were up the last year and the year before. As a matter of fact, Southern politicians realize very well that when the Negroes turn out in full force to vote, and thereby establish themselves as a factor to be reckoned with in Southern politics, the political machines of the past are going to collapse in a cloud of death. There are enough black people in the South to make any free election death for the status quo.

I think past history will testify to the fact that white liberals and the so-called affluent Negro leader will not support all of our demands. They will be forced to support all of our demands. They will be forced to support some of them in order to maintain an image of themselves as liberal. But we must also recognize that their material comforts and congenial relations with the establishment is much more important to them than their concern for an oppressed people. And they will sell us down the river for the hundredth time in order to protect themselves. We all saw this in Atlantic City. For this reason, as well as to support their own self-esteem, white liberals are very anxious to get a closer to what they call "seat of power" or to have a position of leadership and control in the Black Revolution, in order to apply the brakes when they feel it is necessary. Why was the United Civil Rights Leadership Council organized during the summer of 1963? Because a segment of White America felt that the revolution was getting out of hand, and by raising money and promising some big money, they could control the movement. There have been other situations where an attempt has been made to remove the revolutionary sting from the movement. The civil rights revolution is a manifestation of a deep disorder that is eating away the inner substance of our society. Thoreau said, "If a man does not keep pace with his companion, perhaps it is because he hears a different drummer. Let him step to the music he hears, however measured or far away." As William Melvin Kelly makes it clear in his first novel, "A Different Drummer," the Negro hears a drummer with a totally different beat, one which the white man is not yet capable of understanding. It is a must for the black people to make themselves visible in order for white America to pay attention. Even white staff members must recognize the fact that we are caught up with a sense of destiny with the vast majority of colored people all over the world who are becoming conscious of their power and the role they must play in the world.

If the movement and SNCC are going to be effective in attempting to liberate the black masses, the civil rights movement must be black-controlled, dominated and led. The oppressed people, the common people, the little people are the people who rise up.

In closing I make an appeal to all of us; not just for SNCC's sake, but for the sake of the total struggle and the people who are depending upon us. I appeal to the silent staff, the intellectuals, Southerners and Northerners, black and white, to move forward in building a better, stronger and more effective organization with a sense of purpose and direction.

Finally, lest I be accused of chauvinism, we are what we are. We are not the Students for a Democratic Society. We are not the Salvation Army. We are not American Friends Service Committee. We are an organization, yet a movement of people with different backgrounds, ideas, hopes, aspirations, working for a just and open society. We are the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

'I Am The Law'

The Advertiser, be certain, shares Alabama's piercing concern that three ministers were assailed by killers on the streets of Selma and one of them was mauled to the point of death.

No single word in defense of this murderous assault can be offered. It can only be observed as a matter of reason that in every city and community in America there is a small element that is uncontrollable, an element that can be led to irrational, blood-curdling actions by one stimulus or another. A companion act to the Selma street tragedy was seen when a Negro woman stabbed Dr. King in Harlem. *Nobody said that act typified the feeling of Harlem toward King.*

Despite solicitude for the injuries to the three ministers from Massachusetts and California, it is in order to consider objectively the presence in Alabama of the hundreds of ministers from other states. By lending themselves to defiance of the Alabama government and of the federal government, they soiled the cloth and demened the pulpit.

They disqualified themselves as moral preceptors. They make it seem droll that we stew over violence on screen and tube as it may affect the young when clergymen of the rank of bishop descend from the air in pomp and circumstance to take the law into their own hands.

Their rash intrusion upon the heaving scene is the more repugnant to the venerable tradition of the pulpit when you consider the likelihood that a great many of them probably lacked the wit and discipline to comprehend the essential nature of their lawlessness. The blind emotionalism of the abolitionist of another day propelled them.

The jagged irony of their exhibition is that, in boarding planes at northern airports for the descent upon Alabama,

many of these clergymen must have carried with them Monday afternoon newspapers telling of President Johnson's congressional message that national lawlessness must be abated, particularly law defiance in the streets.

These ministers no doubt read Johnson's appeal for law and order with an approval second only to that for Johnson's twangy indictment of Alabama. That devotional concluded, the ministers then fell in behind King's guidon and marched in defiance of Alabama's government, a federal court order and a presidential appeal.

They set themselves above the law. This was indeed a memorable kickoff in the presidential crusade against the national crime rate!

Most of these ministers came to angry up the brew in Alabama and they came from cities where it is not safe to walk the streets.

Forty of the ministerial grenadiers came from New York. There is a city where citizens won't phone the police when they look out of a window on a rape or murder.

These New Yorkers came to "violent" Alabama from a city where a Sunday afternoon is hideous with the sound of the gunfire that erased Malcolm X, the echoes being retaliatory bomb explosions in mosques. The subways have to be policed.

Those ministers in our midst who came from Philadelphia could see on television yesterday that extreme measures have been taken to protect life on its subways. At night, on every loading ramp and in every subway car is stationed a policeman with a club and a police dog with glistening fang. The policeman is not an Alabama trooper and the dogs don't belong to Bull Connor.

The insensate Pharisees have departed such crimson jungles to make incendiary excursions into Alabama to perform lawless acts. This is moral blindness and a vice.

Big 80,

Atlantic To Pacific

It was Bobby Kennedy, we believe, who first took the line that the Civil Rights Act—something of a revolution in the American form of government—had to be passed to "get the thing out of the streets and into the courts." The legislation didn't get anything out of the streets, it got it on U.S. Highway 80.

We were reminded in the course of a long distance conversation with Editor Don Ewing of *The Shreveport Times* yesterday that U.S. 80 is the longest all-weather highway in America.

It courses from Savannah on the Atlantic to San Diego on the Pacific. It slices along Macon Columbus, Montgomery, Selma, Meridian, Shreveport, Dallas, El Paso and the Mexican border, New Mexico, Arizona.

Some years ago, there was an informal compact between U.S. 80 editors to promote its improvement, the highway abounding in bad engineering and death traps.

These improvements were achieved in large measure and in time Big 80 will be four lanes from coast to coast. Meanwhile, it remains one of the busiest and most important highways in the world, a trunk line for motorists and trans-continental freight.

United States

Highway

No. 80

UNITED STATES Highway No. 80 is subject to a thousand laws and regulations. No citizen or body of citizens has complete liberty upon it.

The U.S. and Alabama governments specified the materials that went into its construction.

The same state troopers who intervened at Selma also intervene to stop overweight trucks.

You cannot use that highway without possessing two licenses, a car tag and a driver's license. Citizens not twice licensed are barred from the highway. And you are required to be sober as well.

You are required to render prescribed signals for turning and stopping. Tire changing is regulated. Road shoulders are for emergency use only. Littering is forbidden and you must honor detour arrangements.

In the name of public safety, these same troopers halt motorists who violate the speed limit. They stop citizens for exceeding 40 m.p.h. in some zones and not stopping for school buses.

You cannot drive on U.S. 80 at night without lights. You cannot cut over a yellow line to pass on a hill.

You are required to dim your lights on meeting another car.

You cannot cruise along firing Roman candles, nor proceed in a state of nakedness.

At best, a highway is a perilous situation and, in the name of public safety, there is nowhere the citizen is subject to a greater multiplicity of restraints on personal liberty.

Wednesday
March 10, 1965

The Montgomery Advertiser

A highway is for fast moving vehicular traffic only and there is a fence law to keep livestock off them. In not the remotest way is it a suitable arena for a demonstration.

★

ACCORDINGLY, THE government of Alabama forbade the Selma demonstrators to clog that highway on Sunday, inconveniencing thousands of motorists and endangering their own life and limb.

In no case would 550 Ku Klux Klansmen—or Boy Scouts or Shriners—have been permitted to trudge down that highway.

Accordingly, the Negroes were forbidden to misuse the highway. They lawlessly defied the government of Alabama and were therefore stopped by the government of Alabama.

★

CONSIDERATION was given to sealing off the highway for the exclusive use of the Negro host, as a city block for skaters. Perhaps that would have been wiser: The matter is left to the second guessers.

In any event, that response to the Negro's defiance was rejected. It was not a privilege that would have been extended to any other group.

A crowd that size could not have kept to the highway shoulders at bridges and fills. It would have been difficult to protect marchers during overnight encampments by swamp or on prairie. Therefore, wisely or unwisely, that abdication of the authority of the state was rejected.

★

THAT THE USE of Highway 80 is properly subject to government regulation was next seen when U.S. Judge Frank Johnson told Dr. King, as had Wallace before him, that he must not march Tuesday.

The thing long since ceased to be a matter of Negroes registering to vote. Indeed, they were marching away from, not to, the registration headquarters.

And a federal judge had been sitting at the elbows of the Dallas registrars with minute directions on the rate and mode of registration.

King, with his booby prize of prelates waddling behind his lawless banner, announced that he would defy the federal government Tuesday as he had defied the Alabama government on Sunday.

King has said repeatedly that he is a lawless man, a figure above the law, a figure privileged to pick and choose which laws he will obey.

President Johnson, with his sonorous truckling to national emotions, had been talking of new legislation to soothe the Nobel swami and making a cracker barrel bromide about "a man's right to walk from Selma to Montgomery."

All of a sudden the President found that King was as contemptuous of the federal government as of the Alabama government. And he was asking that King not march.

At this moment a defiant group of demonstrators was being ripped out of the office of the attorney-general in Washington. The chief of the N.A.A.C.P., Roy Wilkins, was threatening the violence of an "underground."

★

AS IT FELL to at the bridge, the way was cleared for King to walk on into contempt of a federal restraining order. He stopped short. But it had taken two governments—state and federal—to restrain his defiance of law.

The Selma march issue is now in the bosom of the federal court. It is an issue between King and the U.S. government.

★

THERE ARISES next the question of whether the state troopers acted with hasty brutality.

One wire service reporter related that the Negroes were not given the specified two minutes to disperse. A Birmingham reporter, eyewitness to the confrontation, flatly contradicts that. He wrote:

"... I stood near the bridge with other newsmen, all in a protecting ring of state troopers ... Trooper Maj. John Cloud shouted through the bullhorn:

"Turn around and go back to your church. You will not be allowed to march any farther."

"The Negroes did not stop.

"Cloud told the marchers they were an unlawful assembly. He added if they dispersed they would be allowed to return freely to town. 'You've got two minutes,' Cloud barked through his bullhorn.

"The two minutes crept past painfully and slowly. Then on Cloud's order, the troopers converged on the marchers ..."

★

THE ACTION against the lawless demonstrators was indeed forceful and presented a painful scene. It may have been excessive, and there was a better way to compel the obedience that was due. Such police actions, whether by club wielding New York police on horseback or state troopers at an Alabama bridge, are spectacular and ugly by nature. And they are viewed with somewhat more objectivity in the North, though there is a "police brutality" chant in every case.

The doveote "non-violence" of the demonstrators and its potential were exhibited with clarity when they later assailed officers with rocks, bottles and garbage can lids.

It must be said, however, that the sheriff's cowboy posse should be corraled for the duration. These matters should be left entirely in the hands of regular, disciplined officers.



HERE IS A PICTURE TAKEN ONE OR TWO SECONDS BEFORE THE ONE SHOWN ON THE ATTACHED SHEET. THE OTHER PICTURE WAS GIVEN WORLDWIDE CIRCULATION OVER A CUTLINE INDICATING THAT SHERIFF CLARK IS BEATING THE NEGRESS OVER THE HEAD. THE PICTURE HERE CLEARLY ESTABLISHES THAT THE WOMAN HAS JERKED THE BILLY FROM THE DEPUTY'S HANDS AND HAS POSSESSION OF IT. WILL NEWSWEEK AND OTHER PRESS MEDIA ACROSS THE ENTIRE U.S.A. NOW ADMIT THAT EITHER THE PHOTOGRAPHER OR THE AUTHORS OF THEIR CUTLINES MISREPRESENTED THIS EPISODE TO WORLD READERSHIP?

Distributed by the Selma & Dallas County Chamber of Commerce, Selma, Ala., Feb. 23, 1965.

CIVIL RIGHTS:

Black Eye

Shifting her buxom, 226½-pound bulk from foot to foot, Mrs. Annie Lee Cooper stood as patiently as she knew how in the line of Negroes waiting to register at the Dallas County courthouse in Selma, Ala. No matter what Martin Luther King kept saying, nonviolence was coming harder and harder, what with Sheriff Jim Clark and his squirrel-shooting posse arresting folks by the dozens. Now, 20 feet away, a young civil-rights worker went limp in the arms of a cop with a theatrical yell: "Don't hit me again!" The

24

THE SUBTLE PHRASE AND THE JOURNALISTIC LIE !

The article shown here is readily identified as appearing in a magazine well known for "slanted reporting" and a fairly strong dislike of anything Southern.

The article itself is saturated with untruths. The Negro woman (Mrs. Cooper), without warning, stepped from a line and with her 225 pounds struck Sheriff Clark in the left eye, this resulting in a completely closed eye the next morning. Then Annie Cooper, clerk at the Torch Motel (Colored), snatched a deputy's billy club with both hands, falling to the ground when efforts were made by deputies to regain it. The picture is easily misinterpreted. Sheriff Clark is trying to pull the billy club from Annie Cooper's grip. The deputies are trying to handcuff her as a protection against further trouble. She bit the deputies and they forthwith took tetanus shots.

If you believe the facts as we recite them above, write NEWSWEEK, 444 Madison Avenue, New York, New York 10022, and tell them what a farce their reporting is, although reporters were probably sent to Selma with instructions to file stories favorable only to the Martin Luther King crusade and his national solicitation of funds, as revealed by the BIRMINGHAM NEWS and the NEW YORK TIMES.

Distributed by the Selma and Dallas County
Chamber of Commerce

February 12, 1965

word buzzed up and down the queue: *they hit him, they hit him.*

With that, Mrs. Cooper wheeled on Sheriff Clark—eleven years her junior (at 43) and 6½ pounds lighter—and landed a solid, non-violent overhand right on his left eye. While three deputies helped wrestle her to the ground, Clark scrambled astride her stomach and brought his billy down on her head with a resounding crack.

"This nonviolence really kills me," Clark crowed, once Mrs. Cooper had been manacled and jailed on assault charges. For a change, he was the affronted party, and he fondly expected to have the scars to prove it.



Associated Press

Selma: The sheriff vs. Mrs. Cooper

"If that eye isn't black," he chuckled, "it soon will be." But the sheriff's left lid failed to swell and he ended up with only a public black eye to show for his pains. The front-page stories next day told all about Annie Lee Cooper's Monday punch. But the picture—worth more to Martin Luther King's registration drive than all the thousands of words—showed the sheriff of Dallas County with his billy poised over a woman while she was down.

Toolen rips King, says priests, nuns should go home

BY TED PEARSON
News correspondent

MOBILE, March 18—Participation by Catholic priests and nuns in Alabama's racial demonstrations has been severely denounced by the archbishop of Mobile-Birmingham Diocese.

In addition, Archbishop Thomas J. Toolen also charged Martin Luther King Jr., is "trying to divide our people."

The archbishop, in an address at the St. Patrick's Banquet here Wednesday night, made known his views about some aspects of the racial crisis in the state today.

He said the demonstrations "are not helping things at all," and declared "a great injustice is being done to the state of Alabama."

AS FOR the priests and nuns who have been taking part in the demonstrations at Selma and Montgomery, Toolen had this to say:

"We are living in a strange age. They asked me why do the priests and sisters come from other states and Canada to take part in these demonstrations. Certainly the sisters are out of place in these demonstra-

tions. Their place is at home, doing God's work. I would say the same thing is true of the priests.

"As to whether they have permission to come in, they haven't asked for it. It is customary to ask permission in such cases.

"What do they know about conditions in the South? I am afraid they are only eager beavers who feel there is a holy cause."

AT ONE TIME, according to Toolen, he had information there



TOOLEN

were as many as 50 nuns and 200 priests from outside Alabama in the Selma demonstrations.

The archbishop said he had ordered the priests and nuns who reside at Selma not to take part in the demonstrations.

Pointing out that "some corrections in our attitude toward the Negro people" are needed, Archbishop Toolen said that "here in Mobile, where the problem has been handled sensibly, we've had no trouble. Sane and sensible Negroes realize we are trying to bring them up to the standards they should have.

"But do we need crusaders coming in from other states to tell us how to run the State of Alabama? There are certainly things that need correcting, but with the sane help of our people they will be corrected in time. The demonstrations are not helping."

Rabbi Richard L. Rubenstein, who accompanied the students earlier this week, said "they wanted dead bodies, our bodies."

He accused SNCC leaders of being "activists and revolutionaries" who wanted to cause trouble rather than further civil rights.

Addressing a rally called by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People at the Pitt Student Union, Rabbi Rubenstein said, "James Foreman lied to the Pittsburgh students and tried to use them."

Foreman, executive secretary of SNCC, was not immediately available for comment.

"We were assured by SNCC in Montgomery that police permission had been granted for demonstrations there," Ruben-

STEIN VOICED his respect for Dr. King as a man of religion, but he criticized the Negro leader for "taking children out of school to demonstrate on the streets."

He also declared that King is "hurting the cause of the Negro rather than helping it."

Speaking of the current image of the state, Toolen said "We are pilloried before the world as savages. No fault is given to those in this state who are really trying to work out the solution. No credit is given to people for trying to solve the question.

"Let us be sensible. We know that all men, regardless of race or color, are made after the image of God. We know that all are redeemed by the blood of Jesus Christ. All citizens are entitled to equal rights and privileges under the constitution. But these problems must be solved in a lawful way.

"There are crazy people on both sides. As good citizens of Alabama, we should try to control them."

stein said. "That was a lie. As we moved down the streets in the demonstrations, SNCC leaders went into a high school and asked young children to leave their classes and join the demonstration. That was both immoral and illegal."

He said the performance was repeated in a grammar school, and that in the demonstration "SNCC leaders under James Foreman broke from police lines, against all orders, even told one of our students to come across the line—that police had given permission for it."

Rabbi Rubenstein said he heard Foreman tell Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., "If I can't sit with the white man at the table of American democracy, then I'll knock the legs off."

The address brought prolonged applause from about 500 students present, including many of the 130 who had gone to Alabama.

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BISHOP W. K. GOODSON

Bishop Goodson Deplores March To Montgomery

MONTGOMERY (AP)—The bishop of the Birmingham area of the Methodist Church has urged all members of that faith to refrain from participating in the Selma-to-Montgomery civil rights march.

The Rev. W. Kenneth Goodson, in a strongly worded statement suggested that the Methodist ministers and lay people who have come to Alabama for the march should "return to their homes where I am sure there is ample responsibility and opportunities for Christian witness and service."

"Let me emphasize again what I have previously said in public and through the press that I in no way approve of this march from Selma to Montgomery," Goodson said. "I see this march as doing a great disservice to the cause of human freedom and delaying still further the struggle for reconciliation which surely awaits all of us who call Alabama home."

"The polity of the Methodist Church does not require the Bishop's permission to enter an area different from your own, he added, "but my feeling is so strong against the proposed march that I counsel all Methodist against participating and and strongly advise any who have come from outside Alabama — ministers, Bishops or laymen to return to their own homes.

SNCC Lies, Says Rabbi From North

PITTSBURGH (AP)—Leaders of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee who invited Pittsburgh college students to civil rights demonstrations in Montgomery, Ala., lied, a University of Pittsburgh chaplain said Friday.

Lovemaking in open definitely occurred in Selma prayer vigil

Alabama has been rife with rumors of widespread immorality among civil rights demonstrators during and before the march on the state capitol at Montgomery.

Charges have included illicit relations in the streets of Selma and at the march campsites; urinating in the streets of Montgomery; as many as 40 attacks by Negroes on a white female demonstrator, resulting in her death; and a general immoral climate in the civil rights movement.

Some of the rumors proved completely without basis, including the death of the woman marcher.

OTHERS HAVE been proved true according to reliable sources and eyewitness accounts. These are the charges of illicit relationships among couples in the streets at Selma and urinating by demonstrators outside the capitol in Montgomery.

As for the immoral acts in Selma, city Public Safety Director Wilson Baker told The Birmingham News upon questioning, "There very definitely was some of it." Baker said it occurred during a so-called all-night prayer vigil on Wednesday, March 10.

An Associated Press writer, Kelso Sturgeon of Atlanta, was also at the scene that night and he told The News there was "no doubt about it."

Sturgeon said, "I saw at least three couples involved in intercourse. There was considerable other hanky-panky."

Baker said it "was very definitely open in kissing and loving and drinking."

THE CHARGE that similar activity took place at the various campsites during the march to Montgomery could not be substantiated.

The tents were segregated, the men in one and the women in another. Troops formed a semi-circle around the campsite and marshals on the march staff patrolled the area during the night.

On the all-night vigil in Selma, newsmen, including two reporters for The News, witnessed demonstrators as they urinated in the middle of Montgomery's Dexter Avenue less than 50 yards from the Capitol steps.

The demonstration had begun early in the day, but by nightfall had dwindled to about 200, largely members of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, led by SNCC's James Foreman.

AS THE DEMONSTRATORS departed, Montgomery police tightened their ring around those left and would not let any back in.

A ring of people—men and women, Negro and white—stood and locked arms while others in the group of demonstrators urinated.

One Negro boy was hustled off to jail by police on a charge of indecent exposure.

A reporter for The News also said there was evidence of petting and lovemaking between white and Negro demonstrators.

Some ministers were present and witnessed it, he said.

Hundreds of ministers from over the nation participated in the civil rights movement. There were also nuns and church laymen. College students also joined the ranks of the demonstrators. There was a large number of beatniks.

News Capitol Bureau

MONTGOMERY, March 27

In front of the Capitol at Montgomery Saturday, all was quiet . . . calm . . . serene.

Not so two days earlier.

Backtracking, for a few minutes, along the March with a potpourri of observations, impressions, comments and notes, some of it heretofore unreported:

Martin Luther King Jr. fits the role of a militant integrationist, but the radical aggressiveness of some of his help-mates in the total Negro leadership makes King look conservative.

LIKE, FOR INSTANCE, James Forman, secretary of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, a group more popularly known as "Snick."

Forman has been one of these pressuring King to step more militantly in the integration movement. And, as if to complement his own radical tact, he often slips off into crude, profane language, even obscene.

One speech Forman made at the Beulah Baptist Church in Montgomery is a good example. From the church pulpit, and with white and Negro women and ministers in the audience, Forman used a word straight from the back alleys.

IF THE NEGRO isn't given his place at the table of democracy with the rest of the American people, Forman shouted, it's time "for us to knock the — legs off the table." The remark brought a few chuckles, and some ministers expressed surprise. Forman let his audience know he was well aware of his choice of language, and he offered no apology.

Minutes later, however, the Rev. Ralph Abernathy sought to smooth it over by saying that Forman is an angry young man. A beatnik became irate over Abernathy's weak stab at apologizing for Forman.

"What's wrong with ----?" he asked a newsmen. "It's a good old American word, and expressive."

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SELMA AND DALLAS COUNTY CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

THE POST-STANDARD
6 March 21, 1965

Morning's Mail

Selma Actions Defended by Ex-Syracusan

To the Editor of The Post-Standard:

Knowing of what you speak . . . a common idea, uncommonly practiced especially among civil rights demonstrators.

I am a native of Syracuse, a graduate of Syracuse University, and last year I moved to Selma, Alabama. I have been working at WHBB Radio since last July, and probably am better informed on the racial situation in Selma than anyone reading this letter.

When I heard that Syracuse University students were involved in more civil rights demonstrations, I thought "How typical!". So many well meaning people these days are making asses of themselves. Without ever learning all the circumstances, they decry the "extreme brutality" given demonstrators in Selma.

What means do they propose when literally thousands of demonstrators are blocking a four-lane public highway, interfering with the safety of every motorist and citizen for miles around?

Tear gas is not deadly. Every man in the service has undergone a much longer, more intense dose of tear gas in basic training. It is uncomfortable . . . but relatively harmless.

Two members of our staff were exposed to the same dosage as the demonstrators but they continued to cover the story. They did not want or require hospitalization.

How else do you break up a mob that is defying local and state laws, and jeopardizing public safety?

The most unfortunate aspect of the highly publicized Selma situation is that the majority of demonstrators are not from Selma. Most are misled, misinformed do-gooders, being urged on by civil rights agitators.

Very few people realize the real role of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King in this town.

What kind of moral leader is he who refuses to speak until three collections are taken? What kind of man urges Negroes to draw their life savings out of banks, mortgage their homes, and contribute everything to him and "the cause"?

How much money does it take to march around the courthouse? Surely, not this much hard earned cash.

If the truth be known, few Negroes in Selma are qualified to vote. And I think every American would deplore the idea of illiterate, unconcerned citizens of any race casting their vote, merely to earn a dollar or two.

The "responsible" citizens were easily led into urging their own children not to attend school . . . permitting children as young as nine and ten to march around the courthouse . . . when they couldn't have any real conception of "the cause" and . . . have no complaints, as they are too young to vote.

Those Negroes qualified to vote have been allowed to vote. We have a Negro preacher who does an hour long program from our station each day. He has been a registered voter in Dallas County for 20 years. He was not dissatisfied with "the situation" in Selma. But when he declined to march, in fact refused to demonstrate, which is also his constitutional right, he was threatened by strong-headed Negro leaders.

One evening he received upwards of 30 threatening phone calls while on the air and had to be escorted home by police for his own protection. Bricks were thrown through his church windows. Weren't his rights violated? Is this a part of "peaceful demonstration"?

The attack made on white clergymen in Selma was indeed a sad incident, but no worse than daily muggings made in larger cities . . . with much less provocation.

In fact, this one incident mars a record of extreme restraint in a town of people under constant turmoil for the past eight weeks, a town being constantly crucified, by misquotes in the news, partial quotes and extreme distortion in almost every way possible.

Our station is in possession of hours and hours of on the spot tapes. When you hear the national coverage it's difficult to recognize the source, much less the content.

All I ask you, as concerned Americans, is not to prejudge. Please consider all the circumstances before condemning a town that is now only trying to preserve the safety of all its citizens.

Selma is no longer worried about its honor or integrity the press has managed to strip it of almost all it had. Just help Selma preserve its people.

MRS. V. T. GLASIER.
Selma, Ala.

Treat Violence In Fairness

WEATHER
Clear, bright, 50-55.
(High 55, Low 45)

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 15, 1965
EIGHT PAGES, NO. 311
THE HOME NEWSPAPER
* * * 3 SECTIONS

The Detroit News

FINAL EDITION

3 Pastors Beaten on Selma Street

Harmony
Out of Key
for GOP
New Committee
Challenged by
2 Governors

Gets Her Lumps

Clubbed
Victim Is
Critical
Attack on Whiter
Follows Peaceful
March by 2,500

Newest Trouble
at U. of California—
2 Top Officials Quit

King Tells
Reason He
Defied Court

9 Stabbed
After Close
Game

Frisco Bank Shaky
a Year Before
Collapse



Alabama people are like any human beings. They resent fingers pointed at them by people who have the same or possibly worse problems in their own neighborhoods, or on their own streets.

An example of this is to be found in a copy of *The Detroit News* last Wednesday. The beating of three white ministers in Selma was massively headlined. On the same page, by *Detroit News* account, a group of

Negroes had stabbed nine white persons after a high school basketball game. That story was headlined with a simple one-column head.

Alabama does not relieve itself at all of its problems by pointing fingers northward. But this will explain, again, why so many whites in Alabama become very irritated, and even angry, at what they consider overplay of Southern troubles compared with "back home" display of their own problems in the North.

EDITORIAL COMMENT
BY THE BIRMINGHAM (ALA) NEWS

How Far Should Clergy Go In Their Efforts To Overcome Wrongs?

WHEN IS ENOUGH, ENOUGH?

This is a question that millions of people across this land of ours must be pondering today as civil rights leaders state they will go on demonstrating; go on violating state and local laws they think are unjust, and go on encouraging outside invasions of selected areas until such time as all their demands have been met.

There is another question equally important that a great many of our people are also pondering and that is just how far religious leaders and representatives should go in personally participating in demonstrations conducted in defiance of civil law or which, by their very nature, are prone to incite the type of violence these religious people greatly deplore?

It is granted, of course, that religious leaders have a definite responsibility, if not a duty, to stand up and defend the principles of brotherhood and to speak out against discrimination, as these are strong moral issues which no conscientious church leader can or should ignore.

But church leaders have another responsibility which, to our way of thinking, is equally important. This is respect for civil authority as reflected in the statement by the Good Lord, Himeslf, when He instructed: "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and to God the things that are God's."

Churchmen have no more right than anybody else to defy civil laws which in their own estimation are morally wrong. Certainly, they have a right to speak out against such laws in their pulpits and to exercise the highest degree of oral persuasion on their parishioners to help correct certain evils which do not reflect a true spirit of brotherhood in our country.

BUT DOES THIS JUSTIFY clergymen or members of religious orders leaving their pulpits or their own areas to point an accusing finger at other cities and other states and, particularly, when they know full well their actions may increase the possibility of people being killed or injured?

Some clergymen feel they are justified in doing this, while others declare there is no justification for such acts. But one thing is certain, and that happens to be that a very considerable number of lay church members do not like to see their religious leaders involving themselves and their churches in these civil rights demonstrations to the extent they have in recent days.

There is no state or city in this entire nation that can term itself the perfect example for others to follow. Nor is there any state or city which couldn't be torn apart in the same fashion as Selma, Ala.,

has been these past few weeks if it were subjected to the same treatment Selma has been given by hordes of outsiders who ignore evil in their own backyards while crusading against it somewhere else.

Combating evil, like practicing charity, should begin at home, and when churchmen and church leaders have crime, corruption, discrimination and other wrongs all cleaned up and righted in their own backyards then it is time enough for them to move into the backyards of their neighbors.

We do not recall that the church leaders of Alabama have issued any clarion call to outside religious leaders to come help them straighten things out in that state. In fact, there was a full page advertisement in the Montgomery Advertiser-Journal on March 22, in which a number of Montgomery's clergymen pleaded with those having no official business in that city to stay away from the scenes of demonstration so that the citizens and the law enforcement agencies of that city could better handle any problems which might crop up.

STICKING OUR NOSES in other peoples' business is rapidly becoming a national disease in this country, and if this business of organizing nationwide marches against every city where somebody or some group feels they are being mistreated continues much longer, we are going to approach a state of anarchy and it isn't going to be limited to a few cities in the Deep South.

The situation strongly reminds us of a featured number in one of the Moral Rearmament plays that was staged at the Ft. Lauderdale War Memorial a few years ago. This number was entitled, "When You Point Your Finger at Your Neighbor, Somebody Else Is Pointing One at You."

There is a lot of truth in that song title. All of us can find plenty to do in the field of correcting injustice and bad situations in our home areas before finding it necessary to march off somewhere else to add our contributions to the fires of racial discord sweeping our nation.

Nothing could suit the Communists over the world more than to see Americans fighting with each other in the streets. We, therefore, think it is about time our national leaders made it crystal clear that racial issues must be decided in the courts rather than in the streets, and that this nasty business of tearing communities apart with violence-breeding demonstrations, instigated mainly by outsiders, must be brought to an end.

SPECIAL

HUMAN EVENTS, WASHINGTON, D. C. APRIL 3, 1965

• Claude Lightfoot, top U. S. Communist, dispatched the following telegram to LBJ: "Mr. President, on behalf of all American Communists, we join Americans of all political persuasions, religious beliefs and ethnic groups in applauding your address to Congress and the American people. If its spirit and content remain uncompromised, it will rank in history as one of our nation's greatest speeches. We Communists pledge to do all in our power to help implement your efforts to pass a right-to-vote law at the grass roots level of America."



LIGHTFOOT

Pray Abate This Tommyrot

*The State Troopers Were In Marion To Keep The Peace,
Whereas The TV Critters Were There To Manufacture*

**News As Well As Report It*

*Editor Hamner Cobbs
In the Greensboro Watchman*

WE ARE WEARIED by the manner in which our fellow editors—whether they be on newspapers, in television or on radio—complain so bitterly when hurt in the line of duty. This has been true all over the South, but we speak specifically on the trouble in Marion a few nights ago, and how, even before the facts could be learned, these news media began sending into Gov. Wallace bitter telegrams calling for protection of their hired help.

It is time for someone to speak out against this silliness, and we intend to do it, as best we can. We'll start by saying that these news-gathering people have got to face up to the fact that, while crying to high heavens about certain rights, they also have a responsibility to the public which they have sorely and tragically neglected. That responsibility is sober, fair and objective reporting.

We have been in active newspaper work for more than 40 years, and never in all that time have we seen public faith in the accuracy and veracity of our newspapers at such a low point. Even worse than the lack of faith in the newspapers is the lack of faith and confidence in our later news media—television and the radio.

AND WHY SHOULDN'T this faith and confidence be at a low ebb?

We have been both to Selma and to Marion several times within the past 10 days, and we have talked with dozens of responsible men and women in both communities, and almost without exception they are distressed by the unfair picture which has been painted for both of these communities, and in a few cases they have been incensed by what they regard as a deliberate attempt by the television people not to report news but to manufacture it.

It is obvious that a few newspaper people got pushed around and even hurt in Marion during the outbreak last week, but if these news people are going to accept such jobs, and if they insist upon being at the focal point of any trouble, they have got to accept the dangers which go with these jobs.

During the recent wars, dozens of newspaper reporters were actually killed while on duty, but we do not recall that their companies fired off telegrams to the government demanding special guards for them.

Over at Marion, a mere handful of law enforcement officers faced a mob of hundreds of Negroes, marching under the protective cover of right, on a small county jail. These officers demanded that the Negroes disperse, knowing full well the danger which such a mob offered to the entire community. Instead, the mob leaders insisted that the Negroes defy the law, and the outbreak followed. Since when have mobs, hysterically marching on a jail, whether to lynch or to free the prisoners therein, been an accepted part of the pattern for law and order in this country.

THE WORDS ARE distasteful, but to call this current "revolution" in the South anything other than a civil war, even though it be a mild one at this point, is to be euphemistic. With tempers on edge as they are, every mob which gathers, every demonstration which is allowed to take any limits which it likes bears in itself the grave possibility of a bloody and tragic battle.

It was almost that way at Marion. The state troopers were called into Marion to keep the peace, and they did it. They were a mere handful, but they did their job. If, during the conflict which did take place, a few newspaper and television people got hurt, it was unfortunate, but it should not be used as an indictment of either community or state. In a time like this, what do these news gatherers want? Do they expect a special press box set up on the courthouse square for their convenience?

We have at least one incident in which a reporter got hurt and charged that state troopers watched the attack without coming to his help. *The lie was given by the disclosure that the white civilian who attacked him was actually arrested and jailed by a local policeman.*

As for the television people, they deserve a special chapter. They not only want their story; they want their own little picture—and what they have done in the South in recent years in getting this picture, at the expense of a whole people, is worthy of a special study. Too often, in too many parts of the South has there been evidence of staged demonstrations, just as the cameras begin turning.

The whole Negro "revolution" depends on visual publicity, on pictures which can be shipped North for propaganda purposes, and we hereby charge that, certain-

ly in some cases, these television companies are not merely reporting and depicting the news, as they should be by any responsible standards, but that they are actually manufacturing it.

We have at least one bit of evidence to that effect right in Marion. A highly responsible resident of that community attests to the fact that he saw a camera-laden car being unloaded in front of the church where the troubles centered, and then a demonstration began just as the network photographer got into action. How is that, in many cases, the television people have been alerted as to the time and place of a demonstration while law enforcement officers were kept in the dark?

Is it that only with the help of this propaganda device—aiding and abetting, and not merely reporting—that the Negro "revolution" can succeed? Do these television people, who whine to Gov. Wallace in their telegrams, deserve some sort of special protection from the law? Or should they really be placed in jail themselves for deliberately inciting incidents which might lead to bloody rioting?

LET'S STOP ALL this tommyrot about "freedom of the press," and ask a few questions about the responsibility of the press. Freedom of the press means merely the guaranteed right to express ourselves. It does not mean a governmental license for a few self-appointed people, often incompetent, to distort and to misrepresent; to subvert the truth or to indulge in unwarranted exaggerations for the purpose of increasing advertising revenue. Certainly the public has the right to know, but before our news media can convey the facts to the public, they have got to learn for themselves.

When the press association, the radio people and the television people shot off those bitter telegrams to Gov. Wallace, complaining about Marion, they didn't have the foggiest idea of what had really gone on in Marion.

They were misinformed, illinformed, or uninformed, we don't know which, but we do know that if this is the best which our news media can offer us, we need some drastic changes—and most of all we need some mature people who will quit squalling about their rights, and begin to study more soberly their responsibilities.

Not all rights in Selma are on the side of the Negroes

SOME YEARS AGO, Richmond Lattimore summed up in a trenchant line the difference between melodrama and great tragedy; the one pits right against wrong, he said; the other pits right against right.

In an emotional hour, it is all too easy to treat the news from Alabama as bloody melodrama, in which the Negroes are completely in the right and the whites completely in the wrong. Dr. King the handsome hero and George Wallace the surly villain.

Such a simplistic view has been accepted from Toronto to Berkeley. From one end of the country to the other, newspapers, preachers, students, and politicians are booing and hissing. It is a visceral response, and for some of the elements of this story — especially the brutal clubbing of the Boston minister — this furious reaction doubtless is justified in terms of elementary right and wrong.

Elements Of Tragedy

YET A QUIET suggestion may be in order that the news from Selma transcends the melodrama of a violent week or month; it contains elements of great tragedy, too. It needs to be said — and perhaps it needs especially to be said at a

moment when the rafters are ringing and the floor is shaking and the crowd is going wild — that this conflict also pits right against right; and we ought not to be responding with clenched fists and hoarse cries, but with reason and compassion and a deeply troubled heart.

Of course the Negroes have rights on their side. In the immediate context, those Negroes who live in Dallas County, and are qualified by age and residence, most certainly have a right to vote. The demonstrators and marchers, resident and non-resident, have rights of free speech and peaceable assembly. They have a right not to be bullied or beaten. These rights are solid, massive, unarguable; and at whatever cost in federal intervention, by troops or otherwise, these rights will have to be made secure.

A CONSERVATIVE VIEW

... by James J. Kilpatrick

Conflicting Rights

YET, STILL in the immediate context, there are conflicting rights that merit consideration too, and these have been obscured. The sincerity of this whole affair, viewed as an effort to register Dallas County Negroes, stands gravely in doubt.

In January, when it was possible for Negroes to come and register, as ordinary citizens following ordinary procedures, they did not come. Then, on signal, they came in unmanageable droves — hundreds at a time, to create conditions of deliberately contrived disorder. The prospective "registrants," included children, non-residents, out-of-state sympathisers.

At one point, the Negro leadership asked for a number system, by which each applicant would be given a number as if he were waiting for service at a bakery; but when this system was agreed to, the Negro leadership repudiated it out of hand.

The right of free speech, as the Supreme Court many times has made clear, is not an absolute right. Neither is the right of assembly. When circumstances suggest that "free speech" carries a clear and present danger of provoking riot or panic, public interest overrides a personal right.

It is irrelevant, in this regard, that white Southerners ought

not to be provoked to violence by the taunts of Negro leaders. It is a fact that men may be inflamed, as it is a fact that wood burns; one cannot, in the name of free speech, cry "fire" in a crowded theater.

Right To Walk, But ...

AS AN ABSTRACT proposition, to pursue the immediate context, any man has a right to walk from Selma to Montgomery. But this is not a right that can be multiplied by a thousand straggling marchers, by night and day, effectively usurping the use of a public highway and denying its safe and peaceful use to others.

Finally, to make one more immediate point, law-abiding men have a right to expect that the orders of a federal district court will be obeyed, and that

no man may arrogantly put himself above them. Procedures exist, as recalcitrant Southern governors have learned, by which such orders may be promptly appealed and set aside.

But Dr. King "can't wait." Where in the name of ordered liberty does he find a right to put himself above the law?

It is not the immediate context that matters. This is a tragedy of generations, or of eons, and not of turbulent hours. The rights of the Negro people (not merely their legal rights but their rights as human beings) cry out for vindication; and God knows the white South carries a terrible burden of guilt for its sins.

Yet today's white Southerner also has rights both legal and human — rights to public order, to legal process, to domestic

tranquility; and he has certain elementary rights of political self-preservation that he cannot be blamed for invoking against the obliteration of property values he largely has created.

Harder Than Need Be

THESE ARE TERRIBLY hard times for the Negro, but they are harder than they need to be. Last week's uproar registered no voters, proved nothing, gained no lasting peace; the various "marches" served only to put new pressure on the Congress for the enactment of more laws of doubtful wisdom.

In this effort, Dr. King understandably feels that all the rights are on his side; but there are those of us, fully supporting his people's right to vote, who say: Not all the rights; not all of them. — (c)

Distributed by the Selma & Dallas County Chamber of Commerce, Selma, Ala.

Selma Officials Decide—Negroes Don't Know What They Want

SELMA (AP)—The strange tactic used by the 57 Selma Negroes arrested Monday was as frustrating, if not as troublesome, as their recent massive street demonstrations which landed hundreds in jail, authorities said.

"This shows," said Sheriff James Clark, "whether or not they really want to register. That's not what they want. Who knows what they want?"

Selma's Police Commissioner Wilson Baker had a similar comment.

"I just don't know what the answer is," he said. "They get what they say they want, then they tell you they want something different."

"When you get people who defy all law, local, state and federal, I see no answer."

The law officers were referring to the formal moves the Negro civil rights group has taken recently in their vote registration drive.

Last Friday they had petitions directed to the county registrars and the mayor of Selma, asking for an appearance sheet which would indicate their desire to register.

Monday the same group issued a statement saying, "If Negroes are required to sign a list, this is mere racial discrimination..."

Newsman asked the Rev. James Bevel of Atlanta, one of

the Negro leaders, about the appearance sheet arrangement.

"We changed our minds," Bevel said.

If the Negro's tactic was strange, the strategy of Sheriff Clark was equally out of his routine of the past week.

When about 175 Negro youngsters showed up to protest the jailing of the adults, Clark allowed them to stand along the sidewalk. After they had been there nearly an hour, they apparently decided to leave. They walked off without being arrested.

Just before the 57 were arrested Sheriff Clark read a court order to them over a bullhorn which prohibited demonstrations

around the courthouse. When he finished he looked up from the paper and said to the group:

"This is Sheriff Clark. If you are a resident and over 21 you may enter to sign the appearance book. Otherwise you will disperse immediately or be held in contempt of court."

"How many of you want to go in and sign?"

A Negro woman, dressed in a blue print summer dress, shouted from the ranks:

"We want to register."

The word register was mispronounced, Clark looked at her. "How do you spell that," he said. The remark caused a burst of laughter among the sheriffs deputies standing at the courthouse entrance.

"We're not going to sign no book," the woman said.

"Well, then you're under arrest," said Sheriff Clark.

"Thank you. That's what we came for," said the woman.

"That's what I thought," the sheriff replied. "You don't want to vote at all."

The arrests came after the 57 Negroes lined up on the bright, sunny sidewalk at 2:30 p.m.

Sheriff's deputies guided them up the steps and into the marble-floored corridor of the modern, green Dallas County courthouse.

Clark asked each in turn, "Do you want to register?"

The Negroes would nod, some of them would answer "Yes,

sir," others plainly frightened, would say nothing and the sheriff would ask the question again. "Do you want to vote?"

Then he said, "All right, step down the hall right there on your right."

There the County Registrar, V. B. Atkins stood in the doorway of his office. He is a stocky, almost portly man with close-cropped white hair and bifocal glasses pushed down on his nose.

As the Negroes walked up, he said, "pointing to a hand-move on," pointing to a handwritten notice beside the door which said, "Feb. 15, 1965 will be the next registration day."

Occasionally Atkins would question the Negroes.

"Can you read that sign, old man," he asked one of them.

"No sir," the man replied.

"Can you read at all," asked Atkins.

"No sir," said the man.

"Well isn't that nice," said Atkins. "You can't read and yet you want to vote. Move along."

A complaint of Selma and Dallas County officials has been that the matter of voting regulations is out of their hands, involving state laws and now federal court orders.

The Negro leaders agree, however, but have chosen their direct approach to dramatize what they consider the unfairness of the law.

ASSOCIATED PRESS DISPATCH TO MONTGOMERY [ALA.] ADVERTISER, TUESDAY, FEB. 9, 1965

Distributed by SELMA AND DALLAS COUNTY CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

Minister Administer

(REPRINTED FROM THE TAYLORSVILLE (IND.)
DAILY COURIER)

In so far as the subject comes to mind and it does come to mind pretty predominantly these days with Selma being what it is, there appears to be some essence to studying those who would travel to administer their ministerings. Maybe it is better said in short to point out that some people hold extreme criticism of ministers who appear to find it necessary to travel onto the national public stage and into the international spotlight in order to do their work and live up to whatever charge it is that drives and compels them.

One thing is for sure, as the thing comes closer to home and we find that four car loads are leaving from the University of Illinois, one wonders how one would feel toward anyone who might leave from this community.

Let us suppose that one of our ministers should need to go. He wouldn't need to go to find fertile grounds in which to work because there absolutely isn't any more prostitution, gambling, immorality, crime, lack of law enforcement and respect for law, injustice, inequality and prejudice in Selma or just about any place else than there is right here at home. If he he wants to compare himself to a doctor who needs patients there is just about anything that he might want to play with right here. Indeed one feels at times that we with our more subtle way might offer a bigger challenge to a dedicated man than would the average community with somewhat less naive a way about our methods.

Funny thing about this is that this opinion doesn't come from someone in Selma pointing at someone from Christian County, Illinois as though an invasion were in progress. This comes

from Christian County knowing that the man here has his hands full already and he doesn't ever need to leave in order to find the challenges of life.

One can be thankful that the ministers of this geography are and have proven themselves to be and are proving so at this moment to be men of higher intelligence than to stoop side-showing held in the public place in order to magnify the popularity of their own personal name which is about all that Reeb and some of these birds are really accomplishing. They certainly aren't serving man and as we see it neither are they serving God, as best they could serve God.

And if you think this is strong feeling about the men who act this way you can double it for the women involved in so far as a very personal opinion is concerned. They are really nuts, if they believe they have to go to Selma to carry on their work unless their work is revolution.

What might make a very interesting story, and it would never in a billion years come over or through the television tube, (perhaps this tube isn't constructed in a straight enough line to allow all of the truth to filter through) would be to find out what happens to all of these dedicated preachers who fight in the streets like alley cats in Selma and elsewhere. One guess is that many of them will be discharged from their posts by a more level-headed electorate - body of church government than they themselves seem to be. Will we ever hear of the rebukes that they get personally from their church leaders. Will or has Bishop Bromley G. Oxnam ever made any communication to his charges regarding this matter? If he hasn't maybe he

Retired bishop rips 'outside' clergy

ALBUQUERQUE, N. M., March 25—(P)—The former bishop of the Episcopal diocese of New Mexico and Southwest Texas has questioned the judgment of an Albuquerque clergyman in going to Alabama to participate in civil rights activities.

The Rt. Rev. James Stoney, now retired and living in Albuquerque, made the comments in a letter to the Rev. James Wilkes, an Albuquerque Unitarian minister. The Rev. Mr. Wilkes participated recently in voter registration activities in Alabama.

"I do not doubt your sincerity," Bishop Stoney wrote, "but I do doubt your judgment."

Bishop Stoney said he lived in Alabama and is "a son of the Deep South and exceedingly proud of it." He was once pastor of an Alabama church.

He wrote, "You were in Selma only a few days; you saw what you went there to see, and came back evidently an expert on the subject of Southern race relations, fully convinced that all people in the South are out to give Negroes a raw deal."

THE BISHOP also criticized the use of children in civil rights demonstrations.

"Personally, I think the Rev. Martin Luther King ought to be soundly condemned for allowing this," he said.

"The blame for the conditions cannot be placed only on the South, but must be equally shared by other sections which cared so little for so long."

"Now you people from the outside are rushing in with all the answers to the Negroes' problems. Voting is only one of them, and we should all know that it takes much more than the right to vote to make first-class citizens, be they black or white," the bishop wrote.

"The great need now," he said, "is that the Negro will be morally, spiritually and responsibly trained to be worthy of the privilege of voting."

Civil Rights Prophet

(Reprinted from The Chicago Tribune)

Leaders of civil rights organizations are loud in their praise of President Johnson's speech on federal intervention within the states to assure voting rights for Negroes. "Eloquent" and "forthright" are the least of the terms of approval.

Yet it is not so long ago that Mr. Johnson had a totally different view of the propriety and constitutionality of any attempt by the federal government to intrude in state and local elections and to take from the states their rights under the Constitution to qualify voters.

Speaking to a rally in Austin, Texas, May 22, 1948, Johnson said, "This civil rights program, about which you have heard so

much, is a farce and a sham—an effort to set up a police state in the guise of liberty. I am opposed to that program. I fought it in Congress. It is the province of the state to run its own elections."

As we are told, consistency in the bane of small minds. A man who was a 100 per cent segregationist up to 1957, and a 66 per cent segregationist between 1957 and 1960, as judged by his roll call votes in the Senate, has accomplished a complete somersault. As the Washington report, Congressional Quarterly, put it during last year's Presidential campaign, "Johnson saw his Presidential chances in 1965 severely limited by his southern identification." So he sloughed off that old skin.

DISTRIBUTED BY

SELMA AND DALLAS COUNTY CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

CITY WRONGED

Selma Inscribe Note Of Reason In History Text

By DON F. WASSON
Advertiser Managing Editor

History is an image projected upon a screen through the telescope of time, which merges people, places and events so that the reader gets the entire picture at one time.

Fifty, 100 or 200 years from now, the events, places and people of today will be but a paragraph in the history books and for all the toil, sweat and tears expended by the generations of our time on earth, a paragraph is about all they will rate.



WASSON

In the super colossal, wide screen, vivid color drama now being acted out by today's cast of characters and called "Civil Rights" the name of one place called "Selma" might never appear in the finished product. It might well end on the cutting room floor, because the production will be long enough as it is.

But it would seem that if historians of the future were looking for a focal point upon which to base their post-mortem conclusion as to who was right and who was wrong, what exactly did happen and what did not, then Selma, Alabama, can offer a case study in the entire problem of the United States vs. the people.

A Determination To Obey Law

IN SELMA, you have a people who, nurtured on traditions as old as Selma itself, have resisted change with all their hearts and souls. They are a people who are conservative in their thoughts and actions and the forcible disruption of their traditions by an all-powerful government has been a bitter pill to swallow.

But with determination, after last year's turmoil and strife, people in Selma had come to the conclusion that they would obey the law as best they could.

Mayor Joe Smitherman and Chief of Police Wilson Baker are the men who must lead the people through this difficult transition. As Baker told a civic club meeting recently:

"This administration feels that it has a responsibility to lead Selma in dignity through the maze of legal transition resulting from the passage of the Civil Rights Act."

An Unreasonable Attitude

IT APPEARED THAT THE TRANSITION was going peaceably until early in January when Martin Luther King, spokesman for a large segment of the Negro population, decided, in all his infinite wisdom, that Selma needed to be prodded into more rapid action in racial matters. So King, the prophet from Oslo, came into Selma and agitated the multitude. Full of ideas on how to get Negroes to register to vote, he marched them upon the courthouse and here is where the unreasonable attitude of the racial agitators comes into sharp focus.

The Dallas County Board of Registrars had requested, and had received approval of the state, to register voters for 10 additional days in January. Normally the board meets twice a month, on the first and third Mondays to

accept voter applications. Records show that it can handle from 25 to 35 voter applicants at one day's session.

But Martin Luther King sends 150 or more down to the courthouse to register and they come back again, and again.

In Six Days, 35 Appeared

NOW ANY RESIDENT of Dallas County had ample reason to know that the voter registration time had been extended, but on the first six days the board was in session, only 35 prospective voters showed up. Of these, 20 were Negroes. These 20 Negroes received the applications without fuss, and, as far as can be determined, were registered.

So, with four days left, Martin Luther King herds his flock down to the courthouse. It seems that anyone with sense enough to pass the voter requirements would know that a three-man board couldn't register that many people in four days, even if they were all qualified.

Some of Martin Luther's flock, once inside the registrar's office, indicated that they didn't really want to be there. There also appeared several Negroes who could neither read nor write.

Registering, Or Agitating?

SO IT WOULD APPEAR that King and his cohorts in CORE, SNICK and other racial groups weren't really so interested in registering Negroes as voters as they were in agitating.

It seems from here that historians who write of our day and time are going to be lenient of the good people of Selma, and other Southern cities who tried to do right but that they will be pretty rough on King and his cohorts whose goals always appear to be self aggrandizement and agitation — keeping their reputations alive — as it were.

Selma's mention in the history books might well read: "In one city in Alabama, Selma in Dallas County, the white people tried to meet the demands of the times as dictated by the federal courts with reasonableness, but it was not allowed by the racial agitators."

The Invading Horde

AND IN PASSING, we might also condemn a large segment of the national press, those publications who feed on sensationalism and half-truths, for sending into Selma a horde of semi-literate newsmen who, without feeling for the hard working and God-fearing people, send back stories which distort the facts or, worse, disregard the facts completely.

You can read in countless publications how the great and noble King was punched in the face in Selma, Ala. without ever reading that the man who punched the Negro leader was not a Selman. Was not, in fact, a native Alabamian.

You can read how a law officer subdued a Negro woman who was standing in the voter line without ever knowing that she shouted obscenities at him beforehand. You can read how a law officer insisted that the Negroes use a certain door to enter the courthouse without ever seeing an explanation that a crowd of this size would completely block the main entrance and put a stop to normal business conducted in other courthouse offices.

Beatniks, Unlimited

MANY OF THESE SO CALLED NEWSMEN turn up at every scene of racial unrest. A good many of them seem to have been swept from the expresso houses and their knowledge of the history and traditions of the South is totally nonexistent. Yet they come down dressed in unpressed clothes and superior attitudes and sniff around for trouble. They see King get hit and this is all they need. The wires to New York and other centers of culture are kept hot with their unmitigated trash, their half truths and fabrications.

We have warred with the northern and liberal press before and we shall again. But the indictment of history shall weigh far more heavily upon the heads of these publishers than it shall upon the good people of Selma.

These good people are to be commended for their forbearance under circumstances no outsider can ever fully appreciate. And we say to them, "Hold fast to reason, for it surely shall prevail in the light of history."

Selma Chamber Official Rebuffs Attacks on City

An official of the Selma, Ala., Chamber of Commerce last night declared that Selma "shouldn't get a black eye for what a few persons do."

"There are good people and bad people everywhere," said M. L. Miles, executive vice president of the Selma and Dallas county chamber.

COMPLAINING of what he termed "slanted news" in the northern press, Miles declared: "We're being viciously attacked at the present time."

He said Selma citizens are "bitterly resentful that the finger of scorn is being pointed at them. There were 12,000 unsolved crimes in Chicago last year and a little city like Selma

has a much worse public image."

ACCORDING to Miles, the average Alabama citizen deplores bigotry and violence. He added:

"The people of Selma are to be commended. We had nine weeks of demonstrations and responsible people avoided areas where demonstrations were held and they kept off the streets whenever possible."

MILES ALSO challenged a Vandalia councilman's account of an alleged lynching in Selma some 20 years ago.

"There's been no lynching or hanging in Dallas county in the last 50 years," Miles said.

Miles, who telephoned The Daily News, said he was concerned over the image of Selma given in a report Mar. 15 in The Daily News by Vandalia Councilman William Shaner, who as a teenager lived in Selma from 1941 to 1945.

THE VANDALIAN told of recalling that his father came home one night and reported that about 15 white men had hanged a Negro man following a fight in a Selma beer parlor.

"It sounded preposterous on the face of it," Miles said. "But I know how peoples' memories can play tricks on them."

MILES SAID he went to "every person I could think of" in an attempt to check the veracity of Shaner's account including Lucien Burns, who was Selma's mayor in the late 1940's and Dr. William H. Denkins, who at the time served as president of Selma university, a Negro institution.

The chamber official said he found no evidence or statements to support Shaner's story.

Erroneous Story Corrected

The Daily News published a story last Sunday quoting Helen Brannon, 29, of 1148 Windsor Ave., Dayton, as stating that a man from Selma, Ala., had come to Dayton to collect money to buy ammunition with which to kill Negro leader Dr. Martin Luther King.

The actual statement made by Helen Brannon was that a Negro man who talked to her at the 10-cent store at 1152 W. Third St. said he had just arrived in Dayton from Selma, Ala., to collect a large sum of money as his brother had just died in Dayton; that his white employer in Alabama had told him to be sure to return with all the money so that ammunition could be purchased with which to kill Martin Luther King.

Helen Brannon is an admirer and follower of Dr. Martin Luther King and any inference from prior publications of this newspaper that Helen Brannon is sympathetic to a white racist that threatened the life of Dr. King is not true.

OTHER SIDE OF THE PICTURE

Selma has been maligned and castigated before the entire world. We have preached in a number of the churches of that city and one would have to go a long way to find finer Christians than we have there.

We made it a point to contact some prominent citizens of Selma to hear the whole truth. They regretted the disorders and stated that these troubles would not have been if outsiders had not come in and muddied the waters of their problem.

Some things that others have not seemed willing to publish include instances like the following:

During the all-night sit-downs in the streets a Negro was seen embracing a white girl, who was an outsider. A man in ministerial garb approached the scene and pushed in between the two and took the Negro's place. We are told that pictures were taken of some scenes. It was also told that when they bedded down for the night, immoral acts were performed.

Local Negroes withdrew their savings from the banks and gave them to leaders of the demonstrations and it is reported that the total sum collected was around \$100,000.00 and as a result, some of these local Negroes are in financial need already. It has been said that the money element did not enter into these disturbances but this is a clear cut example of the unfairness of taking from people who could ill afford it.

It is reported that about 500 or 600 outside clergymen were in Selma and were staying and continuing the agitation.

Our reactions to these disturbances in Selma are ones of deep regret, not only for the good people of Selma but for the ministers who spend their energies in revolutionary tactics instead of being at home seeking to win lost people to Christ and serving their own communities. The violence, including racial strife, rape, murder, robbery, gangsterism and other violent acts which go on in many of the districts from which some of these ministers come do not seem to demand their energies at all.

From THE ALABAMA BAPTIST

BOTH THE STORY TO THE LEFT AND THE ONE ABOVE WERE CARRIED IN THE DAYTON (OHIO) DAILY NEWS. THE ORIGINAL STORIES WERE IN FRONT PAGE, BLARING TREATMENT: THE ABOVE ON THE INSIDE PAGES.

Most southerners stand for law and order. Since the Civil Rights bill has been passed there have been many areas of our life in the South which have been integrated without trouble, except where outsiders came in. Take Birmingham as an example: its restaurants, hotels, motels, buses, schools and many other areas are integrated and this without violence because it was left to the sense and justice of the white man in the South to obey the law. This is true throughout all Alabama and if ministers, who are supposed to have fair and godly judgments, would leave the situation alone, a gradual solution to the race problem in the South would be reached and the old warm relationship between the races could grow back.

We have learned from dependable sources that the conservative Negro leadership in Selma and as much as 95 per cent of Selma Negroes are not cooperating with the outside demonstrators. It is also known that many, many of the outsiders are zoot-suiters and of the beatnick type. The reports of the immorality going on in the churches and elsewhere is an abomination.

Hammermill: Positive stand on Selma mill

In unusual move, President J. H. DeVitt issues statement declaring company's planned mill near Selma will be a "constructive force in the racial problems of the region." Ability will be the only basis of hiring, he says. "Let there be no doubt that this is our stand."

Erie, Pa.—Hammermill Paper Co.'s president has issued a public statement stating that the company's planned pulp mill 10 miles east of Selma, Ala., "does not in any way indicate support or approval of those who are opposed to civil rights or who accept brutality and violence which has permeated the area."

John H. DeVitt stated that the

company does not condone the denial of voting rights or the suppression of racial equality in Dallas County, Ala., and that "Hammermill intends to be a constructive force in the racial problems of the region" when it starts operating its new pulp mill in that county in early 1967.

"We have publicly stated to Governor Wallace and to leading citizens of the Selma area," said Mr. DeVitt, "that Hammermill is dedicated to the principles of respect for the rights of others and the maintenance of law and order. We have publicly stated that Hammermill's policy is to make no distinctions among employees or job applicants other than those on the basis of ability and, specifically, to make no distinction on account of race, color, creed, national origin or

any other matters not relevant to ability. Let there be no doubt that this is our stand."

"We are now designing training programs which will be equally available to both white and colored employees," he continued. "When we become employers in Alabama, we will be an equal opportunity employer within the spirit as well as the letter of the law. We do not support or condone the injustices which have occurred in Selma. However, a refusal by Hammermill to locate near Selma would not remove the problems which exist, nor would our absence from Alabama advance civil liberties. To the contrary, it is our considered conviction that when Hammermill becomes an employer in Alabama it will make a major contribution toward im-

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proving the economic and civil health of the communities affected by our activities. We will provide new job opportunities and economic stimulus to the central Alabama area which will benefit both Negro and white alike and will contribute to the long-term solution of the complex race relation problems in the South," he said.

Mr. DeVitt explained that Hammermill for several years has been deeply concerned with the problem of securing a Southern pulp mill. Hammermill, he said, must have a source of long-fibered Southern pulp in order to maintain its competitive position in the industry. The huge

growth of the paper industry in the South in recent years has reduced the number of attractive sites to a very few. The site near Selma was chosen as a result of an intensive study extending over several years, and the final decision was based on the unique availability of wood, water, transportation and labor in Dallas and nearby counties.

Explaining the timing of the announcement, Mr. DeVitt said, "We first made public announcement of our consideration of the plant site in May of 1964. Complex studies of raw material, economics, finances and site potentials indicated early in 1965 that the site near Selma is uniquely

suited to Hammermill's requirements. Therefore, our responsibility to our stockholders and employees leaves us no other choice than to proceed with the construction of the new pulp mill.

"We are convinced that our presence in Alabama will provide an opportunity for leadership and constructive action in the complex national problem of race relations in the South," Mr. DeVitt concluded.

(A PULP & PAPER editorial, "Hammermill and Race-Troubled Selma Point Up Negro's Basic Problem," published in the March 1 issue, p. 52, attracted many favorable comments from inside and outside this industry.)

THINGS NOT GENERALLY KNOWN (ALABAMA BAPTIST,

APRIL 1, 1965)

The holocaust which has been going on in Selma for about eight or nine weeks has received world-wide attention, thanks to our excellent means of communication. It does behoove us all to give the full story of events, and some of the things we are going to mention here, which have been verified by others, have hardly been mentioned by religious or secular people who are interested in the affairs of our nation.

We know for a fact that responsible Negroes in Selma have not participated in this filthily conducted demonstration. Most of the local marchers were young people taken out of school, which is a mistake within itself.

It is declared that the demonstrations are to secure the voting rights of Negroes. Governor George Wallace has declared the truth when he spoke over television and other places saying that any qualified Negro in Alabama has the right and opportunity to vote.

This disturbance is not for voting rights alone, but there are strong evidences that Communism is either sitting in the driver's seat or next to the driver. One radio announcer went

to Selma and talked to two known Communists and took their pictures. They were not aware of who he was until it was over. A recent broadcast declared that Communists or Communist sympathizers were in Montgomery. Men like John Bucker, Carl Braden and James Baldwin, along with others of this persuasion.

Demonstrators of this type usually taunt the local white people or police to create a scene in order to draw attention to themselves. All precautions have been made against such violence in Montgomery.

At Selma, local clergymen were harassed and one who had a stomach condition was advised by his physician and parishioners to leave town. He was personally harassed. Foul and vulgar language was constantly heard by local people and pictures were taken of these outside demonstrators using the streets openly for toilets and there was no evidence of shame. A locked Negro church was broken into and the sheriff carried the pastor down to see what was going on. They found the church occupied by these demonstrators and filth and liquor bottles were all over the church auditorium.

Pictures were also taken of Negro men and white women demonstrators fraternizing to the limit right out in the streets. Open promiscuity was in full evidence. Human filth was so nauseating city workers had to wash the streets each morning with hoses.

Photos prove March orgies, says solon

BY JAMES FREE, News staff writer

WASHINGTON, April 3—Rep. William L. Dickinson R-Ala., said Saturday he expects to have both still and motion picture proof of his recent charges that "Drunkenness and sex orgies were the order of the day" in the big Selma-Montgomery civil rights march.

Some of the pictures, he said, were taken by an infrared process that permits night photography without artificial lighting.

I will also have at least 10 sworn affidavits from eye-witnesses," the Montgomery congressman said.

Dickson said he plans to take the House floor next week to offer his documentation. His offerings are considered to be too obscene for public showing, but will be made available to congressional colleagues and to the press in the privacy of his office, the congressman added.

The Alabamian stressed that only one group of the marchers—"The Godless riff-raff"—was involved in the orgies. But this group, like the sincere "do-gooders and the Alabama Negroes," were unknowing tools of the Communist apparatus, according to Dickinson.

Dickinson's explosive charges in a House speech last Tuesday have become a much-sought-after item.

"The 10,000 copies of my speech that I have printed at my own expense already have been sent out in response to a flood of requests," the congressman said. "I have ordered another 5,000 copies and could use still more, if I had the funds."

DICKINSON SAID he was getting 300 to 500 communications a day from all over the country about his speech. Most of the comment is favorable, he said.

Some of the white ministers who participated in the march have denied Dickinson's charges. But the congressman said it was natural that the riff-raff would shield from decent persons their misbehavior on the march.

The congressman said people of the nation "have a right to know what goes on among some of the elements that flock to these civil rights crusades."

Some of the adventurers and beatniks, he said, come in response to a recruiting program that promises "\$10 a day, room and board and all the sex they want from opposite members of either race."



REP. DICKINSON

BIRMINGHAM NEWS
APRIL 4, 1965

Pastors Neglecting Their Spiritual Task

(Reprinted From The San Angelo (Tex.) Standard Times)

Ministers can do far more toward creating a spiritual atmosphere for their congregations by staying at home and rendering the service for which they are hired than by participating in anything that foments racism. In fact, their participation in any civil rights marches might be construed as contributing to racial hatred and prejudice.

There are legal ways in which the promotion of civil rights can be achieved far more successfully than in the marches that are being made in Alabama. Here in a state where the governor has pledged "segregation forever" there is no atmosphere of reconciliation. But the Supreme Court in rulings this week has struck down some state laws that were designed to curb voting on the part of the Negroes.

Thus the forces that uphold civil rights for all citizens regardless of color are at work in more noble ways than marches that challenge those with prejudice to do their worst.

We are appalled at the suggestion from one of the leaders in the Council of Churches that ministers should participate in a public demonstration which is questionable in the first place and which in other instances has led to ill feeling and tragedy.

Saying this does not mean we have changed our belief that freedom in all its facets is not the privilege and right of American citizens of all races and color, and should be diligently fostered by every one who calls himself a Christian.

We feel the all-powerful federal government is the medium which has a good record in fighting for this freedom. It is better qualified to continue to direct this fight than any other agency. The ardent antisegregationists' pastors, who are attempting to speak for the Council of Churches, should be told to get along with their ancient and useful business—attending their flocks and praying for peace among all our citizens.

Dr. Robert Spike, who qualifies as executive director of the Council of Churches, took a controversial individual and personal stand appealing for clergymen to march at Selma. Better judgment would have been to declare the right to vote should not be denied any citizen, thus lending weight to a worthy cause instead of adding to tensions which are being fomented by Alabama demonstrators.

Old Scourge Infects

By JIM MCGREGOR

Syphilis — one of the oldest scourges of man—is on the rise in Alabama. In 1964, there were 1,715 reported cases of the disease in the state — an increase of almost 300 cases over 1963, according to the Preventable Disease Division of the State Board of Health.

Eighty-five per cent of these cases were infectious syphilis and 94.8 per cent of the cases were Negroes.

National statistics released in a joint report by three national health organizations show that reported infectious syphilis cases continued to rise, nationwide, for the seventh consecutive year. The 22,733 infectious syphilis cases reported in the fiscal year 1964 were the greatest number reported since 1950.

According to the same national report, Alabama ranked fifth in the nation in reported cases of primary and secondary cases of syphilis per 100,000 population for states. The state had 22.3 cases per 100,000 people and

the only states having more were New York, Georgia, South Carolina and Florida.

More recent statistics, released for January and February of 1965, show Alabama ranked fourth in the 50 states. Population was not figured in these reports.

Figures in the joint report also showed that the city of Montgomery ranked fourth nationally in primary and secondary syphilis case rates per 100,000 population. Montgomery with 81 cases per 100,000 people was surpassed only by Paterson

and Newark, N.J. and Washington, D.C.

According to Dr. O. L. Burton, Montgomery County health officer, the county as a whole had fewer new cases of syphilis reported in 1964 but primary and secondary cases were up over 1963.

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