GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION IN ALABAMA

In the May Primary Attorney Ryan Degraffenried won the run-off position. His opponent for the governorship of Alabama was Judge George C. Wallace. Judge Wallace won by sixty (60) thousand votes. Governor Elect Wallace is a segregationist. He promised to sit on the doorsteps of the schools to prevent integration. Degraffenried was practically unknown and is considered a moderate. With the elimination of former Governor Folsom, it was generally conceded that the Negro vote would be cast for Attorney Degraffenried. This might have been a factor that influenced the election.

The campaign promises of Governor elect Wallace spell out the work for freedom fighters for the next four years. THE RISING TIDE OF WALLACE MUST be turned back. The election of Wallace as emboldened the Alabama Klansmen they tried to take over in Georgia. Thanks for the shifting tide, the Georgia troopers turned them back with bruised heads. Wallace can only be turned back by a major break-through in the area of school integration.

INTEGRATION - THE CRUX OF THE STRUGGLE

Today in Montgomery as well as across the entire South desegregation is far out in front of integration. The opposition knows they have been beaten on the issue of desegregation. But they are far from giving up on the question of integration. Most desegregated areas are not entirely integrated. The desegregated areas in Montgomery are not entirely integrated. The Montgomery Improvement Association recognizes this as a number one challenge and has accepted it for the year 1962. It is going to take wise planning, determination and courage.

At many points our people are being quietly but surely pushed back. For example, a Negro woman gets on the bus and takes the front seat. She is told by the bus driver (White), "no niggers ride in the front of my bus". A white passenger joins in calling her names. Being alone she gets off the bus rather than take the back seat. A Negro boy goes to the front door to get off (since he is closer to the front door) and no passengers were getting on. He was told by the bus driver (White) "no niggers go out of the front door of my bus." The boy did not move. The driver reached for something but the boy refused to move. Finally the driver realizing that the boy intended to go out of the door opened it. These examples apply to only a few bus drivers. Nevertheless, they are examples of the old terroristic tactics that have been used to prohibit integration in desegregated areas. They are removing it from open mob violence to restricted but strategic areas. It is the movement where actual freedom can be defeated or at least delayed.

The other strategic move that must be watched is a process by which they intend to remain out of courts. This is to keep in the background a public face of defeatism and keep in tact segregation laws.

Those who remain in the deep south must have a clear sense of direction. Those who are supporters outside of the deep south must understand those who are on the real fighting front and continue their support although they may not always see the courses taken. The MIA is constantly gearing itself for the tasks that lie ahead. It is going to take a day by day toiling, recruiting true, tried, and determined integrationists. It is going to require an intensified educational program in non-violent resistance.

NEGRO BUS DRIVERS IN MONTGOMERY

The hiring of Negro bus drivers in Montgomery is a step forward in the area of job opportunities. This is the first project attempted by the...
Montgomery Improvement Association since Doctors Martin L. King, Jr., and Ralph D. Abernathy left as Presidents. Under their leadership, Montgomery, as well as many other communities of such size in the south, had been moved to a point where REASON AND ARGUMENT might, once more, be tried. Without their leadership the leaders of the MIA had to decide in which area of the struggle they could move with possible success. They decided to move in the area of job opportunities. This took them back to one aspect of the issue of 1955... Negro bus drivers.

A committee on bus drivers was appointed with the Reverend W. J. Powell, Pastor of the Old Ship AME Zion Church as chairman. The other minister and members that actually worked on the committee are: Rev. H. Rubbett, Pastor of the Rockdale Baptist Church, Rev. Mathew Petway, Pastor of the Ebenezer A.M.E. Zion Church, Rev. E. H. Eaton, Pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, Mrs. Erma A. Dungee, Secretary-Treasurer, MIA, Mrs. Bertha McClain and Mrs. Alice Martin, Federated Club Women, Mrs. Johnnie R. Carr, Board Member and an Insurance Supervisor, and Mrs. Irene A. West, veteran civic worker and board member of the MIA.

The committee petitioned the bus company directly. The petition was basically Christian in content. The strong point was based upon the fact that ninety (90) percent of the bus riders are Negroes, and there were no Negro drivers. The Executive Director of the bus company, Mr. Franklin, Chicago, Illinois, took the lead in setting the project in motion. Today there are two Negro drivers. Thus far, there has been only one incident, a brick thrown at the bus.

Until such time when the organization is thoroughly prepared for a major push in other areas, the MIA will be moving in the area of job opportunities and voter-registration. Studies are being made of stores where Negroes spend large portions of their income, tax supported agencies, and special federal installations where Negroes do not work. A break-through in one of these will not be easy as getting bus drivers. But our people are regaining their fighting spirit. Success is assured if leadership remains determined and courageous.

**REVERSE FREEDOM RIDES... A HOAX**

Those who sponsor the "reverse freedom rides" are among the few who have not accepted the verdict of the Civil War. Lee's surrender to Grant at Appomattox Court House means nothing to them. They are still trying to get a rise at a "darn yankee". There are others of the sponsors whose souls are too numb to be shaken by the spirit of the age. They are those who can exploit the widows and orphans and misuse the ignorant without any compunction of conscience. While college students, outstanding teachers from the great universities, and religious leaders from every religious body come forth as "freedom riders" against an evil system of our nation the sponsors of "reverse freedom rides" try to answer this movement with people for whom freedom riders are giving their time, money and bodies to liberate.

Those who are dealing in human traffic are too late. The "unhappy Negro" that had in mind going north has already gone. When he went he paid first-class fare for second-class accommodations. Now he comes back on a visit paying a first-class fare and gets first-class accommodations. Thanks to the NAACP. The other "unhappy Negro" is still in the South to remain until the soul of America becomes completely awakened from ninety-nine years of slumbering and remove the scandal of injustice in race relations. This problem can only be met by determined and relentless efforts in the area of education.

The small farm towns must be reached. This is where reverse freedom riders are easily recruited. These are most difficult to reach. This is where the weight and burden of the plantation system hangover is heaviest.

To meet this challenge volunteer workers must be recruited to conduct citizenship schools. Those who can write must put out handbills and send out news releases. Preachers must be reminded to take three minutes to warn their people of the disgrace of allowing themselves to be used like beasts of burden. The MIA is committed to the task. But there is a great need for financial assistance; the office must remain open, the gas expenses of volunteer workers must be taken care of, material...
for schools and the newsletter must be secured. Preparation for the
day of reprisal must be constant. Your help is needed to carry on.
A contribution, however small it may be, or a membership will help us
to continue our humble efforts.

COURT CASES

The case on voter-registration was completed in April. The Honorable
Frank M. Johnson has and it since, promising to pass a decision, possi-
bly by June, but no decision has been made thus far.

Since our last edition, one of MIA's officials, and one of its charter
members, Mrs. Erna A. Dunges, Financial Secretary-Treasurer, has been
joined in a libel suit along with the Columbia Broadcasting System
by the Montgomery County Board of Registrars for her participation,
as an instructor, of one of our citizenship school classes which appear-
ed over CBS on Douglas Edwards & the News, November 2, 1961. These
classes are designed to assist persons who are interested in becoming
qualified voters and those who are interested in furthering their
education. The suits asked damaged of $100,000. each. They are pend-
ing.

Solomon S. Seay, Jr., Montgomery Negro Attorney filed suit in the
Federal Court against the Governor of Alabama, John Patterson, charg-
ing that the Governor denied his application for reappointment as
Notary Public solely by reason of his race or color, and because as a
Negro practicing Attorney, he has represented, in judicial proceedings
Negro citizens who have sought, by such proceedings, to erase the un-
constitutional practice, custom, and usage of enforced segregation of
the races in areas of public accommodation.

The complaint seeks an order enjoining the Governor from denying Seay's
application for reappointment solely by reason of his race or color. 
(several other attorneys have been waiting as long as one year and
have not been notified or reappointed).

Governor Patterson testified in a deposition hearing in this case, that
Seay's application was not denied because of his race or color, but
because of the following allegations in a complaint filed by Seay in
the Federal Court involving the Times suit, et l.

(1) That the Governor, together with other named public officials,
conspired to take property and other Civil Rights from S. S.
Seay, Sr., J. E. Lowery, Fred Shuttlesworth, and Ralph D. Aber-
nathy in violation of the Constitution and laws of the United
States, and

(2) That the four ministers named could not get a fair trial in the
State Court in Montgomery County.

The complaint which the Governor used as a basis for his denial of
Seay's application for reappointment as Notary Public; sought an order
from the Federal Court enjoining the Governor and the other Public
Officials from further prosecuting $500,000., libel suits against S.S.
Seay, Sr., J. E. Lowery, R. D. Abernathy and F. Shuttlesworth, in the
State Courts in Montgomery, Alabama.

Attorney Seay is the son of S. S. Seay, Sr., President of the MIA and
is an active participant in most Civil Rights litigation arising in
this district. He has served the Montgomery Improvement Association,
in whatever capacity needed, along with our other lawyers, through the
years of its existence. We intend to support this young attorney in
every way possible. As you may know, to be without a Notary Public
license prevents and delays much of his work.

THE STRUGGLE MUST CONTINUE....

Viewing the South's situation as a whole, we who plan to live here must
not falter in our "QUEST FOR FREEDOM". Realizing, though, that there
are many organizations who are pressing for freedom as we are in their
respective areas, we ask you to remember us when you make your contribu-
tion to the cause of freedom & justice for ALL AMERICAN CITIZENS, re-
gardless of race, color or creed.

Make your check or money order payable to the Montgomery Improvement
Association, 712 Dory Street, Montgomery 8, Alabama.