

Sundays in Tuskegee: Trouble at the Church

Sardis Farmer Waits for the Vote

BY MARTHA HONEY

TUSKEGEE--This city is often mentioned in Alabama as a model of racial harmony. But the past few Sunday mornings, things have not been so harmonious. Negroes and whites, led by members of the Tuskegee Institute Advancement League (TIAL), tried to attend three all-white churches in town on June 26 and July 11. The Baptist, Methodist and Presbyterian churches shut and barred their doors to the integrated group.

In June, one TIAL group went to the Methodist church, where an usher told them they would "break up the congregation" if they entered.

George Ware, 25, head of TIAL, told the usher:

"If as Christians you deny other Christians the right to enter the house of God, then your congregation is already broken up."

The usher refused to discuss the issue further.

SOUTHERN COURIER photographers twice were attacked while covering the integration attempts.

On July 4--when the planned demonstration was called off--Miss Altonia Baker, 20, was slapped a number of times by a woman from the Baptist congregation who didn't want her picture taken.

Miss Baker retreated as the woman was ushered away by other church-goers.

The following Sunday Robert Stein had his motion picture camera dashed to the ground by three white men who attacked him outside the Methodist church.

According to witnesses, a sheriff's car passed during the scuffle, but the officer in the car ignored calls for help.

One of those locked out of the Presbyterian church in June was Mrs. Betty Henderson. Her husband, James, is head of the Tuskegee Institute biology department and a member of the Presbyterian Synod of Alabama.

Not knowing about the demonstration, she had come to the church to present a Synod statement calling for integration of all Presbyterian churches in Alabama. Mrs. Henderson read the statement to an usher. It said in part that "...no one shall be excluded from participation in public worship in the Lord's House on the ground of race, color or class."

But the ushers refused to unlock the doors. They said it was "a decision of the church not to let them in. It is written in the rules of the church."

After the Presbyterian service, however, the Rev. Steve Bacon, of Decatur, Ga., guest pastor, spoke to the demonstrators. He said he had not been told that they were outside the church.

The Rev. Mr. Bacon said he was sorry the Negro and white youths had not been allowed in, but he believed the lock-out did represent "the will of some in the congregation."

He said, however, that he hoped "soon the whole body of Christ would be joined."

Then he led the group in a prayer. Two of the five members of the Tuskegee city council are Negroes, in a community where Negro voters actually outnumber whites.

Last November, a 54-member bi-racial commission was formed to work out Tuskegee's integration problems peacefully.

But some have felt the bi-racial commission and the council are moving too slowly on integration.

This spring, a group of Negroes picketed a local A&P store because no Negroes

Negroes Get To Hear Jim Clark

HUNTSVILLE--Dallas County Sheriff Jim Clark had to jump back last week in Huntsville.

Clark, along with other leaders from the White Citizens' Council, met in Huntsville to discuss the events leading up to the march from Selma to Montgomery.

But they had to take "White" out of the group's title before they could go on. Six Negroes, led by Dr. John Cashin, a local dentist and civil rights leader, calmly walked up to Big Spring Community Center in an effort to attend the meeting.

"This meeting is only for members and their guests," the Negroes were told by Leonard Wilson, president of the Alabama Citizens' Council, and Joseph T. Conwell, president of the Madison County Citizens' Council.

"This meeting is in a public building paid for by tax money," Cashin asserted. "Well, tax on out of here," Conwell retorted.

Wilson asked Cashin, who was standing in the doorway, to move. Cashin nodded to Huntsville Police Chief Floyd Dyer, who was standing nearby. "If the police chief tells me to move, I'll move," Cashin said.

Wilson asked Dyer to make the Negroes leave, but the chief refused.

"I don't have the authority to tell them to move," Dyer said. "There are no segregation laws in Huntsville, and I have to operate under the law."

So Cashin and company were seated--not at the back of the room, as the Citizens' Council ushers had hoped, but closer to the front in seats of their own choosing.

The rest of the meeting was an anti-climax. Clark and his race-baiting friends made several attempts to harass and embarrass the Negroes, but Cashin and the others stuck it out.

Most of Clark's speech dealt with familiar charges: Communists in the civil rights movement, obscenities committed by demonstrators, and disrespect for the law.

"Sometimes I wanted to make a statement that would have made him look ridiculous," Cashin said after the meeting. "But he did it himself, didn't he?"

groes were employed there.

In early June, a group of Negroes tried to integrate the all-white swimming pool. The pool is still shut down.

Sam Younge, 20, a TIAL officer and Tuskegee Institute student, said church integration efforts would continue.

A TIAL group will go back every Sunday, he said, "until and after Negroes are allowed to worship in these churches."



Local Merchant Views Tuskegee

TUSKEGEE--Bernie Cohn, a leading Tuskegee merchant, looked across his store where four whites and three Negroes were working.

"The way to get along in this world is not to see how much you can destroy but how much you can build," he said.

"I think Tuskegee could beat the South in racial integration if it made up its mind to--with Tuskegee Institute and the Veterans Administration we've got the people here who've got the brains to do it. You can not exactly set a time table for these things, but you've got to set a sequence of events and once one is accomplished, don't lag...."

"I have great hopes for Tuskegee. But it's not going to be easy. It won't be overnight, and it won't be without stepping on a lot of people's toes."

A year ago, Cohn said, he did not have this hope for Tuskegee.

He recalled that in 1957 "a handful of politicians" had changed the town's boundaries in an effort to keep Negroes from voting in local elections. At that time, Cohn said, "Tuskegee became the only 26-sided town in the world."

The Negro community reacted by boycotting Tuskegee stores, Cohn said. Although most merchants had not known all about the boundary scheme, he said, "we now had no choice but to rally behind the segregationist stand in order to keep our white customers."

Shortly after the boycott started, Cohn was appointed by his long-time friend, former Gov. John Patterson, to serve on the Tuskegee Institute Board of Trustees. "This was the beginning of the kindling of the fire within me to work to improve race relations," he said.

However, he said, race relations again blew up when the federal courts ordered Tuskegee public schools integrated in the fall of 1963.

"A handful of very irresponsible white people who probably had the old fear that maybe a Negro would outshine their child sent a petition to Gov. Wallace."

"That was all George needed," Cohn said. Within a week, the public school was closed for a year and a white private school--Macon Academy--was opened.

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Selma Wonders After Reese Arrest

SELMA--Civil rights leaders in Selma are trying to hold the Negro community together after last week's indictment of the president of the Dallas County Voters League.

The Rev. Frederick D. Reese, 36, president of the DCVL, a 20-year-old local Negro organization, was arrested by Selma police July 7.

He was immediately indicted by the Dallas County grand jury on charges of embezzling \$1,850 from the DCVL.

Wilson Baker, Selma's director of public safety, signed the warrant for the Rev. Reese's arrest. He says he has copies of checks donated to the DCVL and then deposited in a Montgomery bank account to cover some of the Rev. Reese's personal expenses.

According to the Associated Press, the Rev. Reese has said that "any money spent was authorized." He is out of jail on \$5,000 bond.

The DCVL is affiliated with the Rev. Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). SCLC leaders, including the Rev. King, jumped to the Rev. Reese's defense.

The Rev. Ralph David Abernathy, national vice-president of SCLC, spoke to a huge crowd at Brown's Chapel the night of the Rev. Reese's arrest.

"I'm not saying he did or did not steal the money," said the Rev. Abernathy. "At this time, we have no reason to doubt the integrity of Reverend Reese...."

"We will support him until they come up with something else. He doesn't need to steal money--we will give it to him."

At a second mass meeting the next night, local civil rights leaders repeated the Rev. Abernathy's call for unity.

The Rev. Harold Middlebrook, SCLC

BY DAVID M. GORDON

SELMA--During the five special days of voter registration in Dallas County last week, a 58-year-old farmer from Sardis went down to the courthouse to try to register.

The farmer can't read or write. He can only sign his name, and it was his first try at registering.

As he was waiting in the registration line, a friend of his, who can't read or write either, went on into the registration room to face the board of registrars.

The friend came back out after about a minute. He had been yelled at by the registrars because of his illiteracy.

The farmer turned right around when he heard about his friend's treatment and went home.

"I wouldn't go inside to face those registrars, because I didn't want any embarrassment," he said this week. "I know I can't write, and I didn't want any confusion. I don't want to be pushed around."

Capital Report

Senate and House Pass Vote Bills; Conference Next

WASHINGTON--Both the U.S. Senate and the House of Representatives have passed bills designed to give all citizens, white and Negro, the right to vote.

Final passage of the voting rights bill is expected within a month.

The House passed a voting bill last Friday, 333 to 85. The Senate passed a slightly different bill six weeks ago by a vote of 77 to 19.

Now Senators and Representatives must work out the differences in the two bills, and each house must vote again on the final bill.

The bill passed by the House of Representatives would do the following:

1. STOP LITERACY TESTS and other methods used to deny the vote in Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina and 34 North Carolina counties. (These are areas where less than half the eligible citizens registered or voted in the November, 1964, election.)

2. AUTHORIZE FEDERAL EXAMINERS in these areas. The examiners would register people who would have been registered before, if they had not been stopped because of their race.

3. MAKE OFFICIALS IN THESE AREAS COME TO WASHINGTON and convince a three-judge federal court that they have stopped discriminating. Otherwise, the federal examiners would keep on registering voters.

4. LET THE U.S. ATTORNEY GENERAL GO TO THE COURTS to end discrimination against Negro voters in other areas.

5. SEND PEOPLE WHO THREATEN VOTERS TO JAIL.

The House bill also has an anti-poll tax provision, but the Senate bill does not. If this provision stays in the final bill, no community could require citizens to pay a poll tax before voting.

Passage of the bill in the House came less than four months after the march from Selma to Montgomery.

After the march, President Johnson asked Congress to pass a law enforcing the Fifteenth Amendment, which gives all citizens the right to vote, regardless of race or color.

In the House, 221 Democrats voted for the bill, and 61 voted against it. One hundred twelve Republicans were for the bill, and 24 against it.

Some 22 Southern Democrats voted for the bill, including representatives from Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

All of Alabama's congressmen voted against the bill.

Now, one farmer is waiting for the federal voting rights bill to be passed. Able to sign his name, he will go right back to the courthouse and register without any trouble.

The farmer, a heavy-set muscular man, wants the right to vote because he wants to put officials like Dallas County Sheriff Jim Clark out of office.

"I do want to hit him so hard," he said. "I want a man in office who could do right." Because of his illiteracy, the farmer knows he can't do anything until the voting rights bill is passed. He wants other Negroes who can read and write to put pressure on the county until the bill gets through.

"Those what can go now, should pull it out for the rest of us."

"And if the bill never gets passed, at least my children will be able to register. I don't have time to fight for our rights now, because I'm trying to get my children the learning that will let them register."

Counties Observe Special 5-Day Registration Period

A long line of Negroes stood in front of the Marengo County Courthouse in Linden, waiting to register to vote.

It was a hot day. Most of the prospective voters were crowded together from 8 a.m. until 5 p.m. in a small room, in front of the closed door to the registration office.

Those who couldn't get inside the courthouse remained in an orderly line under the glaring sun. They didn't leave for the drinking fountain, lavatory or shade except during the registrars' hour lunch break.

Meanwhile, inside the registration room, six Negroes at a time were doing what a 30-year-old farmer called "the hardest work I ever did in my life." They

NAACP Attempts To See Wallace

BIRMINGHAM--Alabama NAACP officials have made a second attempt to discuss their state-wide voter registration drive with Gov. George Wallace.

Their first attempt to arrange a meeting with Wallace was a letter sent to the governor more than a month ago by Dr. John W. Nixon, president of the Alabama NAACP. That letter has not been answered.

Nixon sent a second letter two weeks ago, again emphasizing that a meeting with Wallace could create a peaceful atmosphere for civil rights work.

In the second letter, Nixon criticized Wallace for action that "bars Negroes from the right to vote."

"Instead of an answer (to the first letter), we have learned that the books of the Montgomery County Board of Registrars will be closed during July and August," Nixon said in the second letter to Wallace. "Surely this circumvention of Negro efforts to register could not have gone on under your nose without your having knowledge of it."

Nixon said that if Wallace does not reply to the second letter, a third and final one will be written. After that, Nixon said, the NAACP will use "other means" to confront Wallace.

The NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) is trying to get 100,000 Negro voters registered in Alabama this summer.

The registration drive is the NAACP's first civil rights project in Alabama since the organization was banned from the state eight years ago.

Last year, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled unanimously that Alabama had no legal basis for banning the NAACP.

The farmer has one daughter--28 years old--and two step-children. All of them have finished or are finishing school. The farmer wants them to make up for what he missed.

He was born in Perry County on his father's farm, and left school after the second grade to help on the farm. His parents needed help, he said, because there were a lot of mouths to feed. He was one of 27 children.

He moved with his wife to their 40-acre farm in Dallas County in 1949. He pays \$150 rent a year to his landlord, who, he said, "doesn't boss me around."

He's happy raising his cotton, corn, cucumbers and peas, but he won't be completely happy until that voting rights bill gets passed.

"It's going to keep on being tough for us," he said, "until we can put the men we want in office. I want to help the only way I can afford to...by getting that right to vote."



WAITING TO VOTE

Pickets Sprayed With Tear Gas In Marengo Jail

BY MARSHALL BLOOM

LINDEN--Negro prisoners were tear-gassed in their cells here after being arrested under the Alabama boycott law.

The Rev. Samuel D. Wells, Marengo County director for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and one of those arrested, said:

"...the sheriff came and sprayed tear-gas into the cell, so close that drops burned my skin."

Sheriff T. Wilmer Shields admitted using tear gas on his prisoners. "I only used one or two squirts--just enough for them to raise hell about it," the sheriff said.

The 18 Demopolis Negroes were arrested July 2 for allegedly violating state laws against boycotting or aiding boycotts. The Rev. Wells was released on bond the next day, but the others, mostly teenagers, remained in the county jail.

According to Demopolis Police Chief Albert E. Cooper, 16 of the Negroes were arrested while picketing on the property of Food Fair or A&P supermarkets.

The picketers carried signs saying: "Don't Buy Where You Can't Work," "One Man, One Vote,"

"We Have Been Bagged for Too Long."

Cooper said another youth was arrested at the Morningstar Baptist Church while painting a sign, and the Rev. Wells was arrested while watching the signs being made.

The Rev. Wells charged that jailors treated the prisoners in an "un-American" way.

"Three 11- and 13-year-old children, including one asthmatic, were put in a sweat box for about half an hour because they were singing," he said.

"When I questioned this, I was told it was none of my business. So we started singing."

Then, he said, the tear gas was used. Sheriff Shields explained that he had moved some children to "solitary" in the back of the jail after they shouted "nasty remarks" at passers-by.

He said he decided to use tear gas on the other prisoners because they were making a disturbance, violating the rules of the jail.

The Rev. Wells also said he was surprised by the boycott charges, because "the mayor gave us permission to picket on the morning we were arrested."

"I still think the mayor will try to come through or do something. I don't think he would deliberately trick us," said the Rev. Wells.

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Major State Civil Rights Projects Seek Vote Registration, Education

Last spring thousands marched into Montgomery to announce that Alabama Negroes intended to get the vote. Now civil rights groups are digging into the hard work of making the march leaders' fine words come true.

In several Black Belt counties local Alabamians have invited Northern volunteers to help set up SCOPE (Summer Community Organization and Political Education) projects.

SCOPE will work on registering voters, and then on finding qualified Negroes to run for local offices.

SNCC PROJECTS

The SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee) field staff has started projects in a number of Black Belt areas. SNCC workers talk more about "community organization" than about "voter registration."

SNCC wants to organize citizens to do something about their problems. That "something" might be registering voters or building playgrounds--whatever the community wants.

Two hundred forty NAACP (National

Association for the Advancement of Colored People) volunteers are going door-to-door in Montgomery, Birmingham, Dothan and other cities, asking people to register to vote.

Two programs are attacking the basic and difficult problem of education.

TUSKEGEE PROGRAM

In the Tuskegee Institute Summer Education Project (SEP), 700 students are involved in a 13-week tutoring program for 3,000 adults and school dropouts. SEP is financed by a \$500,000 grant from President Johnson's anti-poverty program.

SEP tutors give classes in almost three dozen Negro schools and churches in 10 eastern Alabama counties.

VISION

In Huntsville, Anniston, Gadsden, Eutaw, Greensboro, Tuscaloosa, Mobile, Selma and Birmingham, VISION volunteers are tutoring 11th and 12th grade students to do college work.

These are some of the state-wide projects in Alabama this summer. There are many other local and regional programs.



REESE'S CAR MOBBED AFTER HIS RELEASE FROM JAIL

project director in Selma, again said SCLC was supporting the Rev. Reese "at this time."

The Rev. Middlebrook and others also accused Selma police of trying to wreck the civil rights movement. They criticized Baker's investigation of local civil rights funds.

When Baker returned this week from his investigation in Northern cities, he hinted that there might be more indictments against the Rev. Reese.

"We will present the results of our investigation to the grand jury," he said. Many Selma people supported the Rev. Reese.

"I don't care what facts they get," said

THE SOUTHERN COURIER

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A Paper for the People

This is the first issue of the SOUTHERN COURIER, a weekly newspaper that is being distributed to thousands of people across the state of Alabama.

The SOUTHERN COURIER is an independent newspaper. Our only responsibility is to our readers, the people of Alabama. And our chief concern is the crucial problems that confront Alabamans. We hope to provide accurate information about these problems, and to supply a means of communication for the people who are trying to solve them.

The SOUTHERN COURIER is independent of its advertisers, of politicians, of dogma, and of any particular group or organization. We will point out merits and demerits wherever we find them, treating whites and Negroes alike.

There are certain basic principles in which this newspaper believes. We believe that all men are entitled to the equal protection of the laws and to equal justice in the courts. We believe that all men are entitled to equal educational opportunities. We believe that the interests of all people are best served by a democratic system of government--and this means that all men, regardless of race, color, or creed, are entitled to the right to vote.

With these principles in mind, the SOUTHERN COURIER cannot ignore the fact that most of Alabama's Negroes are denied these basic equalities. Therefore we will publish information to help erase the injustices of segregation and prejudice.

Another major problem that Alabamans face is the change from a rural to an industrial economy. Such a change is painful, especially for those citizens who are forced to leave the land but cannot find their rightful place in the offices and factories of the cities. This, too is a problem which the SOUTHERN COURIER will examine.

Education and politics are also under new pressures in Alabama. While the state is trying to expand and improve its school system, only 101 Alabama Negroes attend school with whites. In politics, the state is beginning to show signs of two-party activity. This change also deserves our attention.

While the SOUTHERN COURIER tries to fulfill its responsibilities to its readers, we hope that you, the reader, will feel a responsibility towards us. This is a new paper, experimental in many ways. And part of the experiment is to create a newspaper that responds to the needs of its readers.

If you have ideas and criticisms that will help us produce a better paper, by all means write us a letter or tell your suggestion to your local SOUTHERN COURIER reporter or representative. If you know of a story that should be reported, let us know about it. Our only purpose is to serve you, and only you can tell us if we're doing the job.

The Doctor Says

How to Tell the Doctor What's Wrong With You

BY WILLIAM W. STEWART, M.D., F.A.C.O.G.

"Doctor, I'm sick." The few words, while well-meaning and well-intended to describe many of our ills, are just that--a few words. Actually they do little to paint the picture the physician needs to figure out what is wrong with you.

Therefore, I think it would be a good idea to begin our discussions with just plain "talking to the doctor." We hope that in the future you will ask questions that we can answer in later columns. We shall select questions of interest to the most people and general questions of public interest.

For specific medical problems, by all means see your family physician, and remember that it helps just to "talk to the doctor."

We are going to list what physicians consider the "cardinal symptoms of disease." It is up to the doctor to evaluate each of these symptoms as they relate to you, put them all together, and give them a name (diagnosis). Then he must proceed to recommend treatment. But it is

How long have you had this pain? How did it first start? What were you doing at the time? Has it moved or does it move? Is it a sharp, dull, throbbing or aching pain?

Is the pain severe enough to awaken you from sleep?

Is it continuous (all the time) or occasional (off and on)?

What makes it worse (or better)?

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your responsibility to tell him all that you can about yourself.

The first and probably most familiar of all symptoms is PAIN. This includes pain of any sort, i.e., headache, sore throat, pain in the chest, stomach, back, joints, arms or legs. Your physician will want to know something about the pain:

Alabama Opinion: I

Negroes, Whites Make Progress In Birmingham

BY U.W. CLEMON

BIRMINGHAM--Two year ago, the city of Birmingham had not yet recovered from the mass demonstrations. A year ago, she found herself trying to adjust to the newly enacted Civil Rights Act of 1964. Today, Birmingham seems to be started on a course towards racial harmony and progress.

There is a feeling of optimism on the part of a great number of Birmingham citizens, both white and Negro. Although many Negroes are not quite satisfied with the status quo, they are reassured of better things ahead as they recount the gains that have been made over the last couple of years.

The local white leadership has abandoned its policy of segregation at all costs and has made several friendly gestures towards the Negro community.

In a city which was, just two years ago, described as being "the most thoroughly segregated big city in the nation," many signs of progress can be seen.

The public utility companies have now



hired Negroes in positions other than the lowest ones.

The predicted hard core of resistance to the public accommodations section of the Civil Rights Act has not materialized--many Negroes now regularly attend the downtown movies and concerts without incident.

The "colored" and "white" signs have been removed from the drinking and rest room facilities. The reports of police brutality are not nearly so rampant as they used to be.

Although Negro policemen have not yet been hired, the Negro community is not considerably alarmed. Many realize that the better qualified Negroes simply do not seek these jobs. There are, by and large, considerable grounds for optimism on the part of the people.

Along with the optimism, however, is a powerful determination to accelerate the move toward racial progress. The Negro community, which composes one-third of the population of the city, has less than a tenth of its potential voters registered.

Therefore, the local chapter of the NAACP and the Miles College voter registration projects have launched voter registration campaigns which will continue throughout the summer.

If the aims of this campaign are realized (and the voting rights bill is enacted) the Negro vote in Birmingham could very well become decisive in the politics of the city.

When a sufficient number of its people are registered, the Negro community will have overcome its greatest handicap, and the optimism which it now shows will be justified.

(U.W. Clemon graduated from Miles College in Birmingham this June. He will start Columbia Law School in the fall.)

Alabama Opinion: II

Framers of Constitution Took "Big Gamble"

BY CLIFFORD DURR

MONTGOMERY--Our government is one of calculated risks, a gamble if you please. It stakes its very existence on a trust in people, in their innate decency and intelligence, and in their ability to work out a good way of life for themselves and each other between the hammer and anvil of conflicting ideas and interests.

The only condition of this trust is that they be given complete freedom to know and to think; to test, inquire, and compare; to exchange information and ideas with each other; to assemble peacefully and to protest when the occasion arises. To the timid the gamble may seem too risky and the stakes too high. But we take it or we reject our form of government.

The U.S. Constitution and the Bill of Rights were not adopted in a time of peace and domestic tranquility. Independence had just been won through war, and there was full awareness that further war might be necessary to preserve it. French and Spanish, as well as British, troops were just beyond the still uncertain borders of the new nation, and its frontiers were constantly harassed by hostile Indian tribes.

Nor was there any lack of awareness of the dangers of internal subversion. Tories, who had recently demonstrated their loyalty to the now alien government of England, were at large. The "agents" of foreign governments moved freely about the country and "alien" ideas were rife.

The memory of the perfidy of Benedict Arnold was still fresh, and Shay's Rebellion was virtually a current event.

Yet, notwithstanding the dangers confronting the new nation, our founding fathers made no effort to draw any fine balance between the Constitutional safeguards of individual liberty and the demands of national security. On the contrary, they saw individual liberty as a source of national strength, wisely reasoning that men enjoying the maximum of free-



dom would be the best protection for their government and country, because they would have a stake worth protecting.

The dark pages of our history have been written by fearful men, temporarily in charge of our government, who have doubted the wisdom of those who founded it.

Such doubts arose before the Bill of Rights was ten years old. The revolutionary ideas of the French Revolution were frightening to many in positions of political or economic power. War against France was advocated as a means of destroying its "alien" ideas as well as its military power. Through fear, national security was sought in the odious "alien and sedition acts." As a result, the country was torn apart by suspicion and distrust, and American freedom almost died in its infancy.

Such doubts arose again in the period of uncertainty following World War I, and national security was sought in repressive legislation and the infamous Palmer raids.

In our own time, these doubts spawned "McCarthyism" which, unfortunately, did not pass away with the death of the senator from Wisconsin. It is now increasingly being used in opposition to the demands of our Negro citizens for the rights which the Constitution has for a century said are theirs.

It seems to me that the term "Civil Rights" as applied to the current struggle

Civil Rights Roundup

CORE Finds Durham Is Changed; Demonstrations Begin in Bogalusa

BY ELLEN LAKE

Four years ago the Congress of Racial Equality organized a boycott of the stores in downtown Durham (N.C.) to force them to hire Negro salesmen.

Last week, when the national CORE convention met in Durham, its delegates found themselves welcomed by the city with open arms.

"Welcome CORE. Stop in for a visit with us," read signs in more than 25 of the downtown stores.

In other ways, too, Durham had changed from five years ago, when it was a CORE battleground. S.H. Kress Variety Store was serving Negroes at its lunch counter when the delegates arrived. In 1960 two Negro demonstrators were beaten and 86 others were jailed, when they sat in at Kress' segregated lunch counters.

Durham also has Negro policemen and a Negro city councilman.

But the CORE delegates did not spend much time admiring Durham integration. In fact, they voted to turn away from the direct action tactics which they had used in Durham--sit-in demonstrations, picketing, and boycotts. Instead, CORE workers will devote more time to politics.

This will mean setting up community projects, like those of SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee), in both the North and the South, to make Negroes a force for political and community change. In addition, CORE will encourage more Freedom Democratic Parties like the one in Mississippi.

Why the switch? The old methods, explained James Farmer, CORE national director, "won us the right to eat hamburgers at lunch counters, and is winning us the right to vote, but has not basically affected the life of the average Negro."

Four days after the CORE delegates voted to make a "major assault" on segregation in Bogalusa, La., violence exploded in that racially tense town.



A Negro shot and badly wounded a white man who had attacked him following a civil rights march through downtown Bogalusa. The police arrested both the alleged assailant and a second man. Both were believed to be members of the Deacons for Defense and Justice, an armed Negro group organized to protect Negroes and civil rights workers.

The shooting occurred as 400 Negroes and a few whites headed back to the Negro section after marching on City Hall to protest against segregation.

They were all singing freedom songs, when one of the white on-lookers hit Hattie Mae Hill, a 17-year-old Negro girl, in the head with a bottle. She and a white nurse from the Medical Committee for Human Rights attempted to get into a Cadillac owned by a Negro taxicab company. The car was accompanying the marchers.

Just then, a white man came up to the two Negro men in the front seat of the car and began to punch them both in the face. Two shots rang out, and the white man fell to the ground.

That march, the first in more than two months, has clearly opened the demonstration season in Bogalusa. On Sunday 500 white segregationists and 600 Negroes paraded separately through the city. Both demonstrations were protected by nearly 400 policemen, armed with submachine guns, shotguns, and tear gas.

The Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. recently declared that the United States must negotiate an end to the war it is fighting in Vietnam.

"It is worthless to talk about integrating if there is no world to integrate in," the civil rights leader said. "We're not going to defeat communism with bombs and guns and gases...We can beat communism with democracy, if we can make democracy work," he declared.

The Rev. King said that he would consider holding rallies against the Vietnam war, just like the civil rights meetings he has led for ten years. Instead of the sit-ins and pray-ins that rights demonstrators have participated in over the years, the

Nobel Peace Prize winner may begin teach-ins. Teach-ins are meetings at which a number of teachers debate about the United States' position in Vietnam. Such meetings have been held on college campuses around the country in the past four months.

This is the first time that any of the civil rights groups has actively ventured into the area of foreign policy. SNCC supported a march in Washington against the Vietnam war last April, but has not spoken out since.

At their annual convention, CORE members first voted to call for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam, but then changed their minds. They felt that CORE should concentrate its energy on civil rights, although many of the delegates personally opposed the war.

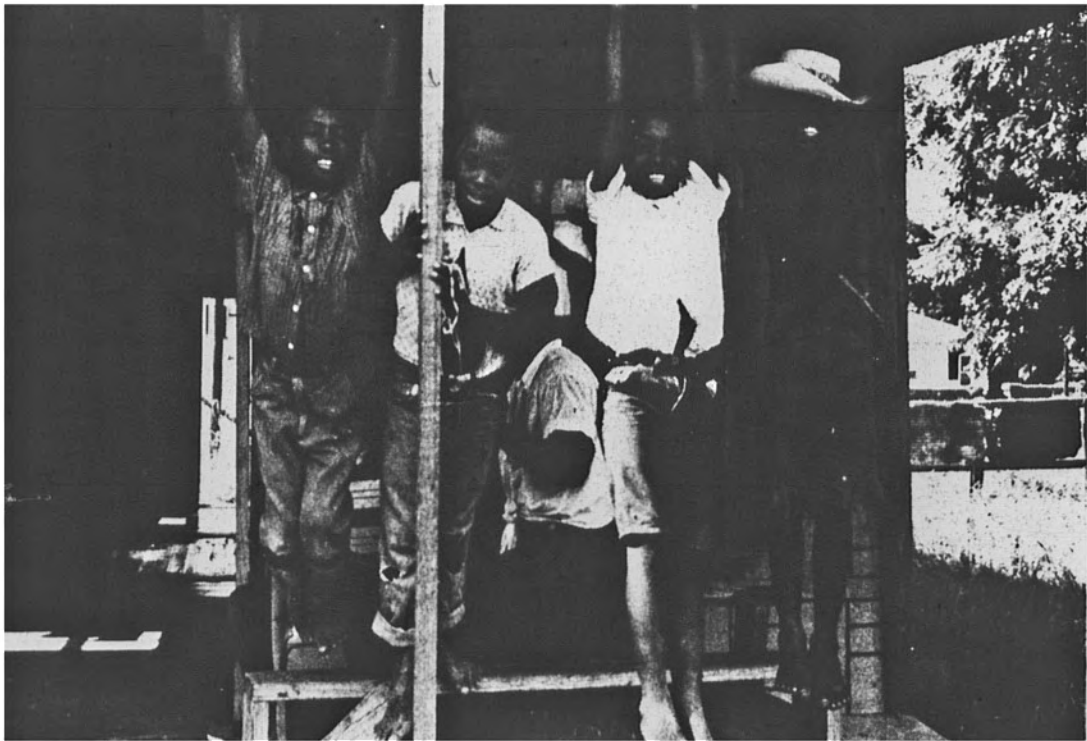
It will be interesting to watch the effect of the Rev. King's speech. Many people, like those in CORE, feel that civil rights efforts will suffer if the rights groups take up an unpopular cause like Vietnam. Others, like Martin Luther King, believe that the two issues cannot be separated. They hold that the war which the U.S. is fighting in Vietnam is just as undemocratic as the segregation they are fighting back home.

If the Rev. King and others can convince the many people who support the civil rights movement, they might be able to build a strong movement to oppose the Vietnamese war. If they fail, those who lately have been calling the civil rights movement "Communist" will probably shout all the louder.



Cotton World

Photographs by
John H. Young



Revolution in the Delta: Farm Hands Go on Strike

BY DAVID R. UNDERHILL

TRIBBETT (Miss.)--Three roads lead to the headquarters of the S.L. Andrews plantation in Tribbett, Miss. At sunup one morning recently three cars pulled away from a long tent pitched beside a lonely country store near Tribbett, and headed for the plantation. When they reached the headquarters, each car drove a hundred yards down one of these roads, pulled over to the side, and stopped, waiting.

Two of the men in the cars were white civil rights workers. The others were Negroes, and most of them had lived and worked on the Andrews plantation until they went on strike for higher wages at the end of May. Andrews evicted them and their families from the houses they had lived in on his property.

Then the women and children moved into the nearby city of Greenville, and the men moved into a tent at the store. But every morning they go back to the plantation, and wait for the busses that bring hundreds of Negroes from the surrounding towns to hoe the weeds out of the cotton fields covering the flat Mississippi Delta.

The men sat in their cars or paced back and forth beside them, watching. For two



hours nothing happened. Then suddenly two big pickup trucks from the Andrews headquarters sped past one of the cars and raced toward a bus that was just appearing around a bend in the road. The men turned their car and tore off in pursuit, as another Andrews truck came in from a side road and joined the chase. The trucks got to the bus first, surrounded it, and led it toward a weedy field nearby.

One truck separated the car from the bus, but the men in the car leaned out of the windows and shouted toward the bus, "Don't work here! The Andrews place is on strike! Don't work here!"

When the bus stopped at the field, the strikers dashed up to it and began handing leaflets through the open windows to the workers inside and explaining the strike to them.

The workers, most of them teen-agers, made their decision quickly. No one got off to hoe at the Andrews plantation. The bus drove away, leaving Andrews' men in their cotton field, facing their weeds alone.

The scene in Tribbett occurs daily throughout a six-county section of the Mississippi Delta, where the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union has called a general strike. The Delta makes its living mainly from cotton fields worked by Negro laborers. Since the end of May, perhaps 2,000 of these workers--men, women, and youngsters--have stopped working.

They will not go back, they say, until they get \$1.25 per hour pay, an eight hour day with time and a half for overtime, sick pay, health and accident insurance.

Only on the Andrews' plantation have resident workers left their jobs, but bus loads of hoers have turned back from many other plantations. Some stayed away from their jobs for only a few days, but many others have been on strike for over a month and a half.

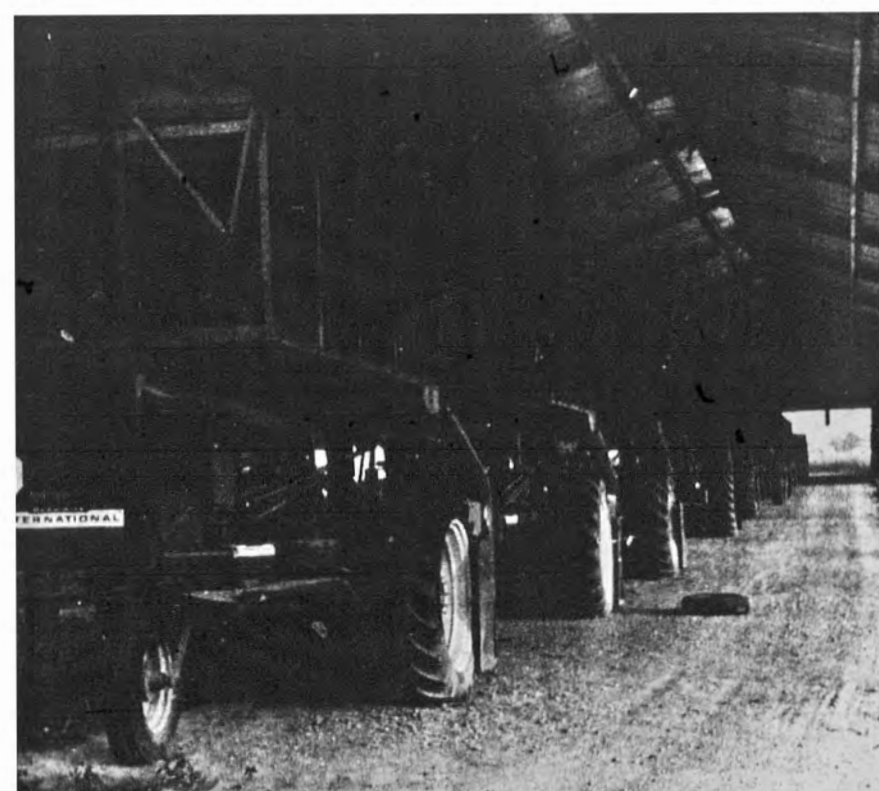
How did the strike begin? What will happen next? No one, not even the leaders of the MFLU, know for sure.

The actual causes of the strike are simple. Laborers only receive about \$3 per day for chopping and picking cotton from sunrise to sunset. This year, it was rumored that cotton growers would lower the wages to \$1.75 per day.

Nothing can hide the huge difference between the lives of the Negro workers and that of their white boss. Often the owners live in grand air-conditioned homes, while their tenant workers have tattered shacks that look ready to fall down if you knock on the front door. Few have any plumbing.

"If you could all spend just one night a year in the white man's house," one strike leader told his men, then for a night at least, "the mosquitoes won't get eating at you."

But money is only part of the story.



THESE AUTOMATIC COTTON PICKERS ARE REPLACING HAND LABORERS.

There is also the way Negroes are treated by their white planter bosses.

Isaac Foster, the Tribbett union chairman, spoke at a union meeting about this other problem.

"In a way, you are still slaves," he told the listening workers. "You're being sold indirectly when you want to move from one plantation to another. You have a debt to your white boss. Well, the new boss, he buys off the debt. And then he gets you, and you owe him your debt."

But these workers have been poor and in debt for a long time. Why did it take till 1965 for them to decide to strike?

The answer is the freedom movement, which spread throughout the Delta and across much of the rest of Mississippi as a result of last summer's civil rights project. The idea of a strike was born at a freedom school meeting in Shaw, Miss., last November, when a 75-year-old man, Miller Lark, stood up and suggested they go on strike instead of chopping cotton for only \$3 per day.

Lark described the incident later to reporter Phil Lapan: "I have people in the North who belong to the union. When we get together that's mainly what we talk about--the union. So we began talking about it here that \$3 per day from sunup to dark wasn't enough. We couldn't support our families. We all talked about how much we needed to live and we talked and talked about it for a month. We decided on \$1.25-an-hour."

Although the people of Shaw decided to go on strike, for a while 19-year-old George Shelton was about the only organizer. Now he is the chairman of the 325 union members in Shaw, and Shaw is the headquarters for the whole union. Every month representatives of the local MFLU unions in the Delta come to workshops at Shaw to discuss their problems and make further plans.

In Indianola, Miss., the union was an "up jump thing," according to Otis Brown, the chairman in that area. But the civil rights workers, the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party members, and others in Indianola have helped put the young union on its feet and keep it there.

White civil rights workers have had a hand in things around Greenville, too. Many of them, like Larry Walker, came from the National Council of Churches' Delta Ministry. Although Walker insists that he was only an advisor, many people give him more credit.

Clyde McGee, Jr., a planter near Tribbett, says that Walker was "the daddy of the whole thing" in the Greenville-Tribbett area. McGee recalled the first time he saw Walker:

"When I got to my place one morning, there was Mr. Walker with some of the

but lately the Rev. LeRoy Johnson, local Freedom Democratic Party chairman, has been trying to bring the town's maids into the union too. Over 65 percent have already joined, and they are planning to strike later this month, unless the white employers start paying at least \$1 per hour.

Ever since the civil rights movement spread through the Delta, the whites have fought it. With the strike, things are expected to get worse. Like those on the Andrews' plantation, some strikers have been evicted from their homes. Many have been jailed.

In Shaw, Mrs. Beatrice Miller, 51, a union member, told reporter Phil Lapan: "Practically every job that comes in around here, they hire whites, not colored. Anybody they know participates in the movement, they get turned off his job. And they won't give you a job if they know you're in the movement."

And Larks told people at a union meeting, "My man told me, 'Look, you've been living in this house for a long time. Now we got to change all that. You got to get some money if you still want to stay here.' The majority of these white men are angry with us because of this union."

The question which now faces the strikers throughout the Delta is, can the strike succeed?

Organizing was the easiest part of the job. Now the union has to prove itself by getting what its members want. So far, it hasn't gotten the \$1.25 per hour for its members. In fact, only the non-strikers have benefited.

On most plantations wages are now between \$50 and \$1 per day higher than before the strike began. The strikers feel--and some planters agree--that the strike scared the bosses into paying more to the workers who stayed on the job.

This pay boost has caused problems for the MFLU. Isaac Foster described what happened when a large plantation near Tribbett increased the wages of all its workers. "We had 40 or 50 of them attending the meetings. Then the raise came, and boom--they're all gone."

Even if the union could keep all the laborers out of the fields--and it can't--the planters could probably make it through the year without them. More and more, chemical weed killers are doing the job of hoe hands, or "choppers," as they are called in the Delta. And even when the picking season arrives, the planters won't need much hand labor, for machines pick the great bulk of the area's cotton.

The success of the strike really depends on the men who drive the machines. Unless lots more of them go out on strike, the strike will probably fail. Thus far, they have proved almost impossible to or-



North, visited the Delta to decide whether it should increase its aid to the strikers. Although farm workers have traditionally been very difficult to organize, the AFL-CIO visitor was so impressed with the strikers' spirit and with their leaders that the national union may decide to send in a team of professional organizers to help the Mississippi strikers.

choppers and drivers could force them to their knees in a week.

But this isn't the bosses' only worry about the union. Planters confess that changing over to a simple hourly wage system would require a revolution in the operation of their farms and in their whole way of life. They would have to become businessmen, like big farmers everywhere

want this. And most of the Negroes on their plantations apparently don't want this either--not yet, anyway, and not all at once. If they had wanted it now, they would have joined the union and struck for their independence.

They hesitate because they, like the planters, are afraid to lose their way of life. They want to keep it because they are used to it, and also because it shelters them from the responsibilities that independent men must accept.

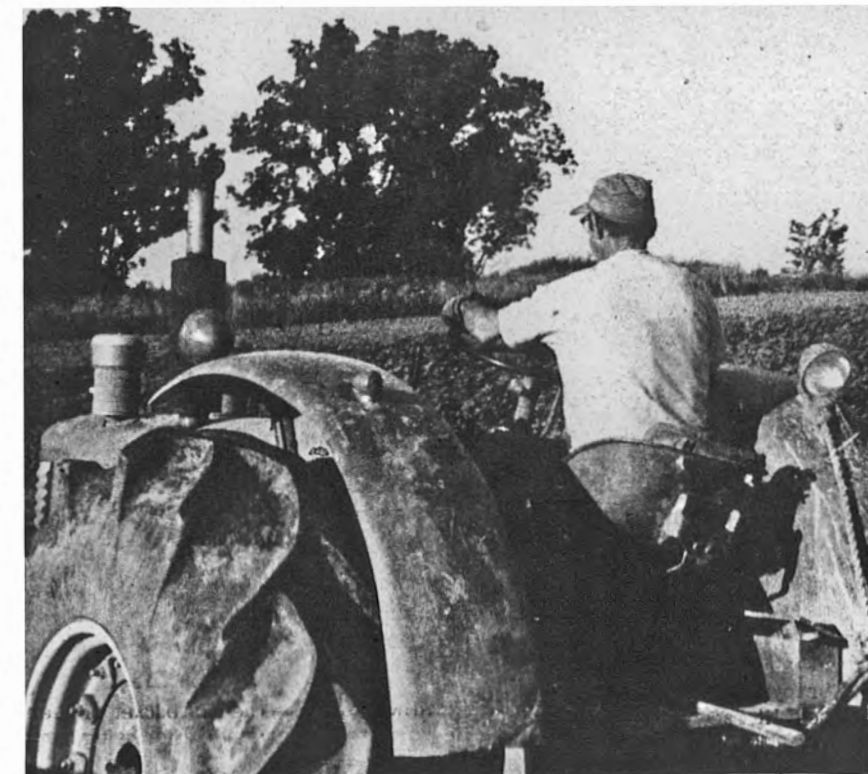
Dan Smythe, a Tribbett plantation owner, cleverly used one of the union's own posters to prove this. He picked up a poster that demonstrators had dropped in his driveway and turned it into a challenge to the men who live and work on his land.

On the sign, he listed all the things his workers would have to give up if they became hourly wage earners like the workers in any factory, receiving nothing but their pay check. The list included items ranging from the boots Smythe provides for his men every year, to the medical bills he pays for them, to the rent-free houses they live in with their families on his land.

In their place, he offered to pay them \$1.25 per hour. No one accepted the offer. Isaac Foster doesn't condemn planter Smythe for the poster he tacked up on his machine shed. Instead, the Tribbett union leader criticizes the workers who did not accept the offer.

The mass of the Negroes in the Delta have always lived in poverty. But it was secure poverty. The agricultural system needed their labor, and as long as they went the system's way, they could expect the system to keep them and their families alive.

Now they have a union which is challenging the system. But the union is also challenging them. It is asking them to do exactly what Smythe's sign dared them to do. It is asking them to take the risk of being free men.



If the offer comes through, it will force the union to decide two hard questions. One concerns the kind of structure the union wants. Until now it has been a very loose group of local unions. Otis Brown in Indianola compared it to the United States under the Articles of Confederation. But the AFL-CIO professionals would certainly insist on a tighter structure than this.

The other question concerns the ties between the Delta union and the AFL-CIO. Shelton says the members have already decided they will not become part of any national union. But the AFL-CIO may insist they join.

Yet, even if the AFL-CIO should succeed in organizing all the Delta workers, in the long run, most of the people would probably be no better off. For many of the planters chemical weed killers and machines are far cheaper than paying hundreds of workers \$1.25 per hour. With the money they save, they could easily pay enough to find the relatively few men necessary to drive the machines. And most of the pickers and choppers would be permanently out of work.

But all that is probably a long way off. Right now, most of the people in the Delta--workers and strikers alike--fear the strike, and will have little to do with it. Both the non-striking workers and the bosses have sensed that the union is really seeking to start a movement that would revolutionize life in the Delta. Neither these workers nor their bosses want a revolution--even a peaceful one.

The planters realize that although the crops are probably safe this year, a well-timed strike next year by a union of

else in the country.

They could no longer be planters watching fondly, or sternly, over large tracts of land and the darkies who work them. A union and \$1.25 per hour would turn the plantations into farms, the bosses into employers, and the darkies into independent men. Most of the planters don't

Mississippi Union Leader Battles Against Jim Crow

BY PHILIP P. ARDERY

TRIBBETT (Miss.)--At a Freedom Labor Union meeting two weeks ago, a middle-aged Negro man stood up and bragged about the \$1.80-an-hour he earned at his civil service job.

Isaac Foster, 22, the leader of the meeting, waited patiently until the man had finished. "But do you say, 'Yes, sir,' to the white men there?" he asked.

"To the older ones," the man answered, "but that's just common courtesy."

"Do the younger ones say, 'Yes, sir,' to you?" Foster asked.

The older man sat down, embarrassed, and the discussion of the farm labor strike continued.

Isaac Foster doesn't tolerate Jim Crow treatment from anyone. The local chairman of the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union in the cotton-rich Delta area, he has been one of 16 men living in a large tent near Tribbett since the strikers were thrown off the A.L. Andrews plantation May 31.

Looking at Foster, a handsome, dark-skinned man, you might think he's no different from the generations of sharecroppers before him, who lived and died here under the watchful eye of the white planters.

He has the lean body and the easy smile of the Delta farmhand, who works from dawn to dusk and has learned by necessity, to keep his sense of humor in the three o'clock sun.

But Foster is different. Although his mother and nine of his twelve brothers and sisters still live on the plantation where he grew up, Foster didn't like it, the job, or the money.

"Now I'd rather die than go back there to make my three dollars a day," he says.

But it isn't just the low pay that bothers Foster. In January he quit a \$1.52-an-hour job in Greenville, Miss., because the boss didn't treat him the same as he treated the white workers.

After this incident and some voter registration work he did in March, Foster decided that the problem of respect was harder to solve than he had thought. He saw that a lot of things couldn't be better for him until they were better for all Negroes.

Foster is working now with the Freedom Labor Union because he feels it can help revive the self-respect that many Negroes have lost under the plantation system.

"The biggest problem for the Negroes here is that they're afraid of the boss man," he said. "The man has given them the feeling that they'd be doing a terrible



ISAAC FOSTER

wrong if they demanded a raise or picked up and left his place."

Foster thinks the farm labor strike will help Negroes to find new courage as well as higher salaries.

"When we first went out into the fields to ask workers to strike, many Negroes looked at us like we should be ashamed," he said. "When enough of them see that some of us have the guts to refuse the treatment they're getting, they're the ones who'll soon be ashamed."



GEORGE SHELTON, SHAW ORGANIZER

Negroes' Brief Attacks Marchers Jefferson County Juries Hit by Spray

BY MICHAEL S. LOTTMAN

ATLANTA--It must be a one-in-a-billion miracle that only one Negro has served on a Bessemer (Jefferson County Ala.) grand jury in 17 years.

That's what the lawyer for four Negroes trying to desegregate Jefferson County juries says in a written argument filed in the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 5th Circuit (southeastern states).

Members of the county Jury Board testified in a lower-court trial that they made every effort to put a fair and reasonable number of Negroes on the jury rolls, the argument brief says.

One jury board official testified, "I lean over backwards" to make sure Negroes get a chance to serve on juries.

But the lawyer, Charles Morgan Jr., points out:

In the county's Bessemer Division, 39 of every 100 men eligible for jury service are Negroes. Yet only one Negro was drawn for grand-jury service between 1948 and 1964.

The odds are one in a billion (that's 1,000,000,000) that this could happen in the reasonable system the Jury Board claims to have, Morgan says.

In the Birmingham Division of Jefferson County, the brief says, the average number of Negroes on an 18-man grand jury has been two, over the past 17 years.

The chances of this happening in a fair system of jury selection are one in 20 million (20,000,000), says Morgan.

Orzell Billingsley Sr. and three other Negroes lost their suit to change the Jefferson County jury system when the trial judge ruled against them last Dec. 20.

Federal Judge H.H. Grooms' (of Birmingham), said he could find no evidence of discrimination against Negroes in the selection of juries.

Now Morgan is asking the Court of Appeals to reverse Judge Grooms' decision. No appeals court ruling is expected for several months.

A grand jury decides whether or not to indict persons charged with commission of a felony. If a defendant is indicted, he may be tried by a regular jury of 12 men.

Morgan's brief says that few Negroes ever get to serve on trial juries, but the brief is more concerned with the lack of Negroes on grand juries.

"Southern justice was and is as white as the marble on a courthouse...," Morgan says in his brief.

"The county courthouse has always been a seat of power in the South. Yesterday Negroes rarely went there. When they went it was to pay taxes or purchase a license or be a witness or be tried.

"Tomorrow they may go there to vote, or serve on juries, or, perhaps, to work, or practice law, or see a friend.

"But that tomorrow--like so many of the South's tomorrows--will never come if segregated justice continues.

Father Shot at, Son Injured As 2 Luverne Families Feud

LUVERNE--On June 19 Luther Johnston was shot at four times. Eighteen days later his son was shot and wounded in the leg and stomach. No newspaper has printed the story. Yet it is as dramatic--and as complicated--as any fictional tale.

Luther Johnston is a lean and strong tenant farmer, who lives near Luverne. He has 11 children. He grows cotton, corn and peanuts. His friends and employer agree that he can get as much cotton out of a patch of land as any man in Crenshaw County.

"He made a real good hand," according to plantation owner Joe "Big Joe" Trainum. Johnston rented a piece of Trainum's land, but it was Trainum who shot at Johnston four times on that night of June 19.

The two men have different versions of what happened that night.

As Trainum tells it, Johnston knocked on his front door at 10 p.m. "He called me a goddamn son of a bitch," Trainum recalls.

"He told me and my wife to come out onto the porch, and said we would wind things up right there. He threatened me," Trainum remembers firing four shots at Johnston. All missed.

Johnston tells a different story. He says that he was walking along the road when Trainum drove up in a car and fired four shots at him.

Trainum has started the proceedings to evict Johnston. Johnston says Trainum has been trying to get him off the land all along.

After being shot at, Johnston went to Sheriff Ray Horn, who put him in jail. Two days later, while Johnston was still in jail, "Big Joe" Trainum swore out a warrant for Johnston's arrest.

Trainum accused Johnston of disturbing the peace by swearing in front of Mrs. Trainum.

Tear Gas

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

But Mayor Ed Bailey said, "There is a difference between picketing and boycotting."

"That morning (July 2) someone questioned me about picketing. I said that as far as I know, there is no city ordinance against picketing."

Since April, many Demopolis Negroes have participated in a "selective buying" campaign.

Their goal is to convince downtown merchants to hire Negroes or promote them to better, more responsible jobs.

In hearings held last weekend by the Alabama Advisory Committee to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, juvenile Judge Edward McLaughlin, of Anniston, suggested that charges be pressed against the authorities responsible for holding the children under 16 in jail.

In the brief, Court of Appeals judges will read that "it is white juries and white justice the Negro struggles against. Can he be long expected to heed the counsels of the cautious?"

"Or can demonstrations be expected soon on the steps of the courthouse, in the halls of justice, in the courtroom and then the jails?"

The U.S. Supreme Court has often thrown out a Negro's conviction and sentence because the grand jury and trial jury in the case were segregated. But these rulings have applied only one case at a time.

The suit by Billingsley and the others, is successful, could change the entire system of jury selection at once.

If that should happen, Morgansays in his brief:

"Perhaps white jurors--much like white men gathered in a restaurant tell Negro stories more softly or not at all when the Negro waiter appears--will think and act differently when Negroes serve on juries with them....

"White men riding shotgun on a lonely highway will think twice before shooting down innocent workers in the struggle for human rights....

"The Negro workman may find that his broken leg is as valuable to an insurance company or a jury as the brokenleg of the white man who works by his side....

"Negro neighborhood crime rates may decline, for the Negro jurors the life and sanctity of the Negro neighborhood will be important."

Besides Billingsley, the Negroes who sued are C. Herbert Oliver, J.S. Phifer and Abraham Woods Jr., all residents of Jefferson County. The defendants are the officials of the Jury Board.

Mosses' Park

LOWNDES COUNTY--On Independence Day in the Negro community of Mosses, the most important thing was not voter registration. Fifty of the settlement's 300 residents were busy dedicating a park they had decided to build for themselves.

In May, citizens at a community meeting decided they needed a playground to keep children off the narrow dirt road that winds through the middle of the settlement.

An elder citizen donated three acres of land for the park, and people began spending their Saturday mornings clearing away the brush. By July 4, the park was big enough to hold a softball game and a large audience.

A park became the goal of the Mosses community because the people were frustrated in trying to vote. Since March, 700 Lowndes County residents have tried to register without success. Now they want something else to do.

Mosses' next project will be a cinder-block library. The citizens are also planning to hold literacy classes.

EUTAW--An airplane dropped a heavy yellow spray--probably "cotton poison"--on Eutaw civil rights demonstrators during a week of trouble and harassment.

No one was seriously hurt by the spray. But several demonstrators said they got sick or had their clothes ruined.

The plane swooped down on the demonstrators July 8, as they returned from a march to downtown Eutaw. It was 100 feet off the ground when it dropped the spray over state highway 14.

Wind carried the spray into a crowd of 50 people standing in front of the First Baptist Church, headquarters of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) in Eutaw.

The "cotton poison" was also blown inside the church.

Witnesses said the spray was an insecticide, used to kill insects and other pests that destroy cotton plants.

"At first it looked like hard rain, but it made me sick afterwards," said Miss Julia Knott.

The elderly lady said the spray burned "real bitter."

Said Miss Leiza Coleman:

"I don't think they were trying to hurt us--just scare us."

There were other incidents during voter-registration week in Greene County.

The voting registrars closed their office Thursday afternoon, and said it would stay closed Friday and Saturday.

A notice on the door said the office was closed "for clerical work."

Robert McQueen, chairman of the Greene County Board of Registrars, explained:

"It's impossible to work on processing the applications when applicants are coming in droves."

On the same day that demonstrators were sprayed with insecticide, Sheriff Bill Lee and Police Chief Joseph Davis took a Negro girl to jail after they saw her being threatened by a man with a shot gun.

According to witnesses, an unidentified white man loaded his gun at a Texaco station while eight teen-agers picketed across the street.

The man ran out and threatened Miss Ann Harris, one of the demonstrators.

"I'm going to shoot the hell out of you," he shouted.

Miss Harris said later, "I told him to shoot me, and turned my back."

At this point, the sheriff and police chief arrived, and told Miss Harris to get into the police car.

"Get your black --- into this police car," Miss Harris was told.

"When I refused to get into the police car," Miss Harris said, "two policemen started twisting my arm and choking me."

She was released 30 minutes later--after a lecture in the mayor's office.

Beer, Beer!

BY HARRIET GRANBY

HUNTSVILLE--The old bucket of beer may return to Huntsville after being banned since the Prohibition era.

A legislative act allowing Huntsville to sell draft beer is expected to become effective July 20 now that both houses of the state legislature have given the measure rapid approval.

A previous state law permitted the sale of draft beer only in counties with a sufficiently large foreign population.

Only two counties--Baldwin and Cullman--qualify under this law. Draft beer is now legally sold in Baldwin, but Cullman does not permit the sale of any alcoholic beverage.

The only hurdle awaiting the legislation is approval by Gov. George Wallace. And since the governor is a dry, chances are he won't sign the bill.

But a bill can become law without the governor's signature in Alabama. So the act will probably go into effect July 20.

After that, thirsty Huntsvillians will only have to wait long enough for beer distributors and tavern-owners to get the necessary clearance from Alcoholic Beverage Commission.

Then the beer can flow from a tap as well as a bottle--something new for Alabama, but something that has been commonplace outside the Heart of Dixie for a long, long time.

The Doctor Says....

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE TWO)

Have you taken any medicines? If so what, and did it help any?

If you can answer just a few of these questions, you will deliver a wealth of information to your doctor.

Two other problems are POUNDING OF THE HEART and RAPID HEARTBEAT. While these symptoms may not be so familiar, they do occur, and need not necessarily mean heart trouble. The same rules apply, however, and it is important to tell your doctor when, where, how long, etc.

Many times these symptoms occur from nervousness and excitement--sometimes you can hear your heartbeat while lying on your stomach--this may be perfectly normal. But better let your doctor decide. Your job: "Tell him!"

COUGH is also a common symptom. It may be "tight" or "loose"; may occur only at night, or only in certain locations. It may have an odor or color, and may contain blood. Finally, a cough may be associated with a pain in a certain place.

SHORTNESS OF BREATH may be brought about by exercise or may occur when you are resting. The difference is important. When it is severe, you may "turn blue" or faint. Your own words are the best description.

"STOMACH TROUBLE" includes any disorders of the stomach and bowel, such as loss of appetite, nausea with or without vomiting, constipation (no bowel movements) or diarrhea (many loose stools), vomiting blood or blood in the stools (tarry stools). It is important for the doctor to know if you also have pain or fever, if there are other members of your family who seem to be ill, the types of food eaten and how it was prepared, and the source of the drinking water or milk. Sometimes there may be a history of a yellowish coloration of the whites of the

Coleman Selection Opposed

BY RITA DERSHOWITZ

WASHINGTON--Civil rights spokesmen lit into President Johnson's appointment of J.P. Coleman, former governor of Mississippi, as one of the nine judges on the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals.

The attacks came at hearings held by the Senate Judiciary subcommittee Monday and Tuesday on whether to approve Coleman as a judge.

Despite the hostile testimony, the subcommittee gave Coleman a favorable recommendation. But the full Senate must also okay Coleman before he gets the job.

Most of the civil rights witnesses at-

The U.S. and the World

Hopes for Vietnam Peace Hinge on Summer Months

BY ANNE PARDEE BUXTON

Ten years ago the present Premier of South Vietnam, Nguyen Cao Ky, attended the USAF Air Command and Staff College at Maxwell Field in Montgomery. Now many Alabamians are among the 75,000 American soldiers in his country fighting the Vietcong.

The summer months, many believe, will decide the fate of the United States' hopes for peace in Vietnam. The monsoon rain makes it hard for the American combat troops to root out the Vietcong guerrillas. The air strikes into North Vietnam are crippled by heavy rains and low clouds. The attacks are supposed to stop more Vietcong from crossing into the South.

If the Vietcong are able to strengthen their position during the monsoon months, it is unlikely they will want to talk about peace in the fall. And if they won't talk, the United States will have to keep on fighting.

At a recent news conference, President Johnson said the war "will get worse before it gets better." It is expected that many more American troops will be sent to Vietnam this summer to prevent the small defeats which feed Vietcong confidence.

U.S. military policy limits fighting to "conventional" ground warfare. But Rep. Gerald Ford (House Republican leader) insists that the U.S. should bomb Russian anti-aircraft missile sites at Hanoi before they are used as "weapons against the side of freedom."

Rep. Ford and others fear that the Communist Chinese will take over all southeast Asia, if South Vietnam should fall into their hands.

Senator Robert Kennedy of New York has also attacked the President's Vietnam policy, but for another reason. Guerilla warfare is better ended through talk, than through military strategy, he declared. He recommended that the United States begin working immediately to end the fighting and to start talks.

Talks began this week to discuss the final version of President Johnson's \$7.5 billion-a-year Social Security-hospital plan, often called medicare.

The Senate passed its medicare bill, 68-21, on July 8, and the House of Representatives voted 313-115 for a similar program last April 18. It is expected that the final bill will be ready for the President's signature within the next two weeks.

WHAT THIS MEANS FOR YOU:

If you are one of the almost 300,000 Alabamians aged 65 or over, you will be eligible for medicare.

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tacked Coleman because of his segregationist record as governor between 1956 and 1960.

During this time he formulated the doctrine of interposition. This doctrine holds that a state may ignore any federal law which it dislikes. It has been used by Southern states against civil rights laws.

In campaign speeches, he promised, "If I am elected governor, the schools of Mississippi will never be integrated nor will they be closed."

John Lewis, chairman of SNCC, declared that Coleman would try to ignore all the

civil rights laws passed since 1957. He predicted that if Coleman were approved, Negroes would lose faith in the courts, and turn to mass civil disobedience.

Coleman admitted that as governor he favored segregation of the races in schools and public accommodations. But he said that was no longer a live issue.

"The segregation of people by color and color alone is dead in this country," he said. "I have no bias or prejudice or fear that would keep me from fully obeying the decisions of the Supreme Court and the laws of Congress."

U.S. Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach backed up Coleman.

"When the full picture is considered," he said Monday, "we see not the caricature of an unyielding white supremacist, but a man who was frequently willing to take great political risks to support moderation and respect for law and order when the opposite course would have been the politically expedient one."

Coleman's supporters have said that he was a segregationist as governor because it was the only way to get elected in Mississippi. As a judge, he would not have to worry about elections.

But Mrs. Victoria Gray, an official of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, disagreed:

"His record is so consistent with segregation and white supremacy that it is inconceivable to believe he could be unbiased."

Coleman is currently the lawyer for the Mississippi delegates to the House of Representatives. The delegates are now being challenged by the MFDP. The MFDP claims their election was illegal.

The Fifth Circuit Court is only one step below the Supreme Court in importance, and plays a big role in civil rights cases. The court covers the states of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas.

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Community Reports

Demopolis

BY CHARLES SAULSBERRY
DEMOPOLIS--On July 6, three Negroes --two young women and a small boy--were burned with acid in Demopolis.
The incident occurred as the two women--Betty Gaines, 18, and Beatrice McGaye, 19--were walking home about 6 p.m., in the evening. Miss McGaye was carrying a three-year old boy.
Suddenly, a Chevrolet with four white men inside made a complete stop beside the girls. Without speaking, one of the whites sprayed acid on the trio from the type of syringe used to fill automobile batteries with water.
All three victims suffered minor burns. They walked to the Bryan Whitfield Memorial Hospital, where they were examined by a doctor. The doctor released them without prescribing any treatment.
Three days later, three men were arrested by the Demopolis police, and are being held for investigation.
Earlier that day, I was taking pictures of a white SCOPE worker--a girl--who had been arrested for driving a car with an improper muffler.
When I tried to take pictures of the officers who arrested her, I was grabbed and choked by a deputy until I said "yes" to a question he had just asked.
After I had said, "Yes, sir," he took my camera and exposed the films to the sun. He dropped the film on the ground. The questions he asked were: "Do you know that you have to have a license to take pictures?" and "Do you know you can go to jail for that?"
After he let me go, T. Wilmer Shields, sheriff of Marengo County, asked me if I had any money in my pocket. I showed him \$3.
I found out later that I could be arrested for being broke. I believe that this law is unfair in a nation which has a high percentage of unemployed Negroes.

(Charles Saulsberry is a high-school student in Demopolis.)



Birmingham Committee Will Study Police Tests

BY MARVIN KUPFER
BIRMINGHAM--Mayor Albert Boutwell will appoint a six-member interracial panel of educators to determine if the county personnel board is discriminating against Negroes trying to get jobs as policemen. Negro leaders requested the panel during a meeting last week with the Mayor and city council members. The meeting was called after all six Negroes who had taken the latest police examination flunked the test.
The Rev. Edward Gardner, vice-president of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, said that many Negroes have taken the police examination in the past few years and only a few have passed. "There are more than 500 police officers in the city and not one of them is a Negro," he said. "We want to know why."
Police Chief Jamie Moore said that Negroes would be on the police force if they were qualified.
"To qualify they have to pass the civil service examination, and only a few Negroes have been able to do this," he said. "And those few either didn't want the job or failed our physical examination or background check."
The police issue has many civil rights leaders thinking about demonstrations. The Rev. Gardner called the police situation "absolutely ridiculous," and said the Negro community "wants something done about it now."
His organization--an affiliate of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)--sponsored many of the demonstrations that rocked the city in 1963. The demonstrations ended in negotiations between the Negro and white communities.

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Greensboro

BY CLARENCE SHELTON
GREENSBORO--Five hundred Negroes marched on the Hale County courthouse July 6 to protest voting discrimination in Hale County.
People began to gather at the First Baptist Church at about 7 in the morning. At 8:30 a.m., the church was packed to capacity.
At 9 a.m., the crowd of people lined up and began the march to the courthouse. The group marched about six blocks. After a prayer by the Rev. A.T. Days, president of the Hale County Improvement Association, Mr. Lewis Black, treasurer of a local credit union, and the Rev. James Orange, SCLC staff worker, spoke.
When both men had finished speaking, the Negroes sang "We Shall Overcome" and began the walk back to the church.
The next day, a group of Negro youths and two white SCOPE workers went to the courthouse to watch registration. They were stopped at the door of the courthouse by Deputy Sheriff Holloway, who refused to let the group inside.
One of the registrars came to the door, saying that she would not register anyone if the workers did not leave the premises. The majority of the group left, but six of them remained.
Later, they were again ordered to leave. Five of them left, leaving one SNCC worker behind. In about 15 minutes, the SNCC worker was arrested for failing to obey an officer of the law. He was released on \$500 bond.
(CLARENCE SHELTON will be a high school junior this fall. He is spending the summer in Greensboro.)



Freedom Address

BY HENRY CLAY MOORE
Many centuries ago, the white men brought forth upon this continent our forefathers from Africa, an act conceived in slavery and dedicated to the proposition that all men are not created equal.
We are now engaged in a great battle of freedom, testing whether that white man's ideas or any ideas so conceived and so dedicated to the proposition of slavery toward my people can long endure.
We are met on this freedom battle field facing up and demanding our rights as provided by the Constitution. We have come to dedicate a portion of it as a final resting place for those who have given their lives, both young and old, white and black, that this Movement might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.
But in a very large sense, we cannot dedicate--we cannot consecrate--we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men and women living and dead who have struggled and are struggling here, have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note nor long remember what we say and do here, but it can never forget what we and our forefathers did here.
It is for us the living, now, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work that our forefathers and leaders have thus far so nobly carried on. It is rather for us, the Negroes, to be here dedicated to this great task remaining before us--that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; and that we highly resolve that these dead should not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, that will be for all people regardless of race, color, religion, or sex; and that this form of government--of the people, and for the people, for both black and white or any man who is a citizen of the United States--shall not ever perish from the earth.

(Henry Clay Moore, 16, of Greenville, wrote the "Freedom Address" after a mass meeting July 11.)

Rev. Douglas Says Twins, Indians Surprise; Christians Never Can Turn Back

MONTGOMERY--"The true Christian reaches a point of no return," the Rev. Jesse Douglas told his congregation Sunday in the First CME Church of Montgomery.
Once a Christian accepts the experience of Christ, the Rev. Douglas said, he can never turn back. The minister cited Paul's life after his conversion on the road to Tarsus.
The Rev. Douglas noted the lesson of history: "History shows that men who have dedicated themselves to Christ have had conviction."
"They brought the changes we have today," he said, "and wrought progress in every area."
But many people have not yet accepted Christ, he said. This is a religious country, said the Rev. Douglas, yet many who call themselves Christians do not practice His teachings.

He quoted Paul's letter to the Philippians: "I have learned in whatever state I am, to be content."
"We need a frame of reference," the Rev. Douglas explained. "We must see the hand of God in all things, even when we are threatened by adversity."

"We can take hope from the lesson of our own people," he said. "They were suppressed, but they didn't let that keep them down."
The Rev. Douglas cited traditional songs like "I Got Shoes, You Got Shoes." "They were barefoot," he said, "but they thought about shoes."
"Once a man accepts Christ," he concluded, "that gives him the little extra push to go on. Then he can make it and not turn around."

Greensboro Minister Lives in Fear; Seven Shotguns Guard His Home

BY DAVID M. GORDON
GREENSBORO--The Rev. Arthur Days, top civil rights leader here in Hale County, is a man who leads two lives.
In public, the Rev. Days speaks out sharply on the problems of local Negroes. The civil rights movement in Greensboro is pushing hard in its drive for Negro rights, and the Rev. Days pushes harder and speaks more firmly than anyone.
Ten days ago, he led a march of 800 people to the county courthouse, demanding "One Man, One Vote." When he was asked if he would march without a parade permit, he said he would rather go to jail than turn back.
But in private, the thin, nervous, 42-year old minister is haunted by fear for his own life.
He rarely steps outside his home, afraid that someone might shoot him. When he does come outside, he often wears dark glasses, a hat pulled low over his forehead, and a towel wrapped around his neck.
When we went to see the Rev. Days, a tall teen-ager took us into a dark, well-protected basement in the back of the church. The teen-ager acted like a personal body-guard.
The Rev. Days sat quietly on an old church pew, hidden from those outside. He didn't begin to speak freely with us about his private fears until he was sure we could be trusted.
"We have shot guns inside the house," the Rev. Days said, "and teen-agers have volunteered to guard the house at night. I usually don't walk outside the church unless I absolutely have to."
"Even when we have a mass meeting, I have to sneak in the side entrance," he said. "As we talked, friends kept poking their heads in the basement door to check on the minister. Everyone made as little noise as possible, careful not to alarm him."
One visitor, who hadn't seen the Rev. Days for a while, asked if he was all right. "I'm shaking," the Rev. Days said, "but I'm going to live."
The minister said he was actually more afraid of being shot by a Negro than by a white.

Cohn Tells His Plan for Tuskegee: An Integrated Nursing Home

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)
"By July 1964," Cohn said, "I had decided that if the public high school did not re-open on an integrated basis in September, and if a liberal city government was not elected, I would pack up and get the hell out of town."
But both these things did happen.
Cohn said the new superintendent of education and high school principal "came in with almost impossible odds to fight. They have not done a perfect job, but they got the public school system running, and it seems that every day now we're getting more of a public school system."
The new City Council, with three whites and two Negroes plus the white mayor, "is better than what Tuskegee had, but I don't think they're exercising enough leadership. They drag their feet at anything that is real progressive," Cohn said.
Last December, Cohn said, he decided that the time was right for him to hire Negroes.
"As soon as I did, a white lady who had been working for me for 15 years walked out of the store and took most of my white trade with her."
On the other hand, Cohn said, "the Negro citizens have fallen short on their part because they did not start a campaign to support my store."
"The other merchants of Tuskegee have not followed through by also hiring Negroes. Instead they sat up and watched what happened to me. And they've only seen my white customers swapped for Negro ones."

But Cohn said he planned to follow up his store integration in a "progressive and orderly fashion."
His two big projects are a nursing home, already under construction, and a community development project, with a motel, recreation center and shopping area.
MOBILE--A couple years ago, six members of the Mobile White Citizens' Council picketed a downtown store that had just integrated its lunch counter.
They were immediately arrested for picketing without a permit.
This was the largest and most successful "civil rights" demonstration in Mobile's history.
The city fathers try to keep Mobile's name clean. So far they have succeeded. Throughout Alabama, people will tell you Mobile is different.
But Mrs. Dorothy Williams might as well live in the worst of the redneck belt, rather than in the Mobile suburb of Prichard, where she lives now.
Since the middle of June, five SCOPE workers have been staying in her house. She reports that she has received threatening phone calls, bricks have been thrown through her windows, and a cross has been burned on her front yard.
"Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, outlawing discrimination in employment, went into effect on July 2. It protects Negroes against discrimination in hiring, promotions, pay, dismissal, job privileges, and the use of job facilities.
But the law doesn't work by itself. A man or woman who is discriminated against must file a complaint.
Ike Madison, of 578 Davis Ave., Mobile, is working in Alabama this summer for the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc. He will do the necessary legal work for Negroes who want to complain about job discrimination.
During the summer he will make several trips to other cities in the state.
From July 19 to 21 he will be in Montgomery, and from July 22 to 26 in Birmingham. He can be reached through the NAACP offices in both cities.

Sermon of the Week

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Sports Corner

Twins, Indians Surprise; Yankees, Cards Flounder

BY MICHAEL S. LOTTMAN
At All-Star Gametime, the major league baseball standings are pretty hard to believe.
This is especially true in the American League, where the Minnesota Twins and the Cleveland Indians are at the top of the standings and the mighty Yankees are floundering around in sixth place.
Nobody thought the Twins or the Indians would be much good this year.
The Twins, the experts said, could hit home runs by the dozen, but most of their fielders couldn't catch a bear in a telephone booth.
The experts didn't think much of the Indians, either. Rocky Colavito, they said, was over-rated. (He's now near the top in homers and runs batted in.) And who



ever heard of Vic Davallillo? (He's leading the league in batting.)
The chief reason for the Indians' success has been the return of Colavito.
About five years ago Indian general manager Frank Lane traded the Rock away to Detroit, for banjo hitter Harvey Kuenn. Kuenn is now a Chicago Cub, which shows how much he had left.

Rocky went from Detroit to Kansas City. Though he had some good years, he was never as happy as he was in Cleveland. And the Cleveland fans were never as happy as they were when Colavito was on the team.
But this year the Indians got Rocky back. The fans went wild when he hit a homer in his first game in Cleveland's Municipal Stadium. Ever since then, Rocky has really been belting that ball.
The Twins have been adequate on defense mainly because their little shortstop, Zoilo Versalles, has been covering about three-fourths of the infield.
The rest of the infielders are still guys with lead in their feet, like Harmon Killebrew and Rich Rollins. But Versalles has been all over the place. He's the reason why pitchers like Jim Grant and Camilo Pascual have winning records.
Both of last year's pennant winners--the New York Yankees in the American League and the St. Louis Cardinals in the National--are having terrible seasons.
Almost everyone but the batboy has been out of the Yankee lineup with injuries. Among the walking wounded have been Mickey Mantle, Elston Howard, Roger Maris and Whitey Ford.
In other years, these guys would have been four-ninths of the A.L. All-Star team. Now they're just trying to stay healthy.
Ford has been showing some signs of life, though. After two months of losing more games than he won, he pulled himself together and recently became the league's first 10-game winner.
The Cardinals are in seventh place because their pitchers forgot how to pitch. The only bright light was Bob Gibson's eight-game winning streak at the start of the season. The trouble was, he then turned around and lost six in a row.
We'll predict right now that the Indians will win the A.L. pennant, with Colavito getting the Most Valuable Player award.
In the N.L., the Los Angeles Dodgers will finish first, and pitcher Sandy Koufax will be the MVP.
We could be wrong--it wouldn't be the first time.

"Whenever whites approach," he said, "I'm on my guard and my friends stay around to watch over me. But when Negroes are around, I relax. Any one of them could easily shoot me in the side of the head."
He didn't say why a Negro would possibly want to kill him. He said only that a killer, whatever his reasons or race, wouldn't be risking a thing.
"A \$1,000 reward for my murder has been offered by a private citizen," said the Rev. Days, "and the police aren't about to prosecute someone who goes after that money."
No one here really knows if the Rev. Days has reason to be so afraid. In some ways, his fear seems justified.
The Hale County movement, which the Rev. Days started when he came to Greensboro last January, has upset many of the local white people. Recently, the phone at the Rev. Days' parsonage has been clanging with angry threats.
Two months ago, according to some Negroes living with the Rev. Days at the time, three white men came into his backyard late at night, all of them carrying guns. Chased away by the minister's armed teen-age house guards, the three men ran around a corner, firing shots into the air.
Even so, a lot of the Rev. Days' fear comes from what he thinks will happen in the future, not from what has happened in the past.
He had never worked with the civil rights movement before he came to Greensboro. When he plunged into the movement, he thought it was a decision he could never back away from, no matter what might happen.
"I took the time to commit myself," he said. "I have placed my whole life on the altar."
After the Rev. Days excused himself to take care of some business, we asked a young civil rights worker if we could come back to the house later that night. The worker said we could, but warned:
"When you come, announce yourselves loudly, and don't go sneaking around. We have seven shot guns inside that house, and they aren't there for shooting rabbits."

Georgia Panel Considers Abolishing Electric Chair

BY CHARLES JACKSON, JR.
ROME, Ga.--The State of Georgia opened hearings here July 12 to determine public opinion on the death sentence.
A senate committee took testimony from 19 people. Eleven called for an end to the death penalty, and eight supported keeping it.
While many other states have abolished the death sentence in the past few years, Georgia is the first Deep South state to consider the question. If Georgia ended the death penalty, other southern states might follow her lead.
James Floyd, state representative from Chattooga County, was among the most vehement supporters of the death sentence as a protection against crime. He attacked the "soft" treatment of criminals.
If it continues, he said, "we may as well put prisoners in motels with TV and radio."
People tend to believe that the death penalty is used against minority groups or "the nigger," Floyd said.
Except for one year in which no one was executed, 1964 was the first year in the last 40 that Georgia did not execute a Ne-

gro.
Of the seven women who testified, only one was in favor of keeping the death sentence. Mrs. Ray Reed said that it was "too expensive" to keep a prisoner in jail for the rest of his life.
The Rev. Robert Beeland attacked both the death penalty and the present system of prisons. He called for a "revamping of the whole penal system" and a "better system of rehabilitation."
Another minister, the Rev. Gustav Schultz, said he was convinced that capital punishment is "not at all a deterrent to crime."
One of the witnesses drew sharp replies from members of the Senate committee when he accused the group of being under Communist influence. Paul King said that Communists had infiltrated the United States' "power structure," and perhaps the Georgia Senate.
But Senator William Searcy of Savannah quickly denied the charges. "Russia does have a capital punishment statute," he said.
"I don't know anyone who believed more in capital punishment than Stalin," added Senator Kenneth Kilpatrick of Jonesboro,