



THIS IS THE GATE at Highlander Center, Knoxville, the communist hammer and sickle painted in red, apparently by the Ku Klux Klan. Vandals disfigure the post this way; the Highlander staff repaints it, then the vandals come again. It has happened repeatedly since the Center opened. (Highlander Photo).

Racists Renew Attempts To Destroy Highlander

(By Staff Correspondent)

KNOXVILLE, Tenn.—The same forces that levelled Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tenn., are today trying to destroy its successor, Highlander Center here.

One difference this time, however, is that more people are speaking out in protest.

Highlander Center is doing the same work the old folk school did—bringing people together to discuss their problems and learn from each other.

Attacks on it intensified last July when 50 members of the Ku Klux Klan marched in front of the building, in full Klan robes.

Then in September, The Knoxville Journal, which has continually attacked Highlander since it opened here in 1961, quoted Stokely Carmichael as saying Highlander Director Myles Horton gave him the idea of "black power." Horton said this was a complete misinterpretation of what Carmichael had said, but The Journal never printed any reply, or any letters supporting Highlander.

One week later, two fire bombs were thrown in the Highlander window, one filled with kerosene, one with gasoline. By chance, the gasoline one, which would have destroyed the building, did not ignite; damage was slight.

The next night, Scott McNeil, a research person living at Highlander, heard a noise, came outside. Someone shot at him and ran. The shot missed.

The next day, Cas Walker, Knoxville city councilman, an-

(Continued on Page 7)

Patriot Expands

The Southern freedom movement is not being reported in the nation's press as much as it once was. It is not "big news" anymore; reporters are tired of it. Yet the struggle for civil rights in the South is far from won, and new movements that overlap this one are struggling to be born—work for world peace, struggles against poverty among all people, white and black.

To help meet the increased need for communication within these movements and with "the world outside," The Southern Patriot is expanding to eight pages: one page for letters, if you write us enough; one for pictures; the rest news and features. The subscription price is being raised from \$2 to \$3 per year. But all subscriptions or renewals received before January 1 will be at the old rate.

Rights Leaders Distrust 'Riot' Probe

What is HUAC's Target?

(By Staff Correspondent)

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) announced in October that it intends to investigate recent disturbances in America's major cities in a search for "subversive" elements.

Civil rights leaders both South and North have expressed deep concern about such an investigation. They are convinced that it will become an over-all attack on the freedom movement.

HUAC members themselves in a statement announcing the investigation denied that they had any idea of investigating the movement as such. They said all they are looking for is "subversives."

But they put Rep. William Tuck, die-hard segregationist from Virginia, in charge of preliminary work for the investigation and went on to say in their announcement:

"If we should learn in the course of our investigation that a certain organization which claims to be a civil rights group is actually controlled and dominated by Communists carrying

out the work of the Communist Party, we would not hesitate to investigate their operations."

The meaning of this statement is clear to anyone who knows the previous record of HUAC—the inability of its members to understand the freedom movement and their tendency to equate all efforts for racial justice with "communism."

Since its beginning in 1938, the Committee has been dominated by Southern segregationists. Its reports, through the years, have given white Southerners an excuse to avoid looking at the basic wrongs in their society, a way to dismiss every challenge as a "communist plot." The proposed investigation threatens to provide this same escape for the North.

Recent statements of individual HUAC members give evidence that their minds are already made up:

In 1965, Rep. Edwin Willis of Louisiana, HUAC chairman, said: "The Committee is aware that Communist influence is at work in this field (the civil rights movement) . . ."

In April, 1966, Representative Tuck called for an investigation

into what he described as "so-called civil rights groups."

Rep. Joe Pool of Texas recently said: "The civil rights issue is another weapon taken up by the Communist fanatics . . ."

Rep. John Ashbrook of Ohio asked in June, 1966, for an investigation into what he called "Negro hate groups . . ." Representative Buchanan of Alabama made a similar statement.

During the 1965 and 1966 sessions of Congress, three resolutions were introduced in the House asking HUAC to investigate civil rights groups. The specific organizations mentioned were the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), and several northern groups.

Sponsors of these three resolutions were Rep. Prentiss Walker of Mississippi, Rep. Joe Waggoner of Louisiana, and Rep. Albert Watson of South Carolina.

The SCEF board of directors, at its semi-annual meeting in October, declared that the announced HUAC probe into unrest in the nation's cities poses a threat not only to the freedom movement but to the country as a whole. The SCEF leaders said:

"The outbreaks in our cities result from the tragic conditions under which people are forced to live in the slums of America. This is a serious social problem which requires the attention of our most creative minds. We can think of nothing more damaging to this country than to let HUAC dabble in serious social problems with its paranoid talk of 'subversion' . . ."

There are two ways to stop this proposed investigation. Congressmen can support the effort, now being organized by civil liberties and civil rights groups, to abolish HUAC when the new Congress opens in January. Or, if that fails, congressmen can support a specific resolution in the House ordering HUAC to cancel the announced investigation.

The Southern

PATRIOT

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Free After 58 Days

12 Jailed for Draft Protest

(By Staff Correspondent)

ATLANTA, Ga.—The question of whether black people have the right to demonstrate against things they think are wrong in America went on trial here recently—and the right to dissent was defeated.

Twelve young Atlanta Negroes were kept in jail 58 days before their bond was accepted, for protesting the draft. One was charged with insurrection, which in this state is punishable by death.

Their long ordeal began three weeks before Atlanta's black ghetto erupted early in September and made nation-wide headlines. They were not released until October 14, and still most Americans had not heard of the case.

But every aspect of it—their arrest, their trial, their prison experiences—exposes, even more clearly than the so-called riots, that Atlanta's image of toleration is an illusion.

The protest began August 16.

Eleven black demonstrators carried signs and handed out literature in front of the induction center, protesting the drafting of black men to fight in what they claimed was a racist war. They made no complaint when army personnel spat and dropped lighted cigarettes and liquid on them from upstairs windows.

But when a girl was burned by a cigarette the next day, they asked officials twice to order the windows closed. After this was ignored, they sat-in in the center. They were thrown out, fairly roughly, but the windows were

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POLICE ARREST ANTI-DRAFT DEMONSTRATOR on the third day of the protest. In all, twelve were jailed. (SNCC photo by Rufus Hinton)

The Month in Review

As the elections approached, pressure began to build up around Mississippi politics and politicians.

There was reaction to the Office of Economic Opportunity's decision not to refund the Child Development Group of Mississippi (CDGM).

An independent 15-member Citizens' Board of Inquiry into the charges against CDGM made their final report public. They concluded that "the reasons given by OEO for refusing to continue funding CDGM were completely unfounded" and said OEO had bowed to political pressure by groups interested in preserving the status quo in the state—a reference to Mississippi senators Eastland and Stennis, who have fought CDGM.

Some 150 individuals calling themselves the National Citizens' Committee for CDGM took a full-page ad in the New York Times headed "Say it isn't so, Sargent Shriver". They supported the findings of the Citizens' Board of Inquiry and concluded: "The issue is clear. Politics and the poverty program don't mix." As the month progressed, other organizations issued their own protests.

Closer to Senator Eastland's home, the Supreme Court upheld a historic decision ordering new municipal elections in Sunflower City, on the grounds that Negroes were prevented from voting. The decision to void the city's 1965 elections had been made by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals last year after the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) filed a suit contesting the election. State and city officials attempted to appeal the decision but the Supreme Court refused to review it.

As October ended, U.S. District Judge Claude F. Clayton had still not set a hearing to determine the date of the special election and to rule on possible new elections in five other municipalities in Sunflower County, Senator Eastland's home.

And, in what many considered an attempt to sabotage the Freedom Democratic Party, a federal court panel waited until ten days before the election to hand down a surprise decision placing three FDP candidates on the ballot. The decision temporarily suspended a new law that raised the qualifying requirements for independent candidates.

The candidates are the Rev. Clifton Whitley of Holly Springs, running for the Senate against Eastland, and Dock Drummond of Kosciusko and Mrs. Emma Sanders of Jackson, running for House seats.

Book Notes

A Voice from Dixie

"In Egypt Land", the first poem in John Beecher's new anthology, To Live and Die in Dixie (Red Mountain Editions, Box 7331-A, Mountain Brook Station, Birmingham, Ala. 35223, 93 pages, \$5 clothbound, \$2 paperbound, 1966) tells the story of a black sharecroppers' revolt that took place in Alabama during the early thirties. The poem was written several years later.

But although both the poem and the events it describes are thirty years old, "In Egypt Land" has tremendous relevance today. It contains a remarkable description of a coalition between Negroes and whites after they realize that they are both oppressed by the same enemy, and after the blacks have achieved independent strength:

It wasn't many years ago Mr. Sam's children would chunk at Cliff James' children on their way home from school and split little Cliff's head open with a rock once because his daddy was getting too uppity buying himself a farm. Last time they had a Union meeting though at Milo Bentley's place who should show up but Mr. Sam and Mr. Bill



JOHN BEECHER

and asked was it only for colored or could white folks join because something just had to be done about the way things were. When Cliff told them it was for all the poor farmers that wanted to stick together they paid their nickel to sign up and their two cents each for first month's dues and they said they would try to get more white folks in because white men and black were getting beat with the same stick these days. A few months ago it took the Patriot several thousand

words to describe what 'black power' means, and how the press has misrepresented the concept. It seems to me Beecher accomplishes the same thing in 21 lines.

Most of the other poems in the anthology are considerably more recent. Some present a vision of the past in Birmingham, where he was raised:

Old Maggie "was grinding at the handle of our great big ice cream freezer that day she had her stroke It put a damper on my mother's luncheon..."

Others discuss recent events in the South:

I find you guilty Brenda Travis age 16 of an aggravatin breach of the public peace for sittin down at the counter of the bus station cafe and I therefore sentence you to one year's imprisonment in the colored females' reformatory And he concludes that Their South isn't on the way out It's already dead and gone only they don't know it They buried it themselves in that earthwork dam at Philadelphia Mississippi when they thought they were getting rid of the bodies

Copies of the book may be purchased from the above address, or through the Southern Patriot, 3210 W. Broadway, Louisville, Ky. 40211. —L. F.

Subscription Blank
The Patriot is sent to all persons who give \$2 or more annually to the Southern Conference Educational Fund. I enclose _____, of which \$2 is for Patriot subscription.
Name _____
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3210 W. Broadway
Louisville, Ky. 40211

A Movement 'Shopper's Guide'

Economic pressures are still one of the most potent weapons of those who would keep things as they are in the South. In a few places, resourceful people have launched self help projects to win economic independence. You can help the freedom movement and buy useful things for yourself or for Christmas gifts by purchasing their products, some of which are listed on this page:

From Americus, Ga. many people have bought pecans and pecan products to help Koinonia Farm, a cooperative farming community, survive.

Christmas gifts this year include a variety of candies and pecans, fruit cakes and "cotton patch" translations of some books

of the Bible, which place the characters of the New Testament in the Deep South. They are written by the Rev. Clarence Jordan.

Some sample prices: One pound bag pecan halves, \$1.85; three pound fruit cake, \$3.90. For a complete price list and order blank, write Koinonia Community, Route 2, Americus, Ga. 31709.

In Mississippi, poor people have formed a cooperative to produce and market leather products, dresses and quilts. Some of them suffered economic reprisals after taking part in civil rights activities. Others are unemployed. Some are on strike against intolerable working conditions. All have found a new dignity in working for themselves.

Suede and leather purses are available for \$10 and up. A variety of dresses and robes are also being produced; none cost more than \$13.95. For an illustrated

catalogue, write Liberty House, P.O. Box 3193, Jackson, Miss.

About 150 women in Alabama belong to the Freedom Quilting Bee, a cooperative which is helping them make and market quilts. Few of their families make over \$500 a year in farming. Many have been evicted for voter registration.

Through the cooperative they are producing quilts to sell for \$20-\$25 dollars. People can order them specifying the size, design and color; made to order quilts cost \$25. Some of the women make black and white "op art" quilts which are being bought to use as wall hangings.

Delivery on the quilts should not take more than two weeks. The cooperative would like to be paid in advance. For further information, write The Freedom Quilting Bee, c/o the Rev. Francis X. Walter, 810 29th Avenue, Tuscaloosa, Ala. 35401.

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I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.
Anne Braden, Editor.

CORE . . .
(Continued from Page 8)

"We were trying to set up co-ops to give the Negro economic power, before the cry of black power was ever raised. We organized a credit unit in Tallulah and are going to do the same thing in Bogalusa.

"We ran a candidate for the state central committee in Tallulah and won. Also the first Negroes ever were elected to the school board in Tallulah, Lake Providence, St. Francisville and Dorseyville."

Employment and education, along with public accommodations, are problems CORE must continue to work on, he said.

"The two major problems, however, are housing and police brutality. The police constantly harass us. Our phone is tapped. Police follow people, keeping them under surveillance. They red-bait us and go around telling ministers and the people in the black community that we are trying to start riots."

Thus, far from being finished in Louisiana, CORE is here to remain, with the same challenges and problems, and fighting the same resistance to change.

"SNCC Trends" Reprints

There has been a great demand for the May issue of The Patriot with the article on "The SNCC Trends: Challenge to White America." We have therefore reprinted the article on one sheet. Copies can be obtained by writing to SCEF, 3210 West Broadway, Louisville, Ky. 40211.

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SCEF Board Looks At 'Black Power'

(By Staff Correspondent)

LOUISVILLE, Ky.—The demand for "black power" should be viewed by white America as a challenge. It is a challenge to white people to examine themselves, the roots of racism, what is wrong with their society, and what to do about these problems.

This is the gist of a major policy statement adopted by the board of directors of the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF) at its semi-annual meeting here in late October. It was released to the press by SCEF president, the Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth.

SCEF, which is an interracial Southwide organization, noted in its statement that its major purpose since its beginning in 1938 has been to reach white Southerners and organize them around the common issues that unite them with black Southerners.

It said the present challenge simply means it must "do more effectively what has always been our declared function."

The SCEF board also called for unity in the civil rights movement. It voiced "outrage" at the attacks on the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), and "other militant civil rights organizations." It said the nation needs, for its own health, groups whose ideas "sting the conscience of America" and raise the questions "which white America must face."

The text of the statement on SNCC and CORE and major excerpts from the policy statement appear elsewhere on this page.

In other action, the board condemned the announced plans of the House Un-American Activities Committee to investigate disturbances in the nation's cities. The board also commended passage of fair housing legislation in Bardstown and Nelson County, Ky., and called on the Louisville Community to do likewise. A special resolution paid tribute to the late Lillian Smith. (Those resolutions are covered more fully elsewhere in this issue.)

In line with its determination to increase its efforts to get Southern white people into an alliance with black people, the SCEF board made plans to expand its organizing work in Kentucky, West Virginia, Tennessee, Alabama, and Louisiana.

The board met at Louisville's Calvary Baptist Church, which is pastored by one of its members, the Rev. William H. Bell.

'The Issue is White Supremacy'

The following are excerpts from the recent policy statement by SCEF on "black power" and related topics:

.... this drive for black strength represents a challenge to the white majority of our nation to face the ugly racial prejudice that is part of our national upbringing....

What many are calling today the "white backlash" appears to us to be something quite different and perhaps ultimately healthy. It is the bringing to the surface of long hidden racist feelings latent in the American consciousness....

Today white America is faced with uncomfortable demands which indicate clearly that the root of the problem is not black power but assumptions of white supremacy. The terrible truth is that nearly every white American and not a few Negro people are infected with the poisonous premise that what is white is superior.... The real challenge today is the basic work of changing the mind-set of white America....

On Black Power

The idea of black power has a long and honorable history but it is currently being misrepresented in the news media of the United States. In 1905, the Niagara Movement issued a call for the political and economic organiza-

tion of the black people of this country in order that they might create something of the strength of a Niagara Falls.... The Niagara Movement gave rise to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The cry for black power has arisen today because many black people decided that it was time to stop relying solely on petitioning the government for redress of grievances, and instead to organize themselves politically to elect persons who will represent them in government....

In terms of American democracy, there is nothing improper about Negro people demanding that they should be able to elect representatives of their own choice to key political offices, especially in those areas South and North where they are concentrated and in a clear numerical majority.

This demand carries with it the idea that they would exercise in the public interest the powers associated with such public offices. This would mean majority rule with concern and safeguards for the rights of minorities.

.... It would also represent a meaningful breakthrough toward achieving a more effective representative democracy for all Americans.

The simple truth is that the rank and file of Americans have never really controlled their government. The ability of the Negro people to take this successful step will provide us all with an opportunity to make American democracy work as it has never worked before....

On Interracial Action

From its earliest beginnings, SCEF has been an interracial organization, and we are in no way departing from our faith in interracial objectives.

.... Today we find many black people rejecting the word "integration." They feel that integration has too often meant assimilation of black people into white society as it is, on the assumption that what is white is better.

We, too, reject all such interpretations. The society into which we wish to see all our varied peoples integrated, (that is, made whole) is a new society. We are not afraid of radical social change. Indeed, we believe it is the social imperative of our day for black and white....

The board of SCEF feels that the needs and interest of the poorer and less privileged whites of the South are similar to those of poor black people. Since 1938, SCEF's objective has been to develop among these groups common allies in a joint struggle for a more democratic America. This present challenge increases our obligation to do even more effectively what has always been our declared function....

On Violence

The board of SCEF believes that a deliberate campaign has been launched to equate black power with violence in the public mind. We state our firm conviction that violence today is the product of no civil-rights organization; it is endemic in the American scene, part and parcel of United States history; and our contemporary power structure is even now engaged in one of the most violent and terrible wars in our nation's history.

We marvel at the courage of the men, women, and young people who have engaged in the civil-rights movement on the basis of peaceful and nonviolent direct action.... We believe that it has not been in vain, that it has achieved many of its objectives, and that this is no time to desert its banners.

Yet the white community must know that killings, police brutality, and personal indignities to black people must not continue. The issue of violence lies on the doorstep of the white community, and both the local and federal governments.

On Unity... and Dissent

There is today a calculated attempt to divide the civil-rights movement, to call one set of organizations responsible and another set irresponsible. We believe that everyone genuinely concerned with an effective movement is a responsible person, and must work for the inclusion in one parallel stream of the many organizations embracing different emphases....

Included must be those whose ideas are godfies, serving to sting the conscience of America with its racist heritage, and who advocate that profound social change which will bring about equal economic opportunity and genuine brotherhood....

We oppose all who seek to stifle honest dissent, be they in the White House, in the Congress, in the state legislatures, in the courts, or on the local scene. Those who attack civil-rights organizations that are raising the questions which white America must face are denying our society the opportunity to examine what is destroying us. Those who raise these basic questions are doing a service to the commonwealth that must be defended. Together we venture forth, or together we perish.

Bardstown Passes Fair Housing Law — First in South

The small town of Bardstown, Ky., and Nelson County, where it is located, have apparently become the first community in the South to adopt fair housing legislation.

Ordinances outlawing racial discrimination in the sale and rental of housing have been passed by city and county governing bodies.

The board of directors of SCEF, meeting in Louisville soon after the ordinances were made public, adopted a resolution praising citizens of the Bardstown area.

It urged the city of Louisville and its county, Jefferson, to follow this example and become the first major metropolitan area in the South to have fair housing laws.

Human rights groups in Louisville are now carrying on a campaign to pass such laws. SCEF pledged its support, including aid in organizing demonstrations if local groups decide these are needed.

Election Coverage

The Patriot's analysis of the November 8 election, which took place after this issue went to press, will appear in the December edition.

Seven Northern Leaders Study Movement Crisis

(By Staff Correspondent)

NEW YORK, N.Y.—Leaders of several northern-based civil rights groups, along with Negro organization leaders, recently issued a statement on the current crisis facing the civil rights movement.

The statement expressed alarm at what seems to be a retreat on the part of white America from its commitment to racial justice.

It was also interpreted by *The New York Times* and other news media as a repudiation of such organizations as SNCC and CORE and the idea of "black power."

However, the statement did not mention any organization by name and did not use the term "black power."

Original signers of the statement, which appeared as an ad in *The New York Times* were:

Dorothy Height, president, National Council of Negro Women; A. Philip Randolph, president, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; Bayard Rustin, director, A. Philip Randolph Institute; Roy Wilkins, executive director, NAACP; Whitney M. Young, Jr., executive director, National Urban League; Amos T. Hall, executive secretary, Conference of Grand Masters, Prince Hall Masons; Hobson Reynolds, Grand Exalted Ruler, Improved Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks of the World.

An effort was made to obtain the signature of the most prominent Southern spokesman of the freedom movement, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. However, Dr. King, apparently fearing that the statement might foster disunity in the movement, did not appear as a signer.

He said in a separate statement that he agreed with the main points in the statement but added:

"We are not interested in furthering any division in the civil rights movement, either with those who advocate less militancy or those who feel they are more militant."

He said SCLC hoped to continue to communicate with SNCC and CORE which he declared "have been great forces for the civil rights movement."

Soon thereafter, CORE made its own statement in regard to "black power" and related issues in a letter to its supporters. It called for unity in the movement and said the nation's bigots are trying to "split the friends of freedom."

The letter added: "CORE is a friend of all groups that are fighting for the cause of the black man in America."

Six New Members Join SCEF Board

Six members were added to the SCEF board of directors at its October meeting.

They are Dr. George Edwards, professor at Presbyterian Theological Seminary in Louisville; Mrs. Elizabeth Foote, teacher and artist of New Orleans; Mrs. Georgia Price, a leader of the

Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights in Birmingham; Miss Margaret Rigg, professor of art at Florida Presbyterian College, St. Petersburg; Mrs. Corinne Freeman Smith, community leader in New Orleans; and Dr. Harvey Webster, professor at the University of Louisville.

Jack Peebles, New Orleans attorney, was elected a vice-president of SCEF. Mrs. Clarice Campbell of Mississippi, formerly assistant secretary, was elected secretary to fill a vacancy in that office. Mrs. Rosalyn Laventhal of New Orleans was elected assistant secretary.

Attacks Weaken Us All

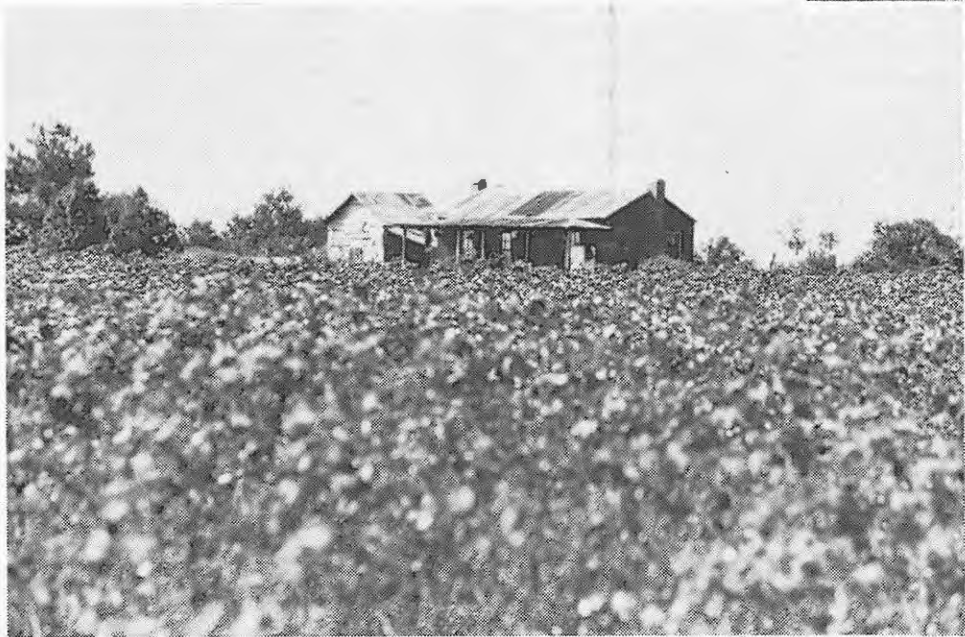
(Resolution adopted by SCEF Board of Directors, October 29, 1966)

We are outraged at the current attacks on SNCC, CORE, and other militant civil-rights organizations.

We view these attacks as an effort to undermine and finally destroy the whole civil-rights movement in America.

We especially deplore the singling out of individual leaders for personal persecution. We believe that Stokely Carmichael should not be made a scapegoat for America's social problems.

As we say in our policy statement of this date: "Those who attack civil-rights leaders and organizations that are raising the questions which white America must face are denying our society the opportunity to examine what is destroying us."



Photos by Les Jordan, Jr.

"Those who profess to favor freedom and yet deprecate agitation, are men who want rain without thunder and lightning. They want the ocean without the roar of its many waters."

FREDERICK DOUGLASS

THE PEOPLES FORUM

"If you want the happiness of the people, let them speak out and tell what kind of happiness they want and what kind they don't want!"

ALBERT CAMUS

Bond Answers Critics

I wonder if I might use the Patriot's pages to make clear my reasons for leaving my job as Communications Director for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

To set the record straight:

I am no longer employed by SNCC because I had wanted, and presently want to spend as much time as possible in private pursuits.

I have no disagreement with Stokely Carmichael or other SNCC workers, or with SNCC's policies and programs.

I believe now that SNCC has been and will continue to be the cutting edge of the Southern—and hopefully the Northern—movement.

My concern for the movement is that those who see "peace" as one issue and "civil rights" as another issue must come to see that they are the same; that the forces against freedom in Mississippi and Alabama often stand united against freedom and self-determination in Vietnam.

In addition, it would seem to be an absolute necessity that other groupings be formed through the South that follow, as nearly as local conditions permit, the organization and activities of the Lowndes County Freedom Organization. While my own experience certainly indicates that elective politics is not always a successful route to giving a voice to the voiceless, thoroughly organized, democratically-run grass roots political organizations of blacks and/or whites can make an effective stand for some change on

local, state and federal levels.

The seizure of power by the powerless, and the effective use of it, whether it forces itself against ballot boxes or banks, is key, I believe, to reaching a solution of our problems.

Finally, there must begin serious, long-range attempts—such as those made by SCEF—to organize those white persons who so badly need organization.

Despite the nay-sayers, I still believe there can be a fair and honest coalition—as opposed to the March-On-Washington type so common in the movement—between whites and Negroes. But the burden rests on all of us to work toward really giving these people a chance to decide on who their friends and enemies are, and to decide on the nature of the program that will begin to grant them independence.

JULIAN BOND
Atlanta, Georgia

FST Seeks Funds

The Free Southern Theater, about which Robert Analavage wrote with graphic enthusiasm in the September Patriot, has ended its 1966 season due to exhaustion of funds. The launching of a fifth season, hopefully in March, 1967, depends on our securing during these months an estimated \$50,000 (to support a staff of fifteen people for an eight month season).

Friends who have seen the FST or who have heard about it and believe in the idea, and who wish to help, should send contributions to:

Free Southern Theater
Box 2374
New Orleans, La.

Contributions to the FST are federally tax exempt.
THOMAS C. DENT
Chairman, Board of Directors

The Order Is Wrong

We keep having important visitors to Atlanta who refer to the "riots" and say it's too bad we had them, especially so close to the primary, and that they resulted in Maddox' winning the primary. After going on the record as being opposed to violence, then they go on to say that perhaps there are a few conditions in Atlanta that warrant some protests, and of course those conditions should be remedied.

For those who might be coming to Atlanta any time soon, I would like to ask that they change the order of their statements. When they start off "deploring violence", that's what gets the headline, particularly the local headline, and the "but" part of the statement seldom gets quoted.

If they would say the part about some conditions needing

changing first, and then add that they oppose violence (which you would not really expect to be news in most cases), it would help those of us who work here in Atlanta.

It would also help not to refer to what happened here as "riots". Compared to what has been described as "riots" in other places, they certainly were not. Reliable newsmen reported that the greatest amount of damage was done by the tear gas which the police used, and reliable officials have pointed out that there was no real fighting, shooting or looting, such as has characterized "riots" in other places.

Of course we can't quite decide—if you have riots, there must be some things wrong, which we would prefer to ignore, but these days, to be a big city, you have to have riots as well as professional ball teams. We're modest about it, but we're in the big league now—football, baseball and riots, all in the same year.

ELIZA PASCHALL
Atlanta, Georgia

A Question of Economics

When one reads of a jury in Alabama acquitting a Ku Klux Klansman of the slaying of a civil rights worker, and when one sees and hears individuals saying they intend to vote for staunch segregationist Lester Maddox for governor of Georgia, one realizes that with all the money and effort that has been directed to the cause of human rights, the entire movement has failed to inform the people at the grass roots as to who the monster is that is responsible for their plight.

Contrary to what people have been told, the issue is not "race"; it is not due to the color of one's skin—it is purely and simply a case of economics—slavery, cheap labor and a people divided by class, that they may be thoroughly exploited

from the womb to the tomb, by the system we know as "capitalism."

The evidence is everywhere that the so-called "elected officials" of the political body are nothing more than the executive committee for the people who own the government and the wealth of the land.

Until such time that some effort is made to take the grass roots people out of the jungle of political and economic ignorance by factual enlightenment, there will be little hope of uniting them to the position of "people's power" and the freedom from want.

JACK BRADY
Lake Charles, Louisiana

With this issue, The Southern Patriot resumes the printing of letters from readers. We invite you to write us—about events in your area, about what you are thinking, about articles in previous issues, whatever is on your mind. Our only request: keep the letters short, 300 words or under.

Draft Protesters File Suit on Atlanta Prisons

(Continued from Page 1)

closed and the demonstration continued.

By the next day the atmosphere was more tense and the crowds—both Negro and white—considerably larger. About 30 Negroes arrived to picket.

And this was the setting as Michael Simmons, one of the demonstrators, attempted to obey a draft notice by reporting to the center that morning. Failure to report by the specified time could result in a five-year jail sentence and/or a \$10,000 fine, his notice said.

He was turned away from the door four times by army personnel who said, in effect, that he had no business inside the building. On his fifth attempt, he and other demonstrators were dragged away from the door by policemen and loaded into a paddy wagon. In all, ten men and two young women were arrested.

As they were being booked at the jail their attorney, Howard Moore, saw policemen beating demonstrator Dwight Williams.

Early the next morning they were tried on a variety of charges including resisting arrest, refusing to obey an officer, disturbance and assault and battery.

There were numerous contradictions in the police testimony. And when Simmons testified that he



A VETERAN OF THE KOREAN WAR was among the demonstrators who picketed the Atlanta Induction Center in August. (SNCC photo by Rufus Hinton)

was to have been inducted into the armed services August 18 but had been prevented from doing so by the U.S. army, it was the first time this fact had been brought out in the case.

Atty. Moore pointed out that what was on trial here was not a

case of assault and battery but the whole question of whether or not black people have the right to demonstrate against the things they feel are wrong in America.

And he asked the court to bear in mind when deciding the verdict, that the United States claims it

is fighting a war to protect freedom in Vietnam.

All were found guilty on the charges involving the city. Three were bound over to the Fulton County jail on the assault and battery charges and one was bound over to the state on a charge of insurrection.

Their sentences ranged from 30 to 120 days in prison. They filed appeals, and bonds ranged between \$1,000 and \$3,500. Bail for the twelve totalled \$37,000. One charge against Johnny Wilson, 19, was changed to insurrection.

Atty. Moore told the judge his clients were being treated in this extreme fashion only to intimidate other black people from airing their views, if they happen to disagree with the majority opinion in this country.

And Judge T. C. Little reportedly replied: "I'm not giving them stiff sentences based on their color but because I have a son in Vietnam who is fighting to defend the principles of freedom and democracy. I have to give these people maximum sentences."

For the next two months the protesters remained in prison, while the judge refused to sign for their release. SNCC had managed to raise the bond shortly after they were sentenced.

Prison conditions were as bad as any they had encountered in the Deep South for civil rights

activity. Eating facilities were segregated, and black prisoners got worse diets. Living quarters were segregated, and black inmates had fewer facilities and privileges. Work details were segregated, and black prisoners were forced to do work whites refused.

Medical attention was inadequate. Two men with hay fever were forced to work in dusty areas. For punishment, they were deprived of food and crowded into "the hole"—a small room seven feet long, four feet wide, and seven feet high, with no ventilation, shared by four prisoners.

On October 10 workers from SNCC's Atlanta Project filed suit against Mayor Ivan Allen and Prison Administrator Ralph Hulsey, "to end cruel and unusual punishment in the Atlanta prisons and jails". Alternatively, they asked for the immediate release of the eleven draft protesters (one had already completed his sentence and been released).

Meanwhile, protests from civil liberties and peace groups across the nation poured in to Atlanta.

October 14, the judge signed the release papers and accepted the bond which had been posted almost two months earlier. By then, two more protesters had completed their sentences. No one knows how long he would have delayed signing the papers if SNCC had not decided to sue.

Mississippi: A Man and a Movement

By ROBERT ANALAVAGE
(Assistant Editor)

If one were to write a history of the freedom struggle in Mississippi and the individuals who have fought in that struggle, it would be difficult to ignore the name of Lawrence Guyot, the 26-year-old chairman of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP).

Guyot, who was born in Pass Christian, a small town on the Mississippi Gulf Coast, first became part of the Movement in 1962. A bus boycott was being organized and students at Tougaloo College decided to send a spokesman. They chose Guyot.

Since that time he has been engaged, every day of his life, in the dangerous and frustrating attempt by the black people of Mississippi to bring change to the state.

During the bus boycott he met Bob Moses of SNCC and became a SNCC field secretary. He went with Moses to McComb.

SNCC was attempting "underground guerrilla organization" at that time, he relates, "in that we fought to pull together young people and use them as a vehicle of entry into the community—to get to the parents, the schools, the churches."

After McComb, SNCC spent six months assembling students from across the state for leadership training classes. It was an important experience for a lot of discontented young people, Guyot says. Out of it grew the idea of moving into Greenwood. They had to fight for the simple right to stay there.

"Once people knew who we were, they wouldn't talk to us. Their experience with civil rights workers had been that when the pressure was put on, the organizers pulled out. We had to show them we were different."

He recalls that, when they moved into a house, the KKK and the citizens' councils would drive up and shine the car lights on the house, "just to show us they knew we were there."

"Every day we were followed by police and it was hard as hell to get people to listen to you when they knew the police were just outside the door."

They struggled through '62 and '63. Greenwood retaliated against people who participated in the movement by cutting off surplus food. Since the people they worked with earned only three dollars a day in the fields, this was critical. People outside the state were asked to send food.

In January of 1963 Dewey Green, Jr. tried to enroll at Ole Miss. His family's home was shot into. "The next day we marched 400 people down to see the chief of police, to demand protection and to try and register people to vote. Our only means of pressure was national attention and total involvement of the community," Guyot says.

Eight SNCC people were arrested. The demonstrations continued. "It is very important," Guyot points out, "that at that moment SNCC was the only organization which demanded and fought for the right of the illiterate to be registered and vote. We won that fight, against both Greenwood and the Justice Department."

Around that time five people returning from a workshop were arrested in Winona. A group of SNCC people from Greenwood went to see them.

While Guyot was being questioned by a state trooper, he refused to address him as "sir". Howard Zinn described what happened:

"The trooper slapped Guyot repeatedly, then turned him over to a group of Citizens' Council members. They beat him until he couldn't lift his arms, hit him

again and again in his face until his eyes were so swollen he couldn't open them."

In January of 1964 Guyot went with SNCC into Hattiesburg, Forest County. Ten Negroes were registered to vote there out of a potential 8,000. They decided to march to the courthouse, "the symbol of white rule since the South began."

Just as Greenwood had led up to the Hattiesburg project, so Hattiesburg showed what could be done in the famous '64 summer project, which utilized the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO). "Moses brought in CORE, the NAACP and SCLC. This was done to avoid regional and geographical splits and to create an umbrella for dissent," Guyot says.

Volunteers were pulled in from across the nation to work on voter registration, freedom schools and political organization. "The young Americans who were concerned about themselves and about the country came to Mississippi," Guyot says.

The leadership of COFO was broken down so that each of the five congressional districts in the state had a head. Guyot was in charge of the fifth district.

At one meeting, Moses proposed the idea of creating the Freedom Democratic Party. The black people of Mississippi were interested.

The party was organized from the precinct level up. Officers were elected. A delegation was appointed to go to the democratic convention at Atlantic City and challenge the seating of delegates from the state's segregationist Democratic Party.

Guyot was the delegation's chairman, but he did not go to Atlantic City because he was in jail at the time. The convention offered the MFDP a compromise. They would allow them to have two non-voting delegates, picked by Hubert Humphrey, who would be guests of the convention and representatives at large. The people rejected this compromise. "They found out there that nobody in America was willing to help them," Guyot explains.

When the delegates returned to Mississippi they were tried in Chancery Court for using the name 'democratic' in their party. "Some of the members resigned because they were not prepared to break the law in Mississippi as it related to their right to organize." (In September, 1966 the case of Mississippi vs. the MFDP was dropped).

Inertia set in. For three months the MFDP did nothing. "That was the crucial time. We had jolted the country. The state of Mississippi was on the defensive. Then the thing that gave impetus to us was the congressional challenge."

Under Article I, Section 5 of the U.S. Constitution, and using the fact that Negroes had been systematically excluded from voting, MFDP argued that the segregationist Democrats were illegally elected and should not be seated in the House of Representatives.

On the opening day of Congress William Fritz Ryan of New York and fifty other congressmen introduced a resolution to unseat the Mississippi Congressmen. Majority leader McCormack countered by offering a resolution that the segregationists be seated pending the challenge.

"We were charged with the responsibility of proving our claims," Guyot said. "We brought hundreds of attorneys from all over the country and the state to take depositions. We had the state on the defensive."

However, most of the nation was still not aroused; 143 congressmen voted for the challenge, with 242 against it. MFDP had lost.



MFDP CHAIRMAN LAWRENCE GUYOT

If Atlantic City and the challenge can be considered 'failures' of the MFDP, Guyot feels it has won several distinct victories. Among them, he lists the right for people to demonstrate in Mississippi, the winning of a reapportionment suit and the voiding of a municipal election in Sunflower County, Sen. Eastland's home.

However, he feels that the running of the first black candidates since Reconstruction in this year's primary, which captured eighteen per cent of the vote and won a majority in two counties, to be the most important accomplishment of MFDP.

As for the role of MFDP in the struggle today, Guyot says "the MFDP right now is fighting for everything in the state, from the right of women to serve on juries to the capturing of power by poor people on the local level, the level which affects their lives most. That comes in 1967."

"As long as there remain the political inconsistencies that are so blatant in the state of Mississippi—which is by no means unique," he says, "and as long as the control of the state machinery rests in a few hands, the concept of indigenous, local and aggressive political organization will continue."

Further, he believes that black and white people in the country must completely "revamp the political structure and have a new definition of economy or we will continue to have the complete lack of humanism that is so characteristic of our society."

After five years in the movement, he has concluded that the American people have no knowledge of the basic problems. "There are several terms which should be explained—and they are white supremacy, neocolonialism, black power and self determination."

He is angered by the connotation the country has given to black power. "The papers and the liberals did a complete distortion of it, and they continue to define the guidelines for rebellion and dissent. The only difference between America and South Africa is the distance," he declares.

HIGHLANDER

(Continued from Page 1)

nounced that he would introduce a resolution in the City Council requesting the state attorney general to revoke their charter.

When the Council met, the mayor said the Center had been investigated and was doing nothing illegal. Walker said he wanted to present in private session "evidence" that had been "in Highlander's possession." Observers wondered if this was related to the break-in at Highlander last year, when all its records, tape recordings of workshops, and valuable equipment were stolen.

At Patriot presstime, no further action had been taken. It is worth noting, however, that the forces behind the attack apparently go beyond the Ku Klux Klan and one city councilman.

All of Highlander's automobile insurance has been cancelled; so have airline credit cards, and not one of Knoxville's four major banks would accept a deposit of funds granted Highlander by a foundation.

Meantime, support for Highlander's right to exist is mounting. At the City Council meeting, about 70 Knoxville residents appeared to express concern. Baxton Bryant, of the Tennessee Council on Human Relations, spoke for Highlander's rights.

The Knoxville chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union issued a statement of support. In December, the ACLU, the Knoxville Human Relations Council, and Citizens for Progress, a civil rights group, plan a forum to inform the public about the Highlander attack.



KLANSMEN MARCH at Highlander Center protesting its existence. Highlander Folk School at Montecagle, Tenn., one of the few centers of democracy ever produced in the South, was closed, then burned to the ground by combined state and vigilante action. Now they attack Highland Center, its successor. (Photo by Carol Browne)



ACMHR marks Tenth Year

'A Long Road Still Ahead'

(By Staff Correspondent)

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — During the last ten years the freedom movement in Birmingham has transformed this city and shaken America.

Without Birmingham, there might have been no Civil Rights Act of 1964 and perhaps no Voting Rights Act of 1965. And without the example of Birmingham's people there would have been far fewer people in motion throughout the south and the nation, challenging racism in their own communities.

Last month black people here looked back over the victories and defeats of the last ten years and rededicated themselves to the task of making Birmingham a free city. The occasion was the tenth anniversary of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights (ACMHR), the organization that has spear-headed the drive for human equality here.

And they invited the man who sparked their revolution to remain with them to complete the task.

Early in the summer, the Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, who has led the ACMHR since it began, had announced he would retire as president in the fall.

But during a four-day appreciation program for him last month, the people said they wanted

him to remain to help them project a program for the future. Mr. Shuttlesworth agreed.

Indications of what this program might include came in a speech by the Rev. C. T. Vivian the first night of the anniversary program, and in a history of the Birmingham Movement published jointly by the ACMHR and SCEF.

Mr. Vivian said: "When we sing 'We Shall Overcome' it must be a reality. We must overcome Wallace in this state. You've got to organize so well, block by block, that every man votes and every man moves—so that you can break through a power structure none of you want."

The booklet pointed out that, "for the great masses of black people, jobs are still non-existent or at the lowest rungs of the economic ladder. And the old and dilapidated houses along the streets of Birmingham's inner city stand as a reminder that this city has slum ghettos as depressed as any in the South or in the nation."

And in a speech made during the anniversary program, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. of SCLC charged that "White America never did intend to integrate housing and schools, or to give fair jobs to Negroes. It isn't any backlash. It's just coming out now. They've been hiding it."



Both pictures on this page show aspects of Birmingham life today—an integrated restaurant and the slums that still remain. Both are from the 32-page brochure on the history of the Birmingham movement published by ACMHR and SCEF. Copies may be purchased for \$1 from SCEF, 3210 West Broadway, Louisville, Ky. 40211. Proceeds go to carry on the Birmingham program.

Tempers Flare in Tallulah On Jailing of Local Leader

By ROBERT ANALAVAGE

TALLULAH, La. — Zelma Wyche, the leader of the Tallulah Civic and Voters' League, must sit in his cell at the East Carroll Prison sometimes and ponder the events that put him there.

He is serving eight months for simple battery and is in serious danger of having to serve 10 years for a felony.

Meanwhile, his case has caused a major crisis in Louisiana. Tallulah black people, who make up approximately 60 per cent of the population, have threatened to march on the prison unless he is released.

The Louisiana Bi-racial Commission is planning to ask the Governor to intervene personally and the Department of Justice is asking everybody—from the CORE staff who worked in the area to the Lawyers' Constitutional Defence Committee (LCDC), which is fighting the case in federal court—to use their influence to prevent a riot.

To understand all this it is necessary to go back to July 28, when Mr. Wyche entered a Tallulah restaurant which clearly falls under the Title II provision of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

After a brief argument with the owner he was served, ate his meal, and left for the headquarters of the local movement.

Shortly thereafter another Negro tried to get service at the same restaurant. A white doctor who was having lunch there became infuriated at the sight of the Negro and the owner refused to serve him.

The man immediately went to tell Wyche what had happened, and the two men returned to the restaurant.

When the doctor saw the two Negroes, his fury turned to hysteria. He chased them out of the restaurant. A crowd of black and white people gathered. While Wyche and the doctor argued, directly facing one another, the doctor was shoved from behind and knocked to the pavement. No one, including the doctor, knew who did it. And it was at this point that Louisiana law turned into a nightmare for Zelma Wyche.

He was charged with simple battery, in spite of the fact that he was not the person who shoved the doctor and that no witness could be produced who knew who did.

Wyche, the prosecutor argued, in his capacity as leader of the movement, had created a situation which incited the act. He was found guilty and sentenced to eight months in prison.

Even more serious, and more incredible, was a charge against him of aggravated burglary. The law states that anyone making an "unauthorized entry into a structure" with the intent to commit a crime is guilty of a felony.

The "unauthorized entry" was into the restaurant, which is open 24 hours a day. The "crime" was insisting on a Negro's right to be served in a business which exists solely to provide service to the public. It was this insistence, the state argues, which led to the assault on the doctor. . . .

Wyche was sentenced to ten years in prison.

Richard Sobol of LCDC, who fought the case for him, filed an appeal and asked that Wyche be set free on bail. "Louisiana law," he explained, "allows for this when an appeal is pending."

The trial judge denied this. Sobol filed a writ of habeas corpus and the Louisiana Superior Court ordered Wyche to be released. The trial judge again refused on the grounds that he didn't think "the appeal was worth anything."

The Louisiana Superior Court took the case under advisement but has never ruled on it, refusing both to review the case and to hear the appeal.

Sobol has since been fighting in federal courts, first in the federal district court before Judge Ben Dawkins in Shreveport and presently in the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals. New Orleans.

"This is a very serious matter," Sobol said. "Unless the federal court intervenes, Mr. Wyche is going to be in jail a good number of years."

More 'People Power' Strengthens La. CORE

(By Staff Correspondent)

"I think CORE is stronger now. We got caught up in the idea of having large numbers of people around and we depended on the whites for our financial base. Now we have fewer people but they are more disciplined, more experienced, and most of our money comes from the Black community."

—ISAAC REYNOLDS, Chairman, Louisiana CORE

After CORE's stand on Vietnam and its identification with 'black power', many people feared the organization was finished in Louisiana.

As the statement by Mr. Reynolds indicates, CORE is stronger now in the state than it has ever been.

They have increased their projects in Louisiana to twelve towns. In addition, an independent chapter has been formed in New Orleans itself and CORE staffers, including Mr. Reynolds, had a lot to do with school desegregation in Plaquemines County, the parish controlled by racist Leander Perez.

The reason for the increased activity, Reynolds says, is that the CORE staffers "have been able to turn over a lot of the work to the local people."

He discussed the reason why a large city like New Orleans had been without a project so long: "I believe they expected our office, which is the state office, to be the local project. We couldn't do both—work on a state-wide basis and work locally also."

Approximately 35 people met recently to form the New Orleans chapter. "It was a good cross-section of people," Reynolds said. "They had college students, laborers, school teachers, housewives. About one-fifth of the people were white."

In the past Louisiana CORE, much like CORE nationally, had many white staff workers. Yet today they retain only one white organizer in the state.

"We have no ban against using white workers in CORE," Reynolds said, "but we've had problems in the past. Rural Negroes know whites only as the boss. They will do whatever a white organizer tells them to do, even though they have a different opinion."

"As for the office, the first thing a black person should see when he walks into a civil rights office is another black person working."

"We will hire white staffers after they are screened and can qualify for a certain area where we feel they won't hurt the program."

But, discussing black power, Reynolds said he didn't feel Louisiana CORE was doing anything different from what it has always done.

(Continued on Page 2)

Sarah Collins Needs Our Help

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — As Birmingham Negroes celebrated the tenth anniversary of their movement, many recalled a tragedy that brought their struggle to America's attention three years ago—the death of four little girls in a church bombing.

But few remembered another child, who did not die in the bombing but was terribly injured by it.

Sarah Collins is the younger sister of Addie Collins, one of the four girls. She lost an eye in the explosion.

Today she lives the life of a normal 16-year-old.

But "normal" life, for many Birmingham families like Sarah's, means eight people living in three tiny rooms. For her sisters, and other Birmingham girls, it means attending business school after a full day's work, if they are to attend at all.

Sarah's family has the additional burden of finding about 200 dollars to send her to a special summer camp for blind and partially blind children, in Vermont.

The Collins cannot afford to pay her transportation there. Readers who wish to help Sarah and other children like her go to camp should make checks out to the American Ethical Union and mail them to Mrs. Robert Stein, 221 Hardscrabble Road, Briarcliff Manor, New York 10510.