

THE STUDENT VOICE

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STATE POLICE BEAT ARK. DEMONSTRATORS

LITTLE ROCK, ARK. - Demonstrations at a segregated, "private" club in the basement of the state capitol here resulted in Alabama-style beatings and gassings from Arkansas State Troopers March 18 and 19.

During a demonstration by 40 more people on March 19, SNCC worker Howard Himmelbaum was burned with acid while former SNCC staffer Bill Whitfield now a University of Arkansas student, was hospitalized after he was thrown from the capitol through the air. He landed on his head. One witness described the sound "as the most sickening 'I've ever heard.'" Eight were hospitalized in all.

20 state troopers with billy clubs and cattle prods attacked a group of students from Philander Smith College and SNCC workers trying to eat at the all-white club March 18, 7 white and 3 Negro students from the University of Arkansas came 220 miles to
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SNCC CHAIRMAN JOHN LEWIS recuperates in Selma's Good Samaritan Hospital from a March 7 beating. Lewis suffering from a fractured skull, was released just before another march on March 9 which turned back because of a pre-arranged agreement between Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and federal officials.

BOYCOTT CONTINUES IN DELTA COUNTIES

ISSAQUENA COUNTY, MISS - A school boycott involving over 250 students has gone into its second month here.

The group, out since Feb. 3, has been conducting their own schools with classes being taught by students, parents and some workers from the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

The boycott began after 181 students were suspended from school for wearing SNCC "freedom pins". Five hundred of the school's 1,100 pupils left protesting the denial of the right to wear the black and white hand clasp button.

Students have set up Freedom Schools in Churches in Tallula, Mayersville, Hopedale, Valewood and Cary with a curriculum of math, reading and "discussions of freedom".

"Older students are teaching the younger," said Mrs. Eunida Blackwell, a local resident who has worked closely with the boycotting students. "The students discuss democracy, freedom, wages,
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Violence, Legal Tactics Retard Full Registration

Posse Provides Legal Terror

SELMA, ALA. - Jim Clark was around when the first voter registration workers, from the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), arrived here in the fall of 1962. Then as now, the sheriff and his specially deputized posse maintain a brutal control over the community.

Private vigilante and terror groups such as the KKK have had little outward success or activity in Dallas County. SNCC workers here attribute this to the fact that Sheriff Clark provides a means for legal terror and brutality. One worker explained that "in Mississippi violence is initiated and carried out by individuals and private vigilante groups, while here the whites sit back and let the tax supported government police force do their terror."

Clark was first elected in 1955, and has won reelection since then. He faces three Justice Department suits charging him with interfering with and intimidating potential Negro voters and staff members from the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). Clark's proposal for solving Selma's racial troubles is
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Officials Attempt Legal Circumvention

MONTGOMERY, ALA. - Alabama and Mississippi are trying to "liberalize" their voting requirements in an attempt to escape pressure from the Administration's new voting bill.

An Alabama senator who introduced a bill in the state legislature to drop the state's literacy requirement and eliminate the poll tax said, "I feel Alabama must get out from under the 50% stipulation outlined in the President's speech."

"As I understand it, once a state has registered 50% of its adult population then it no longer comes under the provisions of the proposed federal law," he said.

Fewer than 5% of the eligible Negroes in Mississippi are registered to vote; only 21% of the eligible Alabama Negro voters are registered.

In Mississippi, 67% of the eligible whites are registered. Six Mississippi election laws, enacted in 1962, and two constitutional amendments are under attack now by the Justice Department.

Officials there are considering state-wide
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DEATHS MOUNT IN ALABAMA CAMPAIGN

SELMA, ALABAMA -- The murder of a Unitarian minister has raised the number of deaths associated with civil rights in Alabama.

The death of James Reeb of Boston brings the count to nine known murders.

Rev. Reeb, the father of four children, came here on a request from rights leaders after state troopers and sheriff's possemen brutally put down a March to Montgomery. Reeb and two other ministers were attacked by a group of Selma whites. Two days later the 38 year old minister died.

Four Dallas County white men were arrested and charged with Rev. Reeb's murder. SNCC workers here expressed doubt about any chance of getting a conviction out of an Alabama jury.

"It's a shame that it takes the murder of a northern white minister to bring attention to a common happening for Alabama Negroes," a rights worker stated.

Rev. Reeb's death makes the second in three weeks in this central Alabama died.

On Feb. 18, Jimmy Lee Jackson was shot in Marian. Eight days later he died.
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MARCHING IN MONTGOMERY, Student demonstrators in the Alabama state capitol sit-down on a downtown street to protest the lack of the right to peacefully assemble.

676 1576 Nora Swanning

SNCC Asks For Paper Boycott

ATLANTA, GA. - The SNCC has announced a national boycott of Hammermill Paper Company of Erie, Pennsylvania "until such time as they reverse their decision to locate in Selma or exert pressure on Alabama officials to discontinue their racist policies."

The paper company announced plans February 4 to build a \$35 million plant in Selma.

Selma was chosen, the paper company said, because of "fine reports" the company had received about "the character of the community and its people."

Reverend John Spike of the National Council of Churches called the paper company's statement "either the height of naivete or the depth of racism."

The state of Alabama has extended its credit to help finance the plant, access roads, inland docks, and a new bridge under a program that would employ federal as well as state funds.

Three weeks after the Hammermill announcement, Liberty National Life Insurance Company bought \$400,000 worth of industrial bonds to finance the new plant. Last December 6, Liberty Life officials were hosts at a Selma barbecue for Dallas County Sheriff Jim Clark and members of his police force, originally formed to put down labor organizing attempts in Selma.

SNCC is asking for "continued pressure" on the paper company until they "clarify their position in Alabama."

ALA. REPORT

ATLANTA, GA. - For a booklet on "The General Condition Of The Alabama Negro", write to SNCC, 6 Raymond Street, Atlanta, Georgia 30314.

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ALA. DEATHS

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Jackson was shot after state troopers broke up a night march to the Perry County Courthouse where troopers brutally beat women and children. Several newsmen were attacked while police turned the other way.

Jackson was sitting in a Marion cafe after the beatings occurred. State troopers rushed in looking for people who they said had been throwing rocks and bottles. A trooper grabbed Jackson; one shot him in the abdomen. The 26 year old Negro ran from the cafe with troopers beating him.

Jackson, who was refused treatment at the Marion hospital, was taken to a hospital in Selma twenty five miles away. On February 26, he died of complications.

Al Lingo, head of the state patrol reported that he had "made a thorough investigation of the shooting." Lingo turned the information over to Circuit Solicitor Blanchard McCleod, a member of the Wilcox County White Citizens Council and under three Justice Department

Suits charging voter intimidation and interference, who stated that a grand jury investigation would be held.

The killer of Jimmy Lee Jackson is yet to be prosecuted.

A survey of racially associated deaths reveals little has been done to prosecute the killers of the other seven people who have died since April 1963.

Item; William Moore, a 35 year old mail carrier, was gunned down on U. S. Highway 11 near Attalla, in Etowah County, Alabama. On April 24, 1963 Moore was dead.

The Justice Department announced that there were no federal violations. Within a few days the local sheriff arrested a local white. Ballistic tests showed that the suspect's gun had fired the shots that killed Moore. The police waited for five months for the regular grand jury to meet. On Sept. 13, the Etowah County Grand Jury refused to indict the suspected murder.

Item; Two days later on Sept. 15 a dynamite blast killed four girls and injured 20 more. The girls, Carole Robertson, 16, Carol Denise McNair, 11, Addie Mae Collins, 14, and Cynthia Diane Wesley, 14, were preparing for Sunday School at Sixteenth Street Baptist Church

WILL YOU HELP?

"Its hard to refuse folks with two degrees. They got more education than me!"

.....an Alabama registrar.

Most Negro "folk" in Alabama don't have any degrees. But they deserve a chance to make decisions about their own lives.

SNCC workers in Hale, Greene, Wilcox, Lowndes, Perry and Dallas Counties in Alabama's Black Belt hope to give Alabama Negroes that chance.

Their work is hard and dangerous. But Lowndes and Wilcox Counties now have their first Negro voters since Reconstruction.

Will you help SNCC continue?

I want to keep SNCC workers in Alabama. I enclose

\$ _____ toward SNCC's Alabama drive.

Name _____

Address _____ City _____

State _____ Zip Code _____

(Contributors of \$3.00 or more receive a 12-month subscription to the Student Voice)

Boycott

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chopping cotton and things like that," she commented.

Parents of boycotting students have filed a suit calling for desegregation of the school system, improved schools and the right to wear the SNCC buttons. The parents state that the boycott will continue until their demands are met.

"Students seem generally unconcerned about the fact that they are missing regular school," said Judy Walborn, SNCC Staff Education Coordinator. "Perhaps because they realize that regular school is, in many ways, irrelevant to their lives."

One student said, "What difference does it make whether we get a diploma or not? We're all going to the fields anyway. We don't need a diploma to chop cot-

when the bomb exploded.

Three white men with Klan records were taken into custody by Al Lingo of the Alabama State Patrol. In June 1963, the state Circuit Court set the three free on appeal for lack of evidence.

In November 1964 the FBI announced that it knew the identities of the "small group of Klansmen" who had committed the crime. The Bureau said it did not have evidence to make arrests. "This investigation was prejudiced by premature arrests made by the Alabama Highway Patrol. Consequently it has not yet been possible to obtain evidence or confessions to assure successful prosecution," the FBI said.

A year and half later, the killers of the girls have yet to be punished.

Item; While the dead and injured still lay at the ruins of the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church, two Negro boys rode through the Negro section of Birmingham. A motorcycle plastered with confederate stickers carrying two white youths sped past the young Negroes. A white pointed a .22 pistol and shot twice. Minutes later Virgil Ware, 13, died.

Ware's killers, two white boys, ages 16 and 17 were apprehended. The two quickly signed confessions, were charged with first degree murder and released on \$10,000 bond.

Both boys were convicted on a reduced charge of second degree manslaughter and sentenced to seven months imprisonment. A few days later the youth who had done the shooting was put on probation. The judge lectured him, "For God's sake, don't have another lapse."

Item; The death of Johnny Brown Robinson brought the toll to six on that Sept. 15.

Shortly after the bombing, Negroes took to the streets of Birmingham. City police claim Robinson was throwing rocks at a police car. They ordered him to stop. Police claim the 16 year-old boy continued to throw rocks. An officer fired over his head with a shotgun. Johnny Brown Robinson died from the lead pellets that struck him in the neck.

Alabama has changed little from the death of William Moore to the death of James Reeb.

Miss Walborn commented that the Issaquena-Sharkey Freedom School is different from freedom schools that operated in Mississippi last summer because "students are teaching themselves."

"What is happening in this freedom school," she said, "is that students are beginning to discover that they know a great deal about what they need to know -- that is about the things that matter in their lives."

"This is a revolutionary concept in education," the SNCC coordinator said. "Students can give themselves a better education than the local schools can about what democracy is, what freedom means and how people work together to bring about changes in the society."

Miss Walborn added that "these are the most relevant things to their lives."



THE WHITE CITIZENS' COUNCIL

Power For The Status Quo

The National Guard Armory was full of 1500 white citizens in their Sunday best eating barbecue chicken at \$1.50 a person. By their looks the audience was made up of middle class business people, professionals and well to do farmers, with their wives and children. It could have been a Monday night church dinner anywhere in the United States. But this dinner wasn't just anywhere; it was in Selma, Ala., and the people were there to hear Ross Barnett.

"Thank God that I am an American, a Southerner, a Mississippian and a charter member of the Mississippi White Citizens' Council," yelled Barnett. The former Mississippi governor was the main attraction at the Dallas County White Citizens' Council annual membership dinner and rally.

Barnett told them that, "The secret purpose of our enemies is to diffuse our blood, confuse our minds and degrade our character, that we may not be able to stand against the wiles of the devil."

While he was speaking an equal number of Negroes were meeting across town in two churches listening to John Lewis, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and Dr. Martin Luther King of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). King told the crowd, "Nothing will turn us back now."

The SNCC and SCLC voter registration drive had, on that Feb. 22, gone into its sixth week with over 3500 people seeing the jails of Selma and Marion, in nearby Perry County.

Barnett's speech called for the maintenance of racial purity and the Anglo-Saxon Protestant heritage, and continuing the fight against the communist conspiracy. He seemed unaware of recent happen-

ings in the county. Barnett talked in generalities. The people were looking for answers to their problems; they wanted specifics; Barnett talked of "Americanism."

The former governor did not once mention Negro voter registration which was in the minds of the crowd in a county where Negroes make up 57% of the population.

Dallas County, population 57,000, is located in the heart of Black Belt Alabama. Selma is its county seat. It is a county where 87% of all Negro families make less than \$4,000 and where 67% of the Negroes have less than a high school education.



It is a county that boasts that it has the first, largest and most active chapters of Alabama's Association of Citizens Councils.

The announced program of the Dallas County White Citizens' Council is "to maintain states rights, segregation and racial integrity." The Council states that it is "leading the resistance movement against race mixers, and keeping advocates of racial strife out of many communities." It says that, "It is preserving our social and economic order by acting quietly and without fanfare...to prevent racial strife."

The Council's definition of "racial strife" was brought out in an ad in the

Selma TIMES-JOURNAL, June 2, 1963. It asked, "Is it worth four dollars (membership) to you to prevent sit-ins, mob marches and wholesale Negro voter registration efforts in Selma?"

In order to "prevent" Negro activity the Council must maintain control over the whole community. This means not only keeping Negroes "in line" but also whites who do not follow its program.

The white group maintains this control through two means: organization and infiltration. It organizes the white leadership of the community to effect its program, because in order to be effective the Council



must eliminate all dissent from whites.

Most whites in the community are members, but not all by choice. "There is great social and economic pressure to join. Not to join would be socially lowering and economically damaging," a local white woman said.

The Council has many means to pressure those who do not join. In May, 1959, the Dallas Council dealt with uncooperative whites by publishing a list of all business and professional people who were not members.

With the whites organized, the Council "infiltrates" the community, or as Robert Patterson, Exe-

cutive Secretary of the Citizens' Councils of Mississippi puts it:

"The Citizens' Councils think and plan as a group and then are able to act as individuals within their various churches, schools or any other organization to which they may belong. This has already proved effective in many, many instances."

The Council most effectively works through individual members who are in important business and government positions. It uses these people to put its program into practice.

Thus the Council's power lies not in the organization but through its individual members who wield an enormous amount of personal power by virtue of their positions in the community.

The Dallas County Council is a prime example of the group's power; its leadership reads like a who's who of the community.

The president of the Dallas Council is former mayor Chris Heinz. Heinz is a member of the board of directors of the Chamber of Commerce and a leading insurance and real estate man. He is also a good friend of Col. Richard Ault, commandant of Craig Air Force Base, one of the major "industries" of Selma. Ault has, on numerous occasions, refused requests by SNCC to declare Selma off limits to air force personnel.

It was Heinz who introduced Barnett at the rally. He told the group, "We can no longer afford the luxury of the attitude of 'Let George (Wallace) do it.'"

"We have arrived at a point when all white people must stand up and be counted," the former mayor said. "We must lay aside personal differences and stand united as one unbreakable unit."

The Citizens' Council has its legislative leader in State Senator Walter Givhan of the 30th district which includes Dallas and adjoining Lowndes County. The senator is past president of the Alabama Association of Citizens' Councils and a member of the executive committee of the Dallas Council.

An even more potentially powerful man than Senator Givhan is Earl Goodwin. Goodwin is owner of two large firms that hire over 300 people. He is former vice-president of the Chamber of Commerce, "Manufacturer of the Year", and a member of the white group's executive committee. Much of his power lies in the fact that he is a member of the State Democratic Executive Committee. Through this office Goodwin controls much of the patronage in the area. "Earl Goodwin is being talked about as the next candidate for governor," a local white reported.

(One of the heads of the Democratic Committee is the infamous Eugene "Bull" Connor of Birmingham, Connor, who is originally from Selma, is Democratic National Committeeman from Alabama. He appeared at the Barnett rally and was heard to comment, "I've belonged to this county (Citizens' Council) since it's been organized.")

The Dallas unit, which might be called a model Council, has an executive committee that includes the president and past president of the Real Estate Association, the past president of the Exchange Club, members of the board of directors of the Chamber of Commerce, the County Engineer, the Clerk in charge of issuing county licenses, a member of the Dallas County Court of Revenues (the governing body of the county), the director of recreation for the city of Selma, and a member of the State Agriculture Department.

NEXT ISSUE—How the council operates

Clark

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for "outside agitators" to leave "and let Alabama handle its own problems." Clark said recent demonstrations "have done more to destroy the relations between the white man and the Negro in Selma and Dallas County than any other one thing that has happened in the last 100 years."

The Sheriff always carries an electric cattle prod, which he describes as a "most humane instrument." He is usually accompanied by some members of his 300-man strong civilian posse, organized in 1958 to break up union organizing attempts here.

During the current drive Judge Thomas finally issued a restraining order against Clark and other county officials, enjoining them from interfering "with the orderly process of voter registration." Thomas ordered Clark to allow at least 100 people in line at the courthouse. Clark took this to mean only a hundred and promptly arrested any in excess. Later the same judge, somewhat piqued by Clark's sudden interest in the letter of the law, issued another injunction ordering the registration board to stop "refusing to receive and process expeditiously applications for voter registration." He also threw out part of Alabama's registration questionnaire.

8 1/2 Raymond Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314



INJURED SELMA STUDENTS retreat back to Brown's Chapel Church after a March 7 March on Montgomery was broken up by club and whip-swinging state troopers using "nausea" and tear gas. Dozens were injured and several hospitalized.

Thomas' order failed to deter Clark. Most recently the sheriff has, as the Atlanta CONSTITUTION editorially put it, "introduced the cattle round-up" to the field of race relations. Clark forced "some 160 school children... alternately to walk and to run through the downtown streets and three miles into the country," the CONSTITUTION stated. "But the sheriff was merciful," the editorial continued, "the round-up ended in release, not branding."

Federal agents haven't scared Clark either. On October 7, 1963 FBI agents took notes while the Sheriff's men beat and ar-

rested two SNCC workers taking food and water to Negroes waiting in line to register to vote.

Nor has Clark's terror been bound by the Dallas County border line. Clark has many times traveled the state with his buddy Al Lingo, head of the Alabama State Troopers. Clark's list of appearances read like a who's who of Alabama racial trouble spots. The University of Alabama, Birmingham and Tuskegee are just a few spots where Blake and his posse lent a hand. In Notasulga Clark pulled photographer Vernon Meritt off a bus going to a newly desegregated school, clubbed him and smashed his camera.

Vote Laws

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registration under newer, less strict standards, but fear an increase of Negro voting, especially in 28 of the state's 82 counties where Negroes outnumber whites.

The Justice Department backed away from asking the U. S. Supreme Court to declare Mississippi's 1890 voting law unconstitutional. Instead, Solicitor Archibald Cox asked the Court to send the case, U.S. V. MISSISSIPPI, back to a three-judge court without ruling on the constitutionality of the state's laws.

Alabama Governor George C. Wallace announced March 17 he had instructed the registrars of five black belt counties to process voter applications for 10 extra days.

Four of the counties - Dallas, Marengo, Perry and Wilcox - have more than a 50% Negro population. The fifth is Autauga, with a 42% Negro population. Wilcox's first Negro voter since Reconstruction was registered on March 15, and 12 Negroes became the first of their race to register in Lowndes County since Reconstruction that same day.

The first Wilcox Negro voter is John Cook, a blacksmith from Coy. SNCC Chairman John Lewis spoke at that small community's first mass meeting on February 23 and urged Negroes there to register to vote. SNCC workers took a group of Wilcox County Negroes to the courthouse in Camden in 1963 in the first Negro registration attempt in that county in 25 years.

Registrar Alison Wall said Cook and other Negroes who took the test "looked pretty good to me." "You know", the registrar said, "people with two degrees, its pretty hard to turn them down. They're better educated than me."

Wilcox County Negroes, and Negroes in other Alabama counties, had complained that a "voucher" provision in state law - requiring that a registered voter "vouch" for all new voters. They claim that in counties like Wilcox and Lowndes, where there were no Negro voters until recently no registered whites would vouch for them. The March 15 Negro

Arkansas

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participate in the protest.

The eating place became a private club after the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Two white SNCC workers ate there for several days without incident or membership in the club, but when 35 whites and Negroes tried to eat there on March 11 they were forcibly dispersed by city policemen and state troopers.

During the March 18 demonstration, riot helmeted troopers beat and burned the protestors. Several men were struck in their genitals, but later joined a 150-man picket line around the building.

applicants received vouchers from outside their counties, however. At least one Wilcox Negro, however, had a Wilcox County voucher, apparently a white man.

SNCC workers have spread their organizing drive into 12 Black Belt Counties in Alabama.

In Mobile, a federal judge ordered the Perry County Board of Registrars to "expedite" registration of Negro applicants. The order, similar to one issued against the Dallas County (Selma) Board on March 6, said the Board has "continued to engage in acts and practices of discrimination, including the imposition of new and more onerous procedures and requirements."

Perry County has a federal voting registrar, referee, but even he has come under fire from local Negroes and the Justice Department. Out of 61 Negroes tested by the registrar, a referee Greensboro, Alabama native, during a month-long period in early 1965, 59 failed to pass the test. The Justice Department had charged in an August, 1962 suit that there were 5,202 Negroes and 3,441 white persons of voting age in the county. They said only 257 Negroes and about 3,100 whites were registered to vote.

Despite the failure of the federal referee to increase Negro registration in that county, the Alabama House of Representatives passed a resolution condemning federal referees, saying their presence "would lead to many serious problems."