



## STATE OF THE SOUTHERN STATES

This round-up of events, developments and trends in civil rights, justice, politics, employment and other aspects of southern change, advancement and setback, comes from the Southern Regional Council staff and professional reporters.

### ALABAMA

The three-judge federal court which supervises Alabama's statewide school desegregation suit rejected on October 18 pleas from both Gov. Albert Brewer and the Alabama Education Association, which represents most of the state's 21,000 white teachers, to modify an order of August 28 directing 76 school systems to carry out extensive faculty and pupil desegregation.

Governor Brewer argued that the court's order imposed "an impossible task" on local school superintendents and urged local officials not to cooperate with the Justice Department, which he called "our adversary."

The court found, however, that 57 of the 76 school districts had already complied with the court's directives or had submitted good reasons explaining why they could not comply.

The remaining 19, the court said, either "failed to comply or failed to state any acceptable reasons for noncompliance." These were directed to appear in court on November 18 to show cause why they should not be required to abandon free-

dom of choice and institute a system of zoning, consolidation, or pairing in order to end the dual school system.

Meanwhile, Mobile schools—which are not covered by the statewide desegregation order but are under a separate suit—enrolled 2,800 Negro children in formerly white schools and 253 white children in formerly all-Negro schools. This compares with 632 Negro children who enrolled in formerly all-white schools last year. The Mobile school system, the state's largest with 75,000 pupils, is operating under a limited zoning plan to achieve desegregation.

Also on the education front, Gov. Brewer gave the teachers a four per cent pay raise as the new school year began. A study by Auburn University's sociology department indicated that nearly one-half of the state's 3,230 teacher graduates from the class of 1968 failed to enter the teaching profession. Low pay was cited as a prime reason for the loss.

Former Gov. George Wallace, the third party presidential candidate, raised an es-

estimated \$300,000 at a triumphant "homecoming" celebration on Sept. 21. Some 200 persons attended a \$500-a-plate luncheon honoring the former governor, another 1,300 attended a \$25-a-plate dinner, and the day ended with more than 15,000 Wallace partisans paying \$10 to attend a giant rally at Montgomery's Garrett Coliseum.

After several false starts, Mr. Wallace named his vice presidential running mate—retired Air Force Gen. Curtis E. LeMay. Earlier, Mr. Wallace had reportedly settled on former Gov. A. B. (Happy) Chandler of Kentucky for the spot, but backed out after Mr. Chandler refused to modify his stand as an advocate of desegregation. Later Mr. Chandler charged that southwestern oil interests were controlling the Wallace campaign and they had dictated the decision to drop him.

Another Wallace critic, however, charged that the state of Alabama was financing the Wallace campaign. State Rep. Bryce Graham of Florence filed a suit in federal court in Montgomery to prevent Mr. Wallace from using any state resources in his presidential effort. Mr. Graham charged that "enormous amounts of state money, personnel, and property have been and are being flagrantly and unlawfully squandered." U. S. District Judge Frank M. Johnson, Jr., dismissed the suit, saying it was a matter for the state, rather than the federal courts.

Meanwhile, Mr. Wallace disclosed that his personal net worth is somewhere in the neighborhood of \$77,000, most of which is in real estate and securities.

All three of the state's Republican Congressmen—John Buchanan, William B. Dickinson, and Jack Edwards—announced they would vote for Mr. Wallace if he should carry their districts and the presidential election were thrown into the House of Representatives.

A slate of candidates offered by the National Democratic Party of Alabama was denied position on the November 5 general election ballot in a ruling by Secretary of State Mabel Amos, who said the

party had not complied with the state law regarding qualification of candidates. In a split decision, a three-judge federal court upheld Mrs. Amos' ruling, but the U. S. Supreme Court reversed the decision and ordered the new party's nominees listed on the ballot. This meant that two slates of presidential electors pledged to the National Democratic nominees would appear on the Alabama ballot.

State Sen. Tom Radney of Alexander City, who had previously indicated he would run for lieutenant governor in 1970, announced he was quitting politics in Alabama. As a delegate to the Democratic Convention, Mr. Radney supported Sen. Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts for the presidential nomination. As a result of this support, he said, his family received threats of violence, and several acts of vandalism were committed against his property.

In Tuskegee, where Negro voters outnumber whites by an estimated three-to-one, Mayor Charles M. Keever, a white moderate who has held office for four years, won reelection by a two-to-one margin over Thomas Reed, a Negro businessman. However, Frank Bentley, a Negro, defeated an incumbent white City Councilman, John Sides. Negroes now have control of the five-man city governing body.

Negroes were elected to city governing bodies for the first time in the cities of Homewood, Jacksonville, and Uniontown.

Laura Industries Inc., a Selma firm which manufactures ladies sportswear, has signed a contract with striking members of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. The contract will gain the 500 employees a 30 per cent increase in wages and benefits over a three-year period. The strike was organized 14 months ago with the support of ministers who were active in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. At a victory celebration on October 9, Ramelle McCoy, a union representative, declared: "This union doesn't have any black members, it doesn't have any white members, and it

doesn't have any green or purple members. It just has members. . . . There are some people who don't want working people to stick together, because when working people stick together, they not only have something to say about working conditions, but they also have something to say about the way this town, this county, and this state are run."

Also in Selma, an integrated local union of the United Steelworkers of America called a strike against Bush Hog Inc., a firm which manufactures a brush cutting machine and which is owned by Earl Goodwin, co-chairman of the finance committee of the Wallace presidential campaign.

In Montgomery, members of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America struck the Frosty Morn meat packing plant in demand for a union contract. Union representatives claimed that more than one half the plant's 250 workers were on strike, but acknowledged that most of the strikers were Negro while most of those who stayed on the job were white. Company guards armed with shotguns stood at the plant entrances where the pickets marched, and Bobby L. Adams, a union representative, said local police failed to respond to a request to provide protection to the pickets.

In a more unusual strike, 700 inmates of Atmore State Prison staged a sit-down in protest over food, working conditions, and medical aid at the state penal institution. Prison Commissioner A. Frank Lee said no demands were met, but that he would be "glad to talk with prisoners about their grievances." Twenty leaders of the strike were transferred to Montgomery's maximum security Kilby Prison for disciplinary action.

Meanwhile, Federal District Judge Clarence Allgood of Birmingham ordered the state to desegregate its prison facilities for juvenile delinquents.

On the poverty front, Gov. Albert Brewer announced a reorganization of the poverty program and placed retired Air

Force General Ralph P. Swofford in charge of the agency, now known as the Alabama Programs Development Office. He will administer the state's role in both Appalachian as well as Office of Economic Opportunity programs.

The OEO announced that it was asking the Department of Justice to investigate "suspected financial irregularities" in the administration of the Southwest Alabama Farmers Cooperative, an organization of some 2,000 small farmers which markets truck crops cooperatively. SWAFCA first won approval from the OEO nearly two years ago despite a veto by the late Gov. Lurleen B. Wallace.

Despite the impending investigation, the OEO announced it was granting SWAFCA another \$595,751 for continued operation.

In Lowndes County, an OEO grant of \$1,105,305 put into operation the first comprehensive medical program in Alabama.

The Rev. Charles Sullivan, a 27-year-old Roman Catholic priest in Mobile, said he was asking a leave of his duties until the replacement of the Alabama Diocese's 82-year-old Archbishop Thomas J. Toolen, whom Father Sullivan called "incompetent." Bishop Toolen said no leave had been requested, but rather that Father Sullivan had "abandoned" his priestly duties.

Bishop Toolen also canceled a forum in Mobile at which Catholic laymen and priests were to discuss Pope Paul VI's encyclical on birth control.

Also in Mobile, the body of E. C. DeLoach, a 30-year-old Negro employee of the State Docks, was found hanging by the feet in a deserted school. Police authorities said they did not attribute the death to racial tensions. No arrests have been made in the suspected murder.

A new oil pool was discovered in Escambia County in Southwest Alabama, and the state's geologists believe the pool may extend to several other counties.

U. S. District Judge Frank M. Johnson, Jr., ordered a new election for the Barbour

County Democratic Executive Committee on the ground that Negro voters were discriminated against in 1966 primary elections.

Joe Jefferson of Triana, a Negro father of seven with an income of \$3,500 a year, became the first Alabamian to receive a low-cost housing loan for the rural poor under a new program of the Farmers' Home Administration.

## ARKANSAS

Half the state's biracial school districts began classes this fall with unitary systems, which was a considerable jump from 1967, but the figures were deceiving. Of the 215 school districts with both white and Negro students, 106 had abolished separate schools altogether and 28 others had closed Negro schools for some grade levels. These were for the most part small rural districts and districts with only a small percentage of Negroes. The big urban districts like Little Rock, North Little Rock, Pine Bluff and West Memphis and those in East and South Arkansas with large Negro populations began operating for another year under freedom of choice. In the absence of immediate statistics on the number of Negroes in integrated classes, knowledgeable school men guessed that the figure was less than 25 per cent of Negro enrollment. State Education Commissioner A. W. Ford said the state had made considerable progress toward integrated schools but confirmed that there had been backsliding in a few districts. In those, he said, "there still hasn't been a breakthrough in community attitudes."

Federal courts and the United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare made it clear that nearly all the 81 districts with dual systems would have to start unified programs in 1969. Eleven Arkansas districts operate under court orders and five have been told already that they must have unified districts in 1969. The most unsettling case is that of Gould in Southeast Arkansas, which was told by

the United States Supreme Court in its landmark freedom-of-choice decision on May 27 that it had to unify its system this fall. When school opened at Gould, more than 200 white students did not attend. The enrollment was 480 Negroes and 60 whites. The parents of many white students moved out of town, others sent their children to military schools and the rest awaited the opening of a private school. Gould's football squad began training with 41 Negroes and a white boy. The coach was less than despairing. He predicted a much improved season. Gould is not considered typical. Those working with federal school programs said most school districts had sufficient community leadership to avoid this course.

The Arkansas Council on Human Relations confirmed what most people suspected was happening in the districts converting to unitary systems. In a state-wide survey, the Council reported that Negro teachers were not finding places in the totally integrated systems. "If the present trend of faculty desegregation continues in the state, we are likely to, in the next 10 years, find ourselves fighting the same kind of desegregation fight as happened in the North before the 1954 Supreme Court decision when there were very few Negroes who taught in the public schools outside of the Negro ghetto," the report said.

One reaction to the Supreme Court's freedom-of-choice decision was the formation of a new group dedicated to protecting the freedom-of-choice arrangements. It is called Freedom, Incorporated, and is headed by a Texarkana surgeon, Dr. Mitchell Young. Dr. Young said in September that the organization had spread to 17 states.

For the first time since 1956, the Arkansas Democratic Party rejected segregation politics in choosing its nominee for governor. Veteran State Representative Marion H. Crank, a lackluster politician, nevertheless easily defeated Mrs. Virginia Johnson, wife of Jim Johnson, the state's staunchest segregationist and



chief Wallace supporter, for the nomination. He received 64 per cent of the vote in the runoff. Mrs. Johnson had barely defeated liberal Ted Boswell, a political unknown, for the runoff spot with Crank, and Bruce Bennett, a former attorney general who authored numerous segregation bills in the late 1950's, finished a weak fourth. Crank's credentials as a social reformer excited no one, most people recalling his service in the legislature for former Governor Orval E. Faubus. He sought out Negro leaders, however, and admitted in a television interview that he had voted for the massive segregation packages pushed through the legislature under Faubus for political expediency. His rural Southwest Arkansas constituency would have defeated him if he had voted any other way, he explained. Even Mrs. Johnson tried to break out of her husband's mold in the runoff. Johnson and two minor candidates had been defeated by Senator J. William Fulbright in the preferential primary and Johnson, who had campaigned with his wife, dropped out of sight for her runoff race. She said his only role in her administration would be that of a constitutional adviser. She eschewed his practice of refusing to shake hands with Negroes, posed with Negroes for photographers and even placed one of her few campaign advertisements in a Negro newspaper.

After his victory, Crank tried with a modicum of success to persuade dissident liberals and reformers, who had abandoned the party to help elect Republican Winthrop Rockefeller in 1966, to return. He had state Representative Charles D. Matthews, a 29-year-old liberal lawyer, installed as state party chairman, and had the state convention delete white supremacy from the party's statement of principles and adopt a relatively progressive platform.

Most progressives, however, remained wary of Crank's unsevered ties with the Faubus machine. Crank also refused to endorse his party's national ticket, saying he had his own race to run. Vice Presi-

dent Hubert Humphrey's picture was taken from the dais before the state convention began and propped against a musty wall backstage. Most observers thought Rockefeller, who kept the support of most Negroes and liberal groups, started out after the primaries on equal terms with Crank. For the first time in many years, Republicans lined up against Democrats for every statewide office.

In the aftermath of Little Rock's August riots, which came in the wake of brutality incidents at the Pulaski County Penal Farm, the Pulaski County Grand Jury launched an investigation of the farm. As the inquiry started, 13 Negroes filed suit in federal court challenging the make-up of the grand jury. It was made up of elderly white businessmen and a single Negro. The court ruled that the grand jury would have to represent a cross-section of the social and economic groups of the county. The grand jury dropped its investigation and the Pulaski County Circuit Court arranged for a white trusty accused in the slaying of a Negro inmate to plead guilty quietly to a reduced charge of involuntary manslaughter. A new grand jury was selected and it included five Negroes.

Most importantly, the racial clashes produced some promises from the city administration. Negro groups presented grievances to the city, many of them dealing with the police department. The city manager board rejected many of the demands, including a civilian police review board, but it promised some changes. Among them: The new city manager will be directed to offer employment on his staff to a Negro; an in-service training program is to be established to help Negroes pass civil service examinations; a rumor control center proposal will be studied; the board will encourage Negroes to apply for 10 new police positions; the Board will seek Negroes to place on city boards and commissions; federal assistance will be used "to the fullest extent possible" in city programs, including the training of policemen.

## FLORIDA

The economics of a slowly changing social order in the state of Florida offer a paradox in achievement.

A recent newspaper survey in Miami, the state's largest city, reveals that white merchants are slowly leaving the ghettos of the city. In less than a decade, the service stores now have Negroes on both sides of the counter—owners and customers.

The largest ghetto area in Miami is in Liberty City, scene of a short-lived disorder during the Republican National Convention in August. About 77 per cent of the businesses in Liberty City are now black-owned and in a stretch of nine blocks, 48 out of 50 stores, ranging from barber shops to funeral homes, are owned by Negroes. And in another 10-block stretch, 46 of 62 stores have Negro ownership. Because of a shortage of capital, many have more than a single owner. And here is the paradox.

The Greater Miami Urban League and the Economic Opportunity Program accuse the federal government, through the Small Business Administration, of holding the purse strings too tightly. The SBA recently announced plans locally to expand its own program for Negro businesses, but store owners or potential entrepreneurs complain that SBA loan requirements make it impossible for a black man to qualify.

Tom Butler, SBA's South Florida director, explained at a recent workshop how he was searching for ways to cut through the bureaucratic red tape but a spokesman for the EOP said that in two and a half years only 22 loans had been made to black merchants.

When the Liberty City riots occurred, ten merchants asked the city government to pick up the tab for several hundred thousand dollars' worth of damage to their stores. Misjudgment by city police, who had to call upon the National Guard for assistance, is blamed for much of the looting and fire bombings. But the city

attorney advised his commission the merchants have no recourse under the law.

Dade County is going to look ahead by providing special training for riot control police. The county manager filed a request for \$161,000 in federal funds to finance such a program.

And the city council of Homestead, a municipality in south Dade County, voted to spend \$5,000 for riot control equipment for use by a soon-to-be-established reserve police force of 25 members. Homestead is the center of conservatism in urban south Florida and home of South Dade High School, which has been in a turmoil over integration ever since classes began in September.

The county's school board found itself, as a result, in the middle of the argument between black and white parents. Trying to be all things to all people, the board suffered a major loss of effectiveness and standing in the entire community.

The ever-growing dispute began when the 130 black students, less than 10 per cent of the total enrollment at South Dade, objected to the school's song, "Dixie," the school's flag, Confederate stars and bars, band uniforms, Confederate grey, and the football team's nickname, the Rebels.

The school board decided first this was strictly a school issue and referred the matter to the students themselves. Many debates, in and out of school, resulted in a decision to hold an election. But the Negro students, widely outnumbered, boycotted it.

More argumentative Negro parents repeatedly appeared before the school board to demand first, more definitive action by the board itself, and second, transfer of their children back to a previously all-Negro high school. The board refused, except to order the superintendent to draft a new set of principles for school symbols.

Parents, meanwhile, called a boycott of the schools and Negro attendance dropped sharply for a single day. The school then voted to allow any or all of

the 130 blacks to transfer to any of 20 high schools in the county, as long as they furnished their own transportation. The majority quickly returned to classrooms in all-Negro Mays High, having made their point that the existing psychological climate in South Dade High prohibited them from participating in activities and progressing in their studies.

Meanwhile, the school board expects to hear soon from the superintendent about a new policy and insists the transfer of students was only temporary, a belief not exactly substantiated by previous decisions. The board will have four new members next year but whether it will have any strength and standing is a matter for opinion many months from now.

Chiefland and Levy County, in central Florida, have long been the center of Ku Klux Klan activity and a hotbed of racism. Yet patrons of the Chiefland school system overwhelmingly voted to recommend that their local school board accept guidelines from the U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare which will eliminate Levy's dual school system by the 1969-70 term. At stake is some \$300,000 for Levy's schools.

Rural Dixie County also has had its integration plans accepted by HEW and a final decision will be made shortly to effect the program by the fall of 1969. HEW officials studied the Lake County system to make certain local school officials are adhering to the federal guidelines. And a federal judge in Polk County ordered complete integration by the 1969-70 term. This suit, filed in 1963, labored through the many federal courts since that time. (And Polk County even named a Negro as administrative assistant to the superintendent.)

In an ironic twist, the one school in Columbia County most nearly complying with integration guidelines has been eliminated as that county's school board moved to provide a system that disregards race as a factor in student assignment. Such was the fate of Fort White

High School, and all because of economics.

Duval County, where all high schools are discredited for failure of the public to financially support the system, reported to a federal court there are 4,218 Negro pupils in 74 predominantly white county schools, but only nine whites in four predominantly Negro schools. Duval has 119,000 students.

Leon County (Tallahassee) has lifted its ban on school social activities, brought about by racial disorders in high school corridors.

The pressures have increased upon higher education in Florida. United Black Students, who staged a sit-in last spring in the office of Dr. Henry King Stanford, president of the University of Miami, have won most of their battles with the U-M administration.

The changes are reflected in required reading lists that contain books with new emphasis on the Negro's role in American history. The reappraisal is even more evident in the number of courses planned for the spring quarter which include the label "Negro," "black," or "Africa." Next semester a student may select "The Negro Writer in the U. S." (English); "History of the Negro in the U. S." (history); "Economic Development of Africa" (economics); "Geography of Sub-Saharan Africa" (geography); "The Negro in American Culture" (American studies); and "The Negro in American Politics" (government).

It is wrong, says Dr. Stanford, to assume the Negro has not already been included in some courses: "'Economics of Poverty,' as one example, deals with the economic development and change relevant to problems of black people." And J. Calvin Leonard, chairman of the Human Relations Department, offers courses considering all ghetto problems: "You can't talk about any of these problems unless you talk about the changing social conditions of the nation."

Dr. Stanford started a minor hassle by a decision to abolish the playing of "Dixie" by the internationally known

University Band of The Hour. The Student Government supported Dr. Stanford's action but rebuked him for not taking the students into his confidence prior to the edict. Students chant "We want Dixie" at the University's football games, but to no avail.

The new president of Florida A. & M. University at Tallahassee, Dr. Benjamin Perry, Jr., serves notice he will not stand idly by and see his predominantly Negro institution merged into the state university system, an action considered by several legislatures.

In his view, the merger would mean not only a loss of identity now more than 80 years old, but loss of a peculiar type of curriculum which has trained some of Florida's outstanding Negro citizens. "As long as we produce on this hill," says Dr. Perry, "I have confidence the Board of Regents will allow us to remain a separate university."

But a former professor at the University of Florida law school takes a divergent view of the state's education scene. Speaking from Howard University, where he fled for fear of his life in April, 1968, Stephen M. Boyer criticized the state's primary university as an intellectual desert. Florida is a plantation state, says Boyer, a young activist, and he thinks Gainesville, site of the University of Florida, is a town in rural South Georgia rather than the center of an urban state.

"At Florida, I see no hope," Boyer told a Tampa TRIBUNE reporter, "not till the millenium—that there will be student rebellion—student awareness, student consciousness. They are too concerned about who is going to be homecoming queen."

Whether such a viewpoint is correct may be determined at an early date by the State Department of Education. The department, through an unusual testing method, is establishing 381 pilot schools to determine how accreditation standards affect the schools' performance—that is, how much the schools actually teach the children, particularly the children who go off to the University of Florida and other Florida institutions of higher learning.

## GEORGIA

In the midst of the Democratic Convention in Chicago, State Agriculture Commissioner Phil Campbell gave newsmen a bristling, and some think rash prediction: No Democrat, he felt, would again win a statewide election in Georgia, at least in the lifetime of this generation.

The decision to seat a biracial challenge delegation alongside the regular party's mostly-white delegation appointed by Gov. Lester Maddox was enough to appall old-guard Georgia Democrats. Their opposition was compounded by the fact that the challenge delegation was led by State Rep. Julian Bond, a symbol of emerging aggressive Negro leadership.

The challenge was based on the contention that the regular delegation, hand-picked by Maddox and state party chairman James Gray, was chosen in an undemocratic fashion and that Negroes were not fairly represented. Seven of the 107 delegates and alternates were Negroes.

It didn't help the regular's case that Maddox and Gray, both outspoken segregationists, had bolted the Democratic Party in 1964 to support Republican Barry Goldwater for President.

"I tried hard not to make this a contest between Gov. Maddox and myself," the soft-spoken Atlanta legislator said after the convention approved the dual seating—a plan in which both the challengers and the Maddox delegates were authorized to take their seats after signing a loyalty oath, with the 41 Georgia votes split evenly. The two groups served on the floor as separate but equal units (two additional votes were automatically allotted to Georgia for the state's national committeeman and committeewoman).

The majority of the conventioners saw the matter strictly as a clash between Bond and Maddox.

Vice President Hubert Humphrey, according to Lt. Gov. George T. Smith, insisted that Bond be seated, because the Vice President didn't want to be put in



the apparent position of supporting a symbol of axe-handle resistance to Negro civil rights gains against a leader of the Negro protest movement.

Campbell and four other top Democratic state house officials and political powers announced several weeks after Chicago they were switching to the Republican Party.

Indications are that Campbell made up his mind during the convention, and he was apparently the key mover in the decision by the four others, Comptroller General Jimmy Bentley, State Treasurer Jack B. Ray, Public Service Commission Chairman Crawford Pilcher, and Public Service Commissioner Alpha Fowler.

The five make up Georgia's politically powerful "Capitol clique," and their defection was depicted by Georgia Republican National Committeeman Howard (Bo) Callaway as a major breakthrough in establishing the GOP as an equal party in the state.

Function of the clique has been to help individual members win re-election to office and to push for a united voice in both the legislature and the Democratic Party. The group has been considered by many to be the real core that has held the party together in recent years.

The group had planned to help Vice President Humphrey in Georgia this year in his bid for the Presidency, but that was prior to the national convention.

Their ire was compounded by the fact that Humphrey had, according to them, privately promised prior to the convention that the Georgia delegation would be fully seated, and that the Bond delegation would be rejected.

The switchovers did not start an avalanche of political defections as some anticipated. Instead, rallying points are now appearing for the Georgia Democratic Party on the right, left and middle.

Gov. Maddox, for one, said he intends to remain a Democrat, although he was actively campaigning for George Wallace and the American Independent Party. And he disclosed he may have another go

for the Presidency at the 1972 Democratic Convention.

Former Gov. Carl Sanders, a leading contender for the governorship in 1970 (Maddox cannot succeed himself under Georgia law), is saying the clique erred and the Democrats are still full of life in Georgia.

Another loyalist is Lt. Gov. George T. Smith, who declared in a mid-October speech that Democrats have the "courage" to stand up and be counted for their party. Smith, who like Campbell, was a Maddox appointee, participated in a walkout of a substantial number of regulars after the seating showdown at Chicago.

House Speaker George L. Smith, generally viewed as the most powerful legislative figure, said his name has been on the ballot for 30 years as a Georgia Democrat and "I expect it to remain as long as I live."

In the opinion of Sanders, the defections give the party "a unique opportunity to permit new life and blood. You couldn't have gotten five vacancies at the state capitol for love or money. It's a chance for new faces to appear."

Bentley, Campbell, Ray and Fowler are up for re-election in 1970.

Wallace supporters, generally, viewed the defections with contempt. Whatever their attitudes on race, most Wallace voters are not conservatives—at least not in the traditional big business-oriented Republican mold.

Former State Revenue Commissioner Dixon Oxford was the only political figure who followed the clique's action.

Two of Georgia's eight Democratic Congressmen, John Flynt and Bill Stuckey, both acknowledged they were considering a switch, but Flynt stood to lose 14 years of seniority since he would have to go on the bottom of the Republican list and this move was in serious doubt.

The bolt posed two questions: Personalities aside, where do most citizens of Georgia really stand—conservative or moderate-liberal? And, if there is a movement, what is its direction?

The defectors apparently think the answer is conservative on both counts.

There are those who disagree, however. Three of the more notable of these are Lt. Gov. Smith, State Labor Commissioner Sam Caldwell and State Welfare Director William H. Burson.

While most Georgia politicians have been either riding the fence, unsure of which direction to take, or, like Gov. Maddox, romping hard on all-the-way conservatism, Caldwell, Smith and Burson have been moving toward the moderate center.

The Labor Commissioner's direction, the most distinct of all, has been downright shocking at times to some old Georgia political hands. Examples have been his public endorsement of the late Sen. Robert F. Kennedy before the tragic Los Angeles assassination, his strong public praise for Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., following his death, and his open alignment with Negro organizations in the operation of the department.

Burson's is not an elective office, but some politicians in Georgia are convinced he has aspirations for future political races. He, too, has aligned himself with some Negro leaders.

In Smith's case, there has been a gradual, but continuous shift on many issues. Before the Democratic National Convention, he had publicly endorsed Humphrey for the Presidency—a stand which has caused him some wobbly-kneed moments since the convention. He has endorsed the federal poverty program, hailed Dr. King as a great Georgian, and taken similar positions on issue after issue.

In the September Democratic primary, Sen. Herman Talmadge rolled up a 3-1 victory over a liberal 30-year-old Negro attorney, Maynard Jackson, Jr., of Atlanta.

Talmadge's challenger did carry one county, however—Hancock in middle Georgia. Sweeping into office with him, in a notable breakthrough for Negro candidates, was a Negro county commission chairman and a Negro ordinary.

On other fronts of civil rights activity,

there were several developments of note in the fall.

In two communities, Ware and Pike Counties, black parents and students organized protest movements to express grievances and local school authorities granted concessions to end the demonstrations.

School student boycotts proved effective in both places, and officials with the predominantly Negro Georgia Teachers and Education Association say it may help lead militant demonstrations in other areas in the struggle for school desegregation.

State Prisons Director Robert J. Carter reported that an "orderly" desegregation plan is being carried out in the state corrections system, including the oft-criticized county-run public works camps, in compliance with a federal court order.

Carter says he has told wardens of county-administered camps to integrate or close down and turn the prisoners over to the state's custody for reassignment.

A citizens' commission named by Maddox to draft recommendations for prison reform continues to meet, but members seemed somewhat pessimistic that any permanent changes could be brought by the panel in a system rooted in politics.

## LOUISIANA

With Louisiana heading down the road to the right in the national political spectrum, Gov. John J. McKeithen, pressing his ambitions for a spot on the Democratic ticket, suddenly discovered that his support of Vice President Hubert Humphrey was creating some political anguish for himself back home.

McKeithen had been wooing the Vice President for months in a low key move to convince him that only a southern governor could save the South for the Democratic Party in November, and without the South the party had no chance nationally.

The governor was one of the first in the nation to come out definitely in support

of Humphrey for the party's nomination for President. Adroitly, he qualified his support, limiting it to "through the convention."

It left an out. The governor, sitting in the midst of the fury and fumes of Chicago, got the message from back home and took the out—departing the Democratic National Convention and the party nominees in the campaign.

The governor announced following the convention, that he could not support Humphrey in his election bid because the Vice President, among other things, had viewed with favor the service of Chief Justice Earl Warren.

Humphrey was left with the backing of top labor officials, uncertain support from the ranks of labor, and Negroes who presumably have nowhere else to go. The Negro votes comprise about 20 per cent of the registration in the state but usually lag behind whites in turnouts at the polls.

Gov. McKeithen had gone to the convention with dim, but flickering hopes that somehow he might wind up on the Humphrey ticket. He presented himself as a favorite son candidate and just to show the world Louisiana's racial progress, McKeithen announced that the state's only Negro legislator would second his nomination.

However, the Negro legislator, Rep. Ernest Morial or New Orleans, had second thoughts about the nomination speech and steadfastly refused to confirm the governor's statement. Obviously concerned about his own standing within the Negro community, Morial declined to commit himself beyond a vote for McKeithen as a member of the Louisiana delegation. The dilemma resolved itself when McKeithen withdrew as a favorite son candidate.

The fight over delegation strength by Negroes brought them increased voting power at the Democratic National Convention, but had no effect on the state delegation at the Republican conclave in Miami.

Negroes were allotted a total of three and a half votes of the 36 the delegation

had at Chicago when the list was first compiled by the Democratic State Central Committee. Negro leaders felt they should have at least seven and a half and, pressing their demands, finally increased their strength to six and a half.

Two Negroes seeking voting delegate seats at the Republican Convention, however, went to federal court for relief but were turned down on the grounds they had failed to exhaust remedies within the party rules.

The struggle over Negro voting strength on the delegation only tended to heighten anti-national party sentiment among conservatives who control the state party apparatus.

Conservatives, led by Plaquemines Parish political boss Leander Perez, who is the chief Wallace supporter in the state, promptly moved to prevent Humphrey from using the state Democratic Party's traditional emblem, the rooster. The issue wound up in court where a state district judge ruled Humphrey should get the insignia, which Perez estimated was worth 75,000 votes through habit voting practices.

Negroes running for Democratic nomination in congressional races were defeated by white incumbents.

Rep. Joseph Waggonner won the 4th District race with 77 per cent of the vote, while Leon R. Tarver, Jr., a Negro from Shreveport, polled 22 per cent. A third candidate had one per cent.

The Rev. Gilbert Harrison, Sr., Negro minister and school teacher from Colfax, was defeated by Rep. Speedy O. Long in the 8th District. Long polled 50,370 votes, with Judge James N. Lee of Bunkie getting 22,038. Harrison had 10,626 votes or 13 per cent.

A Negro candidate for city council in Baton Rouge made it into a runoff for five seats in the Democratic second primary (Sept. 28). Joseph A. Delpit, an attorney, promptly launched a campaign asking white voters to vote for him because he is a Negro and Negroes as a class should be represented on the council.

Racial disorder flared in the town of Rayne, La., following a fight between whites and blacks that resulted in the death of a Negro. The incident occurred Sept. 15 at a cafe and required a call out of the town's 14 policemen and sheriff's deputies to quell.

Later the building's windows were smashed and the interior ransacked. A fire bomb tossed into it caused little damage.

City officials promptly placed a curfew on the town, withdrawing it a week later when tensions eased.

## MISSISSIPPI

Out-of-state lawyers assisting Negroes in civil rights cases in Mississippi won a significant victory in the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals when the federal court threw out a rule severely limiting practice of non-resident attorneys before the federal district court in southern Mississippi.

The rule, adopted by Federal District Judge Harold Cox for the district would have restricted non-members of the Mississippi bar to one appearance per year in his court.

It was attacked by two groups of civil rights lawyers who have been operating in Mississippi the past four years—the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law and the Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee, both of which are mainly staffed by non-resident volunteer attorneys.

At the same time, the federal appeals court also struck down a Cox rule requiring attorneys who originally signed pleadings in civil rights cases to appear each time motions or preliminary proceedings were held in the cases.

The Fifth Circuit pointed out that of the 2200 lawyers in Mississippi, only 12 are Negro. "Of course all 12 are not always available . . . that is obviously an inadequate reservoir . . . moreover, there is ample evidence in the record to demonstrate the burden of handling such

cases." It said the difficulty of obtaining representation in Mississippi "is borne out by the literally hundreds of civil rights cases that come to us in which out-of-state lawyers have the laboring oar."

The court added, "It is not overstatement that in Mississippi and the South generally, Negroes with civil rights claims or defenses have often found securing representation difficult."

Night-riders and bombers after a several months' pause became active again in September, leaving their calling cards in widely separated parts of the state. First the home of Mrs. Vernon King, a worker in a Headstart program in Leake County near Carthage, was fired into by night-riders, narrowly missing the occupants.

Two nights later a home under construction for a Negro couple at Free Trade, a rural community 18 miles from Carthage, was bombed and severely damaged. The dwelling was being erected for Mr. and Mrs. Johnny Gates in an area not far from white residences.

A white man whose home was 150 yards away said he heard the blast in the early hours of the morning, "but I turned over and went back to sleep." Mrs. Gates had been employed in a Headstart program in Leake County.

Mrs. Winston Hudson, president of the Leake County branch of the NAACP, said that a white family once owned the land and sold it to the Gates to build the home, a modest \$8000 structure.

The following night, a cafe in a Negro section of Hazlehurst, about 100 miles south of Leake County, was bombed and virtually destroyed. Officers said that the cafe was owned by a white man, but operated by a Negro. The cafe had not been a site for civil rights activity, officers said.

The town of Indianola in the Delta county of Sunflower became the scene of a Negro student boycott as schools opened for the fall term. For two weeks, the boycott, launched over the rehiring of principals of the Negro elementary and high schools in Indianola, had varying



stages of success, at times joined by as many as 50 per cent of the students.

Dozens of arrests of Negro youths in and around the schools, as well as adults in other parts of the city, accompanied the school boycott.

The school boycott was finally called off after some white leaders invited Aaron Henry of Clarksdale, state president of the NAACP, to make an on-the-scene appraisal of the situation. Because of lack of funds to tutor the youths taking part in the boycott, Henry urged them to return to classes.

Unofficially, it was believed agreement was reached that the two Negro principals in question would not be back in their posts next year.

Meantime, Federal District Judge William Keady of the Northern District of Mississippi ruled unconstitutional an Indianola parade ordinance, opening the way for several protest marches in the city. A black economic boycott has been underway in Indianola since earlier in the year.

The U.S. Department of Justice moved into the scene meanwhile, filing school desegregation suits against the Indianola and Belzoni municipal school districts.

At least 100 Negroes were candidates throughout the state for election as county election commissioners. This was the first time Mississippi has held elections for county election commissioners, under a law passed by the 1968 legislature. Historically, three members of county election commissions were appointed, one by the governor, one by the attorney general and one by the secretary of state.

Suit had been brought more than a year ago by the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law attacking the system, since all appointees traditionally were white. Before a determination could be made in the courts, the legislature, apparently expecting the appointive system to be struck down, changed the law and provided the elective system. Now five commissioners will be elected to the election commissions in each county, by

an at-large vote. The new law, however, requires a runoff in each case where a candidate does not receive a majority of the vote.

Several dozen Negro candidates qualified to run for seats on county boards of education.

Some counties elect members of the board from districts, while others elect members at large.

In recent sessions of the legislature, a number of counties which have Negro population majorities in one or several districts, were permitted to hold at-large elections of the education boards.

In the Democratic National Convention at Chicago, the Loyal Democrats of Mississippi, an equally divided Negro-white challenge delegation, was awarded the state's seats over the Mississippi regular Democratic delegation.

Along with recognition of the delegation, headed by Aaron Henry, Clarksdale, the state NAACP president, and Hodding Carter, III, young white Greenville newspaper editor, the National Democratic Party also seated Charles Evers, Fayette, and Mrs. Pat Derian, Jackson, as national committeeman and committeewoman from Mississippi.

Shortly after the Democratic National Convention, Gov. John Bell Williams announced he would support former Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace for President on Wallace's American Independent Party ticket. The regular State Democratic Executive Committee also unanimously announced its endorsement of Wallace for President.

The state campaign for the Humphrey-Muskie ticket in Mississippi was headed by Aaron Henry and Claude Ramsay, state president of the Mississippi AFL-CIO.

## NORTH CAROLINA

Nine out of ten North Carolina Negroes feel that Negroes in the state lack equal opportunity. But six of ten whites dis

agree; they say whites and Negroes have equal chances in employment, education and other sectors of Tar Heel life.

These and many other findings are the result of a rare piece of poll-taking by Oliver Quayle and Company, Bronxville, N. Y. The firm was working for the North Carolina Fund, the private effort started five years ago "to break the cycle of poverty" for many North Carolinians. A forerunner by a year of the federal anti-poverty efforts, and a brainchild of former Gov. Terry Sanford, the Fund, with seven million dollars in foundation money, has spent the five years aiding educational, manpower training, low-cost housing and community organizing movements across the state. Many of the Fund's original efforts were absorbed by the Office of Economic Opportunity and, in North Carolina, the Fund itself often provided the required 20 per cent "local matching" funds, especially in areas where local governments haven't been interested.

True to its plan of 1963, the Fund officially closed its doors on Sept. 30. Executive Director George H. Esser, Jr., said the Quayle poll—based on in-depth interviews with more than 400 persons between April 6 and 20 of this year—was sponsored to help North Carolinians "understand one another and thus find mutually acceptable solutions" to racial and related problems.

Just how far North Carolina whites and Negroes are from "mutually acceptable solutions" was illustrated time and again in the poll. Moreover, in many areas, Negroes and whites don't even agree on the nature of certain problems, or even that certain problems exist.

For both races, prejudice and militancy tended to be greater in small towns and rural areas than among residents of North Carolina's major urban centers.

The black-white opinion clash was clear throughout the set of questions and answers, designed both to elicit general attitudes and strength of feelings.

Whites, for example, have little doubt

about what might cause riots: 74 per cent say "outside agitators" and 55 per cent mention "Negro disrespect for law and order."

Negroes disagree sharply. Lack of good jobs, say 72 per cent of the Negroes, can cause riots. Forty-eight per cent of the Negroes mention poor housing; only 21 per cent of the whites thought housing might be a riot cause. Forty-three per cent of the Negroes say general prejudice and discrimination might cause riots; a fourth of the whites see these as possible causes of trouble.

When the two races look at each other for such traits as public behavior, dependability and intelligence, whites believe they are far superior to Negroes.

Eight of ten whites thought whites more intelligent and more dependable than Negroes. Half the whites thought whites behaved better in public.

The frequency of these conceptions of Negroes increases in relation to the level of prejudice held by whites. Ninety-six per cent of the strongly prejudiced whites think whites smarter than Negroes. Fifty-five per cent of the Negro militants think Negroes are smarter.

Over-all, about 70 per cent of the Negroes say Negroes and whites behave about the same in public; half the Negroes think Negroes more dependable, and four out of ten Negroes think Negroes are smarter.

In many other areas of behavior and personality traits, North Carolina whites see themselves as superior to Negroes.

A majority of whites see Negroes as being lazier, less trustworthy, more likely to "goof off," and less likely to work hard.

Negroes feel strongly that they do not receive equal treatment from North Carolina policemen. Eight of ten Negroes said policemen treat them differently. Whites disagreed. Eight of ten whites believe police treatment is equal, and nearly eight of ten whites say treatment is also equal in the state's courtrooms.

Three of four whites believe Negroes

are no more likely to be arrested than whites, but four out of five Negroes see their chances of being arrested as much higher than those of white people.

Nine of ten whites think policemen are around "to protect you." Sixty per cent of the Negroes agree, but three of ten think police are there "to keep an eye on you" and "to bother you."

Trust of policemen, or lack of it, was also reflected in other questions. Half the whites said a police car cruising in their neighborhood made them feel "more secure." Six of ten Negroes said the same car made them feel "curious" or "nervous."

On government in general, the total response from both whites and Negroes was less than a strong vote of confidence for local government or local government office-holders. Only six out of ten whites feel local politicians in the state represent the people of their community. The attitude of Negroes about local government is even stronger; only one of four Negroes thinks local office-holders represent all the people. Half of the Negroes interviewed feel their official leaders do not represent all the people. (Significantly, a fourth of the Negroes are undecided on this question.)

A vast majority of both races, nine out of ten, feel poor people should have a voice in politics when decisions affect their well-being. Almost five out of ten Negroes say they do not "feel free" to go to city or county governments for help with their problems; only one-tenth of the whites share this reservation.

North Carolina Negroes see jobs and job training as important factors that could lift many of them out of poverty, give them equality and prevent race riots.

But Negroes and whites surveyed were dramatically split when asked if they felt that anyone who wanted a job could get it in North Carolina.

Nine of ten whites said anyone could; but only three of ten Negroes felt jobs were available without prejudice. About half the members of each race (48 per cent) felt that where someone lives does

make a difference in whether he can get a good-paying job.

North Carolinians all seem to agree that everyone is entitled to a safe and sanitary house, but eight of ten whites are generally opposed to open housing. Nine of ten Negroes favor it.

The Quayle analysis of the survey noted: "In this year of gaps, the racial gap in North Carolina is wide. The enormity of the job entailed in closing it is brought home by the substantial majority of whites who think everything is just dandy . . . White attitudes toward the Negro in North Carolina are negative. The white man himself expects these attitudes to improve. This is something of a tacit admission and probably means that whites think *other* white attitudes will improve, for his are 'OK' by his own standards. Put another way, most North Carolinians who are white do not classify themselves as extremely racist and they feel that those in that category will improve during the next five years. When you think about it, it means little expectation of massive change. On the other hand, the Negro has high expectation and hope for change.

"These differences point to ultimate clash of one kind or another, and we believe the key is to make the majority of white people realize that *they* must undergo a further softening in attitudes toward the Negro. . . ."

In summary, the Quayle analysis said: "We do not wish to be alarmists, but the racial climate in North Carolina is not good. . . . The white considers the Negro inferior. The Negro knows his lot is inferior. Both races believe attitudes will improve, but there is genuine disparity as to what that means, for white people here really believe the Negro has a fair chance and seem unwilling to come to grips with the real problems. Indeed, he feels things will improve because the Negro will pull himself up by his bootstraps, and he has no interest whatsoever in permitting the Negro to live in his own community. He is still prejudiced, and there is no other way we can say it. The

Negro expects more, is willing to fight for it, but is opposed to violence and rioting. This is the one thing on which whites and Negroes can agree—they oppose violence. At the same time, a substantial majority of Negroes are willing to go all the way."

Of violence, the analysis said that in North Carolina, because of the wide differences in racial attitudes, levels of achievement and treatment: "It is possible in every community with a considerable black population."

A three-year-old desegregation suit against the state's largest school system, the combined city of Charlotte and Mecklenburg County schools with more than 82,000 students (about one-third Negro), has been reactivated by local parents. The Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education closed seven all-Negro schools two years ago in an effort to wipe out the final vestiges of the dual school system. Last year, about one-third of nearly 30,000 Negro students were in integrated schools and every child was taught at least part of the time by a teacher of a different race. The new motion contends that attendance lines are drawn to leave some schools nearly all-white and others all-Negro. The Board of Education is considering some public discussions of the situation. Charlotte schools (along with those in Greensboro and Winston-Salem) were the first to desegregate in North Carolina, in the fall of 1957.

Gaston County has lost its bid to escape from the provisions of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, and the first federal court decision upholding the act apparently has implications across the South.

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 said that counties in which fewer than 50 per cent of the eligible voters voted in the 1964 election would come under its provisions, including one prohibiting a literacy test, unless the county involved went to court to get itself removed. Gaston County tried.

"Given the congressional purpose of the Voting Rights Act, we do not believe

it is within our power to reward years of unconstitutional state action against its Negro citizens," said the opinion of Judge J. Skelly Wright, filed for the District of Columbia circuit.

Thus, the court tied a voting literacy test to the historical school segregation pattern: "During the entire period when the persons presently of voting age were of school age, the schools of Gaston County were segregated; indeed those schools remained totally segregated until 1965 when token integration was begun."

To reinstate a literacy test now (it was dropped in Gaston in March, 1966) when statistics showed fewer than half the eligible voters at the polls in the 1964 presidential election, would support "discriminatory state action" of the past, the court concluded.

More than 1,200,000 North Carolina youngsters returned routinely to school classrooms in September, but in Hyde and Pitt Counties, boycotts of schools were encountered as a result of court-ordered desegregation.

In Hyde County (Swan Quarter), Negroes stayed out of school most of the first month protesting the fact that, in a desegregation effort, many Negroes had been assigned to formerly white schools, but no whites had been assigned to Negro schools. In Pitt County (Greenville), whites were keeping their children out for a time because they thought too many Negroes were assigned. The boycotts declined gradually in effectiveness, but absences were still noticeably higher.

## SOUTH CAROLINA

There are reports the Justice Department is planning to seek indictments in the slaying of three Negro students last February in Orangeburg. Justice Department officials refuse to comment on the situation, but at one time in the last six weeks five lawyers from the civil rights division were in South Carolina investigating.



Meanwhile, South Carolina attorney general Daniel R. McLeod said it would be "inappropriate" for the state to hold an inquest in the deaths until federal authorities complete their investigations.

Gov. McNair referred the matter to McLeod after questions arose at a press conference early in September. The governor said there "is no question about the cause of death" and said it is contained in the FBI report to the Justice Department and that he had urged Attorney General Ramsey Clark to make a statement on the report.

McLeod said the deaths at Orangeburg represented "more than a normal case" and that the state had deferred to federal authorities from the beginning "because of the nature of the incident and the expert ability of the FBI."

If FBI findings are not made public after all federal investigations are completed, McLeod said the question of a coroner's inquisition should then be reconsidered.

McNair said that parents of the three deceased students are expected to file suits in the matter.

The students were slain by state highway patrolmen on the edge of the S. C. State College campus after four days of racial conflict that began over a segregated bowling alley in Orangeburg.

A \$34 million bond issue that includes \$5.5 million for S. C. State College has been upheld as constitutional by Circuit Judge John Grimball. His decision is being appealed to the state Supreme Court.

Lt. Gov. John West addressed an assembly of students at S. C. State College. About 60 walked out and were criticized by President M. Maceo Nance for their rudeness.

Twelve Negroes attended the national Democratic Convention from South Carolina, six as delegates and six as alternates. They unanimously supported the nomination of Vice President Humphrey. They also negotiated an end to the unit rule before it was abolished by the convention. The delegation split 24-4 on the seating of the Georgia delegation, with

Negro delegates voting in the minority to seat the Julian Bond group.

The Negro delegates led a group of approximately 100 Negro leaders in forming a Humphrey-Muskie campaign organization. Subsequently, a statewide "Citizens for Humphrey-Muskie" organization was formed, headed by Allendale banker Charles Laffitte, a close personal friend of Gov. McNair. The two groups were working together.

McNair named Ernest A. Finney of Sumter, a Negro who is chairman of the S. C. Advisory Committee to the U. S. Civil Rights Commission, as a member of the newly-created five-member state election commission. Finney, a delegate to the national Democratic Convention, was chairman of the Humphrey-Muskie campaign organization put together after the convention.

In January, the election commission will replace the five constitutional officers comprising the state board of canvassers and will hear protests and appeals from elections. The other members are Democrats G. P. Callison of Greenwood, a former state senator who served on a special nine-member election law study committee whose sweeping recommendations for election law change were adopted by the legislature, and Mrs. Margaret Townsend of Charleston, former chairman of the Charleston County board of voter registration. Republican members are N. Welch Morrisette of Columbia and Mrs. James A. Chapman of Spartangurg, a sister-in-law of former state GOP chairman Robert C. Chapman.

At Estill, a small community in Hampton County, four Negro candidates for seats on town council were defeated despite the fact that Negroes outregistered whites. There were 889 Negroes registered and 671 whites. In the past, less than 100 voters had turned out for town elections. More than 200 Negroes voted, and it was explained they thought this would be enough to win. More than 350 whites turned out, however. "It's part of the learning process" was the philosophical

comment of James L. Felder, field director of the S. C. Voter Education Project.

A Howard University law school graduate, Felder successfully passed the state bar and was sworn in before the state Supreme Court Oct. 2.

State Democratic Party executive director Donald L. Fowler, who is credited with playing a key role in expanding the role and bringing about full acceptance of Negroes within the state Democratic Party, is expected to return to his faculty position at the University of South Carolina. Dr. Fowler is a professor of political science.

Eugene McCarthy's South Carolina campaign manager, Yale University law student Gus Speth—a former Rhodes scholar from Orangeburg, issued a report charging that the Negroes on the S. C. delegation "did not truly represent the Negro community in the state." He pointed out that none voted for either McCarthy or Channing Phillips.

Speth also charged the state Democratic Party with stacking the delegation with Humphrey supporters and urged that McCarthy and Kennedy supporters work together to bring a new politics to South Carolina.

He suggested this should be done by work at the precinct and county levels, "but where it proves impossible to work within the party, I hope we shall not shirk from forming a new party to implement the goals synonymous with the names of Gene McCarthy, John and Robert Kennedy, and Martin Luther King," Speth stated.

## TENNESSEE

"It showed me first hand how bureaucracy works," mused blonde Nancy Hendrix, 25, as she surveyed the results of the summer she and a handful of other Tennesseans had spent supporting Eugene McCarthy.

Bureaucracy, it appeared, had won—even to the point of keeping three would-be McCarthy electors off Tennessee's November ballot, on grounds there were

technical deficiencies in their qualifying petitions. After Chicago, the Tennessee McCarthy camp ceased to exist as such; its treasurer announced that Tennesseans for McCarthy would support Humphrey.

Miss Hendrix, a Ph.D. candidate at Vanderbilt University, and other younger members of the McCarthy team, however, found themselves unable to pay even lip service to the Democratic nominee. "He's just lost touch with the whole new generation, and with the blacks," explained one student. In Knoxville, a University of Tennessee senior announced that a "New Party" convention would be held in Nashville.

No convention materialized. A last minute, all-night effort was made to collect the signatures needed to place on the ballot the names of three independent, McCarthy-pledged electors, Nashville social worker Hibbard Thatcher, Vanderbilt teaching fellow Roy Talbert, and Andrew White, a black Nashville minister. Election officials disqualified Thatcher and White on grounds they lacked the required 25 signatures of registered voters, and Talbert on grounds his petition was improperly worded. "It appears to me that the Tennessee legislature did not intend to have independent electors for President on the ballot," said Asst. State Atty. Gen. Robert H. Roberts.

Although the establishment seemed secure against attack from the new left in November, it received two jolts in the August 1 state and local elections. Party-switching state legislator Charles Galbreath, a free-wheeling, fast-talking maverick Nashville lawyer, won election to the state's Court of Criminal Appeals. And Avon N. Williams, Jr., president of the Negro Tennessee Voters Council, gained the Democratic nomination for a state senate seat from Nashville. In both cases, the result was to infiltrate into the system men who have long been loudly vocal about its flaws.

Galbreath successfully challenged a 50-year-old system under which Tennessee's higher ranking judges have been appointed by governors and then perpetu-

ally re-elected without serious opposition. The victory also left many of his fellow attorneys distinctly ill at ease: the profession's opposition to Galbreath's bid for the bench was nearly unanimous — of 4,000 lawyers to whom Galbreath sent letters requesting support, eleven took the trouble to reply. Now many of those who didn't must try cases for the next six years before Judge Galbreath.

Avon Williams was one of two Negroes nominated to the state senate; the other was J. O. Patterson of Memphis. Of the two, the Nashville civil rights attorney is clearly the more militant; his victory was also significant in its unseating of his opponent in the primary, State Rep. Dorothy Brown, a Nashville physician who was the first Negro woman elected to the legislature. Dr. Brown ran with support from the administrations of Governor Buford Ellington and Nashville Mayor Beverly Briley; she also refused to criticize the state for its part in routing Interstate Highway 40 through black North Nashville. Williams, a critic of both administrations, is also legal counsel for the I-40 Steering Committee, which fought the highway and won five significant modifications in the route.

In Memphis, the Democratic primary brought defeats for two men long considered mainstays in the city's Negro leadership, State Representatives Russell B. Sugarmon and A. W. Willis. Both were defeated by other Negro candidates, with observers concluding that the losers had failed to keep closely enough in touch with the new mood of militancy produced by the garbage workers' strike.

A Knoxville Negro, Theotis Robinson, Jr., meanwhile won Democratic nomination to the state house in his campaign against two white opponents.

Protest presidential candidate Dick Gregory, delighting a Vanderbilt University audience with a speech in which he pledged, if elected, to "paint the White House black," said he knew nothing of the University of Tennessee action banning him from a scheduled address at

UT's Knoxville campus. But Georgia legislator Julian Bond, who had been invited to appear on the same UT program, cancelled his appearance because the school prohibited Gregory's. "If the chancellor of UT thinks the students are too simple-minded to hear Gregory, they are obviously too simple-minded to hear me," explained Bond.

Dr. Andrew P. Torrence, vice president of Alabama's Tuskegee Institute, was named president of Tennessee A&I State University, succeeding Dr. Walter S. Davis, who retired after 25 years at the helm of the black campus. Torrence was named over strong protest from A&I's national alumni association. The alumni said they were critical not of the candidate chosen by the State Board of Education, but of the fact that the alumni were left out of the selection process.

Nashville's Metro Board of Education, refusing to revoke a suspension of all-black Cameron High School from interscholastic athletics, found its members named as defendants in a federal court suit filed by Cameron students and parents. The post-basketball game disorders for which Cameron was suspended, the plaintiffs charged, were a product of the school board's own actions in perpetuating "racial and socio-economic isolation of school children" by "conforming to community attitudes of white racial prejudice and discrimination." They asked U. S. Dist. Judge William Miller to order the board to re-zone Nashville schools in a manner that would produce "meaningful integration." James Mock, new Tennessee field director for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, meanwhile led 200 of Cameron's 1,300 students in protest demonstrations and threatened to "close the schools" unless the court action brought quick results, including withdrawal of the suspension.

## TEXAS

There is evidence that such organizations as the John Birch Society and the Ku Klux Klan cooperated with the presi-

dential campaign of George Wallace in Texas. Many members of the Birch Society, in particular, were prominent in American Independent Party affairs in the state. It was charged by some that the Birch Society staged a coup and took over control of the Texas party. It is known that at least 15 of the party's 32-member state committee are Birchers; some say as many as 28 are members. It was unclear whether the Birch people had consciously sought and won control or whether their predominance is coincidental. It is true, however, that several anti-Birch or non-Birch leaders of the American Party were displaced from the party's organizational structure, often to be replaced by JBS members.

Broadened participation by members of racial minority groups in Texas is expected as a result of the national Democratic Party's doing away with the unit rule in party conventions and, also, because of the national party's growing observance of the principle of minority groups having their rightful share of the decision-making. Texas liberals have organized a shadow Democratic Party—the New Democratic Coalition of Texas—somewhat along the lines of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic party, which has grown in influence in that state—to challenge the regular, conservative party. The Texas liberals, hoping to do their part to broaden the role of minorities in state politics, named a 124-member executive committee whose composition is to be one-fourth Negro and one-fourth Mexican-American (the other fourths being Anglo and youth—persons 27 and younger). The liberals are hoping their coalition will be the vehicle that at last will give them control of the regular Democratic party machinery, in 1970 or 1972. The coalition's long-range strategy still is being worked out but the basic idea is for the liberals to seek to develop precinct-level strength sufficient to form the basis for having the delegate votes to take over the party.

A Southern Regional Council survey found fewer Negro elected public of-

ficials in Texas than in such states as Mississippi, Arkansas, and Louisiana.

Two Texas cities, Austin and San Antonio, have adopted open housing ordinances and a third, Corpus Christi, was considering such a law. At the initiative of local realtors the Austin ordinance was challenged by petitions that required submission of the question to voters.

In Houston pickets were posted around the school administration building to dramatize demands for a meeting with the school board to discuss such matters as the teaching of Negro history in public schools there. NAACP leader Roy Wilkins, in town on business, joined the picket line briefly. Provisions have been made to include Negro history in existing history courses at Houston, as well as at Fort Worth. But Houston NAACP leaders say they have a number of other grievances they wish to discuss with the school board.

State Rep. Curtis Graves, Houston, a Negro, believes Negro history is not adequately portrayed in textbooks now in use in Texas. He promises to wage a fight on the question before the state again adopts its history textbooks, in 1970. Negro history will be the subject of a course now being offered for the first time this fall at the University of Texas at Austin.

Forty-three Negro soldiers faced court-martial action at Fort Hood after refusing orders to board transportation to await possible riot control duty in Chicago during the national Democratic Convention. The Negroes objected to their possibly being ordered to fire upon or otherwise physically repel fellow Negroes.

Leaders of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee have been under intense police pressure lately. At Houston the SNCC field secretary, Lee Otis Johnson, was convicted of selling a marijuana cigarette to an undercover policeman. Johnson was given a 30-year sentence by an all-white jury. He actually gave the cigarette to the officer but under Texas law that constitutes a sale.

At Dallas SNCC leader Ernie McMillan



and his chief aide, Matthew Johnson, were given ten-year prison terms for allegedly leading a raid on a Dallas grocery against which SNCC had organized a boycott. An estimated \$211 damage was done.

At Austin some twenty police officers were in the audience of 80 or 100 when SNCC workers from that city, Houston, and Dallas met. After the meeting two SNCC members were arrested in connection with an auto theft case.

A number of Texas public school systems have been prodded by the U. S. Office of Education for not dropping racial barriers effectively and fast enough. A Department of Health, Education and Welfare survey shows that three of four Texas Negro school children attended segregated schools in 1967-68, though Texas led the South in integration of schools.

Fifty-nine of the state's 1,278 school districts were sent letters last March warning of possible cases of noncompliance with civil rights laws. Of the 59, fourteen have submitted unsatisfactory desegregation plans. Another 80 or 90 letters were prepared for Texas school districts urging submission of a satisfactory desegregating plan by the end of September.

There are signs that the federal courts are wearying of the snail's pace of school desegregation in the region. The 5th Circuit Court of Appeals has ordered hearings held by inferior courts to determine the practical effects of the two basic approaches to school desegregation — the freedom-of-choice and the geographic attendance zone plans.

## VIRGINIA

A decade has slipped by since Virginia closed white schools in the fall of 1958 in a drastic effort to avert integration. Old concepts began to change as a result of that move and finally the high council of the state's long dominant political force has been opened to the minority race.

Six Negroes were seated on the Democratic State Central Committee (they are the first in history) at a re-organizational session shortly after the national Democratic Convention.

The breakthrough—and the factors surrounding it—is expected to have a far ranging effect on the staid old politics of the Commonwealth. A new era of across-the-board participation in the party is beginning, and as far as the old line state politicians are concerned it is more significant than the rise of George Wallace.

As in other southern states, Wallace's third party bid for President attracted more support than had been expected. It was no surprise for Wallace support to blossom in the black belt rural Virginia Southside, but when substantial Wallace followings showed up after the Chicago convention in liberal labor unions in the big shipyards on Hampton Roads, and in the western regions of the state where there are few Negroes and few racial problems, it became anything but a laughing matter.

Three Democratic congressional candidates — Reps. David Satterfield, III, of the Richmond area 3rd District and John O. Marsh of the Shenandoah Valley 7th, and Danville's W. C. "Dan" Daniel who was nominated to succeed retiring Rep. William M. Tuck — disassociated their campaigns from Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey. They went so far as to pledge to vote for whoever should carry their respective districts should the presidential election end up in the House of Representatives.

Daniel, although from the old Virginia conservative school of Democrats, found himself with the dominant white vote of the district split almost evenly between Nixon and Wallace. His GOP opponent, Weldon Tuck of South Boston and a cousin of the retiring Democrat, had the advantage of the Tuck name. And the race had further complications in the independent candidacy of Miss Ruth Harvey, Danville NAACP lawyer.

Satterfield, opposed by Republican

John Hansen of Chesterfield, faced difficulties because his conservatism had disenchanted Negroes who make up about half of the voting force in Richmond. Marsh found himself under fire from both Republicans and Wallace followers for being the only Virginia congressman to vote against the unseating of Harlem's Adam Clayton Powell. (Marsh says his vote was based on the belief the House was exceeding its constitutional authority.)

In addition to Miss Harvey, two other Negro candidates entered the congressional races as independents. They were S. W. Tucker, Jr., of Emporia, the NAACP's chief Virginia counsel, who faced State Democratic chairman and 4th District Rep. Watkins M. Abbitt for the second time, and the Rev. J. Cornelius Fauntleroy of Newport News who bowed into politics as a challenger of 1st District Rep. Thomas N. Downing.

Nine Negroes were in the state delegation to Chicago and talk of a rival delegation was abandoned.

Dr. W. Ferguson Reid of Henrico County, the first Negro member of the Virginia House of Delegates since Reconstruction was named to the central committee along with five others of his race. They are the Rev. Henry Maxwell of Newport News, Arthur Freeman and Dr. Benjamin L. Lambert, III, of Richmond and Mrs. Vivian Mason of Norfolk, and John Morcones of Sterling.

In the wake of a state Democratic Party Convention battle marked by substantial gains for the liberal faction on the central committee, a controversy erupted between leaders of Negro voter organizations. Calls for the resignation of Moses A. Riddick as executive secretary of the Virginia Independent Voters League (VIVL) were sounded by Dr. William S. Thornton of Richmond, chairman of the Virginia Crusade for Voters, and the Rev. Curtis W. Harris, president of the Virginia unit of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

They charged that Riddick, a member

of the Nansemond Board of Supervisors, failed to oppose the re-election of Congressman Abbitt as state party chairman. This displayed Riddick's "acceptance of the conservative point of view and his willingness to accept tokenism," they said.

An exchange of public statements followed in which Riddick contended he was in a delegation headed by Governor Godwin that operated under the unit rule.

The 13 Negro members of the delegation were in the minority and Godwin could cast the entire vote for Abbitt regardless of the minority, Riddick said. Then he further explained:

"It would have been the worst sort of folly for us to bite the hand that was feeding us. Gov. Godwin was committed to Mr. Abbitt. Under Governor Godwin, Negroes have obtained something like 27 or 28 appointments to state boards and commissions.

"In the convention, the white hierarchy, including the governor and the 4th District congressman, dropped the bars of segregation. For the first time we got delegates to the national convention and seats on the state central committee."

The executive board of the VIVL met in special session and agreed that Riddick's hands were tied at the convention, and that he was there as a delegate from Nansemond County rather than as an officer of the league. A unanimous vote of confidence in Riddick was cast by the board.

Riddick's reference to the opening of state boards and commission to Negroes under Godwin pointed up the success of a long drive to get minority race representation on the State Board of Welfare and Institutions. Shortly before the state party convention at Salem, Godwin appointed Victor J. Ashe, a resident of Virginia Beach and a lawyer in the long, drawn-out Norfolk school desegregation case, as the first Negro member of the board.

The Norfolk case is now believed to be the longest continuing school desegrega-

tion case in the nation. It was 10 years ago this September that a state trooper knocked on the door of then School Board Chairman Paul Schweitzer and 10,000 white students in Norfolk were locked out of six schools.

The schools reopened with integration in February 1959, but the case that led to the desegregation has never left the courts. "The Norfolk case will never end," Federal District Judge Walter E. Hoffman of Norfolk said as the anniversary of the school closings rolled around.

The case originated in the U. S. Eastern District Court of Virginia on May 10, 1956, and many times it has been taken to the U. S. 4th Circuit Court of Appeals

only to be returned to Judge Hoffman.

It was again remanded from the appeals court last May 31 with instructions for a more flexible attendance plan to be tried. The appeals court held that while Norfolk's neighborhood schools concept may be valid, it cannot be approved if residence in a neighborhood is denied Negroes solely on the ground of color.

A mandate is expected from the 4th Circuit shortly and Hoffman is preparing for a new round of hearings. Federal District Judge Robert R. Merhige of Richmond in September also ordered a backlog of almost a dozen pending school cases moved into position on his docket for early consideration.

### 1968 SOUTHERN STATES' PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION RESULTS BY PERCENTAGE

State	Nixon	Humphrey	Wallace
Alabama	14.2	19.7	66.1
Arkansas	30.8	30.3	38.9
Florida	39.6	31.5	28.9
Georgia	30.2	26.9	42.9
Louisiana	23.3	28.5	48.2
Mississippi	13.9	22.9	63.2
North Carolina	39.5	29.2	31.3
South Carolina	38.9	29.4	31.7
Tennessee	37.7	28.3	34.0
Texas	38.0	39.3	22.7
Virginia	43.3	32.8	23.9