

Birmingham Negro Leaders Support SCLC

BY STEPHEN E. COTTON AND RICHARD J. VAUGHN

BIRMINGHAM--A peace of sorts settled over Birmingham's racial situation following a violent flare-up late last week.

Police used night sticks last Thursday to break up a sit-in by more than 400 demonstrators who were trying to block traffic at three major downtown intersections.

The demonstrators, most of them students, were protesting voter registration procedures in Jefferson County.

In the last nine days, SCLC had led 15 traffic-snarling marches in the county courthouse--including one "kneel-in" in the middle of downtown Birmingham's busiest street.

Thursday's demonstration marked the first time that police moved in to restore the flow of traffic.

Before the week was out, the federal district court here had issued two restraining orders barring the use of students as demonstrators during school hours. One of the orders also prohibited blocking traffic.

SCLC grudgingly obeyed the orders, as the demonstrations continued.

But the most important developments through the weekend took place behind closed doors.

By Monday, a group of local Negroes who had opposed SCLC tactics in the current demonstrations, found themselves working hand-in-glove with SCLC to keep the demonstrations going.

There were still conflicts between local people and SCLC, and there appeared to be disagreements within SCLC, but the outlook seemed to be for more prolonged--and larger--demonstrations.

The basic shift came Friday, when Negro millionaire A.G. Gaston issued a statement that was highly critical of the demonstrations.

At the time, Gaston was still working with a group of local Negroes who wanted

to draft a statement in support of the demonstrations. That evening, the local Negroes, headed by the Rev. J. Lowrey, met with the Rev. Andrew Young, a top executive of SCLC.

They complained to him that SCLC should not have sent staff members running through local schools yelling for students to join the demonstrations. They agreed that no action would be taken against Gaston, since that would show a division in the Negro community.

And they convinced Young that local Negroes had not been given much of a say in the direction of the demonstrations. By Saturday Lowrey was included in a meeting of the SCLC who have been leading the demonstrations.

The local people finally issued their statement Monday. It listed nine "suggestions for action" by city and county officials. SCLC's major demand--that the board of registrars expand operation--rated No. 7 on the list.

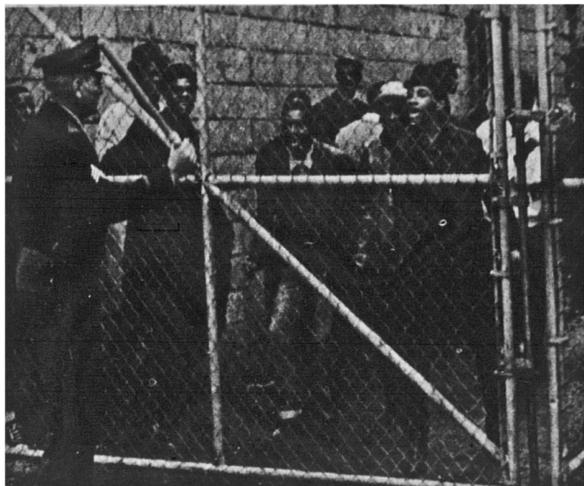
Obviously, the local people were interested in seeing the demonstrations ask for more than SCLC had in mind. After all, SCLC staff members were letting it be known that if federal examiners were sent in, they would be more than happy to leave local people on their own.

But for the moment, at any rate, agreements between the local people and SCLC leaders were growing stronger. Monday afternoon, they met in Mr. Lowrey's church and Hosea Williams, the top SCLC leader of the demonstrations, had little trouble putting over the idea that Gaston should be asked to retract his statement.

Some of the local people wanted the dispute with Gaston to be settled quietly. "Hosea's a jackass," snapped one after learning of Williams' speech to the mass meeting.

But the alliance held, and by mid-week, the local Negroes were ready to stand with SCLC in confronting the city, the county, the Chamber of Commerce--and A.G. Gaston. What answer they would get, however, was not certain.

A city official spoke for a lot of people when he said, "I guess we were really hoping it would all go away."



UNTIL STOPPED BY A FEDERAL COURT ORDER LAST WEEK, SCLC WORKERS HAD GONE INTO THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS TO ASK STUDENTS--LIKE THESE AT ULLMAN HIGH SCHOOL--TO JOIN THE BIRMINGHAM DEMONSTRATIONS. MANY OF THE LOCAL LEADERS TOLD SCLC THEY OBJECTED TO THIS.

THE SOUTHERN COURIER

VOL. II, No. 4

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TEN CENTS

Civil Rights Leaders Disagree On Using Votes in Black Belt

BY JOHN KLEIN

SELMA--More Negroes are registered to vote in Alabama's Black Belt now than at any other time since the Reconstruction era, but civil rights organizations disagree about what to do with these votes.

That disagreement erupted at a meeting here last Saturday in an unscheduled "debate" between Hosea Williams of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and Stokely Carmichael of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee.

Carmichael tried to convince the local Negro leaders who came to the meeting from all over the state that they should set up independent political parties like the Lowndes County Freedom Organization, which was recently organized under the emblem of the "Black Panther."

Williams called the SNCC idea "a bed for the Black nationalist or the Black Muslim," and argued that Negroes should work within the Democratic and Republican parties.

Leaders of local civil rights organizations all over Alabama had been invited to St. Paul's C.M.E. Church here to learn how to run candidates for the county, state and local offices that will be up for election this year.

But Williams, who is director of voter registration and political education for SCLC, said the meeting was called partly because he was worried

about the formation of the party of the black panther in Lowndes County.

Carmichael, who had been invited by the local SCLC office, took the floor to describe SNCC's project in Lowndes County--to the dismay of SCLC state (CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX, Col. 5)



HOSEA WILLIAMS OF SCLC



STOKELY CARMICHAEL OF SNCC

Flowers, Others Attack 1965 Voting Rights Act Before U.S. High Court

WASHINGTON, D.C.--Top lawyers from all over the country crowded into the stately chambers of the U. S. Supreme Court here this week to have their say about the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

The nine Justices of the nation's highest court sat in their big, cushioned chairs, nodding at times, jotting notes and often shooting questions at the tense lawyers.

The court will decide in the coming months whether the voting law as passed is legal.

Lawyers for six Southern states argued in front of the court that the law picked on the South.

Alabama was represented first by Frank J. Mizell, a Montgomery lawyer for Governor George C. Wallace. Mizell said the law makes the U.S. Attorney General "both judge and executioner."

Later Monday, Alabama Attorney General Richmond Flowers rose before the nine judges to say the law was unconstitutional because it required only certain states to abandon their own laws against illiterates' voting.

Flowers suggested that federal examiners ask the question, "Can you read and write?" to every person who comes to register.

The next day there was another packed crowd in the chambers to hear U. S. Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach's argument.

Katzenbach's hands and voice were shaking as he started his presentation. Before he could get very far he was interrupted by questions from the justices, who wanted to know about the origin of the law.

Congress has broad powers to assure all citizens their voting rights, free of discrimination, he said. Congress last

spring used that power in forming the law, he said.

The judges, after challenging both sides for the best arguments, now will argue among themselves, do some of their own research themselves if necessary and sometime this spring write an opinion.

Their opinion will determine whether thousands of Negroes in Southern states qualified to vote by federal examiners may indeed vote and in addition whether those who cannot read and write may vote.

Tuskegee March Erupts into Riot

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

TUSKEGEE --"We lost our cool," a student leader said, shaking his head.

He stood on the Macon County Court House steps and stared dejectedly toward the Confederate Monument in the downtown square.

Empty window frames stared back at him accusingly from several buildings across and down the street from the courthouse. The street was littered with broken glass and bits of brick and rock.

Half a dozen red, white and yellow picket signs lay crumpled and wet in the street. On one discarded poster, smudged footprints almost covered the words, "We demand justice."

That was the scene Saturday, after a peaceful picket by 30 members of the Tuskegee Institute Advancement League (TIAL) suddenly erupted into a riot.

Racial tension has burned hotly here since the murder nearly three weeks ago of Samuel L. Younge, a student and civil rights worker. TIAL students have demonstrated almost daily.

New Ways To Fight Same Old Problems

TUSCALOOSA--Two different ways of attacking the civil rights and poverty problems of the state were offered here at a meeting this month.

The professor's solution came from Harold Nelson of the University of Alabama:

He suggested a "share-the-misery program." People in a neighborhood with infrequent garbage collections could gather their trash together and share it with the richer people in the suburbs.

The Rev. W. L. Herzfeld, pastor of Christ Lutheran Church, had another plan:

He recommended that everybody at the meeting get together the next day at the Tuscaloosa County Court House and shout in unison, "What the hell is going on here?"

The riot wasn't the first outbreak of violence since Younge's death. Early Saturday morning Arthur Lee Smith, a graduate student, was struck and



STUDENT TAUNTS POLICEMAN

Eufaula Marchers Jailed Under New City Ordinance

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

EUFULA--"Go to jail. Go directly to jail. Do not picket, sing, or walk in front of courthouse. Do not collect \$200."

Those are the ground rules for a game the city of Eufaula played this week with more than 100 demonstrators from the Eufaula Voters League, a civil rights group.

But the city didn't call it a game. The city called it Public Ordinance 1966-1.

Under the new ordinance, no one may

Lowndes Faces Court Charges

MONTGOMERY --Lowndes County will have more than its day in court in the coming months--it will probably have to defend itself four times in federal court.

Its jury selection, its last elections, its criminal trial court and now its school system have been challenged in separate court entries.

The U. S. government added to the list most recently with a request that the court stop Lowndes from: (1) maintaining a dual school system, (2) failing to provide equal educational opportunities and facilities to Negro and white students and (3) maintaining distinctions based on race or color within the school system.

Twenty-one of Lowndes' 27 schools for Negroes are "hazardous" or equipped for only "a minimum program," the government said. Twenty-three schools have fewer teachers than grades, it added.

The government is also asking the federal court here to order the county to add women and Negroes to its jury lists.

In addition, individual residents have asked the court to toss out the results of Lowndes' last local elections and also to stop the justice of the peace from ruling in a case in which he would profit from a fine for a guilty verdict.

hold any kind of public assembly in Eufaula without asking the mayor's permission in writing eight days in advance.

Under the new ordinance, nearly everybody who is anybody in the Eufaula Voters League went to jail.

The city set bond at \$200 apiece. Some members of the Voters League spent several days in jail waiting for bond to be secured.

They might have been out earlier, but the city of Eufaula refused to accept surety from the bonding company employed by Solomon Seay Jr., attorney for the jailed demonstrators.

Seay said he would ask the U.S. District Court in Montgomery to rule that the demonstrators must be permitted to sign for their own bond since they cannot afford what the city of Eufaula is asking for bond.

Earlier in the week Seay had filed petitions in the U.S. District Court to remove all of the cases out of Eufaula's Recorder's Court to a federal court.

He called Eufaula's new ordinance "unconstitutional as hell."

"No permit can be required for peaceful use of the sidewalk," Seay said. "This ordinance violates the First Amendment protection of free

speech. It's vague and unreasonable. It doesn't make the necessary distinctions between permissible and impermissible demonstrations."

Seay said Judge Frank M. Johnson Jr., who will hear the cases if they are transferred to federal court, recently ruled a similar Montgomery ordinance unconstitutional.

John Davis, SCLC worker who organized the demonstrations in defiance of the ordinance, said the law was designed to stop a four-week old selective buying campaign against white-owned stores. "We're succeeding," he said. "That scared them." Davis said the campaign was organized after the city council refused to consider a list of 18 Negro demands to end segregation and discrimination.

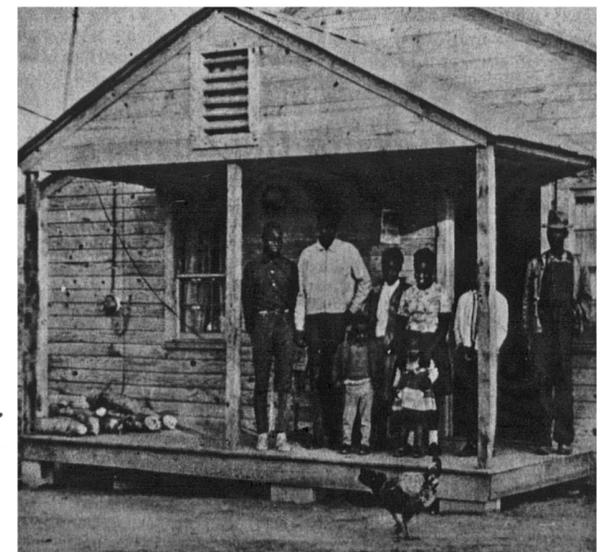
But Eufaula Mayor E. H. Graves denied that the ordinance was meant to stop civil rights demonstrations. "It's meant to regulate the traffic flow. If civil rights demonstrators supply us with the necessary information in advance, we will give them a parade permit."

Eight demonstrators were picketing downtown Saturday when they were arrested. Another 31 were arrested Sunday.

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX, Col. 4)

After Registering To Vote

Wilcox Farmers Find Freedom Comes Fast



BY EDWARD M. RUDD

CAMDEN--Negroes in Wilcox County who registered to vote have gotten their freedom a lot quicker than they expected.

Within the past few months, at least 90 families with registered voters have been thrown off their plantation homesteads, according to the Rev. Daniel Harrell, an SCLC official working in this rural Black Belt County.

These evictions have forced freedom on many of these families.

"I think they are a lot better off because a lot of them would have lived on

that land and died on it," said Albert Gordon, a Negro leader in the county who is helping the people.

"This way, if they can get an acre of land and build a house on it, at least they have something they can call their own," he said.

One 70-year-old evicted woman feels as the slaves did after they were turned off their plantations at the end of the Civil War.

"I feel like I've been on his place so long, I feel like I'm lost, regardless of my former position," said this woman. (CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX, Col. 3)

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Editorial Opinion

An Obvious Target

Something is badly wrong when leaflets scattered around a Negro neighborhood at night by unknown authors can almost close a school, even for a day.

But that's what happened early this week at Mobile County Training School.

If nothing were wrong, then such anonymous leaflets could not disrupt a whole school. But the authors of the leaflets have picked an obvious target. They have now started attacking the county's segregated school system, and there are many things wrong with it.

The Negro officials at the school helped prove this by the way they responded to the leaflet's threat that the school would be destroyed. The leaflets were tossed out early Sunday morning, and almost everyone in the area knew about them long before school was supposed to start Monday. Yet the officials waited until the students had come to the school before calling in the police and fire departments to search the buildings.

The reaction of students and parents also helped to prove that something was wrong. A few said they wouldn't care if the school did get blown up. The many parents who came to take their children away and the hundreds of students who didn't go to school until the next day showed either that they aren't very interested in school or that they don't trust the officials to keep the school safe.

Mobile's Negro leaders are partly responsible for this frame of mind because they have let the school system stay one of the most segregated in the state. In a system with about 46,000 white students and 32,000 Negro students only 39 Negroes are in white school. The teaching and administrative staffs are still completely segregated.

So no one should be surprised that Negro parents and students aren't interested in school or don't trust the school officials--white or Negro.

The school board is now looking for someone to replace the recently retired associate superintendent of schools. The board would be wise to hire a Negro whom no one could call an Uncle Tom and then let him start solving some of these problems.

Poll Tax Deadline

The deadline for paying the poll tax this year is February 1--a week from next Tuesday.

All people who have registered to vote, including those who were qualified by federal examiners, should report to the county courthouse probate section to pay the \$1.50 fee. Anyone who has not paid his poll tax by February 1 will not be able to vote in state elections in 1966.

Persons over 45 years of age and veterans do not have to pay the poll tax. But if they are newly registered, they should report to the probate section by February 1 for a form excusing them from the tax.

Alabama voters have some big decisions ahead in May and in November.

You cannot help to make those decisions with your vote unless you first register and pay your poll tax before the end of the month.

Letters to the Editor

To the Editor:

I get the paper Saturday. I like the reading. It has some good stories.

I was not old enough to vote, but I wish I had been. I am 19 years of age, and I have a lot of friends around me who read the paper. ... My grandmother-in-law

read the paper and she got to vote. I finished school the year before last. I said when I was in school I would like to sell papers or work in a store later.

Geraldine Parrish
Marion, Ala.

To the Editor:

To all the big shotpeoples in the city, the Ph.D.'s and the B.S.'s,

We poor peoples, with no D's at all, are tired of the little half-freed preachers hiding back in the dark, blocking our freedom. The church members better wake up. We need freedom.

The Rev. Ware, the leader of the Baptists, he better wake up, and Mr. A. G. Gaston thinks his money's going to get him free. He's got another thought coming.

We are tired of these so-called better-class upper-class niggers. We are feeding them. They would have no job if it wasn't for the mother who gave birth to those black children.

I'd rather be poor than be rich because God cannot use the rich to do His job. The rich man's got too much joy and happiness around him, and I believe he worships his money more than God's glory.

We are tired of this giving freedom behind closed doors. We need some

Moses, some Noah in Birmingham. We pay the preachers. For what? For doing nothing but preach.

I know the preachers are afraid to speak out for Jesus. They're coward ministers of the Gospel.

A leader's supposed to lead the march. But, brother, where are your sharp-dressing, fine preachers?

Sometimes I wonder about the so-called man of God--where is his faith in God?

We want our God-given rights. Call all church believers in Christ Jesus. Cut their bread off. They won't join, so stop supporting those white folks' preachers.

Mrs. Julia Culpepper
Birmingham

THE SOUTHERN COURIER welcomes letters from anyone on any subject. Letters must be signed, but your name will be withheld upon request.

Southerners Who See 'Red' On Race Issue Fear Threat of Communism in Rights Drive

BY EDWARD M. RUDD

SELMA--In the past, the Southern white saw the civil rights struggle as black pulling against white. Today, he sees a third color, and in his mind the civil rights struggle has become a tug of war between red and white, with black caught in the middle.

Red is the Communists. When Sheriff Jim Clark first pinned on his "NEVER" button, it was his one-word answer to "Freedom Now." But recently in the North, he said it had grown to mean "Never shall the communists take over."

Most whites who will sit down quietly and talk about the "communist threat" admit that a lot of the red scare is just plain name calling.

"If you're a little bit against me," said a white doctor in a rural county, "and I'm an anti-communist, then I'm ready to call you communist."

A white minister, who prays that God will help "patriotic Americans fight the communist threat," sees many Southern people using the red smear as a weapon they know very little about.

"People on both sides of the question--the Southerner and the so-called civil rights worker--have very restricted views of the other side," he said. "The Southerner will use the communist threat to fight anybody who differs with him in the least."

But while men like the doctor and minister might wince at the loose



ANTI-COMMUNISTS GET THEIR IDEAS ABOUT THE NEGRO REVOLUTION FROM BOOKLETS LIKE THESE.

threats and name calling at a Klan rally, their own careful research into the matter brings them to much the same conclusions.

The "communist threat," they have concluded, is a world-wide conspiracy by the Russian Communists to overthrow and rule the free nations. At home they see this threat everywhere--in the civil rights movement, in civil rights groups, in President Johnson's Great Society, in democracy.

They see the civil rights movement as a communist-backed plot to stir up a Negro revolution to overthrow the government. With a wide sweep of the arm, they point to the riots in New York, Chicago and Los Angeles. Thank God, they say, for Jim Clark, or the same thing would have happened in Selma.

They see civil rights groups as communist fronts:

"Communists want turmoil, agitation, overthrow. SNCC is turmoiling, agitating--I don't know whether they're overthrowing. It's fallacious logic, but there may be something to it."

They see civil rights leaders either as communists or communist dupes:

"I don't know whether Martin Luther King is a communist or not, but he does have several communist citations from the FBI and HUAC (House Un-American Activities Committee)."

They see the anti-poverty and welfare programs of President Johnson's Great Society as communist-contrived plots to turn America into a socialistic dictatorship:

"Socialism means something for nothing. It means the government owns everything and runs everything. Communism is taking something from one who deserves it and giving it to those who don't, taking from the rich and giving to the poor."

They see U. S. Supreme Court decisions that have declared civil rights laws legal as giving aid and comfort to the communists:

"Impeach Earl Warren." "All protection has been practically eliminated by judicial opinion. The Supreme Court says Congress does not have to respect law passed by the people of the states."

They even see democracy as a communist threat to America:

"America was never conceived as a democracy--Jefferson and the other framers of the Constitution were careful to avoid that word. America was conceived of as a republic--a government by representation. Democracy is government by the people. Democracy is one step short of socialism, which is the half-way house to communism, as Mr. Khrushchev has said."

The Southern white usually ends up "suspecting" this person or that group to be communist. He points to accusations made "over here" by a Congressional investigating committee to back up his suspicions, or to some isolated remarks made "over there" by a known Communist leader to give authority to his fears.

But, the threat of the civil rights movement is something he can see happening every day. He can feel it.

And he sees a "communist threat" everywhere he sees a civil rights threat. As a result, it's often hard to tell where his fear of integration stops and where his fear of communism begins.

For example, a white man asked to explain how the Negro could gain his civil rights without becoming a tool of the communist, replied:

"An environment must be created where Negroes take part in the government, where they take an active interest in their education, and where they develop their incentive to better their

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX, Col. 6)

Clarke School Buses Are Still Segregated



THE CLARKE COUNTY SCHOOL BUSES WILL CARRY NEGRO STUDENTS TO HARPER, THE NEGRO SCHOOL, BUT NOT TO INTEGRATED JACKSON HIGH.

BY DAVID R. UNDERHILL

JACKSON--Fourteen Negro students who integrated the school in Jackson last September still haven't been able to integrate the school buses. About half of them are getting to school and back home on their own each day.

Trio Barred From Movie About Selma

BY DAVID R. UNDERHILL

MOBILE--The Mobile County Citizens Council last week showed the Alabama State Sovereignty Commission's "true story of the Selma-to-Montgomery march," and three young Negroes who went to see it couldn't get in to see the film at the Sage Avenue National Armory. But in the future, it may be the Citizens Council that can't get into the Armory.

Charles Taylor says he went to the Armory because he had been in the march and wanted to see whether the film told the truth about it.

Julius Williams and Albert Campbell went with him. All three are students at Carver State Vocational Technical School here.

They arrived shortly before 7:30 p.m., when the movie was supposed to start, but the Armory was already packed. A voice over a loudspeaker announced there would be another showing at 8:45 p.m., and so the three waited in the crowd outside.

Williams said that several whites made nasty remarks to them while they were waiting, and a policeman came up and asked why they had come. Taylor answered that the movie had been publicly announced, and the officer left.

Then Arthur Benjamin, the past chairman of the Citizens Council in Mobile, asked them what organizations they represented and asked whether they had come to cause trouble.

A crowd started to gather around, and Benjamin asked them to step away from the line. He then offered to help arrange (CONTINUED ON PAGE FIVE, Col. 1)

The others are riding with Cleave Jackson, a Negro undertaker who has turned his car into an unofficial school bus. He has been carrying them since school started.

The students tried three or four times to catch a bus to school. One stops about two blocks from Jackson's Funeral Home to pick up some white students. Each time they tried, "the driver closed the door in their faces and took off," Jackson says.

They tried once at school to catch a bus home, Jackson says, but "three cars of Kluxers" were sitting there watching. So the students rode home with him instead.

In October, the parents of the fourteen children sent a letter to Norman Loper, Clarke County superintendent of schools, asking that something be done. Loper says he never saw the letter.

Jackson says, "He may not have seen it, but it darn sure never came back."

Jackson and other Negro leaders also tried phone calls and personal conversations with school officials but still nothing changed.

Last week, Loper went to the P.T.A. meeting at Harper High, the Negro school in the area, and Jackson asked him about the buses.

Loper said the children could start riding the next day. The principal at the integrated high school was supposed to call the funeral home and make final arrangements, He didn't call.

"It's been going on like this ever since school started," says Frank Dean, a young Negro leader.

Most Negroes don't blame the bus problem on Loper. They think the "Kluxers" are keeping him under pressure not to solve it.

"Loper's a lot too nice a guy for this to be happening to," Dean said.

The Negroes have now asked the U.S. Justice Department to step in and solve the problem, along with a long list of problems with Harper High and the bus service to it.

Strange Will Appeal

ANNISTON--Circuit Judge Robert M. Parker refused Monday to grant a new trial to Damon Strange, convicted of murdering Willie Brewster last July. Strange plans to appeal.

Sermon of the Week

HEADLAND--"It is our duty to imitate the example of Christ," the Rev. Solomon D. Parker told his congregation at St. Peter's A.M.E. Church here.

"Jesus said, 'Learn of Me,'" Mr. Parker explained. "We learn of Christ by studying His word, and by so doing we will learn how Jesus loved."

Jesus loved all men with the same love, said Mr. Parker, and He taught His disciples this love when He told them, "Love ye one another as I have loved you; love workest no ill towards his brother."

Now others must learn Christ's lesson of love, the minister continued. "If

all nations, races and people would follow Christ's example there would be no race hate, nor war in the land.

"Not legislation but character sets the Christian standard of life," he said.

It is more important for us to have some worthy ideal to work for than laws to follow, he told his people. "The more worthy the ideals striven for, the more worthy the end achieved."

"Christ is the perfect example," Mr. Parker concluded. He is the most worthy ideal we can work for. "After He had washed the disciples' feet He said unto them, 'Do as I have done to you,'"



BY MARY MOULTRIE

You're home relaxing and you switch on the TV.

Five minutes have passed and the show's really good tonight. You're really getting a bang out of seeing the Indians on the run. Nothing's going to interrupt it tonight. . . .

"What's that tiger doing there on the screen? This isn't a jungle picture."

"That's the commercial. You know, the gas commercial about the tiger in your tank. I think we should try that gas at least once."

In a minute the commercial is over and you see that the cavalry has beaten the Indians.

But what's this? The Indians burning the trading post, taking the women captive? Where are the soldiers?

As you munch on your TV dinner, your eyes glued to the TV screen, the biggest and most dangerous battle of them all is going on. Some of the soldiers are trying to get into the village to rescue the women, and the rest of the soldiers are at the edge of the village fighting with the whole Indian nation.

You're not thinking of anything except a victory for the cavalry.

But at the very climax, your friendly sponsor pops in for a minute telling your wife to buy TV dinners by Blah blah, blah. You're furious because you're already eating his TV dinner, and you don't need to be reminded that he makes the best.

By the time the show resumes, you don't care about the Indians and the burning trading post and the soldiers rescuing the women. You've had it--commercials and all.

It is no secret that most viewers dislike commercials, especially in the middle of an episode, but it looks as if commercials are here to stay.

A recent survey showed that sponsors spent over \$2 billion last year to bring the friendly little messages to your home.

Advertisers pay up to \$55,000 a minute to show their products on nighttime television. 630 minutes per week for the average television viewer are devoted to commercials--32,000 minutes a year!

Some favorites this week, commercials included:

SATURDAY, JAN 22

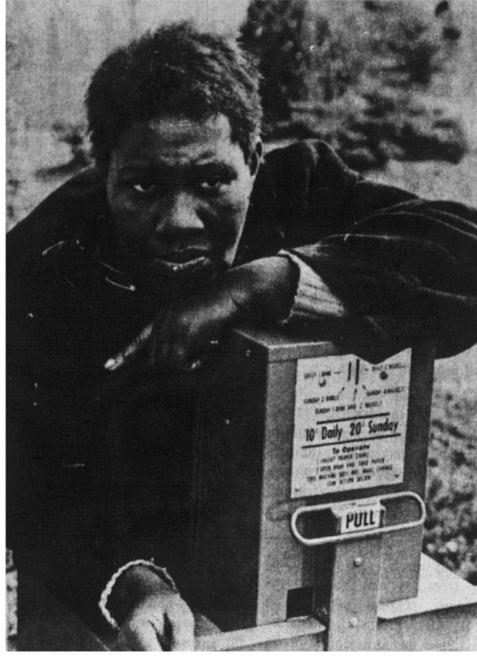
MARCH OF DIMES TELERAMA--Seventeen full-hours of commercials for a worthy fund drive. Local and visiting entertainers will appear, 10 p.m., Channel 20 in Montgomery.

SUNDAY, JAN 23

SUNDAY NIGHT MOVIE--The commercials will be shown between pool shots in "The Hustler." Paul Newman, the ambitious young pool shark, takes on Minnesota Fats (Jackie Gleason), the undisputed champion, 8 p.m., Channel 4 in Dothan and Channel 13 in Mobile.

FRIDAY, JAN 28

GOMER PYLE, USMC--Played by Jim Nabors of Sylacauga, Ala., Gomer escorts his cousin to open house at the Marine base, 8 p.m., Channel 4 in Dothan, Channel 5 in Mobile, Channel 19 in Huntsville, and Channel 20 in Montgomery.



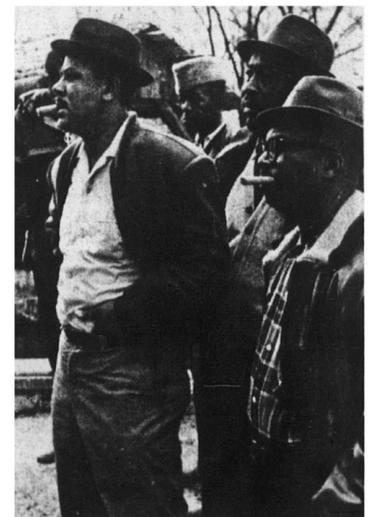
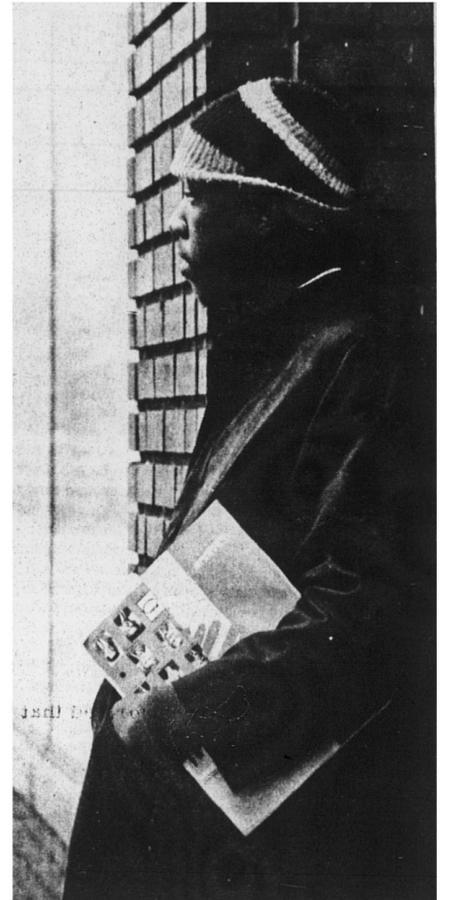
THE ONLOOKERS

Photography by James H. Pepler



There are two kinds of people at every demonstration--the people who march and the people who watch. The marchers, like those above, usually get all the attention. Reporters quote their speeches, photographers take their pictures.

But maybe more attention should be paid to the people who watch. For it is to these people, black and white, that the demonstrators are trying to speak. In the faces of these onlookers at the Birmingham demonstrations--in their interest or their apathy, in their understanding or their distrust--may lie an important measure of the success of the demonstrations.



Alabama Mental Hospitals Say They'll End Segregation

BY JAMES P. WILLSE

TUSCALOOSA--One hundred years ago people who suffered from mental illness were called "crazy" and often locked away in some dark room and forgotten. Now, through increased medical knowledge and better methods of treatment, many patients are able to overcome mental illness just as they would any other disease.

In 1860 Alabama's Dr. Peter Bryce, a pioneer in the treatment of the mentally ill, founded what is now Bryce Hospital in Tuscaloosa. Some of his methods--occupational therapy, giving freedom to patients and early treatment of mental illness--were then considered revolutionary but are now widely used.

Alabama State Hospital officials say their treatment methods are still among the most progressive in the country. But now, the Alabama State Hospitals--Bryce in Tuscaloosa and Searcy Hospital in Mobile--are facing some nagging problems.

Some are problems that all hospitals face, and that will probably never be solved completely: too many patients, not enough money, not enough staff.

In spite of these, the state hospitals do remarkably well, and 80 per cent of the 3,600 patients admitted yearly to Bryce are released within a year.

One other problem that Bryce and Searcy face will be solved soon, although it may bring other problems with it.

On Jan. 3, the State Department of Mental Health agreed to desegregate the Alabama State Hospitals, in accordance with the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

William J. Page, regional director of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, (HEW) said that the agreement came after a series of negotiations and that a representative of HEW had met with Dr. J. S. Tarwater, superintendent of the hospitals, to map out the actual desegregation.

Page said, "We've been working on this for a long time. We intend to work with Dr. Tarwater to produce a plan where race is not considered under the law. This means no salary discrimination, no separate assigning of rooms or different staff privileges."

Until the plans are made and put into effect, however, the hospitals are, as a spokesman says, "a segregated institution by design and law." Bryce Hospital houses about 5,200 white patients, while Searcy has about 2,600 Negro patients. The newly built Bryce Treatment Center #2 outside of Tuscaloosa contains about 120 Negroes from the 50 northern counties who suffer from acute mental illness--illness which is serious but which may be cured.

Segregation also carries over to the hospital staff. Negroes are hired to care for patients only in Searcy or the Treatment Center, and none are hired for jobs above attendant. Those who are hired as attendants receive sharply different pay from whites doing the same work.

The starting salary for a white male attendant is \$226 a month, and a white female receives \$200. A Negro man gets only \$163 a month, while a Negro female attendant starts at \$152. After a series of raises a white attendant can earn as much as \$294 a month, but the Negro male attendants' top salary is \$226, the amount the white men start at.

There are separate showers and locker rooms at Searcy and the Treatment Center, and also separate eating facilities for Negro and white employees. One Negro hospital worker described how the facilities differ:

"It seems like they pick out the worst food to give us. We get left-over salads and desserts, and the food is almost always cold. And if there is a dirty job to be done and a white and a Negro attendant nearby, the Negro will get the job."

As in most institutions in the South

and lowest in the nation.

The administration of the state hospitals, caught between the devil of the federal government and the deep blue sea of the state, took the unofficial position that it would desegregate, but only when forced to by threat of losing federal funds.

Another question involved the actual treatment of patients: How would mentally disturbed Negro and white patients, most of whom have lived in a segregated society, react to integration? Would integration disturb them even more?

An answer to this may be found a few miles away from Bryce at Tuscaloosa's Veterans Administration Hospital, The VA Hospital, also a hospital for the mentally ill, has had integrated wards and staff since the 1950s.

Dr. James C. Folsom, the hospital's

chief of staff, explained that integration has worked out well. "We are completely integrated, and we have had few, if any, incidents. And we haven't seen any harmful effects on patients of either color."

There is no deadline for Dr. Tarwater and his staff to begin the actual desegregation. HEW's Page says, "As long as they move toward compliance within a reasonable period of time, we will work with them. It's a complicated process to withdraw federal funds." So for a while at least, Bryce and Searcy will continue to be run as "separate but equal" hospitals.

But are they equal? A look at the report for the fiscal year ending September, 1964 shows a few inequalities:

There is one staff physician for every 282 patients at Bryce, while there is one for every 500 at Searcy.

There is one social worker to aid the family of every 193 patients at Bryce and one for every 833 at Searcy.

There are three chaplains and five rehabilitation workers at Bryce, and none at Searcy.

In 1964 the state granted the state mental hospitals funds which amounted to \$2.93 per day for each patient. (The figure is a little higher now). But the way this money was divided up, \$3.15 per day was spent for Bryce patients, while only \$2.53 was spent for Searcy patients.

This comes out to \$1,070.53 spent per year on each Bryce patient while only \$922.12 is spent annually on each Searcy patient.

Since just about all of the operating budget for the hospitals comes from the per-patient allowance, this amounts to an important difference.



that receive federal aid, segregation at Bryce and Searcy found itself living on borrowed time after the 1964 passage of the Civil Rights Act.

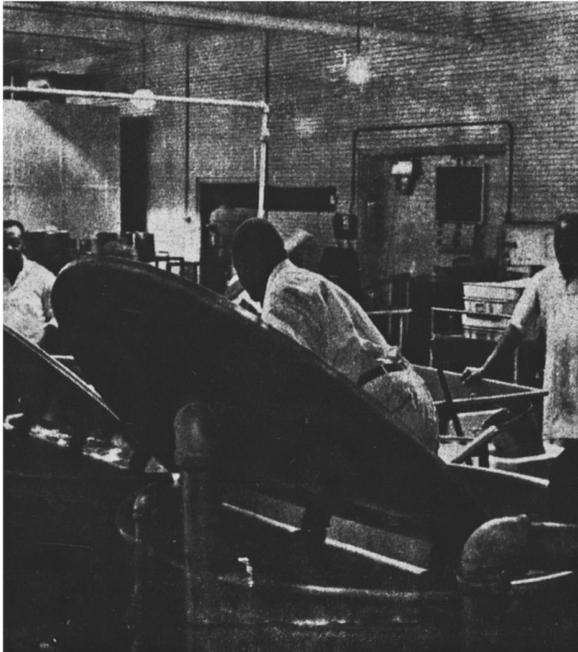
In the summer of 1965, a number of complaints, some of them from whites, were sent to HEW in Atlanta. John LeFlore, director of casework for the Nonpartisan Voters League in Mobile, sent a petition to the administrators of Searcy and Bryce and a copy to HEW. His petition complained of segregated facilities and staff discrimination at Searcy and claimed a violation of the Civil Rights Act.

Both Bryce and Searcy receive huge amounts of government surplus food. Bryce has received sizable grants from HEW for new buildings and various projects. Bryce alone has in operation a \$300,000 project to study a certain mental illness and a \$25,000 in-service training program. All this could have been lost if the hospital had not agreed to comply with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act.

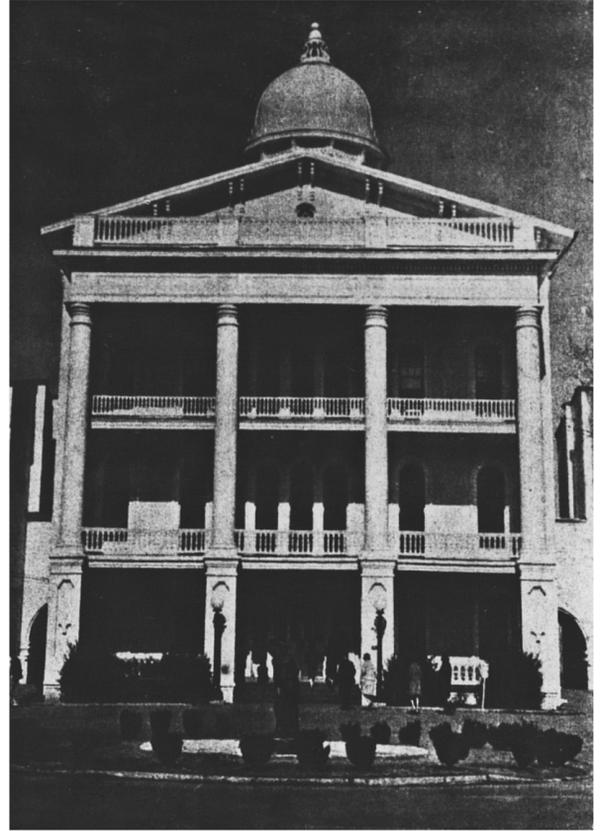
As a result, most of the hospital officials, especially those whose salaries come from federal funds, were willing to comply.

But the integration of the state mental hospital, unlike the integration of a school or a restaurant, raises some ticklish questions. One of the questions involved the state funds that cover a large share of the hospitals' expenses.

Would desegregation anger an already stingy state legislature so much that they would withdraw badly-needed state aid? A reduction in the approximately \$9.6 million given Bryce and Searcy by the state would be severely felt, since the funds are not adequate now. Although the State of Alabama's total budget ranks 31st out of 50 states, the amount of money the hospitals receive to spend on patient care is the sec-



BOTH BRYCE AND SEARCY RECEIVE HUGE AMOUNTS OF U.S. GOVERNMENT SURPLUS FOOD, YET NEGRO EMPLOYEES OF THE STATE HOSPITALS--LIKE THESE MEN IN BRYCE'S KITCHEN--ARE PAID LESS THAN WHITE EMPLOYEES.



BRYCE HOSPITAL (ABOVE) IN TUSCALOOSA IS FOR WHITE MENTALLY ILL PATIENTS. SEARCY IN MOBILE IS FOR NEGRO PATIENTS. THE TWO STATE HOSPITALS WILL HAVE TO DESEGREGATE IF THEY WANT FEDERAL AID.

The difference shows up not so much in the daily welfare of the patients as in the "extras" Bryce has--better materials for occupational therapy classes, more elaborately kept grounds, more variety in facilities.

Desegregation should eliminate these differences in patient care and also solve one of Bryce's biggest problems--finding people who will work for the low salaries they are forced to pay.

In 1964, Alabama was at the bottom of national rankings on the number of trained personnel for every 100 patients. Last year alone, 45 per cent of Bryce's attendants, most of whom could make more money in a filling station, left for other jobs.

If attendant jobs in all the hospital wards were open to Negroes as well as whites, part of Bryce's staffing problems might be solved.

'WE SHALL OVERCOME'

Where The Civil Rights Anthem Came From



BY ROBERT E. SMITH

No freedom meeting or demonstration ends without it. No cop hears it without knowing he has a determined group to deal with it. No redneck hears it without wanting to whistle "Dixie." No one involved in civil rights hears it without deep memories of some moment of struggle or of triumph.

The simple song, "We Shall Overcome," has become the symbol of the Negro Revolution.

The song was born probably in the church, grew in the labor movement of the forties and became the civil rights anthem during the sit-in protests of the 1960's.

No one knows the whole story of how it got to be the anthem of the movement, but several people know parts of the story.

Guy Carawan, a 38-year-old white folk singer who has been where the action's been in the South for more than ten years, knows as much of the story of "We Shall Overcome" as anyone.

Carawan is one of four people who now have a copyright on the song. They claimed rights to the song only to prevent others from trying to make money from the song. All four consider that "We Shall Overcome" belongs to the public.

The other three "owners" are Frank Hamilton, the first person Carawan ever heard singing "We Shall Overcome"; the late Mrs. Zilphia Horton who probably introduced the song into the civil rights movement, and Pete Seeger, a well-known folk singer.

Carawan thinks that a church song from slave days, "I'll Be All Right Someday," is the source of "We Shall Overcome." The old hymn is still heard in country churches in the South.

"In 1945," said Carawan, "there was a nasty five-and-a-half-month labor strike in Charleston, S. C. Two-thirds of the pickets were Negro and most of them were women."

"One of the women marching on the picket line said they used to sing away the rain with 'I'll Be All Right Someday.'"

"They told me they did a lot of handclapping and stomping," said Carawan, "and then they started to change the words. . . ."

"We will win our rights"
"We will win this fight!"
"We will overcome!"

After the strike was over, two of the strikers showed up at the Highlander Folk School, an adult school in Monteagle, Tenn., and taught the song to others. Mrs. Horton made the strikers' song the theme at Highlander, teaching it to each class that came to the school.

One of the people to whom she taught the song was Pete Seeger, who changed "will overcome" to "shall

overcome," and began singing the song all over the country.

Myles Horton, head of the school, recalled one particular song fest at Highlander.

"The kids were adding new verses," he remembered, "and then they turned to me for a line."

"Well, to me, the only thing that is going to bring freedom is the free expression of everybody's ideas. So, I had the kids sing, 'Truth will make us free.'" Carawan came through Highlander in 1959.

And the next year he showed up with a banjo and guitar at the meeting in Raleigh, N. C. where several students created the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee.

"I taught them several songs, including 'We Shall Overcome,'" Carawan said.

"The SNCC students just loved that song. It spread very fast. I tried to pick up all the good verses that sprang up. I also added a few of my own," he said.

"Pretty soon in protest meetings, I could feel the singing tugging to put in a rural church feeling. That's how the powerful, stately beat came into the song. The young people took 'We Shall Overcome' back to gospel music, where it had come from."

At the sit-ins of 1960, and the freedom rides of 1961, at the battles with Birmingham police in 1963, and the 1963 March on Washington and the Selma-to-Montgomery march in 1965, "We Shall Overcome" was there.

"It is unbelievable how this song can bind people together," said Carawan.

He is not sure when folks first began to cross their arms and join hands as they sang "We Shall Overcome."

"Black and white together."

"We'll walk hand in hand."

Carawan recalled a raid at the Highlander Folk School in 1959 by the police and sheriff's department. Sitting in the dark while their belongings were searched, students began to hum. Then they sang softly.

"We shall overcome."

"A high school girl from Montgomery, sitting there in the dark, joined in," said Carawan, "and she added a verse of her own, one of the finest: 'We are not afraid, we are not afraid, we are not afraid today.'"



Negroes Barred From 'March' Film in Mobile

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE TWO)

for a showing of the movie at their school.

They asked why they couldn't see the film that night at the Armory. Benjamin said it was up to them, and they got back in line.

But when the students reached the door, a man taking "donations" at a table just inside got up, came to the door, told them they could not come in and asked them to leave the grounds.

As they were driving away, a policeman stopped them and said they had run a red light and been speeding.

Williams, who was driving, replied that if they had run a red light, then the cars in front and behind had also run the light.

The officer dropped the red light charge and gave Williams only a speeding ticket.

The three then drove to the Nonpartisan Voters League office and reported the incident. They denied the speeding charge.

Monday afternoon, League representatives J. L. LeFlore and the Rev. W. T. Smith met with Mobile Police Commissioner Arthur Outlaw. LeFlore reports that Outlaw agreed to investigate.

Mobile Police Chief James Robinson said Tuesday that he doesn't believe there was any connection between the ticket and the incident at the Armory.

He also said that the officers on duty at the Armory had to keep order but didn't have to see that Negroes got in.

Benjamin said Monday that the man who turned the Negroes away was not acting in any official capacity, and so the Citizens Council had broken no law.

LeFlore says that the man was acting officially, that a National Guard Armory is a public building, and that he is asking the U. S. Department of Defense to ban the Citizens Council from holding any more meetings there.



THE STUDENTS AND OFFICIALS HAD REGAINED THEIR 'COOL' BY SUNDAY.

'We Lost Our Cool'

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

A sheriff's deputy, who arrested Scott near the courthouse, claimed Scott hit him in the face. But Scott said he only asked why he was being arrested.

"He wouldn't answer," Scott said. "When I pulled away, he hit me on the back of the head with his blackjack." Several pickets ran to help Scott. Policemen poured into the street.

Most of the policemen tried to control the yelling, shouting crowd. But one ran out of city hall swinging his fists. Several students said they heard him shout, "Okay, who wants to fight?"

Some officers grabbed Wendell Paris, a TIAL leader. After they released him, he was taken to the hospital and treated for cuts and bruises on his face and arms.

The fighting stopped, but hundreds of

students from the campus were on their way downtown.

Then, several students spotted a car full of white men that had circled the square during the picketing. Some witnesses said they saw guns inside, others that they heard a gun being loaded or unloaded. When the police failed to act on complaints, the students surrounded the car. As it began to back away, someone threw a rock.

"I never saw so many bricks fall to break a windshield," one student said later. The students chased the car a block down the street, flinging rocks and bottles after it and at buildings along the way.

When 200 students marched downtown again Sunday, 15 state troopers waited inside City Hall ready to quell any disturbance. But the demonstration stayed peaceful.

Country School Erupts

HIGHLAND HOME--Angry parents raised such a fuss this week over the junior high school principal that school was called off for two days and ten people went to jail.

Only about 40 of the 450 children enrolled at Helicon Junior High School showed up for classes Tuesday; many of the rest joined a protest demonstration. The 40 children were sent home just after school began and told to come back Thursday.

"The parents are behind this; they think the principal has to go," said a Helicon teacher.

The principal, B. Y. Farris, said that he had not seen anyone with complaints before the protest this week.

About 125 persons marched to the school Monday in this small Crenshaw County community.

They went inside just after noon and sang songs and disrupted classes.

By 3 p.m. Sheriff Ray Horn, his deputies and State Representative Alton L. Turner were all on the scene, telling the demonstrators to leave. The group left and there were no arrests.

However, two deputies with warrants went around the county that night knocking on doors and arrested six of the adults involved, including James Kolb, 66-year-old head of Crenshaw County's Democratic Conference.

Sheriff Horn said that the ten were released Tuesday night on \$300 bond each. They were charged with disturbing the school refusing to leave the school when requested.

While the leaders were in jail, a crowd of 100 pupils and adults marched again Tuesday from Helicon Baptist Church. They were stopped twice by sheriff's deputies and state troopers but

permitted to reach the school. Farris has been at Helicon for three years.

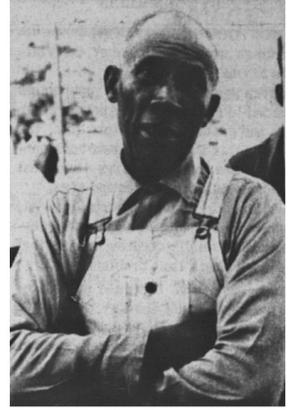
"In 65 years we never had anything like this before," said Mrs. Natie Jones, a parent. "This man tore up friendships in this community. I don't want him."

William R. King, county solicitor, was angry because he thought the parents did not present their complaint in the right way.

"I know for a fact it was pointed out in clear layman's terms how to go about getting a teacher or principal relieved of office," he said.

Kolb said a petition with 221 signatures requesting Farris' removal had been presented to the board of education.

King said the petition "was a petition only in that it was a piece of paper with names on it." He said it wasn't sufficient grounds for opening a hearing.



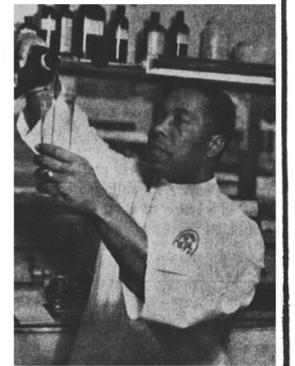
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More Mystery Leaflets Scare Mobile's Negro Neighborhoods

BY DAVID R. UNDERHILL

MOBILE--For the sixth time since September a violent leaflet has been distributed in the streets around Mobile County Training School.

It warned parents to "keep their children home Monday to Wednesday. The word is out and spreading the whole school will either be blown-up or burned-down in broad daylight . . . Don't send your child into a burning school."

Hundreds of copies were scattered on the streets or left on porches early Sun-

day morning. By Monday morning, almost everyone in the area knew about the leaflets, whether they had seen a copy or not.

Nearly half of the school's 1,600 students either didn't go to school or went and then left almost immediately, when a fire truck and police cars roared on to the campus and the students were ordered to evacuate the building.

The firemen and policemen searched the buildings and found nothing. School officials then called an assembly to tell the students the school was safe, but

by that time hundreds had already left and scores of worried parents were arriving to take their children away.

Parents' and students' comments on the leaflet ranged from "What evil-hearted person could write such a thing?" to "I don't care if they burn it down, it's in bad shape anyway."

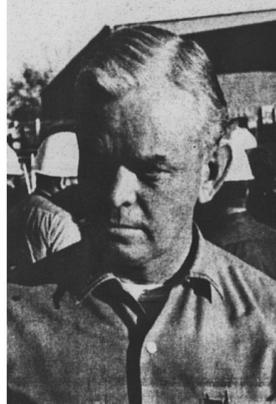
Attendance at County was close to normal Tuesday.

Mobile police are keeping a close watch on County to see that no one tries to carry out the leaflets' threats.

When leaflets first started appearing in September, many lawmen and citizens believed that local white extremists were passing them out just to start trouble.

Now, suspicion has shifted to Negro extremists "in some other city" who send the leaflets into Mobile.

But someone connected with the leaflets must know Mobile's Negro neighborhoods well. All the leaflets have referred to various unpublicized local events that outsiders would not have known about. A law to make leaflets like these clearly illegal will be introduced at the next session of the state legislature. Officials here are still not sure that any existing law applies.



REP. ALTON L. TURNER

New Plan Seeks to Bring College Teachers South

BY JAMES P. WILLSE

TUSCALOOSA -- A routine application for a teaching job has developed into a service that may bring more qualified teachers to the more than 100 Negro colleges in the South.

Robert Tinker, a 24-year-old physics instructor at Stillman College, has received a \$15,000 check to finance the Recruitment of Southern Teachers (RST), a service he began a year ago. He tries to match university graduate students interested in teaching in the South with Negro colleges who need teachers.

The money--from the Fund for the Advancement of Education--will pay for an office and staff to handle information about the colleges and prospective teachers.

Working through representatives at about 30 large universities, RST will recruit graduate students and, where possible, faculty members, and then provide a list of these recruits, free of charge, to interested colleges.

Tinker explains he got the idea for RST in the summer of 1964, when he applied to several Negro colleges for a teaching position.

He received a job offer from every college he contacted, and each offered a salary equal to or better than what he could have gotten outside the South. He thought that other graduate students might be interested in coming South to teach if they knew of the opportunities.

Using his own money last year, Tinker compiled a list of more than 100 students interested in teaching in the South. He sent the list to Negro colleges all over the South. This resulted in a

total of 48 job offers from 24 colleges.

Only six people were actually hired because, in most cases, the colleges waited so long to extend their offers that many students accepted fellowships or other jobs.

He feels that this year's RST service will be more effective if the colleges begin their recruiting earlier.

Tinker thinks the new funds will make it easier for RST to contact people who want to come South to teach for the same reasons he did.

"I'm interested in civil rights, but I'm not cut out for direct action," he says. "To be useful I should be doing the thing I can do best, which is teach physics. I hope this will bring others here."

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Popular Oak Park Is Now Empty SNCC, SCLC Clash On Third Party Idea

BY JOHN KLEIN

MONTGOMERY -- Nowadays the workmen usually outnumber the visitors at Oak Park.

Seven years ago the city government decided to close the city's parks rather than integrate them. Before that, the 40-acre Oak Park in the heart of Montgomery was the city's largest and most elaborate outdoor recreation area.

In the summer its swimming pool, picnic areas, rides, playground equipment, and small zoo drew crowds that made parking a real problem.

Oak Park was reopened on an integrated basis last February, along with six smaller parks, but it probably won't be drawing crowds again for several years. Most recreation facilities were taken out when the parks closed.

The rest are being gradually removed because Oak Park is being made into a public garden. And preparing large-scale displays of plants and flowers is a job that will take a long time.

In the meantime, the lions' cages and the monkey houses stand empty, and a few deer wander around their fenced enclosure.

People are nearly as scarce--a few casual visitors and groups of grounds-keepers raking leaves.

One of the four elderly plain-clothes guards employed to walk the grounds pointed to a ridge of earth where there used to be the tracks of a miniature rail-

road for children.

"They used to keep a regular carnival here," he said. Farther along the drive he pointed out places where swings, the merry-go-round, and other playground equipment had stood.

Toward the rear of the park was a bare red spot of earth where the old swimming pool had been filled in. This, he said, would be the site of a planned \$180,000 planetarium.

"They're going to put hothouses all along up here," he said. "No playground; no picnicking allowed," he added a bit wistfully. On the north side of the park, he said, the animal cages would be replaced with open gardens.

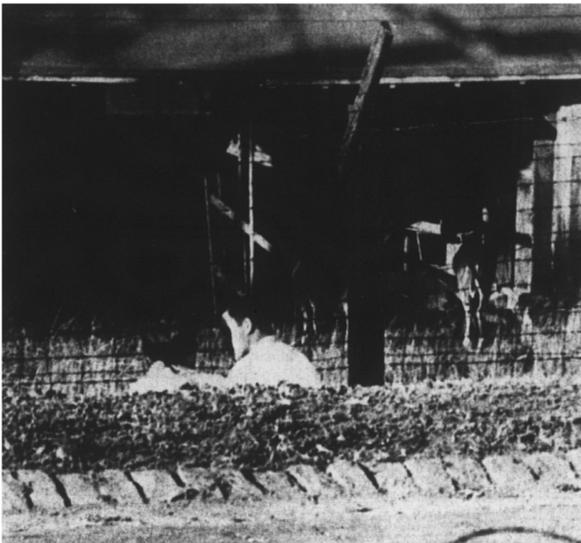
Montgomery Superintendent of Recreation Henry Andrews makes no estimate of how long completing the botanical gardens will take, but implies that it's a slow job.

"A lot of people seem to think we can say we're going to open a park, and run out and open it the next day," he said.

Though the gardens will be open to both races, Negro citizens who sought to integrate Oak Park aren't happy with the outcome.

Mrs. Hazel Gregory, secretary of the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA), which filed the original request for a court order outlawing park segregation, said, "the decision to integrate the parks didn't make us feel we had won any victory."

Less than a week after the integration



SOME PEOPLE ARE HAPPY THAT OAK PARK IS NO LONGER FILLED WITH CHILDREN AT PLAY AND PICNICKERS, NOW A COUPLE CAN BE ALONE.

of the parks last year, workmen were busy demolishing the swimming pool and removing the remaining playground equipment at Oak Park, which is located between a white and a Negro neighborhood.

In May, the park was enclosed with a six-foot steel mesh fence. The two large entrances face the white neighborhood.

Were these changes intended to keep the park from being used as an integrated playground?

"Sure they were," said Mrs. Gregory. "Everybody else in Montgomery, Negro, feels that." None of the other public playgrounds, she said, were located where they were likely to be used



OAK PARK, 40 ACRES OF WOODS AND LAWNS WITHIN MONTGOMERY'S CITY LIMITS, WILL BECOME A PUBLIC GARDEN WITH DISPLAY FLOWERS.

NAACP Marches Hit Sumter County Towns

BY JOHN KLEIN

YORK--NAACP demonstrations are going ahead as planned here despite recent action by the county's bi-racial committee on two of the NAACP's demands.

The county's Human Relations Committee of 17 white and 23 Negro civic leaders recommended last Tuesday night that the mayors and councilmen of York and Livingston hire Negro policemen as soon as they can find qualified applicants.

The committee also recommended that merchants in those towns hire and promote deserving Negroes.

York Mayor Warren Grant said he thought the recommendations would be listened to.

But the Rev. Felix Nixon, head of the county NAACP chapter, said, "It'll be a reality when we see it," and went ahead with his demonstrations.

On Friday afternoon, Nixon led about 50 demonstrators from York in a march on the county courthouse and the office of the county school board in Livingston.

At least one law enforcement officer for every four demonstrators turned out to shepherd the march. The officers included Livingston police, York police, state troopers and special deputies, and even a fireman and a state revenue officer. Mayor Grant also drove up from York.

Three demonstrations had been held previously in York, and another is planned for this Saturday.

The demonstrations are intended to call attention to a list of grievances presented to Mayor Grant last August by the NAACP. The list called for better jobs and housing for Negroes, Negroes in important government jobs, and "taking down the signs of segregation."

Nixon said this week he would call off the demonstrations "if I thought I could get anything done." But he says the Human Relations Committee doesn't have the power to do what he wants done.

Dr. Thomas B. Norton, white chairman of the Human Relations Committee, said the NAACP and the Sumter County Movement for Human Rights had been invited to choose two representatives to the committee. Neither group has responded, he pointed out.

Mr. Nixon who seems to speak for both civil rights groups, said he'd be perfectly happy with the 23 Negroes already on the committee if they'd just discuss things with other Negroes,

Sofar, he complained, the Negroes on the committee had not responded to invitations to NAACP meetings, and wouldn't talk about what went on in the committee's private monthly meetings.

He pointed out that the NAACP had given the committee four months to act before taking its case to the streets Jan. 3.

"We just met and hoped," he said. "Our crowd got extremely scarce because our folks were tired of hearing us say, 'Wait.'"

But Mayor Grant said the two recommendations announced last week had been under consideration by a subcommittee for several months. The committee's decision had nothing to do with the demonstrations, he said.

Freedom for Wilcox Co. Farmers: Building Homes, Planting Crops

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

Her father was a slave, and she has lived her entire life on the same plantation.

"You ain't done nothing to nobody all your life, and then they have you from this land," she said. "That's a something to take."

But nothing will make her sorry she registered.

"He might have knocked my head off," she said, "but I wouldn't deny it." The woman moved into a tiny shack with magazines for wall paper that belonged to her nephew. She cooked on an open fire outside until her next pension check came. Then she bought a tin wood stove and moved back inside to cook.

"I don't like no little house like this," she said. "You have to take what you can get, but I ain't stationed here--no."

"I know it's going to come out all right," she said, rocking back on her chair. "But what are you going to do in the meantime--believe in Jesus, that's all."

Some of the families who were told to leave their land have decided to start new lives in new houses.

The Mingo brothers, about 40 years old, each bought an acre and built new wooden houses.

"I've been building all my days," said one of the brothers. "We're learning more this year because we had to go."

Although these houses look the same as the plantation shacks they left, the wood smells new, and the windows goup

and down. But the biggest difference is that these men own them.

When they were asked how they got the money for the land and building supplies, one brother answered quietly, but proudly: "Beg."

Most of the 90 families have found new homes by moving into relatives' houses, or by begging and borrowing the

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day as they marched toward the courthouse to protest the Saturday arrests. Another 28--all high school students--were arrested Monday just before noon, and another 35 on Wednesday.

A few people were released from jail Wednesday on property bond.

One of those released, Mrs. Essie B. Smith, 61, who has been under a doctor's care, said, "I asked for medicine and milk, but they wouldn't give it to me."

She said the heat was off all Tuesday night in the jail. "I tell you, I like to froze to death last night," she said.

Wednesday night John Davis was subpoenaed to appear in court Jan. 29 to answer a charge of civil contempt. He is charged with ignoring a Sept. 13 injunction by Circuit Judge Jack Walag against encouraging public school students to leave school to participate in public demonstrations.

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project director Albert Turner, who led the meeting. Carmichael passed out Lowndes County Freedom Organization literature, and told his listeners why they ought to form independent political parties in their own counties.

"We pull no punches. We don't trust white folks," Carmichael said.

"This is not a black man's party, but white people aren't going to come over before they think they can get something out of it."

Speaking calmly but intensely, he continued, "Yesterday we marched. . . Today we need political power. . . Pure, unadulterated political power. We are going to take it and we are going to keep it."

He held up the emblem of the Alabama Democratic Party--a white rooster with the words, "White Supremacy. . . for the right." "If you're registered in the Democratic Party, you back this," he said.

He held up the Lowndes County's black panther emblem. "You ever see a panther?" he asked, grinning.

"He can't be tamed, and once he gets going, ain't nothin' going to stop him." "He's a MEAN cat."

When Carmichael had finished, Turner commented, "I still don't believe in a separate party and I won't for a long time."

Williams put it a bit more strongly when he arrived a few minutes later, after Carmichael had left.

"When SNCC goes around talking about a third party, we don't want no part of it," he said. "If any Negro is crazy enough to talk about a third party, he's out of his mind."

"This meeting came about when we first heard talk of a black panther

party," he continued. "We have given very little leadership to the people in the Black Belt of Alabama to make them realize the impact of this."

"Will they treat white folks like the white folks treated them? Will they hate the white folks like the white folks hated them? That's the question I'm asking."

"We may mess around here and create a monster in Alabama," he said. It will be detrimental to generations of Negroes unborn."

While Carmichael had said a third party was the key to county elections, Williams argued that it would be suicide in the state and national campaigns.

"We are only 35 per cent of the people in Alabama, and 10 per cent in the nation," he said. "We can't go pitting race against race."

"We've got to take over the Democratic Party; we've got to take over the Republican Party."

Slipping off his coat as he spoke, the peppery ex-politician warned his listeners of Negro politicians who would sell Negro votes for their own gain.

"There ain't no Negro in Alabama, including ourselves," he said, "that knows one iota about politics. . . Politics is a science." Whites have had centuries of experience with politics, he said, while Negroes had no such opportunity.

"This is why I think SNCC is taking advantage of the Negroes," he said.

Some See Reds In Civil Rights

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economic and material well being.

"Although these may be the same aims of the civil rights movement, they are using the wrong means to these ends. They expect to pick these people up and change them overnight. It can't be done."

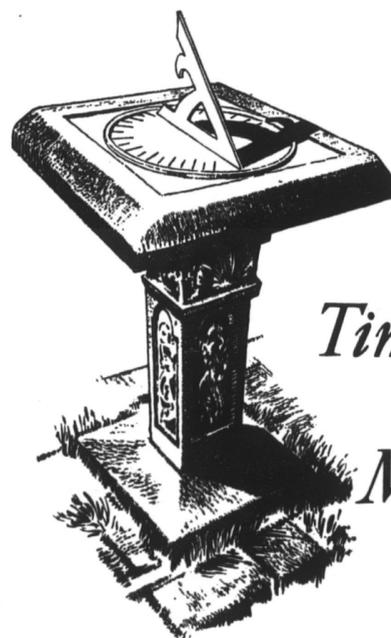
Caught in the middle of all of this is the Negro. Most Negroes don't believe in the "communist threat," because they are convinced their drive for civil rights is constitutional and democratic.

Many Negro leaders don't worry about the "communist threat" because they think it was merely made up by the white man to bait and trap the civil rights movement.

For the others who aren't so sure, the fact that almost every organization that has helped them is called communist by whites means only one thing:

"If the communists are behind everything that has been done for us, then hurray for the communists. If the communists have done everything the white man says they have, that's fine with us. Somebody had to do it--no one else has."

This, of course, is exactly what the Southern anti-communist needs to hear to confirm his fears. And the imaginary tug of war between red and white with black in the middle becomes a colorful merry-go-round.



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