

brought it in.

Two publications shall be made each year on the first of April and the first of October in a county newspaper showing the receipts and expenditures of county money. If this court fails to make this publication, each member who voted against publication is subject to penalty fine of not more than one hundred dollars.

The original government county land surveys are to be purchased from the secretary of state and set into a book open for inspection in the judge of probate's office.

Commissioners cannot employ or award contracts to any relatives related by blood or marriage within the fourth degree. If they do they are guilty of a misdemeanor and can be fined between ten and one hundred dollars. But a contract can be given to people related to members of the board if a quorum is present at time of action, motion is legally passed, and the related member doesn't vote or participate in the award of contract.

The county court of commissioners are responsible for setting up election districts in the precinct. A description of the boundaries must be displayed in the office of the judge of probate and at each courthouse. In a county with a population of seventy five thousand to one hundred thousand people, they can establish two polling places in each election district. This must be done thirty days before the election.

WORKING SHEET FOR ALABAMA PARTY AND ELECTION HANDBOOK

WHAT IS POLITICS?

Politics is the way people work together so they can have lives that satisfy them. Right now, most of the people in Alabama (and particularly Negroes) do not have lives that satisfy them. The reason they don't have such lives is that they have not been permitted to practice politics; they have not been permitted to work together to make their lives what they want them to be. Politics has meant only a few people (most of them white) working together, not for the benefit of all, but only for the benefit of themselves.

There are many ways in which people have been prevented from practicing politics. One of them is through laws and practices which do not permit Negroes and others to vote, or to join political parties. Another is through teaching people that they cannot and should not trust one another---that it's every man for himself and if you can make out, whatever you have to do, you should do so and not worry about the other fellow. When people are taught to believe this, they forget that they need the other fellow's help just as he needs theirs. Meanwhile the very persons who teach these things have gotten together themselves and are working together, in politics, for their own benefit. They will continue to do so as long as they can keep most of the people believing that it's "every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost."

Still another way in which people have been prevented from practicing politics is through teaching them that there are only a few people in each community who are "qualified" to practice politics, to run the government, to decide how high the taxes should be and what the tax money should be spent for, to decide what laws should be passed and what laws shouldn't be passed.

People are also taught that the "qualified" ones will decide all these things in the way that is best for all the people. If all the people believe these teachings, they will sit back and leave politics to those who say they are "qualified." This is pretty much what has happened in the past, and we can all see what a sorry mess the "qualified" ones have made of things.

It is just a simple fact, which everyone knows if he will think about it, that each and every grown man and woman is just as "qualified" as anyone else to decide what he wants his life to be like. There may be some information that some of us need, in order to decide how to go about making our lives what we want them to be, but we can get that information and we can learn it just as well as anyone else can. Once each grown man and woman has the necessary information, then each is "qualified," not only to decide what he wants his life to be like, but also how he can best make his life just that.

HOW DOES POLITICS WORK; HOW CAN PEOPLE WORK TOGETHER POLITICALLY?

The key is organization and mutual trust. Every person must believe that he can best help himself by working with others who want to help themselves. He must believe that, so far as any political decision goes, he must ask himself no "will this help me," but "will this help everybody!" A group of people who believe this (and they not only must believe, but they must be prepared to practice it as well) can organize a political party.

Once the party is organized (and that is done, at first, just by two or more people deciding that they will, together, be a political party) the people in it can go out and talk to their neighbors and their friends, and even to strangers, and find others who are willing to accept these beliefs, and get them to join the party.

When the party has a number of members, it can set up work shops and political institutes where everybody in the party can decide what they need to know about politics, and how they can get this information. When this has been decided, then a program of political education can be started, and the people in the party can begin the practice of politics on the basis of what they learn through the education program.

Some people in the United States believe that the best way to be sure the government is run according to their wishes is to hold elections, where people vote for candidates for all the governmental offices. If the people in the party decide they want to try this way of running the government, then they must follow the rules of the State of Alabama for organizing political parties, and for electing candidates to government offices. This, of course, is one way the people in the party can put to immediate use the information they get from their education program---their workshops and political institutes.

HOW DO YOU FORM A POLITICAL PARTY IN ALABAMA?

1) Alabama law says that no one can be a member of a political party who is not a qualified elector--that is, all members of a party must be registered to vote and must have paid their poll tax and be eligible to vote in the next election.

2) Alabama law says that any organization of qualified electors (remember, this can be two or more electors who simply decide to be an organization) can nominate candidates for public office. The law says that such organizations must hold mass meetings in the counties in which they intend to nominate candidates on the first Tuesday in May in the year in which there is a general election for the offices to which candidates are to be nominated. The date for such meetings in 1966 is May 3. The candidates must be nominated at these

meetings. The general public may attend the mass meetings, but only party members may participate in them.

3) The names of the candidates nominated in these meetings must be certified to the probate judge of the county in which they are running for office not less than sixty days prior to the date of the general election (Nov. 8, 1966), if they are running for a county office (sheriff, tax collector, tax assessor, etc.). The certificate must contain the name of each person nominated and the office for which he is nominated, and must be signed by the presiding officer and secretary of the mass meeting. If the mass meeting of the organization nominated candidates for state or district office, the names of the candidates must be certified to the Secretary of State instead of to the probate judge.

4) If a candidate nominated by the organization in the mass meeting for a county office receives 20% or more of the vote cast in the general election for that office, the organization is declared, by Alabama law, to be a political party for and within the county. If a candidate nominated for a state or district office receives 20% or more of the vote cast for that office in the state or district, the organization is declared, by Alabama law, to be a party for the state or district.

These are the steps an organization of qualified electors (persons who have registered to vote and who have paid their poll tax) must take if they want to form an officially recognized political party in Alabama, and elect candidates nominated by that party to public office in Alabama.

CAN A PERSON WHO IS A MEMBER OF A POLITICAL ORGANIZATION NOMINATING CANDIDATES IN COUNTY MASS MEETINGS VOTE IN THE DEMOCRAT OR REPUBLICAN PARTY PRIMARIES THAT ARE HELD ON THE SAME DAY AS THE MASS MEETING?

No. Alabama law says that only "members" of the party holding the primary may vote in the primary. If a person is a member of some political organization that is nominating candidates by mass meeting, he could not be a "member" of the Democrat or Republican parties which are nominating their candidates by primary election.

WHO CAN BE A QUALIFIED ELECTOR (VOTER)?

Any person can be a qualified elector if he or she is at least 21 years old, has lived in the state at least ^{ONE} ~~two~~ years, in the county ^{SIX MONTHS} ~~one year~~, and in the precinct three months, has registered either with the county board of registrars or the federal examiner, and has paid his poll tax.

WHAT IS THE POLL TAX?

A tax of \$1.50 must be paid to the county tax collector or to the federal registrar between October 1, 1965 and February 1, 1966. If the tax was not paid last year, then a person wanting to vote in November, 1966, must pay the poll tax for two years, a total amount of \$3.00.

DOES EVERYONE PAY POLL TAX?

No. Some persons do not have to pay the poll tax. They are:

1) Veterans; 2) persons older than 45 years of age; 3) persons totally and permanently disabled from following any substantially gainful occupation with reasonable regularity.

Persons who qualify under one or more of the above exemptions must get an exemption certificate either from the county probate judge, or from the federal registrar.

WHAT OFFICES WILL CANDIDATES BE ELECTED TO IN THE NOVEMBER 8, 1966 GENERAL ELECTIONS?

1) Governor; 2) lieutenant governor; 3) attorney general; 4) state auditor; 5) secretary of state; 6) state treasurer; 7) superintendent of education; 8) commissioner of agriculture and industries; 9) public service commissioner (two); 9) justices of the Alabama supreme court (two); 10) members of the state House and Senate (see attached reapportionment plan); 11) county sheriff; 12) county tax assessor; 13) county tax collector; 14) county school board members; 15) circuit solicitors.

WHAT ARE THE QUALIFICATIONS FOR THESE OFFICES?

Candidates for all the offices must be qualified electors. Candidates for governor and lieutenant governor must be at least thirty years of age when elected, and must have been citizens of the U.S. ten years and citizens of Alabama at least seven years. Candidates for attorney general, state auditor, secretary of state, state treasurer, superintendent of education, and commissioner of agriculture and industries must have been a citizen of the U.S. at least seven years and must have lived in Alabama at least five years. Candidates for public service commissioner must be "competent persons" and must not own stock in or be employed by a utility. Candidates for all other offices listed above need only be qualified electors.

HOW DO YOU CERTIFY A POLITICAL ORGANIZATION?

The law makes no provision for certifying the organization other than the certification of its candidates, nominated in mass meetings, to the appropriate officer (probate judge or secretary of state).

HOW IS THE ELECTION RUN?

The probate judge, the sheriff, and the clerk of the circuit court of each county, acting as an appointing board, not more than twenty days, nor less than fifteen days before the general election, must appoint three inspectors and two clerks for each place of voting and appoint a returning officer for each precinct. The appointments of one inspector and one clerk for each voting place are to be made from lists of qualified electors submitted to the appointing board by the parties or organizations whose candidates are on the ballot for the election. If there are more than two such parties or organizations submitting lists, the inspectors and clerks are selected from the lists of the two parties which received the largest state vote in the next preceding election.

Each political party or organization having candidates on the ballot may appoint one watcher for each polling place. The watchers shall be permitted to be present at the place where the ballots are cast from the time the polls are opened until the ballots are counted and certificates of the result of the election signed by the inspectors. The watchers shall be permitted to see the ballots as they are called during the count. (It should be noted here that in each polling place there will be three inspectors, two clerks and a returning officer. One inspector and the returning officer are appointed by the appointing board without reference to the lists of the parties having candidates in the election. This means that a new organization, if the two regular parties are not both contesting the election, would have only two election officers and a watcher in the polls. The courthouse crowd would have four election officers on the scene.)

FOLLOWING IS THE REAPPORTIONMENT PLAN FOR THE ALABAMA LEGISLATURE AS IT WAS APPROVED BY THE THREE-JUDGE FEDERAL COURT. IT WILL BE FINAL UNLESS THE STATE APPEALS TO THE U.S. SUPREME COURT AND THAT COURT OVERTURNS THE THREE-JUDGE COURT!

<u>HOUSE</u>			<u>SENATE</u>		
District	Counties	Rep's	Dist.	Counties	Sen's
1	Lauderdale	2	1	Lauderdale & Colbert	1
2	Limestone and Lawrence	2	2	Limestone & Morgan	1
3	Madison	5	3	Madison	1
4	Jackson	1	4	Jackson, DeKalb & Cherokee	1
5	Colbert and Franklin	2	5	Franklin, Marion, Lawrence & Winston	1
6	Morgan	2	6	Cullman & Walker	1
7	Marshall and Cullman	3	7	Marshall, Blount & St. Clair	1
8	DeKalb and Cherokee	2	8	Etowah	1
9	Marion and Winston	1	9	Calhoun	1
10	Blount	1	10	Lamar, Fayette, Pickens, Green & Hale	1
11	Etowah	3	11	Tuscaloosa	1
12	Lamar and Fayette	1	12	Jefferson	7
13	Walker	2	13	Talladega, Clay & Cleburne	1
14	Jefferson	20	14	Bigb, Perry & Dallas	1
15	St. Clair	1	16	Tallapoosa, Elmore & Macon	1
16	Calhoun	3	17	Randolph, Chambers & Lee	1
17	Pickens and Greene	1	18	Sumter, Marengo, Choctaw & Washington	1
18	Tuscaloosa	1	19	Wilcox, Clarke, Monroe & Conecuh	1
19	Shelby	1	20	Lowndes, Butler, Crenshaw & Covington	1
20	Talladega	2	21	Montgomery	2
21	Clay & Coosa	1	22	Bullock, Pike, Coffee & Geneva	1
22	Cleburne and Randolph	1	23	Russell, Barbour & Henry	1
23	Hale & Bibb	1	24	Mobile	3
24	Chilton	1	25	Baldwin and Escambia	1
25	Tallapoosa	1	26	Houston and Dale	1
26	Chambers	1			
27	Sumter, Marengo & Perry	2			
28	Dallas	2			
29	Autauga & Lowndes	1			
30	Elmore	1			
31	Macon, Bullock & Barbour	2			
32	Lee & Russell	3			
33	Choctaw, Clarke & Washington	2			
34	Wilcox, Monroe & Conecuh	2			
35	Montgomery	5			
36	Butler, Crenshaw & Pike	2			
37	Mobile	10			
38	Baldwin	2			
39	Escambia	1			
40	Covington & Geneva	2			
41	Coffee	1			
42	Dale	1			
43	Henry & Houston	2			

Albuquerque - 4/28/66

CBS

Stohely just met with Judge ~~Hammond~~

Alvin Moore. ^{Mr} Willie Mae Strickland,

Hulett, Jesse Favors (Sheriff)

Judge said he got intng. from A. Goul

was meeting is strictly in

accordance with law. Judge

has no authority over it house



Student Nonviolent
Coordinating Committee

100 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10011

• YUKON 9-1313

Shawff does - but he will do
everything he can

Stokely will ~~try~~ send letter to
Rummonds regarding this
he gave Judge the prison bar use

"One Man, One Vote"

NEGRO CANDIDATES LOSE IN ALABAMA

Special to The New York Times
11-9-66

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Nov. 8 — Seven Negro candidates running as independents under the Black Panther emblem in Lowndes County, Ala., were defeated by white candidates by margins ranging from 273 votes to 677 votes in today's general election.

The Negroes, candidates of the Lowndes County Freedom Organization, had the vigorous support of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, which viewed the election as a test run of "black power" politics.

The returns indicated that perhaps at least 300 Negroes had voted against the Black Panther candidates. The county has 2,681 Negro voters and 2,100 white voters.

In a race considered the most crucial, Frank Ryals, the incumbent white sheriff, defeated Sidney Logan, the Negro candidate, 2,320 to 1,643.

Early returns from Selma indicated that eight Negro candidates supported by S.N.C.C. in Dallas County were also heading for defeat.

However, J. Wilson Baker, former public safety director of Selma, who advocated permitting peaceful civil rights demonstrations in 1965, appeared to be winning his race against Sheriff James G. Clark, who carried out mass arrests of the demonstrators.

In Macon County, where Tus-

kegee Institute is
cius D. Amerson,
elected sheriff des;
write-in vote for th
sheriff, Harvey Sadi
to Mr. Amerson in
cratic primary last

GOV

Asterisk (*) d
name appears for a

ALABAMA

Lurleen Wallace, D.

ALASKA

*William A. Egan, D.
W. J. Hickel, R.

ARIZONA

Jack Williams, R.

ARKANSAS

W. Rockefeller, R.

CALIFORNIA

Ronald Reagan, R.

COLORADO

*John A. Love, R.

CONNECTICUT

*J. N. Dempsey, D.

FLORIDA

Claude Kirk Jr., R.

GEORGIA

L. G. Maddox, D.
H. Callaway, R.

HAWAII

*John A. Burns, D.
R. Crossley, R.

IDAHO

Cecil Andrus, D.
Don Samuelson, R.

NOVEMBER 10, 1966

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
360 Nelson St. S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

ELECTION REPORTS

(Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi)

GEORGIA: Julian Bond was re-elected the third time to the Georgia House of Representatives from District 136 in Atlanta. Julian won by a large majority of 2,136 to 948 votes for his opponent Ralph Moore, Rep. Atty. Howard Moore Jr. is presently at the Supreme Court in Washington presenting the arguments for seating Julian in the Georgia legislature; a favorable decision is expected.

ALABAMA:

Lowndes County: All seven candidates of the Lowndes County Freedom Organization were defeated. There were many reports of harassment and voting irregularities and the LCFO will probably file suit in court challenging the validity of the election. At 8:35 P.M. of Nov. 8, Andrew Jones was severely beaten in Fort Deposit outside polling place by gang of whites. He was bleeding heavily and underwent several hours of surgery in Good Samaritan Hospital in Selma. Mr. Jones was active in Lowndes County freedom movement, and has been harassed for some time by whites in county. Several families are being evicted from their land, farms and plantations as a result of their voting or participating in the election.

The voting tally is as follows:

Office	LCFO Candidate	Democratic Candidate
Sheriff	Sidney Logan, 1,426	Frank Ryals, 1,943
Coroner	Emory Ross, 1,391	Jack Golson, 1,901
Tax Assessor	Alice Moore, 1,557	Charlie Silivan, 2,234
Tax Collector	Frank Miles, 1,556	Iva Sullivan, 2,227
Board of Education	Robert Logan, 1,620 John Hinson, 1,620 Willie Strickland, 1,552	David Lyons, 1,894 Tommie Coleman, 1,933 C.B. Haigler, 2,139

Green County: A Federal Court in Birmingham reversed the decision of Judge Pippin and Green County Probate Judge Herndon and ruled that the names of the Green County Freedom Organization candidates for Sheriff and Tax Assessor should have appeared on the ballots in Green County. The Court ordered that Green County had two choices since it was too late for their names to be printed on the ballots: (1) postpone entire county election or (2) postpone election for the offices for which there were freedom candidates running. Green County took the second choice, and when the Federal Court sets a date for this special election, there will be freedom candidates running for those two offices.

A Negro running in the Democratic Party was elected to Green County School Board.

Dallas County: All candidates of the Dallas County Independent Free Voters League were defeated by large majorities....credit for this defeat can be partially laid on the doorsteps of the Dallas County Voters League, headed by Rev. Reese and Rev. P.H. Lewis. This group of Negro "conservatives" constantly impeded the efforts of the DCIFVL, urged Negroes to vote straight "democratic," and was the only black organization in Alabama that endorsed Lurlean Wallace. There was much intimidation and harrassment of black voters in Dallas County, and poll watchers from the DCIFVL were constantly threatened and chased away from the polls. Although the DCIFVL requested federal poll observers, only 2 of them came for the entire county. The DCIFVL is compiling information and reports concerning intimidation, election discrepancies, and irregularities, and intend to seek some type of court action.

SNCC workers assisting the DCIFVL were constantly intimidated, and several arrests were made within the few days preceding the election (Stokely Carmichael, William House-twice, Brother Obaka, and Jimmy Lyttle.)

A run-down on election results is as follows:

OFFICE	DCIFVL	DEMOCRATIC	REPUBLICAN
Tax Assessor	Mrs. Addy Lilly 1,551	Claude Sherrer 12,814	
Tax Collector	Horace D. Griffin Sr. 1,478	Davis Gamble 12,857	
Coroner:	N.F. Payne 1,579	Al H. Hudson 12,730	
Cty. Revenue Members			
Fork Dist.	A.D. Bush 1,434	Johnny Radford 10,244	
		Rep. R.D. Wilkinson 2936	
Selma Dist.	Mrs. Agatha Harville 1,432	Seawell Jones 10,138	
		Rep. Ira O. Sullivan 3032	
W. Dallas Dist.	Roosevelt McElroy 1,476	R. Furniff Ellis 12,854	
Southside Dist.	Wilmer Walker 1,479	William J. Neighbors 12,885	
Bd. of Education	George Sallie 1,443	Fred L. England Jr. 12,691	
Sheriff:	Wilson Baker on Dem. ticket 8,089		
	Jim Clark on Write-In ticket 7,699		

Macon County: Two Negroes were elected to offices: Lucius Amerson was elected Sheriff, and Mr. Locklarre was elected Tax Collector.

MISSISSIPPI:

Desoto County: Rev. Bowdre, an independent black candidate was elected to the county Board of Education. There were black poll watchers, and the voting went smoothly. The ASCS elections are coming up in January, 1967. There will be three independent candidates running in Beat 5, two in Beat 1, and four in Beat 3.

Jefferson County: An independent black candidate was elected to the school board in this county where blacks outnumber whites 3 to 1.

LeFlore County: An independent black candidate, Rev. J.D. Collins was elected by a very slim margin as Supervisor of Beat 3; however, there will be run-off election on Nov. 22 due to small margin.

Rev. Whitley, FDP Candidate, lost in the U.S. Senator's race to Eastland, he received fewer votes this time than he did in previous election and in recent primaries. The break-down in votes is as follows:

Eastland, Dem. 228,726 Walker, Rep. 93,131 Whitley, FDP 27,863

FDP Candidates all lost in the following counties: Madison, Marshall, Holmes, Neshoba, and Issaquena. There were attempts to run candidates in Jasper and Clarke counties. The school board candidate in Clarke withdrew after his life was threatened. In Jasper, the candidate, Mr. Otis Millsap, was told he was on the ballot, then two days before election that he wasn't because he had insufficient signatures. Case has been taken up with Justice Dept. Claiborne, Jefferson, Wilkinson, and Adams County all went for Prentiss Walker in Senator's race. Charles Evers of the NAACP instructed people to vote for Walker (Senate) and Sanders FDP (House, 3rd Dist.). The figures for these counties bear out this story.

Gloster Current of the NAACP was in the state on Monday, November 7, instructing NAACP chapters to vote for Eastland.

Reports coming from Mississippi are also filled with complaints of intimidation, voter and poll watcher harrassment, and election irregularities. The following is a detailed report, county by county which represents only a fraction of the total complaints.

From Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party---Nov. 9, 1966

Sunflower City: poll watchers were not permitted at City Hall voting place. Later one p.w. was allowed in. Same trouble in the June 7 primary. Justice Dept. informed.

Edwards, Hinds Co: Poll watchers chased out of the Brownsville A precinct voting place. Incident was reported to Justice Dept.

Waleville: Mayor Durrrough wouldn't allow poll watchers at City Hall. He is not sure that authorization forms are legal. A repeat performance of the Primary in 1966. Poll watchers later allowed in.

Laurel: Mrs. Ruffin says she was told to get out of polling station, Precinct 10, Highway 84 in Laurel. Ruffin left, sat outside.

Jackson: Chairs taken from poll watchers in ward 5.

Hinds: Poll watcher at precinct 26 reported that 4 people with voter registration receipts were turned away, told their names were not on the list.

Marks: One white man was campaigning inside precinct 3 polling place, for Eastland. Several voters were advised by managers how they should vote.

Issaquena Co.: Three or four people from Washington County have been recognized as voters in the 5th Beat of Issaquena County. Also ballots are being incorrectly marked, and some people are being told to vote for two school board candidates.

Madison: A man wearing some kind of pin was telling people to vote for Eastland in Canton polling place.

Durant, Holmes Co.: Poll watchers told that they couldn't stay at polling place, but later they were allowed in.

Jackson Co.: There were separate polling boxes for whites and Negroes in one polling place.

Madison Co.: George Raymond was arrested outside one polling place on Tuesday, Nov. 8, he's in jail under \$500 bond. An official at Flora polling place was advising people to vote Democratic ticket. Same official told Negroes who wanted to vote for Whitley that it was because of the carpetbaggers and scalawags, that Negroes who knew their minds hadn't come out. Mrs. Devine said not one Negro schoolteacher came out to vote in Flora.

Marion Co.: WJ McClendon reported that 28 ballots were brought into the Columbia County courthouse and counted. WJ protested, officials consulted a book and then went ahead counting.

At Sandy Hook Township, the Mayor-Jack Farr-pulled a gun on one poll watcher. Unauthorized whites were in and out of this polling place all day.

At Kokomo an official was suggesting people vote democratic ticket and vote FOR the referendums.

Bolivar Co.: Mr. Bayer says he was put out of the Marigold precinct polling place for protesting procedures there. Poll manager said he was misbehaving.

West Point: At one polling place, a manager, Mr. Coleman, told illiterates to vote for Eastland and FOR a bond issue to raise money for county hospital. This was to replace money HEW will not give West Point because of segregated facilities at the hospital.

Amite Co.: About 20 whites had rifles outside of one polling place, and unauthorized white people were in polling place, fooling with the balloting and seeing how people were voting. When crowds got large, election officials told Negro poll watchers to go because it wasn't safe.

At Riceville, Mrs. Dawson was pushed and hit by a white man. All of these complaints have been relayed to the Justice Dept.

Montgomery Co.: People who went to vote at the courthouse, 8A.M., were told the courthouse was not open for them. Some people did not see their ballots put in the box. Poll watchers were not allowed in. This was Winona. In Kil-michael the police put out two poll watchers. All had authorization forms. The Justice Dept. was informed.

Attala Co.: One woman poll watcher not allowed into a polling place, but Dock Drummond escorted her personally to City Hall and saw that she got in there.

FROM NEW YORK SNCC OFFICE:

SNCC'S STATEMENT RE OUTCOME OF REFERENDUM RE CIVILIAN REVIEW BOARD

The Civilian Review Board, while by no means offering a basic solution to basic problems, has been defeated by reactionary forces in the New York area which encouraged widespread misunderstanding of the nature of the Board. The fact that the people of Manhattan--where large numbers of black and Puerto Rican citizens reside--supported the Board but were outvoted by other areas, demonstrates once again why a community like Harlem must be run by the people of that community. We believe that the presentation of the referendum on the ballot was in violation of the City Charter and of the Mayor's authority to evaluate the city police. We condemn the rejection of the Board and intend to support any legal action undertaken to challenge that rejection.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION ON ALABAMA ELECTIONS

Irregularities have been reported in the Lowndes County and Dallas County elections. Suit is being brought in Lowndes, organized by Morton Stavis.

On the night of the election, Andrew Jones, a Negro watchman at a sawmill in Fort Deposit (Lowndes County), was beaten by a white gang. Jones had been driving Negroes to the polls all day. He was taken to the hospital, where 8 stitches were taken in his head.

* * *

ALABAMA ELECTION RESULTS

from Birmingham Post-Herald

and Birmingham News of November 9

LOWNDES COUNTY

(All Lowndes County Freedom Organization candidates defeated, as follows:

Sheriff -- Frank Ryals defeated Sidney Logan -- 1,943 to 1,426 - 517

Coroner -- Jack Golson defeated Emory Ross -- 1,901 to 1,391 - 690

Tax Assessor -- incumbent Charley Sullivan defeated Alice Moore -- 2,234 to

Tax Collector -- Iva Sullivan defeated Frank Miles -- 2,227 to 1,556 ^{1,557} 797

Board of Education:

David Lyons defeated Robert Logan 1,894 to 1,620

Tommy Coleman defeated John Minson 1,933 to 1,620

C. D. Haigler defeated Willie Strickland 2,139 to 1,552

DALLAS COUNTY

Sheriff -- Wilson Baker (D) defeated Jim Clark (write-in) 8,089 to 7,699
(unofficial)

State Rep. -- Rep. John Blanton (D) defeated Carl Henderson (Rep.) 10,435 to
2,260
B. Val Hain (D) defeated Bob Ed Morrow (R) 9,905 to 2,986

Tax Assessor -- (incumbent) Claude A. Sherrer defeated Mrs. Addie Lily
(Negro independent) 12,325 to 1,441

Tax Collector -- incumbent Davis Gamble defeated Horace Griffin
(Negro independent) 12,287 to 1,409

Coroner -- incumbent L. H. Hudson defeated N. F. Payne (Negro independent)
12,444 to 1,202

(Independents represented the Dallas County Independent Free Voters)

Majorities

Negro Majorities:
(Registered)

Lowndes

Wilcox

Perry

Hzle

Greene

Bullock

Macon

ALABAMA VR

117,000 since Act

228,000 total registered
($\frac{1}{4}$ of reg. pop.)

500,000 Voting Age persons



COUNTY SHERIFF



COUNTY TAX ASSESSOR



**COUNTY
SCHOOL BOARD MEMBER**



COUNTY TAX COLLECTOR



CIRCUIT SOLICITOR

BEFORE

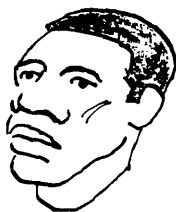
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

100 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10011

Dear Friend:

We acknowledge with gratitude your contribution of \$.....
in prompt response to the appeal of Harry Belafonte. Your contribution
and the commitment it represents will help to sustain our efforts toward
freedom and justice.

James Forman
Exec. Sec'y



COUNTY SHERIFF



COUNTY TAX ASSESSOR



**COUNTY
SCHOOL BOARD MEMBER**



COUNTY TAX COLLECTOR



CIRCUIT SOLICITOR

AFTER

LOWNDES COUNTY FREEDOM ORGANIZATION

Lowndes County

Southern Regional
Council - W.V.
Report

2823

2758

ALABAMA ELECTION RESULTS

from Birmingham Post-Herald

and Birmingham News of November 9

900

1658

LOWNDES COUNTY

(All Lowndes County Freedom Organisation candidates defeated), as follows:

Sheriff -- Frank Ryals defeated Sidney Logan -- 1,943 to 1,426

Coroner -- Jack Colson defeated Emory Ross -- 1,901 to 1,391

Tax Assessor -- incumbent Charley Sullivan defeated Alice Moore -- 2,234 to

Tax Collector -- Iva Sullivan defeated Frank Miles -- 2,227 to 1,556

Board of Education:

David Lyons defeated Robert Logan 1,874 to 1,620

Tommy Coleman defeated John Hinson 1,933 to 1,620

C. D. Haigler defeated Willie Strickland 2,139 to 1,552

DALLAS COUNTY

Sheriff -- Wilson Baker (D) defeated Jim Clark (write-in) 8,089 to 7,699
(unofficial)

State Rep. -- Rep. John Blanton (D) defeated Carl Henderson (Rep.) 10,435 to
2,260

B. Val Bain (D) defeated Bob Ed Morrow (R) 9,905 to 2,986

Tax Assessor -- (incumbent) Claude A. Sherrer defeated Mrs. Addie Lily
(Negro independent) 12,325 to 1,441

Tax Collector -- incumbent Davis Oamble defeated Horace Griffin
(Negro independent) 12,287 to 1,409

Coroner -- incumbent L. H. Hudson defeated N. F. Payne (Negro independent)
12,444 to 1,202

(Independents represented the Dallas County Independent Free Voters)

2)

L. A. Locklair as tax collector and Harold W. Webb to sit on the board of revenue. Webb unseated incumbent Johnny Henderson. The ~~nomination~~ Rev. Peter Kirksey won a ~~spot~~ place on the Board of Education at Greene.

The nominations were a major victory for civil rights organizations which have staged untiringly intensive voter registration drives behind the "cotton curtain" — ALABAMA.

It is the first time since the reconstruction era after the Civil War that Negroes have been on the edge of holding court house offices in the state.

The greatest set-back ^{however,} was handed to Negro attorneys minister Fred Gray of Tuskegee. The Tuskegee lawyer has been long active in the civil rights movement and was nipped by E. W. Faulkner attorney Wm. V. Neville Jr. in the House race.

Negroes had ~~missed~~ ^{thrown} their biggest ~~shots~~

ALA. Politics
Follow-up

~~The most effect~~ Negroes were
most effective when they had
Freedom of Action + ballot
Vote.

Of 26 Negroes seeking public office four were nominated in the MAY 31 Democratic primary ^{sp.?} to put Negroes on the threshold of county politics in ALABAMA for the first time in ~~the~~ a century. Negroes staked claims as sheriff, tax collector and the board of revenue in MACON county where Negroes outnumber whites five-to-one. Another Negro was nominated for a seat on the school board in Greene County, which is also predominantly Negro.

The most glittering highlight was in MACON county where ex-army ~~paratrooper~~ ^{VEF} Lucius D. Amerson, ~~32~~ a former postal employe anchored the county's chief law enforcement post. ~~the~~ married

Amerson, the father of two children, edged incumbent Harvey Sadler despite the open support given to Sadler by Negro minister Rev. K.L. Buford, who is ^{also} a member of Tuskegee's City Council.

insist
X

~~Other~~ Other Negroes nominated in Macon were funeral operator

A SNCC spokesman said "We encourage people to use the majority they have as other Americans buy things - to win control. He said "This use of the majority is at the heart of the democratic process."

The Voting Rights Act of '65 completed the vital piece of unfinished business in the Civil Rights Act of '64.

Now with these ^{recently} enacted legislation the Negro still finds himself misrepresented in either of the two major political parties. As a result, the Negro has been forced to form an independent party, as in Lowndes County, Ala. Subsequently Negroes have ~~been~~ been forced to bloc vote.

Georgia State Senator Leroy Johnson, the first Negro elected to a southern legislature since reconstruction, sums up the general consciencious of the Negro by saying, "It's true that we have been bloc voting and there will continue ~~us~~ to be bloc voting until Negroes can vote for people who will not castigate them."

re-word

Negroes had built up massive confidence in Attorney Gray, ~~who~~ ~~appeared~~ to be the versatile & qualified candidate for the House & Negro candidates fear for Sheriff in four of the Black Belt Counties.

inject Negroes here
formed independent
party to build
cohesive unity.
(quote)

The Negro candidates were defeated, obviously, when members of their own race voted against them in Bullock, Hale, and Berry counties.

sig.

For almost 100 years in Alabama a candidate for public office could ignore the Negro vote & could increase support by "out-singing" his opponent. In 1964 of those eligible to vote 66.2% whites and only 18.5% Negroes were registered to vote.

95?
96

After 95 years after the adoption of the 15th amendment to our US Constitution providing that no citizen should be denied the right to vote because of race & color President Johnson signed into law a voting rights bill to assure federal backing for Negroes or well as any one else denied that right.

A PROPOSAL FOR A POOR PEOPLE'S CONFERENCE IN
EASTERN ALABAMA

We feel that the poor people of Alabama, the masses, can no longer depend upon whites and middle class Negroes to rectify the too often deplorable conditions which for centuries they have been expected to endure.

It is the poor people, then, those who must struggle each day for bare survival, who must assume themselves the burden of correcting the evils they face in a yet segregated society.

We feel that SNCC should, as Stokely has suggested, plan South-wide conferences which will allow people to come together to voice some of their needs and to begin to find ways of satisfying them. One step toward this objective would be a conference limited to the poor people of Eastern Alabama. Such a conference, we feel, would pave the way for the larger South-wide conference, and would in some instances act as a model for it, pointing out to us the limitations as well as the advantages to be expected of a massive conference.

TENTATIVE PLANS FOR THE CONFERENCE FOR THE POOR PEOPLE OF
EASTERN ALABAMA:

1. The conference is planned for Saturday, September 18, 1965 in Tuskegee, Alabama.
2. The agenda will be planned by the people who attend the conference.
3. Of major importance will be discussions geared toward acquainting the people with the intricacies and the importance of the ASOS, and encouraging them to vote wisely in the ASOS fall elections.
4. Work shops will be held on other topics of interest to the people who attend. Such topics will probably include:
The integration of public schools
Fair employment
Social Security
The NFP

CHIEF OBJECTIVE OF THE CONFERENCE:

To establish the machinery by which the people will be able to coordinate their attempts (and thereby increase pressure on local officials) to raise themselves out of the trap of poverty.

jw

Stokely
Bill Hall

This is being presented to the Fiscal Committee
as a proposal

Poor People's Conference for Eastern Alabama

There is a great ^{deal} of talk, concerning the Unrepresented. The idea of "Taxation without Representation", therefore, would be the cornerstone for such a conference. The poor people's conference is designed to give poor people a forum for free and open discussion. The reason for coming to this decision in Eastern Alabama stems from a desire to bring poor people together so that they can talk about what they (the poor) feel is important. Eastern Alabama is an area of glaring contradictions and inexplicable paradoxes, i.e., Macon County is the richest black belt county in Alabama, where Negroes possess enough registered voters to assume total political power, but refused to run candidates for Mayor and Sheriff. This is the mystical truth for the overly qualified Negro of Tuskegee. Tuskegee is a community unlike any other community in the black belt. However, this is true only in the limited sense, i.e., political power, educational level and a large middle class population.

Here the qualified Negro is willing to surrender certain claims to citizen for his personal comfort. Here where the majority of Negroes in Tuskegee, either work at the Institute or the V.A. Hospital - prevails the attitude Booker T. Washington once promulgated, "In all things purely social we can be as separate as the five fingers, and yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress". Here in Tuskegee, we have seen the fingers so far apart, that they have become disjointed.

In Macon County few prosperous Negroes will step forward and identify with the poor. This is why a people's conference for the poor and unrepresented should be held in eastern Alabama; so that the unqualified can make decisions about things that are important to them. The conference will be run by local people from across Alabama, few will have Degrees and all will be unrepresented.

The Conference will be sponsored by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and any other groups or persons willing to help poor people make decisions that effect their lives.

The agenda will be planned by the poor who attend the conference. However, some information can be used as a starting point: The New Voting Bill, The War on Poverty, The MFDP Congressional Challenge and the Agriculture Stabilization and Conservation Service (ASCS) elections. The conference will be held in Tuskegee, Alabama, the 18th of September.

Please send comments and contributions to SNCC, P.O. #248, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama.

Freedom,

Bill

Bill Hall
P.O. #248
Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

The Student Nonviolent
Coordinating Committee
360 Nelson Street
Atlanta, Ga.

SPECIAL NEWSLETTER
February 9, 1965

COLLEGE CAMPUS ROUNDUP
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
8 RAYMOND STREET, N.W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30314

SELMA, ALABAMA
MARION, ALABAMA
STUDENTS MOVE

The Alabama Struggle

Today Alabama is in turmoil, tensions are focused on Selma, Alabama, a small town, where Negroes want to vote, a small town where people have looked to and where all Negro citizens of Alabama have decided that Negroes have the right to Vote. All over the state of Alabama the move is on, College students, High School Students and adults alike have decided, no matter what, the Negro is going to get the Vote.

Selma Alabama:

For two weeks, starting January 25, 1965, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) has put much effort in organizing citizens of Selma, Alabama to go to the Courthouse and Register to vote. Endless effort was made by Selma's citizens to register and vote, only to find out that Jim Clark and other Dallas County officials would not allow Negroes the opportunity to become registered voters. Many tactics of intimidations were used against Negroes in Selma, some people lost jobs, some were arrested, some were told that the time had not come for Negroes to become registered voters and others were told after applying for registration that they had flunked the test. These methods of intimidations, as far back as tow years had been quite passive up to 14 days ago.

Upon the arrival of John Lewis (SNCC Chairman and Dr. Martin Luther King (SCLC President) Selma's Negroes had realized that Selma was due for a radical change and that this change would bring about a new Negro and a new Alabama and a new political system of the South; a political system that would be guide-lines for Southern segregated states. SNCC and SCLC began to organize organizers for the big move, a big move that meant every Negro adult would have to go to the Courthouse and attempt to register to vote, that every Negro adult within himself would have to make up his mind that he would become a registered voter no matter what the sacrifice was.

So now was the "Big Alabama Struggle":

January 18 - 24

Monday morning approximately 500 Negroes marched to the Courthouse with Dr. King and Mr. John Lewis, leading the line. Upon arrival at the Courthouse, Jim Clark (sheriff) and Mr. Baker (Chief of Police) met them and ordered them to go to the rear of the building to be processed for the right to vote. It was there that Negroes were kept in the cold on the outside of the Courthouse in the rear like cattle and only then, less than 10 Negroes were processed the whole day. For eight hours Negroes stood in line waiting in vain for his legal, moral, and appointed right as an American citizen.

-2-

That evening of Monday, Negroes of Selma met in Browns Chappel Methodist Church for a mass meeting with John Lewis and Dr. Martin Luther King as guest speakers. The mass meeting was full of the Freedom Spirit. Negroes at the mass meeting gave great concern to the issue that black American citizens should not go to the back of the building anymore. It was then that Selma's citizens decided that to jail they will go, if they have to go to the back of the Courthouse.

During the next four days, some two thousand Negroes were arrested for "unlawful assembly", many of whom were arrested two to three times in that week and each time were released by hand on personal recognizance. For the four day period Negroes peacefully went to the Courthouse and to the front door to become registered to vote, only to find out that they would be arrested and denied the right to become registered.

COLLEGE STUDENTS MOVE

It was then necessary for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) to call to the attention of the Alabama Negro college students the problems of Selma, Ala., and the problems of Negroes in that state, and the role of college students in relation to the plight of the Negro in the state of Alabama.

On the evening of Jan. 29, 1965 some twenty Negro students of Alabama, representing the colleges Tuskegee Institute, Stillman College, Selma University and Lutheran College met to discuss what they could do the next day while Selma was in the midst of a great voter registration revolution. Students from the colleges represented felt that more students of Alabama should come into the project areas of Alabama and that a method and new approach should be used to bring Negro college students out of their apathetic attitudes with regard to the inequalities Negroes suffer in Alabama.

Students asked the following additional, related questions: "What is voting?" "Should we set stipulations on voting?" "Should the Negro be denied the right to vote if he can't read?" Basically the questions were not answered, but it was resolved that before these questions could definitely be answered they would first have to work with and help Negroes to register, and from there answer the questions in their own minds.

The following day students went out into the community and canvassed for ward meetings to be held that evening. Many of these students had interesting conversations with local people.

That evening students met in a workshop among themselves. Previous questions were raised and some answers suggested; in addition, students questioned the whole idea of what education is, and what it's responsibility is, not only to Negro students but to the Negro community as a whole. Students felt that the Black man has a purpose, and not one of inequality but one of equality. They thought that the system of the South is geared to keeping Negroes from voting, but the very fact that Negroes are standing in line to register(which is his right), means that they must get this right to vote, and that the system should be changed in such a way that illiterate Negroes will

- 3 -

be allowed to vote. Many whites in the South, they pointed out are illiterate, and yet they are allowed to vote.

TUSKEGEE STUDENTS GO TO JAIL

On the afternoon of Jan. 31, 1965 six Tuskegee male students were arrested for "contempt of court," and they served from 3 to 6 days in jail. Before they were arrested some 400 Negro people had been assisted by them in going to the courthouse to register. The students arrested were:

Eldridge Burns	Irvin LeBlanch
George Davis	Reginald Braddock
Charles Scott	James Paul

After the students had been arrested, Alphonso Atkins (known as K.C.) went back to Tuskegee, Ala. to organize students to march in behalf of the Negroes right to register and vote. That weekend some 300 Tuskegee students paraded downtown in agreement with the Negroes in Selma and their efforts to become registered voters.

SNCC finds a great need for Negro students to participate in helping Negroes of the South become free from the political and social oppression of the white man. It has been proven that true change in the South can come about through the efforts of young Negroes and Negro college students. SNCC plans are to go into other counties in Alabama and throughout the Black Belt and set up voter registration projects. But this can only be successful if Negro college students of the South participate in the struggle and bring about changes that will condition him, not to the southern political system but to democracy.

FACT SHEET

The following events describe the Negro's desire to become a registered voter and the white man's desire for the Negro not to become a registered voter.

On January 17, SNCC Chairman John Lewis kicked off the voter registration drive at a mass meeting. Lewis repeated his earlier appeal for "One Man - One Vote." Dr. Martin Luther King and his staff arrived on January 18. A summary of the events that followed appears below:

JAN 18 - 500 march on the county courthouse led by Dr. King and SNCC Chairman John Lewis. They are made to stand all day in an alley, and none are able to take the voter's test. Later in the day, Dr. King is punched and kicked by a white racist in a newly integrated Selma hotel.

JAN 19 - 62 people - including SNCC Chairman John Lewis, SNCC worker Lafayette Surney and Frank Soracco and SNCC Alabama Project Director John Love - are arrested when they refuse to enter the courthouse by the alley entrance. Mrs. Amelia Boynton is pushed and shoved by Sheriff Clark. All are released on their own recognition.

JAN 20 - 156 arrested including SNCC Chairman John Lewis, SNCC worker Terry Shaw, Frank Soracco, Gladys Freeman, Tom Brown - while marching to the courthouse. Sheriff Clark tells SNCC's Lewis: "You are an agitator and that's the lowest form of humanity."

JAN 21 - All those arrested 1/20 are released on their own recognition. V.B. Atkins, Chairman of the Board of Registrars, rejects an appeal from the all-Negro Selma Teachers Association to open registration on January 22. Five Negroes and one white are arrested at a drug-store lunch counter for "trespassing" by city police when they refuse to leave.

JAN 22 - 125 Negro school teachers from every city school march on the courthouse to protest the closing of the registration office. Three times they try to enter the front door and three times they are clubbed back by Sheriff Clark and his men. Roger Daley, a white volunteer, is attacked by a white man on the street.

JAN 25 - Mrs. Annie Lee Cooper of Selma and SNCC worker Willie McRay are arrested at the courthouse. After a scuffle with Sheriff Clark four lawmen pounce on Mrs. Cooper and beat her with billy clubs. Sheriff Clark says later: "She's a nigger woman and hasn't got a Miss or Mrs. in front of her name!"

JAN 26 - 34 arrested including SNCC Chairman John Lewis, SNCC workers Willie Emma Scott, Eugene Rouse, Willie McRay, Stanley Wise and Stokely Carmichael. Mrs. Cooper released on \$2000 bond.

JAN 27 - 24 arrested including SNCC Chairman John Lewis, SNCC workers Larry Fox, Joyce Brown, Frank Soracco and Dartmouth College volunteer Roger Daley and Hohn Liutkis. The Selma Times Journal reports: "In the nine days since the campaign began here, only 40 Negroes have taken the lengthy literacy test."

JAN 28 - Colonel Al Lingo of the Alabama State Patrol compliments local law officers. In Mobile, civil rights lawyers ask for an injunction against Sheriff Clark, Solicitors Blanchard McLeod and Henry Reese, and County Judges Hugh Mallory and Bernard Reynolds, barring them from interfering with the voter registration drive.

JAN 29 - Cases are removed to Federal Court. Local people are allowed to sign their own \$100 bonds.

JAN 31 - United States District Judge Daniel Thomas accepts jurisdiction of 54 additional cases and orders them released. He amended his earlier injunction to say that while only 100 applicants per day would be given numbers, more than 100 could wait in line. Sheriff Clark had interpreted the injunction to mean that all applicants over 100 could be arrested.

FEB 1 - 264 arrested - including Dr. King, Rev. Ralph Abernathy, SNCC workers Frank Soracco and William Hall, arrested for "parading without a permit" as they march to the courthouse. 450 high school students are arrested that same day on the same charge as they march to protest the difficulties their parents have in registering to vote.

-From Marion, SNCC worker George Bess reports over 500 Negroes stand in line all day for that city's first Freedom Day. Negroes are tested 7 at a time, and 115 take the test. Two drug stores and a movie theatre integrated by testing groups, but other businesses refused service to Negroes.

FEB 2 - SNCC Alabama Project Director John Love and SNCC workers Terry Shaw and Larry Fox are arrested in Selma for "contributing to the delinquency of minors" who participated in demonstrations of Feb. 1. 75 adults are arrested at the courthouse, as well as 60 more students. That night, Selma's Negro businessmen stage a march on the courthouse.

In Marion, SNCC worker George Bess and 15 others were arrested at a cafe which refused to serve them. They are charged with "trespassing."

FEB 3 - 850 arrested at the Perry County courthouse for "unlawful assembly" when students and adults marched to protest: the earlier arrests of Feb. 2, the fact that courthouse is only open on the first and third Mondays of the month, firing from jobs of people who attempt to register and protesting the lack of compliance with the public accommodations section of the Civil Rights Law.

FEB 4 - Injunction issued banning demonstrations "in and around courthouse" in Selma.

FEB.4 - SNCC staffer Stanley Wise arrested in Marion with 200 local people protesting yesterday's arrests. Wise was charged with "encouraging a riot" and cash bond was set at \$300. While in Sheriff's office, Wise was beaten. Local people are being held on \$100 property bond each.

- In Selma, U.S. Judge Thomas issued an injunction barring the Dallas County board of registrars from using lengthy literacy test which includes Constitution answer section. The injunction also prohibited the three-member board from processing fewer than 100 applications each registration day and failing to provide enough personnel and facilities so at least 8 applicants can apply for registration at one time.

- From Marion, 200 local people released from Camp Selma and reported these prevailing conditions: 300 men were housed in one cell and had to stand up all night long. There were nothing in the cell but wet, concrete floors. No blankets and heat was turned off. Only one commode which didn't flush. They received only one meal consisting of one piece of bread and a few peas. Many of the women have colds from being forced to sleep on damp concrete floors during the night.

FEB.5 - Dr. King released from jail. 78 adults carrying petitions addressed to Mayor Smitherman of Selma and the County Registrars asking their names be recorded as prospective voters are arrested. Minutes after their arrest, 450 students march in protest and arrested also.

In Marion, 225 adults marched past the Sheriff's office and the Perry County Courthouse singing. SNCC worker George Bess is still in jail.

SNCC has plans of expanding its operations into other areas of the Black Belt Counties, which will include the States .. Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, Arkansas and South Carolina. It is now time and need for students participation in these States if the Negro is to Overcome.

For further information, contact:

Tom Brown...Southern Campus Coordinator
8 Raymond Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

754 ~~118~~ 3198

Los

ARC #5822
362
9788
DUBI
DOKIS

~~118~~

OFFICE OF SOUTHERN CAMPUS COORDINATOR
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
8 RAYMOND STREET, N.W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30314

"SNICK" IN ALABAMA

*From Bill Mahoney,
Communications, Atlanta
Return to
Elizabeth Sutherland*

The glorious radicals.

Having injected the African concept of "one man, one vote" into American politics, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is now raising the issue of Black power in Alabama.

Since 1890, Black Belt Negroes have been victims of political exclusion maintained by the denial of Negroes of the right to vote, service on juries, access to any political office of white office holders, and brutality. During the past six years students and sharecroppers working with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC - pronounced "SNICK") have organized in the hard core rural areas of the South to break the circle of political-social exclusion. If the poor, the dispossessed, of the Black Belt across the South could attain the right to govern themselves, there would be a diametric alteration of the course of governmental policy, from the county to the international level. This is the hope that burns in the hearts of the SNCC radicals.

Working 12 to 14 hours a day, sleeping in cold dusty shacks in sleeping bags on floors, bouncing over unpaved county roads under damp grey skies, and working beside farmers in muddy winter fields, SNCC staff try to educate Alabama Negroes about their potential power. Deadly serious because their lives, in fact, are on the line, the SNCC staff does not fool itself by accepting less than is needed. For to do so means death.

If the network of organizations in Mississippi created by SNCC cracked the iceberg of segregation in that closed society, the beat by beat organization of the Alabama black belt will also shatter the Alabama iceberg.

In spite of the surface appearance of disorganization among

page two

the young radicals, many forget that they represent a high level of organization when compared to their parents. Black poor people have only known such a high level of political organization during the Garvey mass movement. Even the black middle class has seldom been organized to attain maximum political effectiveness. SNCC has had unique effectiveness organizing people to acquire power in their own interest.

If it takes a radical solution to solve deep seated cancerous problems, then SNCC in Alabama will change the fabric of Alabama life and politics. SNCC's program differs from traditional politics, because officials who seek to be elected want office for the purpose of the program. The programs are designed to eliminate poverty and discrimination rather than to distribute certain spoils of office to themselves and others. If traditional politicians want office for the purpose of being in a position to distribute certain lion's share of the spoils to the powers, such as tax breaks, law enforcement, poor schools, and all the rest of it - then SNCC, on the other hand, demands everything, without exception, for the people who are willing that things should be distributed equitably.

SNCC's organizing efforts in Alabama will be significant. After six years of organizing efforts, the knowledge SNCC has acquired in Mississippi, Georgia, Arkansas and throughout the South is now being brought to bear in Alabama. The enthusiasm of the SNCC staff for radical change can be seen sweeping throughout Negro campuses, "little river bottom settlement, and corn rows".

Once a well clothed and well seated matron objected furiously to SNCC workers clothes, saying: "Those rough people

Page three.

can't represent me." She was right. The SNCC dress of blue jeans and work shirt has both functional and symbolic value. Functional because the SNCC workers at times sleep on floors and work in fields. Symbolic value because the SNCC image of the working class black American is comfortable for working class Negroes to identify with. They no longer are forced to identify with fearful white images of manhood, they now have an image that they, in part, have created.

That image is black and poor. He is a man of the people.

SNCC brings nightmares to middle class Negroes and whites. The SNCC people are fearfully different from the Negro who has been "dealt with" before by black and white Alabama leaders and so, they literally and figuratively try to destroy SNCC. Over ten civil rights workers have been assassinated in the span of a year.

Existence is dependent upon being invisible. The SNCC people can only live in the Alabama wasteland because the local people form an umbrella, protecting them. Local share-croppers support and encourage SNCC workers. Otherwise SNCC members would be easy targets to be picked off by demented gunners sniping along the roadside.

But hugging tight to the community has its drawbacks. For the SNCC workers are not only protected by the umbrella created by the black community they are completely limited by the community in which they work. SNCC does not move within the southern white community.

The movement in Alabama is past the stage where it must prove its right to protest. Now it is concerned with significant organizing efforts among black people. The organizing attempts in Alabama have met violent resistance. The whites show daily

Page four

how deadly serious they are about Alabama politics; in the black belt there have been at least three known murders during 1966 of persons involved in civil rights activity.

The profound issue in Alabama politics at this moment is control. The issue is hidden behind a screen of pronouncements about democracy. It is seldom that the issue is brought out into the open as it was in a recent Selma poverty program meeting. At this January meeting a well known Negro leader who was head of the monitoring committee, said: "don't think people who make under \$4000 a year can go downtown and talk to the mayor. We don't want them to represent us." Members of the audience had to hold a young SNCC worker in blue jeans back from attacking the speaker. The SNCC worker accused the speaker of "welling out".

The obvious conflict is between white leaders and newly emerging forces in the black community. Less obvious is the conflict within the black community. Shirley Masher, Selma SCLC worker said, "It is ironic that the poor black people are now hearing from the black middle class the same thing they once heard from the white power structure."

SNCC staff who work with Alabama's dispossessed and disenfranchised can only pose extreme solutions. For the dispossessed SNCC has created temporary tent cities and hope to build new communities with the help of government grants. The tent cities are for the purpose of preventing the erosion of a potentially organizable political base.

The Black Panther.

To some, it would seem a contradiction to say the only hope that Alabama politics will not be oriented toward race lies in

the development of the Black Panther movement. Some would say SNCC's panther movement is the flip side of the racist coin. Only an understanding of the milieu a poor black man must face in Alabama politics will belie the charge of racism. One must understand what it means to organize the poor at this time in that place called Alabama.

From the viewpoint of a tent city resident sleeping with a gun in a freezing tent there can be no middle ground. Compromise politics will not easily raise its head among sharecroppers who are pushed from the land they've farmed for generations by mechanization.

Who can ask a tent city resident to forget that he lost his home because he tried to act like a good citizen and vote? Who can blame the dispossessed for asking if the vote of a landless person is equal to the vote of a landowner?

In a setting of hate and violence SNCC is trying to inject morality. "We're registering people to vote for better schools, better roads, and to get rid of violent sheriffs," SNCC worker Courtland Cox says. But this is not an idea that's the sole property of SNCC. A profound analysis makes SNCC unique.

"When people finally get registered," Cox explains, "they get caught up in the problem of which party they join. They tend to forget the original reason for registering to vote."

"The basic problem," Cox says, "poses the question: is there any way for Negroes to get together and act in their own interest? There are two facts you must understand to comprehend SNCC's approach in Alabama. There are counties where Negroes are more than 81% of the population; and Alabama is a state where political parties can be organized on a county level."

"We believe that where it's possible for Negroes to

organize independently because of their numerical strength on a county level, they should do so." Thirteen out of sixty-seven counties are black belt counties.

At present there are 1,383,000 whites of voting age in Alabama; 69% or 935,000 of them are registered to vote. There are 481,000 Negroes of voting age; 19% or 93,737 of them are registered to vote.

Although only a small portion of the Negro voting force is registered, emphasis in Alabama on county politics means that Negro majorities in black belt counties can wield power, unrealizable on a state level. Voter Registrars, who are in thirteen Alabama counties, have gone into eight of the black belt counties. And county politics, perhaps above any other, will affect the daily lives of the people.

Thus SNCC sees a fallacy in all voter registration efforts that don't consider the question - VOTE FOR WHAT? SNCC worker Courtland Cox says, "The reality of United States politics is that Negroes, poor people and people in the rural areas are excluded. Negroes in Watts, in Harlem and in Rochester have been voting for years and hold elective and appointive offices; yet there are still riots."

Stokeley Carmichael, a hard-headed realist and warrior of many battles explains the more sophisticated details of Negro disenfranchisement. He said, "The primary is run by Robert's Rules of Order. People who know the rules they originally created, can easily control a meeting.

"In Democratic politics, the poor Negroes I work with and care about are not able to relate to the school teachers and doctors. The middle class people take over. Those people do

not rule in the interest of the poor."

Carmichael also says, "We must either change the rules or smash the rules." This, he says, is because "we want Mr. Hewitt of Lowndes County, who has a third grade education to be able to represent people like himself in Alabama politics."

In its voting campaign across the South SNCC pointed out the unfairness of any kind of legally required qualification for voting when the state doesnot supply a school system where every man can become qualified. SNCC is making the same argument in Alabama where whites 25 years or older, in 1960 completed 10.2 years of school and Negroes only completed 6.5 school years.

Carmichael's view of the National political scene is bleak. Answering charges that SNCC is isolating the Negro and is not interested in broad national questions, he says, "We've been isolated in regular Democratic politics." He says this will change if the people organize. "The national interest is geared to Viet nam. Negroes want a steam heated house, food on the table, and a decent education, but the nation isn't interested in that."

The radical, almost desperate ring of SNCC leaders is neither heeded nor understood by many middle-class Alabama Negroes. They are blinded by the Democrats who just removed in 1966, the white supremacy slogan from the state party emblem and who are now wooing Negro leaders. They are blind to the conditions of their brethren who live in rural and city slums. Half of the Negroe families in Alabama cities made less than \$2568 a year in 1960 while half of the whites made over \$5779. Half of the nonwhite rural farm families made \$1550 a year and whites made \$3829. In all cases, rural, urban or statewide Negro families make at

best 40% less than whites.

The middle class leaders who attack SNCC are also alienated because they have not gone through what SNCC executive secretary, Jim Forman terms, "the SNCC experience". They have not watched their friends beaten and killed while the federal government stood sterily by taking notes. They have not organized people to vote in mock elections proving that hundreds of thousands of Negroes in the black belt are disenfranchised and then find that neither the Democratic Party, nor the United States Congress will deal with that fact. The men in a comfortable position in life will not understand SNCC unless they know what it is to live with the pervading fear of violence from creditors, sheriffs, hostile whites, and the "boss man".

Until recently Negroes loyal to the national party have had to work through the Alabama Democratic Conference, a Negro group. "We must realize," Courtland Cox recently said in an important Alabama meeting, "the Democratic party is willing to include Negroes, but no junkies, bums, workers or the dispossessed and poor. If a tradition isn't built now of organized action among poor blacks, the poor will go unorganized into the Democratic party and be controlled." The problem is, SNCC workers say, they will not only be controlled - they will be controlled by precisely the same people who own the slums they live in and the plantations they farm.

It is said, among intellectual circles, the way to change national politics is to work within national parties. Contradicting sacred cows of political philosophy, Carmichael says, "In political science you're taught to join a party to change it. That's not the way things work in reality. Look at the labor

movement and where it is today after following a line of coalition politics. From the woman's suffrage movement to the labor movement, movements have found little satisfaction within the party. This is not to say that we do not have faith in the masses. It is a question of who you choose to work with and who you choose to project. In Mississippi we projected a Fannie Lou Hamer. She was one of the people. I want to project more people like her who have the same interest as the poor."

If the insanity of current Alabama politics is not to continue, then the radical SNCC viewpoint must be given careful consideration. Today's reality in Alabama politics is: the poor are excluded; Robert's Rules of Order are used to control meetings; the nation expresses no serious interest; and, there is a move to include a few Negroes at the top echelons. SNCC is organizing the poor to make changes in their own lives - this has proven to be painful but always rewarding in the end. SNCC leaders are wiking the red muddy roads talking to people about unity and power.

A History of Struggle.

SNCC's organizing efforts over the past four years have been met with mass brutality, assassination and harassment. The history of SNCC in Alabama, necessarily clouded by present priorities, is one of progress through constant conflict.

Late in 1962, Bernard LaFayette a 22 year old ordained minister, student at Fisk, former Freedom Rider and leader in the Nashville movement, Mrs. Collie LaFayette, former voter registration worker, and student at Teagalee College, Frank Holliday, former leader of Atlanta University students, and James

Austin, voter registration worker in Gadsden, Alabama, came to Selma in the early fall, to explore the possibilities of a voter registration project in Dallas County.

This would be the first SNCC project in Alabama and the first legitimate civil rights project in the state since civil rights activity had been outlawed. When LaFayette arrived in Dallas (58% black), less than one percent of the eligible Negroes were registered to vote. Many critics considered it impossible to organize in such a politically stagnant environment.

But then, for a black belt county, that wasn't so bad. In neighboring Wilcox County, where better than three-quarters of the population is Negro, not one - not a solitary black man or woman - was on the voting lists. And, in fact, none had been on the voting lists during Reconstruction.

The idea of a voter drive looked wild. In the minds of whites, there was a logical separation between Negroes and voting. A Negro voting was like the sun falling or a building flying.

April of 1963 a small group of Negroes appeared at the Wilcox County Courthouse and reduced the white registrar to a state of hysteria. They merely asked him if they might register. The poor man ran from his office out into the street, where, leaning against a lamp post, he could only gasp incoherently at white passersby.

LaFayette temporarily left Alabama. But when a voter's league in Selma requested help in early 1963, he rushed back.

Instant steps were testily taken. Beginning May 14, 1963 the Dallas County Voters League and SNCC sponsored voter registration meetings. The meetings were soon held on a weekly

Page eleven

basis. The DCVL and SNCC canvassed to get people to the meetings. Deputy Sheriffs of Dallas County, under the supervision of Sheriff Jim Clark, and members of the Selma police force were in attendance at meetings. They kept records of the meetings and the names of those who attended them.

Dallas County efforts were centered in Selma. Selma is situated on the bluffs of the Alabama River. It is the seat of Dallas County, the seventh largest in population of Alabama's 68 counties. Selma is the largest city in Dallas County and one of the two incorporated cities in the county, the other being Orrville, the second largest city in Dallas County, about six miles southwest of Selma.

Today Selma industries are small and based mainly on cotton, and Craig Air Force Base, situated three miles outside of Selma, which is the home of the Jet Qualification Course, the Basic Instructors School.

Negroes are in excess of 50% of the population of Selma. Yet Negroes control little of the economy and none of the politics of Selma.

Dallas County has a long and negative history, as far as race relations are concerned, with 21 reported lynchings of Negroes between April 1882 and January 1913. Today police brutality, shots in the night, beatings, and economic reprisals are not rare forms of keeping Negroes out of economic and political life of Dallas County.

These factors, plus discrimination by the registrars are the main factors for the lack of Negroes registered in Dallas County.

Selma's Sheriff Clark operates on the theory that to

Page twelve

control Negroes it was necessary to "show force". Thus beatings and arrests were commonplace responses to Negro organizing drives.

The SNCC workers soon set up voter registration classes, first in a house directly across the street from the county jail, then in some of the churches. The whites felt threatened.

WHAT HAVE I PERSONALLY DONE TO MAINTAIN SEGREGATION? - Bold print in a Selma Times Journal advertisement of June 9, 1963 paid for by the Citizens' Council, asked readers to put to themselves this "important question".

A near tragedy occurred June 11, 1963 at 11:00 p.m. when Bernard LaFayette, who was returning home to Selma, was accosted by two unknown white men and struck several times in the head with a blunt object. The injuries required medical attention and six stitches. He immediately reported this incident to the city police and the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

After a summer of violence, the United States government brought an action under 42 U.S.C. 1971 (A) and (B) against defendants Clark, McLeod, Henry Reese and against Dallas County. The suit claimed the city had made arrests which were intimidatory and were for the purpose of interfering with the right of Negro citizens freely to register and vote in Federal elections.

Mass demonstrations in September were met with mass arrests.

The courts, forced by political imperatives, ordered entry of an injunction against the Board of Registrars to prohibit discrimination in the registration process. The movement which had despaired of help from the courts, learned government moved when forced to do so.

James Baldwin was in town. It was FREEDOM DAY.

SNCC originated the concept of a special day when demands

Page thirteen

would be made by the Negro community of the city and masses of people would march into town to register to vote. Freedom Day was an occasion for noted figures in the entertainment world, the clergy, and writers to show support for local people's efforts. Freedom days were repeated throughout the South.

On that day, October 7, for the first time, Negroes gathered in front of the registrar's office.

Al Lingo's state troopers were there - helmeted and heavily armed. Sheriff Clark's posse, originally created to put down labor organizing efforts, was all over the place. Their nervous horses pranced about the street, sparks flying.

When the sun was directly overhead there were over 300 people waiting before the registrar's office. They were hungry and thirsty. Baldwin, Amelia Boyton, and Jim Forman, approached the Sheriff and asked him if they might bring food and water to the people. "These people will not be molested in any way," Clark said.

When Carver Noblitt and Avery Williams did attempt to bring the people sandwiches and soft drinks, they were beaten and burned with cattle-prods and arrested.

Baldwin couldn't believe it. Somebody in the line asked him what could be done.

"Oh my god, I suppose what could be done, is the government has to make up its mind whether or not these people are citizens. That is what it has never made up its mind about. And no one in the town is protected by the police, and the federal government says it cannot do it either. And these are American citizens. This is happening under the shadow of the American flag."

"FBI men, who are supposed to make arrests in cases where

Page fourteen

Federal law is clearly violated, might have arrested Sheriff Clark a dozen times over October 7. But they didn't. Much later the Justice Department sought injunctions to prevent Clark and his posse from intimidating prospective voters. But a federal judge refused to grant them. Of all the Negroes who tried to register October 7, exactly five succeeded. Most of them were turned away as illiterate. College graduates were turned away.

Working with the students at Selma University and Hudson High School, Bernard and Colia LaFayette were able to organize a powerful functioning youth organization. Unfortunately, the university students had to withdraw later from the SNCC project due to pressure from the school. But the high school project was most successful. Working within an existing gang structure Bernard managed to develop a democratically controlled group of high school students.

In September Bernard and Colia LaFayette left Selma to resume their studies at Fisk University in Tennessee. By this time the programs that Bernard initiated were showing great promise, and in early September SNCC workers Prathia Hall and Worth Long came to Selma to take over and expand the projects. Working with Wilson Brown, SNCC worker from Birmingham who came to Selma in late July, and two local persons Claude Porter and William Robertson, Long and Prathia were able to launch a more intensive voter registration program that rapidly expanded beyond the limits of Selma. Voter registration programs were started in the cities of Sardis, Orrville, Hayden, Eogue, Chitto and Beloit.

Since May 1963, attorneys for the Department of Justice had been in Dallas County investigating. One surprise move,

November 4, 1963, the Dallas County Grand Jury, issued subpoenas to six attorneys from the Department of Justice and one former Attorney of the Department of Justice. 11 Negro citizens from Dallas County and outside Dallas County who had been active in voter registration were also cited. The purpose of this unusual investigation McLeod announced, was to examine the role of the Department of Justice in the racial unrest in Dallas County. Thus, Alabama law once again was used as a means of intimidation of civil rights workers and several government attorneys.

Emphasis on voter registration activity put the poor people of Dallas County in a special limbo. The middle class controlled the Dallas County Voters League, thus aggravating existing class conflicts. The voters league claimed only they could call ward leaders together. Leaders of the League allowed no discussion at meetings and if too many questions were raised, the meeting would be adjourned. Only petitions forced them to open their membership and fierce internal struggle brought change in the constitution of the group to eliminate the clause that says the vice-president automatically succeeds to the presidency.

The struggle became vicious when flyers were snatched out of the hands of civil rights workers. (Notes: the above information was derived from two prime sources; a Field Report from Bruce Gordon, Selma, Alabama, November 9, 1963; and, the brief of the United States of America versus McLeod, Reese, Clark, Houston, Wilkerson, and Hare, filed in the United States District Court.) Today in Selma the conflict is deepening as the poor organize into interest groups.

We have overcome.

Four children were dead; and for many the myth of American

Democracy had died.

Four children died in the dynamiting of the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama on Sunday September 15, 1963 and by nightfall two other Negro youths were dead. One was killed by a city policeman. The bombing was the 20th within the span of three months. This incident and others that followed brought about a significant change in the movement. SNCC was an important factor in the change.

No longer satisfied with merely expressing shock at Alabama brutality, many people around the nation sought underlying causes for the bombings. SNCC supplied an analysis of the problems that were widely accepted.

SNCC literature and leaders said that 10 corporations with plants in Birmingham had direct responsibility for the violence. Thus, SNCC was no longer appealing to an abstract national conscience, but to concrete individuals whose powerful positions in the economy of the south made them responsible, largely, for the racial conflict in Birmingham.

The companies employed over 35% of the manufacturing workers of Birmingham. Accused were such companies as: United States Steel Corporation, Saint Regis Paper Company, Martin-Marietta Corporation, Lone Star Cement Corporation, United States Pipe and Foundry Company, Republic Steel Corporation, Harbison Walker Refractories, Mateo Corporation, Huggins Sash and Box Company and Union Carbide Corporation.

The crisis was so acute, that for the first time, SNCC officially requested the United Nations to investigate abridgements of civil rights of Negroes in the South.

For many black Americans the twenty Birmingham bombings

and the fighting in the streets of the city, disintegrated all hopes of negotiation, non-violence, love and understanding. Birmingham dramatized the complete desperation of the Negroes problem in America. The atmosphere created by Birmingham was a setting for the Harlem rebellion, Watts rebellion and the incendiary outbreaks in the nation's ghettos.

Tuskegee - a model community?

Tuskegee is a model of what can be expected in Alabama if coalition politics becomes the rule.

Civil rights worker Samuel Younge was shot and killed 1:30 a.m. the morning of January 3rd in Tuskegee, Alabama. Samuel Younge, who worked with SNCC had been helping Negroes register to vote at the Macon County courthouse earlier in the day.

At the courthouse, the voter registrar had told Samuel Younge and his co-worker, Jimmy Rogers, "I'm tired of fobbing around with you. I'm going to spill your guts all over the floor." Because Samuel was killed in the business action of a town that's 90% Negro, many questioned the "model" community of Tuskegee. Struggling with this question deepened SNCC's alienation with democratic and coalition politics.

Professor Paul Puryear of Tuskegee says, "The Samuel Younge tragedy has shaken people. The Tuskegee Institute Advancement League and the Ad Hoc Committee for Justice in Macon County were moved to increase their activities."

The story of coalition politics in Tuskegee is an old one. Tuskegee Institute, the raison d'être for the town, owes its existence to a coalition formed by an ex-slave, Louis Adams, and under-slaveowner. The ex-slaves agreed to throw their political support in the Negro Alabama legislature, during

Reconstruction behind the former slaveowner if he would support their bid for a school. Today a similar relation continues between blacks and whites.

For example, Tuskegee Negroes supported Hunter Slayton as candidate for Clerk to the Circuit Court. Hunter Slayton, who is alleged to be a millionaire, aids black people seeking to borrow money. He received more than two thousand Negro votes out of three thousand Negroes voting.

Old Tuskegee homes add to the impression its people project of comfortable compliance with the necessities as well as the pleasures of their lives. Tuskegee Institute is a sprawling complex of traditional college structures; it is the very heart of the community. The administration of the Institute and the Veterans Administration Hospital are larger than the municipal government. Tuskegee easily gives a false impression of black power.

Tuskegee Institute was expanded under the guidance of Booker T. Washington, its official founder. His dictates that the races be separate in things social and that there be no political involvement, were followed until 1957. It was then that Negroes began demanding school integration and the right to vote. The Alabama Legislature retaliated by gerrymandering the Institute and most of the Negro citizens out of the city.

Negroes in turn, maintained a boycott against white merchants until the U.S. Supreme Court ruled the gerrymander law unconstitutional. It wasn't until 1961 that U.S. District Judge Frank M. Johnson, Jr. ordered all qualified Negroes in the county registered.

Although Negroes were in the majority, Tuskegee leaders refrained from exercising the full power of the Negro vote.

In the May 5th, 1964 primary Negro leaders put up four

candidates for county office. All four were nominated. Dr. Charles G. Comillion, dean of the School of Arts and Sciences at Tuskegee, was nominated to the school board and Reverend V.A. Edwards, a Tuskegee staff member, was nominated to the Board of Revenue, the governing body for the county. Two Negro businessmen were nominated for justices of the peace.

Smith, who is chairman of the Division of Social Sciences at Tuskegee, said, "Negroes want only to participate, to be involved" in government, "not to take over". This point of view was supported by Edwards and Comillion.

Macon County's Negro vote has been managed by the Macon County Democratic Club, MCDC. The MCDC is the political arm of the Tuskegee Civic Improvement Association. Dr. Comillion is chairman of both.

With the exception of the mayor's race, in which the MCDC endorsed a white candidate who lost, the election came out as the MCDC planned. On the night before the election, meetings were held in three churches. At these, the MCDC made it clear how they wanted Negroes to vote. The next day, most Negro voters obviously did as directed, voting for only two of the eight Negro candidates.

Comillion feels the political hopes of Negroes should be expressed through the Democratic Party. Just outside of Tuskegee in the remainder of the county is a landless, homeless and voteless mass of people. Although half of the Tuskegee families earn \$3812 a year, half of the Macon County Negro families earn less than \$1904. Most Macon County Negroes live outside of Tuskegee. Comillion, Smith and Edwards who represent the educated Tuskegee community, necessarily find it difficult to understand

the average Macon County Negro who has completed only 8.3 school years.

Dr. Comillion is a leader of the politically sterile and isolated Alabama Democratic Conference. The ADCI is a Negro arm in Alabama of the national Democratic Party. Comillion, like many other key Negro leaders in the state enjoy the confidence of such Democratic party leaders as Richmond Flowers.

Democrats and Democracy.

The white Democratic Party's move to strike "White Supremacy for the Right" from the Democratic Party emblem is a step toward incorporating ADCI leaders into the party. In return, those ADCI leaders will logically be required to campaign for the Democratic party. Patronage positions will be their reward. Because the ADCI leaders are open to overtures from the Democrats, Richmond Flowers candidacy in the gubernatorial race is music to the ears of Negroes who want to dance the Democratic tune.

Because no one expects to win the Governorship the first time around, it is doubtful that Flowers is running to win. The question is whether he's running to win the next election or if he'll throw his vote to Elliot on election eve. Either way, the average Negro will be at a loss of political representation.

More important than the effect Richmond Flowers will have upon Alabama politics this spring, is the question of what effect the black panther freedom organizations will have upon Alabama politics. Movement leaders such as Mr. J. Basil know Flowers develops his vitality from the freedom movement. Thus it would be absurd of them to look upon Flowers as any sort of leader.

But many people can't see beyond the traditional "lesser

of two evils" American politics sad, in fact, are happy to be able to choose the lesser but nevertheless, evil candidate. They are satisfied on a state level to pick between the several gubernatorial candidates that are emerging. These candidates are of two sorts: honest racists and hypocrites.

Racist Governor Wallace has been defeated in the legislature in an attempt to allow governors to succeed themselves. Thus he won't be able to run this term. Senators, some in league with other gubernatorial hopefuls, destroyed the succession bill.

John Patterson, who defeated Wallace in 1958 will be running this term. Ryan McGroffanfried, the biggest businessman in Alabama was a contender but was killed in February in a plane crash.

Everything done by Wallace and Patterson is not only in the interest of racism, but is part of the American tradition of politics as myth making. When Patterson won the governor's race in 1958 by appealing to the Klan, Wallace said, "No one is ever going to put 'nigger' on again". He's kept his word and has evoked the shibboleth of race at every occasion.

Carl Elliot, a recently defeated U.S. Congressman, who is considered an Alabama gentleman, automatically voted against the civil rights bill. Selma Sheriff Jim Clark, another contender, follows a political line not hard to discern. The Republicans may run Representative Jim Martin ^{was} who defeated by Lister Hill in the last election by proving he was a more virulent racist.

Only Freedom party candidates can be expected to talk of hard facts and bread and butter issues, instead of appealing to ancient tribal sentiments.

Whether Flower, Elliot, Patterson or Martin win the election, issues of vital importance to the black belt Negro, will not be

discussed. The issues of the election will be whether or not Patterson is from a good family or can Martin shout more racist epithets than any democrat. These will be the issues unless the Negro can find a way of making his reality a political fact.

The Alabama Negro is faced, then, with the problem of injecting the issues of housing, employment, unemployment, health, education into Alabama politics. At the moment the prime force in Alabama talking about those issues are the Freedom Organizations, in Lowndes, Hale, Wilcox, Macon and Greene counties.

Flowers, the Alabama liberal, is a good argument against liberalism. He prosecuted killers of civil rights worker Viola Liuzzo in Alabama and then went to Washington to kill the Voting Act. The movement is sophisticated enough to know that Flowers derives his vitality from them and the converse is not true. Thus the movement is the Negro's only salvation from the liberal.

All the politics in Alabama carried on over testimonial dinners and in expensive bars has little relevancy for the average Negro.

The day to day reality of Alabama life for a Negro starts and ends in the morning and evening with a cold, dreary, and dangerous house he's forced to live in. Alabama Negroes live in 228,408 housing units. 34% are deteriorating and 28% are dilapidated. The U.S. Census defines "dilapidated" as "housing that does not provide safe and adequate shelter and in its present condition endangers the health, safety, or well-being of the occupants." 28% of the Negro homes are without toilets and in the rural areas, 92% are without such facilities. In the rural areas, 77% of the homes have not piped water, 92% have no tubs or showers, and 38% of the structures themselves are

dilapidated. These houses are death traps. Children and old people die of pneumonia and other diseases brought on by exposure.

The number of Negroes in Alabama has remained fairly constant in the past ten years while the white population has increased. The declining proportion of non-whites is due to a higher death rate and migration of the state. This means more than an abundance of misery. As the proportion of Negroes decreases so will their potential political power.

Negroes, have, in the past, been run out of the state because there are no jobs. The mechanization of the farm has decreased the amount of labor needed. Today there is another pressing reason to run Negroes from the state; they are starting to organize politically.

Infant mortality adds to the population trend. Nearly twice as many Negro babies as white babies die before their first birthdays. The fetal death rate or rate of babies born dead is also twice as high among Negroes. Five times as many Negro mothers as white mothers die as a result of childbirth.

There are 21 counties with over 40% Negro population. The rural southern counties in the state have the highest percentage of Negroes.

The counties that have made gains in population are located in the northeast and north central parts of the state where there is heavy industry along the Tennessee River and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration has a large installation at Huntsville. Mobile Bay counties also have grown considerably.

The rural Negro who leaves the farm because there are no jobs finds conditions little better in the city. Unemployment among Negroes stands at over 40% higher than among whites and

most unemployment is among non-farm laboring and service groups. This gets as high as 47% for non-white males and 60% for non-white females. Thus although most Negroes are in rural areas, the cities of Alabama probably should be looked to for the greatest number of unemployed Negroes.

Neither rural white or non-white are prepared to cope with urban life. Whites over 25 in 1960 had only completed 3.7 years of school and non-whites completed 5.5 years of school. Urban whites over 25, however completed on an average 10.2 years of school. The rural people in the cities are alienated reservoirs of cheap labor.

The population trend has caused a change in reapportionment of the House and the manner of controlling the Negro vote. When the South was an agrarian economy, legislatures were apportioned so the rural person had control. In those days the percentage of registered Negroes was kept low by brute force.

Today, in our urbanizing south, Negroes remaining in the rurals are isolated by reapportionment. For example, in Alabama's 19th District, Mobile has been reapportioned out. Mobile is largely white while the rest of the district has a majority of Negroes in it. This ghettoization has always accompanied the urbanization of the South. Reapportionment shifts voting power with the corresponding shift in white population. Sophisticated techniques which developed in the North to control the Negro are beginning to appear in the South.

Experiment in Democracy.

The SNCC experience has alienated SNCC from Democratic politics in the South in a very special way that has resulted in

development of independent freedom organizations. The SNCC organized Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party was organized to give hundreds of thousands of Mississippi Negroes, denied the right to vote in regular elections, practice in the voting process. The MFDP ran fair and open elections and supported the National Democratic Party. Although the racist Democratic Party in Mississippi was not represented at the Atlantic City Democratic convention, neither was the loyalist MFDP. At crucial moments in the credential committee's promised support dropped away because of Johnson's pressure.

When the MFDP asked that the racists not be seated in the 89th Congress, they and the 14 Congressmen who supported them were denied.

This SNCC learned that neither the Democratic Party nor the Congress is willing to make the sweeping political changes dictated by every moral and legal argument. Not willing to make the same mistake twice, SNCC is engaging in a new politics. The black panther has become the symbol of that new politics.

It must be understood, though, that the local freedom organization can still be expected to support select Democratic candidates.

"It is now time for the protest movement to enter the realms of politics. And by protest movement, we don't mean the narrow definition that is given to CORE, SNCC, SCLC, and other such groups. The energy for this political thrust has to come from the victims of this country's political exclusion. It now becomes necessary to develop a political environment where the organization and organizational participation of people becomes more important than the politicians' platform. As it now stands,

politics is defined as the art of the possible, inclusive of a few, exclusive of many. The right of people to make decisions about their own lives is the most fundamental right that a member of a democratic society can have. And this is the perspective from which the concept of freedom organizations evolved. The Lowndes County Freedom Organization, alias the Black Panther Party, attempts to be such a group.

"Lowndes County has a population, according to the 1960 Census, of 15417 people. Of these 12,425 are Negro, or 81% of the total county population. Previous to March 1965 no Negroes in that county were able to register to vote. After the passage of the Civil Rights Bill 2000 Negroes were registered to vote under the Federal registrars. However, the whites having only 1990 eligible voters have 3500 eligible voters in the books, or over 130% registration.

"Most of the Negro families in Lowndes County make less than \$1000 a year. Most of them are engaged in sharecropping and tenant farming. The median school years completed by Negroes, again according to the 1960 Census, is 5.1 years.

"Negroes in Lowndes County have all the elements of deprivation associated with being a poor black.

"It is an attempt to satisfy their needs - involving education, decent law enforcement, paved roads, decent housing, good medical facilities, and all things that they hope for them and their posterity - they looked to the county courthouse. The question was how to get people into the political offices that control the courthouse who would be responsive to their needs.

"The Republican Party is ~~HEXHEXHEX~~ weak; the Democrats, although officially removing their motto of white supremacy from

the rooster, made no other changes in their long standing policy of racism. In fact, the Chairman of the Lowndes County Democratic Executive Committee, Dickson, announced that the qualifying fee for the Democratic primaries would be raised 900% from \$50 to \$500 for the offices of sheriff, tax assessor, tax collector, and from \$10 to \$100 for the offices on the board of education. The Chairman of this Democratic Executive Committee is a defendant in a federal court suit seeking an injunction preventing Lowndes County landlords from evicting Negro tenants for registering to vote.

Although Negroes are the numerical majority in Lowndes County, the Democratic party only provides them with white candidates who will adhere to a policy of less racism. The Negroes of Lowndes County want a political grouping that is responsive to the needs of the poor, not necessarily the black people, but those who are illiterate, those who have poor educations, those of low income, that is to say, those who are unqualified in this society. To do this they had to form a group on the county level, that represented their own interests.

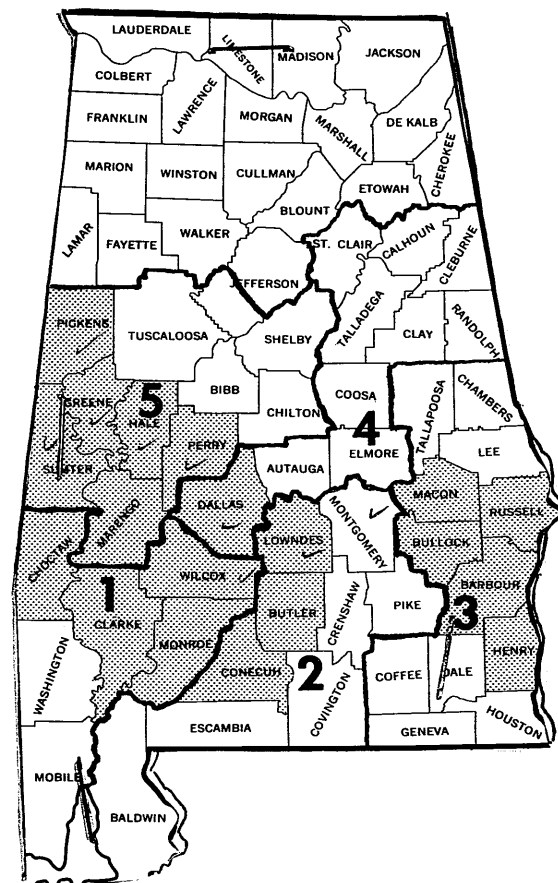
It is going to attempt to go into areas where no one has bothered to go before, and to talk to people who up until now have not been considered worthwhile to deal with or represent. And the idea wants to be made real and take shape in the form of control of the courthouse, so that they will be the distributors of any state and federal resources, the taxers of any industry in their county (for example, Dan River Mills in Lowndes), the determiners of the quality of education and the money spent for county schools. If they can put this program into action, a program sympathetic to the needs of the poor, tremendous amounts

of state or even federal money can be unleashed for use in construction of houses, roads, etc." (From a report by Courtland Cox, titled "What Would It Profit a Man to Have the Vote and Not Be Able to Control It/")

Front Page

SNCC
IN
ALABAMA

Picture
in shape of state
of Alabama



1. Hale
2. Greene
3. Pickens
4. Dallas
5. Perry
6. Sumpter
7. Lowndes
8. Wilcox
9. Montgomery
10. Marengo

SNCC in ALABAMA:

When SNCC went into Dallas County, our idea was then and still is that we should try to get Negroes registered to vote, with age and residence being the only qualifications for registering. During this time, Negroes were afraid to attend mass meetings and they felt SNCC would only be there for a short time. Dallas County is 57% Negro and if they could vote, the Negroes would win some political power.

There are 30,000 Negroes and less than 25,000 whites in Dallas County, Alabama according to the 1960 Census reports. However, in 1963, less than 300 names of eligible Negroes could be found on the registration rolls.

Selma and Dallas County were only the beginning. While still working there, SNCC is expanding out into other [redacted] counties.

They are now working in eight counties.

Before the [redacted] year 1965 ends, SNCC expects to be working in at least 12 or all 19 of the Black Belt Counties in Alabama (counties with over 44.9% Negro population.) Two to five workers will be moved into a county at a time..to make contacts, to open up the areas, and eventually to hold group meetings and to begin educating local people as to the importance of the vote.

Besides the fact that these counties are more rural than Dallas County, there is another important difference between them and Dallas County. These counties have no official posse, although Sheriff Clark sometimes moves his posse around the state; but there are state troopers. By scattering our workers out among the [redacted] various counties we hope to also scatter the resources of the State, and thus make these resources less powerful in any one particular area.

SNCC's
THEIR PURPOSE:

40 ~~people~~ SNCC workers are presently organizing in ten counties.

The emphasis is on opening up areas for further work as well as building organizations which are run by the local people.

SNCC believes that local people are capable of making decisions about their lives and should be able to do so. During the crisis in Selma, four people were murdered in Dallas County within an eight week period.

SNCC is working so that events such as these murders will not occur again.

CURRENT
PROGRAMS: ~~By [redacted]~~

SELMA, ALABAMA

The following report is an analysis of the situation in Selma as seen by SNCC staff members Silas Norman and John Love. This report was prepared just prior to the attempted march from Selma to Montgomery, and provides an overall, long-range perspective from which the events of that march can be viewed.

We first started working in Selma in February of 1963. Our idea was then and still is that we should try to get Negroes registered to vote, with age and residence being the only qualifications for registering. This made sense in Dallas County, which is 57% Negro and where Negroes, if they could vote, could win some political power.

Negroes still can't register to vote in any significant numbers in Selma, but we have gotten somewhere. As a result of the recent demonstrations federal District Court Judge Thomas ordered that Negroes who wished to register must first sign an "appearance book," and that all those who had signed this book would have to be processed by July. (SNCC staff in Selma disagreed basically with that requirement that Negroes should be made to sign an appearance book in order to be processed, as this was just one more form of discrimination.) Sheriff Clark has made a mockery of this court order by calling off the numbers which the people were given when they signed the appearance book so fast that people can't possibly get from their place in line to the registrar's office in time to be registered. Sheriff Clark may keep doing this; we don't know. But in any case Judge Thomas's order says that all those who have signed the appearance book (over 3,000 people) must be processed by July.

There are some things about Selma that make it easier to work than some of the more rural areas. For one thing, Selma wants to attract industry from the North and elsewhere, and so it cares about its public image.

For another thing, white folks won't come to town and shop when demonstrations are going on; so we can hurt Selma economically that way.

Thirdly, a boycott can be effective. One began a few weeks ago that has already been effective, from what we hear from information sources in the white community. The local people started this boycott -- individually and spontaneously -- when they saw some of the merchants they buy from on the Sheriff's posse, and they got mad about that. The boycott is being organized by the Negro businessmen. The Negro community is setting up its own store, and is arranging motorcades to Montgomery to buy things they can't provide for themselves in Selma. We think that the boycott will lead to violence, eventually. It may spread across the state, and if it does we can really put the economic squeeze on the state of Alabama.

Fourthly, jail space is limited in Selma, and feeding prisoners is expensive.

- 2 -

A fifth thing that may help us, not only in Selma, but all over the state, is that President Johnson may be a little bit cool toward Gov. Wallace, who refused to support him in the last election.

Finally, there seems to be some confusion and uncertainty in the white community over how to deal with us, and a possible split between the supporters of the brutal Sheriff Clark and the more moderate Commissioner of Public Safety, Baker. The old administration (which was in office until Oct. of 1964, gave Clark a completely free reign, and made no visible efforts to restrain him. The present administration seems more anxious to control him -- though it is questionable whether this is possible -- because they feel that Clark's actions in dealing with civil rights workers are harmful to the image that this administration is trying to build up of Selma. So we have these things going for us in Selma.

One of the strongest forces operating against us in Selma is Sheriff Clark and his posse of about 300 men. (Clark claims the posse is only 200 men. He claims also that their main function is to deal with things like floods, and fires, and similar events.) Clark's brutality has been shown in many incidents, the most notable to date being the forced march in which people were driven out of Selma and into the county by possemen armed with cattleprods.

At this point it doesn't seem that the people of Selma have been turned around by Clark's brutality. The 300 people who were active in the first Freedom Day in October of 1963 are still with us, and are determined to get the right to vote no matter what it takes, no matter how many times it means going to jail or getting beat. Another 3,000 to 4,000 have become active since that first Freedom Day (over 2,500 were arrested in the recent demonstrations.)

From Selma and Dallas County we are moving out immediately into Perry, Wilcox and Lowndes counties. By the summer we expect to be in all 19 of the Black Belt counties in Alabama (counties with over 44.9 % Negro population.) We plan to move two workers into a county at a time -- to make contacts, to open up the areas, and eventually to hold groups meetings, freedom days, and so forth.

Besides the fact that these other counties are more rural than Dallas County, there is another important difference between them and Dallas County. These counties have no official posse (though Sheriff Clark sometimes moves his posse around that state); but there are state troopers. (It was state troopers who beat the movement to death in Gadsden, by using cattle prods on people, beating women in their breasts, and men in their testicles.) We hope, by scattering our workers out among 19 counties that we will also scatter the resources of the State, and thus make those resources less powerful in any one particular area.

We have a particular problem in Wilcox and Lowndes counties. Alabama voting laws require that a would-be voter have a qualified elector vouch for him. Since there is not a single registered Negro voter in either Wilcox County (79 % Negro) or Lowndes County (84% Negro), we, if we are going to comply with this requirement, must find a registered white elector who will vouch for a Negro. So far, city officials, tax collectors, the deputy sheriff and others have been asked to vouch for Negroes, and all have refused. SNCC's basic position, however, is that the very requirement the a would-be elector have a aregistered elector vouch for him is wrong, and should be done away with.

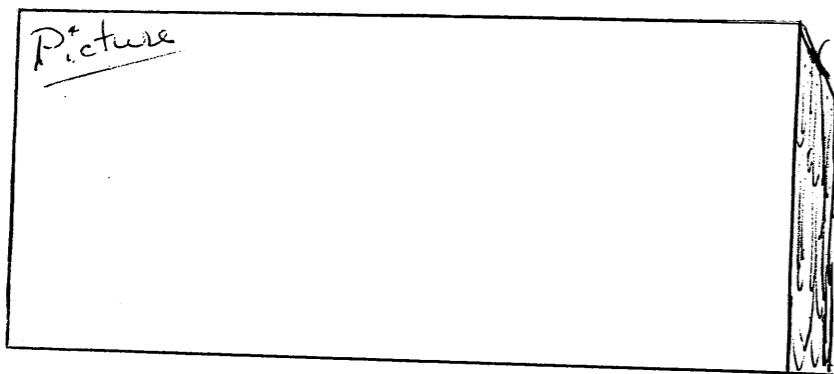
There is another county we plan to work that does not have many Negroes in it. This is Autauga County, where Lady Bird Johnson has her property. Most of the Negroes there are share-croppers, who live under the same kinds of conditions that Negroes everywhere in the South live under. When LBJ starts talking about his War on Pover ty, and when he claims that all people should have the right to vote, we can point to Autauga County and ask people to think about whether LBJ really means what he says.

We'd like to see an FDP get going in Alabama, and if the local people want that, then we'll support it. The whole question of where we're going as a political force is one of our differences with SCLC, however, and must be discussed in that context.

SCLC came to Selma as an organization in December of 1964. We are trying to work with them. When we expand into the various Black Belt counties, for example, SCLC will also expand. They are putting two persons in each county also. It has not yet been decided whether SNCC will work the same cities and towns in these counties. We have a number of differences with SCLC, hwoever, that we have to deal with. One of these is that SNCC is demanding a voter reigstration test with no literacy requirement. SCLC is not pushing hard for that yet. Another difference we have with SCLC is that we support the idea of local people writing their own voting bill, submitting it to Congress, and lobbying for it; while SCLC opposes that idea. A third difference is that we support the idea of an FDP -- a third party in Alabama, while SCLC would rather see Negroes registered and then channeled into eiber the Democratic or Republican Parties. A fourth difference is that SCLC pushes the idea that local people need leaders like Martin Luther King and Rev. Abernathy, and others, while SNCC says that local people build their own leaders, out of their own communities -- that they build their own self-confidence by doing this. Whether or not we will be able to work out these and other differences with SCLC remains to be seen.

One final note on our future plans. On March 15 there will be a convention of students from Tuskegee, Miles and Stillman Colleges. We hope to use these students to mobilize the local people for a Peoples' Conference to be held sometime around the end of March to mid-April, At this Peoples' Conference future programs for the state will be decided.

THE Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
IN ALABAMA



(Poem)
Now,
So Late
we only hope
That others DARE
Those things
we thought
Too Bold

by
DAN DEORGHAKAS
SYMRNA PRESS, Italy

Student Nonviolent
Coordinating Committee
360 Nelson St., S.W.
ATLANTA, Georgia 30313

Broken Ground:

County	Population		Eligible Negro Voters
	Negroes	White	
Dallas	_____	_____	_____
Hale	_____	_____	_____
Perry	_____	_____	_____
Montgomery	_____	_____	_____
Sumpter	_____	_____	_____
Louisiana	_____	_____	_____
Wilcox	_____	_____	_____