

A. Webb
1/27/66
Editorial

Harm To All

The episode which resulted after Rep.-Elect Julian Bond embraced a recent release by the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee has hurt all concerned, and perhaps many innocent members of our racial group, and has helped no one in our opinion. Some have suggested that it might help SNCC from a propaganda point of view. We do not even believe this will be true. We believe the incident will hurt the Civil Rights cause in general.

We had hoped that the youthful Mr. Bond would have counselled with his Democratic colleagues and made a statement of clarification of his position which would have cut the ground from those who were seeking denial of his seat.

We disagree with the SNCC and Bond position on charges made against our government's policy in Viet Nam and do not believe any young man should attempt to evade the draft. It is not rational nor logical to expect to enjoy rights and refuse to accept important responsibility such as defending one's country.

There has never been any general doubt about our race's loyalty to our country, especially in time of war, and it should never be that way.

Young Bond has indicated he is surprised by the action of the House in voting overwhelmingly, 184 to 12, not to seat him. But seeing how the sentiment was mounting against the SNCC statement, he should have anticipated that possibility.

We disagree with the House in its action in barring Rep.-Elect Bond his seat because some disciplinary action would have been more effective. We do not believe any elective official should be permitted to take the position embraced by young Bond without some challenge or censure. Our difference is one in degree.

To us the whole affair is regrettable and has served no good for anyone in this country.

up splendidly under terrific pressure. New York owes them its warmest gratitude.

My Friend 1/12/66

Mr. Bond of Georgia

Georgia State Representative-elect Julian Bond is a misguided young man; but, in a different way, the Legislature is equally misguided by denying him the seat to which he was elected. Though he is wrong in encouraging draft-card burners and others who seek to avoid service in Vietnam, the expression of his opinions cannot properly serve as a bar to his right to public office. If he has laid himself open to charges of sedition or treason, the courts are the proper place to try him; if his opinions have alienated a majority of the electorate, the ballot box is the place to punish him.

Seven other Negroes were sworn in at the opening session of the Legislature, when Mr. Bond was asked to step aside because in his close association with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) he has openly backed that organization's policy of urging young Americans to seek alternatives to the draft. "I would not burn my draft card," he has said, but he is frank in his admiration for those who do.

It is unfortunate that a man in whom his neighbors have placed such trust should advocate illegality, even by implication. Yet to deny him his post in the Legislature is to attempt to right one wrong by committing another. SNCC has promised daily demonstrations at the Georgia Capitol which will inevitably become confused with the civil rights movement — to the latter's grave detriment. A far more fitting solution would be to grant Mr. Bond his seat and let the voters pass judgment at the next election.

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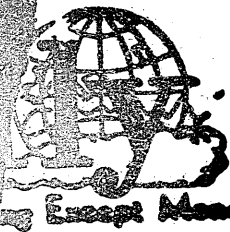
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To the Editor

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World

Atlanta World
Jan. 12, 1966

CITY EDITION

"NEWS WHILE IT'S NEWS"

JANUARY 12, 1966

PRICE FIVE CENTS

GOV. SANDERS POINTS TO PROGRESS IN STATE

Sanders Praised House For Not Seating Bond

By ED ROGERS
United Press International

Gov. Carl Sanders opened his annual State of the State address Tuesday with praise of the House for its show of "responsibility" in refusing to seat Negro Rep. elect Julian Bond.

Legislators at the joint House-Senate session and a jammed gallery with only a few Negroes on hand applauded. They also applauded Sanders 16 other times as he detailed how "the state of Georgia is truly magnificent."

The governor, entering his fourth and last year in office, reviewed a record studded with burgeoning programs in education, mental health and a dozen other fields and yet handed the lawmakers a heavy assignment of new work.

He promised, in effect, protection against interference by widely expected demonstrations protesting Bond's ouster.

PRaise FROM MEMBERS

Negro Sen. Leroy Johnson and two of the seven new Negro members of the reapportioned House praised the address and none would criticize the governor for his endorsement of Bond's ouster.

"This has created so much hate that the sooner the issue is resolved to the backs of our minds and harmonious relations re-established between members of the General Assembly, the better the interests of the state will be served," said Negro Rep. J. C. Daugherty of Atlanta, who has defended Bond.

Negro Rep. William Alexander of Atlanta said he was pleased with several Sanders proposals, particularly those dealing with mental health and education. Johnson said Sanders "clearly indicates he has no intention of being a lame duck governor" this year.

Sanders outlined a proposed \$18.5 million supplemental budget including \$3.3 million for public schools, \$3.1 million for the university system and \$3.4 million for four mental health centers.

The budget included surprise outlays of \$1 million to plan big-city traffic and transportation programs \$400,000 to finance a traffic safety program and train engineers and \$200,000 to start driver education in public schools.

DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

The governor also announced he had ordered the Industry and

(Continued on Page 6, Col. 4)

SCLC Joins SNCC In Pushing For Seating Rep. Elect Bond

By HARMON G. FERRY
(World News Staff)

Closed-door conferences and accelerated maneuvering by the Student Non-Violent Coordination Committee and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference indicated the two civil rights organizations are merging forces to begin a second round in the fight to seat Julian Bond in the Georgia General Assembly.

A third organization . . . the American Civil Liberties Union is expected to join the SNCC-SCLC forces bent on forcing the Georgia

House of Representatives to seat the 25-year-old Negro who was denied his 136th district seat and the oath of office when the assembly convened Monday.

Bond's attorneys, Howard Moore and Charles Morgan conferred Tuesday afternoon with officials of SNCC and SCLC but no one would make a statement about the nature of the meetings.

John Lewis, who was present during the SCLC-SNCC meetings, earlier led a rally at Atlanta University he romised demonstrations at the state capitol within a few days. It was Lewis' statement criticizing the U.S. foreign policy and suggesting draft deferment for civil rights volunteers last week which touched the explosive controversy which eventually resulted in Bond being expelled from the Georgia House. Bond, a public relations official for SCLC, supported the statement made by Lewis and maintained his support even on the opening day of the assembly when a House hearing on his disposition was held.

Bond was denied his seat by a 184 to 12 vote of the 205-member house following a 23 to 3 vote by a specially appointed committee charged with making a recommendation to the lower body.

Bond's expulsion set off a wave of pro and con reaction locally, statewide, and even nationally. House members, including some who voted against his seating, hinted the young Negro had not violated any law, but felt his support of the SNCC statement and his own expressed views had disqualified him as an effective legislator.

BOND VOWS
CONTINUED FIGHT
The expelled Bond remained al-

most unavailable on the day after his expulsion but when finally contacted vowed to continue the fight to regain his house seat either through court action, running in a special election, or both.

Gov. Sanders, in his state of the state address to the joint session Tuesday, praised the action taken in the Bond issue. He said the House had faced an almost unprecedented and difficult task and acted with dignity and a proper sense of responsibility. "This is as it should have been," declared the governor.

Sanders and other state officials hinted a special election would probably be necessary to fill the vacant 136th district seat. This poses the question of whether such an

(Continued on Page 6, Col. 6)

Selective Service Act Cannot Be Used As Whip

WASHINGTON — (UPI) — The Justice Department held Tuesday that the Selective Service Act cannot be used "to stifle constitutionally protected expressions of views" on U. S. policy in Viet Nam or any other issue.

The government's position was spelled out in a letter by Assistant Atty. Gen. Fred M. Vinson Jr. to Sen. Philip A. Hart, D-Mich. Hart had asked for comment on the reclassification of University of Michigan students who staged a protest sitdown at the Ann Arbor, Mich., draft board.

Hart accused draft director Lt.

Gen. Lewis B. Hershey, of trying to suppress dissent by ruling that the students had lost their draft deferments.

While he did not comment directly on the Ann Arbor case, Vinson said that "as a matter of law and policy, the sanctions of the universal military training and service act cannot be used to stifle constitutionally protected expressions of views."

In an earlier exchange of letters with the Senator, Hershey said a Presidential executive order authorized the Selective Service System to reclassify men "found to be delinquent" under the act. He classed as delinquents student demonstrators who interfere with operation of the law.

But Vinson said the department knew of "no executive order of any pronouncement by this department indicating either concurrence or disagreement with the views expressed in General Hershey's letter or in the action taken by the system."



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Accessories

Rights Group Widely Criticized For Attacking Vietnam Policy

By ROY REED

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, Jan. 15 — The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee's denunciation of the nation's Vietnam policy, a denunciation that precipitated the Julian Bond controversy, has inspired the heaviest criticism that this trouble-prone organization has ever encountered.

The civil rights group has been scolded and denounced by newspapers, politicians, Negro leaders and even by Lillian Smith, the author, one of its earliest and closest friends.

The critics have taken the view that Snick, as the militant group is called, damaged the civil rights movement by opposing United States involvement in Vietnam and advancing a pacifist doctrine.

Some of the criticism has been directed at James Forman, the student committee's executive secretary, who dropped other tasks to come to Atlanta and direct strategy in the Bond case. He was one of the authors of the Vietnam statement.

Answers Criticism

Mr. Forman replied to the critics today, "If Snick falls on this issue, then I say let it fall."

He added he did not believe that either the student committee or the civil rights movement had been damaged. In fact, he contended, the controversy has inspired greater unity than ever in Atlanta's Negro community.

The controversy erupted Jan. 6 when John Lewis, the student committee chairman, issued a statement outlining the organization's opposition to the war. It accused the United States of murderous aggression and suggested that, by one legal means or another, men should avoid the military draft.

Mr. Bond, the 26-year-old communications director of the student committee, publicly supported the statement when sought out by newsmen. The Georgia House of Representatives was so angered that it voted 184 to 12 not to permit him to take the legislative seat that he had won last June.

Newspapers Score Stand

The Atlanta Constitution, which for years has supported equal rights for Negroes, editorially criticized both the student committee and Mr. Bond for what it characterized as naiveté and impugning the Government's motives.

It also criticized the Legislature for refusing to seat Mr. Bond. It said the action had made a martyr of him and given the student committee an issue.

The Atlanta Enquirer, Negro newspaper that had supported the student committee since the student movement began in 1960, said in an editorial:

"We believe the views expressed by S.N.C.C. have the potential of comforting and aiding our enemies."

The Enquirer said it had con-

ducted a survey and found Atlanta Negroes to be "overwhelmingly" opposed to the Vietnam statement.

The Rev. Samuel W. Williams, president of the Atlanta branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said today, "People are looking more carefully at what makes Snick tick. Responsible leaders in the civil rights movement are reassessing the tactics of Snick."

The national office of the N.A.A.C.P. had already disagreed with the student committee's statement while urging that Mr. Bond be seated in the Legislature.

Author Comments

Miss Smith, author of "Strange Fruit" and "Killers of the Dream," in a letter to The Constitution from her home at Clayton, Ga., said some young Negroes had been listening "to a mixed up mess of 19th-century anarchism and 1930's Communism."

"In Snick," she wrote, "there is almost no one of erudition, of philosophical depth, of historical sophistication; they are terribly brave, and even compassionate at times, and some have a saving sense of humor."

She said the Legislature had fallen into a trap by barring Mr. Bond and "we shall pay for the legislators' mistake a thousand fold." Then she concluded:

"Well, maybe we should; maybe these young 19th-century anarchists are right in that only more ordeals will break our hearts (and open our minds) so that we in Georgia really become human and gain some wisdom."

Mr. Forman, replying to criticisms of his group's unbending attitude, said, "Civil rights is not the art of compromise."

Republicans Assail Ouster

WASHINGTON, Jan. 15 (AP)

—Eight Republican members of Congress tonight called the refusal of the Georgia Legislature to seat Julian Bond "a dangerous attack on representative government."

"The Georgia Legislature has repudiated an honest and open election on the sole ground that the elected representative endorsed unpopular views," they said.

"None of us agree with Mr. Bond's views on the Vietnam War; in fact, we strongly repudiate these views. But unless otherwise determined by a court of law, which the Georgia Legislature is not, he is entitled to express them."

The statement was signed by Senators Clifford P. Case of New Jersey, Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania and Jacob K. Javits of New York; and Representatives Silvio O. Conte of Massachusetts, Frank J. Horton of upstate New York, Joseph M. McDade of Pennsylvania, F. Bradford Morse of Massachusetts, and Stanley R. Tupper of Maine.

Pupil Teacher Ratio Drops, compared with 1,651,000 a year

SPECIAL ELECTION ASKED IN GEORGIA

Ouster of Rights Aide by
State House Spurs Move

By ROY REED

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, Jan. 11—The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee urged Gov. Carl H. Sanders today to call a special election to fill the seat in the Georgia Legislature that was left vacant by the ouster of Representative-elect Julian Bond, a Negro pacifist.

Mr. Bond said he would probably be a candidate once again, but he noted that he had small chance of being re-elected in time to serve in the current 40-day session.

The Governor has 10 days to call an election and, if he does, Fulton County must then hold it within 30 days.

Mr. Bond's lawyers worked through the day preparing an appeal to Federal District Court to try to force the Georgia House of Representatives to seat him.

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. cut short a visit to Los Angeles and flew home to Atlanta to join the fight in support of Mr. Bond. Dr. King lives in Georgia's 136th Legislative District, the predominantly Negro Atlanta district from which Mr. Bond was elected by a landslide in November.

Demonstrations Discussed

Dr. King met with Mr. Bond and other civil rights leaders this afternoon to discuss the possibility of mass demonstrations to protest the ouster.

The House voted, 184 to 12, last night to bar Mr. Bond after he refused to withdraw his support of a statement criticizing the United States action in Vietnam.

That statement by the student committee, of which the 25-year-old Mr. Bond is communications director, charged the United States with murderous aggression. It also expressed sympathy for "those unwilling to respond to a military draft."

The House held Mr. Bond guilty of "disorderly conduct" because of what his critics called advocacy of violating the draft law and "giving aid and comfort to the enemy."

A special election campaign with Mr. Bond as a candidate would focus sharp attention on the Vietnam protest issues. The student committee and Dr. King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference could be expected to work for Mr. Bond's candidacy. Dr. King has expressed reservations about the United States involvement in Vietnam.

Governor Sanders complimented the House today in his "State of the State" address. Of the Bond controversy, he said, "It was acted upon with dignity and a proper sense of responsibility by all concerned."

Publisher's Daughter in Race

Special to The New York Times

LOS ANGELES, Jan. 11—Mrs. Adele H. Leopold, daughter of Dorothy Schiff, publisher and editor-in-chief of The New York Post, announced yesterday she was a Democratic candidate for the California State Assembly. Her district includes Beverly Hills and is currently served by Anthony A. Beilenson, a Democrat, who is retiring. Her husband, A. Fredric Leopold, is a Beverly Hills City Councilman. The couple have six children.

Pacifist Rights Aide

Horace Julian Bond

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, Jan. 11—When Representative-elect Horace Julian Bond walked into the Georgia House of Representatives this week to wage his unsuccessful fight to be seated, his appearance and manner caught some House members by surprise. One politician said that he had expected Mr. Bond, the Negro civil rights worker who was refused a seat because of his views on the draft and United States involvement in Vietnam, to be bearded and unkempt. Instead, there stood Mr. Bond, speaking in well-modulated, cultivated tones and looking as if he were on his way to a college dance.

Mr. Bond, born Jan. 14, 1940, has chiseled, boyish features and almost invariably dresses in conservative, Ivy League clothing. His attire sets him apart at the headquarters of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, a civil rights organization in which beards and overalls are commonplace.

Two years ago, an advertising agency was so impressed with Mr. Bond's photogenic qualities that it hired him as a model and used him in a Royal Crown Cola poster campaign tailored for Negro stores and restaurants in rural areas of the South.

Despite his boyish appearance, however, controversy has been a part of Mr. Bond's life since 1960. Then, as a student at Morehouse College, he became executive secretary of the Atlanta Committee for Appeals on Human Rights and led 1,500 students in a drive to desegregate theaters and lunch counters.

Made Waterproof Signs

The same year he helped found the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and quit college only a semester away from graduation to join its staff, first as a voter registration organizer and later as communications and public information director, a job he still holds.

Now Mr. Bond, who goes by his middle name, talks wistfully of his early days in the civil rights movement, when he devised waterproof picket signs, developed two-way communications with

Oklahoma Governor Says He Will Not Run for Senate

OKLAHOMA CITY, Jan. 11 (AP)—Gov. Henry Bellmon surprised Oklahoma politicians today by announcing he would not run for the United States Senate this year.

Mr. Bellmon, Oklahoma's first Republican governor, had been expected to make a determined bid for the seat now held by Fred Harris, a Democrat.

Even Governor Bellmon's staff did not know of his decision until a few hours before it was made. The 44-year-old Governor brushed aside all questions about his political future. He cannot succeed himself as governor.

Governor Bellmon's decision leaves Oklahoma Republicans without a major contender for the Senate seat that Mr. Harris won two years ago by defeating the G.O.P. nominee, former Oklahoma University football coach Bud Wilkinson.



United Press International Telephoto
Neatness didn't count

picket lines, and dashed off civil rights verse that has been printed in six anthologies in four countries.

Some of it, his friends reflected, seemed appropriate today:

I too, hear America singing
But from where I stand
I can only hear Little Richard
And Fats Domino.
But sometimes,
I hear Ray Charles
Drowning in his own tears
or Bird
Relaxing at Camarillo
or Horace Silver doodling,
Then I don't mind standing
A little longer.

Before Mr. Bond's ouster from the House seat he won as a Democrat, polling 82 per cent of the vote last fall in a heavily Negro district, he talked openly of leaving the civil rights movement and entering public relations and once again becoming a spare-time poet.

It was not a matter of becoming disenchanted with civil rights, he said, but of giving his children some of the advantages he had as a child. His father, Horace Mann Bond, is a former president of Forest Valley State College in Georgia and Lincoln University in Pennsylvania and now dean of education at Atlanta University.

"At \$85 a week, I'm the highest-paid staff member in Snick [the student committee]," Mr. Bond said. "We always have enough to eat, but I have a wife, two children, another on the way, and no savings account."

"Mr. Bond," said Paul Anthony, director of the Southern Regional Council, "has always understood that while others were on the glory trail, someone had to stay in the office and do the work. In addition to being an able public relations man, Julian is an able administrator and has helped hold the student committee together."

Within the student committee, which prides itself on being the least compromising civil right organization, some staff members were opposed to Mr. Bond's race for the Legislature.

"They, a minority, argued that I would have to compromise, that politics was the art of compromise," Mr. Bond said.

But he said he was not willing to compromise on pacifism.

"I went to George School, a Quaker school in Pennsylvania, for four years," he said, "and I first began thinking of pacifism there."

U.S. SUES SCHOOLS ON SEGREGATION

Acts in 4 Southern States
Under 1964 Rights Law

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 11—The Justice Department filed its first suits today against school districts that have submitted desegregation plans for receipt of Federal funds but are allegedly failing to live up to them.

Two such school districts were named in six legal actions in four Southern states—actions Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach said were the "first in a series of steps to achieve the department's goal of maximum desegregation before the next school opening in the fall."

The actions against the districts accused of bad faith were a new indication that the Administration intended to use lawsuits as an alternative to a cutoff of funds under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. In none of the three cases have Title VI proceedings been initiated.

Title VI guidelines issued last month say in some cases a suit may be quicker and more effective than the lengthy procedure involved in terminating or deferring funds.

The districts accused of failing to live up to their desegregation plans were Franklin County, N. C., and Tipton County, Tenn. A third district receiving Federal funds under a desegregation plan named in today's actions is Charlotte-Mecklenburg, N. C.

Desegregation of the Charlotte public schools is proceeding as scheduled. But the suit attacks its allocation of state tuition grants to children attending private, segregated schools. The funds are being distributed under a 1956 school subsidy law that has never been tested in the courts.

Franklin County filed a freedom-of-choice desegregation plan to receive Federal funds. The suit charges that the board had the names and addresses of Negro students applying for transfer to white schools published in a newspaper. They were threatened and intimidated and as a result most of them are still in Negro schools, the suit said.

Tipton County was accused of discharging Negro teachers as a result of desegregation violation of the board's agreement with the Office of Education.

Other suits filed today were against Lowndes and Greer Counties, Ala., and St. James Parish, La., none of which had filed acceptable desegregation plans with the Office of Education.

G.O.P. Assembly Leader Urges Sales Tax Revision

Special to The New York Times

ALBANY, Jan. 11—The publican leader in the Assembly said today that "some revisions in the state sales tax are necessary" and named a four-member subcommittee of Republican Assemblymen to study the matter.

Assembly Minority Leader Perry B. Duryea Jr. of Poughkeepsie, N. Y., said the subcommittee will "take a long look at the tax." He said it was "clear" that revisions were particularly on items which are subject to the sales tax.

THE NATION

Seat for Bond Riles Georgia

Julian Bond, a 26-year-old Georgia-born poet, is talented enough to have his work in six anthologies, handsome enough to have been an advertising model, and politically popular enough to have been elected to the Georgia House of Representatives last fall by 82 per cent of the voters in his Atlanta district.

But Julian Bond is also the epitome of Southern white fears about the impact of the U.S. Supreme Court's "one-man one-vote" decision. For he is a Negro, and one of the founders of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, one of the most militant of civil rights groups.

When Georgia was redistricted last year in accordance with the Supreme Court ruling, rural whites who had long dominated the Legislature protested that the changes would mean urban and Negro control of the state. These fears seemed confirmed in the election last fall when Atlanta elected nine Negroes, including Mr. Bond, and Columbus elected one Negro to the Legislature, giving Georgia the largest Negro legislative delegation of any state except Michigan, where 11 serve.

Last week as the 10 Negroes elected to the Georgia Legislature prepared to take their seats, the white opposition could do little but grimly accept nine of them. But Mr. Bond was vulnerable and an attack was launched.

It stemmed from an incident last weekend in which S.N.C.C. issued a statement sharply con-

RIOT VICTIM: An American sergeant turns to the sound of the shot fired by an American paratrooper that fatally wounded a Dominican civilian during outbursts of violence there last week.

demning United States involvement in Vietnam and expressing sympathy for "those unwilling to respond to a military draft." Mr. Bond said he backed the statement and that while he would not burn his own draft card, admired the courage of those who did.

When Mr. Bond refused to withdraw the statement last Monday, rural white leaders accused him of "treason" and giving "aid and comfort to the enemies of the United States and the enemies of Georgia." In a 184 to 12 vote, with Negro and some white members from Atlanta in the minority, Mr. Bond was expelled from the Legislature for "disorderly conduct."

In an appeal to a Federal District Court to force the Legislature to seat Mr. Bond, his attorneys cited a variety of constitutional amendments and declared: "Had a member of the Ku Klux Klan or the John Birch Society or the White Citizens Council spoken against Federal policy he would have been cheered."

Civil rights leaders also clearly viewed the action against Mr. Bond as a warning to other Negroes who were beginning actively to participate in Southern political life. The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., who lives in Mr. Bond's district, flew back to Atlanta from California to lead a 1,000-strong protest march on the State Capitol on Friday.

The rally ended in a small-scale battle when about 100 protesters tried to crash past state troopers into the building and were turned away. Another protest rally was held yesterday at Atlanta's City Hall.

ings in the meeting of our public obligations."

Mr. Hughes says the tax will yield \$180-million in the first year, or \$232-million if it is applied retroactively to income that began Jan. 1. He would send most of the proceeds right back to the municipalities in an attempt to cut one of the highest local property tax rates in the country.

Predictably, the Republicans attacked the tax, and more than a few Democrats wished it would go away. However, Mr. Hughes not only has enough votes for it among the big Democratic majority but he also is convinced that the voters are now painfully aware of the cliché, "You get what you pay for."

Can Lindsay Get Off-track Bets?

It was seven years ago that New York's Democratic Mayor Robert F. Wagner first submitted to the State Legislature his plan to ease the city's deepening financial crisis by legalizing off-track betting. The Mayor and other big-city Democrats who favored the plan claimed that strictly regulated off-track betting parlors would not only drive the bookies out of business but would reap an annual harvest of \$200-million, on the basis of a 15 per cent service charge on the bets, that could be shared by the city and the state.

But the proposal ran into trouble almost from the start. No other state or municipality permits legalized off-track betting, and many opponents claimed that to do so would be immoral because it would encourage gambling, particularly among those least able to afford it. Republicans, under the leadership of Governor Rockefeller

A Legislature's Power to Expel Viewed as Open Legal Question

By SIDNEY E. ZION

There are apparently no court decisions interpreting the power of a legislative body to bar or expel a member, legal experts said yesterday.

Thus, it is a peculiarly open legal question whether the Georgia Legislature acted within its rights Monday in barring from its membership Julian Bond, a young Negro pacifist, because of his criticism of United States policy in Vietnam.

There have been at least two instances in which legislators were expelled from office because of their political views, but neither resulted in court action.

The latest case recalled by legal authorities involved five New York Socialists who were suspended from the State Legislature in 1920 on the ground that the Socialist party had opposed World War I.

When the Legislature refused to reinstate the men, they ran for re-election and won. However, the Legislature again refused to seat them and the matter ended there.

Louis Waldman, special counsel for the Transport Workers Union, was one of the five men barred from the Legislature in 1920. In a telephone interview yesterday from the Americana Hotel, where he was participating in the transit strike negotiations, Mr. Waldman explained why the group had not taken the case to court.

"We regarded the concept of separation of powers, among the executive, the legislature and the judiciary, as far more important than our own case," Mr. Waldman said.

'Greater Offense' Feared

"If judges can decide who can sit in a legislature, they can decide who shouldn't sit," he went on. "This would be a much greater offense to democratic government than anything a stupid majority might do in an individual case."

Mr. Waldman said he did not believe the courts would, or should, interfere with the Georgia Legislature's action in

the Bond case, although he said he completely disagreed with the action.

Prof. Thomas I. Emerson of the Yale Law School agreed that Mr. Bond had little chance of victory if he took the matter to court.

"The courts are very reluctant to interfere with the operation of a legislature, particularly in regard to membership questions," Professor Emerson said. "This is the most delicate core of the separation-of-powers doctrine. My guess is that the courts would hold off."

Barred Twice by House

Professor Emerson said that the "classic way" to resist a legislative ouster was to get re-elected, although he noted that in the past this had had no practical effect. Thus, he cited the New York Socialist case and the expulsion of Victor Berger from the United States House of Representatives in 1919.

Mr. Berger, of Milwaukee, was convicted under the Espionage Act for speaking against the war. The conviction came after his election but before he was due to be sworn in. The House barred him, he was re-elected and the House again refused to seat him. His conviction was then reversed.

He never went to court to gain his House seat.

Charles Morgan Jr., Southern regional director for the American Civil Liberties Union, who helped defend Mr. Bond before the Georgia Legislature, scoffed yesterday at the idea that the courts would not interfere in the case.

"The experts are always pessimistic," Mr. Morgan said in a telephone interview from Atlanta. "There may be no case directly in our favor, but there are none against us, either."

Mr. Morgan contended that, among other things, the action of the Legislature was a bill of attainder, forbidden by the United States Constitution. A bill of attainder is an act that inflicts punishment on a person without a judicial trial.



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Board to Begin Task

By GEORGE DUGAN
Special to The New York Times

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Seating Mr. Bond

Two weeks ago the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee issued a statement denouncing as aggression United States action in Vietnam. It expressed sympathy for those "unwilling to respond to a military draft which would compel them to contribute their lives . . . in the name of the 'freedom' we find so false in this country." When asked by newsmen if he supported the statement, Julian Bond, 26-year-old press secretary for SNCC, said he did. In response to further questioning Bond said that he admired the courage of those who burn their draft cards, but that he would not burn his.

On June 16, 1965, Julian Bond was elected from the 136th Legislative district (representing a section of Atlanta) to the Georgia House. When the House met January 10, 1966, it voted 184 to 12 to bar Bond from his seat in the legislature. The House held him guilty of "disorderly conduct" because of what they referred to as his advocacy of violating the draft law and "giving aid and comfort to the enemy." Since then the action of the Georgia legislators has been defended by Georgia Governor Carl Sanders and vehemently protested by many, including members of SNCC, the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, and a number of Republican and Democratic congressmen from throughout the country. On January 28, a three-judge panel named by Federal Circuit Court Judge Elbert P. Tuttle will hear the petition filed by Bond's attorneys seeking an injunction forcing the Legislature to seat him.

The Georgia state constitution provides that either house of the Legislature can, by a two-thirds vote, expel a sitting member for misconduct. Bond's court action raises two questions. Given the doctrine of separation of powers, does the court have the power to intervene in the internal affairs of the Georgia legislature? And, if the court does assume jurisdiction, should it order the House to seat Bond? We feel that the answer to both questions is yes.

In 1962, in *Baker v. Carr*, the U.S. Supreme Court held that Federal Courts can review the make-up of state legislatures to see that they are properly representative. This, the Court held, did not breach the

Silhouette

Julian Bond

"When I began my campaign, people told me two things: Don't bring in a lot of SNCC's with their beards and long hair, and don't try to educate your voters." Julian Bond sat slouched in the backseat of a car driving back from an unsuccessful trip to see a group of Negro prisoners in a state farm at Reidsville, Georgia, and talked about his campaign for the Georgia House.

"But I did both," Julian continued. "People were only interested in things which affected them. Everybody was worried about employment." He stopped and grinned, and then said, "My slogan was 'vote for the man who'll vote for you.'"



Julian was elected from the 136th Legislative district, a predominantly Negro area in Atlanta. Although it touches on the campus of Atlanta University and includes some of the middle-class residential neighborhood surrounding the school, the bulk of the 136th is a slum, known locally as Vine City. Visiting door-to-door, checking in at all the churches, bars, restaurants, and grocery stores, Julian discussed with his constituents his campaign issues: a \$2 minimum wage law, a "liberalized urban renewal program," repeal of "right-to-work" laws, abolition of the death penalty and removal of all voter requirements except age and residence. (The election was held June 16, 1965, before the passage of the voting rights bill.)

or Bird
Relaxing at Camarillo
or Horace Silver doodling,
Then I don't mind standing
a little longer.
(quoted in Zinn's book p. 35)

As press secretary, he spent lots of time with the newspapermen who covered civil rights in the South. Two of them, Claude Sitton of the *New York Times* and Karl Fleming of *Newsweek*, have become his culture heroes. That he would admire these men, that he would speak so openly of his reservations about making a career in politics, and talk longingly of running a newspaper (he was the first managing editor of the militant Atlanta weekly, the *Inquirer*), set Julian off from SNCC.

SNCC is an in-group. The kids that make it up work hard, take on awesome tasks, and "don't respond well to criticism." Their discussions may be termed "philosophic," their songs are warm and strong, but SNCC workers haven't much time for jokes. Julian is different; he takes things less seriously. When talking to the Harvard kids running the *SOUTHERN COURIER*, an Alabama weekly, he suggested they run a box on their front page with a picture of a bird, any bird, entitled "Wise Old Bird." Then underneath the bird any three-digit lottery number.

SNCC kids don't, in general, waste time on outsiders. Not so much the result of any peculiar xenophobia, their gruffness is rather an end-product of being constantly harried. Julian is more politic, more expansive. When running his campaign he used all the help he could get and took an interest in the people who worked for him.

During the long trip back from the prison last summer, he talked not only about sit-ins and campaigns, but about movies and books. He babbled on about Susan Hayward in "I Want To Live"; about "Frankly, my dear, I don't give a damn"; and noted that if Golden Gloves boxing hadn't been segregated, George Wallace (who at one point won the title) would have had to face Joe Louis.

Julian's commitment, his SNCC militancy, emerges in a quiet way. Towards the end of the journey, riding along in the dark, Julian spoke out, addressing no one in particular. "Funny, there's not lots of pressure to sell out, just pressure to keep quiet."

He was picking up the thread on an earlier discussion about the problems of grassroots politics. How do you make time to keep in close touch with the people as you get more and more important? It

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is yes.

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For two reasons, the Bond incident brings into serious question the representativeness of the Georgia House. First, no legislature is representative if it abridges the rights of free speech of any of its members. Second, refusing to seat a duly elected member abridges the voting right, and the right to representation, of the member's constituents. Two of Bond's constituents, Dr. Martin Luther King and Mrs. Arel Keyes, have joined in sponsoring the petition on these grounds.

Having assumed jurisdiction, the Court must then address itself to the merits of the case. Bond alleges he has been deprived of his right of free speech assured by the 1st Amendment. The suit argues: "Had a member of the Ku Klux Klan or the John Birch Society or the White Citizens Council spoken against Federal policy he would have been cheered." Punishing Bond for exercising his right to speak out on U.S. foreign policy or to admire the courage of anyone for any reason does indeed violate the letter and spirit of the Constitution.

The petition goes on to attest the alleged denial of the 5th, 6th, and 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments. The 5th and 6th Amendments guarantee the right to be indicted by a grand jury and the right of being tried by an impartial jury. The 13th, 14th and 15th, the suit claims, make it a violation of the Constitution to "pin a badge of inferiority" on Bond as a Negro.

When questioned by a reporter, a man who lives in the 136th said he did not agree with Bond on the Vietnam issue, but that he felt the Constitution guaranteed every citizen, and every legislator the right to express his opinion openly. If the Court does not consider the Bond case and order the Legislature to seat Bond, his constituent will have been deprived of his right to equal representation.

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Many of the people in Vine City can't read or write, but they know that the streets in front of their shacks and one-story apartment houses are unpaved, that the schools their children go to aren't very good, and that it's hard to get jobs. Julian and the SNCC workers who campaigned for him spent hours giving the voters in the district some idea of how they could improve their lives through the vote.

"One day I went to a meeting one of my opponents held and sat in the back. He told the people there 'what is Julian Bond doing talking about a \$2 minimum wage when his father doesn't pay his maid that much.' My father's the dean of education at Atlanta University, and he has a maid. So I got up and told the group that if I was elected my father would have to pay his maid two dollars an hour."

There are 400 white voters in the 136th. (All the candidates were Negroes.) Julian had them canvassed by white Southerners in SNCC. When the voting was finished, the 26 year-old press secretary had won 2,305 to 486 to become one of eight Negroes elected, the first in the Georgia House since 1907.

After the election Julian sent around a questionnaire to all his constituents asking about schools, jobs, housing, and asking for suggestions. "There are several organizations working in the area, but they people these organizations are trying to serve had any ideas about how things might work out better."

Julian has been involved with SNCC from the beginning in April, 1960, when it was founded in Raleigh, N.C., at a meeting of students who had participated in the sit-ins.

As Julian got more involved in civil rights activities, he decided to quit Morehouse, though he had but one semester to complete. After joining the SNCC staff, he worked first on voter registration and then took over communications and public information for the group. He started the *Student Voice*, the SNCC newspaper, and used his own poetry to break up news of conferences and activities.

I too, hear America singing
But from where I stand
I can only hear Little Richard
And Fats Domino.
But sometimes,
I hear Ray Charles
Drowning in his own tears

sing no one in particular. "Funny, there's not lots of pressure to sell out, just pressure to keep quiet."

He was picking up the thread on an earlier discussion about the problems of grassroots politics. How do you make time to keep in close touch with the people as you get more and more important? It seemed right that Julian keep going on and up; to prove as another boy in the car said that the "hundreds of others like you, Julian," could make it. But how do you maintain your integrity, the honest responsiveness to your constituency and to your own conscience, while wheeling and dealing in the world of power politics?

Julian understood that he would not "sell out." He wouldn't promise on thing and do another. But he was afraid that when he felt he should speak out although it wasn't necessary that he'd choose the easy way out and remain silent.

The events of the last two weeks have shown that Julian won't "keep quiet." He believes in his right to speak out on Vietnam. The danger of losing his seat in the Houses seem less important than his conviction that the war in Vietnam is wrong.

—ANNE P. BUXTON

The Harvard Crimson

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THURSDAY, JANUARY 20, 1966

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The Harvard Crimson

VOL. CXXXIII NO. 171

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., THURSDAY, JANUARY 20, 1966

TEN CENTS

Freshman Union Parietals Lengthened Next Semester

Freshmen will be allowed to take their weekend dates into the Freshman Union until midnight next semester.

The Union, equipped with a new jukebox, will stay open for an additional two hours on Friday and Saturday nights. At present, it is open to girls until 10 p.m. throughout the week.

The proposal originated in Freshman Council discussions of parietal regulations and is awaiting the final approval of F. Skiddy von Stade Jr., '38, Dean of Freshmen.

Kenneth M. Kaufman '69, chairman of the Freshman Council Student Relations Committee, which investigated the cost and possible benefits of the proposal, felt that "keeping the Union open solves an important aspect of the parietals problem." He added, "Until now, freshmen had nowhere to take weekend dates since dorms are closed to girls at 7 or 8 p.m."

The Freshman Council had also considered proposing additional changes in the present parietals system. But an extension of parietal hours in the freshman dorms would necessitate additional supervision — proctors would have to be available for more time each week. Dean available for more time each week. Dean von Stade has not indicated that he would "The extra four hours that the Union will remain open will cost an estimated \$40 per week, including labor and overhead," said Lewis J. Tolleson, manager of the Union.

Experimental Basis

The program will go into effect at the beginning of next semester on an experimental basis. "Whether we continue the program will depend on the demand and response from the freshmen themselves," said Bruce Scott, secretary of the Union. The jukebox, which will arrive within the next few days, will be installed in Parlor B on the second floor. It will feature a selection of popular music which will be changed periodically.

Upperclassmen will be barred from using the new facilities, Scott added.

Ebert Condemns

Union Will Limit Lunchtime Hours For Interhouse

Upperclassmen will face substantially reduced lunchtime interhouse privileges at the Freshman Union beginning Monday, Lewis J. Tolleson, manager of the freshman dining hall, announced Tuesday.

A ruling restricting Union interhouse lunch privileges from 11:45 a.m. to noon was made in December, 1963, but has not been enforced until now, added Tolleson.

Tolleson said that the Food Services has to enforce the rule now because too many upperclassmen have been eating lunch at the Union. "An extra 100-150 people are jamming the food lines," he noted. The Union is serving lunch to 1200 now, as opposed to the 1050-1070 people it is accustomed to serve, Tolleson commented.

C. Graham Hurlburt Jr., director of the Food Services, reported that the Committee on Houses, consisting of the

Decision in Ten Days

Exam and Class Rank May Serve As Guide for Induction Decisions

Rank in class and scores on a nationally administered test will probably be considered by local draft boards in granting deferments to college students, the Associated Press reported yesterday.

Lewis B. Hershey, director of the Selective Service, told a news conference in Washington last night that the "odds were strong" that a system similar to that used during the Korean War would be reinstated.

He added that he expects to reach a decision during the next ten days.

Several weeks ago President Pusey and Dean Monro endorsed a request by the American Council on Education that the Selective Service system reinstate the draft criteria used during the Korean War. During that war deferments were based on either class standing or results of a nationally administered aptitude test.

Korean War Standards

Since the Korean War, however, the Selective Service law has been amended so that no local draft board is required to defer any student solely on the basis of his rank in class or his score on an aptitude test.

At yesterday's news conference Hershey emphasized that a return to the old system would mean a return to an amended system. In other words, the results of the test and the information about class standing would serve as guides for the local boards but would not necessarily be the basis of the boards' decisions.

If reinstated, the system would probably apply to students during the next



LT. GENERAL LEWIS B. HERSHEY
New Draft Standards?

school year, Hershey said. He noted that the Selective Service could work out details for the system very quickly.

Hershey was asked if college students would be drafted if they failed to obtain a passing grade on the test or were unable to maintain their standing in the specified upper portion of their class. He said that he could not estimate when such students might be drafted.

Levin and Harbage to Take Leaves; English 124 Replacement Not Known

Both of Harvard's lecturers on Shakespeare for the entire year to lecture at the

Lower Level Gen Ed May Be Expanded

The new Committee on General Education voted Tuesday to change three of the basic rules of the Gen Ed program.

At its first meeting, the committee agreed to:

- permit a student to take any number of low-level Gen Ed courses for credit;
- permit more low-level courses to be offered;
- encourage the offering of half-courses at the low-level.

The Faculty will vote on the revised set of Gen Ed rules this spring.

At present, a student can take only one low-level course in any area — Social Sciences, Natural Sciences or Humanities. Opponents of this rule pointed out that a greater variety of courses is expected under the new program and that some of them might not be available outside Gen. Ed.

Only five courses can now be offered in any of the three areas. The committee removed the limit in anticipation of a number of new course offerings, some of them half-courses. All lower-level Gen Ed offerings are now full courses.

Under the "Redbook system" on which the present program is based, only one low-level course was supposed to be offered in each area, and all students would be required to take it. But the single-course idea was never put into effect, and as the Gen Ed system has moved away from the concept of providing a "common core" of knowledge all students would share, the number of courses in each area has been increased.

Three Subcommittees

The committee's 20 members were also split up into three subcommittees, one

are a selection of popular music which will be changed periodically. Upperclassmen will be barred from using the new facilities, Scott added.

Ebert Condemns Research Stress

Robert H. Ebert, Dean of the Medical School, yesterday criticized the overemphasis on "pure science" and research in medical schools, in a speech at the Medical School.

He felt that due to the extensive government funds now granted for research, doctors and professors tend to devote themselves to study and research. Consequently, they neglect the "human element" in medicine, Ebert noted.

"Medical research must continue, but to it must be added a new dimension. We must make sure that all people have the quality of care which is ours to give," Ebert said.

Ebert pointed out that today's doctors often used their time "inefficiently." He added that expanded research programs should not interfere with a doctor's relationship with his community.

He saw a need for a "new force on the medical school faculty—the hybrid man, who will be concerned with the total care of the patient, personal as well as clinical."

Ebert proposed the establishment of a program to exchange doctors and students with other medical schools and hospitals in the Boston area.

Ebert denied the view that the nation's medical schools today are solely concerned with academics, but not with the doctors once they have graduated from med school.

"The university is the perfect place to link medical advance with progress in the social sciences, because here there is time for experimentation with ways in which to approach the problem of helping the largest number of people," he said.

The speech was part of a series sponsored by the Medical Care Club, a group of third-year students. Future speakers in the series will be Marion B. Folsom, former Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare; William B. Stewart, U.S. Surgeon General; Herbert Sommers, a professor at Princeton; and Alonzo Yarbby of the New York Board of Health.

noted. The Union is serving lunch to 1200 now, as opposed to the 1050-1070 people it is accustomed to serve, Tolleson commented.

C. Graham Hurlburt Jr., director of the Food Services, reported that the Committee on Houses, consisting of the Masters and deans, had made the original decision to restrict the interhouse privilege. He said that the committees felt that upperclassmen should eat at their respective Houses.

Upperclassmen who learned of the Food Services' decision last night complained that the restriction would be inconvenient for students who will have to rush back to the Houses between classes or are studying in Lamont.

Congress Party Picks Mrs. Gandhi To Become Prime Minister of India

By the Associated Press

NEW DELHI, India, Jan. 19—Mrs. Indira Priyadarshini Gandhi, daughter of India's late prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, was elected leader of the Congress Party today and next week will become the first woman prime minister in her country's history.

Mrs. Gandhi, who represents the left wing of her party, defeated Morarji Desai, head of the conservative wing, 355-169, for the leadership of the Congress Party.

Today, Mrs. Gandhi pledged that as prime minister she would follow the policies of nonalignment and socialism which had characterized the administrations of the late Lal Bahadur Shastri and her father.

Mrs. Gandhi will take over from Gulzari Lal Nanda who had acted as caretaker prime minister since the death of Shastri on January 11 in Tashkent, USSR.

Among the problems the new prime minister will have to face are food shortages arising from the worst drought in a century, scarcity of foreign exchange, an exploding population, a high level of illiteracy, and a difficult international situation with Pakistan and Communist China.

Feroze Gandhi, late husband of the new prime minister, was no relation of Mohandas K. Gandhi, the man whose non-violent resistance to British rule led to independence for India.

Levin and Harbage to Take Leaves; English 124 Replacement Not Known

Both of Harvard's lecturers on Shakespeare will take leaves of absence next year.

Alfred B. Harbage, Henry B. and Ann M. Cabot Professor of English Literature, who teaches English 124, will take a leave next Fall to write the volume on Elizabethan drama for the Oxford History of English Literature.

Harry T. Levin '33, Irving Babbit Professor of Comparative Literature, lecturer in English 123, will be on sabbati-

cal for the entire year to lecture at the University of Indiana and Churchill College, Cambridge.

Harbage and Levin teach Harvard's undergraduate Shakespeare courses, English 123 and 124 respectively, in alternate years.

Harbage has been granted teaching absence from the Fall semester of his course, scheduled for 1966-67, but he said last night that he did not know what arrangements will be made for the course. The University has named no replacement for Harbage.

Levin's sabbatical does not interfere with his teaching duties since his course will not be given next year.

Harbage was asked to write his part of the Oxford history last spring and was awarded a Guggenheim Foundation grant to work on the project.

He emphasized that individual volumes of the history have come out over a period of 20 years. He felt that he would be through with the Elizabethan drama volume in about four years.

"This is a terribly hard job," Harbage said, "Oxford wants the book to be standard work for the next 40 or 50 years."

Levin will deliver the Patten Lectures on Renaissance Literature at Indiana University in the fall. He will spend the spring semester as an Overseas Fellow at Cambridge.

'The Island' Sponsors Spring Poetry Contest

William Alfred, professor of English, Albert J. Gelpi, assistant professor of English, and John L. Sweeney, lecturer on English will judge a poetry contest sponsored by The Island, a new literary magazine published by two Harvard freshmen.

A prize of \$10 will be given for the best poem, translation of a poem, or group of poems and/or translations. Entries should be sent before April 1 to: The Island, Wigglesworth B-22, Harvard College. The winning entry will be printed in the May issue of the magazine.

Interviews with W.H. Auden and P.L. Travers will appear in the March issue.



MRS. INDIRA GANDHI
New Indian Prime Minister

Nigerians Die in Riots

IBADAN, Nigeria, Jan. 19—Scores and possibly hundreds of people were killed and injured this weekend as a result of political upheavals which placed Major General Aguiyi Ironsi at the head of a military regime in Nigeria.

Residents of Ibadan, the capital of western Nigeria, said today that murder, arson and rioting took a heavy toll in their city until police and government

(Continued on page four)

course was never put into effect, and as the Gen Ed system has moved away from the concept of providing a "common core" of knowledge all students would share, the number of courses in each area has been increased.

Three Subcommittees

The committee's 20 members were also split up into three subcommittees, one on each area. Gerald Holton, professor of Physics and vice-chairman of the committee, will chair the Natural Sciences subcommittee; Carl Kaysen, Lucius N. Littauer Professor of Political Economy, the Social Sciences committee; and James S. Ackerman, chairman of the Department of Fine Arts, the Humanities committee.

The subcommittees will meet monthly during the Spring term to discuss possible courses in their respective areas. The three chairmen, with Edward T. Wilcox, secretary of the Gen Ed Committee, and Dean Ford, chairman of the committee, will constitute an executive committee to co-ordinate the program.

At its Tuesday meeting the Committee also discussed, but did not vote on, a change in the Gen Ed nomenclature. Gen
(Continued on page four)

Library Planned For Celtic Dept.

The Celtic Department, the only one of its kind in the country, will open its own library in Widener in late March.

The library, to be located in room 774, will be named for Fred Norris Robinson '91, Gurney Professor of English Literature, Emeritus, who is donating most of the books from his own collection.

The room will contain about 2,000 volumes on Celtic language and literature and will be open mainly to Faculty and concentrators in Celtic.

Works on Celtic are now distributed among the Linguistics, British History, French History, and Celtic sections of the Widener stacks.

Robinson is the editor of The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, the textbook used in English 115. He did his graduate work in Germany before returning to Harvard to teach. He retired in 1959.

Robinson taught courses in early Irish and Welsh. According to Charles W. Dunn '42, professor of Celtic Languages, Dunn, even though a member of the English Department, was of "great assistance" to the Celtic Department.

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 laughter.
 "How can you know who
 designed your dress when you
 got it at Lord & Taylor?"
 asked Mrs. Tree.
 "Nine times out of 10, I'm
 Kimberley," said Mrs. Kintner

KENNEDY WARNS ON NEGRO REVOLT

Asks Speedy Moves to End
Ghettos That Breed Riots

By RICHARD J. H. JOHNSTON

Senator Robert F. Kennedy warned here yesterday that disasters similar to the race riots in the Watts section of Los Angeles could explode in other cities.

The New York Democrat declared that rebellions such as those in Watts last summer "were as much a revolt against official indifference, an explosion of frustration at inability to communicate and participate, as they were an uprising about inferior jobs and education and housing."

"What exploded in Watts is what lies beneath the surface," he said.

A solution cannot be achieved overnight, he said, but "clearly the present pace is unsatisfactory."

Mr. Kennedy told a luncheon of the Entertainment Division of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies that unless the fight against racial and economic inequity was speeded "we can expect... continuing crises in the management of our cities, and, worst of all, a continuing second-class status for a large group of American citizens."

The luncheon at the Americana hotel at Seventh Avenue and 52d Street was attended by 400 persons. It honored four men for their contributions to the federation.

Guests of Honor

The honor guests were Ted Ashley, the theatrical agent; Alexander H. Cohen, a Broadway producer; Leo Jaffe, executive vice president of Columbia Pictures, Inc., and David A. Werblin, president of the New York Jets professional football team.

Mr. Kennedy said his address was the first to be delivered here during the week on the problems facing the urban Negro.

He will speak at 3:30 P.M. today in the Young Men's Christian Association at 361 West 125th Street and tomorrow at 9 P. M. at a dinner of Regions 9 and 9A of the United Auto Workers.

"Consciousness of the plight of the urban Negro must pervade our thought and our planning in every program that we undertake to improve our cities and plan for their future," Mr. Kennedy said.

He urged that "huge central city ghettos" be wiped out, but

Bond Seeking Draft Exemption In Conscientious Objector Role

Atlanta Negro Visiting City to
Gain Support for Appeal on
Ouster From Legislature

Julian Bond, the Atlanta Negro whose views on the war in Vietnam led to his being barred from his seat in the Georgia House of Representatives, is applying for status as a conscientious objector under the Selective Service law.

Mr. Bond disclosed this yesterday at a press conference at the Drake Hotel. He is in New York City to tell sympathizers about his forthcoming challenge of the Legislature's action in Federal court.

His visit coincides with a public appeal by a Citizens Committee for Julian Bond, which asked in a large advertisement in yesterday's New York Times for "contributions now to support Julian Bond's struggle and voter registration drive."

It reprints telegrams and statements of Congressmen and others opposing the Georgia Legislature's action as an abridgement of the right of dissent.

Citizens Committee

The new committee, an ad hoc group, shares the office of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, a civil rights group, at 100 Fifth Avenue. Mr. Bond is a director of S.N.C.C., which has drawn some criticism recently from some civil rights leaders for publicizing its advocacy of nonviolence in foreign as well as domestic policy.

Harry Belafonte, prominent Negro singer who has long been a backer of S.N.C.C. and other civil rights causes, is an initiator of the Citizens Committee for Julian Bond.

At a press conference yesterday at the Drake Hotel, the 26-year-old father of two children clarified his views, which led to a 184-to-12 vote on Jan. 10 barring him from a seat in the Legislature, while seven other newly elected Negroes were sworn in.

When asked his views on the burning of draft cards, Mr. Bond said he was "in sympathy with" those who do, knowing the penalties, knowing that "that is not the way to get out of the Army," and knowing they face the criticism of many friends and neighbors.

But in answer to another question Mr. Bond said he had "never condoned, counseled or



The New York Times
 Julian Bond telling news
 conference of draft plans.

suggested that anyone break the law." When asked if he himself would serve if drafted, he said he did not know.

Mr. Bond said he believed "most Negroes have reservations about fighting overseas for something they don't always enjoy at home," but he acknowledged that "some Negroes" disagreed with his own position.

Mr. Bond's pacifist views became an issue in Georgia long after his election last June 16 when he supported on Jan. 6 a statement by S.N.C.C. denouncing United States action in Vietnam as aggression. The statement also backed those unwilling to respond to a military draft that, it was alleged, would compel them to contribute to that "aggression."

He said at the time that he admired the courage of draft-card burners but would not burn his own.

With the backing of the American Civil Liberties Union, Mr. Bond is appealing to the Federal District Court in Atlanta to order him seated. He acknowledged yesterday that the Legislature was scheduled to adjourn before the court hearing on Feb. 28 and before a special election on Feb. 23 called by Gov. Carl Sanders to fill the vacancy.

Thus, he said, even if he wins the new special election he will have lost his chance to sit in the Georgia House of Representatives since last year's election was only for a one-year term.

isolation of the ghetto is ne

11/11/66
MURRAY KEMPTON



The Casting Out

LEGISLATORS are not often wicked men, but they are in general worldly ones; and seeing Julian Bond, it seems extraordinary that he could ever have thought to be a legislator at all.

When he decided to run for the Georgia House of Representatives he was only 25, and all his public life had been spent with the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, the youthful shock corps of the Southern civil rights revolt.

Julian Bond made \$85 a week as an SNCC professional; and some of his comrades worried about his decision to enter politics, because they thought it might corrupt him.

"They didn't trust me," Julian Bond said yesterday. "And, for a while, I was wondering if they weren't right. It is very hard. After I was elected, everyone in the Fulton County delegation to the legislature met me in such an honest, decent fashion that I could see how you could begin to think 'These are my friends, not the people who sent me.'"

His choice began when he entered the Democratic primary and took, wryly but seriously, its two sacred oaths, that the candidate is not a Communist and that he will support every candidate duly nominated by the Georgia Democratic party. He ran in a unique year in Georgia political history; the legislature had been reapportioned to give Atlanta eight times its former quota of assemblymen. After the election 10 Negroes would go to the legislature.

Most of them would be lawyers of the stable, serviceable sort you see in most state capitals. Julian Bond was the only unusual candidate among them, and he ran a campaign unfamiliar to Atlanta history. It is not a city where voters are used to answering the doorbell and seeing a candidate. The experience of having a candidate knock on their doors had an unusual effect. Julian Bond was elected last fall in the largest vote cast in any legislative district in the city.

"I hadn't worked before at anything that hadn't been just fun," he said. "I was looking forward to that. And I guess I was looking forward to spending the money too. I have another kid coming along next spring."

He is a child of the Negro middle class—his father is dean of the School of Education at Atlanta University—and his new colleagues from the Fulton County delegation must have been surprised at what a mild and pleasant young man he is.

"I'd been thrown out of the gallery of the legislature a few years before for sitting in the white section. A lot of people in Atlanta were patting themselves on the back, I think, and saying that this proved how much better things had gotten with me going back there now the right way."

He would carry three bills with him. One would allow Quakers to perform marriages, another would establish a minimum wage for maids and the last would limit interest on small loans to 8 per cent.

Four days before he was to take his seat, the Southern Non-Violent Coordinating Committee announced that it was opposed to the war in Viet Nam. The papers asked Julian Bond if he agreed and he said he would have to because he hoped he was a pacifist.

"A lot of people thought I should just have said 'No comment' until I was seated. But I know what I would have thought of someone who ran out that way."

It took just a day for the Georgia House of Representatives to try Julian Bond and expel him. His Negro colleagues made it plain that they disagreed with his position on Viet Nam, but in general supported his right to sit. All three speakers on his side were Negroes; they had made their debut in the legislature in a segregated debate.

Afterwards, it was thought that the purgation of Julian Bond had helped that debut. "I had," he said, "made the other Negroes respectable." The heretic had been cast out, and he had left the bond of a common loyalty oath behind him. The

MURRAY KEMPTON



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Most of them would be lawyers of the stable, serviceable sort you see in most state capitals. Julian Bond was the only unusual candidate among them, and he ran a campaign unfamiliar to Atlanta history. It is not a city where voters are used to answering the doorbell and seeing a candidate. The experience of having a candidate knock on their doors had an unusual effect. Julian Bond was elected last fall in the largest vote cast in any legislative district in the city.

"I hadn't worked before at anything that hadn't been just fun," he said. "I was looking forward to that. And I guess I was looking forward to spending the money too. I have another kid coming along next spring."

He is a child of the Negro middle class—his father is dean of the School of Education at Atlanta University—and his new colleagues from the Fulton County delegation must have been surprised at what a mild and pleasant young man he is.

"I'd been thrown out of the gallery of the legislature a few years before for sitting in the white section. A lot of people in Atlanta were patting themselves on the back, I think, and saying that this proved how much better things had gotten with me going back there now the right way."

He would carry three bills with him. One would allow Quakers to perform marriages, another would establish a minimum wage for maids and the last would limit interest on small loans to 8 per cent.

Four days before he was to take his seat, the Southern Non-Violent Coordinating Committee announced that it was opposed to the war in Viet Nam. The papers asked Julian Bond if he agreed and he said he would have to because he hoped he was a pacifist.

"A lot of people thought I should just have said 'No comment' until I was seated. But I know what I would have thought of someone who ran out that way."

It took just a day for the Georgia House of Representatives to try Julian Bond and expel him. His Negro colleagues made it plain that they disagreed with his position on Viet Nam, but in general supported his right to sit. All three speakers on his side were Negroes; they had made their debut in the legislature in a segregated debate.

Afterwards, it was thought that the purgation of Julian Bond had helped that debut. "I had," he said, "made the other Negroes respectable." The heretic had been cast out, and he had left the bond of a common loyalty oath behind him.

KENNEDY WARNS ON NEGRO REVOLT

Asks Speedy Moves to End Ghettoes That Breed Riots

By RICHARD J. H. JOHNSTON

Senator Robert F. Kennedy warned here yesterday that disasters similar to the race riots in the Watts section of Los Angeles could explode in other cities.

The New York Democrat declared that rebellions such as those in Watts last summer "were as much a revolt against official indifference, an explosion of frustration at inability to communicate and participate, as they were an uprising about inferior jobs and education and housing."

"What exploded in Watts is what lies beneath the surface," he said.

A solution cannot be achieved overnight, he said, but "clearly the present pace is unsatisfactory."

Mr. Kennedy told a luncheon of the Entertainment Division of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies that unless the fight against racial and economic inequity was speeded "we can expect... continuing crises in the management of our cities, and, worst of all, a continuing second-class status for a large group of American citizens."

The luncheon at the Americana hotel at Seventh Avenue and 52d Street was attended by 400 persons. It honored four men for their contributions to the federation.

Guests of Honor

The honor guests were Ted Ashley, the theatrical agent; Alexander H. Cohen, a Broadway producer; Leo Jaffe, executive vice president of Columbia Pictures, Inc., and David A. Werblin, president of the New York Jets professional football team.

Mr. Kennedy said his address was the first to be delivered here during the week on the problems facing the urban Negro.

He will speak at 3:30 P.M. today in the Young Men's Christian Association at 361 West 125th Street and tomorrow at 9 P. M. at a dinner of Regions 9 and 9A of the United Auto Workers.

"Consciousness of the plight of the urban Negro must pervade our thought and our planning in every program that we undertake to improve our cities and plan for their future," Mr. Kennedy said.

He urged that "huge central city ghettos" be wiped out, but warned that the Negro must not be deprived of a chance to live in a city.

"Public housing has been a significant force in perpetuating segregation," he declared.

Federal home financing, Mr. Kennedy said, has encouraged a flight of whites to the suburbs, a move that most Negroes cannot afford.

He said President Johnson's proposal last year for Federal aid to finance new town developments, which was dropped from the housing bill, would be resubmitted, and that steps should be taken to make public housing "a truly metropolitan program."

"We might, for example, consider special Federal aid to suburban schools which take in slum children," he said. "If the distance in some cities is too great for the children to travel, we might consider a program for their boarding out in the suburbs."

"Our purpose in ending the isolation of the ghettos is no different in the end from our purpose in trying to restore vigor to the life of Appalachia," the Senator declared. "In both

Bond Seeking Draft Exemption In Conscientious Objector Role

Atlanta Negro Visiting City to Gain Support for Appeal on Ouster From Legislature

Julian Bond, the Atlanta Negro whose views on the war in Vietnam led to his being barred from his seat in the Georgia House of Representatives, is applying for status as a conscientious objector under the Selective Service law.

Mr. Bond disclosed this yesterday at a press conference at the Drake Hotel. He is in New York City to tell sympathizers about his forthcoming challenge of the Legislature's action in Federal court.

His visit coincides with a public appeal by a Citizens Committee for Julian Bond, which asked in a large advertisement in yesterday's New York Times for "contributions now to support Julian Bond's struggle and voter registration drive."

It reprints telegrams and statements of Congressmen and others opposing the Georgia Legislature's action as an abridgement of the right of dissent.

Citizens Committee

The new committee, an ad hoc group, shares the office of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, a civil rights group, at 100 Fifth Avenue. Mr. Bond is a director of S.N.C.C., which has drawn some criticism recently from some civil rights leaders for publicizing its advocacy of nonviolence in foreign as well as domestic policy.

Harry Belafonte, prominent Negro singer who has long been a backer of S.N.C.C. and other civil rights causes, is an initiator of the Citizens Committee for Julian Bond.

At a press conference yesterday at the Drake Hotel, the 28-year-old father of two children clarified his views, which led to a 184-to-12 vote on Jan. 10 barring him from a seat in the Legislature, while seven other newly elected Negroes were sworn in.

When asked his views on the burning of draft cards, Mr. Bond said he was "in sympathy with" those who do, knowing the penalties, knowing that "that is not the way to get out of the Army," and knowing they face the criticism of many friends and neighbors.

But in answer to another question Mr. Bond said he had "never condoned, counseled or



The New York Times Julian Bond telling news conference of draft plans.

suggested that anyone break the law." When asked if he himself would serve if drafted, he said he did not know.

Mr. Bond said he believed "most Negroes have reservations about fighting overseas for something they don't always enjoy at home," but he acknowledged that "some Negroes" disagreed with his own position.

Mr. Bond's pacifist views became an issue in Georgia long after his election last June 16 when he supported on Jan. 6 a statement by S.N.C.C. denouncing United States action in Vietnam as aggression. The statement also backed those unwilling to respond to a military draft that, it was alleged, would compel them to contribute to that "aggression."

He said at the time that he admired the courage of draft-card burners but would not burn his own.

With the backing of the American Civil Liberties Union, Mr. Bond is appealing to the Federal District Court in Atlanta to order him seated. He acknowledged yesterday that the Legislature was scheduled to adjourn before the court hearing on Feb. 28 and before a special election on Feb. 23 called by Gov. Carl Sanders to fill the vacancy.

Thus, he said, even if he wins the new special election he will have lost his chance to sit in the Georgia House of Representatives since last year's election was only for a one-year term.

60 Torch-Carrying Men Found Easy to Unmask

BAKERSFIELD, Calif., Jan. 20 (AP)—An excited motorist telephoned the Kern County sheriff's office that there was a mass rally of the Ku Klux Klan along the Kern River.

Two officers found 60 white-robed men with blazing torches milling around a burning cross.

Sgt. John Howard and Lieut. Phil Munding asked what was happening. A bystander, Richard Mikel of Hollywood, laughed and said, "We're making a movie."

At that moment the men removed their hoods and it turned out they were Negroes.

The U. S. Film Company of Hollywood was shooting a film entitled "Masked Violence."

cases it is the inevitable erosion of the spirit which isolation has brought that we seek to counteract."

DR. KING TO RENT SLUM APARTMENT

Negro Leader to Head Drive From Flat in Chicago

By DONALD JANSON Special to The New York Times

CHICAGO, Jan. 20—The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. said today that he had put a deposit on a West Side slum apartment and would move in soon.

The president of the Atlanta-based Southern Christian Leadership Conference plans to live in the dingy third-floor walk-up while conducting the civil rights organization's first "movement" against racial discrimination in the North.

He announced the drive against slum conditions in Chicago two weeks ago. He returned to the city yesterday and checked into a big downtown hotel while his aides continued the search for an apartment for him.

The Rev. Bernard Lee said in an interview that he had found the four-room flat after a hunt that lasted a week.

Mr. Lee, also of Atlanta, said that during the search he had turned down eight vacant apartments ranging in price from \$90 to \$150 a month because they were "unlivable."

The Baptist minister, a special assistant to Dr. King, said all were in dilapidated buildings, suffered from cracked or falling plaster, and lacked adequate heat. He said that they should be condemned.

Dr. King plans to spend two or three days a week in the apartment, commuting between there and Atlanta.

The unfurnished, \$90-a-month flat is in a faded brick

building in the Lawndale ghetto, a neighborhood adjacent to the all-Negro Garfield Park, site of racial rioting that brought out the National Guard last summer at the same time that Negroes were rioting in Watts.

Mr. Lee described the area that surrounds Dr. King's apartment as "depressing."

The flat, however, is freshly painted and well heated. It is a short drive from the office that a Southern Christian Leadership Conference field staff shares with the West Side Christian Parish of the Chicago Missionary Society in the Warren Avenue Congregational Church.

Headquarters for the antislum drive will not be in the West Side church or the King apartment, but in an office over a store in the heart of the huge South Side Negro ghetto.

This is the office of Chicago's Coordinating Council of Community Organizations, a federation of civil rights groups that invited Dr. King to conduct his first Northern project here. Goals of the drive are gains in jobs, education and housing for Chicago's 1 million Negroes.

Contempt Citations Upheld

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Jan. 20 (UPI)—Contempt of court citations against Dr. King and four other civil rights leaders should stand, the Alabama Supreme Court ruled today.

The court refused to reconsider an earlier decision upholding the citations handed down by a Birmingham court against Dr. King, the Rev. A. D. King, the Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker, the Rev. Ralph Abernathy and the Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth.

The Negro leaders were cited for violating an injunction in 1963 that required them to obtain a parade permit before staging civil right demonstrations.

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KENNEDY FAVORS SPURS TO VOTING

Senator Says State Should Cut Age, End Literary Test

By EDITH EVANS ASBURY

Senator Robert F. Kennedy called yesterday for "a full program of law reform and constitutional amendments to make it easier to vote in New York State."

Among the reforms he urged were reduction of the voting age to 18 and abolition of the literacy test for voters.

He also suggested that contributions to political campaigns be limited "perhaps to \$100," and that they be tax-exempt.

"I need not tell you," the Senator said, "that it has become extremely difficult for a man without independent financial resources to enter political life."

ditor of The Times

1/23/66

tional improvements in collective bargaining involving public employes, and basic financial arrangements lest the decision to carry several million people a day on the subways and buses at less than cost means subsidies borne in large part by underpaid workers instead of by the city at large, in accord with equitable imposition of the burden.

LEON H. KEYSERLING

Washington, Jan. 18, 1966
The writer, chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers in 1950-53, is consultant to the T.W.U.

Broderick Praised

To the Editor:

Don't we really want a good Police Department—one which enforces the laws, keeps graft to a minimum and recognizes, promotes and supports good policemen? Then why remove Commissioner Vincent Broderick, who in less than a year has accomplished much toward these goals?

Certainly his opposition to a civilian review board is not an adequate reason. It has nothing to do with his performance as Commissioner.

JUDITH T. YOUNGER
New York, Jan. 15, 1966

Julian Bond's Stand

To the Editor:

Your Jan. 12 editorial "Mr. Bond of Georgia," in which you call the State Representative "a misguided young man," compels me to enter a dissenter's opinion.

As one who volunteered first for military service and then for hazardous duty in World War II (incurring a permanent physical disability in combat) I find Mr. Bond's position fully consonant with our best American traditions.

If I recall correctly, he urged

those who oppose our Vietnam policy to act responsibly. I can see nothing anarchic in suggesting that for those who oppose killing there are alternatives such as service in the Peace Corps, etc.

It seems to me that the heart of our moral crisis rests on our inability to reconcile our cultural heritage of kindness toward our fellow men with a need to defend "liberty" with an arsenal of weapons that since World War I has utterly destroyed the human dimensions of what we call legitimate self-defense.

It is from young men such as Julian Bond that I hope to see some salvaging of our moral values, and not from those who wax self-righteous on the subject of Communism and delivery of tons of bombs (your Jan. 13 news item) in the hope of destroying some Vietcong.

CHET KALM
New York, Jan. 13, 1966

110-3-9226

Dominant China

To the Editor:

The meeting at Tashkent has apparently failed to solve or improve the Indian-Pakistan dispute. However, it does strengthen the belief that without Communist China's participation Asian peace conferences or agreements are meaningless.

The sooner we recognize that China dominates the destiny of Asia, the less complex our problems. The bombing of bridges and roads in Vietnam has failed to bring us closer to victory, or the enemy to the conference table. A continuation of this same course of action will eventually head us into a war against 700-million Chinese which we can never win.

On the other hand, if the Chinese were admitted to the U.N., their conduct would very likely improve. It could hardly get worse.

HERBERT SOMMERS
Washington, Jan. 10, 1966

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KING WILL AID NEGRO DENIED SEAT FOR VIETNAM STAND

Bond assails Georgia House ouster

"I HAVE PROMISED my constituents that I shall not relinquish the struggle for human dignity. I intend to keep that promise."

Julian Bond, 25, Negro representative-elect to the Georgia House of Representatives, included this statement in a speech he never made. Referring to the many acts of terror inflicted upon Negroes, Bond, added: "I am black and I feel these injustices." The statement, drafted as his defense against efforts to unseat him in the Georgia Legislature, was not presented as the legislative machinery moved quickly Jan. 10 to bar his seating because he opposed U.S. policy in Vietnam.

"I further assert this body has no basis to expel me or to censure me. It has the duty to me and my constituents and to the state of Georgia to quit making a mockery of democracy," Bond had planned to say. "This body must recognize the right of dissent. For at this moment this House decides not just on Julian Bond and his constituents, but on whether Georgia will take steps toward a totalitarian state by curbing the right of free speech. This must not occur."

But it did occur and Bond's unseating has provoked mass demonstrations in Atlanta and bitter controversy throughout the country.

Bond's seat was declared vacated Jan. 13. Gov. Carl E. Sanders said that within ten days, by Jan. 23, he would call for a new election as required by law. Such an election could not be scheduled until 30 days after then. Bond would run for re-election.

In the meantime, a three-man U.S. Court of Appeals panel was appointed to hear a suit for reinstatement brought by Bond. The suit is based on Bond's contention that by refusing him his seat, the House violated a 1964 federal reapportionment order which set up his district. A hearing is scheduled for Jan. 28. It is unclear what would happen if the court ordered Bond to be seated while an election was pending in the same district. In either case, most or all of the 40-day 1966 legislative session would have expired before Bond could be seated.

Demonstration for Epton

THE PROGRESSIVE Labor Party has announced that the New York Criminal Court at 100 Centre St. will be picketed Jan. 27 when Bill Epton, party vice president, is to be sentenced on charges of criminal anarchy and conspiracy resulting from the Harlem anti-police riots in 1964. The 33-year-old communist, held without bail since his conviction in December, could be sentenced to as much as 12 years in jail and fined \$8,000.

ONE OF BOND'S constituents in the Atlanta 136th district canceled a trip in order to help lead action to reinstate the young Negro to the Georgia House. He is Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

King said: "I can vividly recall back in 1954, when the same Georgia Legislature resounded with criticism of the U.S. Supreme Court and its decision on school segregation, but there was no such question of loyalty then . . . It is interesting also to note that many of Mr. Bond's political colleagues [in the House] and critics did not feel that they were violating the U.S. Constitution when they sought to perpetuate racial segregation from their vaunted positions . . ."

On Jan. 14 about 1,000 persons marched on the Georgia capitol and held a 45-minute rally in its shadow. When about 100 demonstrators dashed up the capitol steps, they were met by a barricade of Georgia highway patrolmen, who forced them back. The officers brought out nightsticks, donned riot helmets and locked the doors to the capitol.

IN WASHINGTON, 23 House Democrats wired Gov. Sanders Jan. 12 protesting the action taken against Bond because of "the unpopularity of his political views on one of the great issues confronting our nation." And on Jan. 15, eight Republican House and Senate members said the power of the Legislature to judge the qualifications of its members had, in

Georgia, "been grossly abused and freedom and the democratic process are the victims."

The U.S. district attorney in Atlanta, Charles L. Goodson, announced Jan. 12 that he had asked the criminal division of the Justice Department in Washington to study Bond's Vietnam statement—and a tape recording of a press conference—to see whether there were grounds for prosecuting Bond for violation of laws against counseling draft evasion.

The action against Bond followed the release Jan. 6 of an anti-Vietnam war statement by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee which Bond, SNCC communications director, supported. The SNCC statement (text in GUARDIAN, Jan. 15) charged the U.S. has "never guaranteed the freedom of oppressed citizens" and said U.S. policy in Vietnam was "deceptive" and "hypocritical." It expressed support for those "unwilling to respond to the military draft."

THERE HAVE been few attacks on Bond from within the ranks of the civil rights movement. King's strong support of Bond's fight to be seated, some felt, could lead to the healing of rifts between SCLC and SNCC. Even the NAACP's Roy Wilkins, who charged SNCC with "following the line of the left thinkers," and disassociated his group from the Vietnam position, almost complimented SNCC by adding that the more militant group "does not hesitate to adhere to a policy because that stand might also be the official left-wing theory."

The day after Bond was unseated, SNCC chairman John Lewis, on the steps of the capitol, called for a massive voter registration drive in Bond's and other



OATH-TAKING AT ATLANTA
Julian Bond remains seated

House districts, and for a Georgia Freedom Day on Feb. 1, "to be convened at the Georgia state capitol." Lewis also asked Atlanta Negroes to consider the formation of a freedom organization similar to the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party.

Lewis spoke near a monument erected by the state of Georgia to the memory of Tom Watson, a Georgia politician who, during World War I, had called Wilson a traitor and had urged Americans then to evade the draft.

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Julian Bond

The Loneliness Of a Skinny Winner

by Susan Brownmiller

The day the radio station carried the Vietnam statement, his father said, "That's it. Julian just lost his seat." Thinking back now, Julian Bond says he knew the SNCC stand on the draft was unpopular, particularly in Georgia, but he didn't share his father's alarm. But four days later, the Georgia House of Representatives in an unprecedented action voted 184 to 12 to unseat him.

"Politics is dirty and corrupt and evil," he says. "It's a funny thing, as soon as I was elected, people began to make believe they were my best friends. A strange thing happens to you. You begin to think the most important people are your professional colleagues. Before the House vote, I had begun to think . . . yes, I am about to enter a . . . very special club. But it's the people you represent who are the most important, aren't they?"

Sitting now in a Northern friend's apartment, a way station, on the latter-day equivalent of the Underground Railroad, Julian Bond could be reflective at a distance. "Twelve votes. Five Negroes and seven whites. Two Negroes abstained. One sent me a telegram saying his automatic vote recorder wasn't work-

ing. The other, well, his district is 75 per cent white. But then there's Frank Lea, from Hapeville—he's white and he voted for me and he has only one registered Negro. But then there's —, that s. o. b., up till the last minute I thought he was for me."

He Fits In

It sounded like any politician going over a vote. Part of the engaging charm of Julian Bond is that—he fits in. Reporters on the civil rights beat used to say, if you're calling SNCC, get Julian Bond, he gets the facts right. The slim youth in the neat vest always made a good impression. The Atlanta papers still muse that someone must have put that nice, clean cut young man up to it, he couldn't have thought those dirty thoughts by himself, it had to be Forman, or Zellner. It bothers him.

It also bothers him that he didn't get to introduce the legislation he had planned. There was a bill for a statewide \$2 minimum wage, and a bill to repeal

Georgia's right to work law ("Unpopular with my voters, that one. They told me why should we care about the white unions, what have they done for us?"). He had a bill in mind to halt the kind of Atlanta urban renewal that he says is Negro removal, and a bill to allow Quakers to perform marriage ceremonies in the state.

82 Per Cent

While SNCC was leveling off into what its allies called "a plateau" last spring, Julian Bond and some friends ran a Northern style campaign in the Democratic primary and general election for Georgia's 136th House district. It was the district where his folks had always lived. His father, a respected educator, resigned as executive committee member of the local Republican Party to join in the effort. Eschewing the Southern style "mass meeting," he canvassed door to door, held intimate klatches and street corner rallies, even imported Harry Belafonte and the Freedom Singers for a major push. He ended up with 82 per cent of the vote.

He is prepared to do it again,

Continued on page 6

self-experience

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NYU, Undaunted, Marches On

In its continuing expansion into the Village, New York University last week announced that it had acquired a leasehold on One Fifth Avenue. The building, located at 8th Street and Fifth Avenue, is a 29-story apartment hotel. NYU presently has some faculty and students in residence in the building.

NYU in recent years has acquired Washington Square Village, an enormous complex of buildings just below Washington Square, the Grosvenor Hotel at 10th Street and Fifth Avenue, and the Brittany Hotel at 10th Street and Broadway. It also owns most of the property around Washington Square.

The new acquisition is believed certain to arouse the ire of Villagers who have long feared that NYU seeks to make the heart of Greenwich Village into a campus. A group of prominent Villagers have been fighting an attempt by NYU to get special dispensation from the city to build a high-rise library on Washington Square South. The new move by NYU is almost certain to strengthen opposition to the library plan.

Village opponents of NYU policy have long accused the university of issuing untruthful or misleading statements about its plans. They have repeatedly attempted to get NYU to disclose its final blueprints for land-acquisition in the Village.

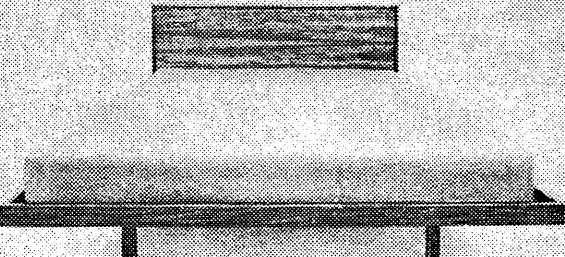
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DR. KING SEIZES A SLUM BUILDING

Rights Groups to Use Rent to Fix Up Chicago Structure

Special to The New York Times
CHICAGO, Feb. 23—The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., acting in the name of three civil rights organizations, today took over control of a West Side slum building without the owner's permission. Dr. King called it a "trusteeship."

The civil rights leader, who is in Chicago to lead a drive against slum conditions, said the organizations would collect \$400 a month rent from four tenants in the six-flat building and use the money to clean and renovate the structure.

"I won't say that this is illegal," he said when asked whether he considered it so, "but I would call it supralegal [above the law]. The moral question is far more important than the legal one."

He said lawyers were studying whether they should make mortgage payments of \$150 a month on the building, at 1321 South Homan Avenue, adding that "we do not know whether we will be able to take care of it."

About 200 persons, including occupants of the building, heard Dr. King's announcement, made from the steps of the building. Afterward he led 20 of his followers into the building, where they started their clean-up by removing piles of ashes near the furnace.

Owner To Fight Action

John Bender, 81-year-old owner of the building, an invalid confined to his home, said he would go into the courts to halt the take-over. He said that the building, one of seven he owns, has not been profitable and that he would be willing to give it to Dr. King if he would take over the mortgage.

An attorney for Dr. King said he expected that legal action would be taken against the three organizations. They are the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which he heads; the West Side Federation and the Coordinating Council of Community Organizations.

It was not made clear which of the organizations would handle the money involved in the "trusteeship." Dr. King said three unemployed men living in the building would handle janitorial duties and help in renovation.

He said he three would be paid \$2 an hour, an amount he considers a suitable minimum wage that should be established by Congress. He said he expected volunteers to do part of the renovation work.

Dr. King emphasized that the groups were not assuming ownership but just taking "trusteeship until we can get the job done." He did not estimate how long this would take.

Alcohol and Drugs Ban

Bond Re-elected to Georgia House



Associated Press Wirephoto
Julian Bond, left, and the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. vote in Atlanta in election to fill seat that Georgia Legislature did not permit Mr. Bond to take because of Vietnam views. Mr. King lives in the district involved.

Special to The New York Times
ATLANTA, Feb. 23—Julian Bond, a Negro civil rights worker, who is a pacifist, was elected to the Georgia House of Representatives for the second time today.

Unopposed in the special election, he polled 682 votes out of the 695 ballots cast, with 13 ballots voided because they had been improperly marked.

The 136th District House was declared vacant after the House refused Jan. 10 to seat Mr. Bond, the 26-year-old publicity director of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. The legislators were angered by statements he had made condemning the United States involvement in Vietnam and criticizing the military draft.

Mr. Bond will almost certainly be barred from the House again. Before the General Assembly adjourned

last week, one of the last actions of the House was to change its rules to permit its Rules Committee to pass on Mr. Bond's qualifications before allowing him to take the oath of office.

"If they bar me again," Mr. Bond said, "I'll sue them again."

He is awaiting a ruling from the Supreme Court on the House's first refusal to seat him. A three-judge Federal Court upheld the House, 2 to 1.

The vote today was considered largely a protest against the Legislature. Some Negroes accused the Fulton County authorities of trying to reduce the size of the vote. The turnout was undoubtedly reduced by the county's decision to open only one polling place, and that in the County Courthouse more than a mile from Mr. Bond's predominantly Negro district.

Army Plans a Test of Charcoal To Melt the Mississippi Ice Jam

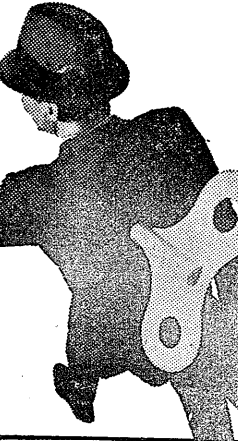
By DONALD JANSON

Special to The New York Times
DAVENPORT, Iowa, Feb. 23—Puzzled Army engineers called in ice experts today and prepared to sow the frozen Mississippi with powdered charcoal in an effort to melt the ice mass that is plugging the river and flooding parts of the State of New York.

The engineers would spread charcoal on the ice tomorrow if the sun came out and a spreader could be attached to a helicopter.

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PUBLIC NOTICE

STATE OF NEW YORK
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS
SUPERINTENDENT
NOTICE OF PUBLIC HEARING
In accordance with the provisions of Title 23, U. S. Code, Section 128, a public hearing will be held in Room 16, City Hall, Manhattan, New York, on March 2, 1966 at 10:00 AM at which time all interested persons will be given an opportunity to be heard concerning their views on the proposed reconstruction of the Interchange of the Long Island Expressway, Interstate Route 495 and Brooklyn-Queens Expressway, Interstate Route 578 in the Borough of Queens.
This hearing is being held in conjunction with and by the City Planning Commission who must consider the necessary map changes:
The project along Interstate Route 495 is approximately 1.8 miles in length and is generally along the existing route beginning at Van Dan Street and extending easterly to 63rd Street.
The project along Interstate Route 278 is approximately 0.6 of a mile in length and is generally along the existing route beginning at 59th Avenue and extending northerly to 45th Street.
Plans will be submitted showing the location of the project and the properties through or contiguous to which the highway will pass.
Information relative to the improvement can also be obtained at the following offices: Metropolitan District Engineer, State Department of Public Works, 325 West Main Street, Babylon, New York; New York City Planning Commission, Information Desk, 15th Floor, 2 Lafayette Street, New York, N.Y.; the Office of Borough President of Queens, Room 315, 120-55 Queens Boulevard, Kew Gardens, New York; Triborough Bridge and Tunnel Authority, Randall's Island, New York, N.Y.
Information will also be available regarding the New York City's Relocation Assistance Program which provides assistance and advice to those who must relocate if the property they occupy is to be acquired for this project.
Interested persons may make oral statements or file prepared written statements. All of the proceedings will be recorded and all written statements will be made part of the record. Written statements may also be filed with A. M. Sarr, Metropolitan District Engineer, 325 West Main Street, Babylon, New York, within five (5) days after the date of the hearing.

STATE OF NEW YORK
DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
AND MARKETS
Notice of Hearing to Consider
Promulgation of an Amendment to
Rules and Regulations Relating to
Specifications and Tolerances for
Commercial Weighing and Measuring
Devices
TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

LIBERTIES UNION QUILTS BOND CASE

Action Follows His Retention of a Private Law Firm

By GENE ROBERTS
Special to The New York Times
ATLANTA, Feb. 20—The American Civil Liberties Union withdrew from the Julian Bond case today as a result of Mr. Bond's retention of a New York law firm to assist his efforts to be seated in the Georgia House of Representatives.

Mr. Bond—a Negro civil rights worker and pacifist—gave Victor Rabinowitz and Leonard B. Boudin complete control of the case a week ago, it was learned, and he wanted the Liberties Union to shift into a supporting role.

In announcing his organization's withdrawal from the case, Hugh W. Gibert, president of the union's Georgia branch, said it was the union's policy to provide counsel only when its lawyers had authority to "exercise full responsibility" in a case.

"The introduction of attorneys not affiliated with the American Civil Liberties Union creates a conflict with this practice of primary responsibility with A.C.L.U. counsel," Mr. Gibert said.

He did not mention the Rabinowitz-Boudin firm by name, but Howard Moore, Mr. Bond's brother-in-law who is a lawyer in Atlanta, confirmed that the withdrawal occurred because of Mr. Bond's decision to retain the firm.

Union Takes Action

The Civil Liberties Union began representing Mr. Bond early last January when the Georgia House ordered a hearing into the Representative-elect's opposition to the military draft and United States policy in Vietnam.

After the House had voted to refuse to seat Mr. Bond, the union appealed his case to a panel of three Federal Judges, which voted 2 to 1 to uphold the House action. The union was preparing an appeal to the Supreme Court when it withdrew from the case.

In New York, Mr. Boudin declined comment on the Civil Liberties Union's action, but said his firm would follow through on the appeal to the Supreme Court.

"I have not been retained to enter into organizational controversy," Mr. Boudin said, "but to protect Mr. Bond's Constitutional rights."

Mr. Boudin will serve as his firm's trial lawyer in the case. Several of his better-known cases were defended through the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, which was accused in 1956 by the Senate Internal Security Committee of being "one of various fronts devised to defend . . . Communist lawbreakers."

Mr. Boudin said he was defending Mr. Bond through his law firm and not through the emergency committee, which has denied it is a Communist front organization.

In Mr. Bond's district, which embraces Atlanta University and five other predominantly Negro educational institutions, two professors predicted today that the switch in attorneys would not substantially alter Mr. Bond's support among Negroes.

"I consider the change in attorneys a mistake," said Dr. Samuel DuBois Cook, chairman of the Political Science Department at Atlanta University. "But the Bond issue is so polarized around racial attitudes that I do not think the switch will cost him any great amount of support among Negroes."

"Although many Negroes—including myself—strongly disagree with his views, he is politically secure for the foreseeable future," Dr. Cook added.

Dr. Vincent Harding, chairman of the department of history and social sciences at Spelman College, said, "Some of the middle class will view the changes as unwise, but most Negroes will continue to support Julian Bond."

"Most Negroes have heard wolf, wolf" cried at the civil rights movement so long," he said, "that they don't get excited over associations."

Mr. Bond, a Democrat, has no opposition in a special election this month for his House seat,

Lawyer f Leonard

ON a little table beside Leonard B. (which does not stand for anything) Boudin's bed are "thousands of books"—that is only a slight exaggeration, according to his wife—"on history, novels, murder mysteries, all kinds of fiction and millions of books on Vietnam." Mrs. Boudin said her husband was one of those busy lawyers who find time to read many books for pleasure, but that the books on Vietnam were a professional interest.

Mr. Boudin (pronounced boo-DEEN) has agreed to represent Julian Bond, the Alabama Negro whose criticism of American policy in Vietnam cost him his seat in the Georgia House of Representatives. He is also defending another young man with controversial views—David Mitchell, a 23-year-old Brooklyn youth who refuses to be inducted into the armed forces because he believes the United States is committing war crimes and crimes against humanity in Vietnam.

Mr. Boudin has made a career of defending Americans whose controversial views, often leftist and radical, have got them into trouble with the Government.

He Represented Robeson

In 30 years of practice, he has represented Paul Robeson in his battles to win a passport; Judith Coplon in her trial for conspiracy and espionage; the Methodist Federation for Social Welfare in a case against the Senate Internal Security subcommittee; a teacher accused of being a Communist by the Board of Education, and a number of persons who were summoned to appear before the Senate investigations subcommittee when it was run by the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy.

"My partner and I represented more people than anyone else before that committee," Mr. Boudin said in an interview. "The Senator did some terrible things, but in my own relationship with him I found I didn't have any sense of unpleasantness. He was—the only word I can use is fascinating."

The defense of so many leftists and his association with such left-of-center organizations as the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, the National Lawyers Guild and the Jefferson School of Social Science led to charges that Mr. Boudin was a Communist.

He emphatically denied this under oath in testimony before the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1956.

"I have never been a member of the Young Communist League or of the Communist party," he said.

The State Department said later it was this testimony that led it to reverse an earlier ruling and grant him a passport.

But Mr. Boudin had already boxed in the department by winning a celebrated ruling in a Federal Court that required that persons who were denied passports must be granted a hearing and an opportunity to face their accusers and refute the evidence against them.

Throughout the nineteen-fifties, Mr. Boudin fought passport denial cases, and he says the victories in those cases are the ones that have given him the most satisfaction.

Mr. Boudin was born in Brooklyn on July 20, 1912. He went to City College and then received his law degree from St. John's Law School in 1936. A year later, he married the former Jean Roisman, a poet. They celebrated their 29th wedding anniversary last night at a dinner with friends at the Golden Door, an Armenian restaurant.

The Boudins have two children, their son, Michael, 26, is a graduate of Harvard Law School and is serving as a clerk to Associate Justice

but a Republican plans to oppose him in the race for a full term this fall.

Barring a court decision in Mr. Bond's favor, however, most observers believe it unlikely that the House will seat him even should he win over the Republican opposition.

By [unclear] 2/18/66

THE NE

Court Sets Date for Bond's Suit; Sanders Plans Special Election

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ATLANTA, Jan. 17 (AP) — Gov. Carl E. Sanders said today that he would call a special election for Julian Bond's seat in the Georgia House of Representatives unless an alternative was found. The Governor acted after a Federal Court hearing was set for five days past the deadline for calling the election.

A three-judge panel was appointed to hear the dispute on Jan. 28 — midway of the legislative session and 20 days after the House refusal to seat Mr. Bond, a Negro civil rights worker of Atlanta, because of his views on the Vietnam war.

Chief Judge Elbert P. Tuttle of the United States Court of Appeals in the Fifth Circuit appointed himself, Appeals Judge Griffin B. Bell and District Judge Lewis R. Morgan to hear the case. All of the judges are from Atlanta. Mr. Bond filed suit last Thursday for an order seating him in the House.

Mr. Bond was not allowed to take the oath after about 75 House members challenged his loyalty because he had endorsed a statement calling United States involvement in Vietnam aggression and urging men to seek alternatives to military service.

Mr. Bond, 26 years old, the publicity director for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, said he admired the courage of anyone who burned his draft card.

"I will have to call a special

election if we can't find any other alternative," Governor Sanders said after the hearing date was set. Mr. Sanders said he would confer with Georgia's Attorney General, Arthur K. Bolton, about possible alternatives.

The Governor is in a legal quandary because under the law he must call a special election by Jan. 23 to fill the vacancy, certified by the House last Thursday. It is uncertain what would happen if, after the election was called, the court orders Mr. Bond to be seated.

But the election could not be held for 30 days after the call was issued and by then most or all the legislative session would be over.

Governor Sanders had hoped for an earlier hearing and decision from the court. He wanted to avoid calling an election if the court decides that Mr. Bond, a Democrat, should be seated.

If an election is called, Mr. Bond will be a candidate. He already has said he would run again. Last June he was elected by a landslide from a predominantly Negro district.

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PIGGYBACK

BOND LOSES PLEA ON GEORGIA SEAT

U.S. Judges Uphold House in
Rejection of Pacifist

By GENE ROBERTS

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, Ga., Feb. 10 — A panel of three Federal judges voted 2 to 1 today to uphold the Georgia House of Representatives in its refusal to seat Julian Bond, an outspoken critic of the nation's policies in Vietnam.

Attorneys for Mr. Bond, a Negro civil rights worker and pacifist, said they would appeal "immediately" to the United States Supreme Court.

In ruling against Mr. Bond, Judge Griffin Bell of the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit and Judge Lewis R. Morgan of the United States District Court in Atlanta said the House had violated none of Mr. Bond's "fundamental Federal rights."

A third member of the panel, Chief Judge Elbert P. Tuttle, dissented strongly from the majority opinion. He said it was not necessary even to consider the "grave Federal constitutional question" of freedom of speech in supporting Mr. Bond's claim to the seat to which he had been elected.

All three judges are from Atlanta.

Authority Disputed

Mr. Bond contended that the House had superseded its authority and thus had violated the Georgia Constitution in denying Mr. Bond's seat.

Judges Bell and Morgan argued, however, that the Georgia Constitution requires all representatives to take an oath of allegiance to the United States Constitution and that some of Mr. Bond's public statements "could reasonably be said to be inconsistent with and repugnant to the oath which he was required to take."

They said they referred to Mr. Bond's concurrence with a statement by the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, in which the civil rights organization said:

"We are in sympathy with, and support, the men in this country who are unwilling to respond to a military draft which would compel them to contribute their lives to United States aggression in Vietnam in the name of the 'freedom' we find so false in this country."

Furthermore, the judges said, Mr. Bond had also stated that he "admired the courage of persons who burn their draft cards" and was, as a pacifist, "eager and anxious to encourage people not to participate in the war in Vietnam or in any war for any reason they choose."

Limit Placed on Speech

"Mr. Bond's right to speak and to dissent as a private citizen," the two judges continued, "is subject to the limitation that he sought to assume member-

Air Crash Kills Candidate

Ryan deGraffenried and Pilot
Die as Plane Hits Mountain

Special to The New York Times

FORT PAYNE, Ala., Feb. 10 — Ryan deGraffenried, a leading candidate for the Democratic nomination for Governor of Alabama, was killed in an airplane crash near here last night.

The pilot, Robert Hoskins of Birmingham, also was killed when the plane, a twin-engine Cessna 310, slammed into Look-out Mountain.

Mr. deGraffenried had made a campaign speech in this north Alabama town and was on the way to Gadsden, 20 or 30 minutes away, to make another. The crash occurred about four minutes after take-off. The wreckage was found just before dawn today.

The cause of the crash was not known. Winds up to 40 miles an hour were recorded in the area last night.

Joe Dahl, manager of the airport here, said he had warned Mr. deGraffenried and the pilot about the altitude of the mountain. The manager said his wife tried to dissuade them from making the flight.

Youthful and Popular

Mr. deGraffenried's death has shaken Alabamians. He was youthful—40 years old—and popular.

He was considered middle-of-the-road in politics. Some polls reportedly placed him as the front-runner for the Democratic nomination. He undoubtedly was one of the top three candidates.

In 1962 he was runner-up to George C. Wallace in the gubernatorial campaign. He had been campaigning since then for this year's race.

Mr. deGraffenried, the third generation of a politically prominent family, was a racial moderate. In announcing his candidacy last month, he pledged to "put an end to violence." He said:

"We must face the problems of our time, racial and otherwise, with confidence in our ability to cope with them and build a stronger state.

His death leaves a gap in the ideological center in the governorship race. The other two leading Democratic contenders, among the announced candidates, are former Gov. John



Ryan deGraffenried

Patterson, who is regarded as a staunch segregationist, and former Representative Carl Albert, who is a liberal.

The Alabama Journalist reported today that most politicians in all parts of the state considered Mr. deGraffenried to be the most likely to inherit most of the deGraffenried votes.

Republican May Gain

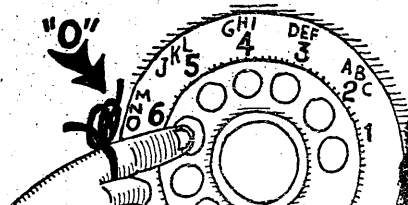
There is some feeling that Mr. deGraffenried's death ultimately will benefit Representative James D. Martin, the most liberal prospect for the Republican nomination. One of Martin's Republican colleagues today said that Mr. deGraffenried would have been a strong Democratic opponent for Martin than either Mr. Elliott or Mr. Patterson.

Mr. deGraffenried was a lawyer. He was born at Tuscaloosa and was graduated from the University of Alabama. He fought with the Army in Europe during World War II and was wounded twice.

He had been a member of the State House of Representatives and the State Senate. He served in the Alabama National Guard and the Alabama National Guard press corps. He was the outstanding orator in the House. In 1959 it voted to elect him as the outstanding Senator. He was noted for his support of progressive legislation.

His father, Edward deGraffenried Jr., served two terms

Telephone Tip



ities as the rest of us.

Julian Bond Barred 2d Time From Seat In Georgia's House

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, May 23—Julian Bond was denied a seat in the Georgia House of Representatives a second time today.

The action was taken by the House Rules Committee, acting for the full House, which is in adjournment. The committee's unanimous decision was in response to a special election Feb. 23 in which Mr. Bond won election to the House from an Atlanta district for a second time.

The House refused to seat Mr. Bond Jan. 10 after he had denounced American involvement in Vietnam and had endorsed a similar statement by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, of which he is publicity director.

"If anything, my views have been strengthened," Mr. Bond, a Negro, said. "But in any case my views remain the same."

The House interpreted the antiwar statement as advocacy of draft-dodging because it expressed sympathy for young men who avoided the military draft.

After the committee's decision, Mr. Bond announced that he would run for the House a third time in the Democratic primary in September and, if successful then, in the general election in November.

He appealed the action of the House in January to a three-judge Federal Court. The court upheld the legislative body in a 2-to-1 ruling, saying that Mr. Bond's statements "could reasonably be said to be inconsistent with and repugnant to the oath which he was required to take."

5/24/66

school. In the same three years this concession cost the federal government \$3,409,742. I could go on listing examples of gross inequity. The corruption, once it is started at the top, inevitably spreads down. No person can expect to get a job unless he is prepared to "dash" the person controlling its allocation. It is a common assumption in Lagos that if a girl wants a clerical job she must offer more than money.

Corruption is a talking point among the ordinary workers in Nigeria. I was offered countless illustrations without prompting in Lagos. It is a source of discontent. The economic inequalities are resented. Nigerian workers are an articulate lot and they know what they are struggling against.

Beneath the façade, then, a number of factors have made for instability. It was only necessary for some of these to coincide to give rise to actual disruption. In the general strike of 1964, many factors were present but an essential one—the existence of an effective leadership among the trade unionists—was not. The strikers were solid in their protest against the government, but were led by squabbling, self-seeking leaders. The only other organization in Nigeria which had power, different from but commensurate with the trade unions, was the army. In 1964, the military played a relatively passive role. This

situation changed after October, 1965, when army units were used to keep Akintola's government in power in opposition to mass protests.

The army in Nigeria, as in any other former French or British territory, is in an anomalous position. In Western industrial countries an army is a conservative, stabilizing element. In Nigeria, however, it is a force for change. It is British-trained; its officers are products of Sandhurst. It is organized as a rational body, based on strict disciplinary lines and with little or no opportunity for corruption. In Nigeria, therefore, the army represents, in a sense, an alien value. On the other hand, the corruption, breakdown of order, absence of discipline are hostile to its traditions, and for this reason the army officers attempted to assume control. The dissidence of the workers has been reflected in a general welcome for military control. There was no need for demonstrations, simply tacit support.

The consequences of the military take-over will depend upon the political acumen of the army commanders, for a final solution can come only through economic and social measures. If the commanders make a transition, as President Nasser did, from dependence upon military power to radical economic policies, they may stay in power indefinitely without reintroducing po-

litical democratic measures. If they attempt to maintain power as a military unit and neglect the prime reasons for their ascendance to power, then undoubtedly there will be further unrest and, perhaps, bloody and disruptive clashes against organized labor. If they transfer political power to the hands of those politicians who use office to benefit themselves, as Sir Abubaka Tafawa Balewa's government did, there will be a repetition of the present situation but with more serious consequences.

The immediate need, it seems to me, is to set up a universally accepted political leadership which can act from an ideological base. There is only one source for this and that is among the imprisoned Action Group leaders. Support for Awolowo transcends tribal groups. He is a man of principle, an ascetic in fact and not simply by reputation, and with clearly formulated policies for Nigeria. He, Anthony Enahoro and L. K. Jakande, the extremely able Lagos Action Group leader who is also imprisoned, can provide the leadership which will not only rescue Nigeria from the fate of the Congo but will give it a positive role among progressive African nations. The immediate future of Nigeria depends, then, upon the speed with which the army commanders realize the unifying qualities of Chief Obafemi Awolowo and his Action Group colleagues.

JULIAN BOND

Georgia's 'Uppity' Legislator Herbert Shapiro

Atlanta, Ga.
Irony reigned in the Georgia House of Representatives on January 10 when Representative-elect Julian Bond took the witness stand in a special hearing to determine if he should be seated. He was facing men who had repeatedly sworn their defiance of the Supreme Court, segregationists who had a few years earlier applauded student rioting at the University of Georgia against

Herbert Shapiro is a professor of history at Morehouse College and one of Julian Bond's constituents. With Ella Winter, Mr. Shapiro edited The World of Lincoln Steffens (Hill and Wang).

February 7, 1966

the admission of Negro students, who had urged the doctrines of interposition and nullification. Now they were judging whether Mr. Bond's statement on the war in Vietnam rendered him unfit to take an oath to uphold the federal and state constitutions. The challenge to Bond's seating was led by Rep. Jones Lane who last year invited Alabama Governor Wallace to address the Georgia House. Julian Bond had been asked to leave the Georgia legislature once before: he had been expelled a few years ago when he would not sit in the Jim Crow section of the gallery. "Get those 'niggers' out of there," the

Speaker had told the guards. On the present occasion the Speaker, attempting to give the proceeding a veneer of politeness and "due process," insisted that nothing racial was involved. Hadn't seven other Negro Representatives just been sworn in?

Beneath the surface politeness the hearing moved on to a predictable conclusion. When the vote came, only twelve Representatives voted to seat Julian Bond; all of them were from the Atlanta area and five were Negroes. Appeals to seat Bond were made to the House by Rev. Howard Crecy whom Bond had defeated in the Democratic pri-

"Mr. Bond's right to speak and to dissent as a private citizen," the two judges continued, "is subject to the limitation that he sought to assume membership in the House [and] as such was required to take an oath to support the Constitution of the United States."

In dissenting from the majority ruling, Judge Tuttle said that the Georgia Constitution allows the Legislature to disbar members only if they fail to meet such specific qualifications as being 21 years old or if they are judged guilty of such specific offenses as misfeasance of duty.

"It is clear," he added, "that Bond was found disqualified on account of conduct not enumerated in the Georgia Constitution as a basis of disqualification."

"This was beyond the power of the House of Representatives," he continued.

Rep. Griffin Will Make Race For McNamara Senate Seat

WASHINGTON, Feb. 10 (AP) — The six Michigan Republican House colleagues of Representative Robert P. Griffin endorsed today his candidacy for the Senate seat held by Senator Pat McNamara, a Democrat.

Mr. Griffin, serving his 10th year in the House, announced his candidacy earlier today in Detroit.

Senator McNamara has not announced whether he will seek re-election for a third term. The indications are that he won't.

If he doesn't run again, G. Mennen Williams, Assistant Secretary of State and a former Governor of Michigan for 12 years, is expected to try for the Senate seat.

Two Burned in Manhole Fire

A fire from a manhole explosion caused by leaking gas yesterday morning at the intersection of Second Avenue and East 85th Street burned two pedestrians. The injured, Doris Dunlap, 39 years old, of 80 Paladino Avenue, and Anthony Devine, 47, of 4470 Park Avenue, the Bronx, were taken to Lenox Hill Hospital, where their condition was reported satisfactory.

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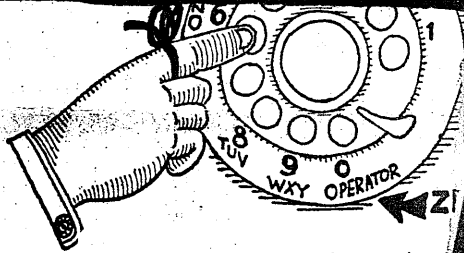
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LOOK IN THE PHONE BOOK — TO BE



New York Telephone

Today on WC

Friday, February 11, 1966
Times News on the Hour

- 6 A.M., Bright and Early: George Edwards, 6:30 News
- 7:00, G.E. Time; News: 7:30
- 7:40, Business Picture Today
- 8:00, Times News Roundup
- 8:15, Bright and Early
- 9:07, Remember This?
- 9:30, Piano Personalities: Gyorgy Cziffra
- 10:07, Midmorning Concert: Merry Mount: Prelude to Act II; Maypole Dances, Hanson Symphony No. 1... Sibelius Concerto Grosso in G minor Corelli Pelleas and Melisande: Suite... Fauré My Country: Tabor Smetana

- 12:00, Times News Roundup
- 12:15, Luncheon Concert (S)
- 1:07, Promenade Concert: Piano Concerto No. 1, Mendelssohn Mephisto Waltz... Liszt
- 2:07, Broadway Festival: Selections from "Call Me Madam"; "Carnival"
- 2:30, Observation Point: Duncan MacDonald interviews John Fowles, author of "The Collector" and "The Magus."
- 3:07, Listening to Music: Lloyd Moss Brandenburg Concerto No. 1; Prelude and Fugue in E flat... Bach Donna Diana: Overture, Reznicek Symphony in D minor, Franck

- 5:07, Cockburn: 5:30, Temsic and 6:00, Time 6:15, Sto 6:30, N. 6:35, Sh 6:40, Di 7:07, N. ent: F 7:15, B 7:20, A 7:30, Ba 8:07, Li 8:15, A 8:30, Ba 8:40, Li 8:50, Ba 9:07, Li 9:15, A 9:30, Ba 9:40, Li 9:50, Ba 10:00, Li 10:10, A 10:20, Ba 10:30, Li 10:40, A 10:50, Ba 11:00, Li 11:10, A 11:20, Ba 11:30, Li 11:40, A 11:50, Ba 12:00, Li 12:10, A 12:20, Ba 12:30, Li 12:40, A 12:50, Ba 1:00, Li 1:10, A 1:20, Ba 1:30, Li 1:40, A 1:50, Ba 2:00, Li 2:10, A 2:20, Ba 2:30, Li 2:40, A 2:50, Ba 3:00, Li 3:10, A 3:20, Ba 3:30, Li 3:40, A 3:50, Ba 4:00, Li 4:10, A 4:20, Ba 4:30, Li 4:40, A 4:50, Ba 5:00, Li 5:10, A 5:20, Ba 5:30, Li 5:40, A 5:50, Ba 6:00, Li 6:10, A 6:20, Ba 6:30, Li 6:40, A 6:50, Ba 7:00, Li 7:10, A 7:20, Ba 7:30, Li 7:40, A 7:50, Ba 8:00, Li 8:10, A 8:20, Ba 8:30, Li 8:40, A 8:50, Ba 9:00, Li 9:10, A 9:20, Ba 9:30, Li 9:40, A 9:50, Ba 10:00, Li 10:10, A 10:20, Ba 10:30, Li 10:40, A 10:50, Ba 11:00, Li 11:10, A 11:20, Ba 11:30, Li 11:40, A 11:50, Ba 12:00, Li 12:10, A 12:20, Ba 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mary, and by Malcolm Dean who had run as Bond's Republican opponent. There was a ripple of laughter as Bond's attorney asked Dean if he knew who had won the House election last June. Dean almost proudly informed the House of his overwhelming defeat: 82 per cent of the votes had gone to Bond. The state's two Negro Senators, Leroy Johnson and Horace Ward, also urged the House to consider carefully and to seat Bond; Senator Johnson predicted that a vote to oust Bond would be an albatross around the neck of the state legislature. But none of this affected the outcome. The House members, specially outfitted for the day with little tin American flags for their lapels, brushed aside the urging of Bond's Negro witnesses.

Even before the House convened, an atmosphere had been created that made Bond's seating unlikely. Walking through the halls was Lester Maddox, former cafeteria proprietor who long defied enforcement of the Civil Rights Act and who once brandished a pistol at Negroes seeking to eat in his restaurant. Maddox seemed among friends as he talked to the legislators and other capitol officials and handed out circulars boosting his candidacy for governor in the 1966 election. The civil rights workers who attended the hearings were obvious outsiders; the SNCC people, a few with beards and some casually dressed, represented another world as far as these legislators were concerned.

The Atlanta press also contrib-

uted to the fever of outrage. The day after John Lewis issued a SNCC statement affirming opposition to the war in Vietnam and standing by young men who decline to respond to the draft (which statement Bond endorsed), the moderate *Atlanta Constitution* opened a full-scale attack on the civil rights organization. The paper, which claims to be a friend of the Negro movement, identified SNCC's position on the Vietnam war with racism and anarchy. It observed that the SNCC statement "treads far beyond dissent and doubt about policy," implying that criminal actions were involved. The *Constitution* was perhaps more effective than it intended; on the eve of the legislature's opening it urged the House to seat Bond, but the hysteria let loose was hard to contain. The effort to block Bond was led by segregationists who were prepared to use the issue to provoke a direct confrontation with the civil rights movement, even at the cost of focusing national attention upon Georgia. Georgia's "moderate" business-oriented leadership has sought precisely to avoid such confrontations, to keep Georgia out of national headlines and particularly to give Atlanta a "progressive image." The extremists have now set to work to wreck that image, and it is strange that the liberal *Constitution* helped put the sledge hammer in their hands.

In the few days that intervened between release of the SNCC statement and the opening of the legislature, some Atlanta Negro leaders had spoken ambiguously about Bond's right to his views, while they stressed their rejection of the SNCC position on Vietnam. The TV stations suddenly became extremely interested in the views of the more conservative leaders of Negro organizations. Perhaps there were some who thought Bond might succumb to this sort of political blackmail, might apologize for his youth, and defer to the wisdom of the statesmen from south Georgia. But the whole significance of Bond's election is that he represents a new kind of Southern politician who thinks principle and politics ought to be related and who genuinely seeks to represent the needs of his constituents. Julian Bond said when the legislature opened that he was ready, willing and able to take his oath of office, but he would also

maintain his integrity and refuse to violate his conscience.

His testimony before the House resolved any doubt about the outcome. He was only 25 years old when he came to the state capitol last month. While other members of the House, some of them elected from counties where Negroes still may not register, stood to be sworn in, he was made to sit and listen to the House clerk inform him he must step aside. Then outside the House chamber the newsmen swarmed around him, practically pulling him along to a news conference in a committee room. Through all this Bond appeared unruffled and cool. He read the newsmen a statement addressed to his constituents; he would not offer explanations for his individual opinions to the House as a condition for being seated. He was clear on the issue of his right to speak. "The fact of my election to public office does not lessen my duty or desire to express my opinions, even when they differ from those held by others."

But this was still in a press conference; the test was what he would say directly to the Georgia House. It came a few hours later when Denmark Groover, the counsel for those challenging the young Representative, asked Bond if he still agreed with the SNCC statement. Bond said, "I do!" He said it softly but his answer was clear and it was also clear that he would not compromise his conscience in order to get seated. With his few words Bond took his place among the American dissenters who have refused to conform to the political tradition of opportunism and demagoguery. Those in the gallery knew the decisive moment when it came; the tension broke. A representative of an overwhelmingly Negro district, a district mainly of poor and lower-middle-class families, refused to pay the price required for admission to the exclusive club called the Georgia House of Representatives.

Charles Morgan, Southern Director of the ACLU, put it bluntly in a talk before the Hungry Club, a Negro luncheon group. Bond could not have gotten in unless he crawled in crying, "Massa, Massa, I've come back." He had violated the first commandment of the white supremacist code; he had been "uppity," he had taken a nonconformist position on a basic issue

and revealed himself as one Negro politician who would speak out on any issue whenever he saw fit. He did not feel he had first to check it out with the white moderates downtown who proclaim themselves the Negro's best friends. And most important, he had refused to back down when brought before an assembly of white politicians. A Negro legislator who insisted on his right to criticize the Vietnam war, who could not be made to retreat by all the media of public persuasion in Georgia, might be expected to speak out on anything. He just might violate the rules of the club and expose the fact that Georgia state government is still overwhelmingly segregationist in spirit and practice. The other Negro legislators seemed unlikely to be mavericks; they were seated by grace of the Georgia House.

Georgia is still concerned about its image. A group of Florida students recently demonstrated at the state line with signs that read, "You are now leaving the American zone," displayed to motorists crossing the St. Mary's River into Georgia. Florida is no model of integration, but the Julian Bond issue may turn Georgia into the main focus of the Southern civil rights movement. That upsets the state's political leadership and its corporation counselors in Atlanta. Image must be maintained, whatever the reality. So Governor Sanders congratulated the legislature the day after Bond was denied his seat. He said the issue "was acted upon with dignity and a proper sense of responsibility by all concerned. . . . This is as Georgians would have it done." He did not refer to the outcome, he did not comment on the fact that the voters of the 136th district are without representation, he has not said anything as to the right of a legislator to take a controversial position on public policy. A favorite Georgia habit is self-congratulation. Everybody is supposed to be impressed when the forms of due process are followed, never mind what conclusion is reached. One might have thought the Governor was being sarcastic, that his words were meant to parody the previous day's events. A real tragedy of Georgia is that politicians can speak such words with a straight face.

Legally the issue is now before the federal courts, but demonstrations have started to affirm community support of Julian Bond's

right to his seat. And beyond this the episode has set off intense discussion in the community that elected him to the legislature. Some Negro conservatives will not lift a finger for Bond; they opposed his election in the first place, they have never liked SNCC, their middle-class respectability does not mix well with SNCC radicalism. Their connections with men of power in the city hall, the state capitol and Washington are threatened by any trend to connect the civil rights movement with opposition to the war. Other leaders speak for Bond's right to be seated, but their real passion is directed toward publicly disavowing SNCC. But this episode is also helping to create a new sense of unity in the Negro community, a unity that may overcome some lingering friction between SCLC and SNCC, and a unity that increasingly sees continuation of the Vietnam war as a threat to American freedom at home. This issue has brought Martin Luther King home to Atlanta to take a place in the leadership of the fight to reverse Bond's ouster; Dr. King has never been more outspoken in his words of praise for SNCC's achievement. He has plainly called the vote of the House a racist action and he has reminded this community that, whatever they think of Bond's specific views, he is a man who has spoken for peace. Dr. King has told Georgians, who usually get only the pro-Vietnam story, of the U.S. Senators who have criticized American policy in Southeast Asia. Conservatives in this city, Negro and white, have sought to keep King out of Atlanta (some of them applaud him as long as his activities are hundreds of miles from here). If the Bond case becomes a protracted fight, King's presence here may galvanize the local civil rights movement.

Since Bond's ouster, SNCC and SCLC have gone to the churches in a series of nightly mass meetings. Community leaders in the 136th district have spoken along with the organizational civil rights leaders. The mood has been one of crusade. At Mount Moriah Baptist Church, hundreds shouted their support for their Representative. Mrs. Dorothy Bolden, one local leader in the slum-ridden Vine City neighborhood summed up the feeling: "Julian Bond is a man." And she added, "We don't have many men in Georgia." To the crowd who



GEORGIA 30303, WEDNESDAY, JANU

Daugherty Says Bond Decision Will Hurt Ga.

Georgia Representative J. C. Daugherty, who attempted Monday to get Rep-Elect Julian Bond seated, declared the action of the House will hurt the reputation of the state when the news goes abroad.

Rep. Daugherty, a World War II veteran, served as a member of the Special Rules Committee of the Georgia House of Representatives deciding the question of whether to seat Representative-Elect Julian Bond made the following argument to the Georgia House.

"Daugherty stated: I am J. C. Daugherty, elected from the 134th District of Fulton County, June 16, 1965, to serve in the House of Representatives of the General Assembly of Georgia. I served three years in World War II with 30 months in the Pacific Theater War. Let there be no doubt about my belief in the American Constitution, the Georgia Constitution, and the laws promulgated thereto.

"I believe in the Selective Service laws of this country and I want to say here immediately that I am delighted to be a member of this body, the Georgia General Assembly. A check of history shows that no Negro has served in the Georgia General Assembly in the House of Representatives since 1907. However, since that time and during the period immediately following this period, this great State has made monumental strides in its educational, industrial development, and race relations. We have been fortunate in not being beset with the catastrophic and chaotic events that rendered Alabama, Virginia, Mississippi, and Arkansas asunder and cost these states millions of dollars in loss revenue, potential industrial development and consumer buying. I sat and listened quietly and intently to charges made against Julian Bond and the evidence adduced before the Special Committee and I want to submit, Gentlemen, that I have yet to clear in my own mind a sufficient preponderance of evidence upon which an order refusing to seat Julian Bond could be based. There is no question in my mind, Gentlemen, that if this had been in a Court of law but what a motion to dismiss the charges for failure to make out a prima facie case would have been sustained. And now, I come to say remember that this is a deliberative body and to urge my colleagues to bear this in mind at every point. While the statements set forth and attributed to one prospective member of this House of Representatives has created the situation as it now exists I feel that the overall concern and consideration should address itself to protecting and preserving the image of this great State and integrity of this great body. I do

(Continued on Page 6, Col. 7)

Editor, Atlanta Constitution; John A. Merritt, Head Football Coach, Tennessee A.&I. University; Player of the Year Eldridge Dickey; "Two Friends" Charley Brown, halfback, and Carl (Bull) Reese, fullback, of Head Coach Dan Devine's University of Missouri's Sugar Bowl champions; NAIA championship Coach William C. Lucas of Central State College; NAIA Track and Field championship Coach Richard M. Hill; Leonidas S. Epps, "Most Versatile Basketball Coach"; Leonidas S. Epps of Clark College; 1964 Olympic Coach Edward F. Hurt of Morgan State College; Rankin Smith, Bud Erickson, Gene Cronin, Randy Johnson, Tommy Nobis and Nick Rassas, of the Atlanta Falcons; William J. McHale and William C. Bartholomay of the Atlanta Braves and the 1965 All-SIAC Football Team along with a galaxy of other notables.

College presidents will sit shoulder-to-shoulder with athletic directors, coaches, publicity directors, as well as just plain Joe Doaks at the glittering dinner in the plush 1,000 seat Grand Ballroom of the Marriott Motor Hotel.

Atlanta college presidents who will play pivotal roles in the Jamboree are Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, Morehouse College; Rev. J. A. Mid-

tels throughout Atlanta, you'll be seeing a virtual who's who of football. As Rev. Borders puts it everybody from everywhere will be in Atlanta for the biggest football celebration ever.

TIME IS RUNNING OUT on returning reservations for the 31st Annual All-Sports Jamboree. Guests should return reservations immediately for the gala. There are a number of large purchasing groups like the "Braves 400 Club," Atlanta Braves and numerous clubs who are "block buying" their ducats.

Never before has a banquet undertaking of the magnitude of this year's One Hundred Per Cent Wrong Club All-Sports Banquet been attempted by a Negro athletic organization.

This year's gala is bigtime and all Atlanta should get behind it. Moss H. Kendrick, national public relations consultant for the club, and Dr. A. L. Thompson, have been burning the midnight oil trying to make this dream come true. So has the entire club membership. They want it to be a success.

Let me repeat the Jamboree has the enthusiastic endorsement of the Southern Intercollegiate Athletic Conference through its President Dr. W. S. M. Banks and Commissioner B. T. Harvey. The SIAC adopts the Atlanta Daily World's All-SIAC Football Team as its very own. The SIAC itself does not name an All-SIAC team and since 1948 that task has been solely the function of our newspaper.

It is somewhat a compliment that so many athletes selected on our All-SIAC team have gone on to success in the National Football League and the American Football League.

CLOSING NOTE—

Three National Football League players and one former player will fly to Viet Nam later this month to visit U. S. troops.

An NFL spokesman said the tour group will include quarterback Tom Bradshaw of the Pittsburgh

cheered, Julian Bond was clearly a Negro leader and not a "leading Negro," selected by the city fathers downtown.

That meeting was also a forum for discussion of Vietnam. The Georgia House of Representatives should be given credit for that. Never before had there been such intense discussion in the Negro community of the distant war. The crowd was once again reminded of the many criticisms voiced all over the country about the war. Prof. Vincent Harding, history professor and Mennonite minister, affirmed his basic agreement with SNCC's position against the war and told the audience that Bond was expelled because he refused to be a slave to President Johnson and his war in Vietnam. Julian Bond's attorney and brother-in-law, Howard Moore, also spoke. Moore responded to a challenge from Charles Weltner, U.S. Congressman from Atlanta, who sits on the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Congressman Weltner's district includes many Negroes, and he has been silent on Bond's right to be

seated but had turned over SNCC's statement to HUAC's staff for investigation as to "subversive" content. Mr. Weltner sought to evaluate SNCC; Mr. Moore said it was time to "evaluate Congressman Weltner." This year Weltner may run against Republican state Rep. Rodney Cook, who has enjoyed considerable Negro support. Weltner could be in serious trouble if drained of some of his Negro support. Moore let Georgia politicians know that the Negro is not in any politician's pocket and that maybe he would have to look around for new political alternatives.

Two nights later another mass meeting was held at Rev. Ralph Abernathy's West Hunter Street Baptist Church. Mr. Abernathy, treasurer of SCLC, was introduced by another SCLC aide, Hosea Williams, as the scholar who received his B.A. at Montgomery, his M.A. at Birmingham, his Ph.D. at Selma, under Prof. Jim Clark, and "now is enrolled for some post-graduate studies in Atlanta under Governor Sanders." Ralph Aber-

nathy's speech is rich in the poetry of the Negro Baptist church and this night he was in marvelous form. His theme was "we're not going to bow any more." He told the Biblical story of Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego, of how the trumpets blew and they were expected to bow but they did not. When summoned they told the king he could blow his trumpet, it belonged to him, but their knees belonged to them. Abernathy asked what is so wrong with American foreign policy that it cannot bear criticism and he, too, spoke of the Senators who have opposed the course in Vietnam. He declared that if Representative Bond is not seated, then his constituents may need to come and fill that seat themselves. Abernathy stood with King in unreservedly paying tribute to SNCC's record of unflinching struggle to create interracial democracy.

The events surrounding the seating of Bond strengthened SNCC's position of connecting civil rights with peace. In the SNCC statement the connection is stated in words; Georgia politics has given reality to the proposition.

THE FIRST CONGRESS OF THE POOR

Richard A. Cloward & Richard M. Elman

Syracuse, N.Y.

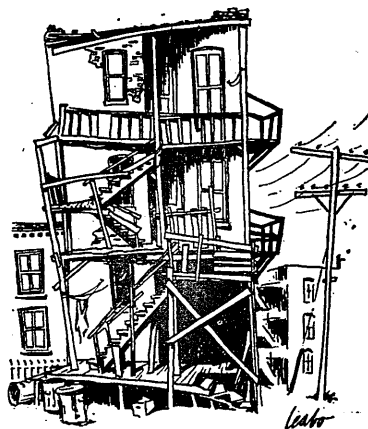
When liberals and civil rights agitators comment on the condition of the American poor, they are quick to say that the poor require more jobs, equal educational opportunities, better housing. And the poor, on formal and public occasions, are equally quick to say the same. Both enraged by and ashamed of their poverty, they demand the right to conform to the cherished American value of individual achievement, however impractical the application of this value and the governmental measures that spring from it may be to their impoverished condition. So Aid to Dependent Children (ADC) mothers readily endorse resolutions calling for public programs to enable poor people to establish

competitive skills and thereby to become self-sufficient.

But privately, away from the drama of framing and passing public resolutions, abstract notions of upward mobility give way to more pressing and immediate matters: how to secure a bare standard of

living—minimal housing, food to eat, clothes to wear. In such conversations with the poor, the villain is not so much a faceless society that permits flagrant class and racial exploitation as it is the familiar agents of the social-welfare state who control their lives. That, at least, is one conclusion to be drawn from a hastily arranged national convention of poor people held in Syracuse, N.Y., on January 15 and 16.

The convention in Syracuse, which met at a Negro Elks' club in a portion of the old tenderloin not yet erased by urban renewal, was expressly called to condemn the current "war against poverty." The rallying cry was for "total participation of the poor," not only in the front ranks of the battle against poverty but in the company, battalion, regimental and divisional headquarters as well. In this vein, resolutions were passed asserting



Richard A. Cloward is professor of social work at Columbia University. Richard M. Elman is a free-lance writer.

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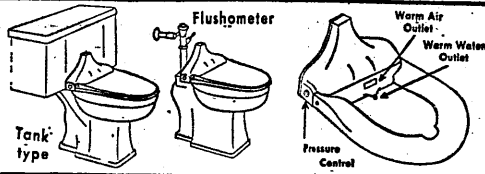
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Georgia Legislators Seek to Bar Negro for Viet Views

By United Press International

ATLANTA.

Several politicians yesterday sought to block the seating of Negro Julian Bond in Georgia's Legislature because of what they termed his "un-American" views on the draft and U. S. policy in Viet Nam.

"This is not because of race," said Rep. Jones Lane of Statesboro, who said he would lead the drive. "It is because of an un-American attitude."

Mr. Bond, publicity director of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, was

one of 10 Negroes elected to the Georgia House of Representatives last fall.

On Thursday he said he agreed with a statement issued by SNCC chairman John Lewis, which urged members to avoid the military draft. Mr. Lewis also accused the United States of following an "aggressive policy" in Viet Nam and said Vietnamese peasants are being "murdered."

Mr. Bond, who was to be seated Monday, said he could see no reason why his position on the Lewis statement should

keep him out of the Legislature.

He noted that Sen. Richard B. Russell, D., Ga., and Sen. James Eastland, D., Miss., had at times been critical of U. S. policies in Viet Nam. "I hope I will be accorded the same privilege," Mr. Bond said.

Capitol observers said there was no modern precedent for challenging Mr. Bond although the state constitution provides that each legislative house is the sole judge of the qualifications of its members.

Rep. Lane said that he had already received assurances of

support from several other House members. "It is very un-American to circumvent the draft," he said. "His seat should be and will be contested."

Lt. Gov. Peter Geer, the Senate's presiding officer, said if he were a House member he would lead the flight to bar Mr. Bond.

"There is no way that Bond can take the oath of office to uphold the Constitution of the United States and the state of Georgia in view of his endorsement of SNCC's policy statement," he said.

Shastri, Ayub Confer Again—Still No Kashmir Pact

From Cable Dispatches

TASHKENT, USSR.

Indian Prime Minister Shastri and Pakistani President Ayub Khan conferred twice yesterday—meeting for the first time in two days.

But their 90 minutes of secret talks did not, according to authoritative sources, bring them any closer to a solution of the smoldering Kashmir dispute.

They were reported to have discussed minor issues—the exchange of prisoners taken during the September Kashmir war and the return of

ships and cargos seized during the conflict—in an attempt to reduce tension.

Two other secondary issues reported likely to come up are the cessation of propaganda and the normalization of diplomatic relations disrupted since the war.

Soviet Premier Kosygin, despite five days of hard work as a go-between at the Soviet-proposed talks here, is apparently having no success in moving Mr. Shastri and President Ayub from their intransigent positions on Kashmir.

Mr. Shastri insists Kash-

mir is part of India and that he will not negotiate its status. Pakistan holds two-fifths of Kashmir and President Ayub still demands a plebiscite among the state's predominantly Moslem population.

Mr. Kosygin last night took Mr. Shastri and President Ayub to the Tashkent Opera House, where they saw a short performance given by the Uzbek National Opera.

It was the first public appearance by the three leaders since the formal opening of the conference Tuesday. Mr. Kosygin sat between his

guests and the group was surrounded by generals and aides.

At the Opera House, children recited poetry in South Asian languages, Indian and Pakistani music was played and dancers dressed in costumes of the two countries performed a dance called "Friendship."

In their talks, Mr. Shastri and President Ayub usually speak in Urdu, a northern Indian dialect. But they are believed to switch to English, which Mr. Kosygin understands, when talking informally with the Soviet Premier.

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