

Local Rabbis Describe Arrests In Selma, Ala.; Historic March

Berkeley Daily Gazette

An Outstanding Newspaper for an Outstanding Community

BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA, TUESDAY, MARCH 23, 1965

10c per Copy—\$1.75 per Month

Publication Office: 2048 Center St., Berkeley, Calif

Second Class Postage Paid at Berkeley, Calif.

Tell of Picketing Home of the Mayor

By MARY ELLEN PERRY

Two Berkeley rabbis packed into a recent trip to Selma, Ala., two nights in jail, a picket of the mayor's house, and the first leg of the current March on Montgomery.

Rabbi Joseph Gumbiner of the Hiller Foundation at the University of California here, who was rabbi in Selma from 1931 to 1939, and Rabbi Saul J. Berman of Temple Beth Israel at 1620 Bancroft Way, flew to Selma last week with a group of Bay Area rabbis.

They arrived at 1:30 p.m. Wednesday and within two hours had experienced their first arrest after they joined a group who picketed Selma Mayor Joseph Smitherman's house.

The group of all-white clergymen were arrested and charged with picketing in a white neighborhood, an offense, according to local Selma ordinances. Later, the charge was changed to parading without a permit.

"After we were booked, Public Safety Director Wilson Baker told us there would be no food provided," Rabbi Berman said, "but a group of us decided to spend the night in jail as a protest."

That night was the Jewish festival of Purim, commemorating the deliverance of the Jews from ancient Persia, Rabbi Berman said, so a service was offered to the clergy of mixed denominations.

The next morning, the clergy were fed a typical Southern breakfast of coffee, biscuits with syrup, grits and fatback.

While in jail, the clergy had composed an appeal to Mayor Smitherman, asking that he meet with them for the purpose of establishing communication between the white and Negro communities of Selma, Berman said.

Rabbi Berman was among the group who walked the six blocks from the Negro neighborhood to the City Hall to deliver the note.

"That was the time I felt real fear," he said, "with the knowledge that every white loiterer on the sidewalk was a potential attacker."

They delivered the letter, and

were later informed through Baker that Smitherman would not see them.

"With this rebuff, a large integrated group of about 350 people decided to descend again in the mayor's neighborhood, and about 30 cars and buses took the group into the area," Berman said.

"Everyone got out at different points and began walking toward the mayor's home, converging from every block. The group was arrested for parading without a permit, then the charge was dropped and we were told we were being taken into protective custody," Rabbi Berman said.

Back to the police station they went, and the group was detained there until they were marched around the corner to the Negro Community Center and later told they could leave.

Many persons in the group decided to spend the night in the center, to once more protest conditions in Selma, Rabbi Berman said.

He said a crucial aspect of the second sit-in was the tension many of the whites felt upon accepting the leadership of the local CORE, SNCC and Southern Christian Leadership Conference organizers who are Negroes.

"Even the white liberals had to admit they felt some reluctance at taking directions from the Negro leadership," Rabbi Berman said, "but the important thing was they recognized this."

"The civil rights marchers were trying to tell the whites in Selma that though they had historically hostile attitudes toward Negroes, they must sit down and talk because the Negroes are no longer accepting the master-slave relationship," Rabbi Gumbiner said.

On Sunday, both Berkeleyans participated in the first leg of the March on Montgomery — which entered its third day today. Rabbi Berman offered to go the whole distance but was not among those selected.

Although armed military men are protecting the march, the rabbis said many people lined the roadways and drove cars on the other side of the road, shouting ugly epithets at the marchers.

"The most horrid thing is to see the little children venting this hostility while their parents not only stand by but appear to encourage them to do so," Rabbi Berman said.

The present pressure being exerted on the South and on all levels of government is basic to the ultimate solution of the problem of voting rights for Negroes, Rabbi Gumbiner said.

"But there is a gap between the cup of legislation and the lips of fulfillment," he said, adding that Southern officials are already figuring out ways of getting around any new Federal laws which may be passed.

However, the Negroes he met were "courageous, and decent, and there is a deep, religious undercurrent," sustaining the movement, he said.



Berkeley Rabbis Saul J. Berman, left, and Joseph Gumbiner, right, look over newspaper accounts of their recent experience in Selma, Ala. Rabbi Berman is at Temple Beth Israel on Bancroft Ave. here and Rabbi Gumbiner is at Hillel Foundation at the University of California.

Army Maneuvers; All Deadlines Met

LEADS MARCH Aide of Dr. King Scores Student Rights Group

By ROBERT B. SEMPLE Jr.
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 21

A leading member of a Southern civil rights group cautioned today that the "irresponsibility" of some militants might cause enormous harm to the rights movement.

In an eloquent and forceful sermon this morning, the Rev. Jefferson P. Rogers told a congregation of Washington Negroes that there were "deep strands of the irresponsible" in the movement, manifested by a "foolish kind of radicalism — a radicalism that does not have any capacity for reconciliation."

Mr. Rogers is pastor of the Presbyterian Church of the Redeemer here and president of the local affiliates of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

He said afterward that his sermon could be taken as a "semi-formal statement" of the conference's views that had "the backing of national headquarters" in Atlanta. Its leader is the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

Mr. Rogers acknowledged that the statement reflected, in part, recurrent schisms within the rights movement and was aimed at explaining the issues involved.

Target Is Student Group

He also acknowledged that his principal target was the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the youngest and most militant of civil rights groups. He did not mention it by name in the sermon.

The student group has been organizing and directing the demonstration in Washington for the last two weeks. These have included sit-ins in the corridors of the Justice Department, regular picketing of the White House, a sit-down that momentarily blocked traffic on Pennsylvania Avenue, and an unplanned sit-down inside the White House that embarrassed some rights leaders here.

The student group's leaders — notably James Forman, its executive secretary — have predicted that the demonstrations will grow rather than diminish in coming months and will in-

Pastor in Capital Criticizes S.N.C.C. for 'Radicalism' — Urges Reconciliation

involve "civil disobedience" if necessary.

Dr. King's lieutenants, however, have taken the position that such demonstrations, unless carefully coordinated by all civil rights groups, could lead to more embarrassing disturbances and might be impolitic by coming at a time when President Johnson has thrown his full weight behind the rights struggle and Congress seems certain to pass a voting-rights bill anyway.

Mr. Rogers said that militancy was important and useful "at the right time" and that the student group had brought great courage and spirit to the movement.

"Tempo and Mood"

However, he continued, each phase of the movement has its "own tempo and mood," and during the present phase — which has been marked by a series of impressive "victories" both in Washington and Alabama — Negroes should emphasize not the tendentious aspects of the cause but, instead, the spirit of "reconciliation" best exemplified by Dr. King.

"We must not only show the power to face death when it comes," Mr. Rogers declared, "we must also have the security to recognize that when the President of the United States has moved as he has moved in the last two weeks there is something new on the horizon."

"Let us not be so weak," he implored his congregation, "as to be unable to recognize when a partial victory has come."

Mr. Rogers said the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee often seemed "more interested in protest than achievement." He objected to its demands that all other rights workers pay "obedience" to it. He also said he deeply resented being "badgered" because he had shown the temerity to "call irresponsibility by its name."

"I had one of the roughest

weeks I've ever had last week," Mr. Rogers declared.

He said he had been asked not to point out irresponsibility where it existed "for the sake of a so-called united front, for the sake of saying that all black people are together, for the sake of saying that all of these movements, and all of the participants in these movements, are doing good."

Mr. Rogers was one of two leaders of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference who participated in negotiations with Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, Vice President Humphrey and the President in the last two weeks. The other was the Rev. Walter Fauntroy, the head of the conference's Washington bureau, who joined the march today from Selma to Montgomery.

Mr. Rogers said he and Mr. Fauntroy had angrily demanded Federal help during these meetings but that now that such help had been provided "we should display neither anger nor cynicism but at least some sense of gratitude."

The pastor told his congregation that his aim was "to move Negroes to the center of American culture." However, he said, a man "cannot stand on the periphery and say to the man in the center, 'Bring me a millennium which will do away with the caprices of human nature.' It can't be done."

There have been recurrent rifts over the last four years between older rights groups that profess nonviolence and the student organization, one of whose leaders once suggested that violence was a suitable tactic for "blackmailing the Federal Government to force other elements in the power structure to accept compromise."

Some observers believe that despite efforts to coordinate activities, communication between the two has deteriorated even more in recent months.

Mr. Rogers himself said that he had "almost no communication" recently with student leaders in Washington.

4 Bombs Found in Birmingham; Army Experts Deactivate Them

Continued From

...nearly full cases of dynamite to 50 sticks. They

New York Times, March 22

MARCH 22, 1965.

C 27

LEADS MARCH

Rally to

al Law

March 21

er, national

gress of Ra-

more than

from the

park near

for a civil

egro march-

sidewalks to

about seven

capitol.

old newsmen

as to empha-

legislation to

al crime to

participating

protest. He

was also de-

gress bar del-

egies where Ne-

denied the right

te.

is also in sym-

ivil rights

rom Selma to

a. Mr. Farmer

the Vigil Ends

the marchers in-

who had been

the-clock demon-

sylvania Ave-

of the White

gill ended today

of the march at

rs sang "We Shall

nd other civil rights

ey walked in the

ne down Pennsyl-

ue to the Capitol

me the rally began.

had risen to more

ng the rally, Mr.

ised President John-

sh last week urging

to adopt a voting

President Johnson

Shall Overcome" he

ivil rights revolu-

Farmer said. "Now

you and me to keep

to keep him and

in Congress moving.

let up the pressure.

up the progress," he

tests to Go On

mer said in an inter-

monstrations would

h after Con-

ministry

the demonstra-

was

25,000 Cry 'Freedom!'

Rights March Finale

From Page 1

the massive march began nine weeks ago with a small Negro voter registration drive in Selma, Ala., 54 miles to the west.

It went forward in the face of murders and numerous other acts of violence and was fed by the courage of one hundred earlier marchers who, two Sundays ago, defied a court order not to march — and were whipped, clubbed, gassed and trod on by horses for their defiance.

It ended yesterday with the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. saying:

"All the world knows we are here today, standing before all the forces and power of the State of Alabama, saying to them, 'We ain't gonna let nobody turn us 'round.'"

SELMA

Selma, the Rev. Dr. King said, "became a shining moment in the conscience of man," as attested to by the presence of the thousands of persons, white and black, to whom he spoke.

"And," he added, "a President born in the South had the sensitivity to feel the will of the people."

He praised President Johnson for the forthrightness of his statements in the crisis of Selma and for the swift firmness of his actions.

SEGREGATION

"I stand before you this afternoon with the conviction that segregation is on its deathbed, and the only question is how costly the segregationists and Wallace will

Wallace's Answer

Montgomery, Ala.

Governor George C. Wallace, speaking on nationwide television, last night described the 25,000-man civil rights march on Alabama's capital as "a prostitution of lawful process."

Wallace declared that he would not be "intimidated by the people who come here in a mob."

He said the demonstration had cost \$1 million, an apparent reference to expenditures by the Federal government to protect the marchers, and asserted that very few of the demonstrators were from Alabama.

'Communists'

"I see that Ralph Bunche, the United Nations man, was here," said Wallace. "He's supposed to be defending us against Communists, but today he was consorting with known Communists."

A group of 20 Negroes, appointed during the demonstration, went to the Capitol last night to submit a petition to Wallace, asking immediate voting rights for Negroes. They

were told his office was closed for the day.

Declared Wallace: "The committee that was appointed to submit a petition to me included people who belong to organizations cited as subversive by the House UnAmerican Activities Committee. The petition committee includes known felons and some non-residents."

Meeting

Wallace then repeated a statement he made earlier in the day that he would be glad to meet with any group of Alabama citizens when they present themselves "in a proper and normal manner."

The delegation of marchers, led by the Rev. Joseph Lowery of Birmingham, went to the Capitol some 25 minutes after the demonstration was completed, because Wallace had stated publicly that he would not meet with any delegation while the demonstration was in progress.

When they were rebuffed they retired and said they would seek an appointment.

Our Correspondent

bus line with their anti-segregation boycott.

But finally the huge column began to move, led by the Rev. Dr. King, other dignitaries, and the hardy 300 who marched the entire route from Selma.

It passed through "Jintown," a Negro residential section of both crumbling shacks and small tidy homes, down Montgomery street into the central business district where the marchers' freedom songs reverberated from the buildings and up broad Dexter avenue to the stately, white Capitol.

SILENCE

Sparse lines of whites clustered along the downtown stretches of the route. Others jammed together inside windows to stare at the procession. All were silent.

Shops and stores were empty.

It took the procession an hour and seven minutes to file through Court Square, downtown Montgomery.

Reaching their destination about 1:30 p.m., almost to the hour, the marchers jammed foot-broad across the Capitol front.

The



COMPLIANCE: A Negro has lunch in a formerly all-white Tampa, Fla., restaurant.

NEW RIGHTS CAMPAIGNS CHARTED

By JOHN HERBERS

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, March 27 — A few days ago in Selma, Ala., a man wearing denim overalls and a white shirt and black tie and an arabesque skullcap on his shaved head held the attention of a group of ministers and nuns fresh from the North.

"It is time," said the Rev. James Bevel, a native of the Mississippi delta, "to start thinking about where the movement is going when we are through in the Alabama Black Belt."

Mr. Bevel is a staff member of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (S.C.L.C.) of which the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. is president. He was one of the chief organizers of the Selma campaign for faster registration of Negro voters in Alabama.

"We will go to Harlem," he began, "and do something about housing and income. There are too many people who do not have enough to live on. Then we will go to South America and start a movement there. After that we want to find a way to use nonviolence instead of war and armaments in international relations."

The Negro leader was giving his audience in Browns Chapel a capsule account of Dr. King's grand plan in the civil rights movement.

Campaign Plans

The Rev. Andrew Young, Dr. King's executive assistant, confirmed after the Selma to Montgomery march this week that a campaign for a Northern city is planned for the summer and that a South African movement also is under consideration.

For the time being, however, S.C.L.C. will continue to sponsor demonstrations in Alabama until President Johnson's voting legislation is enacted, Mr. Young said. Local affiliates, he added, will conduct educational campaigns

to prepare Negroes to take advantage of liberalized registration procedures.

In any discussion of where the civil rights movement is headed, it should be noted that all planning is subject to drastic change.

At the beginning of this year a number of people in the movement were predicting that street demonstrations were a thing of the past and that other forms of protest would take their place.

In the early stages of the Selma campaign, Mr. Young said that because the South was suddenly more compliant it appeared that the civil rights movement was heading into another stage. "In the past the movement has been sustained more or less by violence," he said. "But when you go into a place like Wilcox County [a rural area of heavy Negro population] and get a cordial welcome from the sheriff, it may be time to spend more time on organizing and educating than on marching."

Nation Watched

This, however, was before the marches were put down by force and violence. The police action attracted so much attention that a rash of new demonstrations broke out throughout the nation.

With warm weather coming in, most observers are predicting there will be more.

The Alabama campaign increased the already phenomenal power and prestige of Dr. King in the civil rights movement and added to the coffers of S.C.L.C., an Atlanta-based organization that is dependent on donations for its support.

It also brought more into the open a long-standing division between the S.C.L.C. and more militant civil rights groups, principally the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (S.N.C.C.).

There are basic differences in the two groups. S.C.L.C. is structured vertically under Dr. King in a series of lead-

ers, has strong financial support from the North, maintains a strong religious orientation and works through both middle and lower class Negroes.

S.N.C.C. is loosely organized, draws much of its support from college campuses, has no single leader to rally around, works with poor Negroes and spurns all middle class values.

Leaders of S.N.C.C., which did the groundwork in Selma and other hard core areas, have constantly criticized Dr. King, charging him with coming into a community for a short period of time, dominating the publicity and then leaving without affecting lasting results.

Antagonist

James Forman, executive secretary of S.N.C.C., was openly antagonistic to S.C.L.C. leaders in Selma after Dr. King turned back a march before state troopers earlier this month. He went to Montgomery and organized street sit-ins which S.C.L.C. leaders called "irresponsible."

In Washington, the S.C.L.C.

chairman of that city, the Rev. Jefferson P. Rogers, said in a sermon there is a "foolish kind of radicalism" in the rights movement, "a radicalism that does not have any capacity for reconciliation." He referred to S.N.C.C.-organized demonstrations at the White House, the Justice Department and in the street.

Other Divisions

There have been other divisions in the rights movement. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People pulled out of the S.N.C.C.-controlled Council of Federated Organizations (C.O.F.O.) in Mississippi after some local N.A.A.C.P. leaders complained that C.O.F.O. had been infiltrated by the far left.

Despite their differences, however, the rights leaders work together in most campaigns and there is general agreement that the Selma marchers accomplished their primary goal—that of calling the nation's attention to the voting problem and the submission of legislation to the

Congress by President Johnson.

The civil rights organizations say their plans for the summer were not greatly altered by the Alabama development. There will be some more emphasis on voter registration.

S.N.C.C., which brought hundreds of student volunteers to Mississippi last summer, will run its freedom centers primarily with staff people this year. It is recruiting students to go to Washington in mid-June to lobby for the unseating of the Mississippi delegation to Congress. The Freedom Democratic party, which S.N.C.C. is sponsoring in Mississippi, challenges the seats on the ground the members were illegally elected because Negroes were barred from voting.

The Projects

The Congress of Racial Equality is allied with S.N.C.C. in the Mississippi freedom centers and is conducting voter registration projects in Louisiana, Florida and South Carolina. Richard Haley, the southern director of C.O.R.E., said new emphasis is being put on organizing the voting projects around local groups rather than professional civil rights workers.

The N.A.A.C.P., in addition to sponsoring voter education projects across the South, is concerned with implementation of the 1964 Civil Rights Law and the Federal anti-poverty program. Mrs. Ruby Hurley, Southeast regional secretary, said the local branches are making sure that Negroes are included on committees that administer the anti-poverty law.

The civil rights organizations also will be concerned with compliance with the fair employment practices section of the Civil Rights Law when it goes into effect. Congress delayed the effective date of this section for one year in order to give businesses time to make a smooth transition to biracial employment.



"Getting harder to whistle 'Dixie.'"

CO
Pete
Albee
Hym
R. B.
Gret
Mar
Herb
R. D.
L. C.
O. Ed
Thom
Samu
Arthur
Miriam
James
Peter
Phyllis
Arthur
Howard
Edwin
Herbert
Venon
Raymond
L. C. Du
Alfred
John
Leon
Fred
Richard
Steph
E. J. G
Peter
Glenn
Robert
Marvin
Milton
Louis
John
Howard
Isidor
Count
Richard
K. K.
Shirley
Sabine
Charles
Leon
M. Kar
Arnold
Peter
Mark
Peter
Kenneth
Richard
Gary
Donald
Eugene
Edward
Andrew
William
Peter
Robert
J. M. A.
Sidney
Lloyd
J. Ron
Joel
David
Peter
Judith
P. H. N.
Christia
Victor
Ch

WEEK IN LAW: RIGHTS ACT COMPLIANCE GROWS

By JOHN D. POMFRET

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 27 —Nine months ago, as the House of Representatives was about to take its final vote passing the Civil Rights Bill of 1964, a young liberal Democrat from Atlanta, Representative Charles L. Weltner, took the floor.

Mr. Weltner that February had voted against the bill. Now he was going to change his vote and he wanted to explain why. Somewhat haltingly and in a subdued voice, Mr. Weltner delivered what to many was the most dramatic speech of that historic occasion.

"By the time my name is called, votes sufficient for passage will have been recorded," he said.

"What, then, is the proper course? Is it to vote 'no,' with tradition, safety—and futility?"

"I believe a greater cause can be served. Change, swift and certain, is upon us, and we in the South face some difficult decisions.

"Mr. Speaker, I shall cast my lot with the leadership of my community. I shall cast my vote with the greater cause they serve. I will add my voice to those who seek reasoned and conciliatory adjustment to the new reality."

Big Margin

The bill—the most sweeping civil rights measure since Reconstruction — was approved by the House by an overwhelming margin and five hours later President Johnson signed it.

Now the President has called up Federal troops to insure the safety of civil rights marchers making the trek from Selma to Montgomery to try to present a petition on behalf of Negro rights to Alabama's segregationist Governor, George C. Wallace. Three persons—two whites and one Negro—have laid down their lives in Selma in the civil rights cause. The agony of Selma's Negroes has

been spread across the nation's television screens.

And Congress now has another civil rights bill—this one a bipartisan measure offered by President Johnson to secure finally for Negroes the right to vote.

Does all of this mean that the 1964 act was just an empty gesture; that Mr. Weltner's eloquent plea was futile?

The answer of responsible officials here is a positive "no."

They are generally pleased with compliance that has been achieved, mostly voluntary, with most of the provisions of the 1964 statute. The one area in which the hoped-for compliance has not materialized is that over which the struggle in Alabama developed—voting rights.

The voting rights provision of the 1964 act, which bolstered the acts of 1957 and 1960, made it somewhat easier for the Justice Department to prosecute suits alleging that Negroes were being deprived of their constitutional guaranteed right to vote.

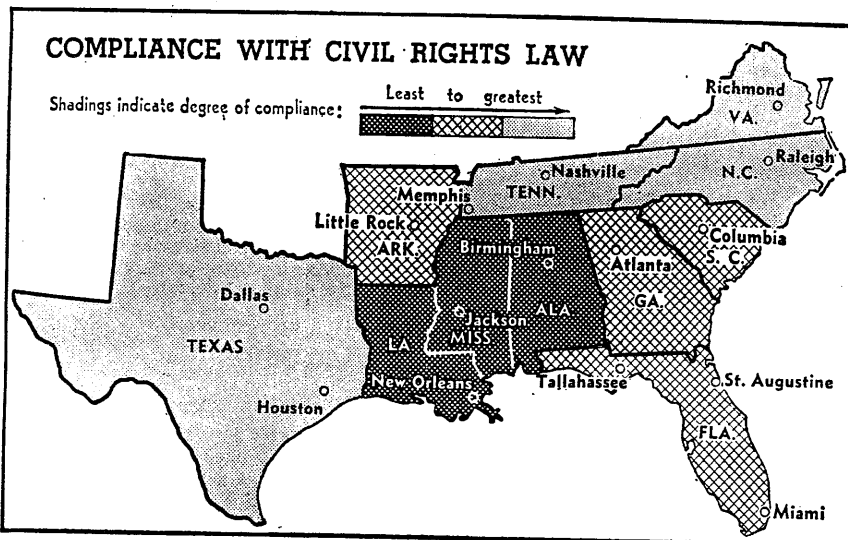
New Devices

But in the centers of hard-core resistance — Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana—state legislatures and recalcitrant local registrars have been able to contrive new devices to prevent Negroes from registering as fast as the Justice Department has been able to knock down the old ones.

Hence the present voting rights proposals, which are designed to take voter registration out of the hands of local officials in states, or their subdivisions, where less than half of the voting-age population was registered or voted in the elections last November.

In these places, the Attorney General could request the Civil Service Commission to appoint registrars to register Negroes who had been kept off the rolls by discriminatory use of voting tests.

Under the formula, the bill would immediately apply to



In general, the shadings refer to the rural areas of the South. Most of the larger cities have made some efforts to comply with civil rights law provisions.

Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, South Carolina, Georgia, Virginia, Alaska and 24 counties in North Carolina.

Until Negroes are successful in gaining the right to vote—and the political power that it carries with it—it is unlikely that they stand much chance of achieving the equality they seek in other areas.

White segregationists are as aware of this as the Negroes. This is why the battle over voting rights has been so protracted and so bitter. In other areas covered by the 1964 act, however, the response has been different.

Compliance

The most widespread compliance with the 1964 statute has been under the provisions calling for an end to discrimination in public accommodations such as hotels, motels, and restaurants and public facilities such as libraries, parks and playgrounds.

Here, too, the pattern is varied. In rural areas and small towns in Alabama, Mississippi, and parts of Louisiana and other Southern

states, discrimination is still widespread. In the larger cities, it has generally been eliminated by the more prominent establishments, but still exists in varying degree in smaller, neighborhood places.

In most situations that it has investigated, the Justice Department has been able to secure voluntary compliance.

But in many key Southern cities, public accommodations and facilities are open to Negroes and used by them. Officials here attribute this rather dramatic change in the traditional pattern and the general peacefulness with which it was achieved to widespread cooperation by businessmen and local officials.

These men were tired of the turmoil that civil rights demonstrations were causing and felt that they were bad for business. When the enactment of the 1964 act put them in a position to claim that they had to obey the law even though they did not like it, they were relieved to be able to do so.

The public accommodations section is the one portion of the statute that has been passed upon thus far by the Supreme Court. The Court upheld its constitutionality.

Sensitive Subject

Next to voting rights, the most sensitive subject covered by the statute is school integration. The main portion of the law

mitted compliance statements of some sort. Nearly 11,000 of about 25,000 local school districts have also sent in compliance statements.

In the case of segregated school districts, compliance statements are not being sought. Instead, Federal officials are asking either for a desegregation plan or copies of court orders under which the districts are desegregating. Of an estimated 2,500 to 3,500 school districts which are segregated, more than 400 have sent in desegregation plans and another 74, court orders.

Not all of the compliance statements filed by state education authorities appear to meet the Federal standards. Those in Mississippi and Louisiana appear particularly deficient. Nor do all of the desegregation plans that have come in appear to meet the Federal requirement that more than token integration be contemplated.

Funds Delayed

While the Office of Education has not yet moved to cut off funds from any program that already has been approved — a complicated process under the terms of the act — it is "temporarily" delaying funds or new projects where its anti-discrimination regulations have not been complied with.

Federal officials are convinced that on the whole, the pattern that is evolving is one of widespread compliance. In many cases, they discovered that

for fair employment practices—does not go into effect until July 1. The provision at first will be binding on both employers and unions with 100 or more employees or members. The number will be reduced in steps to 25 over a four-year period.

Stamp Decision

United States District Judge George L. Hart Jr. struck a blow on behalf of stamp collectors this week in a rather esoteric case involving the Government's policy of flooding the market with deliberately misprinted stamps in order to devalue accidental misprints that fall into the hands of collectors.

A Boston collector had asked the court here to block plans of the Canal Zone to issue 775,000 copies of a 4-cent misprint issued in 1962. The misprint was of a stamp showing a bridge in the zone, but the bridge was left out. Fifty copies had gotten out and the collector, H. E. Harris, claimed that they were worth about \$10,000.

In holding that the Government was exceeding its authority in issuing stamps solely to devalue the misprints, Judge Hart said that the primary function of the Post Office is to handle the mail. A secondary function is to stimulate interest in stamp collecting, he said, but to flood the market with misprints was to turn a secondary purpose into a primary one, thereby exceeding its authority.

AN OPEN LETTER

Each day we hear fresh news both strange and grim in reprisal against North Vietnamese soldiers, sent as armed advisers to an army which cannot well, have been attacked in the very heart of South Vietnam.

Fear of escalation against North Vietnam is a den report of a situation is very to be, we have Vietnam and military actions risks in Vietnam graver risks President we must in Vietnam completion are both

With our s of a govern an civil



Merry-Go-Round

4/1/65

The Reds and the Rights Movement

CALE SING



Drew Pearson

(Today's column is by Jack Anderson, Drew Pearson's associate.)

WITH AN INJURED AIR, the Communists have complained that this column has tarnished their reputation by associating them with the Ku Klux Klan and the Black Muslims.

George A. Meyers, speaking for the party, has addressed their grievance to the Washington Post: "Mr. Anderson claims to have uncovered 'some strange Communist-Klan-Muslim links that suggest at least a unity of purpose.' That purpose, according to Mr. Anderson, is to stir up racial conflict in America, 'apparently for the sheer sake of chaos.'

"Nowhere does the writer back up his charges, nor can he," Meyers added petulantly. "The Communist party completely abhors the Klan, and while we are aware of the frustrations that bring such organizations as the Black Muslims into being, we do not identify ourselves with their philosophy."

The FBI has amassed convincing evidence that Communists, Klansmen, and Muslims, working at opposite extremes of the civil rights struggle, fanned the flames of violence last summer.

★ ★ ★

WHILE KLANSMEN were dynamiting churches and murdering civil rights workers in the South, Communists went

into the streets of Harlem to whip up the mobs during the race riots.

One inflammatory tract, handed out to the rioters by Red agents, declared: "Once again the cops have murdered one of our children. They have been killing about one black person a day in New York."

At last summer's Democratic party convention, the four chief troublemakers in the Mississippi Freedom delegation were known to the FBI as Communists. They fought against every suggested solution and did their utmost to incite violence. This led to the suspicion that they were less interested in Negro rights than in embarrassing President Johnson.

★ ★ ★

A FEW KNOWN Communists also infiltrated the recent civil rights march on Montgomery and tried to goad both marchers and police into violence. They seemed bent on producing more bashed heads and bloodied faces, thus providing grist for the Communist propaganda mill.

This column suggests that the proposed Congressional investigation of the Ku Klux Klan should be expanded to include both the Communists and Muslims to show how the extremists have been using civil rights to stir up both races.

Attack on Students' Rights Group Deplored

To the Editor:

The news article in your issue of March 22 containing the criticism of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (S.N.C.C.) by the Rev. Jefferson P. Rogers of Washington, states that he implied that his remarks had the support of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

Having just returned from Montgomery and Selma, where S.N.C.C. and Dr. King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference are cooperating daily, I can hardly believe that the latter would ever subscribe to the proposition that S.N.C.C. was motivated by a "foolish kind of radicalism."

Dr. King would be the first to acknowledge that S.N.C.C., which has been active in Selma for almost two years, prepared the ground for the voter regis-

tration activity that culminated in the march to Montgomery.

Everyone who witnessed the brutality at the foot of the Edmond Pettus Bridge two weeks ago saw John Lewis, the S.N.C.C. national chairman, and Hosea Williams, one of Dr. King's most effective aides, together lead the demonstrators on their abortive march.

S.N.C.C. is not, as the Rev. Rogers states, "more interested in protest than achievements." Its extensive program of community development is well known throughout the country, as anyone who has spent time in the deep South since 1961 can attest. The Rev. Roger's attack is extremely unfair and does a disservice not only to S.N.C.C. but to the entire civil rights movement.

WILLIAM M. KUNSTLER

New York, March 22, 1965

The writer is a civil rights attorney who has represented the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, CORE and S.N.C.C. in the Deep South.

It Makes Good Pictures But Is It The Same As Real Debate?

"President Johnson has quietly staged a revolution in executive relations with Congress. . . . The President invited every one of the 537 members of the Senate and House to unprecedented briefing sessions at the White House. . . . Some of the immediate impact can be seen in the intent faces in the accompanying unposed pictures. . . . One man who heard the President explain his Viet Nam policy said he could almost feel a growing . . . welding together. . . . Some Congressmen choked up. . . . Since these sessions began, an administration official noted, agitation for negotiation . . . has subsided noticeably."

—Captions with pictures, Washington Star, March 28.

"The day after his inauguration, the President held his first leadership meeting at the White House with members of both political parties. As Chairman of the Republican Conference, I attended. At that time, we were briefed by members of the Cabinet on such issues as Vietnam. The briefing lasted for about two and a half hours with no real opportunity to ask questions or contribute comments. At the conclusion, photographers were called in and the impression was created that the President had developed his policies in consultation with Congressional leaders."

—Rep. Melvin R. Laird (R. Wis.) in a statement (abr.) March 31.

I. F. Stone's Weekly

VOL. XIII, NO. 13

APRIL 5, 1965



WASHINGTON, D. C.

15 CENTS

On the Klan, the Reds and the Un-Americans

It is characteristic of all human societies to take effects for causes. This provides scapegoats by which people evade their responsibilities. An example is the uproar over the Klan in the murder of Mrs. Viola Gregg Liuzzo. Klansmen may have pulled the trigger, but the bullet, the gun and the hate were supplied by the South. In a fundamental sense the South is guilty: its century of lawless resistance to full emancipation, its maintenance of *mores* that prescribe the humiliation and degradation of the Negro, its elevation of racial purity and supremacy to a regional religion, all these have fostered that sexual sickness which made the killers feel they were carrying out a sacred duty to the white race. *Mrs. Liuzzo was executed in her car because there was a Negro on the front seat with her*: this is the truth about the murder people shy away from. Killing is encouraged by the general feeling in the South, among its "good" people as well as its bad, whenever civil rights workers are slain—that they somehow got what they asked for, that they had no right to "butt in" on the South's affairs. The Klan and the murder are the result. To focus on the Klan is to enable the respectables who know better to put their guilt on "rednecks" who don't. To propagate racial ethics is to foster racial murder.

Vulgar Opportunism

On top of this regional sickness is a national sickness—that when anything goes wrong it must be due to Communists. A paranoid corollary is that only firm anti-Communists are above suspicion. This underlies the Administration's pressure to have the Klan investigated by the House Un-American Activities Committee. "This is because its chairman, Mr. Willis, is a Southerner," Tom Wicker disclosed in the *New York Times* March 30, "and because the committee's reputation would make it immune to charges of leftist influence." Does it take an investigation to prove that an organization which preaches Anglo-Saxon white Protestant supremacy is un-American? Could so obvious a proposition be regarded as "leftism?" "The possibility that the Klan might also be treated as a subversive group," Mr. Wicker re-

Maybe We Ought to Bomb England

Mr. VAN DER LINDEN (Nashville, Tenn. Banner): Governor Johnson, you just said that some of the civil rights workers who came into Mississippi last summer were there to stir up trouble. The charge has been made on the floor of Congress that this whole invasion, so called, was planned by the international Communist conspiracy. . . . Do you have any proof that Communists really were behind this movement?

Gov. JOHNSON (Miss.): When this program began last summer we had sent some agents from Mississippi who attended the [freedom] school in Ohio. We had learned from them that there were some Communistic influences in this group that was coming to the state. . . . Some of these hard-core agitators were members of the Communist Party—and were confessed members.

Mr. VAN DER LINDEN: Has that been brought to the attention of the FBI and other government agencies—are they prosecuting any of these people?

Gov. JOHNSON: No, sir, they are not. I think that they are keeping a very close eye on these people. Some of these people that I speak about have gone back where they came from. There was one there from England, who participated in this peace movement against our establishing our submarines in Europe or in England.

—On Meet the Press, Feb. 14, 1965.

ports White House reasoning, "probably would have to await the outcome of a Congressional investigation." Is study required to realize that organizations which preach hatred of Negroes, Jews and Catholics and contempt for Americans of "non Anglo-Saxon" origin are profoundly disruptive in a nation like ours? This was the strategy of Nazi propaganda before the war—to set Americans against each other by anti-Semitism and racism. To ask so discredited a bunch of witch-hunting old dodoes as the House Un-American Activities Committee to investigate the Klan is to demonstrate how shaky is our own commitment to our supposed national ideals. It is also to reveal the vulgar opportunism in the White House.

(Continued on Page Four)

The Strategy Is to Divide and Discredit the Civil Rights Movement

(Continued from Page One)

Do We Never Learn?

To hear Speaker McCormack joining in is to despair of people ever learning from the past. The Un-American Activities Committee originated in the Dickstein-McCormack resolution of 1934. The "un-American" propaganda it was supposed to investigate was the racist propaganda by the Nazis with assistance from native groups like the Klan. But very soon, under the chairmanship of another Southerner, Dies of Texas, the Committee behind the smokescreen of anti-Communism was attacking the New Deal and defeating such great Americans as Frank Murphy, then a pro-labor Governor of Michigan, later a Justice of the Supreme Court. In 30 years of existence, the Committee has only on rare and fleeting occasions ever touched on any menace from the right. Its staff, like that of its counterpart in the Senate, Eastland's Internal Security Committee, is full of superannuated FBI men conditioned to nothing but anti-Communism and of ex-Communists who bring to the hunt an exaggerated notion of their old party's importance and the fanatic's readiness to twist the truth. It is characteristic that the "dean" of the crowd is a former business manager of *The Daily Worker*. Add the fact that McCarthyism never died out in the South, that perjurers and psychotics long discredited in Washington still perform before "little un-American committees" in the legislatures of the deep South, and that the whole area is convinced the Southern Negro would still be getting off the sidewalks if it weren't for a Communist plot. This assures that any Klan investigation by the un-Americans will soon turn into a circus designed to smear the civil rights movement.

There is a warning here for those inside civil rights organizations who have been leaking Red smears against CORE and SNCC. Columnists like Joe Alsop, David Lawrence, and Evans and Novack have become their sounding boards. The youngsters in CORE and SNCC have antagonized their elders by their brashness and conceit. But they have also brought fresh vigor to the fight. The kind of passionate devotion that makes youngsters ready to risk their lives in the South is not apt to be accompanied by sage moderation; if it

For Daring to Register

"I would like to tell you about one Negro who tried to vote in this county. She is a woman named Mary Thomas. She said she walked by the door (of the registrar) many times but was afraid to go in. One day she felt her prayers were answered and therefore she was not alone and decided to go in and register. She received a very difficult test and felt discouraged. When she left the room she was photographed which meant she would have trouble getting credit around town. She had a small business which she used to support herself and her six children. She was not back at the store fifteen minutes when the sheriff appeared and said, 'I have a warrant for your arrest.' Fifteen minutes after she had tried to register. He said, 'You are selling beer without a license.' She said, 'I have a state, a city and a federal license.' He said, 'You do not have a county license.' She was immediately taken to jail, locked up over night in jail without counsel, brought up the next day and fined over \$300 for not having this \$15 beer license from the county despite the fact that she had licenses to sell beer and had done so for over eight years."

—Reverend Theodore Hesburgh, Pres. of Notre Dame, and member of U.S. Civil Rights Commission, before House Judiciary, March 19.

were, they would have stayed at home. Only the sensitive the rebellious, the extremist could or would do what these often exasperating but wonderful youngsters have done. There are neither ties nor resemblances between them and the sedate elderly people who run the Communist Party in this country. They reflect, espouse and develop a whole range of radical ideas, social and racial, some of them wacky with despair. But every movement of liberation requires its fringe of zealots and wilder men; otherwise the moderates would have no way to scare the other side into compromise. I saw the process at work in the Jewish struggle against the British in Palestine where a handful of direct actionists, there men of the right, gave the moderates leverage. This is the normal dynamics of a liberation struggle, not a plot. The plot is the plot to split the movement and rid it of the indispensable zealots by imposing some kind of "loyalty" oath and exposing it to defamation and discredit by the un-Americans.

We'll Be Glad to Send A Sample Copy of This Issue To A Friend — Send A Stamped Addressed Envelope

I. F. Stone's Weekly 5618 Nebraska Ave., N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20015

Please renew (or enter) a sub for the enclosed \$5:

Name

Street

City Zone..... State.....

4/5/65

For the enclosed \$5 send a gift sub to:

(To) Name

Street

City Zone..... State.....

For \$5.35 extra send I. F. Stone's *The Haunted Fifties*

Indicate if announcement wished

I. F. Stone's Weekly

5618 Nebraska Ave., N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20015

Second class
postage paid
at
Washington, D. C.

NEWSPAPER

helping to obtain American citizenship or who have been assisted by his counsel and financial aid, or the many causes and charities that have been aided by his energies and resources.

Just as he is a leading figure in Chicagoland, Mr. Paterno is held in high acclaim in Italy. He has helped hospitals and orphanages in Sicily and other parts of Italy.

Born at Vizzini, Catania, Italy, January 24, 1904, the son of Giovanni and Giuseppa (LoGiusto) Paterno. Married Lena LoGiudice, October 24, 1929. Three children: John, born 1930, died 1960; Josephine, Mrs. Anthony Terlato, and Micheline, born 1947. Five grandchildren.

Past President Joint Civil Committee of Italian Americans, the Italian Chamber of Commerce of Chicago, and the Vizzinese Society.

Awarded third, second, and first stars of solidarity, Republic of Italy, Cavaliere, Cavaliere Ufficiale and Commendatore, Order of Merit, Republic of Italy.

Awarded plaque by the Italian Chamber of Commerce, the Vizzinese Society for devotion and distinguished service to Italian community, 1959; John Scalabrini Award for his liberal generosity to Villa Scalabrini, Italian old peoples home, in 1960; leadership award of Joint Civic Committee, 1961; Amerital-Unico Citizen of Year Award, in 1961.

And now, as the owner of Pacific Wine Co. and Paterno Imports, Ltd., he is recognized as a leader in this industry and also one of the most respected.

Auditors' Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN A. RACE

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 12, 1965

Mr. RACE. Mr. Speaker, various proposals have been introduced in this House which would provide the citizens of this city with some fashion of control over their affairs.

I have joined numerous colleagues in an appeal for committee hearings on the home rule proposals. This appeal requests that hearings be held and a home rule bill be reported to the floor of the House.

Although there are innumerable good reasons why the people of this city should have control over their affairs, one of the most poignant was the subject of an editorial in today's Washington Post.

Mr. Speaker, I commend the thoughtful examination of this editorial to my colleagues and request unanimous consent to have it printed in the Appendix of today's RECORD:

AUDITOR'S REPORT

Children's Hospital is being systematically and deliberately cheated by Congress. The appropriations committees bruntly refuse to pay the bills of the children who are the city's responsibility. Last summer, the hospital told Congress that its annual deficit

was approaching half a million dollars in unpaid services to indigent children. Congress grudgingly made a small increase in the payment schedules, covering less than one-third of the deficit. Asked to come a little closer to their obligation, the appropriations committees demanded an audit of the hospital.

The audit has now been published. Having now wasted 8 months and \$25,500 to be told once again that Congress is defaulting on its responsibilities, the committees are precisely as wise as they were last summer. And the hospital is several hundred thousand dollars deeper in trouble. One new fact developed by the audit was that, following the Government's lead, the Blue Cross is also paying the hospital less than true cost of care.

"Its generosity," one of the audit reports concluded, "has placed the institution in a position where it must now either curtail many of its services which have been given freely in the past or look to the community for increased support, and to Blue Cross for a more realistic reimbursement, if it is to continue to operate."

Children's Hospital is the only place in Washington where sick children are treated without regard to ability to pay. The emergency room at Children's is the family doctor for thousands of slum children in whose neighborhoods there are not many other family doctors. Another auditor's report said: "Virtually all of its out-patient service, much of its emergency service, and at least 40 percent of its patient days of in-patient services are devoted to the care of children whose families are in financial need."

The deficit at Children's Hospital has two chief sources. The city does not pay the hospital nearly as much as the hospital must spend to care for the children who are indigent and eligible for public help. And, even more serious, the peculiar eligibility rules prohibit the city from paying anything at all for the care of many thousands of other children, equally indigent.

Senator BYRD of West Virginia, the chairman of the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee, prevents the city from changing the eligibility rules. And Congressman NATCHER, the chairman of the House Appropriations Subcommittee, prevents the city from paying the full bill even for the eligible children. Three weeks before the auditors' reports appeared, Mr. NATCHER struck out of the city's 1966 budget the small increases in rates that, at President Johnson's request, Congress had reluctantly put into the city's 1965 budget last summer.

Congress reckless vendetta against the city of Washington is driving to the wall one of the country's outstanding centers of pediatric medicine. Congressmen who think that they are saving money may want to read the sections of the auditors' reports that estimate the costs of forcing the hospital to curtail its service.

A "Government Man" Makes Friends in Mississippi

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 12, 1965

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the editor of the Delta Democrat-Times of Greenville, Miss., has a keen appreciation of the true relationship between the States and the Federal Gov-

ernment, as he demonstrates in a recent editorial captioned: "A 'Government Man' Visits Us."

There is an important lesson, wittily stated, in this editorial, which is included in the Appendix of the RECORD under unanimous consent.

The editorial follows:

[From the Delta Democrat-Times, Greenville, Miss., Apr. 1, 1965]

A GOVERNMENT MAN VISITS US

A "Government man" came to Greenville and to Mississippi this week. Strangely, no one fell dead in the streets. Women did not swoon and strong men did not blanch. As it turned out, the first visit from a high-ranking U.S. Government official in almost 4 years turned out to be a very pleasant—and hopefully productive—occasion.

It didn't hurt that the visitor, Eugene Foley, Administrator of the Small Business Administration, is a very personable, witty, and intelligent man.

But consider the strikes that the official Mississippi attitude would have us believe he has against him. He is actually a top-ranking Federal appointee. He once worked (whisper) under then Senator HUBERT HUMPHREY, who we all know has horns. He believes in the positive role of Government in the economy and society in general. He now represents the Johnson administration, which everyone knows "hates" the South.

And yet, there he was, looking just like a human being. What's more, he was encouraging Mississippians to think of that octopus up there as their Government too—to think of it as most Americans in at least 48 of the States do. And he didn't come into the State treating his hosts like pariahs, but as possible partners in the quest for the Great Society.

We don't know what kind of impression Eugene Foley took back to Washington when he left Mississippi after his visits to Greenville, the A. & I. Board in Jackson and Natchez. But we do know that his visit here didn't do any harm, except to a few of our more cherished myths. Let's have some more "Government men" visit down here.

A Longer Look at SNCC

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. GEORGE W. ANDREWS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 12, 1965

Mr. GEORGE W. ANDREWS. Mr. Speaker, several weeks ago I wrote the chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee and suggested that the committee investigate the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee—SNCC. I am today renewing my request that such an investigation be launched, and in support of my opinion that an investigation be made I would like to call to your attention an article by Rowland Evans and Robert Novak which appeared in the Washington Post dated April 9, 1965. The committee should certainly give very serious consideration to the charges made by Messrs. Evans and Novak.

The article follows:

A LONGER LOOK AT SNCC

(By Rowland Evans and Robert Novak)

The presence of Communist elements within the operations of the Student Nonviolent

April 12, 1965

Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is not really a case of diabolical Red infiltration. In the civil rights battle, SNCC simply has left the door open to all who want to enter.

It would be a miracle if Communists had not attached themselves to SNCC. Instead, SNCC leaders make no secret of their refusal to bar Communists.

And because SNCC is the inspiration for so many idealistic young collegians, this refusal to recognize the danger of Communist infiltration is tragic. By providing ammunition to the segregationists, it poses a long-range threat to the civil rights movement itself (as Communists almost wrecked U.S. labor a generation ago).

Ever since we first wrote of this danger, in August 1963, we have been denounced by angry SNCC defenders challenging us to cite evidence. We do so now, but with these two caveats:

First, extreme radicalism in SNCC is by no means solely or even principally due to Communist influences (for example, black racism is rising inside SNCC). Second, only an infinitesimal fraction of SNCC workers have Communist ties.

But in infinitesimal fraction can be quite influential. Consider the fact that SNCC's legal arm, particularly in Mississippi voter registration, is virtually the same as the National Lawyers Guild, long-time follower of the Communist line. It was this legal advice that helped propel the Mississippi Freedom Party (a subsidiary of SNCC) to extremist positions at the 1964 Democratic Convention.

Two Lawyers Guild members active in SNCC projects—Morton Stavis and Arthur Kinoy—are illustrative of many.

Both have specialized in Communist clients (Kinoy participated in the defense of atom spies Julius and Ethel Rosenberg). Both have belonged to Communist fronts (Stavis took the fifth amendment before Congress in regard to Communist Party membership). Both have been attorneys for the United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers (the notorious UE expelled from the CIO in 1950 because of Communist domination).

Moreover, there is a clear connection between SNCC, the UE, and an ultraleftist publication called the National Guardian (which currently spews out the Chinese Communist line).

Copies of the National Guardian are standard equipment at SNCC field offices. SNCC leaders have signed testimonials praising the Guardian. The Guardian's general manager is Russell Nixon, formerly of the UE. At the UE national convention last September, the potentiality of allying labor and civil rights was discussed by Ella J. Baker, a prominent SNCC adviser.

It was Miss Baker, a veteran leftist, who harangued neophyte Mississippi Negro leaders into refusing a good compromise at the 1964 Democratic Convention. She also helps link SNCC with the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), where she has intimate ties. SCEF, impregnated with pro-Communists, has provided financial and personal assistance to SNCC.

More ominous are the ties between SNCC and Communist youth groups abroad. A SNCC representative named Reginald Robinson attended the Moscow World Youth Forum last September. SNCC workers plan to attend a Red-sponsored youth rally in Algeria this summer. And SNCC is seeking alliances with young radicals abroad.

John Lewis, SNCC's national chairman, seems to be no Communist. But he is repeating the error of so many liberals of the past who believed they could use the Communists rather than be used.

Statement of Faith

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 15, 1965

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to call to the attention of the House an expression of sentiment on the events of last month in Alabama and the voting rights bill which, I trust, will soon come before us. As will be noted, 67 faculty members of the Newton, N.J., school system have placed themselves on record in support of the guarantees accorded our citizens by the 14th and 15th amendments to the Constitution. This expression is set forth in the form of an open letter which appeared in a recent edition of the New Jersey Herald, a fine weekly newspaper published in Newton, N.J. I commend to your attention, too, the editorial entitled "Statement of Faith" in which that newspaper commented upon the open letter.

The letter and editorial follow:

UNEQUIVOCAL SUPPORT

EDITOR, THE NEW JERSEY HERALD:

Standing in the shadows of the Lincoln Memorial during the march on Washington in August 1963, Rabbi Joachin Prinz spoke: "When I was the rabbi of the Jewish community in Berlin under the Hitler regime, I learned under those tragic circumstances that bigotry and hatred are not the most urgent problems. The most disgraceful, the most shameful, and the most tragic problem is silence."

As educators, we, the undersigned, feel we must take a strong stand on the moral and legal issues of civil rights. We totally reject the voting laws enacted under States rights as unjust and lacking both historical and legal justification when those laws ignore other rights guaranteed to the individual in the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. Article XIV of the U.S. Constitution asserts that "no State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of the citizens of the United States, and representation of a State shall be reduced when that State limits its franchise." Article XV states that: "(1) the right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude; (2) the Congress shall have the power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

No State government or State law has the right to circumvent the law of the land—the Constitution of the United States.

We also, without qualification, renounce any political force that denies the basic civil liberties to anyone. We deplore any local, State, or National Government which violates human freedom, be it in Selma, Ala., or Hanoi, North Vietnam. We cannot be intellectually honest with ourselves if we condemn Peiping and tolerate Philadelphia, Miss.

As a professional group, we add our voices to the national chorus of indignation over the brutal and inhumane treatment of American citizens on Sunday, March 7, 1965, in Selma and again on March 16, 1965, in Montgomery, Ala. There is no place in the United States for police terror.

We humbly, but proudly, add our crying conscience to that of the religious leaders in America and the world. We join with Pope Paul VI of the Roman Catholic Church in supporting Martin Luther King and his Christian policy of nonviolence. We stand shoulder to shoulder with the National Council of Churches in repudiating every form of racial injustice. As teachers, we endorse the stand of the American Jewish Committee in their support of racial and religious equality.

We give unequivocal support to our fellow-Americans, the Negroes, in their quest for the most basic sacrament in a democracy—the right to vote.

Signed by:

H. Ackerman, S. D. Alder, E. Angle, W. Barnhill, L. Beatty, G. Beilerle, L. Bertsch, D. Bole, S. Bole, H. Byrne, R. Cantor, K. Childs, E. Cole, B. Cummings, R. Davies, V. Davies, G. Do-land, M. Doughterty, C. Duane, C. Ford, C. Gerth, E. Goble, M. Graebner, C. Guirrerri, M. Hanley, J. Herman, E. Hess, J. Hontz, G. Hubbard, M. Jaeger, A. Jones, B. Jones, G. Kaiser, Z. Kiss, F. Kochey, B. LaBone, R. Lawton, F. Linkey, F. Mara, G. Marotta, G. Marshall, M. Mathews, L. McCoy, E. Miller, V. Mills, A. Newlun, A. Osmun, J. Pascoe, D. Proctor, B. Pugsley, P. Reger, J. Rydell, R. Scheer, H. Selover, R. Seplov, A. Shannon, S. Snyder, F. Stanaback, B. Strzelczyk, A. Sutton, T. Taylor, E. Thorne, I. Ward, D. Will, K. Wooden, C. Yeter, J. Zamos, Teachers in the Newton School System.

STATEMENT OF FAITH

Immediately below this in the "Editor's Mail Bag" is an open letter signed by 67 Newton teachers and administrators. In submitting the letter for publication, the teachers said it was circulated in the three schools and all teachers and administrators given an opportunity to sign and subscribe to it. The letter is signed by less than 50 percent of the members of the faculties in the three schools.

The letter is, in effect, a statement of faith, an expression of conscience on the greatest moral, social and religious issues now facing this Nation. In unequivocal terms, the teachers take their stand on the constitutional side of civil rights, and "add our voices to the national chorus of indignation over the brutal and inhumane treatment of American citizens on Sunday, March 7, 1965, in Selma and again on March 16, 1965, in Montgomery, Ala."

It is right that teachers should speak out on these matters. And they have every right to speak out. In fact, they have a duty to do so. To do otherwise would be to abdicate their position of leadership in the community.

The letter signed by the 67 teachers is not an inflammatory or radical statement. It is simply a reaffirmation of the rights guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution and a denunciation of "any political force that denies the basic civil liberties to anyone." Who can quarrel with that? It is a statement of principles to which every right-thinking person in the country can subscribe.

It is regrettable that less than half the teachers saw fit to sign the statement. However, it must be assumed that those who did not subscribe had good and sufficient personal reasons for abstaining. This is a matter of deep personal conviction, and is not one that should involve recriminations or personal abuse. The teaching staff, like any other group of 150 people in our society, is bound to include persons of widely differing opinions.

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

bama boycott proposal up the flagpole in a TV interview earlier in the week, but not many people saluted. Even some civil-rights leaders doubted the wisdom and the practicality of the plan. "I have some reservations about a total boycott that makes no distinction between the good guys and the bad guys," said the Urban League's cool-eyed executive director, Whitney M. Young Jr. And it plainly didn't have Administration support, partly because it would hurt Alabama Negroes as well as segregationist whites, partly because it would endanger a carefully nurtured moderate renaissance in the state.

Pressure: King stuck to the plan in form—but, principally on Rustin's urging, the SCLC board curtailed it substantially in effect. By the time King outlined it at the weekend, it was to start with a call on industry to suspend any plans to build plants in Alabama and a proposal that the government "vigorously step up" enforcement of the Federal fund cut-off provision of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. If that didn't work, SCLC would spread the boycott call to cover private investment funds and Federal bank deposits, and, finally, it would appeal to consumers to boycott "carefully selected" Alabama merchandise.

King made it plain he had no intention of letting up the pressure on Alabama. The demonstrators stayed home in Selma last week, but one group of 500 memorialized their slain volunteer companion, Mrs. Viola Liuzzo, with a pilgrimage to Montgomery to lay ten coffins at the Capitol steps—one for each of the ten persons who have died in the civil-rights cause in Alabama in the past two years. And in tiny Camden (population 1,500), Mayor F.R. Albritton and a squad of deputies, cops, and civilian volunteers

aborted a series of SCLC student protest marches—once with a brief volley of smoke bombs.

Tension crackled anew in Birmingham, too, where six dynamite time bombs had been found planted in Negro neighborhoods the week before. Hours before dawn one morning last week, a bomb went off in an alley behind a Negro accountant's home, wrecking his garage, splintering windows up and down the block, and injuring the accountant's 13-year-old son. While police swarmed to the scene, marauders planted two more time bombs—this time at the homes of Mayor Albert Boutwell and city councilwoman Nina Miglionico, both racial moderates. Those two were found and disarmed before their alarm-clock timers ticked past the trigger-hour.

The incidents ran Birmingham's box score of bombings and bombing attempts to 23 since 1956—the worst among them the 1963 blast that killed four girls in a Negro church.

\$5,000 Reward: The week brought signs that Alabama's Gov. George Wallace—who flew into Birmingham and posted a \$5,000 reward—might at last be trying to soften his image as a defiant bitter-ender. The day Martin Luther King's march reached Montgomery, he had ducked out on a promise to see a delegation of petitioners urging him to reverse his segregationist posture. But last week the governor granted the committee of fifteen Negroes and one white minister an audience of an hour and 25 minutes.

The petitioners hardly melted his heart, but they did not challenge a Wallace staffer's statement that it was a "friendly, frank discussion." They presented their petition; Wallace promised to read it and consider it. Then, as the



Associated Press

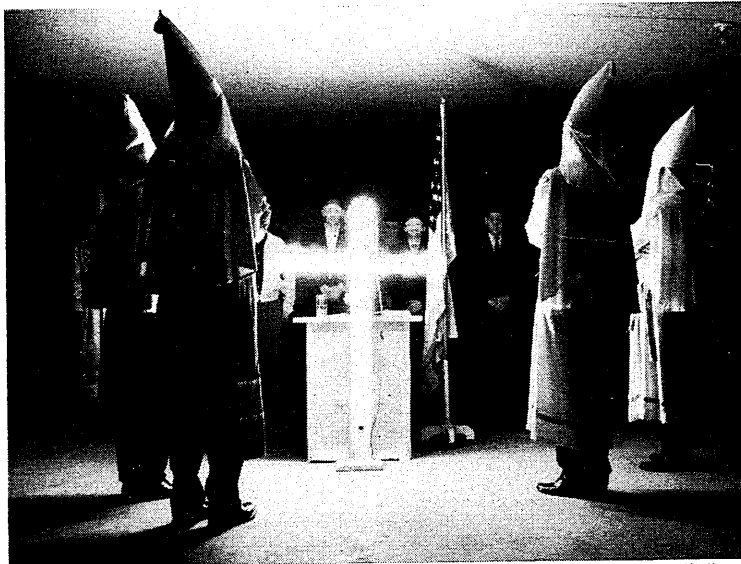
Smoke bombs in Camden

meeting broke up, the Rev. James Bevel—a denim-clad, firebrand King lieutenant—spied a stack of photos of Wallace on a desk. He asked Wallace to autograph one; the governor did. One by one, he signed photos for the other fifteen petitioners, too. "They'll probably throw darts at 'em later," one Wallace aide cracked dourly. But King's men were more likely to frame the photos as trophies of a small but significant victory: the first time any Alabama governor had met with civil-rights petitioners.

Unsheeting the Klan

The first skirmishing parties headed for the front last week to undertake Lyndon Johnson's war against the Ku Klux Klan. They rode into battle on the crest of a national wave of outrage over the murder of Mrs. Viola Liuzzo on Alabama's U.S. Highway 80 between Selma and Montgomery—and the arrest of four Klansmen as suspects. Yet, even as the first shots were fired, some of the Klan's stoutest foes wondered aloud whether the right troops were fighting the right battle on the right ground.

Those doubts bubbled up when the House Un-American Activities Committee voted unanimously to take up LBJ's call for a Congressional investigation of the Klan. The Administration was doubly pleased by HUAC's impeccably conservative credentials and its strong Dixie flavor: five of its nine members, including chairman Edwin Willis of Louisiana, are Southerners. With that imprimatur, a HUAC report giving the Klan unsheeted hell promised to carry more weight than a rote blast by Northern liberals. And Willis left little doubt as to HUAC's starting stance. He said his preliminary inquiries show that "shock-



Kirk Wooster—Atlanta Constitution

Klan rites in Georgia: 'Incompatible with Americanism'?



General Taylor at the White House: Playing down the drama

Pictorial Parade

nam was nearly sufficient, due to modern weaponry. Nevertheless, new plans call for an additional 160,000 men for the South Vietnamese army, including 20,000 for the police force.

Taylor did much to soothe those congressmen who had feared that his return presaged further escalation of the war, but some of the doves, particularly in the Senate, were still restive. "This town is afraid of the President," grumbled one senator. "So is the press. He has clamped the lid on things. He courts you to get your adherence at best, or your silence at worst. You soon learn that if you continue to buck him, there will be reprisals. When you stand up to Lyndon Johnson, you know, it's like standing on the railroad tracks while an express train is bearing down on you."

'More Hope': Not all of last week's diplomatic activity about Vietnam centered on Washington. From Belgrade came an appeal by seventeen nonaligned nations (including India, Yugoslavia, Iraq, and Ethiopia) calling for negotiations in Vietnam, without "any preconditions"; and from Moscow, The New York Times quoted diplomats from an unnamed neutral nation as saying that North Vietnamese officials have privately indicated they might be willing to negotiate on this basis. In London, Foreign Secretary Michael Stewart said that "more ground for hope" in Vietnam had arisen, and announced that his government would canvass participants in the 1954 Geneva conference to seek their ideas for a settlement.

These moves might or might not portend some significant new development in the long war in Vietnam, but President Johnson insisted that the U.S. so far has no official information suggesting that the Communists are in any mood to talk peace. Later, the President flew to Camp David and listened noncommittally to Canadian Prime Minister Lester

Pearson's suggestion that a suspension of U.S. bombing raids might clear the way for talks. But even as the two leaders met, there was ominous news from the war front: for the first time, U.S. warplanes were jumped by Communist MIG fighters. Three U.S. F-105's were shot down by the MIGs and by intense enemy groundfire. And so the week ended—just as dramatically as it had begun.

THE PRESIDENCY:

Texas-Size Bite

It was that time again—even for Lyndon Johnson. As millions of Americans labored over their income-tax forms last week, the President passed the word that his own tax bill amounted to a cool \$100,000. And, LBJ volunteered, he'd had to borrow part of the money (from a Texas bank) to clear himself with the Internal Revenue Service.

As President, Mr. Johnson receives \$100,000 a year in salary, and \$50,000 more for expenses, both taxable. Besides that, he gets a non-taxable \$40,000 for travel and entertainment. The Johnson family fortune—estimated conservatively by his accountants last year at \$3.5 million—is in trust, but the President must pay taxes on his share of its income. His \$100,000 tax bill, he said, involved both 1964 income and his first quarterly estimated payment on 1965's.

Like a model taxpayer, the President was stoic about the big bite. "They have a procedure," he drawled, "where they pay it to the President with the left hand and take it out with the right." But ever the old schoolmaster, he was able to draw a moral, too. It all went to show, said ex-heart patient Johnson, that people who had suffered serious illness could recover successfully enough to become useful citizens (and productive taxpayers) again.

CIVIL RIGHTS:

Summer Strategy

Something less than fresh from their momentous march on Montgomery, Martin Luther King and his strategists huddled for two days last week in the determinedly elegant Florentine Room of Baltimore's Lord Baltimore Hotel and brainstormed a pressing question: what to do for an encore. The big parade was a tough act to follow, as King himself discovered when he floated a trial-balloon proposal for an economic boycott of Alabama—and saw it promptly peppered by friends and foes alike. But when King's men wound up their strategy sessions, they had their answer in the five-letter acronym SCOPE—short for a massive voter-registration drive in seven Southern states.

As sketched at the meeting, SCOPE—Summer Community Organization and Political Education—would be manned by 2,000 volunteers from 800 college campuses. Their territory: 120 counties from Virginia to Louisiana—a belt in which adult Negroes outnumber whites, 724,710 to 627,764, but are outregistered at the polls, 536,369 to 150,929. By the mid-June kick-off date, King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference expects to have a stiff new voting-rights law to work with, and SCOPE aims to double the Negro vote in the 1966 Congressional elections.

That doubled electorate would be explicitly a bloc vote, according to SCOPE director Hosea Williams, the moonfaced King lieutenant who organized the Selma-to-Montgomery pilgrimage. "We intend," Williams said, "to use SCOPE as a foundation for political organization all over the South. SCOPE is going to tell voters, 'All of y'all go to see the politicians together. You're not going to get anything as long as they can section you off.'" Williams was unconcerned about the fact that the militant Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee—better seasoned than SCLC at registration campaigns—has already staked out some territory picked for SCOPE. "I don't argue with SNCC," Williams said, "I outwork 'em."

Circuit Riding: SCLC's master strategy was larger still; probably it would venture more and more outside the South and send King circuit-riding into the tinders black ghettos of the North. Bayard Rustin, the influential New York Negro intellectual, turned up at the Baltimore conference to urge just such a course on King. And King was willing. "You can expect us in New York," he said, "and in Philadelphia and Chicago and Detroit and Los Angeles. Selma, Ala., isn't right—but Baltimore isn't right either, and New York City isn't right."

Martin Luther King had run his Ala-

participation in its activities is decidedly laissez-faire. It makes no effort to screen its 250 field workers for Communist sympathies, and has no regulation barring Communists from leadership posts. SNCC's strong man and elder statesman, 36-year-old James Forman, insists the question is really irrelevant and doesn't much want to discuss it, although he does say: "I doubt that we are getting very many of these so-called Communists." John Lewis, 25, the far less influential chairman, is willing to go a bit further. "There may be some Communists in SNCC, but they are not dictating policy," he said last week.

Confident of the force of SNCC's own mystique, lanky young Jimmy Garrett, head of SNCC's Los Angeles field office, frankly considers the Communists too square to be influential. "Man, they're empty," he said. "They've got the same stale ideas, the same bureaucracy." A number of young West Coast Communists, said Garrett, went to work with SNCC in Mississippi last summer and, more recently, in Selma. "We know who they are and how they work, so they aren't threatening anything," he maintained. "And every one, every one of them changes. They get so they care about people and not about this rigidity. In two years, the young people's party won't have five members. Because when they get mixed up with us, a Commie dies and a person develops. They're not subverting us, we're subverting them. We're more revolutionary than the Communists."

Mystic Faith: Watching SNCC in action, it sometimes seems so. The SNCC style is based on an almost mystic faith in the ability of poor, uneducated people to govern themselves—a sort of superdemocracy far more radical, in one sense, than traditional Communist paternalism. SNCC activists are openly contemptuous of stuffy Marxist-Leninism or, for that matter, any organized ideology. Instead, they prefer a jazzy, free-form individualism. They are suspicious of all power—even their own over the unsophisticated Negroes they work with.

Few respectable critics ascribe SNCC's doctrinaire belligerence to anything more malevolent than long-aggravated underdogism. "They see their friends being beaten, and some of them killed," says one government expert. "They see basic rights denied. Who can blame them?"

Even so, inflammatory statements by some SNCC activists have raised eyebrows and questions. After sheriff's deputies and state troopers attacked demonstrators in Montgomery last month, for instance, Jim Forman brought a protest meeting to the boiling point with a cry for massive civil disobedience in Washington. "If we can't sit at the table, we're going to knock the [ob-

scenity] legs off!" he shouted, as nuns and clergymen squirmed.

More politically provocative examples are cited, too. Some white clerics complain that SNCCniks talk up issues like U.S. involvement in Vietnam to embarrass America. Other observers point to the active role of the left-leaning National Lawyers Guild in the affairs of SNCC's political offspring in Mississippi, the Freedom Democratic Party. And when moderate Mississippi editor Hodding Carter III—whose Greenville Delta Democrat-Times had been giving sympathetic coverage to SNCC activities—took some visiting journalists to the local headquarters in January, he was dismayed to find piles of Communist literature on display.

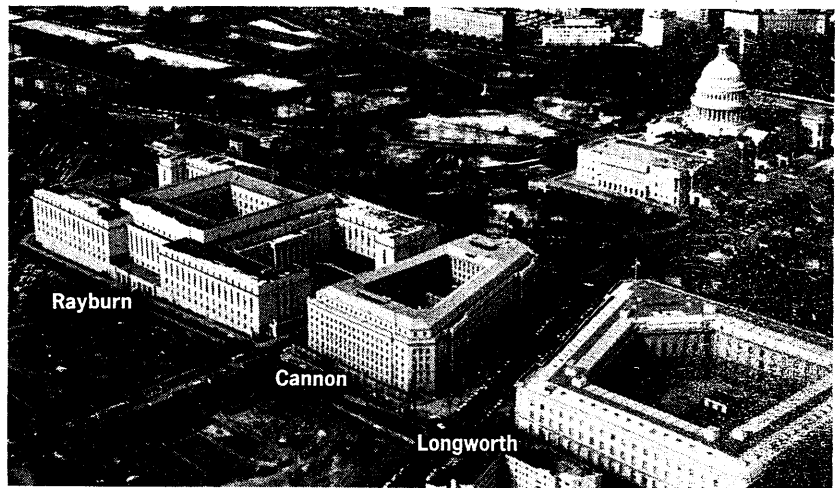
Threats: There have been complaints also about the thrust of the "freedom schools" being run by the Council of

ously innocent, the most creative SNCC leaders have evolved a new approach—one that they fervently believe is beyond conventional politics, and not really understandable in conventional terms. Yet, for all their hip enthusiasm, the bleak history of Communist efforts to subvert good causes is against them. Time and again, liberal movements have had to banish Communists from their midst or take the bitter consequences.

CONGRESS:

The House the House Built

The torrent of criticism began the moment the late House Speaker Sam Rayburn proposed an additional House office building ten years ago. And it grew as the building's massive façade and "simplified classic" walls of granite, lime-



Three homes for the House: Next, a McCormack Building?

Federated Organizations, the SNCC-CORE combine in Mississippi. One white minister, long active in civil rights, had to be rescued from a gang of COFO-oriented young Negro radicals recently when they physically threatened him after he preached nonviolence at a mass meeting. The local NAACP long ago withdrew its support from COFO, and some NAACP leaders report they have been threatened with violence for taking a softer approach. Other Negro moderates say that Fannie Lou Hamer, the Freedom Democrats' leading mouthpiece, is showing disturbingly demagogic tendencies—attacking middle-class Negroes and whites, American policy in Vietnam, and Martin Luther King.

SNCC leaders profess to see the whole mosaic of chaotic protest as the inevitable result of disfranchised people finally having their say. And, in truth, SNCC's blithe penchant for anarchy is extraordinary.

Romantic, idealistic, perhaps danger-

stone, and marble eventually rose—along with cost estimates (to some \$100 million, making it the world's most expensive public structure).

Utter scorn for the Capital's latest architectural achievement, the Rayburn House Office Building, reached a new peak last week, as some congressmen and nearly all critics contemplated with sorrow or disgust the undoubted permanency of the ten-story, 720- by 450-foot structure. "A libel on the American people," editorialized *The Washington Post*. And *The New York Times* architecture critic Ada Louise Huxtable was lyrical in her contempt. The building's "empty aridity and degraded classical details," she wrote, "are vulgarization without drama, and to be both dull and vulgar may be an achievement of sorts ... A supercolossal exterior expanse of stolid, Mussolini-style pomp is embellished with sculpture that would be the apogee of art in the Soviet Union ..."

It not only looks bad, it also works

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

ing crimes" are committed by secret Klan action groups, known as "knock-off squads" or "holy terrors." "Klanism," he said, "is incompatible with Americanism."

"Tragic Irony": But HUAC's free-wheeling Red hunts have made its name anathema to many liberals. The Washington Post found it a "tragic irony . . . if this Congressional cabal . . . should now be permitted to capitalize on the martyrdom of a civil-rights worker for the refurbishment of its own shoddy image." Martin Luther King himself said he had "little faith" in HUAC; he urged that the Klan inquiry be undertaken instead by a bipartisan joint Congressional committee.

And others raised deeper questions about whether the Klan inquiry might divert the nation's attention from larger, more potent elements of Southern segregationist resistance—and divert it instead to a splintered hate group with fewer than 20,000 hard-core members (NEWSWEEK, Dec. 21). "The Klan deserves the worst it can get," said Leslie W. Dunbar, executive director of Atlanta's biracial Southern Regional Council. "But the nation doesn't merit a scapegoat and HUAC doesn't merit the chance to become respectable. The Klan is an easy target because it's made up of little people who do vile things."

Second Front: Still, Klansmen have been implicated in some of the worst atrocities in the civil-rights struggle—the killing of Mrs. Liuzzo only the most recent among them. (And last week, night riders dumped charred crosses, the traditional Klan icon, outside three Detroit buildings—among them the Liuzzo family's home.) While HUAC began the month or two of ground-breaking field investigations needed to get hearings started, Justice Department lawyers opened a second front: drafting the anti-Klan legislation LBJ had promised to send to Congress. And that, too, was proving a sticky task. A direct anti-Klan law raised constitutional questions of free speech and assembly and practical headaches as well; the most worrisome among them was the prospect that the Klan would simply go underground.

The approach, instead, seemed likely to be a bill to expand the Reconstruction-era law invoked by the government in the Liuzzo case—a statute outlawing conspiracies to deprive a citizen of his civil rights. Justice lawyers are considering amendments to bring specific crimes, such as murder, under that law and to provide stiffer penalties than the current maximum of ten years and \$5,000. But that step, too, would raise a practical difficulty: suspected offenders would still be tried by Southern juries in Southern courts. Whatever HUAC's qualifications for the mission, its inquiry at least would assure that the Klan would be disrobed in a national arena.

Waving the Red Flag

Try as they might over the years, Communists have never made much headway in the civil-rights movement. Still, potential subversion of the movement has always been a concern to its friends and a red flag to its enemies. Last week, in the wake of the turmoil in Alabama, the issue surfaced again.

Predictably, the loudest alarms came from Dixie segregationists eager to discredit the Negro revolution. Alabama's Goldwater Republican Rep. William Dickinson took the House floor to charge interracial "debauchery" on the march to Montgomery, and insist: "The Communist Party and the Communist apparatus is the undergirding structure for all of the racial troubles in Alabama for the past three months." His Alabama colleague, Rep. James Martin, filled

its eye on leftist trends in the movement. During the siege of Selma, for example, Presidential aides privately expressed fear that Martin Luther King might lose his leadership to SNCC hotheads.

Indeed, most of the current concern in responsible circles centers on SNCC—the aggressive, fiercely nonconformist spearpoint of the civil-rights arsenal. Authorities agree that the "establishment" Negro organizations, the NAACP and the Urban League, are unquestionably free of Communist taint. Nor is there much worry about CORE, a loose federation of autonomous chapters, although some of its fringe activists may be Communist-oriented.

King—Nobel Peace Prize and all—is still a favorite target of some Southern die-hards. Huge blowups of an old picture of the Negro leader taken at the



Billboard along U.S. 80: Blaming it all on the 'Communist apparatus'

pages of the Congressional Record with newspaper stories critical of the movement, including a syndicated column by Washington reporters Rowland Evans and Robert Novak calling the ultramilitant Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee "substantially infiltrated by beatnik, left-wing revolutionaries and—worst of all—by Communists."

Anxiety: But more significantly, expressions of anxiety were coming from staunch liberal friends of civil rights, some of them graying veterans of the traumatic wars with the Communists a generation ago. For the record, Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach gave the major civil-rights organizations and their leaders a clean bill of health this week. But privately—and without being alarmist—Justice Department specialists talked about the infiltration threat. "It is serious, and the movement's leaders have got to be alert," said one staffer. "This problem is going to be with us for ten years." The White House, too, has

interracial Highlander Folk School in Tennessee are blossoming on billboards along Alabama's U.S. 80 under the scare headline: MARTIN LUTHER KING AT COMMUNIST TRAINING SCHOOL. Occasionally, even government investigators whisper about one or another Communist ideologue supposedly close to King and his Southern Christian Leadership Conference. But as one savvy Washington liberal said last week: "As far as I can see, King faced up to his Communist problem and solved it."

The anxiety about SNCC is less easy to dismiss. It is fed by criticism of two kinds: that disciplined Communists have wormed their way into the group's operations, and that—whatever its ideological base—SNCC's far-out radicalism is at best irresponsible, and, at worst, somewhat sinister. "It's as if they want to make the society appear hopelessly corrupt," says one critic, "to make it seem the only hope is revolution."

SNCC's attitude about Communist

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

bad, congressmen complained. Rep. Silvio Conte of Massachusetts told of getting horribly lost in its labyrinthine corridors while showing a visitor around. ("We were on the verge of panic.") The lawmakers were also panicked by the layout of their office suites; they will have to pass through constituent-packed foyers to get to their staffs.

All the same, the House had authorized the building because it wanted more space, and its senior members had nearly completed moving into the 169 three-room suites last week for the same reason. Some were even dreaming bigger dreams. Texas Democrat Wright Patman, contemplating the house the House built with the practiced eye of an eighteen-term veteran, speculated about the future, when congressmen would have larger staffs and require still larger office suites. "A new building," he intoned, "will be required . . . I ask that the proposed new building be called the John McCormack Office Building." He wasn't kidding.

REPUBLICANS:

Litany of Defeat

Republican ladies turned out 2,100 strong in Washington last week for the hair of the dog that bit them. Perhaps they knew it wasn't good for them; maybe some of them even hated themselves for liking it so much. But when Barry Goldwater, handsome, outspoken, as uncompromising and ineluctable—not to say unelectable—as ever, strode to the platform, they cheered as if their hearts hadn't broken on that dismal day last November.

Other party leaders shared the speaking chores at this thirteenth annual, \$10-a-plate Republican Women's Conference—moderates like Pennsylvania Gov. William Scranton, technicians like Ray Bliss, who took over the party chairmanship at midweek, and calm pros like Richard Nixon and House Minority Leader Gerald Ford. For them the ladies listened and applauded politely. But for Barry they resounded.

No Regrets: And he didn't disappoint. It was vintage Goldwater, with no regrets, no apologies, and an assurance that the "most significant domestic political issue of our time . . . is the irreversible slide toward centralized power." As for the bipartisan Negro voting-rights bill now before Congress—unconstitutional, declared Barry. If such a bill is required, he added, "let's amend the Constitution and quit being dishonest about it."

On the dais sat Ray Bliss, who knows his party must pick up almost another 9 million votes and that roughly half of them will have to be Negro votes; Bliss put his chin in his fists and stared glumly



Goldwater took the cheers . . .



. . . Nixon toasted the President . . .



... and Bliss tackled the future

over the happy sea of flowered prints.

Earlier Bliss, red-faced and weary-looking, had delivered a workmanlike inaugural address. "We must expand [our] sense of purpose to build a party which offers a broad appeal to all citizens of the U.S." he lectured the ladies. "Mudslinging and negative thinking will win neither supporters nor elections." And he called for more bread-and-butter issues "based upon a realistic consideration of wants and needs rather than an abstract reference to ideological terms." His speech reflected the creed he had applied in Ohio: open up the party to all segments of opinion.

But the new chairman, like all the major speakers except Goldwater, recounted the dreary litany of defeat: 78 more seats needed in the House, a 2-to-1 Democratic majority in the country, unhealed liberal-conservative wounds. And many of the GOP pros present evinced an almost reverent respect for the political acumen of Lyndon B. Johnson.

Loyal Opposition: Nixon topped them all. LBJ, he said, "is the ablest politician to be in the White House in this century." But he hastened to add: "Because he is a strong man . . . he needs the loyal opposition." The ladies looked somber at this, and at his call for Republicans to produce "constructive alternatives." Then he said the Democratic Administration was more radical than the New and Fair Deals and the New Frontier, and the ladies brightened again and applauded happily.

Next to Goldwater's, the warmest ovation was for California's new senator, George Murphy. Arriving at the mike as the ladies were polishing off their vanilla ice cream, the old song-and-dance man smiled gently and said: "You wonderful, wonderful Republican ladies. You made it all possible." And then he summed up the situation about as well as anybody did during the three-day meeting: "We have come through a strange election . . . There were synthetic images . . . There were charges and countercharges. Let's never do that again."

CRIME:

Clerical Error

Assistant U.S. Attorney Morton Susman of Houston plucked 75 cents from office petty cash one day last fall and headed downtown under special orders. His mission: buy pornography in Houston to set up a prosecution and test Federal obscenity laws. Results: paydirt in the form of an inspired 170-page paperback, "The Awakening of Cindy."

"We picked it because it was one of the worst," Susman said last week. The story of Cindy, whose awakening began with her deforation by a preacher, impressed even case-hardened smut

Fred Ward—Black Star

NY SNCC

APRIL 17, 1965

concealing tent-like garment that reputable Afghans thought proper for their women 10 years ago. There are the square, graceless mud buildings cheek by jowl with faded Victorian stucco and the equally square and graceless modern buildings which, when they aim for grandeur, have very much the monumental heaviness of post-Stalinist Soviet architecture. Russian cars are everywhere. To the north, another highway, Russian-built this time, leads toward Afghanistan's developing industrial area near the Soviet frontier.

The pervasive British influence and affection for Britain, to be found in India and Pakistan where Britain actually ruled, is completely absent. Instead, one can still detect echoes of old hostility. Afghanistan's foreign policy is nonaligned to the point where it infuriated American officials last December by sponsoring a hostile UN resolution on the Congo. The Russians, its creditors for at least \$200 million, need only lean on it and it would crumble: yet in the shadow of its huge, one-party neighbor it is creating a very fair, and genuinely intended, version of a Western-style democracy.

This is the work of the man who on the face of it has most to lose, 50-year-old King Mohammad Zahir. He has been king for more than 30 years, boss only for the last two since he ousted his cousin and prime minister, Sardar Daud. Daud was a modernizer but a one-man band - he broke the power of religious conservatives, and it was he, unaided, who brought the young ladies of Kabul into the light of day. He was also prone to imprison those who disagreed with him. By 1963 the discontent of the growing intelligentsia promised the king enough support to force Daud out. He chose instead a commoner, Dr. Mohammad Yousuf, a mining engineer educated in Germany. Last fall he brought in a new constitution.

The constitution, drawn up mainly by a brilliant young official who is an alumnus both of Cairo's Al-Azhar University and of Columbia Law School, is an amalgam of Western liberalism and Islam. It promises

Afghans unknown freedoms: a free press, an independent judiciary, the right to form political parties - provided they conform to the principles embodied in the constitution, which, since Islam is one, would rule out an open Communist Party. There will be a largely elected parliament - elections are due later this year - and an administration which, though outside the parliament, can in extreme circumstances be voted out of office. The king retains considerable power, but all other members of the royal family (Daud, for instance) are barred from politics.

The Russian reaction has been extremely muted. Moscow was sorry to see Daud go, but Russian economic aid continues. It was at its highest level ever in 1964-65, though there are signs that the Russians may be becoming less keen to incur future commitments, and one incentive for taking the Chinese offer was a shortage of foreign exchange untied to specific projects from any other source. But effectively Russia and the United States are jointly financing a country, on Russia's borders, that is moving, internally, our way.

And "jointly" means what it says. Though projects are mostly divided by geography - the Russians work mainly in the North, Americans in the South - the facts of life have mellowed former rivalries. Russians and Americans cooperate in overall planning. They worked closely together in creating Kabul's new airport. They have mapped separate parts of the country from the air; but where the survey areas met, they helped each other.

Meanwhile the Afghan government pursues its own way, relatively little influenced by either, partly because both have learned that it is not worth trying. It is this that makes me hopeful that the Chinese, who will certainly try in spite of all their promises that their aid carries no strings, will be no more successful. At the government level, that is. If internal democracy were to bring political instability, and they set their minds to exploit it, that might be another story.

STEPHEN HUGH-JONES

X

Boycotting Alabama

Sometimes Dr. Martin Luther King hears a clear call when his followers can detect only a murmur; which accounts for both the purity and the disorder of their cause. "More by inspiration than calculation" - one of his advisers says - King delivered to a national television audience his plan for a total withdrawal from the economy of Alabama. It was to involve a con-

sumer, industrial and labor union boycott of Alabama products, nonpayment of state taxes by Alabama residents, withdrawal of Federal Reserve funds from Alabama banks, and the strict application of rules against federal aid to local discriminatory agencies.

Unfortunately, King's inspiration was not transmitted to his many friends outside the South, and their

K

Alabama, and to suspend expansion programs. Even without the appeal from King, industries may have decided that Alabama does not have quite the atmosphere conducive to their prosperity. The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee has been trying for some time to stir up public antagonism to the Hammermill Paper Company, which is building a plant in Selma. Northerners who came to Selma for the marches were asked to spread the word about Hammermill paper when they returned home. It would not be surprising if the company's project is deferred.

In stage two of the boycott, the federal government would be asked to remove its deposits from Alabama banks, and private institutions would be called upon to reconsider their Alabama investments. Stage three would be a classic consumer boycott of "selected"

goods. The whole program is really an extension of the more limited boycotts which have been used in the civil rights movement for many years: against buses, local businesses and services, and national industries with plants in racial trouble spots. Now, the boycott would be applied to a whole region, instead of one city; in Selma, for instance, a boycott has cut deeply into white businesses. Actually, "boycott" is not a respectable word in the civil rights vocabulary. The nonviolent dictionary calls it "economic withdrawal" or "selective buying." One of King's assistants tries to explain the distinction: "a boycott is vindictive and destructive. Economic withdrawal does not seek to destroy an economy, just to change the attitudes of the economic power structure." For most, it is a distinction without a difference.

ANDREW KOPKIND

Dirksen's Double Play

Everett Dirksen has been called the "lord of misrule," the "old artificer," and the "silver-tongued rattlesnake." He has been called likewise to lead a variety of charges, and at the moment he is entertaining us with another demonstration of his talent for working both sides of the street simultaneously. He is leading two major campaigns—one on behalf of disenfranchised Negroes in the Deep South (the Senator and Attorney General Katzenbach are working together closely for a voting rights bill); the other, on behalf of perpetuating the rotten borough system in at least one branch of the legislatures of these very Southern states.

The Illinois Senator seems to have got the message on legislative reapportionment last summer at San Francisco, where he helped nominate his friend Barry Goldwater for the Presidency. At the Cow Palace, opposition to the Supreme Court's "one man, one vote" ruling became official GOP gospel. Subsequently, Dirksen offered a "rider" to the Foreign Aid Appropriations Bill, which would have delayed enforcement of the hated Court ruling until a constitutional amendment could be passed. He was repulsed, but only temporarily. Pressure from rural areas, the courthouse crowd, farm organizations and state house politicians with a touch or two of racist or corporate influence have since been building up.

As of this moment in the Senate, opponents are not sure they can block "some form" of a constitutional amendment on reapportionment. In the House, the Court's defenders are more confident, largely because

of the weight that the big city delegations carry.

The fact that Dirksen would give the very same state legislatures which wrote discriminatory provisions into state laws, the power to control future state governments in the Deep South is only beginning to receive the notice it deserves. Even civil rights leaders have preferred to look the other way, and for sound political reasons. They need Dirksen's support for a strong voting rights bill this year. They are understandably reluctant to invite the Senator's displeasure, even if they recognize that he is taking away with his left hand what he gives with his right.

But although it may sometimes seem, given the un-theatrical manner of Democratic leadership in the Senate, that Dirksen is boss of the upper chamber, he is not. He has his critics, even among Democrats. One of those critics is chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments, the youthful Senator from Indiana, Birch Bayh. A few days ago, Senator Bayh dared to say that he thought the "one man, one vote concept is basically sound." And if there is going to be any constitutional amendment modifying the reapportionment ruling, Mr. Bayh has a few safeguards he (but not Dirksen) wants: judicial review, which Dirksen's amendment does not provide; periodic review by the voters in each state, say every 10 years, of whatever reapportionment arrangement has been set up; and a provision that state legislatures must present voters with a specific plan for reapportionment, and not just ask for *carte blanche* to reapportion



immediate reaction was unsympathetic. Whatever the civil rights movement used to be, it is now largely a public relations campaign. Leaders contend for public sympathy as candidates seek votes, often on similarly irrelevant grounds. King was voted down. *The New York Times*, which acts as a kind of electoral college on such matters, decided the boycott was "wrong in principle and would be unworkable in practice," and the original idea was promptly scrapped.

Several days later, civil rights strategists met with King and his advisers at the Southern Christian Leadership Conference convention in Baltimore, and a compromise boycott was announced; presumably the calculated program is more legally defensible than the inspired one, and perhaps it will be effective in some small way. At least it is more difficult to tell how successful or unsuccessful it is, which preserves its propaganda value. "The unexecuted threat of a boycott can be more effective than a boycott," a civil rights organizer thinks.

King's Selma campaign was a tough act to follow, and the boycott was intended to be a suitable encore. One of the continuing problems of the civil rights movement is the maintenance of momentum. Public pressure, which in King's terms at least is the only way to crack the white South's resistance to desegregation, always dissipates after a major battle, and it takes months to bring it up to 96-point headline size again. Selma took eight weeks and two murders before it became a national affair. Danville, Va., and Albany, Ga., two of King's projects, failed to ignite national indignation on the grand scale, even after the usual round of demonstrations, beatings and jailings.

Economic Sanctions

A boycott could be a way of keeping public attention on the civil rights effort without actually waging conventional war. The theory is that it gives Northern sympathizers something to do (without actually committing them to direct action) and at the same time hits the South in its most vulnerable area. It is an appealing thought, and King had already made extensive plans to begin a boycott of Mississippi when the Selma campaign suggested that attention be shifted to Alabama. King had asked the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee to prepare research material on the Mississippi economy; it was thought that a list of companies with discriminatory hiring practices would be circulated and consumers asked to refrain from buying their manufactures. Negroes would not be immediately affected; the point was that they were not able to be employees of the blacklisted firms. Only those Mississippi companies large or expanding enough to have some impact on the state's economy

would be attacked. Consumer boycotts probably do not come under antitrust law restrictions, although labor union boycotts might be illegal under labor law.

The Alabama boycott may be symptomatic of the general unease which has come over the civil rights scene in the past few months. There is a widespread feeling that the demonstrations and dramatic confrontations which have characterized the movement for a decade are ineffective in changing local conditions. The boycott was a gut response to the frustrations of fighting the day-to-day struggle in the South, which usually results in no tangible advantages to the local Negroes. In Black Belt Alabama, it is a dirty, uncompromising *mano-a-mano* with no decency and few rules. In Washington, civil rights is part of the political game, all decency and rules. But as gratifying as congressional legislation has been, the civil rights acts cannot remake Southern (or Northern) society into tolerable forms. It is too true: "you can't legislate love." Neither can you legislate community. There is an overwhelming need for reconciliation of Negroes and whites in the South, and the building of some viable, integrated communal life.

Economic sanctions may not alone bring about the breakthrough, but they reduce the will of the white populace to resist the civil rights effort, in a way that federal action has never done. There was no organized boycott of Little Rock after the 1957 school integration crisis, but the city, and the state of Arkansas, suffered economically because of its reputation. (Little Rock got no new industry for four years afterward.) There has been only the most perfunctory action against Mississippi (the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has circulated a list of 100 companies recommended for consumer boycott) but industrial starts are down, sales tax revenue is off, and salesmen from Mississippi have been known to erase the name of their home state from company cars they drive to other places. In the wake of Selma, city officials in Mississippi are quietly negotiating with civil rights leaders to avoid the economic dislocation they fear from local movements.

As it came out of the Baltimore conference, King's boycott is a reasonable attempt to make further economic inroads in the Southern will to maintain discrimination. The first stage, which may be the only one ever seriously promoted, calls for rigid enforcement of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964; it gives the government enormous economic power over states which use federal funds for segregated services. By determined application of the regulations in agriculture and education, to name only two areas, Alabama might be forced to change drastically its pattern of segregation. Also in the first stage of the boycott, manufacturers are asked not to build new facilities in

Even If They Can't Read, They Should Have the Vote

By ANDREW HACKER

THE Voting Rights Bill of 1965, now before the Congress, has the intention of adding new voters to the registration books in many parts of the country and the odds are that it will have just this effect. Not a few observers are beginning to wonder what the consequences will be as one after another of the traditional requirements for voting are dropped. While it is no longer politic to defend a property qualification, there are many who still suspect that at least some test of literacy or evidence of minimal schooling should be retained if the electorate is not to be flooded with voters likely to dilute the quality of the democratic process.

The contrary argument will be advanced here. This country has reached the stage where it can safely drop all tests, requirements and qualifications, and admit to the polls every American who can sign his name on the registration book—and that only for identification purposes. (Indeed, if he can bring along someone to vouch that he is who he says he is, then the demand for a signature can be dropped as well.)

All of the old objections to a genuinely universal suffrage are long out of date: While they may serve as interesting conversation pieces they have lost touch with contemporary American reality. And although some of us may experience acute discomfort at the sight of a third-grade drop-out ahead of us on the queue ("Will that fellow cancel out my vote?") more is to be gained in opening the polls to all than in continuing to shut the doors on some.

PROPOSALS to limit the suffrage are at least as old as Plato and Aristotle, and they rest on a simple and understandable emotion: fear. The fear is that reflective and responsible citizens will be outvoted by those susceptible to demagogic appeals. While the argument used to be framed in economic terms—the ballots of the poor overwhelming those of the rich—it now takes more sophisticated forms. One of its variants is the notion of the "tyranny of the majority," always an attractive theory for those who see themselves as members of the qualitatively superior but numerically inferior minority.

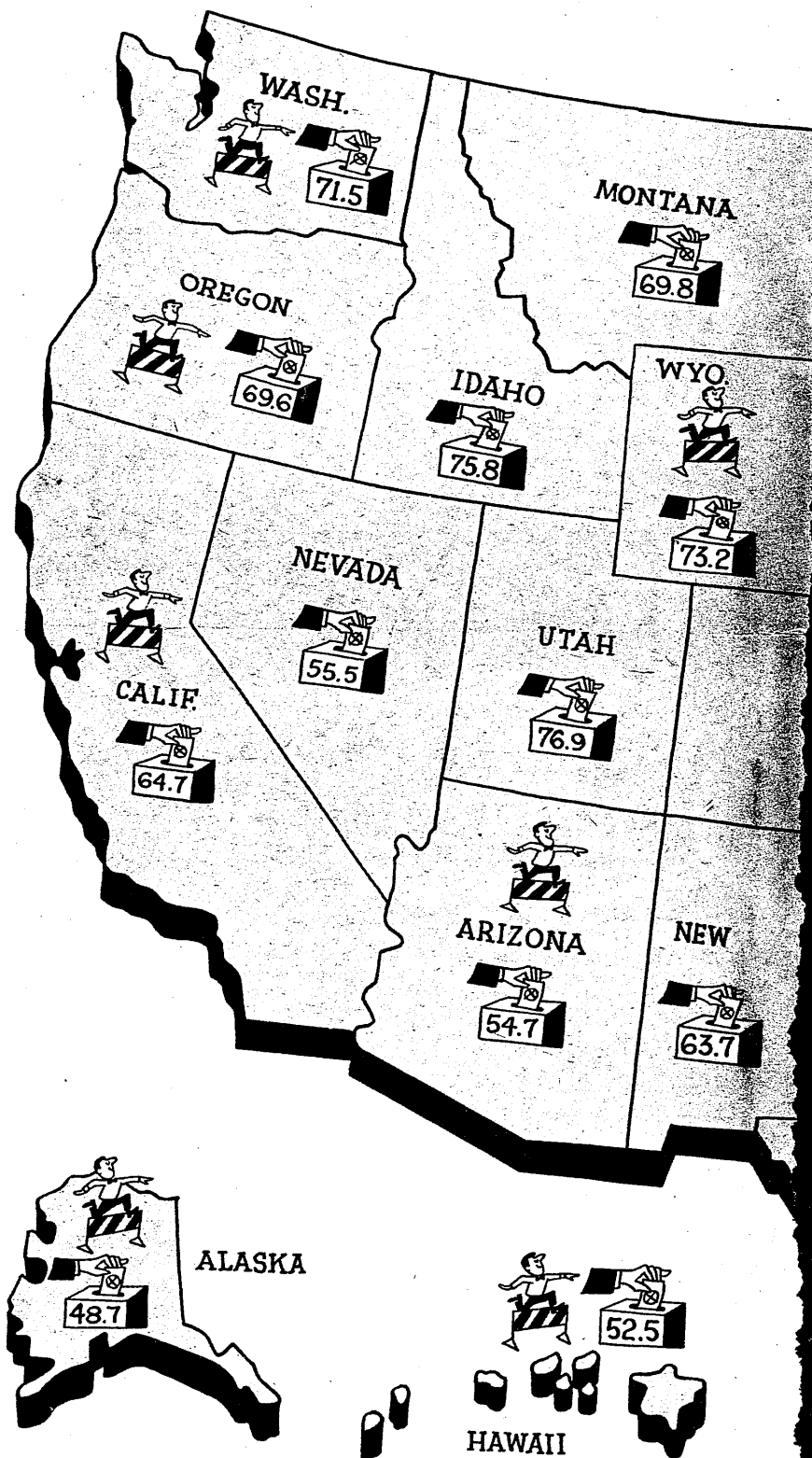
The great vogue for Alexis de Tocqueville's aristocratic "Democracy in America" in our schools and colleges, the musings over the heavy hand of mass culture, and the defensive stance of the payers of property taxes are

all evidence of the feeling that the majority may be getting out of control and into power. Each year I put this point of view to my students—a group much impressed with their own superiority—and there is much nodding of heads in uneasy agreement. They lap up the warnings of Ortega y Gasset on the "revolt of the masses" and concur with Walter Lippmann that culture, civility and constitutionalism are threatened by populist arrogance and popular leveling.

The prospect of "majority tyranny" is a beautiful theory, and no one likes to see a well-wrought prose poem sullied by ugly facts. Yet a few questions must be put. Who, to begin with, should be kept from the polls if we are to preserve the vestiges of constitutional government? Property qualifications are out, so we cannot exclude the poor just because they are poor. Racial tests are on the way to being banned, so Negro Americans must be allowed entry to the polls on the same basis as their white neighbors. (White "neighbors"? Probably not. Better to say white "fellow citizens.") So the last stronghold is an educational—or at least a literacy—requirement.

There are 20 states (13 of them in the North and 7 graduates of the old Confederacy) with literacy tests to be passed before you can part the electoral curtain. These states contain about 40 million adults; however, almost four million of that number have had less than five years of schooling. Thus if these states' reading tests are administered in the spirit of the 1965 voting law, it seems plain that at the very most no more than 10 per cent of those applying for the ballot would be turned away. The tests, after all, are not very difficult. In New York, for example, you are given a 10-line passage on the life and works of Washington Irving. After reading this ("He studied for the law profession, but decided on a career as a writer"), you must answer eight questions ("What career did he decide on?") and get six of them right. The examiners' instructions are very tolerant: "Do not call an answer wrong because of errors in capitalization, punctuation, spelling or grammar. . . ."

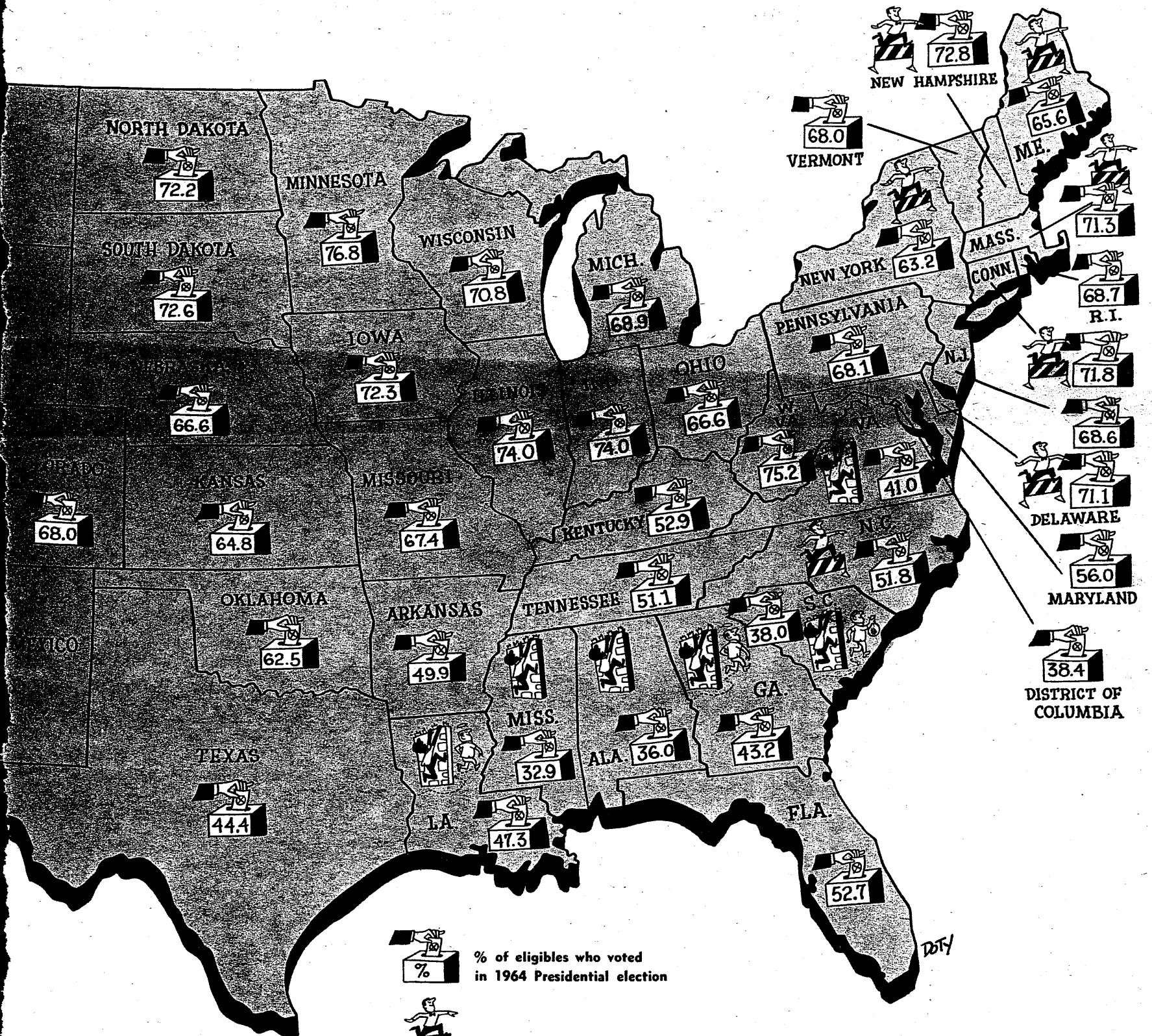
No less interesting is the fact that 30 states (plus the District of Columbia) have no literacy requirements at all, despite the fact that among their residents there are about 4.5 million adults who never made it to the sixth grade. Obviously, some of these elementary-school drop-outs are registered voters of long standing. It seems unlikely that Michigan or New Jersey or Ohio is going to introduce a reading (Continued on Page 79)

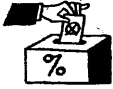



Drawing by Roy Doty.

ANDREW HACKER teaches in the department of government at Cornell.


Our nation, says a political scientist, is mature enough to accept true universal suffrage, and drop all tests and qualifications designed "to protect the few from the many." The map below shows the literacy requirements for voting in the 50 states, and the percentage of eligibles voting in 1964.




 % of eligibles who voted in 1964 Presidential election

 Simple literacy test

 Difficult literacy test

 Special good character requirement in lieu of literacy test

 Property requirement in lieu of literacy test

King Opposes the Viet War

(Continued from Page 1)

human rights are inseparable.

At the same time, as president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, he indicated that voter registration efforts in Alabama may be diverted to eight or 10 northern cities by June. Tops on his list of northern targets—where job discrimination, segregated schools and slum conditions are the real problems — are New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, Detroit, and Baltimore.

King said his campaign was aimed against segregation "in every area of life." He arrived by plane in mid-morning. His whirlwind schedule took him to the state house for a meeting with Gov. John A. Volpe, then to Roxbury to inspect slum housing and schools, and back to the state house to address a joint session of the legislature.

25,000 TO MARCH

State leaders of his Southern Christian Leadership Conference say they expect about 25,000 to follow him in the march to historic Boston Common, where revolutionary war heroes gathered. The line of march will be about four miles long.

King said he came to Boston to help solve the problems of segregation in schools, housing and jobs. He came at the invitation of the state SCLC unit.

He arrived just one week after a blue-ribbon panel of 21 civic leaders reported that harmful racial imbalance does exist in public schools in Boston and several other Massachusetts cities.

The report of that committee said a census revealed that 55 public schools in the state—45 of them in Boston—had predominantly non-white populations. The report also recommended school construction, limited busing of pupils, enlargement of school districts and withholding of

state aid to local communities which failed to combat the racial imbalance.

SCHOOL GHETTOS

At the time of a 1964 spring school census, the report said, 23 percent of the Boston public school enrollment was non-white, but 50 percent of these children—or 10,400 of them—were located in 23 elementary schools and three junior high schools having 81 to 100 percent non-white enrollments.

The 11 Boston schools the report recommended closing house 1,692 students, of whom 1,449 are non-white and 243 white. One school's entire enrollment is non-white, another 99 percent non-white and two more are 98 percent non-white.

King's tour of Roxbury took him to Boardman School, where the door was slammed and locked as he arrived.

Boston School Supt. William Ohrenberger said later schools are in Easter recess. He said offers had been made to open any schools King's group might designate. But Ohrenberger said there was no reply to the offer and no arrangements were made to open any.

In his address to the legislature, King said he realizes "as many have said, that you cannot legislate love for our fellow man."

"I know the law cannot make a man love me—but it can restrain him from lynching me."

He said the same holds true

in discrimination in housing, in de facto segregation in schools and in employment. He pledged that he and other civil rights leaders generally "will continue to preach the doctrine of non-violence because I believe violence creates many more problems than it solves."

**NOW OPEN for a
SUMMER TO REMEMBER
MARIN TOWN &
COUNTRY CLUB**

**Swim - Sun
Every Day is Sun-day
Vacation Resort Fun**

FAIRFAX

LADYMAN PROS

King Urges Viet War Opposition

By The Associated Press and
Herald Tribune News Service

BOSTON — The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King encouraged civil rights leaders yesterday to speak out against war—Vietnam in particular.

In the face of criticism that his powerful movement is being diverted into pacifist and ban-the-bomb crusades, the touring rights leader said bluntly: "One cannot be just concerned with civil rights . . . it is very nice to drink milk at an unsegregated lunch counter—but not when there's Strontium 90 in it."

On Vietnam he expressed fears about the apparent willingness of world powers "to continue to escalate."

"I have no objection to civil rights leaders speaking against war as against segregation," he added. The Nobel Peace Prize winner told a press conference here in the heart of Boston's Negro belt that peace and

1) (Continued on Page 19, Col. 2)

JK
Examiner
4-23-65

NEGRO UNIVERSITY SUED IN ALABAMA

9 Students Ask U.S. Court to Void Their Suspension

Special to The New York Times

MONTGOMERY, Ala., April 29 — Nine students suspended from a Negro university here last week are seeking a Federal court order that will get them back in school.

The students received notices of suspension from Alabama State University for "insubordination, willful defiance of authority and conduct unbecoming a student and future teacher" when they attempted to bring a list of student grievances to the attention of school authorities by picketing and demonstrations.

Judge Frank H. Johnson of the United States District Court for the Middle District of Alabama told the contending parties today that they would have to reach an agreement or he would rule on the students' application for a temporary restraining order.

At the same time, the State Attorney General's office applied for a counter-order enjoining the students from demonstrating. Judge Johnson reserved decision on the request.

The nine students, all of whom participated in the Selma-to-Montgomery Freedom March, charge they were denied their constitutional rights of free speech and assembly by the suspension.

The school authorities, who are appointed by the all-white State Board of Education headed by Gov. George C. Wallace, say that the suspended students disrupted classes and pursued improper channels of procedure in their protests.

The university, which has an enrollment of 1,789, was called Alabama State Teachers College until two years ago. It has produced most of the teachers for the state's Negro schools.

The suspended students say that the university authorities, under pressure from white state officials, are devoted to turning out teachers who will cooperate with Alabama's segregated way of life.

The students attempted to present their petition of grievances soon after the Freedom March ended on March 25. Among other things, they protested academic procedures and the "inadequate" university curriculum, lack of teacher tenure and "suppression of students' rights to free speech."

Negroes to Begin Freedom Rides to the North

By PETER KIHSS

A series of Freedom Rides to the North—the first one from Selma, Ala., to Syracuse, N.Y.—to "dramatize Northern hypocrisy" was announced yesterday by the Congress of Racial Equality and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

A busload of 40 Negroes is to leave Alabama next Monday, and arrive in Syracuse on Wednesday to join representatives from seven upstate CORE chapters. The aim is to demonstrate against asserted "tokenism" in jobs for Negroes in the giant Niagara Mohawk Power Corporation.

At a news conference held here by James Farmer, the congress's national director, and James Forman, executive secretary of the student committee, it was contended that it had "taken 30 arrests to get 14 Negroes hired" by the utility in the Syracuse area.

Complaints in 1963

The hirings took place after complaints in October, 1963, that there were only six Negroes among the company's 1,500 employees, or four-tenths of 1 per cent of the total, compared with an area population that was 6 per cent Negro. The contention yesterday that there were now 19 Negroes employed by the concern — all as janitors or meter readers — was confirmed as "approximately correct" by company officials.

Frank M. Osta, Niagara Mohawk's vice president for employe relations, said in Syracuse that the planned demonstration was "wholly unjustified." He said the issue was being considered by a three-member mediation board named by the Mayor's Commission on Human Rights.

Mr. Osta declared in a statement that "the company welcomes nonwhite applicants," and that "our employment standards are applied without discrimination at all job levels as openings occur."

"The Syracuse unit of CORE," Mr. Osta said, "has demanded that Niagara Mohawk eliminate its requirement that applicants have a high school diploma or the equivalent, that the company hire nonwhites on a quota basis, and that Niagara Mohawk submit its employment records for a periodic inspection by CORE."

"Niagara Mohawk has declined to submit to these demands," he said.

The power company serves 1.3 million customers with elec-

tricity, out of an installed capacity of 4,377,000 kilowatts, and 360,000 customers with gas in an area of 22,000 square miles between Buffalo and Albany and northward from Syracuse to the Canadian border. It has 8,800 employes, and last year's sales totaled \$363 million.

At CORE headquarters, 38 Park Row, the news conference was held before a map of the United States showing a large, black arrow pointing to Syracuse from Selma, with the slogan: "Freedom Rides North."

Mr. Farmer said that his organization was "deeply concerned about the deteriorating situation in the North." Residential segregation was increasing in Northern cities, he said, contending that New York, as an example, had "more de facto segregated schools than 10 years ago."

While expressing apprecia-

tion for Northerners who had gone South to combat discrimination—he said that 100 such persons had gone from Syracuse to Selma—he complained that many of them "do not have the same sense of urgency in their own locality."

"It's always easier to slay cobras in Borneo than to swat flies in one's own kitchen," Mr. Farmer said.

He asserted that the Freedom Ride to Syracuse would be followed by others to cities as yet unnamed. "It is quite possible New York City will be a future target," he said.

The campaign has sought a commitment from the company to increase its Syracuse Negro employes over three years to 80.

Daily demonstrations have been held since March 8. They have included picketing, a day

when utility bills were paid in pennies and various sit-in protests. From April 10 to April 20 a fast in jail was held by Roger Knapp, a 33-year-old white graduate assistant at Syracuse University, who teaches a course in citizenship.

Another jail fast, by John McDowell, 28-year-old Negro executive secretary of the Syracuse CORE chapter, has gone on since Saturday.

Joining in the Freedom Ride demonstration, Mr. Farmer said, will be representatives from congress chapters in Schenectady, Albany, Utica, Rochester, Buffalo, Niagara Falls and Kingston. It was contended at the news conference that there were no Negro employes of Niagara Mohawk at Niagara Falls. The company said only that total employment there had dropped to 160 from 464 persons in 1961.

Arbor Day



Arbor Day has special significance to us at First National City Bank because in our long list of contented customers you'll find names like Ash and Beech and Von Elm.

Several of our younger (and brasher) men had some Arbor Day ideas on how First National City could tie in the occasion with our special customer services.

"Let's do the first Commercial Spectacular on television!" one said. "It could run for an hour and

have absolutely no show at all attached to it. We might (he pointed out) have an announcer say things like: 'If you're out on a limb because you don't have the ready cash for your upcoming vacation trip, come in and see about a First National City vacation loan — it's easy, economical and convenient to repay.'"

Another lad thought that we should build a big papier-mâché tree "with over a hundred and forty branches on it and then hang a street address on each..."

A third thought a singing commercial would be appropriate, and he contributed this lyric: "Our

roots are strong and good, in every neighborhood."

Of course, we didn't want to discourage any of these men, so their immediate superior wrote a nice note to each, complimenting him on being very creative and closing with, "Needless to say, I am impressed with your enthusiasm."

Would you believe it, the name of the immediate superior was Alan B. Oaks!

FIRST NATIONAL CITY...the only bank your family ever needs

Member Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation

A New SNCC Strategy

The militant Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee will make a big civil rights push in the summer by lobbying rather than demonstrating.

James Forman, executive secretary of SNCC, said his organization's major emphasis will be directed toward challenging the right of Mississippi's five-member congressional delegation to sit in the House of Representatives on the ground that they were illegally elected because Negroes were denied the right to vote.

Forman was in San



—Examiner Photo by Paul Glines.

SNCC EXECUTIVE JAMES FORMAN (L.) AND MIKE MILLER The push will be on lobbying instead of demonstrating

Francisco to kick off a recruiting campaign to send 500 volunteers from the Bay area to Washington, D. C., next month

to lobby in favor of the challenge.

Mike Miller, Bay area field secretary for SNCC, said the organization also

will mount a campaign to pressure Northern California congressmen into voting to unseat the Mississippi delegation.

Senate Rejects Liberals' Drive For Poll-Tax Ban

5/12/65

Final Action There on Voting Bill Unlikely This Week Due To 60 Other Amendments

House Unit Again Backs Ban

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter

WASHINGTON — An attempt by liberals to amend the Administration's voting-rights bill with an unwanted poll-tax ban was narrowly defeated in the Senate, but the difficulty of dealing with some 60 other amendments dashed hopes of finishing action there this week.

On the other side of the Capitol, the House Judiciary Committee further complicated the outlook by reaffirming support for a ban on poll taxes that goes beyond even the rejected Senate version. Though the panel could yet succumb to White House pressures for acquiescence in the Senate's work, Chairman Celler (D., N.Y.) said the present consensus is to hold out for sterner measures, a condition that creates at least two pitfalls for the voting-rights legislation down the parliamentary road.

For one thing, it undercuts White House hopes for a quick House concurrence in the Senate's final draft, which would eliminate the need for a potentially sticky House-Senate conference. Second, it's alienating key Republican panelists and promoting GOP solidarity behind a milder voting-rights plan sponsored by Minority Leader Ford of Michigan and Rep. McCulloch of Ohio. A GOP-Southern Democratic coalition could command enough strength on the House floor to scuttle the Administration bill and adopt the Ford-McCulloch substitute.

The Senate vote was 49 to 45 against the amendment of Sen. Edward Kennedy (D., Mass.) to end poll taxes as a condition of voting in state and local elections. A Constitutional amendment outlaws them in Federal elections. Kennedy supporters made a startlingly strong showing in the face of combined opposition from the White House and both the majority and minority leaders. Non-Southern Democrats, in fact, went against President Johnson's wishes, 39 to 10. Only the votes of 24 Republicans and the Southern bloc balked the liberal efforts.

A Few Surprising Votes

There were a number of small surprises. Sen. Edward Long (D., Mo.), although he was one of the 39 co-sponsors of the Kennedy poll-tax ban, finally cast his ballot against it. But Assistant Majority Leader Russell Long of Louisiana voted for it, as did such other Southern or border state Senators as Yarborough of Texas, Bass and Gore of Tennessee and Harris of Oklahoma.

In the hour of debate preceding the vote, many of the amendment's opponents took pains to make clear their basic opposition to poll taxes. Majority Leader Mansfield of Montana declared, "We wish to eliminate the poll tax by the safest, swiftest, surest means." The choice, he asserted, "is between the course of risk and the course of sureness, between the course of speed and of possible delay."

Along with Sen. Dirksen (R., Ill.) and Attorney General Katzenbach, Sen. Mansfield has argued all along that the Kennedy Amendment was of doubtful Constitutionality, that it could jeopardize the entire voting-rights bill in a court test.

The Majority Leader read a Katzenbach letter which declared that the voting-rights bill, even without the Kennedy amendment, is sure to be construed by the courts as a Congressional finding of evidence that poll taxes have been used to discriminate. The Kennedy amendment included a specific Congressional declaration that poll taxes are discriminatory.

Sen. Mansfield, as he concluded the opposition's case, went out of his way to praise Sen. Kennedy for his work for the other side. At the age of 33 and after only 2½ years in the Senate, the youngest brother of the late President emerged in the voting-rights battle as a stalwart of the liberal group and potentially one of its leaders. Almost single-handed, he pushed the poll-tax amendment until he had made

enthusiastic proponents out of many who had initially been little interested or even skeptical.

Final Vote Appears Remote

Although the Senate leadership now has put down challenges from both the Southern and liberal wings, a final vote on the voting-rights bill appears even more distant. Until yesterday, there was talk on completing action this week; now, however, even two weeks may not be enough time. With Southerners unwilling to accept an over-all time limit for debate on the dozen of amendments still pending, Sen. Mansfield is once more preparing for the possibility of seeking a cloture vote. However, Sen. Dirksen, the Minority Leader, warned yesterday that many Republicans believe it's still too early to gag opponents of the bill.

Even more ominous to those attempting to speed up the bill's timetable are reports that Republican Senators will introduce the House's Ford-McCulloch bill as a substitute for the pending Mansfield-Dirksen Administration measure. The House GOP alternate aims more broadly by providing for appointment of Federal voting registrars in any locality where 25 or more Negroes assert they've been turned down by state officials. But it preserves the use of state literacy standards to test all voter applicants with less than a sixth grade education, whereas the Mansfield-Dirksen plan would suspend all voter qualification tests in the six states it covers.

Sen. Dirksen said several of his colleagues have discussed such a plan but he's not sure whether it will be pressed. If it is, it will further dilute GOP enthusiasm for cloture, which requires the votes of two-thirds of those Senators present. Sen. Mansfield, in that case, will have one practical alternative: To move to kill individual amendments as they are brought up or after brief debate. A tabling motion maybe wouldn't be debated, and thus filibuster could be avoided on every vote but the one on the final bill.

Stronger House Bill Seen

In the House, the Judiciary Committee's insistence on an outright poll-tax prohibition makes it plain that the voting-rights bill reaching the House floor will be considerably more stringent than its Senate counterpart.

Committee sentiment was clearly reflected in two votes yesterday—one to strengthen poll-tax language previously adopted in subcommittee, the other rejecting a Republican-backed attempt to limit the provision's scope.

Chairman Celler sponsored the strengthening amendment, which adds a Congressional "finding" that the poll tax has been used to discriminate against Negroes as a justification for its abolition. At least five of the 11 Republicans on the 35-member panel joined in support of the Celler amendment.

Even against solid Republican opposition, however, Northern Democratic forces voted to preserve application of the ban to all taxes employed as a prerequisite for voting. GOP critics of the broad wording, led by Rep. Hutchinson (R., Mich.), contended the effect would be to knock down numerous state and local election laws that limit voting on such things as new bond issues to persons who pay property taxes.

Several liberal Democrats on the House committee say they will resist any Administration pressure to go along with the Senate's work. In addition to an outright ban on the poll tax, they insist on the House bill's provisions for Federal poll watchers to make sure newly registered Negroes have their votes tallied and for broad application of safeguards against attempted intimidation of Negro vote-seekers.

Ballots and Jobs: Economic Threats Seen Cutting Negro Vote

Continued From First Page

strated the intelligence and responsibility required of a voter."

Actual economic reprisal so far has not been necessary in Tallahatchie; its potential threat has been enough to deter Negroes from registering. Almost all the Negroes now registered in Tallahatchie County are among those few immune from white reprisal, such as Mrs. Birdia Keglar, who manages a local Negro funeral home, Grafton Gray, who farms his own land, and Lucy Mae Boyd, a beauty parlor operator.

But few long-time residents doubt that economic retaliation would be swift and widespread if Negro registration picked up significantly. "There are plenty of folks around here who will fire their Negroes for registering," declares Rice Pritchard, who for 30 years has run a cotton gin and a lumber yard employing some 25 Negroes. He says he wouldn't do so himself and then adds: "My people aren't registered—I don't fool with any of those smart niggers. But if any of them did, I'd sure call them in and ask them what they mean."

The possibility of swift action by the Federal court obviously holds some employers in check. "I wouldn't take action against a Negro who registered, but if it wasn't for the court injunction, it might be a different story," declares Jack De Mange, president of A. P. De Mange Lumber Co., which employs some 30 Negroes. "I can't say I approve of them voting."

But many white employers would not hesitate to dismiss Negro workers who registered, even though existing civil rights laws, as well as the proposed new voting law, forbid the use of economic coercion to keep Negroes from voting. In Deep South areas such as Tallahatchie County, few Negroes would be likely to complain to the Government if they were fired; also, it's generally believed here that Federal attorneys would have a difficult time proving that a worker's discharge was directly related to voter registration.

"Open Season"

Under Mississippi law, names of applicants for registration are published in the local paper, assuring employers' knowledge of registration activities by workers. "In theory, this is to expose all applicants to challenge, say on moral character grounds," says one Federal attorney. "In practice, it means it's open season on any Negro who signs up, through economic retaliation or physical reprisal."

Observes A. D. Beittel, a white man who is director of the Mississippi program of the American Friends Service Committee, a Quaker group seeking better employment opportunities for Negroes: "Economic intimidation is far more powerful and common in the race issue than is violence. Violence is the one you read about occasionally, but economic intimidation is the thing these people live with every day."

The economic dependency of Southern Negroes on whites is great. Some 95% to 98% of working Negroes in Tallahatchie County are employed by white people, estimates Ned Rice, president of the Tallahatchie County Bank. "I'm hard put to think of more than a handful that don't work for white people," he comments.

The Southern Negro is made even more vulnerable by the fact that so much of Dixie's economy is based on agriculture, where labor is in oversupply because of mechanization. The northern fringe of Tallahatchie County rises

into rolling wooded hills, but the county is predominantly low, flat, Mississippi Delta cotton and soybean land that is interlaced with muddy red streams. While 58% of the total county labor force is employed on farms, which average somewhat under 200 acres, the figure is dramatically higher for Negroes. Probably 90% of Negro adult males work on farms, according to local estimates.

Negro farm hands generally earn about \$3 for a 10-hour day of hoeing, \$5 for a 12-hour day of driving a tractor and up to \$14 for a 12-hour-day of running a cotton-picking machine. Such relatively low wages obviously permit little mobility for Negroes to seek other employment. Further complicating their plight, the loss of a farm job usually means the loss of a tenant house provided by the employer.

The major crops of soybeans and cotton both lend themselves well to mechanization, and the county now employs only 50% of the farm workers it did 10 years ago, farm experts say. Employed Negro women serve mostly as household maids, cleaning and laundry women or baby sitters for white families.

Fear of Physical Harm

Despite the immensity of the economic threat to Negro registrants, the fear of physical reprisal looms even greater for some. "I'd probably lose my job, but that's not the main reason I don't register," says Frederick Thurmond, Jr., a Negro truck driver. "I have a family, a wife and kids and mother and father. If I try to register, white folks around here are liable to do something to them."

The fear of white reprisal is by no means limited to day workers. "Frankly, we're just plain scared to try," confesses the Rev. Jacob Courage Batteast, a Negro Baptist minister, when asked about registration. David Alford, Negro principal of the local Negro high school, throws up his hands when asked why teachers don't register. "I won't discuss it," he says. "I don't want to get involved."

It is widely accepted, even by civil rights leaders, that the failure of many Southern Negroes to try to register is also grounded in ignorance and apathy. More than 51% of Mississippi candidates for Selective Service, white and non-white, have failed the pre-induction mental examination, more than double the na-

tional average, according to census figures. The figure undoubtedly is far higher for Negroes. More than 8% of Mississippi Negroes 25 years old or more have had no formal schooling at all, representing some 80% of the people in this category in the state.

The inability of some Southern Negroes to read and write is often reflected in a pathetic unawareness of community life around them. "What is this registration to vote?" wonders Bert Wheeler, a personable Negro farm hand in his 20s, an age group from which civil rights leaders hope to draw their most active followers. "I haven't heard anything about that around here."

Voting Rights Bill Clears Southern Hurdle In Senate; Liberals Set Challenge Tuesday

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter

WASHINGTON — The voting rights bill cleared its first Southern obstacle in the Senate with ease and a test of its major challenge from the liberal side is scheduled Tuesday.

An amendment by Sen. Ervin (D., N.C.) to remove the measure's automatic application formula was rejected late yesterday by a vote of 64 to 25. Although some proponents of the bill had hoped for an even greater margin, the magnitude of the defeat indicated the overwhelming Senate support for the legislation.

A considerably greater threat to enactment, however, is posed by the amendment of Sen. Edward Kennedy (D., Mass.) to abolish the poll tax as a condition for voting in state and local elections (It is already outlawed in Federal elections). This amendment has 39 sponsors and its proponents list another 10 Senators as likely to support it and a half-dozen more as possible backers. A vote on the amendment is slated for Tuesday afternoon.

The bill before the Senate, which is considerably altered from the one President Johnson sent Congress in March, is designed to eliminate the use of literacy tests and other requirements to discriminate against would-be Negro voters. It provides that in states where less than 25% of Negroes are registered, or in states where less than half the voting-age population is registered and at least 20% of the population is nonwhite, Federal examiners are to be appointed to register voters without regard to tests of literacy, good character or the like.

Cloture Move

The "triggering" formula for bringing the bill's provisions into play would have been eliminated by the Ervin amendment. It would have compelled the Attorney General to convince a Federal court of the fact of discrimination against Negro voters. Building such cases, backers of the bill claimed, would have been impossibly time-consuming.

Although the Ervin amendment was soundly defeated, the prospects of choking off a Southern filibuster as early as next week are in doubt. Majority Leader Mansfield (D., Mont.)

threatened earlier this week to file a debate-limiting cloture petition on Monday. If filed, this would bring an automatic vote Wednesday at which time the support of two-thirds of those Senators present and voting would be needed to set a time limit on debate. Southerners, of course, will oppose cloture and some Republicans have also expressed reservations concerning an early gag of the bill's opponents. Eight GOP Senators, in fact, voted for the Ervin amendment.

Moreover, if the liberals' poll tax amendment is passed, Minority Leader Dirksen (R., Ill.) will probably throw his weight against cloture as well. He contends that such a statutory abolition is unconstitutional and argues that its inclusion will imperil the entire bill in the courts. The backing of Sen. Dirksen and those Republicans he can influence is needed to block endless Southern speechmaking.

On the liberal side, however, there is increasing doubt that it will be necessary to limit debate, and even Sen. Mansfield has begun to talk of simply wearing the Southerners down. Liberals say the opposition ranks are so thin and the objections so mild that they won't obstruct the final vote for long. "I don't think cloture could make more than one week's difference in the time we pass the bill," says one liberal.

Sen. Mansfield doesn't intend to seek a cloture vote unless absolutely necessary. If the Senate moves along steadily in dealing with amendments, he said yesterday, he will withhold this weapon. It's still his hope, however, to pass the bill late next week or the following week at the latest.

Liberal Confidence on Poll Tax

Sen. Dirksen and others opposing the poll tax amendment say they expect to defeat it on the floor. But their efforts to find a compromise, and the liberals' lack of interest in doing so, suggest that both sides believe the amendment will pass. The Kennedy proposal would put Congress on record as condemning the poll tax, ban its use as a condition for voting, direct the Attorney General "forthwith" to institute a test case of the abolition's Constitutionality and, in case it's ruled invalid, permit persons who have failed to pay their poll tax to restore their voting eligibility by paying it up to 45 days before the next election.

The House Judiciary committee, moving in low gear, wound up its second week of deliberation on the voting bill without reaching any conclusions. The panel will take the measure up again next Tuesday, but the Democrats' strategy is plainly one of delay, anticipating House concurrence in the Senate's work.

House Republican leaders are still holding out for their own version of the legislation, which provides for broader use of Federal voting registrars than does the Administration draft but preserves the use of literacy tests in states that currently use them.

Probable defections by Eastern Republicans, plus strong White House pressure for House acquiescence to the Senate's work to speed the bill's enactment, darken the outlook for the GOP substitute.

Ballots and Jobs 5/7/65

Economic Threats Seen

Persisting as a Barrier

To Negro Vote in Dixie

Rural Mississippi Mood Casts

Doubt on New Bill's Impact;

Registrants Face Dismissal

A Field Hand Fears Violence.

By KENNETH G. SLOCUM

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

CHARLESTON, Miss. — Americans expecting the voting law now taking shape in the Senate to revolutionize Dixie elections overnight would do well to heed the words of Roger Weston, a young Negro field hand in this northwest Mississippi community.

"Maybe I could register and nothing would happen," says Mr. Weston as he stands beside his one-room shack in a sun-baked cotton field. "Maybe my boss wouldn't fire me. Maybe no one would burn my house, throw me in the river or shoot through my door. Maybe. But I expect they would, so I haven't registered and don't intend to."

The impact of any new voting rules enacted into law by Congress depends in large part on the thinking of thousands of Southern Negroes like Mr. Weston. And thus the clear import of his views, which appear to be shared by sizable numbers of Negroes in the Deep South, is that a new voting rights measure won't result in a sudden rush of Negro citizens to the polls in many Dixie communities. This is likely to be especially true in predominantly rural sections, where more than half of all Southern Negroes live.

Barrier Lowered

Tallahatchie County, which surrounds this town of Charleston, is a particularly good spot for gauging Negro attitudes toward voting. Thanks to Federal court injunctions, there now exist no legal or procedural barriers to Negro registration in Tallahatchie County. Nor, according to local Negroes, are there overt attempts to intimidate Negroes at the registrar's office.

Nevertheless, only about 200—or some 3%—of the 6,500 Negroes of voting age in the county have registered to vote. This compares with an 88% registration rate for the 5,100 whites of voting age. Unregistered Negroes show little inclination to sign up any time soon, either because of fear of reprisals or because of a lack of interest.

The reluctance of Negroes here to register—even though they have the incentive of being able to outvote the whites—takes on added significance for the South generally in view of the racial climate in the county. It could roughly be described as middle of the road. The county has neither the intense segregationist activity of a place like Bogalusa, La., which tends to scare Negroes away from the registrar's office, nor the intense civil rights movement of an area like Panola, Miss., where close to 20% of voting-age Negroes have registered.

The voting bill now before the Senate, which is scheduled to vote on shutting off debate on the measure next week, would primarily affect Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia and Louisiana; South Carolina, North Carolina and Virginia would be affected to a lesser degree.

As the bill now stands, the Attorney General could take action against any state or political subdivision which uses literacy or other tests to discriminate against would-be voters. States can be presumed to discriminate if fewer than 50% of voting-age adults are registered or voted in the 1964 Presidential election and more than 20% of the adult population is non-white; or if fewer than 25% of voting-age adults of any particular race are registered. The main weapon in the law is the installation of Federal registrars in these areas to sign up voters.

Cracking Down on the Sheriff

In effect, Tallahatchie County got its own liberalized voting law from a series of injunctions issued by a Federal district court in 1963 and 1964 against the county sheriff and the county registrar. These injunctions directed the sheriff to accept poll-tax payments from Negroes, whose payments he was said to have refused in the past, in order to make them eligible to apply for registration. The court also directed the registrar to register Negroes with minimal requirements, excluding the interpretation of parts of the U.S. Constitution. Federal Judge Claude F. Clayton further strengthened the order this year, instructing the registrar's office to assist Negroes having difficulty with such questions as their precinct number.

"No voting law the Senate could draw up would be more stringent than the injunction under which this county is operating now," claims George Payne Cossar, a local attorney and a member of the Mississippi House of Representatives. "The door to Negro registration is wide open."

All the same, only about five Negroes per week are seeking to register, according to both civil rights leaders and local white leaders. Since residents must usually display two poll-tax receipts to vote in other than Federal elections, many of the Negroes now registering will not be eligible to vote in local contests until 1967.

Talks with Tallahatchie Negroes driving tractors in cotton fields, seeking noonday shade in their tenant shacks and fishing the muddy rivers, indicate that the deep fear of economic reprisal by whites is the major deterrent to Negro voting.

An Unspoken Threat

Like most Tallahatchie Negroes, Gene Reed, a young farm day worker, has not been threatened by his employer. But he is fearful, nonetheless. "I'm not sure Mrs. Trout would fire me for registering, but I suspect she would," he reflects. "At any rate, I'm certainly not going to register unless she encourages me to."

Mrs. G. C. Trout, who with her husband owns 830 acres of cotton fields, clearly doesn't plan to give any such encouragement. "I don't think that just to be 21, alive and a citizen gives people the right to vote," she says.

"I don't think these people have yet demon-

Please Turn to Page 18, Column 1

4/12/65

Senate Liberals Spurn Revised Voting Bill, Say They Will Press for Ban on Poll Taxes

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter

WASHINGTON—Senate liberals rejected a substitute voting-rights bill introduced Friday by Democratic and Republican leaders and said they will press for inclusion of a ban on poll taxes.

"Abolition of the poll tax has become the issue in the country on this bill," declared Sen. Javits (R., N.Y.). "We intend to deal with that issue." He spoke after half a dozen liberal members of the Judiciary Committee had met in his office to discuss the compromise proposal.

"The leadership substitute," added Sen. Hart (D., Mich.), "is stronger and better-balanced than the original legislation sent to Congress. But it is our intention to improve it."

The most important area of change, participants in the meeting agreed, would be addition of the poll-tax ban. Liberals had inserted such a provision in the original bill. However, Minority Leader Dirksen of Illinois added, in the Judiciary Committee, a clause that would have excluded from the bill's basic provisions any state in which 60% of voting-age adults are registered or whose participation in the latest Presidential election exceeded the national average. Liberals vigorously opposed this clause, and the Friday substitute, which dropped both provisions, was offered to heal the breach between backers of voting-rights legislation.

Although details have been rewritten frequently in the past month, all versions of the voting-rights bill do basically the same thing: In states where would-be Negro voters are found to face discrimination in the form of literacy and other tests, the legislation permits appointment of Federal examiners who would register voters without using the tests. Southerners have attacked the bill as regional, punitive and unconstitutional, but there is little doubt it will ultimately pass the Senate by a substantial margin. However, serious complications, especially as to timing, have been created by the split in the ranks of proponents.

It still isn't clear how far the liberals plan to carry their opposition to the substitute, but some of them are determined at least to get a roll-call vote on an amendment to ban the tax. Such an amendment will be introduced soon by Sen. Edward Kennedy (D., Mass.), who added the poll-tax abolition to the original bill.

Sen. Kennedy said he is still drafting his proposal and isn't certain when it will be

King's Dilemma: He May Break Law He Helped Pass

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter

ATLANTA—Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference may have to change its ways of helping Negroes find jobs to keep from breaking the Civil Rights Law of 1964, officials of the group said.

The problem stems from a section of the law that says anyone who helps anyone else find a job is an employment agency. It bans employment agencies from referring for employment "any individual on the basis of his race, color, religion, sex or national origin."

Officials of the Negro betterment group are worried that this may mean that if they persuade an employer to hire Negroes, or send Negroes to fill jobs, they will be breaking the law they helped pass. The fair employment section of the law takes effect July 2.

"We may have to modify our approach," says Dr. Gerald Reed, a white dentist who heads local jobs-for-Negroes efforts by SCLC. If a change is made from current methods—mostly polite pressure and persuasion—it may well be to a boycott of any company that won't hire Negroes freely, Dr. Reed indicated. "They cannot make us buy their products," he noted.

ready. It will, however, have four main parts: A finding by Congress that poll taxes have been used in the South to practice discrimination; a flat ban on their use as a qualification for voting in state and local elections; a provision for an early court decision on the Constitutionality of Federal abolition of poll taxes, and protection of the voting rights of any person who fails to pay his poll tax because of passage of the Federal ban, and then is ruled ineligible if that ban should be held unconstitutional.

The final two parts are designed to meet the principal objection of Sen. Dirksen and other backers of voting-rights legislation. They have said Congress' Constitutional authority to outlaw the poll tax by statute is questionable and have argued that inclusion of such a ban would jeopardize the entire voting-rights bill.

Poll taxes as a qualification for voting still exist in four states—Alabama, Mississippi, Texas and Virginia.

Although the liberals are primarily interested in the poll-tax amendment, they may also seek to alter the substitute bill to direct Federal officials to act as poll watchers to insure that Federally registered voters will be allowed to cast their ballots.

4/23/65

Divisions Among Voting Rights Bill Backers Are Glossed Over in Initial Senate Debate

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter

WASHINGTON—The Senate launched its floor debate on the voting rights bill, but the first speeches largely glossed over the real issues dividing supporters of the measure.

The bill establishes standards for the Attorney General to use to determine whether would-be Negro voters have been kept from registering by discriminatory tests of literacy, good character and the like. If he finds they have, the legislation provides that Federal examiners may be appointed to register the applicants.

Majority Leader Mansfield of Montana, Minority Leader Dirksen of Illinois and Sen. Hart (D., Mich.), who will manage the bill on the floor, reviewed the history of discrimination against Negro voters and argued the bill's effectiveness in correcting abuses by states and their political subdivisions. They were challenged, although not at great length, by Southern Democratic Sens. Ervin of North Carolina, Ellender of Louisiana and Holland of Florida.

Few if any in the Senate question the inevitability of the bill's passage, but there is considerable uncertainty about how long it will take to pass and the final shape it will assume.

As reported by the Senate Judiciary Committee two weeks ago, the bill includes a liberal amendment to outlaw the poll tax as a condition for voting in any election. Not only is this amendment attacked bitterly by Southerners as unconstitutional, but it is opposed by Sen Dirksen and other backers of the bill as unnecessary and of questionable Constitutionality.

Dirksen Escape Clause

On the other side, many liberals object to a Dirksen amendment—also added in committee—that would provide an escape clause for states that otherwise would be covered by the bill's basic provisions. Under this amendment, states or political subdivisions in which 60% of eligible adults are registered would be exempt from coverage. Liberals argue that this would excuse a number of states immediately and that even a Deep South state like Alabama could get out through a crash drive to register white voters.

The stage is clearly set for some sort of trade involving these two items, particularly as the Justice Department is known to be unhappy about both of them. Both sides, moreover, have hinted privately that they are thinking in terms of eventual compromise. But up to now, there have been no direct negotiations and no one has formally proposed any settlement terms.

The range of possibilities is visible, though. A poll tax, for example, could simply be included among the list of "tests and devices" that would be suspended during the period in which Federal examiners register local applicants. This presumably would be slightly more palatable to the Southerners and would allay some of Sen. Dirksen's concern about including a section of doubtful Constitutionality. Some liberals, however, have talked in a preliminary way of trying to insure that the rest of the law would remain in effect even if the courts should toss out a poll tax ban. But supporters concede the difficulty of drafting such a clause, and some on the liberal side privately see no irreparable harm in simply eliminating the poll tax amendment.

Minority Leader Less Flexible

Sen. Dirksen, on the other hand, appears much more firmly committed to some sort of escape hatch—although he has said repeatedly that he isn't wedded to every detail of the present proposed provision. For one thing, he is quite willing to raise the registration figure to 65% and might even go higher. He has also assured the liberals backing the bill that he has no desire to weaken or "gut" it, as has been charged by some critics. Moreover, more than one Senator in the liberal camp privately agrees that the principle of the Dirksen provision has merit. They say they can see advantages in a clause that encourages states to improve voter registration by offering them a means of resuming responsibility for their own registrations. And they further agree on the fairness of setting some sort of standard by which states can display compliance.

But they are firmly against any figure that might make it possible a state or subdivision to escape the law by actually increasing the present imbalance between white and Negro voters. The currently proposed 60% is such a figure, they say, and simply boosting it to 65% wouldn't solve the problem. They would prefer adding a requirement that a certain percentage of potential Negro voters be registered before a state or subdivision could escape.

With both sides well aware of the alter-

natives, the prospects are for an opening of bargaining next week. Formal debate could easily last a month, although elimination of the poll tax ban and retention of an escape clause might speed up the process by taking much of the fervor out of any Southern filibuster.

The voting rights measure, considered to have less difficulty in the House than in the Senate, nevertheless is progressing with less than great speed through the House Judiciary Committee. Chairman Celler (D., N.Y.) originally had hoped to clear the bill before Easter, but all action has been deferred until April 27.

4/12/65

Voting-Rights Bill Faces Delay in Senate By Collapse of the Dirksen-Liberal Alliance

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter

WASHINGTON—The apparent collapse of an always tenuous alliance between Minority Leader Dirksen of Illinois and liberal Democratic backers of the Administration's voting-rights bill seems likely to complicate the outlook for the measure in the Senate.

In a final flurry of Judiciary Committee action late last week, a strong liberal group forced through amendments that Sen. Dirksen warned would "jeopardize" the bill. Then, at the moment when opposition strength in the committee was low, the Republican leader tacked on a surprise clause that liberals claim has "gutted" the measure.

As a result, some fervent proponents of voting-rights legislation are suggesting the Senate ignore its own version when it comes up for consideration April 21 and wait for a stronger bill to be passed by the House. Such a bill was approved Friday by a subcommittee and will be taken up by the full House Judiciary Committee tomorrow.

Measure's Aim

Demanding by President Johnson in a special address to a joint session of Congress four weeks ago, the voting-rights proposal is designed to make possible the registration of Negroes who have been kept off voter rolls by discriminatory tests of literacy, moral character and the like. It provides that Federal examiners may register applicants in states where fewer than half of the adult population voted in the last Presidential election. Or, in the Senate version, where fewer than 25% of non-white adults are registered.

At the center of the dispute between Sen. Dirksen and his liberal critics is his provision to exclude from coverage states or political subdivisions in which voting participation in the last Presidential election exceeded the national average or in which more than 60% of adult residents are registered.

Liberals note that under such a formula, Louisiana, Georgia and South Carolina wouldn't be covered at all, and they add that vigorous registration drives among the white population would enable North Carolina and Alabama to evade the measure. If any such escape clause is to be written into the bill, they insist, it must not be operative for several years.

With such a provision in it, these Senators believe, the measure is worse than worthless because it will only pretend to solve a problem of discrimination in voter registration. Some say they will be impelled to vote against the bill unless the clause is eliminated.

Good Faith Questioned

Introduction of the change by Sen. Dirksen at the last minute, and at a time when he enjoyed a temporary advantage, angered and embittered several of the liberals. Some question his good faith during the past weeks of negotiation and drafting of the voting-rights proposal. "He said all along that we had to keep the states from circumventing whatever we passed," one declares with annoyance. "Now he wants to write the bill so almost any of them can get around it." According to this man, Justice Department officials are unhappy. Moreover, civil-rights groups have already begun to denounce the change. "It's made to order for those who want to get out," says Clarence Mitchell, Washington representative of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Sen. Dirksen, on the other hand, feels the liberals have gone too far in the amendments they pushed through the Judiciary Committee. One would outlaw poll taxes in state and local elections, an act the minority leader feels is of doubtful Constitutionality. Others would authorize the Federal examiners to double as pollwatchers, to be sure newly registered voters aren't prevented from casting their ballots, and to register applicants without first requiring that they be turned down by local registrars. Proponents of the latter provision say local registrars could easily stall applicants indefinitely without actually rejecting them.

Senate leaders planning the strategy for the coming battle over the bill regard as potentially troublesome any attempts to amend the committee bill on the floor. They argue it would be better to try to substitute an entirely separate bill or to wait for a more acceptable version from the House. The desire to see the final shape of the House bill may have played some part in the decision of Majority Leader Mansfield of Montana to put off consideration of the voting-rights bill until after the Senate's Easter recess. He agreed to let members take their vacation, which had been marked earlier for cancellation, after getting agreement from Southerners not to filibuster the motion to take up

the voting measure. They are expected to talk at length against the bill itself, however.

The probable need eventually to overcome a filibuster by invoking cloture, which requires the votes of two thirds of those Senators present, points up the importance of any dispute between Sen. Dirksen and others supporting the bill. The primary reason the Illinois Republican has exerted so much influence on the details of the bill has been the belief of the Administration that it would need his assistance in breaking a filibuster. However, some of the disappointed liberals are questioning this thesis. They assert that with Southern ranks weaker than at any time in years, and with a substantial group of Republicans ideologically committed to civil-rights legislation, cloture could be invoked without Senator Dirksen's support.

House Outlook More Promising

The House outlook is considerably more promising. A House Judiciary subcommittee also declared itself for "strengthening" the Administration's draft, but it stopped short of alienating key Republican panelists by its actions. Provisions for abolition of the poll tax and for pollwatchers to see that the votes of newly registered Negroes get tallied were both written into the bill, as was a vaguely worded ban on discrimination in the selection of delegates to party nominating conventions. The subpanel refrained, however, from adding on still sterner antidotes favored by more militant lawmakers and civil-rights groups. These included provisions for voiding election results in instances where Negroes assert they were kept from the polls and for court action by the Attorney General to restrain local officials from interfering with Negro protest gatherings.

As a result, the amended version of the legislation that goes before the full House Judiciary Committee tomorrow appears acceptable to all except its Southern members. The ranking Republican panelist, Rep. McCulloch of Ohio, ceded whatever bargaining strength he might have commanded on behalf of a milder GOP substitute plan by publicly commending the subcommittee version. Mr. McCulloch said he will put the GOP substitute to a full committee vote, but not even its most ardent backers, Reps. Poff (R., Va.) and Cramer (R., Fla.), hold much hope for its adoption. "I think we've finally convinced

TROOPERS AVERT BOGALUSA CLASH

Continued From Page 1, Col. 3

en sent in 125 more last night. The city has only 36 policemen. Tension has run high since the Bogalusa Civic and Voters League, which is associated with CORE, renewed street demonstrations last week after a two-month moratorium.

A white man who attacked two Negroes with his fists during one march was shot and seriously wounded by one of the Negroes. Two fights broke out yesterday as Negroes picketed downtown stores for jobs.

Two Negro men were arrested last night and one was charged with firing two pistol shots at two young white men on a motorcycle.

CORE and the Voters League are stepping up their drive for Negro jobs and against racial discrimination in public facilities. The drive began in January.

A Test of Johnson

Mr. Farmer told the civil rights marchers before they started today that public accommodations were as tightly segregated as ever in Bogalusa.

"Bogalusa may well be a test tube for the nation to determine whether the 1964 Civil Rights Act has any meaning whatsoever," he said.

He said the city also was a test of President Johnson's sincerity in his declared war on the Ku Klux Klan.

"Bogalusa has more Klansmen per capita than any place in the country," Mr. Farmer said.

There were reports that Klansmen were on their way to Bogalusa from Mississippi and other parts of Louisiana for today's march. The state police roadblocks stopped them.

Mr. Lynch, the states rights leader, complained that many participants in his march had been kept out of town. He was undaunted. He simply advised the 500 who showed up to "spread out" their ranks to make the march look longer.

"A brand new Confederate flag is arising," he shouted to white men, women and children who began their march.

A lettered sign on the street proclaimed: "Hell—We haven't

Boy, 8

shot him

home

her's

Negro Voting Strength Rising in South

ATLANTA, July 11 (AP)—Negroes have increased their voting strength by nearly a half-million votes during the last year without waiting for legislation from Congress.

Conservative estimates put the number of Negro voters at 2.2 million in 11 Southern states, a survey shows. This represents an increase of 450,000. It means that about 44 per cent of the Negroes eligible by age are on voting lists in this region where they make up one-fifth of the population.

The increase almost equals the 500,000 Negroes added to voting lists during the 1958-1963 period.

Legislative Effect Varies

Seven Southern states are covered automatically by the Johnson Administration legislation barring certain restrictions on voter registration. These states are Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina and Virginia.

But developments of the last few years, together with the rapid Negro registration rate, may make the new legislation

anticlimactic or of little effect in many areas.

It appears that the greatest impact will be felt in Mississippi, Alabama and Louisiana. The percentage of age-eligible Negroes now registered is lowest in these states. Survey statistics, from official figures and estimates, showed:

¶Mississippi — About 520,000 white voters, 30,000 Negro voters (nearly 7 per cent of those eligible by age). Negroes make up 42 per cent of the population, less than 6 per cent of the voters.

¶Alabama — About 1,000,000 white voters, 115,000 Negro voters (22 per cent of age-eligible). Alabama's population is 30 per cent Negro.

¶Louisiana — White voters number 1,025,264; Negro voters, 163,132 (or 32 per cent of age-eligible). Negroes make up 30 per cent of the population, 13.7 per cent of the voters.

In all three states, the legislatures have acted recently to loosen restrictions on voter registration.

In the other Southern states affected by the voting rights legislation, Negroes have been gaining in voter strength. Based on estimates of civil rights leaders, South Carolina's Negro

voters have moved from 14 per cent to 20 per cent of the electorate in the last 1½ years. Negro voters number about 160,000, white voters 620,000. About 250,000 Negroes are unregistered, it is estimated.

Increase in Georgia

Georgia's Negro voter list has climbed from less than 200,000 at the end of 1963 to more than 270,000 and there are no complaints of discrimination in most of the state. This gives Negro voters at least 17 per cent of the voting power in Georgia where they make up 28 per cent of the population. The safeguards provided in new legislation would be new only to the southwest corner of the state.

One of the most impressive gains showed in Florida's official figures. The last tabulation, made in October, gave the state 458,156 Negro voters. This is more than double the 213,128 of only one year earlier. Florida has 2.2 million white voters.

RIGHTS ACT GAINS NOTED IN REPORT

Continued From Page 1, Col. 1

accommodations, public schools and the use of Federal funds.

The report noted that the act's prohibition against discrimination in employment had not taken effect until July 2 of this year so it was too early to make an appraisal.

"But in view of the spirit in which employers, unions and local officials and others affected have prepared for compliance, there is reason to hope that it will be as successful as the public accommodations and other provisions of the act," the report said.

The report said that improved community relations by police forces "represents one of the most crucial needs in civil rights and perhaps the greatest hope for reducing tensions in the big cities."

The report did not elaborate but was presumably referring to clashes and misunderstandings between the police and Negroes in the slum sections of big cities.

The report also said that a level of cooperation exist-

that the increase in the number of Federal agencies involved, particularly in the employment field, might lead to duplication and jurisdictional disputes.

4 Struck and 5 Arrested In Georgia Rights Protest

Special to The New York Times

CORDELE, Ga., July 11 — Four persons were struck and five were charged with assault and battery in racial incidents growing out of civil rights demonstrations yesterday and today against the Town House Restaurant here.

Assistant Police Chief Ronald Reed said the Rev. William Abbott of Anaheim, Calif., and Policeman M. R. Williams, a Cordele Negro, were struck today by customers leaving the restaurant.

Two others, William Draude of Baldwin, L. I., and Edward Feaver of Norman, Okla., were struck Saturday.

During today's incident, Mr. Reed added, Mr. Williams used a nightstick to protect himself against a Town House customer.

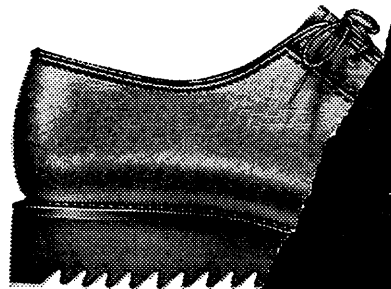
Mr. Reed said none of the victims required

WOR



Teaching current filmstrip programs of line, provide background suggested reading . . . tion, write: Filmstrip Square, New York, N.

this famous offer is still
COMFORT GUARANTEE
or your money back



when you take

Our famous VITASHOE has been worn by millions of men. The Ripple® spring sole is compressed and released with every step . . . making walking a pleasure . . . without fatigue. With Cordele calfskin in black. \$14 add 1.00.

CALIF SNCC

Civil Rights Split King's Americus Drive Sharpens Old Dispute With His Nominal Allies

'Demonstrate, Then Leave' Tactic Is Aimed to Push National Ends, Critics Say

Echoes Throughout the South

Undated Post-1965

By NEIL MAXWELL
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
AMERICUS, Ga.—When staff members of the Rev. Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference finally leave this strife-torn town, no one will be happier to see them go than the local workers of another leading civil rights group.

"You can't liberate Americus or anyplace else in two weeks or a summer," complains bearded, coverall-clad Willie Ricks, working here for the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC, or "Snick" in civil rights jargon). "We've been operating in Americus for three years, and now we've got to figure out how to clean up the mess Dr. King will leave behind." Sammy Mahone, leader of SNCC operations here, adds: "They (the SCLC) have got some of our local Negroes brainwashed with their big promises, but there's plenty of people here who don't want anything to do with Dr. King."

There's a temptation to discount such talk, coming as it does from a pair of local leaders pushed abruptly into the shade when Rev. King's team hit town to lead demonstrations. Also, past differences between the "Snicks" and the "Slicks," as Rev. King's group is often called, have been papered over with no damage done, and there's little reason to believe that the two groups won't continue to associate, however uncomfortably, on the national level.

How Soon to Leave?

But the antagonism displayed in Americus toward Rev. King's tactics by those normally classed as his allies, suggests that future splits on the local level may be more difficult, if not impossible, to heal. And Americus is no isolated incident. In other Southern towns visited by the SCLC, local Negro leaders also are complaining that the group's technique—mass demonstrations, then leave town, is the way they would describe it—are leaving behind a string of embittered cities in which whites and Negroes are as far apart as ever.

Such disaffection raises a question of cardinal importance to the civil rights movement—and suggests the possibility of a major change in the pattern of Negro protest in the South.

No one doubts that the Nobel Prize winner's demonstrations, particularly in Birmingham, Selma, and Americus, have been effective in spurring Federal civil rights legislation. But now local Negro leaders—and whites working for harmony between the races—are asking: Is it morally right to employ local Negroes in mass demonstrations aimed at benefiting the race nationally, and then leave them to face alone the increased racial tension and reprisals the demonstrations breed? In their view this is exactly what Rev. King has done before elsewhere, and is doing now in Americus.

The SCLC-SNCC squabble clearly displays the opposing viewpoints on this matter. "The basic personality differences between SCLC and SNCC are beginning to show through clearly now," says Paul Anthony, field director of the biracial Southern Regional Council, a highly respected Atlanta-based group studying race relations. "SNCC digs in locally to find out what the local community wants and then helps them get it. They are adamantly opposed to what they call the cult of personality—the one great leader idea."

Role of Vote Bill

But the SCLC, Mr. Anthony adds, has the opposite emphasis. "They are always working for national goals and using Negroes in a selected city to get them. They didn't go to Selma to register voters, but to get a Federal voting bill. And they went to Americus to get the bill out of committee and signed into law." If that has indeed been SCLC's purpose in Americus, it apparently is being achieved; the House passed the voting rights bill Tuesday and the Senate passed it last night; President Johnson is expected to sign it into law shortly.

To several local Negro leaders, however, the King approach has done more harm than good—at least to race relations in their towns. In St. Augustine, Fla., where Rev. King's demonstrations were undeniably effective in speeding passage of the civil rights law last summer, a Negro leader says flatly: "I don't want him back here now. He left us with a sick city, and his coming back would kill it."

A severe let-down took place in St. Augustine when Rev. King and his staffers left after several weeks of demonstrations in which local Negroes faced violence from toughs and Klansmen as they marched around the city's old slave market. They were protesting their exclusion from restaurants and motels.

"We Were Cut Off"

"We were cut off in September of 1964," recalls R. B. Hayling, a dentist who rallied local Negroes to Rev. King. "He and the SCLC put the screws on us real tight—no more demonstrations, no more nothing. If you don't have big brother behind you to make bail bond money, you can't do a thing. So we didn't." Dr. Hayling has felt the sting of economic reprisal himself; his once largely white practice in St. Augustine has dropped off seriously, forcing him to open an office in the town of Cocoa.

Other Negroes find the pattern of segregation in St. Augustine nearly unchanged since Rev. King was here. Restaurants are desegregated, under the public accommodations section of the 1964 civil rights law, but few Negroes find it wise to dine in "white" restaurants. "We don't even think about the white places," says one Negro who can afford to eat there. "You can be pretty sure that if you eat at a white restaurant and they know who you are, your boss will be told that you're trying to stir up trouble. If they don't know you, you might be arrested after you leave so they can find out about you."

Some Negroes also say little headway has

Please Turn to Page 22. Col. 5

Civil Rights Split: Americus Drive Sharpens Dispute Over King's Role

Continued From First Page

been made in establishing meaningful communications between the races in St. Augustine—or in Selma from which Rev. King led last winter's celebrated march to Montgomery, for that matter.

The negative effects of mass demonstrations cited by SCLC's critics are nowhere clearer than in the small city of Albany, Ga., one of the earliest targets for Rev. King's crusade. Despite massive demonstrations, white resistance has only hardened over the years, and Negroes are dispirited.

The city has closed facilities rather than submit to integration. Tift Park, a 30-acre playground once enjoyed by white picnickers, still displays a chain across its entrance and signs warn "Park Closed—Keep Out." The city closed its two white pools rather than integrate them, and later sold them to private individuals who run them for whites only. But the Negro pool has been closed since 1962.

Albany officials have steadfastly refused to even sit down and talk with Negro leaders—or anyone else, for that matter. Last June the Georgia Advisory Committee to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission held a hearing there on the town's racial problems, ranging from segregated hospital wards to job discrimination. City officials refused to attend, much less testify. The Georgia Council on Human Relations, a private group working to help communities solve racial problems, has been trying for years to set up a branch in Albany, but has yet to find a white who will serve on it.

Birmingham, Two Years After

In Birmingham, site of bloody violence during massive demonstrations in 1963, the picture is a little brighter—but not much. The demonstrations there did help inspire formation of a bi-racial committee which met enthusiastically for awhile and even made several recommendations. These, however, have been ignored and committee meetings gradually became less frequent and less well attended. When the chairman resigned last year to take a trip to Europe, no replacement was named—and none has been named yet.

When Rev. King came to Birmingham local Negroes wanted four things—jobs as clerks in downtown stores, jobs on the police force, desegregated lunch counters at variety stores, and removal of "white" and "colored" signs in public buildings. Now, after two years, lunch counters are open, but only under pressure of the civil rights law. The signs are down.

But a check in Birmingham last June, just before provisions of the civil rights law aimed at job discrimination went into effect, disclosed not one Negro working as a clerk at

major department stores. There were no Negroes on the police force, either. "About the only thing that's better now is the dialogue," says Dr. John W. Nixon, head of the Alabama NAACP, and a dentist in Birmingham. "They call us Negro more and 'nigra' less. There's less hostility when we have discussions, but it's still only talk."

White Bitterness in Americus

In Americus, where protests are still going on, there's considerable doubt as to whether the violence-marked series of mass marches and meetings will help the lot of the local Negroes any. The attitude of many whites is still bitter; a TV newscast showing a local Negro demonstrator being slugged by a white draws laughter from customers of George's Cafe downtown. Crowds of sullen whites still gather around Negro demonstrators.

Just before SCLC-led demonstrations started, white leaders of the community agreed to set up a bi-racial committee. But shortly after the SCLC-led demonstrations began, and after a white youth was slain, racial passions were so aroused that several white members of the committee were forced to back off. Attempts to revive the group had been fruitless, but last night a group of citizens said they had formed a new biracial committee to smooth out differences with the Negroes. The committee, however, doesn't have the backing of city officials.

The resistance to SCLC displayed in towns already visited by Rev. King's group is also popping up elsewhere. In Mobile, Ala., local Negro leadership fended off an attempt by SCLC to set up a voter registration project there.

Northern Troubles, Too

Rev. King has been having his troubles in the North, too. Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D., N.Y.) told him to stay out of Harlem, and Cecil Moore, militant chief of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Philadelphia, called him "a divisive force" and accused him of planning to enter the city "to get money and headlines." The two reached accord after Rev. King promised any money he raised would be spent in the area.

SCLC officials admit to mistakes in the past, but defend the basic approach favored by their group. Hosea Williams, Rev. King's top aide in Americus, concedes that perhaps the group pulled out of Selma too fast, but insists massive demonstrations held there and in Americus have been a major factor in pushing the voting rights bill. "Americus certainly helped," he says. "The damnable thing about our government is that it has to be pressured into action."

He also observes that SCLC, firmly identified now with the person of its leader, Rev. King, commands nationwide attention that local SNCC groups and other Negro leaders on the community level can't match. "They need us more than we need them," he says. "We can bring the press in with us and they can't. When we tell the news media Dr. King is going in some place, they know something is going to happen."

RUB

San Jose Mercury
Thurs., Sept. 30, '65 58Z

New Angle On Negro History

From Washington Post

WASHINGTON — A new history primer for Negroes tells how the British Redcoats tried to scare freedom-fighting Colonists by firing rifles over their heads.

"They didn't have tear gas and cattle prods in those days," explains the text of "Negroes in American History," a freedom primer published by the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee. (SNCC).

Why is the old Wild West with 5,000 Negro cowboys pictured as lily-white on television today? Answer: "Even in his place in history, the Negro finds himself the first to be fired."

According to SNCC, the 51-page coloring book is designed to supplement history books which have ignored the Negro's effort to obtain equality in America.

It is aimed at Negroes with limited reading skills in SNCC's freedom schools in the south and the ghettos in the north.

The book also seems aimed at the NAACP, with which SNCC has been at odds from time to time. "In those days," says the text of the early history of the NAACP, "the NAACP was much more militant than it is now."

Participation of Negroes in American wars and the taming of the West (including references to famous Negro outlaws) are the subjects of chapters by the authors, Frank and Bobbie Cieciora.

The authors don't mention "Uncle Tom's Cabin" and the role it played in the civil rights movement. But they do mention various "Uncle Toms" — the "Toms" for the English in Revolutionary War days, the "59." For the French in the Haitian revolution and the "Toms" for white masters during slavery.

In the authors' judgment, the Seminole wars were fought to recapture slaves and not to quell hostile Indians and, during the Civil War, slavery was ended because the union needed Negro troops.

Booker T. Washington was a "go-slow" Negro and W. E. B. Dubois was "one of the greatest leaders the black people ever had," according to the authors who omitted any reference to Dubois' embracing of Communism in his final years and the reasons why.

The text gives a rather stripped down version of the modern civil rights movement and asks some rather heady questions for a primer, such as: "Why do we spend billions of dollars each year for weapons when millions of people in this country need food, shelter, education and medical care?"

SNCC's five years in the civil rights field has been marked by controversies. SNCC's view of history may spark another one.

Students May Help Organize Farm Workers

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is considering sending representatives into the San Joaquin Valley to assist in organizing farm workers.

This was announced last night by Mike Miller of San Francisco, the Northern California coordinator for the SNCC. Miller spoke at a public meeting called to discuss the possibility of founding active SNCC and "friends of SNCC" groups in the valley.

Puts It First

He termed "the farm labor problem" the major social and economic problem of the valley and urged those interested in farm laborers' welfare to join the SNCC movement. If interest in organizing farm laborers is shown, he said, the SNCC very likely will send in "possibly three" farm labor organizers.

Miller distributed copies of the civil rights organization's monthly newspaper, The Movement, and urged the audience of about 20 persons to distribute them.

He asked persons interested in forming SNCC groups or in receiving the newspaper to communicate with him in the San Francisco office, 1316 Masonic Avenue.

He announced another meeting is planned for Fresno but a date has not been set.

Call SNCC

THE Peace Corps NEWS

VOL. 4 NO. 1

AUTUMN 1965



VOLUNTEER WENDELL J. L. GORUM of the Bronx teaches woodworking at a boys' school as part of a community development project in Osorno in southern Chile.

Community Development — 'Mass Alienation to Mass Participation'

The Peace Corps has coined a new term for what it does in Latin America — community development is now affectionately known as CD.

Frank Mankiewicz, chief of Peace Corps operations in Latin America, addressing the Foreign Language Program in New York City in 1964, said, "The techniques of community development are essentially revolutionary techniques. For to help a people, whether in a village or a section of an urban sprawl, to the level where, by their own joint activity, they have realized their power as a community and have located the real levers through which they can enter the life of their country is a revolutionary act."

Most people around Peace Corps headquarters in Washington get a little uneasy when a word like revolution starts getting kicked around; but that is, in a sense, what the Peace Corps is all about — in much the same way as SNCC workers in Mississippi or freedom marchers in Alabama are dealing with the stuff of revolution.

Mankiewicz calls it "the change from mass alienation to mass participation." Of course this doesn't mean that the Volunteer is out to stir up a shooting war. There is too much basic work to be done. Basic developments have to take place in a community regardless of politics. Water, schools, drainage and elementary education have to be provided.

It is the goal of community development to bring

into being an organization within a neighborhood that is capable of providing these items itself.

Jim Pines is chief of West Coast operations in Latin America. He points out that it often works out best if a Peace Corps CD worker goes into an urban neighborhood or rural town without any real technical skills. This forces him to go out and find people and resources and talents in the community able to do a job, and he doesn't end up doing it himself.

"There is every difference in the world between attitudes of the local people towards a small school they put up themselves through their own organizational initiative and a school stuck in the middle of the town by an outside aid program—whether from their own central government or from the United States," he said.

The essence of community development, then, is an emphasis on what people can do for themselves, through organization. The Peace Corps Volunteer can work only as a catalyst, spending long hours learning about a community, how it works, what it

Continued on Page 4

Washington security officers are a jumpy lot — take the case of Eisenhower and the cowboy, or the Peace Corps and Viet Nam petitions — see page four.

Agitating Overseas Takes Time and Special Talents

by Peggy Krause

"Wheeling and dealing" is the life of the Peace Corps "agitators", according to Bruce Reeves, who coordinates the requests for Peace Corps programs from 17 Latin American countries.

Anyone can march into a country and build a schoolhouse with a bit of technical help — the real talent is in making the people want a school house enough to build and maintain it themselves, he said. Otherwise empty schoolhouses can become monuments to departed do-gooders.

"It's like calling a meeting for free speech, which is easy, versus getting people to the point where they care enough to go to jail," he explained.

"That's what makes Savio a 'gunner' — he gets people to believe in things."

Around the Peace Corps offices there are many words for the agitator type — including "gunner" and "swinger".

In the eyes of the Peace Corps, this is community development — getting people involved in improving what's around them.

A do-gooder type could easily organize a work group to build a school in a village forgotten by the ministry of education, Reeves said.

"But can you get people worked up so they'll go to the ministry office, which is two days away, and sit there until they get a teacher for the school?"

Getting ideas accepted, sometimes subtly with a sentence stated at the right time, sometimes blatantly with loudspeakers and movie projectors

— that is the job of the Peace Corps Volunteers.

In Malaysia, community development worker Bill Cull reports, "Some days I just sit and talk . . . talk all day long. And I feel as if I've really gotten somewhere if these people understand their own problems a little better."

On the other hand, Peruvians accepted the idea of an electricity cooperative with enthusiasm, reports Peace Corps Volunteer Peter Lara.

Idea reception depends on the structure of the society and the

nature of the project as well as the methods used in pushing the idea. Lara's "wheeling and dealing" could be overt, but in Cull's Malaysian village wheeling and dealing had to be somewhat sneaky.

Volunteer Lara spent most of his two years in Peru talking the *campesinos* into joining an electricity cooperative which would eventually bring electricity and then industry to their valley.

Sometimes he and the Peruvians working with him had to explain

Continued on Page 3

The Dominican Revolt— 'Friend, It's Your Fight'

The Peace Corps has passed its severest test to date — survival amid revolution in the Dominican Republic.

According to some, it was the Peace Corps versus the War Corps. Barry Goldwater lumped the two together and called them the "Freedom Corps."

On April 24 the U. S. Marines landed in the Dominican Republic with the expressed intention of helping to save America nationals. They fought alongside the Dominican Republic government forces after deciding communists had infiltrated the rebel units.

It was common knowledge that Peace Corps nurses were working in hospitals in rebel areas, patching up the soldiers who had been shot by the Marines.

The majority of Peace Corps Volunteers were sympathetic to the rebels because the Dominicans with whom they worked and lived were on the rebel side, according to Peace Corps officials.

Remarkably little criticism surrounded the Peace Corps actions — although a few newspapers ran editorials like the *Richmond News Leader's* which asked "just exactly where the Corps' humanitarian objectives leave off and the legitimate requirements of national loyalty resume."

In a syndicated column, Goldwater compared the Dominican Republic to Cuba and said, "Imagine who could have done the most to bring real peace to Cuba. Peace Corps Volunteers, who would have been lined up and shot pretty early in the Castro game, or U. S. Marines who could have restored the order needed for free elections?"

But even he went on to praise the Peace Corps' Dominican Republic action, saying the Volunteers "simply prove by their action that America has not only an iron fist but a warm heart."

Dr. Joseph Colmen, Deputy Associate Director of the Peace Corps, said the Volunteers "generally felt their projects had been disturbed . . . yet they felt they were needed then. If they really had any sense of commitment, to leave without any sense of continuity would demonstrate a lack of faith."

It wasn't easy. According to Dr. Colmen, Volunteers were plagued by horrible living conditions, little food and less sleep, as well as anti-American sentiment.

There was also the danger of being caught in the crossfire.

The home office of the Peace Corps conducted a "continuous assessment" of safety conditions in the Dominican Republic, according to Dr. Colmen. He and another Peace Corps official visited the Dominican Republic to see how safe the Volunteers were.

Permanent Dominican Republic staff members of the Peace Corps sent only one special message to the Volunteers — they were to stay in their *barrios* or villages until notified to move. This was an attempt



JED JOHNSON, JR. — Youngest U. S. Congressman speaks out. See p. 3.

Continued on Page 4

Friction, Culture Shock Seen In Peace Corps Administration

by Robert Johnston

David Reisman claims that the job the Peace Corps has taken on is impossible. He may be right, but nobody who let that sort of an attitude stop him ever accomplished much. The answer is always the same, "We shall overcome."

But to say so doesn't make it so, and the hard reality of actually getting out and doing something usually hits Peace Corps Volunteers pretty hard. One of them writing from Peru said:

I live in a picturesque bamboo mat house I built myself. I buy my water from a picturesque boy with a burro loaded down with water cans. I read and write under a kerosene lantern, sleep on a cot, and cook on a camp stove. There comes a day when all this suddenly becomes no longer picturesque, no longer quaint, but furiously frustrating and you want like crazy to just get out of there, to go home. This is called "culture shock." It happens to one and all, usually about the third or fourth month.

Something akin to culture shock has hit the Peace Corps. It came to realize fairly quickly that the beneficent, all-knowing American dispensing skills, knowledge and friendliness around the world wasn't going to get very far.

When a school in Peru needs a roof, it does no good for two or three Volunteers to spend a day putting it up. "It would always be a gift, the gringo's roof. When it needed fixing, no one would fix it," explained a Volunteer. It has to be "their roof on their school."

So the outlook of Peace Corps officials is beginning to change. Fortunately, changes are possible, for no government agency is more ready to listen to dissent and internal or external criticism or more afraid of becoming stodgy and bureaucratic than "Peace Corps Washington." (This doesn't make it immune, however, to biting accusations on all these points from the field.)

Any other government agency, with the possible exceptions of the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Commission on Equal Employment Opportunities, both of which steal Peace Corps staff regularly, would be thrown into a death trauma if it tried to put through a regulation limiting staff tenure to five years. Congress approved such a rule for the Peace Corps last summer.

Few other government agencies encourage this internal criticism, dissent and friction the way the Peace Corps officials do. And this attitude is now spilling over into philosophies of what the Peace Corps is for and what kind of Volunteers are sought.

The Peace Corps' Deputy Director Warren Wiggins says, "We used to work a little too hard to fit Volunteers into the Peace Corps mold. Now we are taking in more 'high risk-high gain' Volunteers who may cause us more trouble overseas but who are worth it in terms of what some of them are able to accomplish. We want people with a point of view."

As another official says, "Volunteers really need to be socially and politically conscious." College students who are "questioning the extent to which society is represented by institutional frameworks and institutionalized behavior" are highly prized by recruiters.

Wiggins says, "We still have the old goals of service, fulfilling needs in underdeveloped countries, providing education and bringing maturity to our Volunteers, but we desperately want to display this new viewpoint of social and political consciousness, the affinity in our Washington building for campus thought."

The word revolution is not frowned on at Peace Corps Washington. It may even sponsor a teach-in. It regularly holds up Dean Rusk's own statement to State Department officials, "The Peace Corps is not an agent of U. S. foreign policy." No attempt is made to have Volunteers parrot or even defend U. S. foreign policy.

The Peace Corps is seen as an agent of social change and innovation and is recognizing this as its most promising role at home as well as abroad. It is even introducing into this country an exchange

Peace Corps, students from abroad brought here to teach outgoing Volunteers and to aid in this country's poverty program.

In fact the idea of youth corps sent out to stimulate and speed up laggard parts of a fast-moving world, to keep the world revolution in economics, expectations, organization and industrialism peaceful and fast-moving, is gaining momentum and respect in many different countries as well as at home.

The Foreign Minister of Thailand recently paid tribute to the Peace Corps and to the United States. "It is indeed striking that this most important idea, the most powerful idea in recent times, of a Peace Corps, of youth mingling, living, working with youth, should come from this mightiest nation on earth, the United States," he said.

And these revolutionary developments to which the Peace Corps is dedicated work in both directions. For in the interaction that takes place between the Volunteer and the community into which he is thrust and which he has to understand and help to organize and develop, both sides are profoundly affected.

"If I've learned anything here, I've learned I know nothing of Thai people. The unique quality of having a home in Thailand is the individuality of the experience. And to get to my number one concern—that which I need to understand most—there's me. It would be impossible to estimate how much I have changed, how much I have learned, what I now easily accept as a part of the world and what I now can or cannot understand.

"My perspective has been broadened. I have met a new environment and culture, and I have accepted it as well as been accepted by it. I have seen life from a different point of view. I have learned a new way of speaking about things and a new way of looking at things."

Another Volunteer wrote, "You cannot imagine the gulf between East and West, and it makes me laugh now to think that I expected to bridge it with a smile and a handshake."

As anyone who attended the conference of returned Peace Corps Volunteers knows, changes are deep and meaningful. Those who successfully emerge from culture shock have acquired many new values and orientations. The returnees were rambunctious and perceptive. Viet Nam petitions were spiritedly passed around the cafeteria of the State Department building.

The Peace Corps' determination to be something more than a world-wide welfare agency isn't always carried through successfully into fact. But it is asserted loudly that "We ARE different."

The gains often do seem miniscule; but when they are added up—more than 10,000 Volunteers in 46 countries—there is some ground for optimism. For it does seem safe to assert that in its first four years the Peace Corps really has begun to develop into an unequal instrument of social change and innovation. Putting dedicated, perceptive and socially and politically conscious youth in the field around the world, organizing and teaching on a personal, one-to-one basis, community by community, is in fact revolutionary.

Not to give to people, to feed them and clothe them and forget them, but to involve them in meeting their own needs, leading to their own self-fulfillment, is revolutionary. Wiggins admits that there is a long way to go yet, that there is often more talk than realization; but if any idea can remake the world social "establishment", the Peace Corps idea, or a succession of such ideas, can.

GRIN AND BEAR IT BY LICHTY



Courtesy Publishers Newspaper Syndicate

"...And when they tell you their ambition is to live like Americans you tell 'em a lot of Americans wish they could live like that, too!"

How To Smoke Out 'Aware' PCVs

Hazy Image Hurts Peace Corps

by Mary Richardson

Can the Peace Corps be non-political and expect today's politically volatile student to seek it out? Then again, what does the average Volunteer have in common with Smokey the Bear?

Frank Mankiewicz, chief of Peace Corps operations in Latin America, says the "Smokey the Bear" or "do-gooder" conception of the Peace Corps is a problem because the Peace Corps image is not fully developed. The compensation factor if there is unhappiness with "Smokey" halos is the benefits that come from a favorable image.

The Peace Corps is contrarily seen by Mankiewicz and others as "highly political." Awakening an underdeveloped area to its "community sense of potential" takes political understanding by the politically-aware Volunteer.

Don McClure, Associate Director of the Peace Corps for Public Affairs, who has just returned from two years in Africa, said, "I feel our problem is a 'blurred' image. I've been talking with college interns here at Peace Corps all summer, and it's obvious we've done a poor job of communicating on the campus. They tell me they had only a vague idea, or erroneous ideas, about Peace Corps before they came here. The encouraging thing to me is that the more they learn about Peace Corps, the more inclined they are to want to join. So that's my job." And to carry out the specific ways of better informing campuses, Mr. McClure said, the Peace Corps will use seminars and discussion groups on campuses this year which will include student leaders, key faculty members, returned Volunteers and top Peace Corps staffers.

Who's Who?

Malaysians have developed an interesting method of telling the Peace Corps workers apart from the British plantation owners. It's very simple.

"The Peace Corps workers wear dirty pants," they explain.

ETV Grows

The primary Peace Corps mission in educational television is to teach inhabitants of developing countries to run the entire program themselves—not simply to increase the number of student viewers, according to Tedson Meyers, head of educational TV projects for the Peace Corps.

Two chief problems the original 43 "ETV" Volunteers faced in a project in Colombia were to overcome the indifference of a people who had tried TV four times before and failed, and then to get the Colombians in charge of TV and those in charge of education to work together.

The Colombian project, now 150 Volunteers strong, uses film materials taken in the country, art work and animals for its broadcasts.

ETV goes up to fifth grade level in math, social sciences and Spanish. Adult education is also offered to increase literacy in outlying villages.

Operations similar to the Colombia project are being started in Peru and Malaysia. In these areas there will be a greater amount of pre-broadcast work with the teachers and follow-up training through the Volunteers themselves.

Meyers counts as one measure of the success of ETV the fact that presently all the production crews are Colombian. Volunteers who have come to the area since 1963 are also more professionally experienced in TV, and the entire Colombia plan will be financially on its own at the end of 1965.

THE Peace Corps NEWS

Published twice a year by the Peace Corps in cooperation with the U. S. Student Press Association and the Associated Collegiate Press. Four college editors from throughout the United States are selected to publish each edition.

The Peace Corps News reaches more than one million students through the nation's college newspapers.

Peggy Krause, *The Daily Californian*
University of California, Berkeley

Mary Richardson, *The Spokesman*
Morgan State College

Walter Grant, *The Kentucky Kernel*
University of Kentucky

Robert Johnston, *The Michigan Daily*
University of Michigan

RE-ENTRY CRISIS: Officials Claim Overemphasis

by Walter Grant

In the midst of wide-spread publicity concerning a "re-entry crisis" for returning Peace Corps Volunteers, officials claim few of the Volunteers actually face major problems.

Several top officials at the Peace Corps headquarters said news media have overemphasized difficulties experienced by Volunteers in re-joining American society. But most agree the Volunteers do require a readjustment period.

Dr. Joseph English, of the Peace Corps medical division, terms the re-entry process a "challenge." The idea of a crisis has been "very much overemphasized," Dr. English said. "The average Volunteer is glad to be home."

The main problem of the returning Volunteer is finding a meaningful situation with responsibility, according to Dr. English.

As a result of their responsibility overseas, ex-Volunteers need a stimulating job which provides independence and a source of commitment, according to Dr. Joseph Colmen, Deputy Associate Director of the Peace Corps.

Dr. Colmen said many Volunteers develop a new set of values while serving with the Peace Corps.

"They become shocked at the way some Americans think," he said. Ex-Volunteers experience frustrations before finding the type of work where they can make a significant contribution, Dr. Colmen added.

In reporting a conference of more than 1,000 ex-Volunteers, some of the national news media emphasized these problems. *Life* magazine asserted that "Volunteers feel unwanted, uncomfortable, apologetic or defensive."

In an article entitled "The Re-Entry Crisis," *Life* said, "Thick files of pain-touched letters in Peace

Corps headquarters testify that virtually all the returnees suffered when they came back." The article quoted Volunteers saying, "The first month was hell." "I was depressed for six weeks." "It was difficult to get through the whole day."

Peace Corps officials are quick to claim that the article did not represent the average returning Volunteer. Peace Corps staffer David Gelman, a former reporter for the *New York Post*, asked in a staff newsletter, "Was it a documentary about ex-junkies?"

Gelman attacked *Life* as a member of the "brick outhouse school of journalism . . . where facts are bricks with which you can build an outhouse or the Taj Mahal."

Other officials also rejected the article as overly dramatic. Dr. English said only a small number of Volunteers have any real difficulty in readjusting to American society.

In reference to one Volunteer who reportedly continued to wear the national dress of Pakistan after returning to the U. S., Dr. English said it is unusual for a Volunteer to wear a country's national dress even while abroad.

Most Volunteers return with a deep appreciation for the United States, according to Dr. English. He said returning Volunteers are excited to be back in a modern society. The typical Volunteer has a genuine desire to gain more knowledge, he said. About 40 per cent of the returned Volunteers presently are continuing their education.

Dr. Colmen said the Volunteer faces a period of readjustment faced by anyone who leaves his culture and comes back. "And most Volunteers have become deeply involved in another culture," he added.

Officials agree that the main problem of the returning Volunteer is learning how to influence American society as a private citizen. Dr. English explains that the Volunteers are used to working in a unique situation where tangible results can be seen.

An official of the Career Information Office of the Peace Corps reported that over 80 per cent of the Volunteers have at least a bachelor's degree. "It's finding the right kind of job that is difficult," he pointed out.

The spokesman said only one per cent of ex-Volunteers are unemployed. He noted that many colleges and universities have special scholarships and fellowships for ex-Volunteers.

During the conference for ex-Volunteers, a proposal to form a veteran's association was rejected. The Volunteers said they wanted to solve their problems individually.

Dr. English cited the rejection as evidence of growth and maturity.

In regard to the conference, Vice President Hubert Humphrey said, "What emerged most impressively was the potential of the Volunteers, and their desire to act, to serve, to take part in the tasks which lie ahead for this nation and the world."



SENATORS ROSS BASS (left) and EDWARD V. LONG contemplate query on present image of Peace Corps. Verdict: it's still vital.

Capitol Hill Consents Without Much Advice

by Mary Richardson

To avoid an insular view of the Peace Corps image, this reporter went to Capitol Hill for an evaluation.

From the youngest Congressman in Washington, interviewed right off the House floor between quorum calls, to the elder Senator caught in his office between committee hearings, the over-all consensus is that the Peace Corps image is still one of vitality and independence.

Senator Ross Bass (D-Tenn) commented: "The Peace Corps may not be as glamorous as it was earlier because of the newness of its beginning. I still think that it is a vital organization and is an important unit in our international affairs. As with some other government agencies, I hope that some of the dullness because of age does not degenerate the enthusiasm of those entering the Corps."

Senator Stuart Symington (D-Mo) did not agree that the Peace Corps image has dulled. He said, "I think the Corps is doing a good job and the American people are getting more for their money than with any other aid program."

Making a new comparison, Senator Edward Long (D-Mo) remarked he "had the impression that the Peace Corps had not been functioning as favorably in its communications as it could" but that he was "very, very enthusiastic" over its program. A member of Rotary International, the Senator said the Peace Corps Volunteer idea had been patterned after the Rotary overseas schools and both organizations helped others understand America through United States volunteers.

Congressman Ogden Reid (R-NY) hoped the administrative delays in communication could be corrected but saw the Peace Corps as "one of the most important programs wherein Americans can serve

in new dimensions of peace on an equals-to-equals basis."

Congressman Jed Johnson, Jr. (D-Okla) saw the Peace Corps as one of the most "imaginative programs" initiated by the U. S. He found that the Corps' particular value was in "creatively channeling efforts and aspirations of American young people toward directly building a better world."

There was certainly no gloom and doom to report from this random check with leaders on the Hill. Volunteers can be assured that the vitality of the Peace Corps they thought was — still is.

Volunteer Programs Discussed

Problems confronting nations with volunteer service programs were discussed this fall in Buenos Aires at the Inter-American Conference on Volunteer Programs.

The conference, which was sponsored by the Government of Argentina, was attended by countries of the Caribbean, Central America, South America and North America. Information about the volunteer programs now in operation around the world was diffused to delegates at the conference.

Among the various types of programs discussed were the national youth service, civic service, agricultural and youth pioneers and student volunteer programs. Common operational problems, planning, administration, selection and recruitment also were on the agenda.

The conference was held in connection with the International Secretariat for Volunteer Service, which is a liaison office for all voluntary service programs. A similar meeting will be held in Asia early next year.

The ISVS, which went into operation in January, 1963, is not directly connected with the U.S. Peace Corps. The United States, however, is one of 41 member nations.

HELP

More than 10,000 Americans are now serving as Peace Corps Volunteers in 46 nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Applicants interested in applying may fill out and send in the coupon on this page in order to receive an application blank.

Sit-Ins Boring? Try Peace Corps

Have you been arrested five times in the last five months for sitting in?

Do you think we should ban the bomb, integrate Mississippi into the United States, abolish the State Department and turn the Met over to folksingers?

The Peace Corps is just your cup of espresso.

Once you can sneak through the glorified college boards they use for selection (forge some good references and tell them you're from Berkeley and you're in), and endure the glorified Boy Scout training program (be stoic), you're on your own, free to foment ferment and to organize community spirit to build ever higher standards of living and topple imperialists.

There's no business like revolution to stir your blood, give you experience in fighting injustice, round out your education (the educated man simply MUST know how to debeak chickens) and alienate the establishment.

It's the way out of every identity crisis (and if you aren't having an identity crisis, the Peace Corps *doesn't* want you), the road to uni-

fication of the world behind a program of eradicating evil.

What have you got to lose but your anonymity?

—Robert Johnston

Loans Set For Juniors

College juniors short on funds but desiring to begin Peace Corps training next summer can now obtain a \$600 loan to tide them through their senior year.

The loan is being offered to selected students who have been accepted by the Peace Corps Advanced Training Program. This is a special Peace Corps training program which involves eight weeks of training between the junior and senior years and additional training following graduation.

Peace Corps officials say no specific course requirements will be imposed for the senior year, although trainees may wish to follow up language or other Peace Corps studies with similar subjects during the school year.

cial endorsed the electricity cooperative.

The Culls had to think in terms of two babies; Lara and his Peruvian associates had the job of signing up several thousand persons. (The Agency for International Development had said it would donate most of the money for the electricity cooperative if the Peruvians could get 5,000 *campesinos* who would eventually benefit by the project to sign up, pay a membership fee equal to a few days' wages and agree to help with the manual labor involved when the money was raised.)

Both the Culls and Lara had to get people committed to an idea that would result in immediate and later benefits — in an idea that would last after the Peace Corps Volunteers left.

It Takes A Talent

Continued from Page 1

what electricity was, and sometimes they met resistance because the people could not comprehend themselves being part-owners of such a huge project. However, after hearing all about the project, the *campesinos* were usually enthusiastic.

Bill Cull and his wife could not campaign for their ideas, however. For example, they knew the Malay infants were small and listless because they were not fed any solid food until they were a year old.

Neither could they inoffensively say, "You aren't feeding your children properly."

Instead, they waited for an opportunity and one day it came.

"Why are Peace Corps Volunteers so big?" a housewife asked one afternoon, pointing to the full foot of height difference between her husband and Bill Cull.

"One reason is because mothers in the United States begin to feed their children solids when they are four months old," Carol Cull replied. The whole village had apparently noticed the size difference, for soon two couples began to feed their infants solids at four months.

Peter Lara didn't have to wait for an opportunity, although he and the Peruvians working with him didn't enter a town unless they had been invited or had received permission to do so. They went through the streets playing recorded music and attempting to gather a crowd; then they hooked up a loud speaker system.

They showed movies, one of a similar Ecuadorian project. They had the mayor or another high official say a few words from the platform, and almost always the offi-

Fold, Spindle, Mutilate (FSM) and Return To:

PEACE CORPS, Office of Public Affairs, Washington, D. C. 20525

Mr. Mrs. Miss _____ Date _____

Address: _____

College or University _____

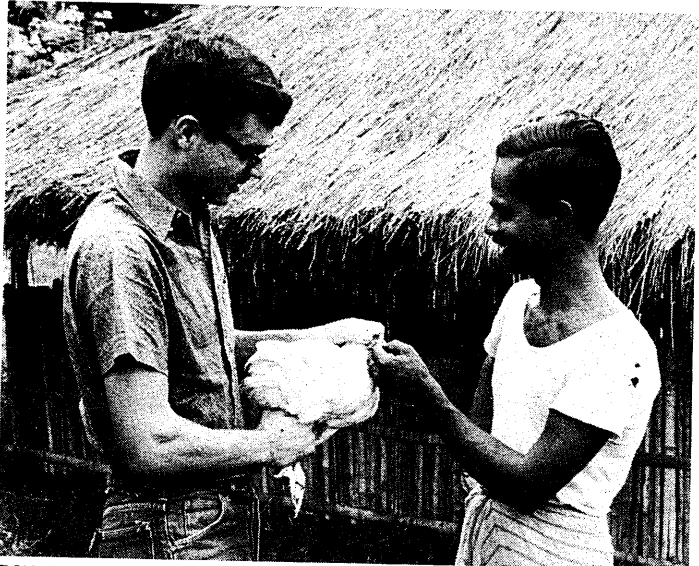
Level at present time (circle one): 1 2 3 4 Grad. Degree _____

Major _____

Major field or experience outside of school (Jobs, farm background, hobbies, etc.): _____

Date you could enter training: _____

Volunteers From India Fight Poverty War in U.S.



PCV JAMES KISER, of Ponca City, Okla., and his Indian co-worker examine a hen on a poultry farm in Hoogly, India. In September, five men from India began volunteer work in America alongside VISTA Volunteers as part of a new 'Reverse Peace Corps.'

Experiment Could Encourage New 'Reverse Peace Corps'

Five volunteers from India have joined the war on poverty in the United States in what could be the beginning of a large-scale "Reverse Peace Corps."

The Indian volunteers, who joined the fight against slums in September, will spend a year working with members of VISTA, Volunteers in Service to America. The five spent three summer months as instructors at a Peace Corps training program at St. John's College, Annapolis, Md.

After a year's work with community action projects, the volunteers will return to India to work in national service programs.

All five volunteers have university degrees, are fluent in English and have had experience in India's social work.

The experiment will enable the government of India to decide whether to establish its own Peace Corps.

Harris Wofford, Associate Director of the Peace Corps, said the possibility of a Reverse Peace Corps is "in the air the same as the Peace Corps was in the air in 1960." He said the idea of such an exchange program seems a natural thing.

The Reverse Peace Corps was suggested about a year ago by Sargent Shriver, Director of the Peace Corps.

Dr. Joseph Colmen, Deputy Associate Director, said the program "could be very important because it shows the United States is willing to benefit from other countries."

In regard to an expanded program, Dr. Colmen said the United States could accommodate hundreds of volunteers from other countries if a suitable method of financing can be obtained.

The present project is being financed on a joint basis, with funds appropriated by the United States, India and private concerns.

Wofford said the program could result in the Peace Corps "becoming a two-way street, what we've always hoped it would be." He said it was hoped the program would accomplish the three original pur-

poses of the Peace Corps Act, with a reverse twist:

1—The Indian volunteers would help America in its community action programs and at the same time would gain experience that would enable them upon their return to better meet India's manpower needs.

2—It would promote a better understanding of America by other peoples.

3—It would promote a better understanding of other peoples by the American people.

Wofford said the program also could accomplish the fourth purpose of the Peace Corps added by Congress — the encouragement and assistance of national voluntary service programs by other countries.

The Indian volunteers are S. D. Tyagi, 34, a civil service officer who works on consolidation of land holdings; L. K. Gupta, 34, an undersecretary to the Indian government; Krishna R. Patankar, 32, who works in a national volunteer organization in community and urban development, especially slum projects; N. K. Pathik, 27, a social services administrator; and Mrs. Satwant B. Singh, 46, an assistant sociologist in the rural planning division of the Indian Ministry of Health.

Community Development . . .

Continued from Page 1

wants and feels its needs are, who the leaders are and how to plant the seed of motivation.

It is a long and trying and often frustrating experience for the Volunteer, for gains are often minuscule and may disappear within days after the Volunteer leaves an area. Organization and motivation are the real goals, and they are fragile and often temporary. Once instilled, however, they can accomplish many things after the Peace Corps leaves.

About 50 per cent of the Volunteers sent to Latin America are classed as CD workers, but, as Pines says, "Everyone there is a community developer if he is doing his job right." The Volunteer's first job as he enters a community is to figure out what the felt needs of the people are. If the goals stem from the Volunteer's perceptions of what he thinks the community needs in line with his own cultural background and not from what the people think they need, then everything is lost from the beginning.

Once he understands the felt needs, the community must be organized to tackle them and will, hopefully, be able to do the job on its own. Pines says, "The specific projects are incidental. Community organizations coupled with the people's feeling that they can do something for themselves, that improvements can take place, are what is vital."

Particularly in urban areas, most changes require help from the government, so that one goal of community organization is to enable the people to make more effective their legitimate demands on the government. "There is thus a political as well as a self-help element in the programs," said Pines.

The American college graduate usually does quite well in CD programs, Pines says. "He seems to have a natural understanding of the importance and techniques of organizing and of the steps that need to be taken to solve problems." In addition the community developer has to be capable of setting up close personal relationships in other countries, and knowledge of the local language is indispensable.

Community development is an organic process in which a Volunteer's investigations lead him to sense various possibilities of organization and implementation. He has to decide "what can be done, how it can be done and how to motivate the people to do it. In a traditional and fatalistic culture unused to mobilization the job is arduous," Pines explained.

Throughout Latin America especially, several techniques have emerged as particularly fruitful. Most Latin American schools require uniforms, and children are frequently prevented from attending school because their families can't afford these. The Volunteer will try to locate a few women in the area who can sew and are interested in teaching their skills and will encourage them to organize classes to teach the other women how to sew the uniforms for their children. A feeling of community

spirit and cooperation is fostered, valuable skills are taught and many children are able to start going to school.

Among the men in urban areas there is frequently a severe shortage of capital, and what is available carries a high interest rate. The community developer will suggest the idea of a credit union so that a group, by pooling its resources, can afford tools and equipment and supplies not otherwise available. But this must be worked out through the community's effort, not the Volunteer's. Quite often credit unions will bring a group of artisans from the edge of starvation up to a decent living standard.

Another device often used is the cooperative. Chicken cooperatives have been sprouting all over India. A group will get together, build its own chicken coop, put its pooled resources and skills to work and turn a profit through the savings effected by divisions of labor.

Urban community development in the *barrios* of cities is often more difficult than it is in rural villages, according to Pines. The men are tied up in their jobs and there is little off time to work on neighborhood projects. Most projects, such as water, sewage or education systems, also require large amounts of capital.

In these cases relations with the government are important. "We help people to make their own point of view felt," Pines says. But in spite of the problems, and the years it takes for community development to really work, "there are communities where the people are happier and live better because of the Peace Corps. We make available to them ways and means of improving themselves."

The aim is to build a sub-system of society in a community that can fend for itself within, or if necessary by going around, the larger, usually oligarchic society. "It builds for itself yet works within the system to get whatever it can there. We just work to get people to work together in a sensible way to take sensible steps to further their own development."

Community organization can also be analysed in terms of developing democracy. It has been pointed out that it is no easy job to teach people that everyone should have his say. Once the Volunteer has gained the confidence of a neighborhood, he will encourage the calling of a community meeting to discuss things that need to be done.

The first meeting is usually bedlam; but very gradually progress is made, goals are decided upon by the people, ways of effecting them are thought through and the work is done. Like an iceberg, only part of what has occurred shows: the last stage when a visible project is completed. But underneath, the basic purposes of community development have been furthered: to develop local leaders, get them working together with the people, getting the government to respond to community needs and finally getting the community to carry through to some sort of tangible improvements.

A Jumpy Lot

Security officers around Washington are a jumpy lot. Many a White House Secret Service agent still recalls in horror the 1956 inaugural parade for President Eisenhower. A famous movie cowboy sallied up to the grandstand on his horse and calmly lassoed the smiling President.

Similar feelings of despair and horror were recently occasioned among State Department security officers when the returned Peace Corps Volunteer Conference was held. Petitions protesting U. S. policy in Viet Nam were widely

and prominently circulated in the State Department cafeteria.

The petitions evoked little response until State Department guards began enforcing a building regulation against distribution of outside literature. Then the petition became a noisy issue of free speech.

Peace Corps and higher State Department officials agreed with the right of participants to circulate any petition. Vice President Hubert Humphrey responded, "If you think things are not as they ought to be, even in the State Department, tell us."

'Friend, It's Your Fight'

Continued from Page 1

to keep them out of the range of gunfire and off the roads where trouble might develop.

According to Dr. Colmen, during training all Volunteers receive instructions not to take sides during conflict and not to "get up on soapboxes and make speeches about our form of government."

At no time was there a problem with Peace Corps Volunteers wishing to flee the Dominican Republic, according to Peace Corps officials. And at no time was a Volunteer wounded.

During the early stages of the rebellion, danger from troops and planes of the ruling military junta, which had threatened to strafe and bomb parts of the city, caused some Volunteers to move to the American Embassy in the International Zone, according to Peace Corps officials.

About three weeks after the rebellion broke out, most of the Volunteers who had been working in Santo Domingo went to Puerto Rico for a few days of rest and relaxation following a trying period without food or sleep. Most of the shooting had stopped and the hospital work was not as heavy.

One Volunteer interviewed at the time said, "I'm going back. I'm going back a little bit afraid, not of

anti-American feeling among the people I was working with, but in terms of the number of arms that are still out.

"Maybe a guy's brother was killed by an American, and the guy will come to my door with a gun in the middle of the night. But the Peace Corps should try to smooth things over. We should try to get our community back up to the level of organization it was at when the revolution broke out, or at least to a functioning level. Leaving now would be very bad timing."

On June 2, 24 new Volunteers flew in as partial replacements for 47 Volunteers whose two-year stints were up. At the same time the announcement was made that 15 Volunteers whose terms of service were up had requested to remain a while longer.

What did the individual Peace Corps members do when faced with the question of fighting?

When the rebellion broke out, one Peace Corps Volunteer was approached by a rebel who had been working with him in the *barrio*.

"O.K., so you care about the people. Show it in front of the tanks with me," he was challenged.

The Volunteer answered: "Friend, it's your country and it's your fight. I'm a Peace Corps Volunteer and I can never assist Dominicans to kill Dominicans."

one of the most affluent of the patrons: Howard Ahmanson, owner of the Home Savings and Loan Association (the world's largest). The director had declined to name the new museum complex for Ahmanson, had refused to employ Mr. Ahmanson's pet architect (a man noted for gold-leaf bank façades) as its designer and (perhaps the most painful blow) could not bring himself to hang in the museum Mr. Ahmanson's collection of dubious old masters.

The official complaint made of Dr. Brown is that he lacks administrative ability, but despite the wide discussion of the issue no specific instances of his shortcomings have been made public. Further, Dr. Brown has left Los Angeles to accept the directorship of the new Kimball Art Foundation, now under construction in Fort Worth, so his deficiencies are apparently not thought crippling in museum circles. It might be added that if an administrator was needed in Los Angeles they are much easier to find than art directors, and Dr. Brown never suggested that he would resist the addition of such a man to his staff—though he did,

quite understandably, refuse to accept a business manager who would report directly to the trustees.

In a sense, Dr. Brown—and more seriously the people of Los Angeles—are victims of the culture "explosion." Culture has become "big league," "big money," a bandwagon phenomenon. And men who have prospered by grabbing front seats on bandwagons are jumping aboard the art wagon. The Los Angeles unpleasantness is only the most acute and widely publicized of situations that exist today in many of the country's museums and related halls of culture. There is no easy answer to the conflict of money with taste, power with knowledge, manipulation with professional integrity. One can only hope that as America becomes accustomed to the idea that it is possessed of culture as well as know-how, men of wealth will learn to support creative excellence without assuming that they can buy it. It is men like Dr. Brown who will teach them—and the trustees in Los Angeles will learn their first lesson when they try to find a man of his caliber to replace him.

LBJ and the Negro Vote

Case of the Missing Registrars William Leon Higgs

Time is running out down South and the Johnson Administration seems oblivious of the deadline.

It is all too easy to assume that the right to vote means an automatic participation in government. With the Voting Rights Act now law, the Negro will have his full citizenship—so the theory goes. But look at the facts: In the Senate of the United States nine of the sixteen standing committees are chaired by Southerners. These chairmanships are the bedrock of the South's historical hegemony in the upper body of the Congress. Of these nine committee chairmen, six will be running for re-election in 1966; only three will face the electorate in 1968. Election is for six years.

The message is clear: The South's racist-oriented power base must be broken in 1966, or extended until

William Leon Higgs, who was the first attorney for James Meredith, was the only white lawyer in Mississippi representing Negroes in civil rights cases when he left that state (under pressure) in 1963. He now lives in Washington. Mr. Higgs has appeared for the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, SNCC, and has been a consultant with CORE, SDS and other groups.

1972. The nation as a whole has a vital interest in the fate of the Southern bloc in Congress; its power is not illusory—it really exists. American foreign policy provides a good example. Richard Russell of Georgia is chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee with jurisdiction over the nation's military establishment. Mendel Rivers of South Carolina is Russell's counterpart on the House side. Otto Passman of Louisiana chairs the powerful foreign aid subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee and (until LBJ put the heat on) wielded a heavy ax on foreign-aid budgets. Passman's Louisiana colleague, Edward Hebert, is the third-ranking Democrat on the House Armed Services Committee; and John Sparkman of Alabama is vice chairman of the historically decisive Senate Foreign Relations Committee (behind fellow Southerner William Fulbright of Arkansas). These men have in common huge unregistered Negro constituencies.

The roll call of the '66 Senators and the chairmanships they hold is revealing. In addition to Russell, John McClellan of Arkansas pre-

sides over the Government Operations Committee; Allen Ellender of Louisiana, over the Agriculture Committee; Everett Jordan of North Carolina, the Rules Committee; Willis Robertson of Virginia, the Banking and Currency Committee; and—deserving special emphasis—James O. Eastland of Mississippi is in the chair of the Judiciary Committee.

The three '68 chairmen—Fulbright; Lister Hill of Alabama, Labor and Public Welfare; Russell Long of Louisiana, chairman-prospectively of the Senate Finance Committee—all belong to a more moderate breed of Southern politician.

Viewed as a whole—and not in terms of seniority influence—the Senate yields a similar picture. Of twenty-two Southern Senators, twelve must run again in 1966. (This includes three special elections.) Eight seats are in the '68 class and five in the '70 class.

In the House of Representatives, the entire membership is elected every two years, and the Southern Representatives are less insulated from the new Southern Negro voter. But even here a failure to have effective Negro partici-

pation in the 1966 elections will mean a delay until 1968. Two years is an eternity to the leaping aspirations of the Southern civil rights movement.

And time is even shorter than the polling calendar would suggest. In the South, the Democratic primaries are normally the decisive contests. In most cases, they occur several months before the November general elections. The Alabama and Florida primaries will be held on May 3, 1966; and the "average" for the nine primary dates works out somewhere in June. This cuts the deadline for achieving a meaningful impact of the Voting Rights Act to about six months from the present time, and even that is generous.

Voters don't just vote for unknowns; they cast a ballot for candidates. And a candidate must qualify in order to get on the primary ballot. In Dixie, the cutoff date is typically one to two months before Election Day. For the potential candidate, and thus for the would-be Negro voter, the countdown in the Southern primaries has now dropped to a mere four or five months. Moreover, it takes time to plan a successful political campaign, to finance it, and sound out the support.

The opportunities for change are

now evident. Already some hot primary battles are shaping up. It looks as though Governor Carl Sanders will run against Senator Russell in Georgia, former Democratic National Committeeman Camille Gravel against Senator Ellender in Louisiana, and Senator Sparkman against Governor Wallace or Republican Rep. James Martin in Alabama. A continued supply of substantial 1966 challengers to the Southern barons in the Congress will be directly tied to the Negro registration in the next few months.

A related development waits in the wings. The defeat of the Congressional challenge of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party on September 17 may be only a prelude to a score or more such challenges in both Houses of the Congress after the 1966 elections. Prolonged failure of the Administration to enforce the Voting Rights Act could create a real donnybrook as violations of the act mushroom. A big slice of national power may well be at issue, including Eastland's Senate Judiciary chairmanship, Russell's Senate Armed Services chairmanship and Mendel Rivers' House Armed Services chairmanship.

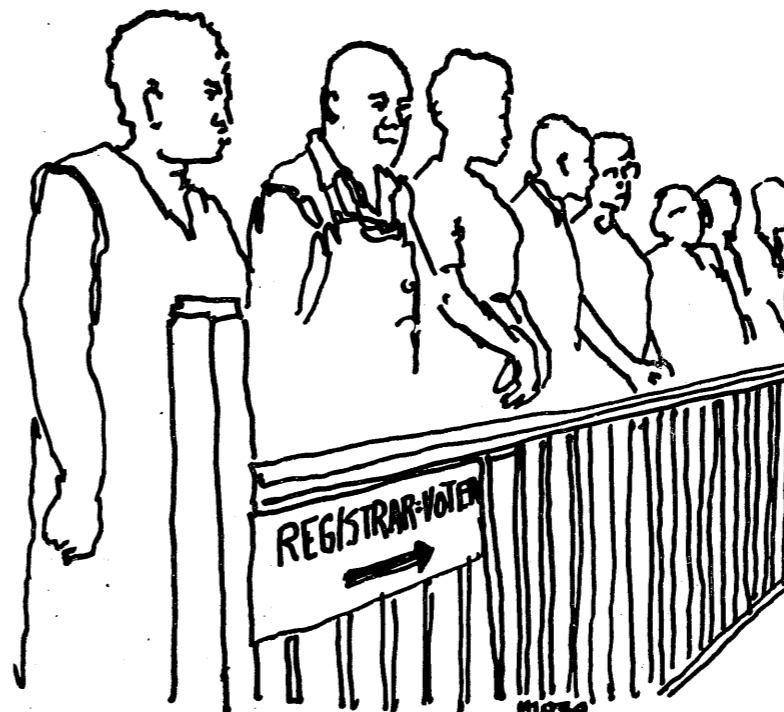
The important state and local elections are an indispensable part of the picture. Alabama's primary

elections for state and local offices will be held on the same day as the Congressional primary. Georgia, Florida, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas and Virginia also schedule important state or local elections in 1966. Better education, justice, jobs and much else are riding on the election fortunes of governors, sheriffs, mayors, judges and school boards.

The Administration's stingy deployment of federal registrars is aggravating franchise enforcement problems. The civil remedies of the Voting Rights Act are largely dependent upon the presence of the registrars. An instance is the act's most potent compliance measure—denying certification to the election results. The remedy does not apply at all if the registrars have not been present in advance in the political subdivision. Criminal penalties will probably be of little or no value. Judging by a solid past record, the Justice Department won't even bother to prosecute.

It follows from all this that much of the meaning of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 will be lost for as long as six years unless pervasive use of the act is made before early spring of 1966. Enforcing the act has proved to be a surprisingly taxing assignment for the Administration. It can send troops half way around the world "to bring democracy" to Vietnam, but is apparently baffled by the logistics of dispatching federal registrars a few hundred miles to achieve the domestic variety of self-rule. Only the strongest of pressures from the civil rights movement have been able to shake loose the pitifully few federal registrars now in thirty-two Southern counties.

What's the problem? No one seems to know for sure, but the few suggested answers are not very flattering to Mr. Johnson and his Attorney General. A columnist syndicated in Mississippi recently characterized as "a closely guarded secret" an understanding between the Administration and Senator Eastland to station only a token number of federal registrars in Mississippi. Many civil rights people believe that similar unrecorded pacts exist throughout the six states and thirty-four North Carolina counties covered by the act—principally with the Senators from those states. Any



December 13, 1965

NY
SNC

1965

North,
em. The
as early
ago that
onsidering

POLICE ARREST 300 IN ALABAMA TOWN

ave said,
o Harlem
y many—
ive Powell
Powell.
reat popu-
a scientific
e New York
Negro New
d which of
t was doing
ty-three per
ng first, 22
ins, and 21
l.
y released a
lected Area
egro New
which leader
ng the most
y. Of those
choice, Mr.
by 16.9 per
g 12.3 per

GREENSBORO, Ala., July 28 (UPI)—The police broke up a three-day civil rights demonstration today by arresting 300 persons for obstructing traffic.

The demonstrators, numbering about 400 in all, had gathered behind a police barricade, demanding the right to march to the courthouse to protest the burning of two Negro churches in the area.

Officials had granted Negroes a permit to parade to one of the burned structures but contended it would be unsafe for the demonstrators to march into the downtown area.

The two sides had been stalemated since Monday, and the ranks of the demonstrators had dwindled from 400 to about 150 today when reinforcements arrived from Eutaw, 19 miles away. The fresh demonstrators brought new life to the protest and soon the number again swelled to 400.

At this point the Greensboro police, aided by state troopers, told the demonstrators they had 10 minutes to clear the street for traffic.

The warning went unheeded and Maj. John Cloud of the Alabama Highway Patrol began making arrests. The police did not arrest some of the younger demonstrators.

n, the Con-
andidate for
Buckley Jr.
a scoundrel
" and said,
w him."
marks were
ing of The
ic., a group
s. He said
rming the

Ray Case

ponents of
Manhattan
anted a

Repairs on Capitol Ordered

WASHINGTON, July 28 (AP)—House Speaker John W. McCormack, Democrat of Massachusetts, ordered the Capitol

such possible agreements aside, it is undeniable that the power of the President to send or to withhold federal registrars from a Southern Senator's or Congressman's district is a formidable political weapon. And it is similarly obvious that if the law were impartially enforced this leverage would be lost.

In October, the Administration withdrew the federal registrars in Bolivar County, Miss., a day or two after they had opened their doors for business. Bolivar County is the "backdoor" to Senator Eastland's plantation and, like his home county of Sunflower, has one of the heaviest Negro populations in Mississippi, almost none of whom are registered to vote.

Presidential civil rights activity—of a diversionary nature—has not been lacking. Two months ago the Administration announced that Negro attorney Wiley Branton of Pine Bluff, Ark., would be transferred to the Justice Department to oversee Voting Rights Act developments. Branton had been the director of Vice President Humphrey's Council on Equal Opportunity that does the top-level coordinating of federal civil rights programs. Widely interpreted as a Johnson rebuff to Katzenbach's methodical reluctance to employ federal registrars, the Branton appointment has produced little change. The Attorney General continues to tout the "voluntary compliance" of local Southern registrars.

With much fanfare the "planning session" for a spring White House Conference on Equal Opportunity was held November 17-18 at the new Washington Hilton. The closed meeting roundly condemned the Administration's refusal to use significant numbers of federal registrars and demanded immediate action in voting and all other fields. Hubert Humphrey was the principal speaker and encountered some of the heaviest flak of his illustrious career. Many of the 200 delegates were openly disgusted by the idea of "planning" for a spring conference when anyone but a fool knew what had to be done right away.

The Administration itself isn't the only brake on Mr. Johnson's use of the Voting Rights Act. The Democratic Party and the Democratic National Committee are playing roles in the molasses-slow

"crusade." Acting under authority of the 1964 Atlantic City convention resolution which ordered desegregation of the Southern branch of the party, by the time of the 1968 conclave, the National Committee's Equal Rights Subcommittee asked for advice from civil rights organizations and others directly interested. At a hearing held in Washington's Mayflower Hotel on October 6, Clarence Mitchell of the NAACP led a parade of frustrated witnesses. Two themes dominated the testimony: Give us more federal registrars and desegregate the Democratic Party *now*. Resourcefully, Chairmen David Lawrence of the subcommittee and John Bailey of the National Committee pointed out that federal registrars were the responsibility of Attorney General Katzenbach. Shifting gears, the two chairmen then sympathetically disclaimed any National Committee authority to desegregate the Southern wing of the party prior to issuing the call for the 1968 convention. This same committee in 1948 had found ample authority to throw out the rebel Mississippi Dixiecrats and to recognize the Mississippi loyalists.

Former Governor Lawrence (of Pennsylvania) seemed unable to comprehend the urgent message that Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party Chairman Lawrence Guyot was trying to get across to him: Lily-white Democratic Party officials were preparing to conduct the 1966 Democratic primaries in the South, and the National Committee must act immediately to insure Negro participation. Lawrence's Delphic reply to Guyot was, "If you've got the votes, you'll win the election."

When the Voting Rights Act was being considered, most members of the Congress believed that federal registrars would start moving into almost every county in Mississippi, Alabama and Louisiana as soon as the President signed the act. Attorney General Katzenbach had told the House Judiciary Committee that any county which did not comply with the law would find itself playing host to federal registrars. Chairman John Macy of the Civil Service Commission assured the committee that, if necessary, even house-to-house registration would be used by the federal regis-

trars. But the only Republican committee member, John Lindsay, had strong (and it now appears justified) doubts that the Attorney General could be trusted to enforce the act; he asked for specific, mandatory language to replace the discretionary provisions.

The House Judiciary Committee has by now become so disturbed by the flaccid implementation of the Voting Rights Act and its predecessor, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, that its chairman, Emanuel Celler, has appointed a three-man advisory subcommittee to investigate and report to the full committee in January on the need for a full-scale probe into the enforcement of federal civil rights legislation.

The chairman drafted three young, hard-working, independent legislators for the special group: Robert Kastenmeier (chairman, D., Wis.); James Corman of Los Angeles (D.); and Charles Mathias (R., Md.) of Montgomery County. Working at a brisk pace, the three have already interviewed top administrators and civil rights representatives. Their report could be explosive.

Three months after the act has become law federal registrars are on the scene in only thirty-two of the 600-plus election districts of the six states and thirty-four North Carolina counties reached by the act. Alabama has ten; Louisiana, five; Mississippi, fifteen; and South Carolina, two. Georgia, North Carolina and Virginia have none. Complaints by the hundreds have been pouring into the Justice Department. By the Attorney General's own figures in his October speech to the Washington Press Club, about 110,000 Negroes had by then registered in the more than 400 districts without registrars, and 53,500 in the nineteen counties where federal registrars were present. (Thirteen additional counties received registrars shortly after the Attorney General's speech, bringing the total to the present thirty-two.) In other words, federal registrars are, on the average, enrolling ten times as many voters as the local officials. Unless the President dispatches his plentiful supply of federal agents, free Negro voting in the South could still be years away. And, unless he sends these registrars at once, the election opportunities of '66 will vanish.

Bombing In Dixie Hurts Bay Student

McCOMB (Miss.)—Stanford University student Dennis Sweeney, 21, suffered minor injuries here early today when the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee's Freedom House was bombed.

Injured with him was Curtis Hayes, 21, SNCC staff member from McComb.

Hayes is Negro, Sweeney, white. FBI agents interviewed both this morning.

The bomb was placed between a car and the front corner of the house. The sleeping quarters of the entire side of the house were heavily damaged.

"You could drive a car through the hole," said an eyewitness.

HAYES SAID no one in the house had heard the explosion because they were so close to it. He was knocked out briefly by the blast.

"After seeing what it did to my bed, I don't know how I ever made it," he said.

The blast shattered glass in nearby residences and woke up residents across town. It was the third and most serious bombing in McComb in three weeks.

On June 21 the homes of two local Negro civil rights workers were bombed. They were planning to house summer volunteers for the Mississippi Project. One home was damaged extensively. That same night seven dynamite sticks were found on the lawn of a home whose Negro family had no connection with the civil rights movement.

THE BOMBING Tuesday night followed personal visits to the area by Reps. Donald Edwards, Democrat of San Jose, and William Fitts Ryan, Democrat of New York.

Within the past two days

the SNCC field workers involved visited local officials and law enforcement agencies, and a team of Mississippi Summer Project attorneys visited the local mayor and police chief. All stressed the need for adequate police protection.

Sweeney of Portland, Ore., is the only summer volunteer to go to McComb, which is regarded as the "hardest" area in Mississippi.

THE SNCC group went into McComb on Sunday. In explaining why their mission was necessary, Mississippi Summer Project director Robert Moses said: "Only in this way can we ease the reign of terror which has gripped McComb. While taking every reasonable precaution for the safety of all those involved."

Rights Civil War

Bob Kennedy in Sharp Attack on 'Black Power'

Washington

The long-sputtering discord over what direction the civil rights movement takes flared into the open yesterday with Senator Robert F. Kennedy deploring the new theme of militancy supported by some Negro leaders.

In an interview, Kennedy said that "black power," with its implication that white leadership is not needed "could be damaging not only to the civil rights movement but to the country."

Further underscoring the struggle, John R. Lewis, 26, an officer and former chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, said yesterday in Atlanta that he is quitting the organization. Lewis is one of those opposed to militancy in the civil rights movement.

DEPLORED

Kennedy, former Attorney General who was in charge of civil rights enforcement in the administration of his brother, John F. Kennedy, deplored the split in Negro leadership he saw manifested in the James Meredith march in Mississippi.

The New York Democrat credited the march as showing a determination on the part of Negroes to keep up their efforts "until they establish equality."

"But it also indicates a split within the Negro leadership and I think it also demonstrates that there is a militant group of Negroes who are not anxious to work with the white community to try to find answers to these problems," Kennedy said.

"My judgment for the future of the country is that whites and Negroes must work together. There seems to be a group amongst the Negro leaders who do not think that is necessary and that could be damaging not only to the civil rights movement but to the country."

DAMAGING

Asked specifically about the "black power" slogan popularized by Stokely Carmichael of SNCC, he replied:

"I think it is very damaging. Civil rights is primarily a problem for white people and white people obviously have to play a major role in finding the solution."

In Atlanta, Lewis revealed that he had submitted his resignation from SNCC effective July 22 after six years with the organization, including three years as chairman.

"There is a danger in

SNCC of fumbling the ball," Lewis said in an interview. He said he disagrees with SNCC's new slogan of "black power", but did not specify that as his reason for resigning.

MARCH

Lewis turned in his resignation June 11, one week after the Mississippi civil rights march began. It was in the latter phases of the three-week march that SNCC leaders took up the chant of black power.

Carmichael, 24, elected chairman of SNCC when Lewis was unseated May 14, defended black power during and after the march. He said it was neither black supremacist nor anti-white.

When asked his reasons for quitting SNCC, Lewis replied:

"I spent almost six years working full time in SNCC, three years as chairman of SNCC. I feel there are other things I could do or would like to do. I will continue to be active in the civil rights movement. I hope to study and do some writing."

He would not elaborate.

Associated Press

U.S. Acts To Isolate French Army

Paris

The United States told France yesterday that it is taking over sole control of the jointly owned nuclear warheads used by French troops in western Germany.

It said the move was a result of France's decision to pull its troops out of the NATO integrated command.

United States Ambassador Charles E. Bohlen handed a memorandum announcing the American decision to Herve Alphand, Secretary General of the French Foreign Office.

France formally pulls its troops out of NATO today.

The American move to take over sole control of the warheads was explained by United States sources as being motivated by a desire to keep them in NATO hands.

United Pr

Fro
bud
this
son
fice
direc
be
\$50,0
subs
Four
rema
tors
and
rema
raise
comi
son.
Sai
ture:
incre
fluen
Pitts
grow
the fu
bus
budge
Work
"Wh
take
bers
also Ke
aging d
Kitch
San Fr
that if
raised, t
can be
Hanco
dubious
"We
commu
board o
Kitch
some
ties fir
"We
plan,
need
land
com
Stanf
resid
shop
time
and
three
war
will
than
ed.



S.F.'s New Racial Mix

San Francisco's non-white population is continuing its steady growth, a Department of Public Health survey showed yesterday.

In the four years between the last Federal census of 1960 and July of 1964, San Francisco gained 15,384 residents, bringing the total population up to 755,700.

But in that period, the number of white inhabitants of the city dropped by 11,203, while the number of non-whites increased by 26,587—from 18.4 per cent in 1960 to 21.5 per cent in 1964.

The survey, based on State Department of Finance population estimates, shows that the city has more females than men (51.4 per cent to 48.6 per cent).

It also shows that San Francisco has a high proportion of older residents. The 65-and-over age group showed increases from 3.8 per cent in 1910 to 5.2 in 1930, 9.6 per cent in 1950, 12.6 per cent in 1960 and an estimated 13.9 per cent in 1964.

Here is the detailed breakdown of the survey:

RACE	1964 ESTIMATES		1960 CENSUS	
	TOTAL	755,700 100.0%	740,316	100.0%
White	593,200	78.5	604,403	81.6
Negro	89,400	11.8	74,383	10.1
Chinese	42,400	5.6	36,445	4.9
Filipino	15,300	2.0	12,327	1.7
Japanese	11,300	1.5	9,464	1.3
Other				
Non-White ..	4,100	0.6	3,294	0.4
Age Breakdown 1964 Estimates			1960 Census	
Under 5 years	59,600	7.9	58,851	8.0
5-14	110,700	14.7	98,189	13.3
15-24	91,500	12.1	91,155	12.3
25-44	182,500	24.1	199,362	26.9
45-64	206,500	27.3	199,151	26.9
65 and Over ..	104,900	13.9	93,608	12.6



Episcopal

NEW LAW SPURS NEGRO VOTE ROLLS

Registration Advances 16%
in Six Southern States

Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, Aug. 4—Voter registration in six southern states has increased from 30 per cent of the eligible Negroes to 46 per cent in one year since the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the Southern Regional Council reported today.

The council, a nonprofit group seeking racial equality, said the results in the first year indicated a need for assignment of more Federal examiners to the South.

Negro registration in Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, South Carolina, Georgia and Virginia was said to have increased from \$37,000 to 1,289,000.

Under the act, Federal examiners may be sent under certain conditions into these states as well as into a part of North Carolina to supervise voter registration. The act suspends literacy tests in these areas.

Impact of Examiners

As yet no examiners have been sent to Georgia, Virginia, or to the 26 counties in North Carolina to which the act applied.

Examiners have been certifying voters in 24 counties in Mississippi, 11 in Alabama, two in South Carolina and five in Louisiana.

Through its Voter Education Project, the council reported that the examiners had certified 64,155 persons in Alabama, 41,595 in Mississippi, 13,689 in Louisiana and 4,542 in South Carolina. Almost all of these were Negroes.

There also were substantial increases in registration in

these states through local registrars.

Vernon E. Jordan Jr., director of the Voter Education Project, noted a substantial difference between the increases in states with Federal examiners and those without them.

In Georgia, for instance, the increase was 33,949, all through local registrars. In Alabama, Federal examiners certified 64,155 persons and 70,352 more were added by local registrars, a total increase of 134,507.

Mr. Jordan gave the council's analysis of this development:

"The figures clearly demonstrate the need for more Federal examiners. This includes parts of the two states to which they have not been sent and many counties in the four states to which they have been sent. There also is a need for more concentrated private efforts to increase registration and voting in the South."

He noted that the foundation-financed Voter Education Project was backing such private efforts over a wide area of the South.

The project's figures for the six states are:

Alabama—248,000 Negroes registered, 51.5 per cent of eligible Negroes, up 134,507 in the past year, of which 64,155 was through Federal examiners.
Georgia—267,000 registered, 43.6 per cent, up 33,949.

Louisiana—243,000 registered, 47.2 per cent, up 89,219, of which 13,689 was through Federal examiners.

Mississippi—139,000 registered, 32.9 per cent, up 113,735, of which 41,595 was through Federal examiners.

South Carolina—187,000 registered, 50.4 per cent, up 44,198, of which 4,542 was through Federal examiners.

Virginia—205,000 registered, 48.7 per cent, up 36,000.

Wilkins Lauds Result

Roy Wilkins, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored

People, said yesterday that the increases in registered voters reported by the Southern Regional Council were "a source of encouragement to those of us who believe that the ballot is an essential instrument for racial advancement."

"This important gain was achieved not by speech-making, sloganeering or demonstrations," he went on, "but by hard work at the precinct level. The unglamorous day-to-day task of getting Negroes to register made this increase possible."

Mr. Wilkins said the N.A.A.C.P. had "contributed mightily to this gain through consistent and persistent work at the grass roots level in all of these states and particularly in Mississippi, Alabama and South Carolina."

"We are firmly convinced," the Negro leader said, "that the continuing increase in Negro registration will bring about a wholesome regeneration and liberalization of Southern politics."

Radio Project to Aid Latins In Understanding the Law

Special to The New York Times

CHICAGO, Aug. 4—O. W. Wilson, police superintendent, asked radio and television stations in the Chicago area today to use a series of announcements in Spanish and English to explain city laws against stealing and assaults, arrest procedures and traffic rules.

The announcements "were specially written for the guidance of the many Chicago area Spanish-speaking citizens, pointing out the precautions citizens should take to avoid knowingly breaking the law," Mel Lawrence, director of the Police Public Information Division, said.

There was a serious riot in a Puerto Rican neighborhood in June.

RULING DUE TODAY ON REVIEW BOARD

Continued From Page 1, Col. 2

the Civil Liberties Union, Citizens Union, Liberal party and Congress of Racial Equity (CORE).

Taking note of recent attacks on the board, which will investigate charges of police brutality and discourtesy, Theodore Ellenoff, of the New York chapter of the American Jewish Committee, said:

"This is the wrong fight picked by the P.B.A. for the wrong reason at the wrong time."

The police organization, he asserted, is playing on "the latent fears of people opposed to integration."

Mr. Neier, who spearheaded the organization of the committee, said it might spend \$500,000 to defeat the P.B.A. in a referendum.

Growth Predicted

He said an initial organizing meeting last Tuesday was attended by representatives of Senators Robert F. Kennedy and Jacob K. Javits and Mayor Lindsay. By the end of the summer, Mr. Neier predicted, F.A.I.R. will comprise a total of 75 organizations.

On the other side, supporting the patrolmen's association, are a group of businessmen who have pledged a \$500,000 campaign to abolish the civilian-dominated review board. The honorary chairmen of this group, called the Citizens Committee Against Civilian Review Boards, are former Police Commissioner Michael J. Murphy, State Senator Martin J. Knorr, Republican of Queens, and Barry Gray, the radio moderator.

John J. Cassese, president

the P.B.A., has said his organization would spend its treasury of \$1.5-million to fight a civilian-dominated review board.

In other police developments yesterday, both Mayor Lindsay and Commissioner Howard R. Leary praised the police for their handling of the recent disorders in the East New York section of Brooklyn.

Speaking at promotion ceremonies for 78 members of the force at the Police Academy, 235 East 20th Street, Mr. Lindsay said that when he was in San Francisco last week to attend a conference he was told of the "admiration" that leaders in other cities have for the force here.

"The New York policeman has shown the rest of the nation how to handle a tough problem," the Mayor declared.

Court Orders New Primary For Democrats in the 19th

A new Democratic primary in the 19th Congressional District was ordered yesterday for Sept. 20 by State Supreme Court Justice George M. Carney.

Last Friday, Justice Carney ordered a rerun of the primary because of voting irregularities. Representative Leonard Farbstein was declared the winner by 151 votes over City Councilman Theodore S. Weiss in the June 23 primary.

Mr. Weiss had charged irregularities, asserting that non-Democrats had voted and that there were discrepancies between the number of persons who had signed the registration books and the number who actually voted. Justice Carney held that 1,153 invalid ballots had been cast.

Two other congressional contests were scheduled for district elections.

What's the D.P.A.

some notes on education

I have been thinking about this: Mrs. Hamer is more educated than I am. That is -- she knows more.

But, not if knowledge is a lot of different information, not if knowledge is explaining that information in many different ways: explaining it politically, or in terms of history. Not if knowledge means a lot of different facts in my head.

Not if knowledge means being ready to get a job in the machine society. Not if knowledge is knowing about injustice, because I know that, too. I know what is unjust. I know what to say in Atlantic City or Washington. I know the things I feel and the words to speak. I know what every citizen deserves. I know what every human being deserves.

She knows too. But she knows something else. What does she know?

She knows that she is good.

If she didn't know that, she couldn't get up and sing the way she sings. She wouldn't stand there, with her head back and sing! She couldn't speak the way that she speaks and the way she speaks is this: she announces!

I do not announce. I apologize.

I am a poet. I write very beautiful poems and many people love the poems. But a poem, and anything someone feels deeply, must be spoken, announced. I give my poems to people and let them read the poems. I should stand up and announce the poems. A poem, in this revolution, is like an announcement; it is an announcement about truth and justice, hunger and cold, and about caring for people. We have to shout these things. We have to announce them!

I cannot announce. There is something inside me... and it is IN rather than MISSING FROM ME. Something inside me that makes me hide in all kinds of ways.

I am proud of the poems. I know that they are good. People who read them say they are good. I know it in myself. I trust the poems. I trust my mind which, after all, produced the poems. If I did not trust the poems, I wouldn't give them to people to read.

BUT THERE IS SOMETHING WRONG. THERE IS SOMETHING I DO NOT TRUST. AND IT MAKES ME HIDE. It makes me hide in a strange way. A physical way! I sit in the corner instead of in the middle of the room. My hands shake. My throat closes up. My chest gets tight. Why? Why? Why?

Because somehow I don't trust part of myself. I DON'T LIKE PART OF MYSELF. That's why I hide it. Mrs. Hamer never hides. She knows more than I know. She knows she is good. And somehow -- I think I am not good. I am not worth while. Even though I have worthwhile things to say, even though somebody asks me to say them, even though I am sick and tired of people being silent, sick and tired of injustice and suffering.

I still cannot announce. She can announce. I believe that is because she is not ashamed of herself, of her body, of her strong voice, of anything about her. I believe she is not ashamed because she knows she is good! BUT HOW DOES SHE KNOW? Did she learn it in school? From SNCC? Or maybe it is that I 'know' something. Maybe I was taught something. MAYBE I WAS TAUGHT THAT I WAS BAD.

2 some notes on education

I believe this self-hiding and apologizing is true of many people. Even when they have plenty to say, the words with which to say it, the sense of justice which demands that it be said, and the knowledge (intellectually) that they have the absolute right to say it.

And I believe this ability to announce which Mrs. Hamer has - is part of what draws the 'intellectual' to her. And I believe she knows more. She knows she is good.

Not because Negroes are good. That is meaningless. Because human beings are good. More universal than race, and far more personal than race... although her strength in announcing is related to being Negro in some sense. For one thing, additional confidence stems from the presence of justice 'on our side', from the history of victories now, from the determination to be free as Negro, from the fact that everything she tells is absolutely true.

But - why can't we all be announcers? We know the facts, and we have the determination (or do we) to be free.

She knows.
She knows she is good.

How does she know? Did she learn it in school? Did she learn it from SNCC? Does she really know it?

Or do we 'know' something else? Did we learn something else in the schools, and the cities and towns?

Were we taught something she wasn't taught? Perhaps taught that we are bad!

The question is not now whether we are hung-up. I think that is clear. We, staff. We, poets. We, Americans. We, intellectuals.

I know that I am. And the question is not whether release is desirable. It certainly is. My poems are only half poems - and I only half free. I want to be free. I want to announce these poems, because they are true and good and beautiful...and I must 'know' that I am also.

The questions are - some of them anyway:

Why Mrs. Hamer announces and I don't?
Where did she learn this and I didn't?
Is it learned?
Or is its opposite learned?
Is goodness a given? Badness a lesson?
Why did she survive learning badness?

What can we do?

I believe goodness is given. Man is good. Children allowed to grow freely at home, freely in their society - freely, meaning naturally - do NOT learn shame. It does not matter that the wider society is telling them they are bad. It really does not matter as much as other things matter. If it did, then northern intellectual middle class Negroes would be less hung-up than Mississippi Negroes and, in their personal lives, I believe they are much more hung up, more apt to apologize, to be unable to announce. Why?

We were born 'good' - able to announce, to be physically free as far as physical slavery is psychological and not physical (jails).

If we are born 'good', then 'badness' is taught. Shame is learned. I learned it.

Mrs. Hamer did not learn it in spite of being a Negro in the Delta of Mississippi.

It is learned somewhere else. The question is - where did I go that she did not go, learn what she did not learn - shame - so that, in this sense, she knows more. She knows that she is good.

I went into society. I was there. And that is where I learned that I was bad. Bad: not racially inferior, not socially shameful, not guilty as white southerner, not 'culturally deprived,' not unequal as woman...but Bad.

Personal, separately, individually BAD. It had very little to do with racial guilt, just as Mrs. Hamer's personal 'goodness' has little to do with being Negro. Race adds to, it does not cause this kind of personal - I am good, I am bad.

3. Some notes on education, cont.,

Society - the whole thing. Which works so incredibly well, so subtly, so totally that it is almost impossible to trace the course of learning badness.

Each person has to dig into his own special history. We can merely talk about some of the institutions which taught us shame -- some taught better than others because they captured us first, or at the most vulnerable time, or more subtly.

Every institution has worked with every other institution to see that we are completely smashed to as ourselves. It does not follow that replacing these with new institutions will prevent this recurring: an institution is, by nature, un-natural. Selves are natural; community is natural. I don't want to talk about the necessity of institutions, because I just don't know whether that is so or not. I want to talk about some institutions which helped to smash me.

the family: suffice it to say, because my mother did not receive enough love and was also smashed by the time I was born, she did not give me enough. It is not her fault, things happened, in the family, which taught shame. Little things - like not being told where babies come from and being made to feel 'bad' for even asking, like sex is hidden and shameful, it is shameful to run outside without clothes, it is 'wrong' to play with this child and instead you must play with that child and, at age six, you must stop playing with the cook's little boy - he is not only male, he is black! So we grew, to use a term, in insecurity and guilt.

the schools and we tremble in fear the first day. the public school system in America is so horrible, so suck, so damaging that many never recover. The first battle is between teacher and child. Usually, she is teaching because she doesn't have anything else to do and is underpaid, under-rated, smashed. The child must pay for her frustrations. Second battle is between conformity and creativity. It is for the most part, only a skirmish. Few children will ask creative questions, or act naturally, more than four or five times. If you are bored with reading DICK AND JANE and say so, or twist in your seat, or drop your pencil - you've had it. And in addition to smashing your nature, you learn very soon something is wrong with you to ask such questions in the first place and confusion sets in @ conformity and shame. It's one or the other. No matter what you feel, you must act the opposite way -- assuming you have the natural feelings left.

I used to throw up in class once a week. And my brother, by third grade, had a severe stomach ulcer. He was seven years old. Of course! And we were not exceptional!

the church: seems to exist because of an idea that man is evil and must atone for that evil. And, to continue to exist, must disseminate that idea.

The problem is -- you cannot atone. You were born bad. That is "original sin" and no matter what you do, you are a sinner.

Even little babies are sinners.

Irregardless of the degree of fundamentalism, every religion that I ever heard of, is based on some aspect of the doctrine of man's evil nature.

4. Some notes on education, cont.,

For this reason, without pretending to be subtle, the church is a fully accredited anti-human, inhuman institution. It exists because man is bad.

I enter high school. I am almost finished. I have learned to mistrust every single feeling I have, and to repress these feelings, and to act in the opposite way. So, I am guilty, repressed, and more or less schizoid.

I join clubs. Make grades. Go to college for the finishing touches and everything is reinforced with the additional factor that now I am finally doing something "worthwhile."

I am not worthwhile, but college is - so I give it all I've got. Maybe it will compensate for my badness. I emerge, I crawl out, clutching a diploma, a transcript, a strange accumulation of meaningless data, a place in society.

I fit exactly. I was made to fit.

Sometimes I wiggle and stretch. I get smashed. After all the grades and honors, I am still guilty. Made to feel shame. I stop wiggling. Or, at best, finally, I outcast myself - but the self I outcast has its scars. I write (never announce, I accomplish (never live), I relate (never touch), I am witty (not joyful), and freedom is a kind of historical concept about people and governments, unrelated to me.

I DO NOT KNOW I AM NOT FREE.

And my fellowmen have no remote idea what produces their concerns and migraines, their ulcers and sterilities, frigidities, and crack-ups ... and don't want to know

So we build bombs. We are fairly confident that we are under control, but you can't be too sure about the Russians. And, even about us, nowadays, so we girdle ourselves with HUAC-FBI-CIO and nothing breaks forth which can't be easily covered again.

I learned I was bad, that something was wrong with me. Once I really learned it, I learned it over and over. Having too much shame to read the poems, I do not read the poems and the - I am ashamed for not reading the poems and so it goes and it is a statement of miraculous and beautiful man that he has survived at all!

I was there. Mrs. Hamer was not there. Not in. And it is very ironic that segregation, in a very real sense, freed the Negro from a society which enslaves the self.

Segregation, separation, denial of choice, feelings of inferiority, hunger, poverty - are negative. To keep someone away from society is negative... BUT THE SOCIETY IS ALSO NEGATIVE. Society, in and of itself was and is NOT desirable, was and is destructive. The right to choose is desirable, and essential.

I learned shame. Somehow, the shame was directly related to my physical self.

That is why I cannot announce. Reach out. Which is the same thing.

5. some notes on education, cont.,

And that is why we lack full power. That is why the poems are less than they really are. and the movement. And the staff.

And that (lack of full power of selves due to shame) THAT IS HOW AMERICA has destroyed what SNCC might have been.

HUAC did not need to come to Atlanta. All we had to do was to refuse to break out, to smash out, of what we had learned at home, in school, and in SNCC, the institution!

And that is tragic.

The maintaining of SNCC for its own sake, the creation of an institution, the maintaining of an institution, the party line, the values, the = isolation of each other, of non-SNCC people, the judgments, the conformity, the rigid refusal to burst

is because enough people in SNCC are afraid to be free!

Absolutely threatened by the possibility of becoming free and that is why, enough people in SNCC prefer "revolution" to freedom.

We don't want to be free. We are afraid to be free. We don't know what it means to be free. It's almost unknown. We fear the unknown and, at the same time, we have an inkling that freedom would be good.

But we are bad.

Freedom would be fun.

But we are bad.

We are a protestant culture, guilty. We are bad. We do not deserve freedom. We must atone. Be solemn, atone, Be somebody, clutch power. Be SNCC, hold tight ... but do not be free.

SNCC is afraid to be free, but the people of Mississippi are not afraid to be free!

And Mrs. Hamer knows more than I.

What else? The negative - being kept away from society - is strengthened by positive elements: Negroes maintained a closeness with the earth (which is of course ironic), with physical earth; a closeness with each other in the sense of community developed out of dependence, some of which is very desirable in spite of the 'self-sufficiency ethic; a matriarchal society, which while it must not negate the man, will be proven to be a better and healthier structure; the strength of being poor.

All of these have ambiguities. Obviously. And I have a poem which goes... at the end: "poverty ... negates the strength of being poor"

And another poem:

6. some notes on education, cont.

when people dont have anything
they have community

I have walked alone
and children ran
to me

I have stood alone
and feathers
fell

when my hands
were empty

they
were
held

Mrs. Hamer knows that she is good. She does not believe she is bad. She is not afraid to announce. She is not afraid to be free. Because more than anything else, society did not get the chance to teach her otherwise.

Finally, I perhaps know something that she does not know. The fact that I know that she knows more, is to know something she does not know.

To stand up and sing is joy. To be aware of the self who stands up and sings joyfully - is an additional joy. That's all.

To know justice and speak out is good and a joy. To know already what Camus said of justice is good and a joy. But to enjoy the clean prose of Camus is an additional joy. That's all.

We are good. To live is to experience that goodness with others and with earth; to be joyful, enjoy

The 'good' education should increase joy.

The 'good' education should allow us to know we are good and others are good and earth and music are good... because knowledge of goodness is an additional joy!

And we have the right to be free. Freedom is good and we deserve it. We, too.

js

Jane Stenbridge

Liberty School Aide Plays Big Role in Chatham Crusade

Continued from Page 1

indicted by a federal grand jury in Denver, Colo., on Nov. 16, 1956.

He was charged with some other mine-mill officers with conspiring fraudulently to obtain and use the services of the National Labor Relations Board through the medium of false non-Communist union officer affidavits.

ON SCHOOL'S BOARD

Wilson was convicted Dec. 17, 1959, but the conviction was overturned on appeal. He is scheduled to be re-tried Aug. 28 in federal court in Denver, Colo.

Wilson was listed in 1958 as a member of the 27-man board of directors of the Highlander School.

Two officials of the Savannah mine-mill local serve on the 70-man board of directors of the Chatham Crusade.

SCLC OPERATES

The Dorchester Center, a civil rights school administered by the Rev. Young, has trained leaders of the Chatham Crusade and the Southeastern Georgia Crusade for Voters, both headed by Hosea Williams.

The center is operated by Dr. King's SCLC and the Southern Missionary Association Division of the United Church of Christ.

Its students have included pupils who were expelled from Albany State College as a result of racial demonstrations there.

The center is under investigation by Georgia Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook.

NO EVIDENCE

Cook said Tuesday that the investigation has turned up no evidence of subversive activities. He added that Myles Horton, executive director of the Highlander School, had been to the Dorchester Center and to Savannah.

The center is currently financed by a \$250,000 grant from Marshall Field Foundation. The grant is for two years.

The supervisor of teaching at the center is Mrs. Septima Poinsette Clark, 65.

Mrs. Clark served at the Highlander School as director of workshops, 1956-57, director of education, 1957-1961, and director of the literacy training program in 1961.

LONG IN STRUGGLE

She lists the affiliations in her biographical sketch, made available to The Constitution by SCLC.

She has a long history of involvement in civil rights struggles.

At the end of her biography, Mrs. Clark wrote:

"In 1918-1919, I went door-to-door for the NAACP, getting signatures to petition the South Carolina Legislature that Negro teachers be placed in the public schools of Charleston. We got the teachers in, in 1920.

LOST TEACHER JOB

"Then in 1956 I refused to disown the NAACP and lost my job as a public school teacher in South Carolina as a result of my membership and inter-racial activities. Finally, in 1959, while directing the educational program at the Highlander Folk School, I was arrested for allegedly possessing whisky (which was found by the courts to be untrue, and the case dismissed). This attack was made on me, I feel to scare me, the only Negro resident, so I would leave. I stayed."

According to the Rev. Young, Mrs. Clark is the only former staff member of Highlander working at Dorchester.

The Rev. Young said, however, that he attended classes at Highlander. Before joining Dr. King's organization, the Rev. Young said he retained a New York law firm to investigate Highlander. He showed the firm's report to The Constitution. The report says that Highlander has never been labeled subversive by any federal agency, although a Tennessee legislative committee recommended that the school's charter be revoked.

The goal of the Dorchester Center is to train teachers to establish "Adult Citizenship Education" programs throughout the Southeast.

In the two years it has operated for that purpose between 500 and 700 teachers have been trained.

One purpose of the citizenship program, according to the SCLC, is to teach reading and writing to aid Negroes in passing literary tests for voting.

The schools also are aimed at giving "an all-around education in community development. . . ."

The SCLC furnishes the cost of travel to the training center, and pays tuition.

MUST ORGANIZE

Teachers graduated from the center are required to organize schools in their areas, provide a place for the classes to be held and select a "community coordinator" for the schools in their area.

The Dorchester Center already has established branch "Saturday Citizenship Clinics" in each of Georgia's 10 congressional districts and several clinics in South Carolina and Alabama.

Courses at Dorchester are conducted for one week during the third week of each month, according to the Rev. Young. Classes run from about 9 a.m. until as late as 10 p.m., the Rev. Young said.

Teachers who have been trained at Dorchester have gone on to establish "citizenship classes" in Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

Liberty School Aide Plays Big Role in Chatham Crusade

SAVANNAH—The administrator of the Dorchester Center in nearby Liberty County played a leading role in the desegregation activities of the Chatham County Crusade for Voters.

The administrator, the Rev. Andrew Young, who also is program director of Dr. Martin Luther

Last of series.

King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, received training at the old Highlander Folk School at Monteagle, Tenn.

Before its charter at Monteagle was revoked, the Highlander School received support from the

By **BILL SHIPP**
Constitution State News Editor

International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.

An officer of the union, now under indictment on a charge of filing a false non-Communist affidavit, was one of the directors of the Highlander School.

The Rev. Young has been headquartered rent-free in Savannah in the offices of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers. The Subversive Activities Control Board, an agency of the federal government, has found the union to be Communist-infiltrated. The mine-mill union has appealed the finding to a federal court of appeals.

The Rev. Young, who was jailed during demonstrations here, has directed much of the activities of the Chatham Crusade while its president, Hosea Williams, has been in jail.

The Rev. Young has said repeatedly that he has never encountered any Communist activity in Savannah—or at the Highlander Fair School—or at the Dorchester Center.

Among the old Highlander school directors was Charles Wilson of Columbia, Tenn., international representative of the mine-mill union in Tennessee, who was

Continued on Page 7, Column 1

REPLY

A Minority Report - South

117 West Church Street ♦ Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Friends of COFO:

Authoritarianism is the essence of Mississippi and much of the deep south. The society owes its holding strength to control of the press through which news receive special treatment characterized by omissions, slantings, distortions and propaganda. But there is another side to the story of status quo maintenance. There is no significant media to herald Negro citizens' woes and achievements. This absence of reliable information for and about Negroes is perhaps the most valuable assist for status quo. Moreover, ambitious and "cooperative" Negroes are enabled thereby to gainfully thwart efforts of Negroes to pursue fruitful courses.

One truth medium, the Mississippi Free Press, was conceived of the need for a minority voice. But because there were no means of production in-state, the prohibitive cost of out-of-state printing and shipping coupled with inability to sell advertising space felled Free Press (much too restricted content wise).

The publisher of REPLY believes he has the answer. He is, first of all, a printer (offset). He has acquired equipment which will enable production of a small magazine (7½" x 10"). With this start, he hopes to reach enough concerned Americans to enable acquisition of equipment and personnel able to provide a sorely needed source of reliable information. In this connection, COFO, whose civil rights action over the state will be a regular feature, suggested that its list of "friends" be contacted. The hope of both COFO and the publisher of REPLY is that each contact will secure fifty or more subscribers for REPLY. Such a response from a list of 300 friends would provide a fund sufficient to acquire an offset rotary press able to produce a tabloid size news with sufficient speed and capacity for weekly coverage of the state or/and production of a daily for the major cities.

Advertising is still the life-blood of news publishing. Organized effort is being made to offset the lack of local advertising with that of national manufacturers and distributors.

We pray your immediate cooperative response. With deep gratitude for your concern and many contributions to the cause of freedom for all Americans, I am

Very sincerely yours,

H. Jay Kirksey
Publisher

P. S. Cover samples of the March REPLY along with several sheets of subscription blanks are enclosed for your use. The March issue is completely sold out but a reprint will be made if there is sufficient demand from new subscribers. Please indicate the subscriber's desire by printing the word "March" at the bottom of the subscription blank.

REPLY

A MINORITY REPORT - SOUTH
117 West Church Street ♦ Jackson, Mississippi

You can help provide Mississippi and the deep south with a medium for truth by enlisting 50 or more 1-year subscribers to REPLY. The federal government can provide the opportunity, but only mass awakening from apathy born of and preserved through a century old system of denial will enable Negroes to use the ballot in significant numbers.

That portion of publication cost included in each subscription for "outside" printing will be used to acquire publication printing equipment. Will you help?

(please print)

12 Month subscription to REPLY \$2.50
Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____

12 Month subscription to REPLY \$2.50
Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____

12 Month subscription to REPLY \$2.50
Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____

12 Month subscription to REPLY \$2.50
Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____

12 Month subscription to REPLY \$2.50
Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____

12 Month subscription to REPLY \$2.50
Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____

12 Month subscription to REPLY \$2.50
Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____

12 Month subscription to REPLY \$2.50
Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____

12 Month subscription to REPLY \$2.50
Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____

(please print)

12 Month subscription to REPLY \$2.50
Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____

12 Month subscription to REPLY \$2.50
Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____

12 Month subscription to REPLY \$2.50
Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____

12 Month subscription to REPLY \$2.50
Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____

12 Month subscription to REPLY \$2.50
Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____

12 Month subscription to REPLY \$2.50
Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____

12 Month subscription to REPLY \$2.50
Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____

12 Month subscription to REPLY \$2.50
Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____

12 Month subscription to REPLY \$2.50
Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____

(please print)

12 Month subscription to REPLY \$2.50
Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____

12 Month subscription to REPLY \$2.50
Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____

12 Month subscription to REPLY \$2.50
Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____

12 Month subscription to REPLY \$2.50
Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____

12 Month subscription to REPLY \$2.50
Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____

12 Month subscription to REPLY \$2.50
Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____

12 Month subscription to REPLY \$2.50
Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____

12 Month subscription to REPLY \$2.50
Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____

12 Month subscription to REPLY \$2.50
Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____

If it is preferred to help the cause by a contribution, we will select in-state persons as beneficiary subscribers. ➤