

Tuesday is Run-Off Day

Here We Go Again

BY MICHAEL S. LOTTMAN

Alabama voters go back to the polls Tuesday to clear up some unfinished business left over from the May 3 Democratic primary.

The excitement of the governor's race is missing this time, but to dozens of candidates the Tuesday run-off is every bit as important as the first primary. Still, only about 550,000 Alabamians are expected to vote in the run-off—a big drop from the 888,000 who cast ballots May 3.

The candidates in the run-off are the first- and second- place finishers from all May 3 primaries in which no one got a majority of the votes. Tuesday's winners will go on the ballot in November as the Democratic candidates.

Twenty-three Negro candidates are in run-off races—one for the state Senate, seven for the state House of Representatives, four for sheriff, and 11 for other county offices. They all face an uphill battle, because the people who voted for third- and fourth-place white candidates on May 3 are likely to support the remaining white candidates on Tuesday.

Races are still on for Democratic nominations for three state-wide offices and three seats in the U. S. House of Representatives.

In Alabama, the state treasurer and state auditor are almost always women, and on Tuesday four women will be fighting for the two jobs. Mrs. Agnes Baggett, now secretary of state, and Mrs. Bettye Frink, now state auditor, are running for the treasurer's nomination. Mrs. Melba Till Allen and Mrs. Juanita McDaniel, both from Montgomery, are the auditor candidates.

This means the Democrats are sure to have five women running for state-wide office in November—the nominees for treasurer and auditor, along with Mrs. Mabel Amos for secretary of state, Miss Sybil Pool for the Public Service Commission, and Mrs. Lurleen Wallace for governor.

There may be another woman on the Democratic ticket in the Second Congressional District, if Miss Mary Grice of Bay Minette can hold her first-round lead over Bob Whaley of Montgomery. Miss Grice and Whaley have fought a rough campaign for the U. S. House nomination. Whaley has called his opponent a "tool" of the federal government because she worked in the War on Poverty, and she has claimed that he can't hold any kind of job.

The only Negro candidate for the state Senate, Lonnie Brown of Alberta, has to find 4,000 new votes in the 19th District (Wilcox, Monroe, Clarke, and Conecuh counties). He was that far behind present State Senator Roland Cooper of Camden in the first primary.

Negro candidates for the state House, and their opponents, are Fred D. Gray, (CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO, Col. 3)

Baker Named Winner, But Clark Can Fight

SELEMA--The 23-man committee that conducted the vote count in Dallas County's May 3 primary has been ordered by a federal judge to count all the votes in all the county's 80 ballot boxes.

The Dallas County Democratic Executive Committee evidently failed to "show cause" to the judge why it had a right to toss out six boxes in mostly-Negro areas that contained more than 1,600 ballots.

The ballots, when counted, gave Wilson Baker, former Selma Police Chief, an additional 1,412 votes--and the Democratic nomination for sheriff without a run-off.

However, the battle is not over. Without the votes, Baker would have to face incumbent Sheriff Jim Clark. It was Clark who asked the county committee to throw out the boxes. He told the committee that they had been left unwatched. The committee agreed that the boxes were "infected with irregularities" and tossed them out.

The U. S. Justice Department went to court, saying the committee had taken away the right to vote from people who had cast their ballots in those boxes.

The Justice Department tried to show that the irregularities in the handling of the election was the fault of the Democratic committee itself.

One witness for the Justice Department said in court that he did not know until election morning that he was sup-

posed to be a polling official. He said that he had never been an official before--and had never voted before.

U. S. District Judge Daniel H. Thomas said in his ruling this week that mistakes made by the officials were not large ones "considering the ground for human error involved, particularly among election officials who were inadequately instructed in their duties through no fault of their own."

The county committee had given instructions to some of the new polling officials at Selma's National Guard Armory a week before the election.

A sub-committee of the county executive committee met last Wednesday after Judge Thomas' ruling and counted the disputed votes into its official election results and declared Baker the winner. This cleared the way for Clark to ask for a hearing to challenge the votes.

A formal hearing is necessary under Alabama law before any county committee may rule on the legality of any ballots. The Dallas County committee had not held such a hearing before it threw out the six boxes.

Judge Thomas kept control of the case and ruled:

"There shall be no rejection of any ballots in this tabulation on any grounds other than that the ballot does not reflect the intention of the voter."

Tuskegee City Council Suggests Athletic Center for Both Races

Reacts to Burning At Public School

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

TUSKEGEE--"None of the schools has adequate athletic facilities," said city councilman J. Allen Parker. "We need something to serve not just one school but the whole community."

"I know we don't have any money. But this is an area we can't afford to neglect."

The area Parker was talking about wasn't really recreation. It was race relations. And his proposal for a city athletic center was an answer to the people who two weeks ago burned down Tuskegee Public School's grandstand, which is desegregated.

Parker made his suggestion Tuesday at the first Tuskegee City Council meeting since the fire. The rest of the councilmen agreed to consider the idea. In effect, they told the burners that destroying the desegregated facilities will not make desegregation go away.

Instead, the councilmen indicated that the fire persuaded them they must do not less but more to promote racial integration.

"We cannot let lawlessness prevail," said the Rev. K.L. Buford, one of two Negroes on the five-member council.

"I think most people in this community pretty well recognize the fire was arson even though we haven't apprehended the culprits," Parker said. "But I'm not really as concerned about what's happened as I am about our needs for the future."

He pointed out that neither Tuskegee Public nor Tuskegee Institute High, the city's Negro high school, has room enough for crowds at athletic events.



THE REV. K.L. BUFORD (AT LEFT) DISCUSSES ATHLETIC CENTER WITH J. ALLEN PARKER AS COUNCILMAN L. M. GREGG (CENTER) LISTENS.

"Tuskegee Institute High has the biggest problem because it has the largest enrollment," Parker added. "They play football at the college field now, but that's not a satisfactory situation. We need adequate facilities for all the schools to use for all types of athletics."

Parker also made it clear that he doesn't think the new center should necessarily be placed in the white part of town. "We ought to look at different areas," he said. He suggested that the city raise taxes or fees if necessary to pay for the center.

"Some people may be pulling the ca's tail to watch him react," he said. "They will be helping pay for the



Tina Sings

See Page Three

Remember Jimmy Collier, the Rev. James Orange, the Rev. James Bevel, and Bennie Luchion, who have worked in civil rights in Alabama? They are in Chicago now with the movement there. For a report on what they are doing,

See Page Six

At election time in Mobile, dollar bills fly around as much as words. For a story on how Negro groups in Mobile decide on their endorsements,

See Page Four

Everybody Wants to Talk About School Guidelines

Everyone seems to want to talk about the new federal school desegregation guidelines--the ones cracking down on school districts that had only token desegregation this year.

A federal court in New Orleans heard arguments about school desegregation in the Jefferson County, Bessemer, and Fairfield school systems, while three big meetings were being called in Alabama and Washington to discuss the guidelines.

In the 5th Circuit Court of Appeals in New Orleans, the U. S. Justice Department asked the judges to use the new guidelines as a model for court-ordered desegregation plans in the three Birmingham-area systems.

Justice Department lawyers argued that the old freedom-of-choice plans were not good enough. "Negro children should be given a good education whether or not they want it," said one. "We don't let the children choose their books or their teachers. Why should we let them choose their schools?"

The new federal guidelines say freedom-of-choice plans will not be approved any more, unless a large per-

Atlanta Braves Say:

They'll Be Good Neighbors

ATLANTA, Ga.--The Atlanta Braves baseball team has started a "Good Neighbor Program" to improve playgrounds and recreational facilities for boys and girls who live near the Braves' stadium.

"We are going to play a game every year with the Minnesota Twins," said Braves public relations director Jerry Sachs. "The Braves' share of the proceeds will go to the Good Neighbor Program."

He said the Braves wanted to give their home-town children a good place to play because "everybody is our neighbor."

This year's game with the Twins was played on a cold, rainy night last May 2. Only 2,000 people came to the game, so the Good Neighbor Program didn't get much money. Sachs said the Braves haven't decided yet how to spend the proceeds.

Sachs said Braves stars like Hank Aaron might give instructions to the kids who use the playgrounds. "Aaron might teach them to be good citizens, as well as good outfielders and hitters," he said.



HANK AARON

In Vine City, a Negro neighborhood not too far from Atlanta Stadium, where the Braves play, children recently moved their games into the street because they had no playground.

SNCC Answers Invitation

No Thanks, Mr. President

ATLANTA, Ga.--The Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee has turned down a Presidential invitation to attend a White House civil rights conference entitled "To Fulfill These Rights."

The conference's purpose, in the

words of President Johnson, is "to help the American Negro fulfill the rights which after the long time of injustice, he is finally about to secure."

SNCC had had a hand in the planning and direction of the conference. John Lewis, SNCC chairman until three weeks ago, was a member of the 29-member council that planned the conference.

Under the leadership of new SNCC Chairman Stokely Carmichael, however, the organization listed several reasons why it would no longer be represented at the meeting next Wednesday and Thursday.

SNCC said that because of its opposition to the Viet Nam war "we cannot in good conscience meet with the chief policy-maker of the Viet Nam War to discuss human rights."

SNCC said further that the President called the conference "at a time when United States prestige internationally is at a low ebb. . . . We cannot be a party to attempts by the White House to recoup a loss of prestige internationally."

"Regardless of the proposals which stem from this conference," SNCC commented on national affairs, "we know that the executive department and the President are not serious about insuring constitutional rights to black America."

The planning council for the conference, including Lewis, this week presented the conference representatives with a massive plan for government and private action to aid Negroes in housing, education, economic and job security, and justice.

Soldier's Family Finds Cemetery Is

Viet Nam Not Segregated

BY ROBERT E. SMITH

WETUMPKA--A wake was held Wednesday night for a dead soldier of the Viet Nam war, and the talk at the funeral home was that no cemetery in the boy's home town had room for his burial.

"He was a veteran. He died for us all," said one family friend. "Surely he will be buried in one of the cemeteries."

The youth, Jimmy L. Williams, 19, was killed May 17 by an enemy grenade while serving with the Army's Special Forces (Green Berets) in Viet Nam.

His mother, Mrs. Annie Mae Williams of Wetumpka, said she thought burial would be in a national cemetery. "We wanted Jimmy buried here, because the children wanted to put flowers on his grave."

She said that the Army officer in charge of funeral arrangements tried to get the soldier buried in Pine View Memorial Gardens Cemetery, a private lot, but was told that founders of the cemetery had been guaranteed it would be kept for whites only.

The officer, Army Lieutenant Robert L. Kraselsky, was then told by the city clerk and Mayor Demp Thrash of Wetumpka that the public Wetumpka Cemetery was filled, Mrs. Williams and an



PFC JIMMY WILLIAMS

Army spokesman said,

The lieutenant reported he was told, "The Negro section is sold out." Mrs. Williams said the city would not allow her son to be buried in any other part of the cemetery.

W.T. Goodman, the funeral director, said the city's reply was "new to me."

The Justice Department said it would investigate.

Mrs. Williams said, "The city has shown no condolence at all. They didn't call or anything. Jimmy died for something. At least we think he did. The folks in this town show more concern when one of their good dogs dies."

The military funeral for PFC Jimmy L. Williams was originally scheduled for Thursday. But Mrs. Williams was not sure where her son's body was to be buried, and so the funeral was set for Sunday at 1 p.m.

One thing is clear to the grieving mother, who has three of her six other children attending previously all-white schools in Wetumpka: "He didn't die a segregated death. And he won't be buried in a segregated cemetery."

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Editorial Opinion

Funny Thing

Funny thing about all that anti-poverty money: It never gets to where the poverty is.

The greatest need for money to aid poor people is in counties like Greene, Hale, Marengo, Sumter, Choctaw, Clarke, Wilcox, Lowndes, Dallas, Butler, Autauga, Elmore, Bullock, Pike, and Crenshaw. That is where Alabama's poverty is.

Check the map. The counties that are shaded are those that have had federal anti-poverty funds granted or approved. None of the counties where the money is most needed are shaded. Those are also the counties with great numbers of the state's Negro residents.

Because whites and Negroes have not been able to get together in representative groups to agree on a fair program for all poor people, there has been no federal anti-poverty money sent. Where racial squabbles have not hindered local anti-poverty programs--as in Madison County, Walker County, Winston County, and others--the money keeps coming from Washington. Not a funny thing really. Not funny to poor folks.



Tell Them

A lot of people from outside the South are going to be wanting to know about this man Wallace. First, they will ask, isn't it true George Wallace doesn't have anything against Negroes?

Tell them Wallace went out of his way to say he would not vote for Fred Gray, a qualified man who may be nominated by Wallace's party to run for the state legislature from Wallace's district. Gray is a Negro. Tell them that George Wallace, the great defender of the state constitution, publicly said he would violate a pledge on the Democratic ballot by not supporting the party's nominee.

People who have been reading about Wallace around the country will ask, "Isn't he a great believer in local government?"

Tell them that depends on what kind of local government. Tell them George Wallace is doing everything he can to take away from local school districts their right and responsibility to comply with federal desegregation rules. Tell them George Wallace doesn't think the state mental hospitals ought to be run by the professional administrators in charge.

But isn't Wallace the country's great defender against the powers of the federal government? Tell them no one in Alabama can remember when George Wallace told the federal government to take its money and spend it elsewhere. Tell them George Wallace claims credit for Alabama's new highways and junior colleges--built with the help of lots of federal dollars.

Isn't George Wallace really the great patriot, the great defender against communism? Tell them where Wallace flies the American flag.

But doesn't he "stand up for Alabama," saying Alabamians are a cultured and refined as anyone? Tell them about Wallace's attempt to cut off any "cultured and refined" debate on the Viet Nam war by trying to expel any Alabama college student who petitions against U. S. policy. And ask them how many cultural affairs Wallace has attended at Tuskegee Institute, an Alabama cultural institution with a world-wide reputation.

U.S. Judge Johnson Gives Approval
Macon Enlarges Jury Lists

BY MARY ELLEN GALE

TUSKEGEE -- Justice -- the blindfolded lady with the scales--is back on the job in Macon County after a five-month vacation to have her blindfold re-adjusted.

The vacation was ordered by a federal court which last January threw out Macon County's jury list. The court told the county to end racial discrimination in the selection of jurors and to desegregate its jury rolls.

Last week, U. S. District Judge Frank M. Johnson Jr. said he was satisfied that justice can't see through her blindfold any more. He approved the new comprehensive jury list and the new jury box compiled by the new Macon County Jury Commission.

Hunter Slaton, the commission clerk, said he filled the jury box as soon as he received the go-ahead from Judge Johnson. Slaton said the judge acted on a report from the Justice Department, John Doar, U. S. assistant attorney general for civil rights, reviewed the new jury list and box. He approved them in a letter May 9 to Johnson.

According to Doar's report, the new

Run-off

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE TWO)

running against Bill Neville Jr. in the 31st District (Macon, Bullock, and Barbour counties); Arthur D. Shores, L. S. Gallard Jr., Dr. James T. Montgomery, and David H. Hood Jr., running against Robert L. Ellis Jr., Tommy Watkins, Lawrence A. Lee, and Thomas H. Jackson in the 14th District (Jefferson County); C. H. Montgomery, running against William Grayson in the 37th District (Mobile County); and Albert Turner, running against Ira D. Pruitt in the 27th District (Sumter, Marengo, and Perry counties).

The Negro candidates are trying to change the complexion of Alabama's all-white legislature.

Three Negro candidates are running for sheriff against the men who now hold the job; another is running against a former state trooper.

Lucius D. Amerson is facing Sheriff Harvey Sadler in Macon County, H. O. Williams is running against Sheriff C. M. Blue in Bullock County, and Patt J. Davis is opposing Sheriff W. U. Loftis in Perry County. The Rev. Henry McCaskill's opponent in Hale County is former trooper C. B. (Ben) Kizziah.

Negro candidates for other county offices include Mrs. Ann H. Braxton, tax assessor, Marengo County; Rufus Huffman, tax assessor, Bullock County; the Rev. L. I. Spears, county commissioner, Choctaw County; Mrs. Alberta Branch, tax collector, and the Rev. Peter Kurkes, school board, Greene County; Dr. W. L. Russell, school board, Mobile County; L. A. Locklair, tax collector, and Harold Webb, board of revenue, Macon County; and the Rev. Obie Scott Jr., tax collector, and Willie Lester Martin and Isom Atkins, county commissioner, Perry County.

Sermon of the Week

**Where Do We Go Now?
Lowndes Seniors Asked**

HAYNEVILLE--Where do we go from here?

That is the question that hundreds of high school and college graduates are asking this month. The Rev. H. H. Johnson asked the question to 90 graduates of Lowndes County Training School. Pastor of the Hutchinson Street Baptist Church in Montgomery, Johnson addressed the baccalaureate service on the athletic field of the school this month.

"All of the things we look forward to," he preached, "are to be used as vehicles to get us where we are going, whatever our life's work is."

"Every man and every woman end up in one of two places--Heaven or Hell," he told the students.

He took his text from St. John XV: "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends."

Letters to the Editor

To the Editor:

In a pledge to the dead of previous wars the Birmingham Branch of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom joins other branches throughout the country in working for an end to the barbarism of war. "On this Memorial Day we pause to remember with sorrow those who have died in previous wars and those who are dying in Vietnam," said Mrs. Elizabeth Polster, president of the League's United States Section. "Those who have given up their lives have handed down to us the task of saving future generations from the horror of bloodshed and destruction. We must accept this task so that they will not die in vain.

"The shocking, violent and futile waste of human life, both military and civilian; the burning of homes, the de-

comprehensive list has 5,277 names. (The old one had 1,138.) The new list includes 2,499 Negroes, 1,975 whites and 853 persons whose race was not known. (The old list included 732 whites and 406 Negroes.)

Slaton listed all male names in the November 1965 Tuskegee telephone directory, 1965 tax assessor's list, and 1964 list of registered voters. Doar certified that these were "most current lists available."

To fill the jury box, the commission considered the qualifications of every fourth and eleventh name on the comprehensive list. Of these 1,710, a total

1,033 (622 Negroes, 396 whites, and 15 unidentified by race) were accepted. The county now will call as jury candidates people whose names are in the box.

A total of 193 (58 Negroes and 135 whites) were rejected because they were non-residents, females, deceased persons, habitual drunkards, or physically unfit persons.

Another 494 (181 Negroes, 159 whites, and 144 unidentified by race) were rejected because they were unknown to the jury commission.

Slaton said he sent the complete list

and box to Judge Johnson on March 25. He said Johnson explained the seven-week delay in approving them as time for the Justice Department to investigate the jury commission's action.

In the interval, Circuit Judge Dan Boyd called off the spring term of circuit court in Macon County. Pointing out that there was no jury list, he postponed until October the entire slate of cases.

Among them was a charge of murder against Marvin Segrest of Shorter for the killing last January 3 of Samuel L. Young Jr., a Tuskegee Institute student and civil rights worker.

Recent Armed Forces Veterans Qualify for Free Education Aid

And You Get A Free Flag

The new "G. I. Bill" provides veterans since 1955 with the same benefits that veterans of World War II and Korea have had.

The Veterans Administration will guarantee a home loan for you. This means the VA will stand up for you when you ask a bank or loan agency for money to buy a home, repair it, buy farm supplies, get farm working capital, or to refinance a home or farm property.

With the government's guaranty, the private lender will not require a down payment, or he will reduce it.

If you can produce three written refusals from lenders, the VA will make a direct loan to you--that is, if you live in a rural area. If you live within the city limits of Dothan, Opelika, Selma, Birmingham, Tuscaloosa, or a town of similar size, you will not be eligible for a direct loan.

Loans made or guaranteed by the Veterans Administration are at five and one-half per cent.

The new law also provides hospitalization for recent veterans on the same basis as that for older veterans. A veteran may be admitted to VA hospitals if hospitalization is found to be necessary, if the veteran is unable to pay for the hospital bills, and if beds are available.

Recent veterans, like those before 1955, get special preference in applying for Civil Service jobs.

Oh, yes. If you are a veteran who served since 1955, you now get a free U. S. flag on your casket when you die. And your next-of-kin gets you it.

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

Under the new "G. I. Bill," the federal government will pay from \$100 to \$150 a month for school or college bills for men and women who have been in the armed forces.

Last March, President Johnson signed a law that extends veterans bene-

fits to men and women who have served in uniform since Jan. 31, 1955.

The government figures that when a young man serves his country he may not be able to afford college bills once he returns to civilian life. The so-called Veterans' Readjustment Benefits Act of 1966 tries to make up for this.

The payment program starts June 1, and you have to get an application for it by mail or in person from the Veterans Administration regional office at 474 South Court Street in Montgomery or from your nearest local VA office.

You are eligible if you have served at least 181 days on active duty and if you apply before eight years have passed since your discharge.

For full-time college, vocational, business, high school, or correspondence school courses, the government will send you a check for \$100 a month. If you have one dependent, you get \$125, and with two or more dependents you get \$150.

The government will pay less for part-time education.

For young men who are currently serving in uniform (and have been in service more than two years), the government foots the bill for education also.

Servicemen should apply at the office of their base commander.

The government pays for up to 36 months of free education. If you have served less than three years, you get one free month of education for every month or part of a month that you spent on active duty.

The Veterans Administration also provides free advice about educational and vocational plans.

EDUCATIONAL ASSISTANCE for VETERANS and INSERVICE PERSONNEL



VETERANS ADMINISTRATION WASHINGTON, D. C. 20420



BY MARY MOULTRIE

TUESDAY, MAY 31

With school just about over and the summer vacation break just around the corner, most young people have already made up their minds as to how they will spend the summer.

The school books will probably be tucked away in some forgotten corner to collect dust, while students, free from study and assignments, go all out to have nothing but fun. There's an exception to this--the student who takes his textbooks seriously and continues to study even though he isn't forced to do so. To this particular specimen in the younger set, ETV (Educational Television) is to be recommended.

For a brush-up outside the classroom, ETV is beneficial as well as entertaining. During the summer you can see everything from the arts and sciences to ham operator procedures.

For those who are interested in this kind of viewing, here's a brief rundown on some of the programs that will be presented this week:

MONDAY, MAY 30

HAM RADIO OPERATORS--A discussion on simple radio theory, such as power supplies and microphones. Also points on how to obtain an amateur radio license, plus instructions on how to send codes, 4 p.m. and 9 p.m., Channel 2 in Dozier, Channel 7 in Cheaha State Park, Channel 10 in Birmingham, Channel 25 in Huntsville, Channel 26 in Montgomery, and Channel 42 in Mobile.

WHAT'S NEW--Today's episode in the Adventures of Tom Sawyer features Tom's testimony at the Muff Potter murder trial. He tells the court he saw Injun Joe commit the graveyard murder and Muff is cleared, 5 p.m.

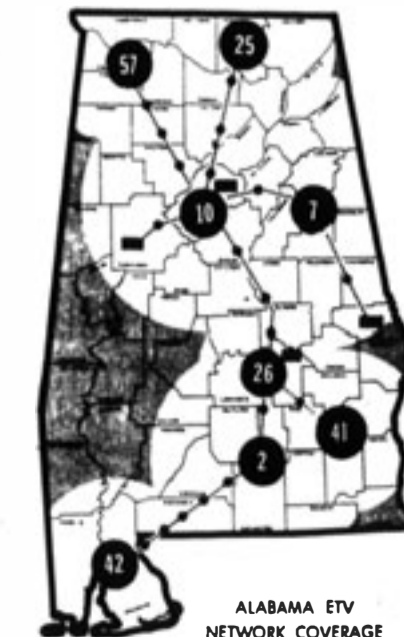
SPECTRUM -- "On the Frontiers of Research" explores experiments, phenomena, and field studies that are now under investigation by leading world scientists, 6 p.m.

THURSDAY, JUNE 2

GLENN GOULD -- Pianist Glenn Gould is shown at recording session for Columbia Records. He tapes a performance of Bach's "Italian Concerto in F," 7:30 p.m.

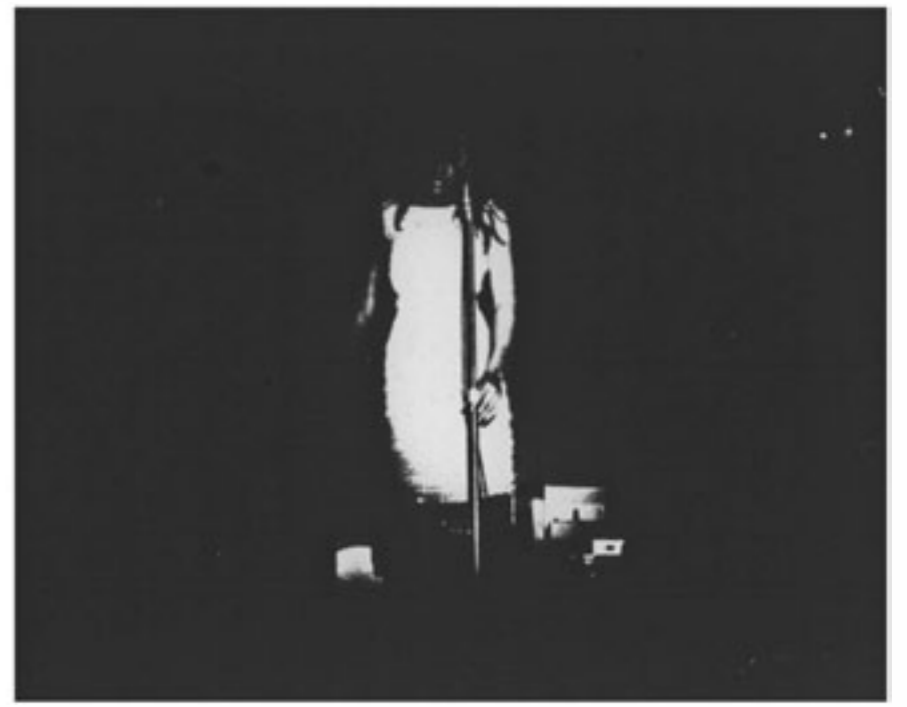
FRIDAY, JUNE 3

INVITATION TO ART III--Cameras go directly to the galleries of the internationally famous Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, 8 p.m.



ALABAMA ETV NETWORK COVERAGE

All educational television programs are seen on Channel 2 in Dozier (number 2 on the map above), Channel 7 in Cheaha State Park, Channel 10 in Birmingham, Channel 25 in Huntsville, Channel 26 in Montgomery, and Channel 42 in Mobile.



IKE and TINA REVUE

Text by Norman Lumpkin

MONTGOMERY--The titillating Ike and Tina Turner show came to town to the Elks Club this month and before the lights went out Tina had rocked the joint, backed by a ten-piece band and her husband, Ike. Tina strutted, wiggled, screamed, and danced until the onlookers got dizzy.

With Ike, who plays the funkier guitar around and vines like a millionaire, and a thoroughly professional band playing like mad, Tina sang songs James Brown made famous--in her own knock-down-'tell-the-truth-chille' way--like "Please, Please." Along with the typical blues, "I Saw My Love Marry Another."

In the middle of the songs she asks, "How many here now are with another women's man?" "How many going with a married person wonder does he kiss her like he kisses me?" And she scores every time.

The Ikettes add to the show with dancing and vocal back-up to Tina. The show has a pretty good vocal duo but one person is pretty much unsung--a young white musician who plays a guitar like B. B. King could never do. And many Negroes from the "Nobody-can-play-blues-but-Negroes" school have to take notice.

Photographs by Jim Pepler



'Somebody Up There Can't Add'

Two Sets of Figures for Mobile County Voters

BY DAVID R. UNDERHILL

MOBILE--At the program for Emancipation Day here last January, Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach surprised everybody when he said that 44 per cent of the adult Negroes in Mobile County were registered to vote.

This unexpectedly good report drew a big burst of applause from the audience.

People were so astonished, in fact, that when Katzenbach held a news conference later in the day, J. L. LeFlore of the Non Partisan Voters League, and Frank Thomas, editor of the Mobile Beacon, asked him if he was sure about his figures. They said their figures on Negro registration in the county were much lower than his.

Katzenbach pulled some papers out of his briefcase and read from them that Negro registration in Mobile County was 22,097 out of 50,793 adults, or 44 per cent, as of Dec. 22.

He said he expected the figures would be even better by the primary election in May. Figures compiled by the Justice Department just before the election showed 24,794 Negro voters, or almost 50 per cent. The Justice Department listed a total of 131,949 voters, Negro and white, for Mobile County.

The only trouble is that the county's official voting list published just before the election by Probate Judge John Moore had only 114,103 names on it.

The difference between the official list and the Justice Department's pre-election figure is 17,846 voters.

If many of the missing 17,846 voters are Negroes, then the actual Negro registration in Mobile County is much lower than the figures given by Katzenbach and the Justice Department.

Before this year, it would have been easy to find out how many Negroes were registered, because the official list was segregated. This year, the list has been integrated. Judge Moore refuses to give any explanation for the integration.

The integration makes it very hard to tell whether Mobile County is doing as well as the Justice Department thinks. But there is some fairly strong evidence that the people who questioned Katzenbach's figures last January were right, and that the Justice Department has been wrong all along.

Part of this evidence comes from the primary election. If the Negro registration is really 24,794, as the Justice Department says, then the Negro turnout election day was less than 50 per cent. Many people here do not believe that more than half of the Negro voters stayed home.

Some more evidence against the Justice Department's figures comes from another federal agency, the U. S. Civil Rights Commission. About a year and a half ago, it issued registration figures which were 30 per cent lower than the Justice Department's figures at the same time.

The evidence available from local records fits much better with the Civil Rights Commission's report than with the Justice Department's.



TYPICAL DAY AT REGISTRARS

In April, 1964, the county's last official segregated voting list was published. It showed a total of about 13,000 qualified Negro voters.

Not all of the registered Negro voters were on it, because people had to pay their poll tax before they were qualified to vote.

But a check of courthouse records last September showed that the difference between the number of registered Negro voters and qualified Negro voters in the city of Mobile was very small. The check also showed that Negro registration in the city, where most of the county's Negroes live had increased very little since the 1964 list was published.

If these things were true throughout the county, then the total Negro registration last September was probably no more than 14,000.

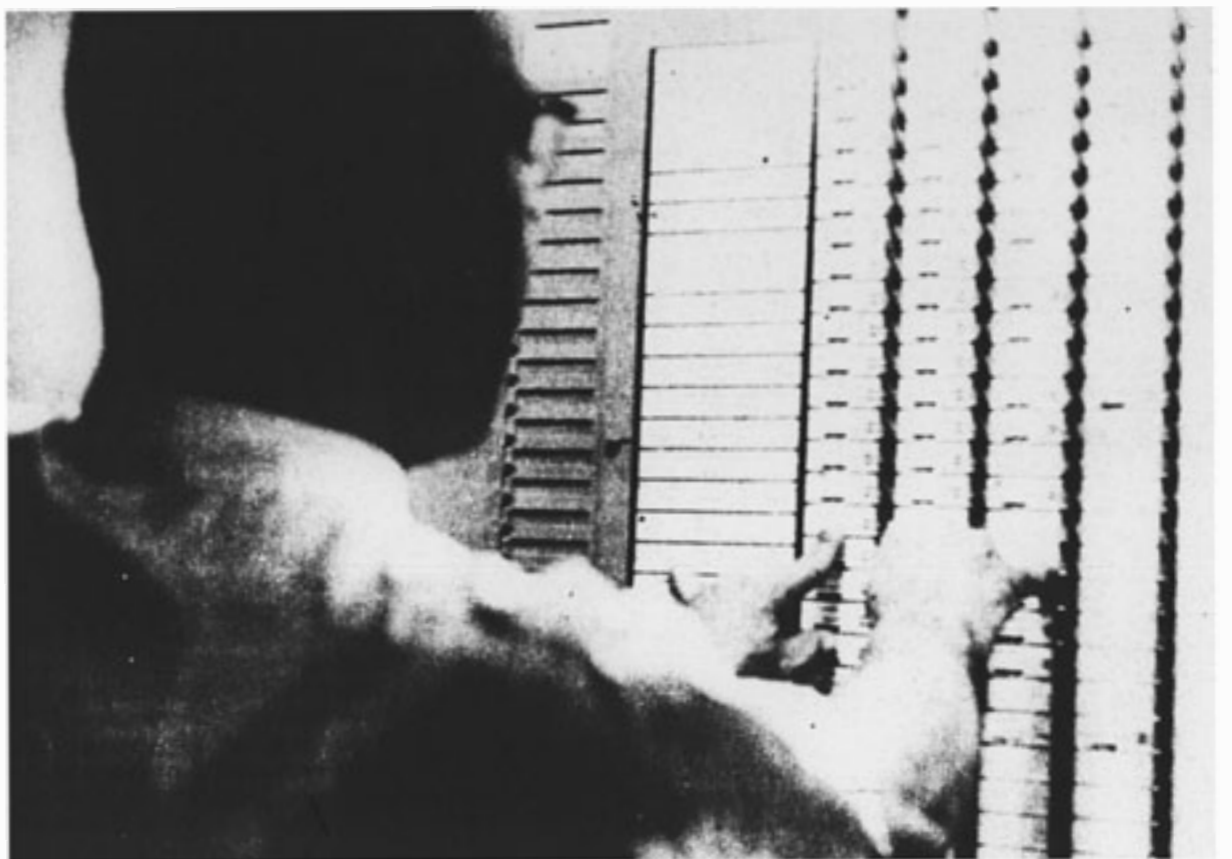
From last September until the publication of the integrated list in April, about 4,000 new Negroes registered.

That would make total Negro registration just before the primary about 18,000, or 6,000 less than the Justice Department says.

This is about 36 per cent, if you work it out, as the Justice Department does, on the basis of 50,793 adult Negroes in the county. But that figure is taken from the 1960 census. The adult Negro population in Mobile County now is around 61,000.

In other words, only about 30 per cent of the eligible Negroes here are actually registered, compared to the nearly 50 per cent which the Justice Department reports. This puts Mobile County close to the bottom in Negro voter registration in Alabama among counties with a large Negro population.

The Justice Department's error comes mainly from its incorrect total on the number of voters, white and Negro, in the county. Probate Judge Moore says, "I think they've got somebody up there who can't add." But he also says they may have been adding right and using the wrong numbers. A



COUNTING THE VOTES, . . . BUT HOW DO YOU COUNT THE VOTERS?

Justice Department official said last week that this was possible.

Apparently, the department started with white and Negro totals that were too high when it began checking on registration a few years ago. It has simply been adding newly registered voters to these early incorrect totals.

Judge Moore says the department didn't get any figures, right or wrong, from him. He says he doesn't know where the department's figures came from.

The department says its figures come from local officials, and in Alabama that generally means the probate judge.

Unless someone clears up this confusion, it will be impossible to say

whether the department's error was a simple mistake or whether somebody wanted the public to get inflated reports on Negro registration here.

But regardless of the reason for the error, some consequences of it are obvious.

It has given people in Mobile and Washington the impression that Negro registration is moving along very well. This has led Washington to believe that federal voting examiners are not needed in Mobile County. Katzenbach's January speech implied that the department assumes local officials are obeying the voting rights act in counties with a relatively high percentage of Negroes registered.

Evidence of violations could change

the department's mind, but a good registration record "tends to deter" the sending of examiners, according to a department official.

LeFlore has twice appealed unsuccessfully for federal examiners. His appeals included evidence of violations of the voting rights act.

One of these appeals came a few months before Katzenbach's surprising remarks on the success of registration in Mobile County. The other came shortly after.

Since then, most Negro leaders and registration workers have accepted the Justice Department's figures as accurate, and no one has been asking for federal examiners or launching any registration drives.

Takes Cash to Get Endorsement in Mobile

BY DAVID R. UNDERHILL

MOBILE--At least six different sample ballots were passed out for the May 3 primary election by Negro organizations and individuals in Mobile County. They caused a lot of confusion and controversy.

There was confusion because the ballots did not all make the same endorsements.

There was controversy because many people disagreed with certain endorsements.

This confusion and controversy showed up at the polls; there were big splits in the Negro vote. And the controversy has continued past the election.

Much of the talk has centered on the district attorney's race where Peter Palughi lost to Carl Booth, who has held the office for 23 years. Many sample ballots endorsed Palughi, but the Non Partisan Voters League ballot endorsed Booth. The voters league ballot is one of the oldest and by far the most influential in the county. Twenty-five thousand copies were distributed this election.

If Palughi had gotten the voters league endorsement, he probably would have won the election.

Palughi charged in his campaign that

Booth has not done a good job of prosecuting organized crime and illegal liquor rings, or of giving equal justice to Negroes.

Palughi's charges about unequal justice centered on last summer's Nathaniel Taylor case.

Taylor, a mentally retarded Negro man, was brought to trial by Booth's office for the murder of a prominent white woman. The prosecution asked for the death penalty, but the judge ruled that there wasn't enough evidence to try Taylor and ordered the jury to free him.

The NPVL helped prepare Taylor's defense and raised much of the money to pay for it.

Palughi's cousin Delano Palughi was one of Taylor's lawyers. Vernon Crawford was the other. Crawford said there was so little evidence against Taylor that he should never have been brought to trial. J. L. LeFlore of the NPVL expressed similar opinions at the time.

But after the NPVL endorsed Booth, LeFlore argued that Booth was only doing his job in bringing Taylor to trial.

Raymond Scott, president of the Non Partisan Voters League, declined to comment on the Booth endorsement or on any other part of the organization's election activities. He said that LeFlore would be the spokesman for the voters league.

LeFlore says he has no evidence that Booth has failed to do his best or that

Palughi would do any better.

Palughi says it's hard for him to understand why he did not get the voters league endorsement and harder to understand why he was never asked to meet with the voters league screening committee, which decided on all endorsements.

He says he and his cousin talked twice to LeFlore about meeting with the committee. LeFlore told them to ask Scott for an appointment, and they did. But they say no one ever called back or wrote to tell them when to come.

Two other local candidates who expected to get the voters league endorsement did get it, but so did their opponents. They were Bill Orrell, a 23-year-old running for the legislature, and Tom Sweeney, running for judge of general sessions. Both are relatives and close friends of Mobile Mayor Joseph N. Lagan, who has cooperated with the voters league for many years.

LeFlore said the screening committee thought Orrell "was a fine young man" but that neither he nor his opponent had been prominent in public life before. Therefore, the committee had no records to compare.

LeFlore also reported that Orrell was "late" coming before the committee. They had already decided to endorse his opponent and decided to put an "X" beside Orrell's name as a "courtesy," Orrell said he met with the com-

mittee three or four weeks before the sample ballot went to the printer. He thinks there was something besides time involved in the double endorsement.

Sweeney, like Orrell, campaigned publicly for Negro votes and expected to get a clear voters league endorsement over his opponents. But the NPVL gave Frank Alonzo an "X" also. Sweeney has not been active in politics before, but Alonzo has.

"Alonzo has a very bad record on race relations," said a member of another organization, which gave single endorsements to Orrell and Sweeney, as almost all sample ballots did, except the voters league's.

Alonzo was delegate to the Democratic National Convention in 1964. He went along with the Alabama delegation's opposition to civil rights proposals and to oaths of loyalty to the national Democratic Party. But LeFlore says Alonzo admitted to the screening committee that this was a mistake, which he made only because he was under great pressure to keep in line with the Alabama delegation.

In the city elections last fall, Alonzo was one of the chief backers of a man who tried to unseat Mayor Lagan.

"That Alonzo endorsement was just plain bad politics," says a white politician. "Lagan has done a lot for those people." This man said he thinks the voters league screening committee knew it was bad politics but had some reason for endorsing him anyway.

"It is generally believed among politicians downtown that the Negro vote is available for a price," said one of those politicians. But he added that there are occasional exceptions. No amount of money could have gotten many Negro votes for Wallace or taken many away from Flowers.

But, he said when the issues are not so clear, and especially in local races where a few thousand votes can be crucial, the bidding gets pretty active.

A number of other politicians confirmed this. None of them wanted to be quoted by name. "I may need that vote sometime in the future," one explained.

Few Negroes active in politics try to deny that money is involved. Most admit it openly, and they generally add that the money is used to pay campaign expenses, like phoning committees and poll watchers.

But many Negro and white politicians also say that a lot of cash is paid for other purposes to influential individuals and members of various screening committees, or donated to certain churches.

"It's all done in ways which are virtually impossible to trace and prove," says a politician. "Candidate A gives some cash to middleman B, who gets it to Negro leaders C, D, and E."

Many people name C. H. King Sr. as one of the main middlemen. King, a white man, has owned and operated



SAMPLE BALLOTS OF ALL KINDS, EVERYWHERE

movie theaters in Negro neighborhoods for many years and has always had what LeFlore described as "quite an interest in politics."

Just before the polls closed on election day, King and his son, C. H. King Jr., arrived at the polling place in Ward 10, the largest Negro ward. When the election officials opened the machines and started reading off the results, the Kings followed right behind copying down results from each machine.

LeFlore says that if King has any big influence over the Negro vote, "I don't know anything about it."

LeFlore said that "over the years, we have found it necessary to eliminate several people from the organization" because of their involvement in improper election deals.

Frank Thomas, acting head of the Mobile County Coordinating Committee, said his organization has been "fortunate enough" not to have such troubles.

The Rev. A. Robert Ray, director of the Mobile County Movement, admitted that his group received some money, but said it was all for campaign expenses.

Jeffery Davis, president of the group, said he has indications of "certain irregularities" within the organization, but everything has been denied and nothing can be proven.

Some smaller groups and individuals also received election money.

LeFlore says that everything received and spent by the voters league "is strictly accounted for in our records. This isn't true for some other groups."

The voters league paid about \$2,400 for printing, for a crew of 18 women who worked two days folding and stuffing the ballots in envelopes, and for distribution of the 25,000 copies.

Receipts from candidates endorsed on the ballot were a few hundred dollars more than this.

LeFlore says, "It would be a wonderful thing if you didn't have to get any money from the candidates. But the Ne-



THE KINGS CHECK WARD 10 VOTES

gro people just don't support you." Office expenses for the voters league are about \$350 a month; so the excess from the election won't last very long. "When the account gets lean, then we (NPVL officers) have to pay the expenses out of our own pockets," LeFlore reported.

But despite this financial pinch, "nobody pays for an endorsement from this organization," LeFlore said. The screening committee decides whom it will endorse, he said, and then these endorsed candidates are asked for a contribution toward the cost of the ballot.

One candidate reports that a few days after he had been screened he got a call from the voters league saying he had been endorsed and telling him his share of the expenses. He says it was "quite clear" that the endorsement depended on his paying this share.

He didn't pay, and when the ballot came out, one of his opponents had the endorsement.

LeFlore says things like this do happen.

(CONTINUED ON PAGE FIVE, Col. 4)



SOME OF THE VOTERS REMEMBERED

Barbour County Losers: We're Down But Not Out

BY MARY ELLEN GALE
 EUFALA--Wesley McNear folded his arms, leaned against the back of a chair, and thought for a moment. Then he grinned.
 "If I could get to be sheriff of this county," he said, "that's all I want."
 It seemed like a strange thing for him to say. The primary election was long over. Out of the 8,000 votes cast for Barbour County sheriff, McNear received less than ten per cent--just 715. That's the kind of vote that would make an ordinary candidate think about retiring from politics forever. But McNear wasn't an ordinary candidate.

"On May 4, I started running for sheriff four years from now," he said. He stopped, as if considering what a long time four years can be.

"I'm also thinking of the city elections," he said. "They'll be coming up in just a couple of years. Maybe I'll run for the city council."

Two years isn't tomorrow, and a lot could happen to change McNear's mind. But he doesn't think it will. He has already made some new plans.

"Originally I was going to go back in the Air Force," he said. "But I think I'll stay here with my people now. I can do more for them by staying than by going back."

A couple of miles across town, John Kelly Jr. had just come home from a long day's work. Kelly is the only can-

didate in Barbour County who lost two races on May 3. He was defeated for the board of education and for the Democratic Executive Committee. But he wasn't discouraged either.

"I feel great," he said, settling into a chair. "We did the important thing. We gave the impression we mean to get in public life." He leaned forward.

"Ninety-five per cent of our people haven't given much thought to government until now. They've just begun to get roused up. Our goal will be focused toward keeping them interested in taking an active part in government affairs--local to national."

Like McNear, Kelly has personal plans to help keep the people interested. He also wants to run in the city election.

"We had a lot of agony May 3," he said. "A lot of our people discouraged others from supporting us. Some sold their vote. A lot of votes were stolen. I think we'll do better next try."

Mrs. Mary Marshall, president of the Eufaula Voters League, was another losing candidate for the board of education. "I didn't really lose," she said. "I gained knowledge and understanding. I'm not going to give up that easy. I'll win one of these days. If not the next time, the time after that, I got acquainted with some of my white brothers and sisters. Maybe after a while, they'll see I'm a hard worker and vote for me." Mrs. Marshall said the Voters

League has spent its time and money the last three weeks trying to elect Fred Gray to the state House of Representatives. Gray is in the run-off for place no. 2 in the 31st district (Macon, Bullock, and Barbour counties) against Bill Neville of Eufaula.

"After Tuesday we're going to start training people for city positions," she said. "By the city election, they'll know the full duties and how to campaign. We'll train more than one for each job, so if somebody drops out, we'll still have a qualified candidate."

The rest of the potential candidates (CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX, Col. 1)

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POLITICIANS CALL NEGRO VOTE A COMMODITY TO BE BOUGHT

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE FOUR)
 pen. When a man meets with the screening committee, it is understood that he will pay, if he gets the endorsement. The screening committee feels, LeFlore explains, that a man who would break this understanding could not be counted on to keep promises about how he would act in office.

Some candidates are not expected to pay anything. LeFlore explained the double endorsements in Orrell's and Sweeney's races by saying, "It was felt that neither of them had much money behind their campaigns. So, the committee decided to carry them free, out of respect for their apparent sincerity and their connection with Mr. Langan."

In other words, the voters league will endorse a man solely for his political views. But it will also endorse men who don't have the same views but do have some money to help pay for the ballot and other expenses of the organization. "Almost all the screening committees work this way," said an experienced politician.

This doesn't exactly encourage politicians to respect the Negro vote.

Neither do the constant reports of much larger payments which never are entered on the books of any organization.

Politicians downtown talk of the Negro vote as a commodity to be bought and sold at election time and then stored away until the next election.

Some retain their respect for a few Negro leaders. One says of LeFlore, "He works too hard to be in this for the money." But, he adds, some other Negroes become Negro leaders "mainly at election time."

Inside the established Negro organizations, a few people are working for changes in the system. So are some on the outside. They say that when a man gets an endorsement by paying for it, then "he doesn't owe us anything after he gets into office."

Davis, of the Mobile County Movement, said he wants to help organize a single, county-wide screening committee that will "override this back-door politics and bring the candidates out into the open. This is the only way to show the candidates that they can be beaten in the Negro wards, no matter how much they pay."

Many Negroes and white politicians doubt this will work. They say there will be some corruption as long as there are screening committees and sample ballots. "The only answer," one man explains, "is well-informed voters who won't let anyone tell them how to vote. That's a long way off."



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Democratic Run-Off Tuesday, May 31

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(Pd. Pol. Adv. by Harry Witte, and Tom Sweeney, Mobile, Ala.)

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Don't Forget to Vote in the Run-Off Election May 31

(Pd. Pol. Adv. by Frank Fields, chm., Clarence Montgomery Campaign Committee, Mobile, Ala.)

Alabama Rights Fighters Now in Chicago

BY MICHAEL S. LOTTMAN

CHICAGO--One day in the middle of May, it snowed in Chicago. And no one was colder than the SCLC workers who came from the South to start a civil rights movement here.

"People don't feel too bad about going to a mass meeting when it's 80 degrees," said Jimmy Collier, who worked in Dallas, Greene, Hale, and Marengo counties last summer before going north to Chicago. "But when it's cold and snowy, they don't feel like going to no damn mass meeting."

The Rev. James Orange, a veteran of every Alabama civil rights campaign since the 1963 Birmingham marches, said the weather bothered him, too.

"The weather's my only hang-up with the North, man," said the big, bearded organizer. "Everything else is okay."

Besides Collier and Orange, many other Alabama rights workers are now in Chicago--the Rev. James Bevel, the

Rev. Andrew Young, Bennie Luchon, Jimmy Wilson, Jim Letherer, and, of course, the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., leader of the Chicago movement.

Their lives are different since they came to this chilly city, which has more people than the whole state of Alabama. Dr. King lives in a third-floor slum apartment, instead of his pleasant home in Atlanta. Andy Young has the flu off and on. Bevel sometimes wears a three-piece suit instead of his overalls.

For James Orange, at least one thing hasn't changed. He's still getting beaten up.

Orange said he was knocked around in Birmingham, Gadsden, Selma, and several other places in Alabama. "Anybody who worked in Alabama in 1963 and 1964 had to get it," he said. "I couldn't tell you, really, how many times I was arrested."

When he came to Chicago, the beatings started again. But this time the

attackers weren't hostile white people or state troopers. They were members of Negro street gangs, "testing" Orange's non-violent philosophy. Chicago has many such gangs, with names like the Vice Lords, the Roman Saints, and the Spanish Cobras. SCLC is trying to get their help in the Chicago movement.

"I was beaten up by gangs nine times," said Orange, and there were ten other "incidents" when he was almost, but not quite, beaten up. But he convinced the gang members that he really was non-violent.

The goal of the Chicago movement is to get rid of the slums where most of the city's 1,000,000 Negroes live. Col-



THE REV. JAMES ORANGE

Alabama Christian

Movement for Human Rights

Kick-off for the tenth annual celebration will be held Monday, May 30, at 6:30 p.m. at New Pilgrim Baptist Church, 903 Sixth Avenue South, Birmingham, the Rev. N.H. Smith Jr., pastor.

lier said a movement is much harder to organize in a big city like Chicago than it is in a small Southern town.

"In the South, you could get to know the people just in your head," he said. "Here, one block has 400 or 600 people." And, he said, there are many things going on in a big city that take people's minds off the movement.

"You have to fight to get their time and interest. You can't do it just by saying you're going to fight for freedom."

Are the people the same in the North and the South?

Collier said they were--but then he changed his mind. "The people in the North are more beaten down," he said. "Here in the North, people have lost hope. In the South, people at least thought there was hope in the North."

Orange said the Negro organizations were more militant in the North, but the people were about the same. "Basically, the people here are the brothers, sisters, nieces, and nephews of the ones down South."

Even though Chicago is big and cold, Collier and Orange said that's where they had to be.

"This has to be done," said Collier, who has become the number one song leader for the Chicago movement. "Until this is done, the cities in the South face the same kinds of problems as the cities in the North."

"I'd rather be back where I started," said Orange. "But at this moment, I



CHICAGO MASS MEETING IN WARMER DAYS

don't think there's too much I could do in the South with my organizing ability. My presence is more needed here than down South." Orange asked to be remembered to all his friends in Alabama. And then he said sadly, "I do want to get back South."

BARBOUR COUNTY LOSERS

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE FIVE)

pointed out that Eufaula has about six whites to every four Negroes, and talked about the city council. But Mrs. Marshall is used to running things. "It's time we had a Negro mayor," she said thoughtfully.

Mrs. Mary Hunter is one of six Negro women who ran for what used to be precinct seats on the county Democratic Executive Committee. When the present committee members discovered that four of the six precincts had more Negro voters than white, they rewrote the rules to let the county's white majority vote for all the offices. The six losers have asked the federal court to throw out the rules change.

"I lost in the county," said Mrs. Hunter, who lives in Comer, "but I won in my beat. I believe the courts is going

to support us and that I'm going to be able to take my seat. If not, I'll be up again in another four years."

The losing candidates admitted that many new voters were more upset by their defeat than they are. Mrs. Rosie Jordan, who ran for the Democratic Executive Committee, said some people don't think voting is worth the trouble.

"People say, 'They took our votes before. They'll steal 'em again. Our votes is no good,'" Mrs. Jordan said. "I tell them, 'Don't feel that. Your votes were some good. We just need more votes.'"

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