

Rights Head Arrested In Crawfordville

BY JAMES SMITH

CRAWFORDVILLE, Ga.--On the last Sunday in August, a group of Negroes marched down to the Tallapoosa County courthouse to demonstrate and hold a prayer meeting, as they do every Sunday.

They were led by Calvin Turner, head of the SCLC-SCOPE project here.

When the demonstrators got to the courthouse, they saw there was another meeting going on.

A group of white people, led by the Rev. Whitney Ward, a retired preacher, were holding services on the courthouse square, over by the police station. They were using a loudspeaker.

So Turner and the other marchers held their meeting on the other side of the street. They sang and prayed, as they usually do. Then they went home.

THE NEXT DAY

The next day, Aug. 30, eight of the Negroes who had marched on Sunday were arrested on charges of disturbing the divine worship. That meant their meeting had disturbed the service the Rev. Ward was conducting.

Those arrested Aug. 30 were Ellis Harris, Robert L. Billingsley, James Bates, Albert King, Collin King, Fred Bates, Moses King and James Combs.

Turner was arrested four days later. "I arrested all of them who were marching except a Catholic priest," said Sheriff Milton B. Moore. "I haven't been able to find him--he doesn't seem to be in the county."

Moore said, "The warrants against two of them were sworn out by the preacher (Ward). The others were sworn out by the Superior Court."

By the time Turner was arrested, on Sept. 3, all the other marchers had been released.

14 CHARGES

Turner found he had not one, but 14 charges against him. There was the charge of disturbing the divine worship. And Superior Court Judge Robert L. Stevens issued 13 bench warrants based on four forged indictments.

The forgery indictments charged Turner with forging the signatures of Negro parents on applications to transfer their children from Murden School, the county's Negro school, to Alexander Stephens Institute, the white school.

Then Judge Stevens set property bond for Turner at \$1,250 on each of the 14 charges. That made Turner's bond \$17,500.

Said Fred Bates, a SCOPE worker and one of those arrested:

"We tried to put up bond (for Turner). But the sheriff told us we needed one person to sign for bond on each count. He said there was only one person among us who was qualified to sign, and we needed 14."

Sheriff Moore said the rules about signing for bond were given to him by the Superior Court.

"The whole doggone thing is illegal," charged Howard Moore, of Atlanta, Turner's lawyer. "It is a patent attempt

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX)

The Birmingham Bus Ballet -- Admission 25¢

BY GREG KANNERSTEIN

BIRMINGHAM -- Between Moulfain Brook and Bessemer, Highland and Homewood, riding buses is one sure way to break the monotony of life in Birmingham.

Almost every ride provides a little bit of drama on the city's "desegregated" bus lines--and for only a quarter.

Negroes don't have to sit in the back of the buses any more. Now it's the whites who worry about where to sit. A rigid code of ethics has evolved for white passengers. Violators of this code often are met with stares, comments and, occasionally, insults.

THE GROUND RULES

The ground rules of the riding game are:

1. Whites cannot sit behind Negroes on the same side of the bus. It's all right to sit behind a Negro if he's on the other side.

2. If there are no "white" seats left, a new white passenger must stand--even if the "Negro" section has plenty of seats.

Usually, whites occupy the two side-ways seats at the front of the bus, plus a few of the two passenger seats that face the front. Negroes fill in behind the first "Negro" seat on each side.

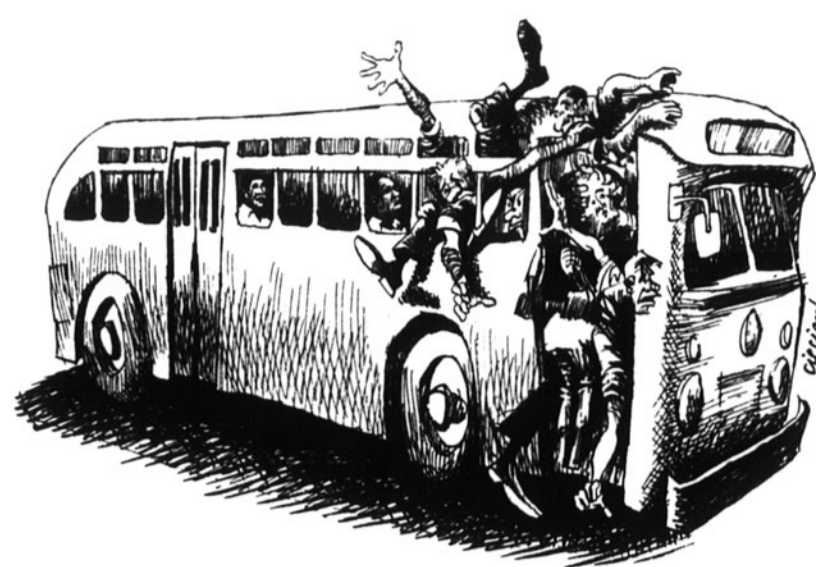
THE FUN BEGINS

When the buses get crowded, though, the fun begins.

If all the "white" seats are filled, entering whites will stand in the "white" section. So, sometimes a bus that is three-quarters empty will have eight people crowded into six square feet of standing room.

Only when a white man leaves does a seat become "vacant" for another white.

But if a Negro, sitting near the front with several empty seats behind him, gets up, then white standees fill in all



the seats in front of the next Negro. When Negroes, usually young ones, occupy the foremost seats in the bus, some whites sit sullenly behind them--but most stand. Usually, Negroes do sit toward the

rear, although often not behind the rear doors. "It's just habit," a middle-aged Negro housewife explained.

A companion said, "Why cause trouble?"

A white man said he "never thought about" where he sat and "didn't much care."

A SLIM BLONDE

A slim blonde in sunglasses said she did think about it, though. "They know their place and we know ours," she reasoned.

Many other whites are curious when a white man sits in the "Negro" section.

When such a man stepped off a bus recently, a white woman stopped him. "Where y'all from, son?" she asked. "Huntsville," he replied.

She nodded her head and said, "My daddy was right. Anyone from north of Birmingham is a damn Yankee."

THE SOUTHERN COURIER

VOL. I, NO. 9

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TEN CENTS



DOWNTOWN SELMA

Local Negro Leaders Call Off Selma's Six-Month Store Boycott

BY DAVID M. GORDON

SELMA--Negro leaders here have called off a six-month boycott of white-owned downtown stores, in what the leaders say is "an act of good faith."

"We've torn this community apart, and everybody knows we can do it," said the Rev. Harold A. Middlebrook, SCLC project director in Dallas County. "But now comes the time when we must rebuild the community, and we must show good faith to do it."

The Negro boycott began last February at the opening of the voter-registration drive here.

At that time, the boycott was called "to obtain the right to vote, and to protest police brutality," according to the Rev. F. D. Reese, president of the Dallas County Voters League.

Now that we have the right to vote

and police brutality has been minimized," Mr. Reese said, "We felt we should show our sincerity by calling it off."

Many Negroes in Selma -- and many white merchants -- saw the boycott primarily as a demand for better jobs for Negroes. Some Negroes regard the boycott as a failure because very few jobs have opened up to Negroes since February.

"I can't see a thing that we got out of it," one man said.

But Negro leaders disagree with this view of what the boycott was for.

"Hiring practices only became one of the demands after the boycott had already been called," Mr. Middlebrook said.

"We knew about two months ago that

(CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO)

Gov. Wallace Applies Pressure, But School Integration Goes On

Prattville Schools

Desegregate Quietly

BY MICHAEL S. LOTTMAN

PRATTVILLE--Thirteen Negroes integrated the public schools without incident here last Wednesday, after a confusing week of threatening phone calls, a Molotov cocktail, and quiet concern among the white community.

The week of confusion began on Aug. 31, when night-riders tossed a homemade fire bomb at the home of a Negro couple on the outskirts of Prattville. The Negroes are the parents of William Yelder, a leader of the Autauga County Voters Association, and Flora Yelder, one of the 13 Negro students. Their front porch was charred by the bomb, but no one was injured.

In the days following the bombing, many of the 13 students' parents received threatening phone calls. The parents said the callers sounded like young white people. One caller told the Yelders, "Nigger, you ain't seen nothing yet."

One of the Negro students was fired from a job she had held for four years. Rumors began to fly around Prattville, warning of Negro demonstrations and violence on the opening day of school.

The rumors proved unfounded. Wednesday's integration was completely calm, attended by about eight helmeted policemen and a half-dozen curious spectators.

"You can hear anything these days," said C.G. Smith, president of the Bank

(CONTINUED ON PAGE TWO)

MONTGOMERY--Increased opposition by Gov. George Wallace has had little apparent effect on the peaceful path of school integration in Alabama.

All over the state this week--in Montgomery, Tuscaloosa and elsewhere--schools continued to open on an integrated basis. There were few incidents.

But the governor was concerned because some school districts had more integration than was absolutely necessary.

Lauderdale County School Superintendent Allen Thornton was one of

Wallace's special targets. On Sept. 2, Wallace sent an angry telegram to Thornton, blasting Lauderdale's full-scale integration plan.

NEGROES ATTEND

But this week in the northern Alabama county, 79 Negroes were still attending school with whites. All

grades of the schools were desegregated. And about 120 more Negroes had integrated the city schools in Florence, the county seat.

In a special meeting here last Tuesday, Wallace urged some 200 educators not to integrate any more than the Civil Rights Act and the federal courts required.

The effect of the meeting was questionable. Thornton said "no decision was made."

Tuesday in Montgomery, 32 Negroes enrolled in the afternoon, after the white students had left. And the Negroes were to stay home Wednesday, while the white students had their first full day of classes.

Tuscaloosa County and the city of Tuscaloosa put the first Negroes into their white schools Tuesday.

And in Bessemer, Robert Creel, Alabama Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan, gave up picketing at recently integrated Bessemer High School. Thirteen Negroes were still there.

"You can retire after 30 years--but you can get laid off even if you've been here 20 years."

Negroes and whites alike worry about automation. But Negro workers also say there's still discrimination in the mills.

However, most facilities at U.S. Steel here are integrated.

"It's a lot better now," said a barrel-blast furnace steelworker, "especially since the federal government began putting the pressure on. The union hadn't done much for us that way."

"It's still hard for a colored worker to get a job in the mills, and they don't get promoted like the whites do, but at least the signs on the drinking fountains aren't there any more."

But another man pointed out, "Yeah, but sometimes the white workers put them back up when nobody's looking. And sometimes they put up signs that say 'KKK.'"



GOV. GEORGE WALLACE

Labor Day Means Just That in Gees Bend

BY DAVID M. GORDON

GEES BEND--Monday was Labor Day in Alabama, a holiday of siestas and swimming, of barbecues and beer.

Most of Alabama celebrated the last long weekend of the summer, honoring the country's working force and getting ready for the cooler autumn of football and schoolbooks.

Some of Alabama mourned for its own sons and daughters, victims of the highway slaughter which left 17 Alabamians dead in automobile accidents.

And a very small part of Alabama didn't celebrate anything at all. Some people in the state just kept right on working, living off Labor Day like every other day of the year.

About 250 of these families live here in Wilcox County. Gees Bend is an impoverished Negro farming community with lots of televisions and no telephones.

BAD COTTON YEAR

All the Negroes in Gees Bend own their own farms, but they are also very poor. They live off cotton, and 1965 is a bad cotton year in Alabama.

The people of Gees Bend can't afford

to take any holidays right now.

"The folks in Gees Bend take Labor Day just the way the name says," said Roman Pettaway, a grocery-store owner. "They're out there laboring."

"Out there" meant the cotton fields, where whole families worked in the sun, stooping to fill their bags and looking hopefully at the cotton scales.

"Folks who ain't got no money can't take no Labor Day nohow," said a farmer with 13 children.

The farmer was reminded of the hundreds of people being killed on the highways. Did he think he was better off where he was?

"MY BACK HURTS"

"That's all right," he said, "I get killed right here on the field, my back hurts so much."

He paused a moment to order his children back into the fields after their lunch break. One of them had been listening to her father. She asked him curiously, "Daddy, is today supposed to be a holiday?"

That started the father talking about the son of a close friend. "Laura told him he better work today," he said. "Or

she going to whup him something bad. She so tired of him messing around."

He was interrupted by the far-off sound of gunfire.

"That's just the white folks down there by the river," he said, "shooting and fishing and playing around."

It was time to get back to work, and he trudged down the road. He was joined in the fields by all the other families in the community.

"It rained all last week," said one 60-year-old woman in the fields. "We took our holidays then. We can't take no more holidays till we get through picking all this cotton."

Two young men in another field were too busy to talk about the weather. They just yelled back from the middle of the cotton rows:

"We don't count no Labor Day around here."

About the only resident of Gees Bend who wasn't out in the fields was a quiet 87-year-old man sitting on a stoop at Pettaway's store.

"It's just the old folks like me. We take every holiday we can get," he said. "The young folks don't take much interest in holidays. They can't afford to."

The man stopped talking, and stared at the same dirt road he sees day after day. His trance was broken only by the roar of a bright orange bread truck, making its daily run to Gees Bend from the outside world.

"You see," he said, "Even the white folks is working today."



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Wallace Out of Step

As the state of Alabama proceeds peacefully and quietly with school integration, only a few men have tried to stir up the old hatreds. Loudest among these, of course, has been Gov. George Wallace, aiming for the 1966 election the only way he knows how--by harping on the race issue.

Wallace's efforts to thwart school integration demonstrate once again that the governor is out of step with the people of his state. Those who applaud Wallace's meddling in the business of local school districts are members of a fast-shrinking minority.

We prefer to believe that men like Allen Thornton and Austin Meadows are more typical of today's Alabamians. Thornton, superintendent of schools in Lauderdale County, has opened all grades of the county's white schools to Negroes, and 79 Negroes have integrated the schools without a trace of trouble. Observers say Thornton and other Lauderdale officials have seen the financial futility of maintaining two school systems.

Meadows, the state superintendent of education, has consistently feuded with Wallace about school integration. Both he and Wallace are under a federal court order forbidding them from interfering with desegregation of the schools. As Meadows has been saying this week, he has obeyed the order of the court.

Thornton, Meadows and other men like them are getting our state through this transition period with dignity and common sense.

Letters to the Editor

To the Editor:

Enclosed is a copy of a letter and signatures that were sent to Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach and Governor Paul B. Johnson of Mississippi. We hope you can publish it in its entirety so that the views of one group of people, in one neighborhood, in one Mississippi city, can be known.

Besides the three teachers who have signed this, there are other people who have jeopardized their jobs by signing. If that has to be the price of making our views known, at least we would like it made public somewhere, that we are tired of waiting.

Mrs. Pearl M. Draine
 Chairman
 Ad-Hoc Committee for Volunteer Voter Registrars
 Jackson, Mississippi
 (Editor's note: The letter to Katzenbach and Johnson follows.)

Dear Mr. Katzenbach and Gov. Johnson:
 We, the undersigned, being native Mississippians and Americans, even though we are Negroes, hereby offer our services, free, from 3-5 p. m. everyday to help register other Mississippians. We are making this offer for three reasons.

(1) Even though the Voting Rights Bill has been passed, and provisions have been made to send in Federal registrars where they are needed, and Hinds County certainly needs them, the Justice Department seems extremely reluctant to send them.

(2) The county registrars must be overworked here as the line moves at a snail pace, with frequent and prolonged halts, except in the case of a white applicant, who is taken quickly to the head of the line.

(3) Governor Johnson has indicated he is interested in having all people qualified to vote registered, as long as it is done by native Mississippians. We feel our services could be the answer to all these problems. The Justice Department will be happy because they won't have to worry about offending white Mississippians by sending in Federal registrars; the county registrars will be happy because their workload will be cut down, and they will be able to concentrate on white voters, which they seem to prefer, and won't have to register Negroes, which they seem reluctant to do; and Governor Johnson should be happy because everybody will have the opportunity to be registered by native Mississippians, at no cost to the State.

Finally, and we almost hate to mention it, since it seems to be such a side issue to so many others, Mississippi

Negroes will be happy, because they finally will be able to get registered, like other Americans, without having to wait hour after hour, day after day, in a snail-paced line, while they watch whites being taken to the head of it.

As volunteer registrars we promise the following:
 (1) To take all our coffee and Coke breaks, and tend to other needs, before reporting to work, in order to avoid the halts in line that occur now for all the breaks that the present overworked registrars seem to require.

(2) To take any of the tests and/or go through any of the training sessions that are currently used to prepare Federal registrars.

(3) To relieve the white Mississippians of their burden of having done so much for the Negro Mississippians, by doing something for ourselves.

Incidentally, if you don't feel our services, or that of Federal registrars are required, because everything is going so smoothly and fairly, could you please inform us of the number of native, Hinds County, Mississippi, Negroes it would take marching around the courthouse to convince you we would like things speeded up. Enclosed is a stamped, self-addressed envelope.

- Sincerely,
 Mrs. Pearl M. Draine (Chairman)
 Mrs. Gertrude M. Hart
 Mr. James E. Shoulder
 Mrs. Mary Catchings
 Mrs. Della Young
 Mrs. Lestine Culbarson
 Atwine Adams
 Mrs. Essie Lee Lewis
 Mrs. Delores Orey
 Mrs. Anner Pinkston
 Mrs. Henrietta G. Black
 Mrs. Sarah Orey
 Mrs. Katie Johnson
 Mrs. Susie Johnson
 J.R. Chambliss
 Ben Howard
 Miss Ora Lee Lomax
 Miss Ruby Lee Collins
 Mrs. Naomi Hendrex
 Mrs. Camella Manning
 Mr. Rufus L. White
 Mrs. Willie Bell McGuire
 Mr. Perry B. Chapman
 Samuel Bailey
 C.G. Lee
 Roosevelt Rucker
 Mrs. Geneva Rucker
 Mrs. Nina Mae Benson
 Mr. Leroy Keys
 (Miss) Ineva May
 Miss Rosie Redmond
 Mr. J. B. Harrington
 Mrs. Margaret Lewis
 Mrs. Pauline Griffin
 Mrs. Herman L. Funchess

needed overtones of social reforms. One quality which I have constantly searched for in newspapers is that of clear and distinct photography. I congratulate you, for yours has ended my quest. Another trait which I have sought is vivid (dark black) printing and generously spaced letters, and even this has been found. Your accurate accounts are equaled only by your talented and well organized staff.

Robert Fikes III
 Birmingham, Ala.

Sermon of the Week

Stevenson's Words Cited



BY WILLIAM BARCLIFT

BIRMINGHAM--The crucial problem we face in the world today is "how to move from proximity to community," the Rev. Donald G. Shockley, chaplain of Birmingham-Southern College, said Sunday.

The late Adlai Stevenson, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, left "a legacy of words" to lead us from proximity (being close together) to community (understanding our neighbors), Mr. Shockley said.

The world is shrinking at a fantastic rate, he said. He noted that Stevenson said the world today has shrunk to the size of a county 50 years ago. So proximity has become the dominant characteristic of modern life, Mr. Shockley said.

But, he continued, we who sang "The more we get together, the happier we'll be," in Sunday school now know that proximity does not necessarily bring community.

Today the world is writhing in agony of frustration, suspicion, and fear, said Mr. Shockley.

As we mourn for Adlai Stevenson, Mr. Shockley said, we remember how poignantly he phrased our dilemma in a speech at Harvard University:

"We stand shoulder to shoulder, with the hydrogen bomb ticking in our pockets."

Integrated Rock 'n' Roll Show

James Brown Turns Them On



TV MAMA

BY VIOLA BRADFORD

MONTGOMERY--I have to give it to James Brown. He really has his own style of wild and passionate singing, and of making girls (and boys) scream like no other entertainer I know. His dance style is a combination of that of a matador and boxer.

James Brown appeared at the Alabama State College Arena Sept. 1, along with his ("Papa's Got a Brand New Band") 18-piece band, which played consecutively for about one hour and 15 minutes.

The music was jumping and so was the "Night Train"--hip-shaking, hair-throwing, arm-tossing, dancing girls dressed in lovely, colorful costumes. "Are you ready for the Night Train?" yelled Brown several times.

"Yeah!" was the response from the audience.

Oh, how they hollered and screamed when he led his famous James Brown

JACKSON -- The disagreement on goals and tactics between the NAACP and the more militant civil rights groups has begun to show up in Mississippi politics. So far, it has been just play politics, but the pattern may be the same when the game is for real.

This conflict has shown up most recently over attempts to form a Mississippi chapter of the Young Democrats and to get a national charter. The former chapter of the Mississippi Young Dems lost its charter in 1963.

Several different groups have been competing for the one charter that will be granted by the national organization of the Young Democrats. The largest group consists of people active in the civil rights movement. Most either belong to or support the militant Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party.

This group applied for a charter last April, but was rejected. The national organization did not feel it represented all the Young Dems in the state.

Most of the other Young Democrats seeking the national charter are members of college Young Dems chapters which have sprung up around the state. Some of these groups are biracial, and most of them are moderate on racial matters. But they were against a state organization dominated by FDP sympathizers.

Most of these college chapters joined together to oppose the FDP group. They were backed by the Mississippi Democratic Conference, a biracial group representing the NAACP and organized labor (AFL-CIO). They also received financial support from other white moderates who wanted to stop the FDP.

Since the national Young Dems had asked for a group representing all interested parties in the state, the two rival groups decided to hold a joint convention. The meeting held on Aug. 17, quickly became an open power struggle between the two groups.

The FDP sympathizers were late in arriving, and for most of the morning the convention was dominated by the moderates. They raced through the election of officers, choosing their own people for all but one position. When



the FDP faction finally gained a majority, and threatened to reverse the morning election (which had been held before the adoption of a constitution) the moderates walked out and held their own convention downstairs.

After the conventions, negotiations began for a compromise. Neither group felt strong enough to apply alone for a charter.

But the moderate group, believing that it had the image and the support of the national Democratic Party, drove a hard bargain. It demanded control of both the presidency and the executive committee of the organization, the main sources of power. The FDP finally accepted these conditions.

Why is the conflict so bitter?

Cleveland Donald, a Negro student at Ole Miss and co-chairman of the moderates, explained recently that his group doubts that most of the FDP faction is loyal to the national Democratic Party.

The moderates also fear that the FDP is too radical to attract wide support. "The FDP has moved to a position to the left of ordinary politics. They are after other people," Donald said. "We'd like to attract the 100,000 registered white moderates."

"We wanted to give the movement another arm," said Hunter Morey, the man most responsible for organizing the FDP faction since April. "The Young Democrats can give a lot of people in the movement a practical education in how to use politics to achieve ends."

As the outcome of the Young Dems convention shows, Miss. Negroes will not be united in the political battles of the near future. The FDP is too radical for moderates, white and Negro, who hope to build on the existing power structure. White moderates, and eventually perhaps the politicians now in power, will join with respectable Negroes--Negroes willing to compromise--to compete with the FDP for the Negro vote.

Prattville Schools

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

But others appeared deeply concerned that a bombing should have taken place at all.

The Rev. John Neville, a Presbyterian minister, said the bombing shocked many white citizens into realizing it will be their own responsibility to prevent any more incidents in the future.

"The bombing was highly regrettable and I wish it hadn't happened," Mr. Neville said. "It's a shame that people can't act like mature adults and adjust to the changing times."

NESHOPA SCHOOL

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

tired of the way all the kids are treating them.

A few days ago a boy said to Irma, "Look at that nigger."

She told him, "Go jump in the lake." He turned and left her alone.

Boycott Ends

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

we would get the right to vote," Mr. Reese said. "After that time, we chose not to put strenuous efforts into making the boycott effective. We were just letting it linger until the proper time to call it off."

"Of all the times when I can't hire anyone new," one merchant said during the boycott, "it's when my business is down. Boycotts ruin my business, so what can I do?"

How You Can Take Advantage of Medicare

Health insurance cards were mailed this week to many people aged 65 or over, so they can begin taking advantage of the new Medicare law.

If you are 65 or over, and you are entitled to social security or railroad retirement benefits, then you are automatically part of the basic Medicare plan. A health insurance card will be mailed to you this week.

Whenever you enter a hospital, you must show this card. It will be proof that you are eligible for Medicare payments.

APPLY NOW

If you are not entitled to social security or railroad benefits, you can sign up for Medicare by applying now at your local social security office and proving that you are 65 or over.

You will receive a card when you apply at the social security office.

Medicare means that the federal government will now pay a large part of your medical costs.

Medicare has two main parts. The

basic plan pays hospital costs for almost everyone 65 or over, and the medical insurance program, which you can join if you want to, pays doctor bills.

Under the basic hospital plan, you can go to whatever hospital you choose.

YOU PAY \$40

The government will pay all your regular hospital expenses--after you pay the first \$40--for the first 60 days you are in the hospital.

If you stay in the hospital more than 60 days, you must pay \$10 a day toward costs for every day past the 60th. The government will not pay for more than 90 hospital days at a stretch.

The hospital will send the bill directly to the government. You will only be billed for your part of the expenses--the first \$40, \$10 a day after the first 60 days, and all costs after 90 days.

If your condition improves so you no longer need hospital care, you can transfer to an approved nursing home. All expenses except doctors' fees will

be paid here for the first 20 days. You have to pay \$5 for each day after that. No payments will be made by the government after 100 days.

If you don't need to go to the hospital



and can be cared for as well or better in your own home, the program will pay for up to 100 home health care visits per year by trained nurses, physical therapists or part-time home health aides.

If you don't know what is wrong with you, the government will pay costs above \$20 for tests and examinations at the hospital.

The second part of Medicare--the medical insurance program--is to help older people pay for doctors' services.

If you are 65 or over and want to be covered by the medical insurance program, you must enroll at your social security office and agree to pay \$3 a month (\$6 for a man and wife).

If you are receiving social security or railroad retirement benefits, you can have the \$3 premium taken off your monthly check.

In return for your payments, the plan will pay 80 per cent of your doctor bills--after you pay the first \$50 every year--and for up to 100 home visits each year by a nurse or health worker.

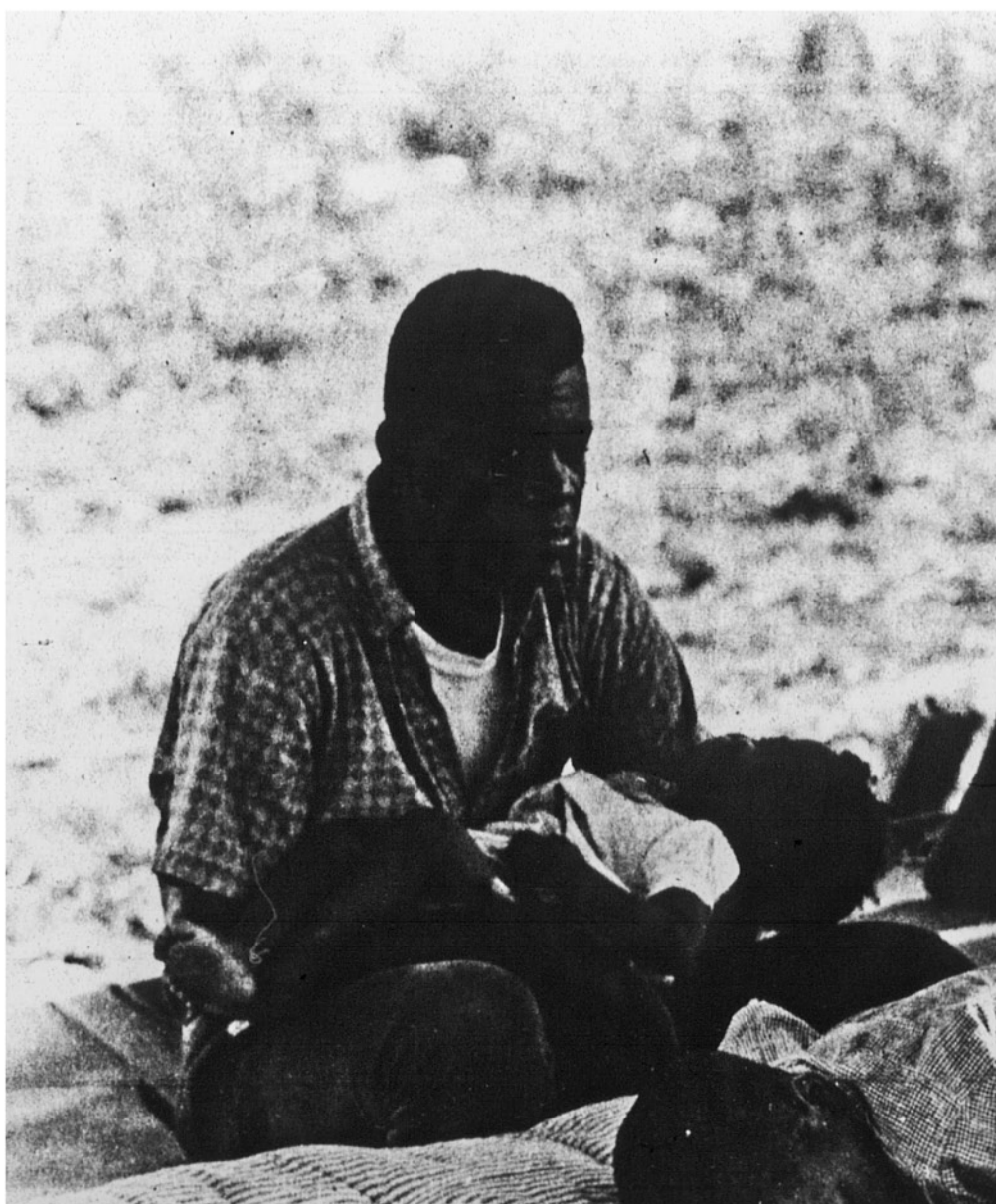


TRIBBETT(Miss.)--"Strike City" here is a city of tents. A handful of farm workers, on strike from A.L. Andrews' plantation, set up the tents and moved their families in recently. All had been evicted from their homes on the plantation at the end of May, after joining a walk-out sponsored by the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union (MFLU).

The eight families, crowded into six big tents and one small one, plan to stay throughout the winter. Television sets are being installed in each tent next week.

The strikers have been receiving a little support from the North, but mostly they are on their own.

Photographs by John H. Young



Crisis in Tuskegee:

TIAL, Segregationists Imperil City's Future

BY MARTHA HONEY

TUSKEGEE--"No other city has made as much progress as Tuskegee and I'm proud of it," Tuskegee Mayor C. M. Keever said at a recent city council meeting.

"But since the end of May we've gone backwards."

The councilmen--three whites and two Negroes--nodded slowly in agreement.

In the audience were members of the Tuskegee Institute Advancement League (TIAL), a militant civil rights group. TIAL had requested the emergency meeting with the council to discuss the closing of the town's white swimming pool.

TIAL's members had tried to integrate the pool in June. Local whites reacted by throwing garbage into the water. The city council then promptly voted to close the recreation area, although the mayor said it would eventually reopen on an integrated basis. Throughout the summer the mayor hesitated, fearing further incidents.

Now the council was discussing whether to open the pool at all this season. But they quickly reached an impasse. TIAL would not go along with any plan for the gradual acceptance of Negroes at the pool. The city fathers believe such a plan is necessary.

The result: "The pool will not be opened this year," the mayor told the students.

Breaking down a reputation

The swimming pool incident is typical of TIAL's tactics. Born six months ago, TIAL has been devoting its energies to breaking down the town's reputation for racial harmony. To do this, its members have aimed their attacks not only at segregationists but also at white moderates.

For the past month the TIAL students have been attempting to enter three white churches in Tuskegee. Each time they have been turned away, and once they were attacked by white youths.

White moderates in town regard the church integration attempts as misdirected. "They have no legal right to get into the church," said a white merchant, Bernard Cohn. "They can go down there every Sunday till doomsday and they'll never get in."

"Why don't they throw up a picket line around Tuskegee's private eating clubs?"

TIAL has also been picketing the Alabama Exchange Bank, whose president, J.A. Parker, is a white moderate and a member of the city council. The students demand that he hire a Negro clerk.

"The segregationists are getting the biggest kick out of the picket," said Neil Davis, editor of the "Tuskegee News." "They're calling Parker and telling him he's getting what he deserves for supporting integration in the city government and the public schools."

All-or-nothing attitude

TIAL's all-or-nothing attitude, which might be effective in some Southern towns, has not affected the plight of Tuskegee's Negroes much. The group's one visible accomplishment has been to get one Negro hired at the local A & P store.

But TIAL has done a great deal to set back the progress which the town had begun on its own. For in the past year, many signs of change have appeared here, in the only town in the South where Negro voters outnumber whites.

The changes began last October, when for the first time Negroes were elected to the city council and other public offices. The way to this event was opened by a court order in 1962 which demanded that Tuskegee's registrars cease to discriminate against Negroes who wished to register. (One of the Negroes who "failed" the test before the court order, a sociologist at Tuskegee Institute, was elected to the city council last fall.)

Since October, the council has begun extending a number of services to the Negro community, including garbage collection, paved streets and street lights. Negroes have also been hired to the city police force and other city posts.

White moderates fear that TIAL's activities will halt this progress by rousing racial tensions which could polarize the town.

"If we open the pool now, it's bound to hurt the public school," Mayor Keever said. The moderates feel that further trouble at the pool might have been enough to trigger a wholesale withdrawal of the white students from the inte-

He said that those who claimed to favor integration were really "just out for their own private gains."

Like the private school, the Macon County Ku Klux Klan has gotten a new lease on life recently. Largely quiet during the past eight months--the last cross was burned in Tuskegee nearly a year ago, on the night the present city government was elected--Klan membership has recently begun to soar.

In the past month, it has reached an all-time peak in Macon County. And several weeks ago two Klansmen attacked a Tuskegee professor in broad daylight in front of city hall.

Caught in the crossfire

Caught between the crossfires of TIAL and the segregationists is the Tuskegee City Council, which could be a major instrument for progress. But all the excitement has slowed the council's efforts.

"We just have to wait for all this tension to die down before the city can start making progress again," said the mayor.

Other moderates feel the council is waiting too long. "They seem to drag their feet at anything really progressive," said Cohn.

The council's main problem is that it has no long-range plan for attacking Tuskegee's problems. Their one guideline has been caution, and this often makes them appear reluctant to work for full integration.

None of the councilmen has political experience. The whites are businessmen. One of the Negroes is a pastor and the other teaches at the Institute.

The mayor has not been effective in leading the meetings. Parker has been the real council leader and everyone looks to him to speak first. Other council members are often afraid to express their opinions. Most motions are passed unanimously after very little debate.

A penniless city

To add to its problems, the city is on the verge of going broke. Its only income comes from the sale of water and electricity, and it is not enough to cover the new expenses caused by extending city services to Tuskegee Negroes.

At a recent meeting the council decided to consider a one-cent sales tax, when the clerk announced that the city did not have enough money to pay all its bills.

But a sales tax will not be enough. "The money it brings in won't even approach our present commitment," Parker has said. At this point the council is not considering further ways of raising money.

The city is also hampered because it has no budget. Councilman Stanley Smith spoke out strongly for a spending plan at a recent meeting.

"Since the first meeting I've been disturbed because we're running the city on guess-work," he said. "We never know what we're going to spend the money on, and now it's all gone."

"We've always operated without one," replied J.W. Ross, the city clerk.

But the city council cannot afford to be inefficient. A great deal is riding on its shoulders, and it is being closely watched by both Negroes and whites.

Although they voted in an integrated group of city officials last October, the Negroes, with their voting majority, could throw all the whites out of office at the next election if they were not satisfied with Tuskegee's progress.

The segregationist whites, on the other hand, hope Tuskegee's integrated government will fail. Former mayor Philip M. Lightfoot, for one, says the government won't last.

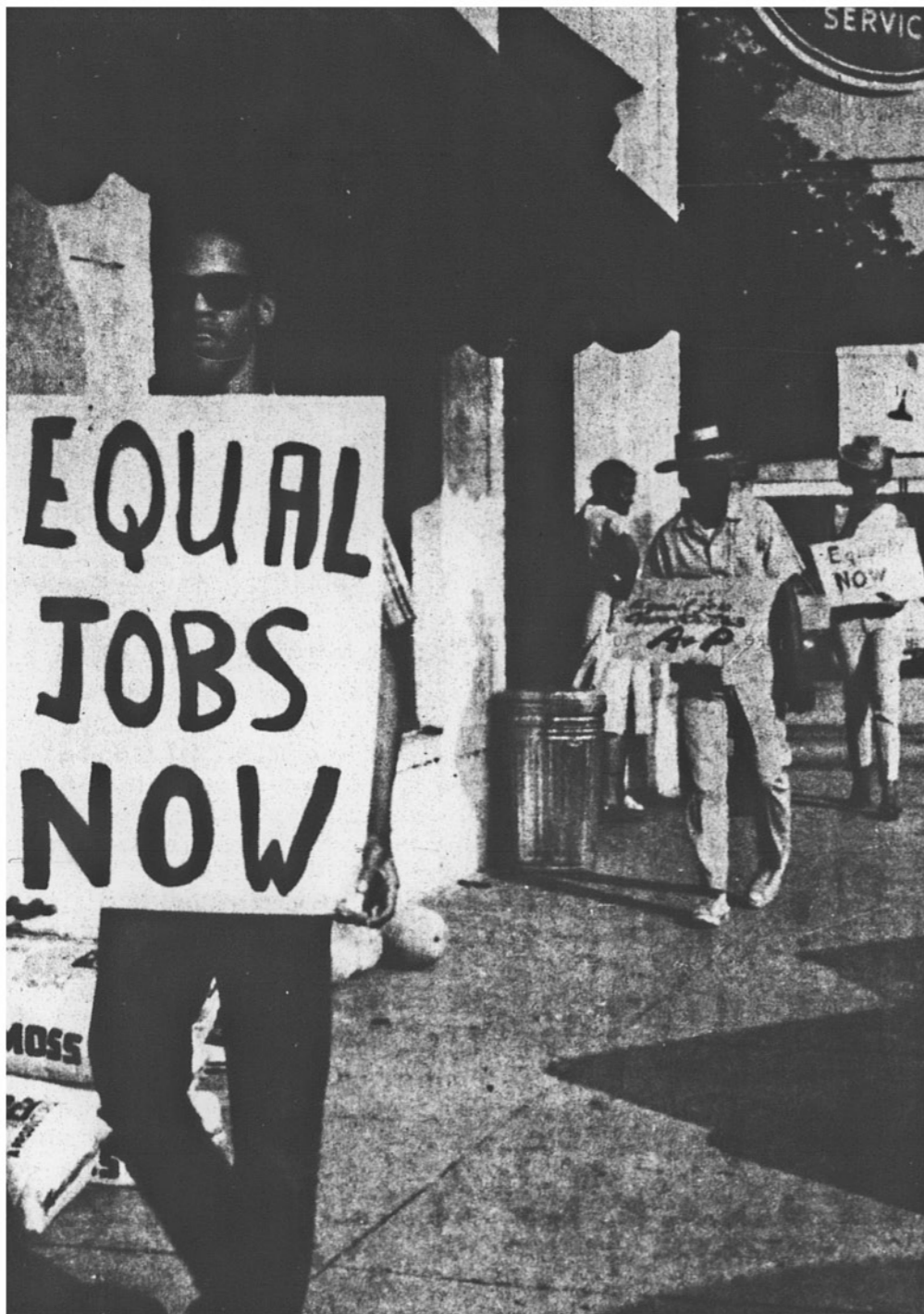
"It's like a pendulum. It will swing too far one way, but it always swings back."

The present city council will have to be good--very good--to prevent groups like TIAL, the Macon Academy supporters and the Klan from breaking up the town. The council must face up to the problems which confront Tuskegee, and then work openly to solve them.

Not until then will Tuskegee deserve its reputation as a model of racial progress.



STUDENTS LEAVE ALL-WHITE MACON ACADEMY



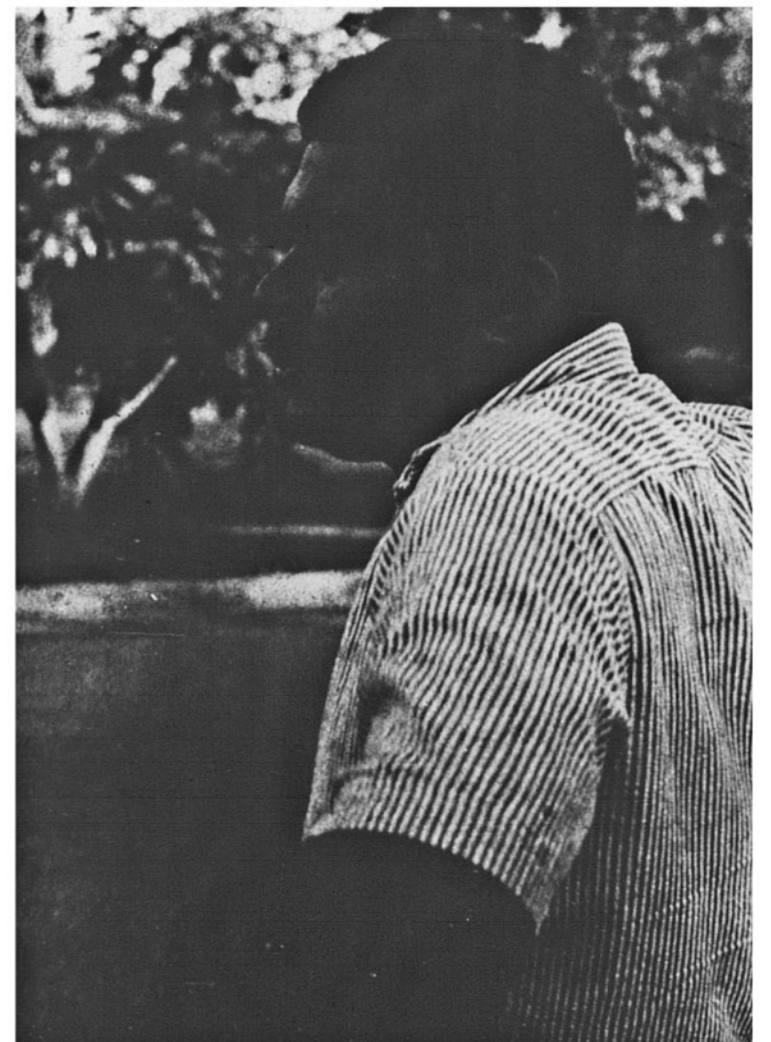
TIAL MEMBERS PICKET LOCAL A & P



TIAL ATTEMPTS TO INTEGRATE TUSKEGEE CHURCH



CITY FATHER: J.A. PARKER OF THE CITY COUNCIL



YOUNG REBEL: WENDELL PARIS OF TIAL



down the public school altogether by attracting away nearly all the white students. This followed a court order to the public school to integrate.

Last year the public school gained some ground. By the time it closed last spring it had 249 white students and 14 Negroes attending classes. "We were in the process of gradually absorbing the white private school," the mayor said.

"Wouldn't take gold nuggets"

But with TIAL's demonstrations stirring up the town this summer, a number of white children switched back to Macon Academy. Only 184 white students showed up for the opening of the public school. Thirty-three Negroes were accepted for transfer.

"Those Academy people wouldn't take gold nuggets for the swimming pool incident," Joe Wilson, Macon County superintendent of education, remarked.

But the TIAL leaders don't seem worried about such consequences. "We cannot be concerned with the reactions and feelings of the whites," said Wendell Paris, head of TIAL. "All those whites are alike--they probably all belong to the Klan."

Clark's \$1,500 Fine Stirs Selma Whites

BY DAVID M. GORDON
SELMA--Dallas County Sheriff Jim Clark's \$1,500 fine for contempt of court has caused quite a stir in the white community here.

On Sept. 2, Federal Judge Daniel H. Thomas, of Mobile, found Clark in civil contempt and fined him \$1,500 for his part in the now-famous Feb. 10 "forced march."

The judge's ruling was the result of a suit filed against Clark by Selma Negroes. The Negroes asked the judge to hold Clark in contempt for his handling of the demonstrations here last spring. Many whites have come to Clark's defense since he was fined. A "Defense for Law Enforcement Fund" has been organized to raise the \$1,500 to pay Clark's fine.

And a letter to the Selma Times-Journal on Clark's behalf closed with the quotation:

"Oh justice, how many crimes are committed in thy name!"

But in Sunday's Times-Journal, a front-page editorial seemed to acquit Judge Thomas of any injustice.

Speaking in football language, the editorial said:

"When he (Judge Thomas) slapped a 15-yard penalty against one of the stars for a sensational, if horribly inappropriate play, it was because he (Clark) committed a blunder that everyone in the grandstand saw whether they admitted it or not."

Clark was found in contempt of a court order Judge Thomas had issued back on Jan. 23.

In that order Judge Thomas said: "... under the guise of enforcement there shall be no intimidation, harassment, or the like of the citizens of Dallas County legitimately attempting to register to vote, nor of those legally ... encouraging them to register to vote."

In fining Clark last week, Judge Thomas said that neither Clark nor the Negro plaintiffs "have come into court with 'clean hands.' Unnecessary arrests have been made, provoked by unnecessary assemblage of people in improper places."

"On most occasions," Judge Thomas said, "Sheriff Clark and his deputies acted with propriety and restraint." He called the "forced march" of Feb. 10 a "notable exception."

Leftist, Rightist, And Baptist Win Mobile Election

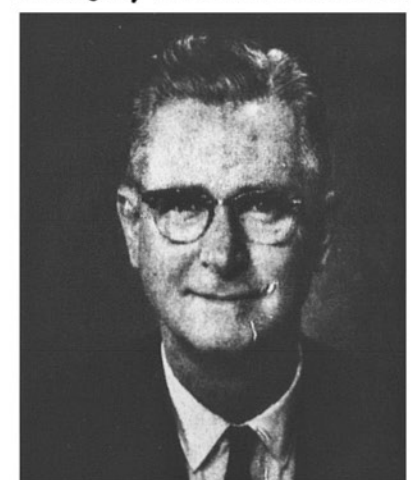
BY DAVID R. UNDERHILL
MOBILE--A "leftist," a "rightist," and a Baptist were elected to the Mobile City Commission Tuesday.

Each will serve four years in one of the three "Places" on the City Commission. The title of Mayor rotates among the commissioners.

For Place One, Joseph Langan won re-election by barely 2,000 votes out of almost 40,000 cast.

In the primary election on Aug. 17, Langan led his closest opponent, Joe Bailey, by nearly 10,000 votes.

Bailey, in his campaign for Tuesday's run-off election, charged that Langan had a "liberal hotline" to Washington, and that he received the



JAMES LANGAN

Negro "bloc vote" in previous elections.

Langan is a Johnson Democrat, but he campaigned as a conservative on money matters. In the primary and run-off elections, he received almost all the Negro votes in the city. Langan has been a city commissioner since 1953.

Arthur Outlaw, a member of the John Birch Society, smashed his Place Two opponent, present commissioner George McNally by nearly this many votes in the primary election, and people expected McNally to withdraw from the race before the run-off was held.

McNally's defeat grew out of various unpopular projects and transactions he had backed during his four years in office.

The closest race came in Place Three, where young Lambert Mims, a prominent local Baptist, edged out Henry Luscher Jr., by only about 1,000 votes.

John C. Forrester, the first Negro candidate for public office in Dothan, came in fourth out of a field of nine Tuesday in the race for commissioner of public safety. Forrester got 536 of a total of 5,468 votes cast.

On that day, Clark and his deputies led about 200 Negro teenagers and children at a brisk pace over a four-mile course from Selma to a point outside town.

Several of the "marchers," according to Judge Thomas, were struck with cattle prods on the way.

Clark has said he may appeal Judge Thomas's ruling.

As he wrote to friends last April in defense of his conduct during the demonstration:

"Are you going to surrender your job --- get out of the street --- let the mob break windows, loot stores, throw rocks, cause untold destruction as they did in Harlem and in Chicago ...? Make your decision now."

Mass Registration Begun In Mobile

MOBILE--Almost 200 Negroes turned out Tuesday when registration opened here for the first time under the new federal Voting Rights Act.

That meant applicants did not have to take a literacy test.

During the August registration period, the board of registrars did not apply either the simplified Alabama literacy test or the no-literacy-test provision of the voting rights act, which was in effect the last day of the period, Leo Brinkley, an NAACP worker, said Tuesday's turnout showed that "Negroes do care. All they need is a chance."

No one was rejected, but a few applications were held up until records of felony convictions could be checked.

The office usually closes for lunch, but Tuesday it stayed open. Yet, at 4:30 p.m., when the office closed for the day, 30 people, most of them Negroes, were left standing in line.

The Mobile County registration period is the first full week of each month. So another long line formed on Wednesday.

Some civil rights workers on the scene Tuesday charged that the registrars were deliberately slowing things

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX)

COURIER Moves Its Offices

MONTGOMERY -- The SOUTHERN COURIER opened its new office here this week, in Room 622 of the Frank Leu Building, at 79 Commerce Street.

The move from Atlanta to Montgomery was accomplished over the Labor Day weekend with a maximum of difficulty, said SOUTHERN COURIER president Peter Cummings.

Cummings said the SOUTHERN COURIER office staff wanted to be closer to people and events in Alabama.

However, he said, the office workers were sorry to leave their friends in the Vine City area of Atlanta, especially their old upstairs neighbor, H. L. Amos (at right).

'Now's the Time to Stand Up'

BY MARTHA HONEY

AUBURN -- Tom Millican from Valley Head looks like dozens of other students at Auburn University. He is 21 years old, tall and lanky, with a crew-cut and, usually, a plaid sport shirt.

But on several Mondays this summer, Millican was easy to spot at the Lee County courthouse. He spent the day carrying Negroes to the polls to register.

Millican, who is white, has been helping with voter registration in Auburn for nine months.

His active role in the civil rights movement began last Christmas vacation, when he worked in a Negro community center in Hattiesburg, Mississippi.

"I'd never done any active work in Alabama before that," he said. "I'd been like a lot of white liberals, who talk civil rights loud, but don't do anything."

But when Millican attended a Southern Student Organizing Committee conference last fall, he heard about the Hattiesburg project and decided to go.

"I couldn't respect myself if I didn't do anything," he said. And so he decided, "Now's the time to stand up." In Hattiesburg, Millican became even more committed to the movement.

"I really committed myself when, in a workshop meeting of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party in Hattiesburg, I took part in the singing of 'We Shall Overcome,'" he said.

After Hattiesburg, he said, "I decided to try and organize a movement here in Auburn."

With almost no support from his classmates, Millican organized a Negro youth group, the Auburn Freedom League. The group tested all of Auburn's public facilities, surveyed local hiring practices, and held marches and rallies.

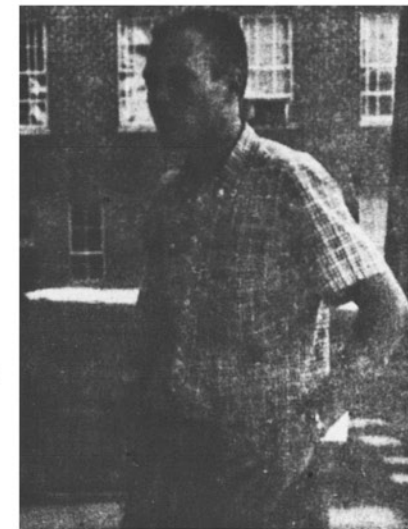
On campus, Millican successfully integrated the Young Democrats, introduced a resolution backing the MFDP, and staged a protest when Gov. George Wallace spoke at the university.

Millican said his father, a steel worker in Valley Head, a small town in DeKalb county, "calls me a 'damn nigger-lover'." But my mother and sister took up for me.

"It doesn't take much intellect to see that integration is right," he said.

Millican said that when he was a youngster, he was close friends with a Negro boy. After the Negro boy moved away he and Millican wrote to each other.

"I noticed he always put 'Mr.' on my



TOM MILLICAN

letters, so I put it on his. My father saw it and said he'd whip me if I did it again.

"But I kept putting 'Mr.' anyway." Many of Millican's fellow students share his father's opinion. Most are silent and avoid him, Millican said, but some let him know how they feel.

One night in May, Millican said, two boys who had been drinking came into his room.

"Fellows often came into my room

after they had been drinking," he said. "I always let them in and try to talk to them. I hope we can find something to agree on. But we really can't."

But this time, he said, the two boys tried to attack him:

"One said, 'Millican, you preach violence.' I explained I was not violent and suggested we talk it over. They said they'd debate me, but they kept cutting me off. It's hard to debate, slow as I talk."

The two boys began punching Millican. "The one who did most of the hitting played like we were just having conversation," Millican said.

Finally, he was able to attract the attention of rescuers by throwing a chair out the window.

Only last week, Millican was attacked by white cellmates after being arrested in a demonstration in Opelika Sept. 1. He was treated for a concussion at the John Andrew Hospital in Tuskegee.

Millican said six other Auburn students have attended Auburn Freedom League meetings, but they have refused to participate in any of its activities.

"A lot of liberal white students pat my back and say they disagree with my methods," he said. "I think it's a chicken way of getting out of doing anything."

Vikings Top Dallas, 57-17, in Pro Football; N.L. Pennant Chase Goes Down to the Wire

Plainsmen Star

BY GREG KANNERSTEIN

BIRMINGHAM--They call Birmingham the "Magic City," and it lived up to its name last Friday night.

In full view of 41,500 fans at Legion Field, a team from Dallas disappeared during the second quarter of a National Football League exhibition here.

And virtually without opposition, Minnesota's big and vicious Vikings trounced the Cowboys, 57 to 17.

"We hit like hell," jubilant coach Norm Van Brocklin said. "It's just too bad we wasted it on a game like this. Some Dallas kids really got hit."

Among the "Dallas kids" were two Southern boys, "fastest human" Bobby Hayes and U. of Alabama defensive great Lee Roy Jordan.

"Home boy, that's my homeboy," a man from Jacksonville, Fla., yelled as Hayes made a spectacular catch in the first period.

But he didn't say much after that, as Hayes did little but fair-catch long kickoffs by Fred Cox and 60-yard punts by Georgia's Bobby Walden.

"We just couldn't get going," Hayes said. "And I really wanted to look good down here."

Jordan got the biggest ovation of the night when he led the Cowboys onto the field as game captain. But after that, Jordan was invisible for 50 minutes, until he made his first--and only--tackle of the game.

For a couple of Auburn boys, Vikings George Rose and Jim (Red) Phillips, it was like old times. Rose had two interceptions, one for a touchdown, and Phillips made some key catches.

Bill Brown of the Vikings set the pattern of the game on the first play from scrimmage, when he stepped 73 yards to the Dallas five.

The Vikings, top contenders for NFL honors, lost the ball on downs, but Dallas fumbled it right back. Minnesota's Tom Mason swept five yards for the six points. By half-time the Vikings led, 34 to 10.

Dallas coach Tom Landry summed it up: "We just didn't do anything right."

Mays, Hart, Marichal Lead S.F. Giant Push

BY MICHAEL S. LOTTMAN

In case you haven't noticed, there's one heck of a pennant race going on in the National League.

Only four games separate the top five teams in the N.L., San Francisco, Los Angeles, Cincinnati and Milwaukee are piled right on top of each other at the head the standings, with Pittsburgh not far behind and closing fast.

For a while, the pennant contenders were doing all they could to get out of each other's way. All the top clubs started losing games left and right, and the L.A. Dodgers even blew three straight to the New York Mets.

But since everyone was losing, the race stayed just as tight.

Recently, the Giants have been looking like the team to beat. The great Willie Mays has been behind the San Francisco surge, and he is almost surely headed for the Most Valuable Player award.

Third-baseman-outfielder Jim Ray Hart has come on strong since Giant manager Herman Franks suspended him for one day on July 25. In 44 games since then, Hart has blasted 12 homers and driven in 36 runs.

And then there is Juan Marichal, the pitcher with a record of 19 wins, 10 losses, 200 strikeouts, and one enemy



catcher's head bashed in.

When Marichal turned on Dodger receiver John Roseboro with a bat last month, he provided the outtiest moment on a baseball diamond in many a season.

The Dodgers are trying to make it with the feeblest bunch of batters since the old Chicago White Sox Hitless Wonders.

Their leading hitter is shortstop Maury Wills, who has an average in the .290's, but has yet to hit his first home run this year. Wills has stolen 84 bases, however.

But as they say, you can't steal first base.

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Community Reports

Opelika

BY DORIS TORBERT

OPELIKA--About 70 people attempted to stage a march from Thompson's Chapel to the Lee County courthouse in Opelika Sept. 1.

The demonstrators previously applied for a parade permit.

They were not given the permit, but felt they were justified in marching anyway, because of the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which guarantees freedom of assembly.

The march was to protest too few registration days, the "private" signs on the courthouse restroom door, and too few Negro public officials and law-enforcement officers.

As the demonstrators left the church, they were approached by policemen, who told them they were under arrest. The police then dragged and shoved

the marchers on to an old school bus.

Approximately 44 persons were placed in the county jail, and 22 in the city jail. There were 10 juveniles.

In the county jail, Tom Millican, a white Auburn University student, was beaten by cellmates.

The juveniles went to court Tuesday, accompanied by their parents. All of them were put under six months' probation by the judge.

Judge Washington said, "This is no punishment. All juveniles must write a 1,000-word thesis on the reasons, purpose and expected results of the demonstration."

He said if they didn't write it correctly, they would have to pay a fine.

Court will be held Monday for all other demonstrators.

Demopolis

BY CHARLES SAULSBERRY

DEMOPOLIS -- Superintendent of Education E. A. Spears said the Demopolis Board of Education was going to go along with the Civil Rights Act and the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court.

The Board of Education made a public announcement August 26, in the Demopolis Times, a local weekly newspaper, that the U. S. Office of Education has approved the city's desegregation plan.

The plan calls for desegregation of four grades a year, starting with grades

one through four. So four grades of the Demopolis Elementary School will be desegregated this fall.

Negroes were to go to U. S. Jones High School (the Negro school for grades one to twelve) until this Friday. On Monday, they will transfer to the Demopolis Elementary School.

The students at U. S. Jones said they are disgusted with the fact that they still have no foreign language or music courses.

Mobile Registration

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE FIVE)

down to keep newly-registered Negroes from voting in the city election held the same day.

They supported their charge by pointing out that a large part of the office was not in use.

But the whole office was not in use Wednesday either, and the line seemed to be moving no faster.

Jesse McConnell, head registrar, said it was the applicants' fault that only one side of the office was being used: "There ain't none of them can write their names, so we have to do it all for them with what staff we have."

Lynn Kilgore, an SCLC staff member, said this was untrue. Miss Kilgore arrived in Mobile recently to organize a voter registration project.

At least five different groups are working on registration, and they are all trying to get the whole registrars' office open. They expect the registra-

tion lines to get longer.

About 14,000 Negroes are registered in Mobile County, but there are almost 40,000 unregistered Negroes of voting age in the county.

The success of the registration drive will depend partly on how well the different groups can work together. So far there hasn't been much cooperation.

Miss Kilgore stood at the courthouse all day Tuesday, getting the names and addresses of the Negroes who registered.

THEY WARNED HER

Two other workers warned her that SCLC had better not take credit for all the names on the list. The leader of a rival group predicted that there would be trouble if she tried to.

Miss Kilgore explained that she was making the list simply because nobody else was doing it and because everyone ought to have it for the next election.

Lawyer Hits Turner Arrest; White County School Closes

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE)

to hold a man in jail to punish him for his civil rights activities."

Howard Moore said he complained to Judge Stevens about the amount of the bond and the rules for signing it. He said the judge told him he'd leave things the way they were.

Turner was originally arrested July 17 on the forgery charges. At that time, the warrants were signed by two Negroes. One of them, Dock Davis, tried unsuccessfully to have his warrant withdrawn, saying he'd signed it by mistake.

Turner's trial is scheduled for Oct. 18.

Meanwhile the question of Negroes' transferring to the white school became meaningless anyway.

On Sept. 1, the day school was scheduled to start, the county school board announced that Alexander Stephens Institute, the white school, would not be open this year.

The board said Stephens was shut down because there were not enough students enrolled to make it worthwhile to operate.

According to Adam Smith of the State Board of Education, all of Stephens' white students (there were 203 last year) transferred to schools outside the county:

"What they did was when the white parents found out that so many Negroes had applied to the white school, they

went and asked the schools in neighboring counties to take their children."

Seventy-two Negroes had filed applications for transfer from Murden to Stephens, Murden had an enrollment of 600 Negroes last year.

The transfer applications, many of them made out this summer as part of the SCLC-SCOPE project, represented the first attempt at school integration here. Tallaferra County had filed a desegregation plan with the U. S. Office of Education, under the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Smith said it has been a regular practice for both white and Negro parents to send their children to schools in other counties, when for any reason the children could not attend school in their own county.

He said that even if all 72 of the Negroes had gone to Stephens, there would not have been enough students.

Asked whether any Negroes had left Tallaferra County for other schools, he said, "I'm not sure. Probably they did--it's been done in the past."

Mrs. Lola Williams, county superintendent of schools, refused to comment on the situation.

Eufaula March

BY JASPER SNIPES

EUFULA--Ten Negroes picketed the courthouse in downtown Eufaula last Sunday, protesting local voter registration policies.

A few hours later, 60 picketers showed up at the Eufaula Festival, where thousands of visitors in the tri-state area were present for the holidays.

Two busloads of policemen blocked the picketers from entering the festival, where Governor George Wallace was present. The picketers waited until night, but still were not admitted.

Negroes in Eufaula have asked for two weeks of registration days, and two nights each week for working people. These requests were turned down by Registrar Alice Hudson.

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Jackson High Opens

BY CURTIS HOWZE

JACKSON--On Aug. 31, ten Negro students were enrolled at the all-white Jackson High School.

On the day of registration, everything was quiet. White students stared, but they did not bother the Negroes.

When the Negro students were admitted to their homeroom class, all of the white students were seated on the opposite side of the classroom. In the cafeteria the five Negro students were seated at one table.

One Negro student was the first to be assigned to a classroom task.

Jackson High was the only all-white school in Clarke County to be desegregated this fall.

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Our first editorial:

A Paper for the People Read

The SOUTHERN COURIER is an independent newspaper. Our only responsibility is to our readers, the people of Alabama. And our chief concern is the crucial problems that confront Alabamians. We hope to provide accurate information about these problems, and to supply a means of communication for the people who are trying to solve them.

The SOUTHERN COURIER is independent of its advertisers, of politicians, of dogma, and of any particular group or organization. We will point out merits and demerits wherever we find them, treating whites and Negroes alike.

There are certain basic principles in which this newspaper believes. We believe that all men are entitled to the equal protection of the laws and to equal justice in the courts. We believe that all men are entitled to equal educational opportunities. We believe that the interests of all people are best served by a democratic system of government--and this means that all men, regardless of race, color, or creed, are entitled to the right to vote.

With these principles in mind, the SOUTHERN COURIER cannot ignore the fact that most of Alabama's Negroes are denied these basic equalities. Therefore we will publish information to help erase the injustices of segregation and prejudice.

Another major problem that Alabamians face is the change from a rural to an industrial economy. Such a change is painful, especially for those citizens who are forced to leave the land but cannot find their rightful place in the offices and factories of the cities. This, too is a problem which the SOUTHERN COURIER will examine.

Education and politics are also under new pressures in Alabama. While the state is trying to expand and improve its school system, only 101 Alabama Negroes attend school with whites. In politics, the state is beginning to show signs of two-party activity. This change also deserves our attention.

While the SOUTHERN COURIER tries to fulfill its responsibilities to its readers, we hope that you, the reader, will feel a responsibility towards us. This is a new paper, experimental in many ways. And part of the experiment is to create a newspaper that responds to the needs of its readers.

If you have ideas and criticisms that will help us produce a better paper, by all means write us a letter or tell your suggestion to your local SOUTHERN COURIER reporter or representative. If you know of a story that should be reported, let us know about it. Our only purpose is to serve you, and only you can tell us if we're doing the job.

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EUGENE PATTERSON, Editor

MONDAY, JULY 19, 1965

Eugene Patterson

An Admirable New Newspaper



A group of college students led by Harvard's Peter Cummings came South this summer to put out a weekly newspaper (at 68 Electric Ave. NW, Atlanta). They brought a hard discipline instead of easy conclusions and so their first issue of The Southern Courier will bore and disappoint those conditioned readers who take their civil rights nourishment from hallelujah pamphlets or hate sheets.

But their beginning is both admirable and remarkable. They actually are trying to see the racial revolution whole. They are writing it dispassionately and well. They are not trying to thread up a magazine or television story line, or race newspapers to the stereotyped crises. They are simply moving around, primarily in Alabama, and writing down what they see.

They have a good ear. "Tear out a sheet of paper from this book, Annie," (said a voting registrar in Margeno County).

"The 'Annie' made her glance up quickly. She started to speak but changed her mind. The registration went slowly on."

They let these things fall naturally into their stories, as naturally as any Southerner who is used to it. "Sheriff T. Wilmer Shields admitted using tear gas on his prisoners (inside the Linden, Ala., jail). 'I only used one or two squirts--just enough for them to raise hell about it,' the sheriff said."

They withhold judgments and leave it to readers to have their own feelings about the Lord's Day scene outside the Baptist church in Tuskegee: "On July 4, Miss Altonia Baker, 20, was slapped a number of times by a woman from the congregation" with whom she had tried to worship.

There was the quote from an elderly Negro, Miss Julia Knott, after a cotton-dusting airplane sprayed civil rights demonstrators standing in front of the First Baptist Church in Eutaw, Ala. The spray burned her skin "real bitter," she said.

Such scenes are reported incidentally. Those who see nothing newsworthy about this way of life can read right over them because they aren't pointed up by accusing fingers. These kids are simply reporting.

And David R. Underhill's report on the strike of cotton choppers in the Mississippi Delta is perhaps the best balanced thing yet written about it. He knows that even if the Negroes win the strike they will, "in the long run, probably be no better off." Machines are replacing them anyway.

But the planters don't like the suddenness of the change. "A union and \$1.25 per hour would turn the plantations into farms, the bosses into employers, and the darkies into independent men." And most of the Negroes hesitate "because they, like the planters, are afraid to lose their way of life. . . . It shelters them from responsibilities that independent men must accept. . . . It is a secure poverty. . . . A union . . . is asking them to take the risk of being free men."