

# The Southern PATRIOT

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Report from Americus

## Community Still Divided

(Staff Correspondent)

AMERICUS, Ga.—This little southwest Georgia town, quiet this fall after another summer of turmoil, presents today in miniature a picture of all that is the most hopeful and all that is the most discouraging in the South of 1965.

In the Negro community, there is hope. It is organized strong, self-confident, ready to move ahead.

But between white and black, there is still the deep chasm—more obvious here than in many Southern towns, because the failure of white community here has been greater.

The two white citizens who did the most to bridge the chasm—Attorney Warren Fortson and Dr. Lloyd Moll, announced this fall that they were leaving Americus. The economic and psychological pressures had become too great to bear.

With them went all hope for the foreseeable future of an organized moderate force within the white community.

So the Negro community will "go it alone," and its road ahead is fairly clear.

"Sometimes people think when the demonstrations stop, the movement is dead," comments Lena Turner, a movement leader. "But that's just when the long hard work begins."

Many of the obvious victories have been won here. Public accommodations are open, schools are integrated from top to bottom (if very uncomfortably for the Negro students), police who cracked heads during 1963 demonstrations were much more restrained in 1965, voter registration has soared.

Mass demonstrations were touched off last summer by the arrest of four Negro women who refused to stand in a segregated line on election day.

The summer brought one tragedy. A group of white hoodlums

formed the habit of throwing rocks at demonstrators. Once this same group hurled rocks at a passing car that had no connection with the demonstrations but was occupied by Negroes. Someone fired shots, and a white boy was killed. Two young Negro men, Charlie Lee Hopkins and Willie Lamar, are charged with murder and due for trial in December.

But the summer also brought a tremendous upsurge in Negro voter registration. On the day President Johnson signed the new voting rights bill, hundreds of Negroes were lined up early that morning ready to march to the courthouse.

Soon more than 2,000 were added to the rolls, bringing the total to an estimated 3,500 in Americus. The Americus population is variously estimated at between 12,000 and 16,000—about half of it Negro; potential Negro vote is about 4,500.

For the immediate future, a main objective of the movement will be jobs.

"The vote is important," says Lena Turner, "but people are asking why they should vote. They need jobs—especially the young people."

They'll push the campaign for jobs through use of the new federal law and direct action in some cases, she says, reactivate a maid's union which was started last year (many maids here work for \$8 a week), organize the renters in Americus' dirt-streeted poor-housed Negro sections "whether the landlords are white or black."

Another current effort is to stop harassment of Negro students inside the formerly white

high school, possibly with court action to force action by school officials. More than 40 Negroes enrolled in white schools this fall, but many have returned to the Negro ones.

In the all-Negro junior high, students staged a boycott this fall, over 50 went to jail for a week, but as a result they got adequate books and equipment for the first time.

The Americus movement was organized by SNCC workers who came in here in late 1962 and early 1963. Local teen-agers were the first to respond and in the early demonstrations carried it almost alone.

This year, great numbers of older people joined in, but those who are planning for the future are still the young: people like Mrs. Mary Kate Bell, who ran for office last summer and was one of those arrested in the voting line, mother of three now, but a student participant in the Atlanta sit-ins in 1960; people like Lena Turner, steeled by jail and suffering when they were little more than children, and matured young.

The continuing militancy of the Americus movement may reflect what it has already "overcome." It was here that insurrection charges carrying the death sentence were brought against early SNCC workers (Ralph Allen, Don Harris, John Perdue) and CORE worker Zev Aelony, and only dropped after court action and nationwide pressure. There were 200 children, many of them between the ages of 10 and 16, jailed under concentration-camp conditions in 1963.

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## One Student Who 'Overcame'

(By Staff Correspondent)

KOINONIA FARM, Ga.—Much praise has been given justly to Negro youngsters who have withstood hostility and attack to integrate the South's schools.

Honor is due also to the brave handful of white young people who have endured the same hostility to support integration.

One of these is Greg Wittkamper, now 18, who graduated last spring from Americus, Ga., High School. Greg's family are members of interracial Koinonia Farm community near Americus. Koinonia arouses fury among Americus segregationists; its children are not exempted.

Greg went three years to Americus High. It was a constant ordeal: books dropped on him, spitballs thrown at him, names hurled at him, twice seriously assaulted.

Looking back now, Greg says he "wouldn't take anything for the experience." Once, midway through his senior year, he almost gave up.

"But I decided I couldn't quit," he says, "and I'm glad. After that, I saw some of the kids begin to change."



GREG WITTKAMPER (right), who braved name-calling and physical assault for his integrationist views at Americus High School, now works at Koinonia Farm. At left is his co-worker at the farm, Collins McGee, young leader of Americus movement. (Patriot Photo.)

## HUAC Flounders Violence Goes Unchecked

(An Editorial)

The much-publicized hearings by the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) on the Ku Klux Klan have recessed limply, and all objections of the civil rights forces which opposed them have been proved valid.

Civil liberties were violated, but the sources of violence were not touched.

On the eve of the hearings, five Southern-based organizations issued a joint statement opposing them and repeating requests that instead President Johnson set up a high-level commission to investigate the "entire pattern of violence and the crisis in law enforcement in the South."

The organizations were the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), Highlander Center; the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP); and the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF).

They gave four reasons for opposing the hearings:

1. HUAC probes men's minds rather than their acts and thus violates the Bill of Rights. ("As organizations dedicated to peaceful social change," the petitioners told the President, "we are dependent on the weapons provided in our Bill of Rights and cannot let them be destroyed—even if the immediate target might be our opponents.")

2. HUAC has consistently attacked the same people the Klan attacks and thus could not adequately investigate Klan violence even if it avoided violations of civil liberties.

3. It can be reasonably assumed that the Klan probe will be a springboard for a new attack on civil rights groups.

4. More than the Klan needs to be investigated if violence against civil rights advocates is to be halted; the crisis is in law enforcement.

Point No. 1 was dramatically illustrated by the turn these hearings took. For three weeks, the Committee rode rough-shod over the constitutional rights of Klansmen but threw no light on the hideous crimes of violence that have corrupted the South. The most it came up





# The Southern Patriot

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## News in Brief

One of the most significant recent events in Southern politics was the defeat of Alabama Gov. George Wallace in his effort to get the legislature to approve a constitutional amendment so that he could run for another term as governor. Alabama's constitution forbids governors to succeed themselves.

A determined group of state senators blocked Wallace's move. Ironically, they did it with a filibuster.

However, Alabamians reported that the episode was having wide repercussions in the state. Many who have supported Wallace turned against him, seeing his proposed constitutional change as a "power grab."

Meantime, one of Wallace's chief foes, moderate Alabama Attorney General Richmond Flowers was carrying on a lonely struggle to get honest justice in Alabama murders of civil rights workers. He was recently attacked physically by two young men at a football game in Dothan, Ala.

And massive marches were starting again in Alabama, as the Southern Christian Leadership Conference announced a new campaign of direct action in Black Belt counties to protest exclusion

of Negroes from juries and employment in the court system.

In Nashville, which has been without demonstrations for a long time, 500 Negro students and some whites marched in protest when an African student reported he had been beaten by police. Ralph Odour, of Nairobi, Kenya, said the beating took place when he was arrested during a raid on a restaurant. Police denied the beating, but original disorderly conduct charges against Odour were later dropped.

In Tallulah, La., a town in northeastern Louisiana, CORE headquarters was burned to the ground. Just a few weeks earlier, CORE Southern Director Richard Haley reported, police in Bogalusa La., "ran wild". They arrested 75 persons during a day of demonstrations and that night, Haley said, "charged into the Negro section and beat, clubbed and kicked any Negro who happened to be in the area, arresting 20 more." The demonstrations were in connection with a school boycott, in which Negro students are demanding better facilities.

Throughout Alabama and Mississippi this fall Negroes were organizing to try to elect their own representatives to the county committees of the Agriculture Stabilization and Conservation Service. These are the committees that are very important to farmers, since they set crop allotments.

SNCC workers reported that various evasions and intimidations were being used to keep Negroes from getting elected. A similar campaign in Mississippi last year caused the U.S. Department of Agriculture to order non-discriminatory Negro representation on the committees.

In Arkansas, SNCC reported that 30 Negro residents of the state ran for local school boards this fall. All were defeated, although some were running in areas of heavy Negro majorities. The Arkansas Voice, publication of the movement there, said witnesses actually saw many cases of fraud, intimidation, destruction of ballots. Complaints are being filed with federal officials.

## How It's Done

An example of how school desegregation can be increased when people organize and work at it is provided by Nottoway County in Southside Virginia.

The Southside is the most segregated part of Virginia, but last spring Nottoway school officials announced they would comply with federal legislation with a "freedom of choice" plan. However, they did nothing to inform parents of what that meant.

According to the newsletter of the Virginia Students Civil Rights Committee, Nottoway Negro parents started organizing last May. They mimeographed fact sheets, held weekly meetings, and within three weeks visited every Negro parent in the county. The result: this fall 151 Negroes enrolled in Nottoway's formerly all-white schools—the most in any county in Southside Virginia.

## Shuttlesworth Attacked

CINCINNATI, Ohio—The Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, president of SCEF and secretary of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, is under attack by dissidents in Revelation Baptist Church here, where he is pastor.

He charges that the trouble was inspired and has been aggravated by "right-wing extremists" outside the church who want to discredit him and the entire civil rights movement.

This theory is supported by the fact that he received "hate letters" from strangers as far away as California quoting specific charges made against him here before these had received national publicity.

The dissidents later filed their charges formally, accusing Shuttlesworth of "arbitrary" conduct in church affairs, failure to keep "adequate accounting records, and "impropriety and abuse" in handling church funds. Court suits and countersuits were filed.

A subsequent report by an auditing firm said the church's financial reports "fairly state" income and disbursements. The Revelation Board of Deacons studied the charges and issued a long written report, adopted 15 to 4 saying they found "no truth or substance in any of the charges."

They said Shuttlesworth had followed plans for the church agreed to by the congregation when he came here from Birmingham. And, rather than misusing funds, they said, he "generously contributes of his own money and money from speaking engagements" to the church. Revelation young people issued a strong statement supporting Shuttlesworth.

The dissidents continued to repeat their charges, however, and mustered 276 votes in an effort to oust him as pastor. There were 284 votes in his favor. The church has 1,200 members.

## Americus, Place of Courage . . .

(Continued from Page 1)  
Americus is one of the oldest towns in southwest Georgia, its economy based on the cotton-corn-peanut agriculture of surrounding Sumter County until recent development of poultry and livestock farming. The town has been run by an oligarchy of old families, giving way only slowly and reluctantly even to industrialization.

For the white oligarchy, there has been gentility and culture—a thin veneer covering oppression of both Negro and poor white.

"Anything you can think of that has been done to the Negro anywhere—murder, rape, exploitation—it's been done in Sumter County," says John Barnum, Negro funeral director who has been a mainstay of the movement.

The famous case of Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram 18 years ago occurred in Sumter County. Mrs. Ingram, a Negro sharecropper, was attacked by a white man; her teenage sons came to her defense, and the white man was killed in the fray. She and two sons were sentenced to death in 1948 but the sentences were commuted to life after nationwide protest, and they were finally paroled in 1959.

Today, like a symbol of the indestructibility of the human spirit, one of Mrs. Ingram's grandsons, Sammie Rushin, is a field worker for SNCC.

This background gives added meaning to words spoken by Collins McGee, one of the young Negro leaders, and echoed by many others:

"The people just aren't afraid anymore. They never will be again."

One big factor in the building of the Sumter County movement has been the existence of Koinonia Farm here in Sumter County.

Koinonia is the interracial community organized in 1942 and led by the Rev. Clarence Jordan, who challenged the mores of his native Georgia with living brotherhood and the plantation system with modern farming methods.

During the 1950's the community was harassed by "investigations," totally boycotted ("We couldn't buy a sack of feed or sell an egg," says Jordan), and subjected to 28 separate acts of violence — including the total

bomb-destruction of its road-side market, gunfire into its buildings, and physical attack on its members.

But Koinonia survived. It shifted its economic base from poultry, livestock, and field crops to a mail-order pecan and pecan-product business.

"They more or less leave us alone now," says Jordan. "They accept us as part of the scenery."

The farm survived partly because of an outpouring of support from all over the nation. For example, when its insurance was cancelled, 2,000 persons agreed to be liable up to \$50 each to cover possible losses. (Fortunately, none of these insurers ever had to pay anything.)

But Koinonia survived also because those who lived there would not give in. They never retaliated with violence, they would not leave.

The effect was profound. Not only did it mean a place for early SNCC workers to live (they stayed there many months); the example strengthened the Americus Negro community. Mrs. Mabel Barnum, elder member of the Barnum family said:

"When people saw that little group wasn't going to let the Klan run them off, they knew from that time on that you

don't have to be scared of the Klan."

Furthermore, Lena Turner points out, Koinonia has demonstrated to young Negroes of Americus something everything else in their world has denied: that white and black can live and work and build together.

"It is important that we know that," she says simply.

Koinonia has also affected the white community although less obviously. It has stood as a challenge.

One who was deeply affected was Warren Fortson. A native of Washington, Ga., Fortson at 40 is one of the many white

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EVERYBODY PITCHES IN with the work at Koinonia Farm. Above, the Rev. Clarence Jordan prepares to cut slabs of "pecandy," one of the farm's newer products, a combination of pecans and candy. Below the three daughters of the Rev. and Mrs. Al Henry help bag and pack shelled pecans for shipment to customers across the country. They are Linda, 13, Nancy, 10, and Janet, 6. The Henry family joined the Koinonia community just this year; he was formerly minister of a church in Birmingham. (Patriot Photos.)

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★  
**Book Notes**

**Facts, Humor, and Philosophy**

Many agree that man faces three basic questions today: racism, mass society which destroys the individual, and violence that threatens world destruction. Ralph Templin ties them together in *Democracy and Nonviolence* (Porter Sargent, 11 Beacon St., Boston, Mass., \$4).

The author, sociologist and tireless worker in humanitarian efforts, believes democracy is betrayed in America by racism and bureaucracy and sees nonviolence as a way of revolution that can "lay the axe to the roots of violence in the structure of society." Some will say he is an impractical idealist, but Templin would answer that what seemed impractical yesterday is today's only realism.—A.B.

Simple's Uncle Sam by Langston Hughes (Hill and Wang, 141 Fifth Ave., New York City, \$3.95)

is a small volume, 180 pages, laden with chuckles. Simple, Harlem's charming but sharp folk-philosopher, comments wryly on a wide variety of subjects, local, national and international. A sample:

"When I was young enough to be drafted, Uncle Sam used to scare me half to death. But even then I had some questions for him. I said 'Uncle Sam, if you is really my blood uncle, prove it. Before you draft me into any United States army, prove your kinship. Are we is, or are we ain't related? If so, how come you are so white and I am so dark?'"

If you are not acquainted with Simple and his gifted creator, you have a treat in store.—J.A.D.

An Act of Conscience (Beacon Press 25 Beacon St., Boston, Mass., \$4.95) is Attorney Len Holt's diary of events in Danville, Va., during civil rights demonstrations in 1963. The author, a militant partisan of the movement, brings to his story the pas-

sion of involvement—the disappointments and hopes. He is critical of civil-rights leaders from outside Danville but his story indicates that the fault also lay with local people who, like men all through history, kept cherishing a hope that a leader could come and save them. Over and over men learn that it never happens that way.—A.B.

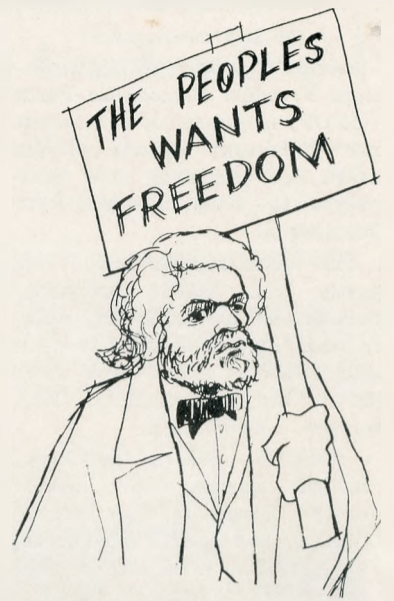
Labor Fact Book 17 is 152 pages of valuable information for civil-rights workers and those involved in other struggles for equality. These books have been published since 1931 by International Publishers, 381 Park Ave., South, New York City. Price is \$3.75; paperback, \$1.65. They make good Christmas presents. This edition includes special sections dealing with labor, civil rights, and social conditions, as well as civil liberties and peace.

**Primer on Negro History**

An impressive, graphically illustrated paperback book has been published by *The Student Voice*, publication of SNCC. It is *Negroes in American History, A Freedom Primer*.

The book was originally written by Bobbi and Frank Cieciorca for Southern freedom schools; its words are simple, but the ideas are large. Starting with Crispus Attucks in the Revolutionary War, it describes the American Negro's long struggle for freedom (and that of poor whites in the brief Negro-white unity of Reconstruction and Populism). All along, past events are related to the modern movement.

Copies available from *The Student Voice*, 360 Nelson St., S.W., Atlanta, Ga., 30313, \$1.50 each for 19 or fewer, \$1 each for 20 or more. Proceeds go to distribute the book free to Southern freedom schools and their counterparts in the North.



HISTORY and the struggle of today are woven together in SNCC's new freedom primer, as in this drawing of Frederick Douglass carrying a sign with the words often used today. Primer drawings are by Frank Cieciorca.

**...but Chasm Deepens Between Black and White**

(Continued from Page 2)

Southerners of his generation who never really accepted the myths of white supremacy—who has "spent a lifetime," as he puts it, "wrestling with this question."

But his first challenge to action came soon after he moved to Americus when he was named to the city school board, and the board voted not to admit even the white children of Koinonia to city schools. Opponents said it would cause "friction," Fortson knew nothing of Koinonia except what he had heard (all bad); he abstained in the voting.

Then Koinonia sued in federal court for admission of the children (and won), and Fortson heard Clarence Jordan tell on the witness stand about what he believed.

This caused Fortson to wonder whether the people at Koinonia were being treated fairly by the white citizens of Americus.

Fortson's final spur to action came in 1963 when he saw what was happening to the "little children" arrested in the demonstrations.

"They were using an old abandoned newspaper building as a jail," he recalls. "They had them crowded like animals; I sat in court and watched people hobbling in with cattle-prod burns. I don't want anybody ever talking to me about the guilt of Nazi Germany."

And yet, Fortson says, he also felt police were telling the truth when they said they "feared for their lives," even though they had no reason to fear.

From then through last summer he struggled to establish communication. Successive attempts at bi-racial committees failed—one last spring because white

son persuaded Americus merchants to offer to post bond. "I thought perhaps it would be refused, but it was a gesture we had to make" he says.

Then he got businessmen and civic leaders to do a thing unprecedented in the Southern civil rights movement: go as a delegation to a mass meeting of the freedom movement.

"I felt we had been waiting for the Negroes to come to us too long," he explains. "I felt we should go to them."

About 25 went, sat and "took it" as speakers declared there were no good white people. White leaders made speeches acknowledging that the white community had done wrong; they were ready to meet again.

Then within a few days the whole effort fell apart. Fortson blames the failure on the organized efforts of the John Birch Society. It has been active in Americus since the Goldwater campaign last year, replacing the old White Citizens Council as a center of reaction, giving segregationists high-sounding and patriotic goals to work for.

This summer national Birch leaders visited Americus ("They don't condemn those outsiders," Fortson notes). They convinced key leaders that anyone advocating a bi-racial committee must be a communist or a dupe. The phone calls, the harassment intensified.

One by one, Fortson's supporters fell away. A few stuck, most notably Dr. Lloyd Moll, retired president of Georgia Southwestern College here, but the tide was too powerful.

The Methodist Sunday School Class which Moll had organized and which was named for him asked him not to come back and dropped Fortson as one of its teachers. Fortson's business fell to nothing. In September he announced he would have to leave. Moll followed in November.

2000 persons signed a petition asking that Fortson be removed as county attorney. Slightly more than 100 asked that he be retained—indicating there are still moderates here. But everyone agrees that with Fortson and Moll gone these people will not coalesce—not for a long time to come.

Both Fortson and Moll had also been leaders in such efforts as Urban Renewal and a community anti-poverty program and the future of these too is now in question.

It is ironic that it was in efforts for a bi-racial committee that moderate organization in Americus failed. Such a committee was one of the formal demands of the Negro community last summer, but militant Negro leaders doubt its value.

"When you get a bi-racial committee, what have you got?"

asks Judson Ford, director of SCLC activities here. "I haven't heard of one yet that does anything. It just ties the hands of the movement."

The main value here, would have been symbolic—visible proof of some redemptive force moving in the white community. Ford's opinion, shared by many Negroes, is just one more indication of how far apart Negro and white are in Americus today.

Clarence Jordan sees hope in the current strength of the Negro community and believes that the Negro vote, now the balance of power, can change many things. As for brotherhood among men, even he feels that the outlook in Americus is dismal. But he will keep on working.

"You think about a chicken egg," he says, combining his knowledge of farming with his philosophy of life. "You watch, and you think it will never hatch."

"Then one day you look at it, and what was a lifeless object yesterday is now a warm, living and beautiful thing. But you know all that change didn't happen since you looked yesterday; the change had been going on all the time, but you couldn't see it."

Jordan combines with his deep philosophy a warm sense of humor. "Who knows," he smiles. "Maybe in 20 years the white people in Americus will even be willing to speak to us."

**Buy Pecans**

This is an opportune time to remind *Patriot* readers of Koinonia pecan products, which people everywhere buy not just because they admire Koinonia but because they are delicious. Some choice items: 1-pound box pecan halves, \$1.85; 4½-pound box Schleys pecans in the shell, \$3.75; 3-pound fruit cake, \$3.90; two ½-pound boxes (minimum order) "pecandy," Koinonia's original caramel fudge filled with pecans \$1.95. Write for complete price list, order from Koinonia Farms, Route 2, Americus, Ga. Prices are postpaid except for the far West, where there is a charge of 10¢ per pound.

leaders refused to meet with two of the representatives named by the Negro community.

When the four Negro women were arrested last summer, Fort-



THOSE WHO CARRY ON in Americus: Lena Turner (left with daughter, Lisa, 2), one of the earliest SNCC workers and first to go to jail, head of SCLC's SCOPE work in Americus last summer, now field worker for NAACP. Center Photo: Mrs. Mabel Barnum and son John Barnum

(seated), funeral-home owners who risked business to support young people early in movement, and (standing from left) Alton Pertilla, Randolph Battle, Sammie Rushin, SNCC workers. (A third generation of Barnums, John's children, ages, 11, 14, and 18, have all been jailed in the

movement.) Right Photo: SCLC staff workers in Americus (from left) Judson Ford, director, Susan Schmitz, and Tyrone Harris, who led school boycott this fall. SCLC plans more voter registration work and direct-action against job and school discrimination. (Patriot Photos)



# MFDP Wins Victory in Defeat

(By Staff Correspondent)

JACKSON, Miss.—The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) is vigorously contradicting premature reports of its death and preparing new campaigns to bring democracy to Mississippi.

The death reports have come partly from hostile newspaper writers and are apparently wishful thinking. Such reports have said MFDP is "on the wane" since its "failure" to unseat the Mississippi congressmen.

Actually, MFDP members feel the unseating effort, known as the "Challenge," was not a failure but a success. Although they lost the final vote in the House of Representatives by 143 to 228, they broke through a powerful alliance to force an open showdown. Like MFDP's first national challenge at the Democratic National Convention in 1964, it showed what little people can do when they organize.

MFDP is now consolidating its strength at the grass-roots in Mississippi. Recently at a state-wide workshop in Greenwood, more than 150 local leaders met to make plans. They came from every congressional district.

"The people are confident and ready to work, they feel we are just beginning," said Mrs. Victoria Gray, one of MFDP's congressional candidates who led the Challenge.

Plans for 1966 call for forming active organizations in every Mississippi county and running candidates in local races, all congressional races and against U.S. Senator James Eastland.

MFDP members have also filed

a federal suit asking reapportionment of the state legislature, vacating of all its seats and new elections. They have petitioned the National Democratic Party to authorize them to hold the party primaries in Mississippi.

"We intend to make 1966 the year of free elections in Mississippi," said Lawrence Guyot, MFDP chairman.

And, although the main concentration will be Mississippi, the party will also encourage independent political action in congressional districts throughout the country.

"We are pointing out that Mississippi is not the only state with political inconsistencies and oppression. We want people everywhere to pick up the concept we have developed—or people organizing to act for themselves."

In this they will be building on the national support that helped force the Challenge to a showdown this fall.

In early September, the MFDP learned, there had been agreement among Democratic and Republi-

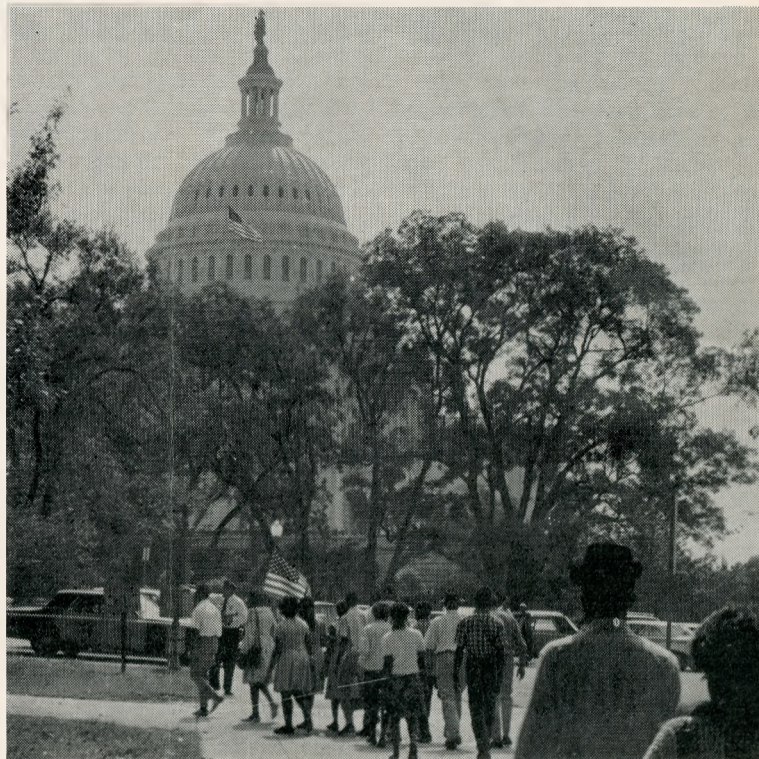
can leadership and the Democratic Study Group (so-called liberal grouping) to kill the Challenge quietly. Lobbying by hundreds of Mississippians, plus a deluge of mail, phone calls, and visits from across the nation, broke this coalition, forced a roll call vote and won those 143 votes.

Mississippi politicians realize the significance of what MFDP won. Rep. Abernathy, a challenged congressman, recently told the press he knew there would be another try and next time they might not beat it. Senator Stennis made a similar statement.

Guyot said some people wonder why they work within the Democratic Party.

"We believe there are inconsistencies within the Democratic and Republican parties," he explained. "We will work with them when they are right, oppose them when they are wrong. We are not building a third party but a first party run by the people instead of hacks and machines."

## 'Speak Truth to Power'



FREEDOM DEMOCRATS march toward capitol in Washington to tell it to the congressmen "like it is." Hundreds came at climax of Challenge. (SNCC Photo by Joffre Clarke)

## Today's Great Issues: A Call to Action

Resolutions on several great issues facing the South were adopted by the SCEF board at its semi-annual meeting this fall. Action proposals, things any individual can do even alone, were suggested to implement them. Because of their general interest, we print excerpts from both the resolutions and action proposals.

### On Foreign Policy Debate

"We express our deep concern about the war in Vietnam and especially the lack of public discussion throughout the South regarding the foreign policy of our country. . . . This reflects a traditional illness of the South: it has silenced discussion on the matter of race relations and in the process has tended to stifle debate on all public issues.

"Therefore, insofar as possible, we plan to encourage a series of workshops and conferences throughout the South at which can be discussed varying points of view on both foreign and domestic policies of the nation.

"This is in line with the long-time objective of the Southern Conference Educational Fund of bringing true democracy to the South. . . . We feel that such discussion is especially important in the South at this time because the civil rights movement, now that it has struggled for the right to vote for all, must move on to finding something meaningful to vote for. We believe that democracy demands people at every level of society discussing the basic issues that face their community, their region, the nation, and the world.

"In the past, too many elections have been fought out on the single distorted issue of keeping white people in power. Now we must inject into election campaigns debate on basic issues that affect all men's lives, and this means first of all creating a ferment of discussion around these issues."

*Action Suggested: If public discussions of foreign policy are already in progress in your community, support them, urge friends to attend them. If none are planned, try to start them—through colleges, churches, etc. If those who oppose the war are being attacked in your community, defend their right to speak and urge others to do so.*

### On 'License to Murder'

"We express concern about what has correctly been called 'license to murder': repeated acquittal of white people who kill Negroes and white civil rights workers. . . . We support proposed federal legislation making it a federal offense to injure or kill a person because of his color, his involvement in the civil rights movement, or his exercise of the constitutional right to seek redress of grievances.

"We renew the appeal we made a year ago for a system whereby jurors in federal court would be selected from anywhere in the nation, not just the district where the court is located. In this, we are not renouncing the principle of trial by a jury of one's peers. Rather we say that, in a world that has shrunk as ours has in modern times, the geographic area in which our 'peers' live has expanded. . . .

"Furthermore, we question whether the men who have been acquitted in Southern courts on charges of killing and injuring civil rights workers have really been tried by a jury of their peers. In situations of community hysteria, where only the voice of racial bigotry is heard and Negroes have little voice at all, the jury is chosen from only a small section of the defendant's 'peers.' We believe our proposal is actually the way to save the system of trial by jury of one's peers.

"We also propose to carry on an educational campaign to call to the attention of the public, especially the Southern public, the shocking facts about the extent to which murder has been a part of their way of life."

*Action Suggested: Write and get others to write congressmen and senators urging legislation to make murder a federal offense in civil rights and similar cases. Support the proposal for federal jurors from all over the nation and explain it to others. Write the U.S. Justice Department and demand enforcement of laws now on the books barring racial discrimination in juror selection. Talk to people you know and organizations you belong to and ask them to act also; point out that so long as violence goes unchecked in the South, each U.S. citizen shares part of the blame.*

### On Enforcing Laws

"We call on the federal government to move much more decisively to enforce and bring to life civil rights measures already enacted. Especially, we call for cut-off of funds to any locality that uses evasive tactics to avoid compliance.

"We are concerned by a series of recent statements by U.S. Atty. Gen. Katzenbach indicating a weakening of will to enforce civil rights legislation, and causing us to lose confidence in his policies.

We urge that he immediately send federal registrars into all Deep South counties where Negro voter registration has been restricted; the small number into which registrars have been sent represents only a small beginning. . . ."

*Action Suggested: Order the excellent report of the Southern Regional Council (see box, this page) on continued school segregation. Pass it on to friends. See what can be done in your community to speed up school integration; this is not just a Deep South problem. . . .*

*Write the U.S. office of Education and demand cut-off of federal funds to school districts that are evading the 1964 law requiring good-faith desegregation. Write Atty. Gen. Katzenbach urging the sending of federal registrars into all Deep South counties where Negroes have been deprived of the vote.*

### On Economic Reprisals

"We are concerned about the continuing numbers of people in the South who are subjected to economic reprisals—loss of jobs, credit, etc.—because of their civil rights actions. . . . We call on the federal government to help these people through the channeling of funds from the anti-poverty program for their assistance.

"The federal government has enacted laws to bring about changes toward equality. . . . but laws are only brought to life when people in local communities step out to implement them. The federal government must support those who are supporting the changes."

*Action Suggested: Write to President Johnson about this. Ask others in the civil rights movement to take up the campaign to get anti-poverty funds used for this purpose.*

*(A fifth resolution dealt with HUAC hearings on the Klan. This, along with suggestions for individual action, is covered in the article on page 1, and continuing on this page. Tell your friends why civil rights groups oppose the Klan hearings.)*

### The Evidence

Two thorough studies of continuing injustice have been issued by the Southern Regional Council. "School Desegregation: Old Problems Under a New Law", documents the fact that 94.8 per cent of the South's Negro children are still in segregated schools and describes the evasive tactics keeping it that way. "Southern Justice," issued with the American Civil Liberties Union, documents the double standard of justice for whites and Negroes and "not just in sensational cases." Both reports available from Southern Regional Council 5 Forsyth St., N.W., Atlanta, Ga. 30303.

### HUAC Fizzles

(Continued from Page 1)

that the KKK and civil rights groups are "equally to blame" for violence.

In regard to Point No. 4 of the petition to the President, the tragedy is that even as HUAC met, violence in the South was getting the green-light again. The man accused of killing Mrs. Viola Luizzo (the murder which, it will be recalled, prompted President Johnson's call for a HUAC probe), was acquitted by an all-white jury.

Earlier a grand jury at Marion, Ala., refused even to indict the state trooper accused of killing Jimmie Lee Jackson, and another all-white jury freed the man accused of killing Jonathan Daniels.

The job now for all who want to end this terror is to support the mounting calls for new federal legislation to make murder in civil rights cases a federal crime, enforcement of existing laws to end racial discrimination in jury selection and all stages of court procedures, and revamping of the jury system to make it work.

(In this connection, we call particular attention to the SCEF proposal to broaden jury selection from a small locality to the nation-as-a-whole. See article, this page.)

As for the HUAC probe of the Klan, if it continues as announced in early 1966 it can do no good and will do real harm. Congressmen need to be told that by the voters again and again—and that the best cure is to abolish the Committee entirely.