

THE ACTIVIST  
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of  
THE TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE ADVANCEMENT LEAGUE  
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## EDITORIAL POLICY

The Activist supports all movements in behalf of human liberty and all expressions indicating a move in the direction of human liberty. Although coverage of Civil Rights activities in Alabama will be an important function, it will be the policy of this magazine to print any article which is submitted with the serious intent of clarifying or criticizing a position on human rights.

Personal opinion is welcomed and encouraged.

The art forms of poetry or drawings and interesting articles from other publications will be welcomed.

This magazine grew out of a need on Tuskegee's campus for an outlet of free expression. Students, faculty and members of the Tuskegee community (or

of any other community) are asked to contribute.

Your support is appreciated.

EDITORIAL

Elizabeth Shields

The Tuskegee Institute Advancement League is an organization whose objective is to get Macon County and Tuskegee effectively involved in the Civil Rights movement so that Negroes can have their share in the governing of this county.

Both Macon County and Tuskegee are about 83% Negro. Ideally, whatever is done through its government should be done with that per cent of the population in mind. It should also be done with its approval and to its advantage. This is not the case. Macon County schools, on the whole, remain separate, unequal and inadequate. The registrar's office is open at inconvenient times for the working Negroes in the county. Aside from a few exceptions, Negroes play no important civic roles in police departments, education committees or even juries.

These are irritating realities which can be attributed to one fact. There is a strong and unyielding, but more important, fairly unconcerned white power structure in Macon County and throughout the South.

TIAL intends to help break this power structure in Macon County—not because it is white, but because it does not represent the majority of the people. It does not reflect the hopes of the majority and their hopes must not go unheard another day. The existing race safely superior. This is to be expected because so many white Southerners are deeply involved in the perpetuation of the Negro myth. The myth may not agree with their deepest sense of justice, but it is, nevertheless, a meaningful force in their lives. In too many cases it has been shown to be the meaningful force in their lives. This myth of Black inferiority has two personalities. One is directed towards the white community. It is dangerous because it offers a false sense of superiority and a shaky base for

## INTEGRATION ATTEMPT AT THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

Lois Autry

All interested persons met in front of the information booth and proceeded down to the Presbyterian Church.

When we first approached the steps, there was ~~one~~ lady entering the church. There were two men at the door whom I suppose were ushers. One closed the door behind her. He then turned to us and told us that we could not enter because we were not there to worship, but to integrate. We told him that we were there only to worship. We then asked him to let us enter. He only stood there with no comment.

Mrs. Henderson, from Tuskegee Institute, Alabama came up and read to him passages from a newspaper and a pamphlet, which stated that the Southern Presbyterian Church was intergrated, and that he, or no one else had the right to refuse us entrance on the grounds of race, color, or creed. One usher said that he had read this, but it did not, at the present, apply to the policy of his church.

We noticed that some persons were entering through the side door. We attempted to enter also, but found that the door to the sanctuary had been locked. We then returned to the front.

One of the reporters asked for a program, and was given one. She began to read it, but the usher came over and snatched it back, saying that she wanted it for no good purpose.

We decided to stay until service was over in order to speak with the minister, Rev. Baker. There was another minister with him, Rev. \_\_\_\_\_. Two persons from our group went around to the side door to ask the minister to come around and speak to us since we had not been able to

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## "TIAL AND THE TUSKEGEE IMAGE"

by Tom Robischon

The Tuskegee Image is a resounding success, riding a wave of national attention and approval. Paul Good writing in the July 1 Reporter is sure that Tuskegee "presents a logical course for the South to follow." The Boston Globe runs two and one-half columns on "Real Gains in Tuskegee." And Tuskegee shows the way in a CBS-TV study of voting in the South.

If you want to see The Image in action you should attend the Tuskegee City Council meetings. You will find what Good correctly describes as "extreme (and it might be said, self-conscious) interracial courtesy." Like all images, however, there is something less than the truth in The Tuskegee Image and at Council meetings The Image has taken over and everything is done to preserve it by avoiding the slightest hint of racial tension and conflict. The Council is achieving the goal Good quotes Dr. Stanley Smith as describing: "to demonstrate that Southern whites and Negroes can come together on issues and not be polarized politically because of race."

While racial polarization never shows up at Council meeting, neither does anything else racial. Yet there are racial issues in Tuskegee, City Council and its Image supporters in TCA, NAACP, MCDC, The Committee of 54, the Alabama Human Relations Council, and others, have succeeded in keeping out the odor of the racial skunk. But he lurks in the woodpild---waiting.

Tuskegee got a good whiff of him at the June 8 Council meeting when the Image was peeled back a bit by a group of white citizens asking Council to open the community house pool on a segregated basis (At least one of these citizens is a relative of a member of the Alabama Council.) The proposal could and should have been nailed right there and then as dishonorable--- and illegal. But any such overt reaction by Council

would have tarnished the Image of Tuskegee's sweet reasonableness and racial harmony. Instead the city fathers talked about the problems of cleaning and refilling the pool.

Assuming that the matter was pending before Council, and noting that the pool had not been re-opened, we went around last Tuesday to observe the city fathers "come together" on this racial issue--without polarization, of course. Through the often tedious course of the meeting nothing was said about the pool--not, that is, until we asked about it just before adjournment. We learned then that a letter in "unmistakable" terms had been sent to the white citizens, but this letter had never been made public. (Nor was any mention of this matter made in the Tuskegee News coverage of the Meeting.) We were told that guards are on duty around the clock, and that some underbrush had been cleared away to facilitate their surveillance. The pool would not be opened for another two weeks: something about the pumps being overhauled. Water shortage too.

The Image came through loud and clear. Councilman Smith reassured the visitors that there was no "Negro pool" in Tuskegee; that City Council was committed to integration in all public facilities; and that there never had been any need for the downtown pool to be tested!

Another racial issue came before Council's Board's refusal to participate in the surplus food program. No one on City Council thinks there are not hungry people in Macon County. (Most of them Negroes, of course.) That bit of reality did seep through The Image. Council was on the right side, and has been since March by offering the right support for this program. But the County Board, undoubtedly enthralled by its own image, must by law make the first move. Hopefully some councilmen will get together with some board members. All in the name of The Image, of course.

What is wrong in this effort to make things look rosy when they really aren't is that it covers up the racial issues in Tuskegee and

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**THE SPIRIT OF INTEGRATION**

**Leonard Bernstein**

**There is a community problem that our attention has been brought to, which is that some Negro families have purchased houses where they shouldn't ought to.**

**And whereas everyone is in favor of human rights and N.A.A.C.P. and CORE,**

**They would prefer if it didn't happen right next door.**

**And so meetings are held, which lots of Negroes and Whites attend,**

**And all the whites try to sit next to the Negroes and to be their friend.**

**And these social festivities have become one of the outstanding evening activities.**

**And may even replace bowling, which is quite consoling.**

**Everybody is extremely charming at these meetings.**

**And it is hard to get down to business because of the over-abundance of greetings.**

**And everybody is simply ecstatic, trying to be liberal and democratic.**

**You absolutely wouldn't believe how much everyone loves the minorities,**

**So long as they are in the majorities.**

**In fact, if you heard all the praise and exaltation,**

**You would never understand why there is a problem of integration.**

**After the meeting everyone integrates around coffee and donuts which are very delicious, when it is quietly noticed that the Negro maid has**



In Louisiana, there were no individuals registered in a certain area since reconstruction until 1963. These people were living on a plantation where their only contact was with each other and the plantation owner. These people lived in houses that were sitting on the ground consisting of two rooms. There were from eight to ten members in every family. Their meals were usually prepared in the front yard in a huge black pot. They were not allowed outside the plantation and no one was allowed to come in. All visitors were greeted in the same way. A sign read: "TRAVEL AT YOUR OWN RISK." They were informed by the owner that they were never to be caught talking with any civil rights workers and no civil rights material was to be read by any person who wished to remain on the plantation. For fear of being kicked off the plantation, these people obeyed the order of the owner because they realized that this was all they had and if they were kicked off, they would have no place to live. However, there was one well respected individual of the group who refused to obey these laws on the grounds that a higher moral law was at stake. So he organized his people and made the decision to attend all mass meetings and to attempt to become a registered voter even if this meant being dismissed from the plantation or even worse, killed by the owner. As a result, 16 people were registered. This was an act of massive "Civil Disobedience."

If injustice is of such a nature that it requires you to be representatives of injustice to another, then I say break the law.

To often have we heard the legislators, the politicians, the lawyers, ministers and the teachers - those who react to these injustices with their heads and not their consciences - say that we are not using the right tactics and that we're going too fast. However, it is my belief that time has been already wasted. If we sit around and wait any longer, life for us, like so many others, will have passed.

It is true that with this tactic, violence is committed and innocent blood is shed, but innocent blood is shed

when a man is robbed of his dignity and self-respect. It is my belief that it is of greater nobility to have died in protest of a noted evil than to have died fighting in a war for a cause of which you have no idea as to why you are fighting.

If an individual can convince himself that he is not satisfied with existing conditions, then I say stand up and protest these injustices. As Henry David Thoreau so dramatically said, "It matters not how small the beginning may seem to be: What is once done well is done forever". The individual who is willing to break an unjust law and accept the penalty of imprisonment in order to stir the emotions of a community, a state, or a nation over this injustice, is showing the highest possible respect for a law.

These unjust laws exist. Shall we obey them until some good-hearted politician gets elected and changes them immediately? The remedy is far better than the evil.

## THE MIDDLE CLASS NEGRO IN TUSKEGEE

By George Ware

The middle-class Negro in Tuskegee is indeed a disturbing phenomenon. He seems willing to give away any portion of his rights in order to keep the peace, i.e. keep the white man smiling at him. Upon observing the Tuskegee situation, one wonders why these Negroes, who have been exposed to an excellent education and who are fully capable of assuming positions of leadership in the Tuskegee community, are so self-depreciating. Again and again we see them appear on National News media and say with apparent sincerity that "We must wait until we learn the mechanics of city management (of which they claim to know nothing) before we assume responsible political positions." How can this be when many Negroes in Tuskegee have academic degrees in business management, law, political science, sociology and psychology, which places at their disposal the information necessary for effective city management?

At the same time many white citizens who are elected to public positions have little or no formal training in city politics. How then can these white people know more about city government than Negroes? How can this be unless we assume or admit that we are in fact inferior? We must be inferior if after having obtained advance degrees in areas meant to prepare a person for participation in city government, we are still less capable than those whites who have had no formal training at all.

Many Negroes counter this argument by saying that even though we are qualified, we must not allow ourselves to fall into the same pitfall as the whites. We say that it would be wrong to elect an all Black political structure. Is this not an attempt to morally justify an overwhelming desire to comprise and to practice tokenism? We have at our disposal a fantastic

power. Why then o we immediately begin to talk like white folk..."we must go slowly"..."social change is a gradual process"..."we must not scare the white people"..."they are our friends, we must learn to live with them." I say to you here and now that after 300 years the white man has not made any attempt, or effort, to give the Negroes anything except intimidation and lynchings; and I say that the white man is going to give you only what he is forced to give you.

I do not advocate that Negroes necessarily "take over" all public positions, or that we should not attempt to foster some relationship with the white populace, but, is it not only reasonable in a community where Negroes constitute a definite majority, that Negroes should assume a majority of the leadership positions? The notion that we should vote not because of race but for the "best man" is a beautiful but idealistic concept. When the day arrives that the white man is as concerned about the Negro problem as is the Negro, then we will truly be headed toward Utopia. Many Negroes in Tuskegee point out that the attitude of the white citizens in Tuskegee has changed over the past few years. Of course it has; if you were no longer capable of controlling the ballot then you too would seek to affect the influence of the Negro by cooperating to whatever extent was absolutely necessary. But to assume that friendliness of the white man is a result of a sincere desire to see the Negro obtain his freedom is indeed naive and childish--even foolhardy. This is a blatant lie calculated to reduce the Negroes' "stride toward freedom" to a "crawl toward limbo."

When certain Negroes are capable of "selling out" to the whites, then the rest of us must immediately "Stand Guard" for our rights and force the "Uncle Toms" into the background, which is their rightful position. If necessary we must take the issues into the streets--which is the only way they will be recognized and dealt with. The middle class Negro views with disdain and fight for rights which occurs in the streets, however, because he associates "the streets" with rabble-rousing

"THE IMPORTANCE OF THE BALLOT"

Demetrius Robinson

As anyone can see, there are men like Governor George Wallace and ex-Governor Ross Barnett in office who were placed in office by a minority of the people and thus do not represent the interest of the majority of the people. They were elected by a white minority whose main interest has been keeping the Negroes' voice unheard.

If we, as Negroes, haven't yet realized the importance of the ballot by looking around us, then I must ask, "What does it take to awaken us?" Are we blind to the likes of Jim Clark and Al Lingo? Do they have to bomb more churches and kill more children? How long, my people! I only ask how long will we let these injustices go on? Or will we vote and change this?

Maybe we don't know what the ballot is or what it can mean for us, not only as Negroes but as people. First, as citizens of the United States, we have the right to vote, so we aren't really doing our duty as citizens if we don't vote. Second, by voting, we can determine who governs us. Let's discuss this second point. When we as Negroes elect the people who best represent us, then we get the things that will better us. People like Jim Clark, in Selma, will have to look for new jobs. Other men who represent us unfairly will also have to look for new jobs. There won't be any more hoses, dogs, or horses. Men won't bomb our churches. Our politicians in Washington won't sit back and let things happen to us because of fear of losing their jobs. The friends of the Negro (or, the people who claim to be our friends) won't have to smile in our faces when election time comes around. They will be there whenever we need them. Third, let's find out what the word ballot really means. Webster's Collegiate Dictionary defines it thusly: "1. A small ball used in secret voting. 2. A sheet of paper used to cast a vote. 3. voting. 4. The right to vote. 5. The number of votes cast." From these definitions, we find that we are concerned mostly with

#2. This sheet is the Negro's only hope to overcome. Fourth, the ballot will give Negroes the job opportunities that we have been seeking. It will give us better educational opportunities so that we can fill the job openings.

On this note I would like to conclude by asking you, the people to do yourselves a favor. VOTE! VOTE! The pen is mightier than the sword.

men's room.  
He entered the hall, three younger men followed.  
They searched and looked to the left and to the right  
as if they wanted to show their best side to  
photographers who were not, this time present.  
"Just a minute, sir, I'd like to pin this flower on  
you."

He went to the platform, everyone was quiet.  
The lady in pink: "Help us, boys; we're so  
happy, we're so honored, this important occasion,  
we're so proud to have him here, I'd like to know  
how."

He stepped to the side of the platform and  
stood before a large picture of the school: "I'm  
honored, and happy, so proud, you brave folks, you  
brave and brave, you to have attended this school,  
against all odds and all (evil) forces, you're  
right, yes, right, keep in their hearts all other  
loyal Americans know it, hang on, they'll praise  
you some day, you are courageous, I'm going to  
give money."

Against? They looked at each other: "There's  
our man, up there, protecting our rights." The man  
in the clean white shirt looked at his wife in pink.  
She looked at him. Had she see the hole in his shirt?  
"Yes, I've got holes, I've talked to people  
everywhere. We're all Americans in New York and

Tell 'em, George!

B. Bailey

He entered the hall. For a moment everyone was silent—they were his friends and he was their hero—and then applause as he smiled and walked into the men's room.

He entered the hall. Three younger men followed. They slouched and looked to the left and to the right as if they wanted to show their best side to photographers who were not, this time present. "Just a minute, sir, I'd like to pin this flower on you."

He went to the platform. Everyone was quiet.

The lady in Pink: "Help us, Lord; we're so happy, we're so honored, this important occasion, we're so proud to have him here, I'd like to introduce."

He stepped to the middle of the platform and stood before a large picture of the school: "I'm honored, and happy, so proud, you brave folks. Yes, brave and courageous to have started this school against all odds and all (evil) forces. You're right, yes, right. Deep in their hearts all other loyal Americans know it. Hang on. They'll praise you some day. You are courageous. I'm going to give money."

Applause: They looked at each other: "There's our man, up there. Protecting our rights." The man in the clean white shirt looked at his wife in pink. She looked at him. Did she see the hole in his shirt?

"Yes, I've got pools, I've talked to people everywhere. We're all Americans in New York and

Alabama; I'm the governor of all the people in this state. People respect your governor and they respect us Alabamians. We're just as good if not better. Young men and women, be proud when you leave this school."

Applause: The young men and women looked at each other: "There's our man, up there. Protecting our rights." A baby in pink began to cry.

"This is a democracy and a Christian country. Our enemies are the communists and others who do not believe in God. They want to weaken the United States. They participate in demonstrations against the United States! action in Viet Nam; and these same people are in the Civil Rights movement. They say that human rights are more important than property rights. Property rights are more important. Don't be fooled. These people want to destroy America, and they want to destroy the principles on which it was founded.

"Yes, our enemies are in some universities where professors sign petitions and write letters to Ho Chi Ming. I am proud to say I haven't heard of one professor in a state school in Alabama who has signed such a petition or written a letter to Ho Chi Minh. Proud. But if anyone does, we're going to forget what these professors say about academic freedom and expel them."

Applause: They looked at each other: "There's our man, up there. Protecting our rights." The man in the clean white shirt in the back row was clipping his nails.

"Young men and women, I want you to remember when you leave here that our enemies are the bureaucrats in Washington. They want to change America, our home, our land, our democracy, our Christian country. They want to cut down on money to us Alabamians. But, they still send money to anti-American foreigners like that Nasser and Sukarno, and a bunch of Hottentots."

"Our enemy is the press which tells lies about



## The Great Society

Sam Younge

On Sunday June 27, 1965, members and supporters of the Tuskegee Institute Advancement League (TIAL) attempted unsuccessfully to intergrate three "white churches" here in Tuskegee. This intergrated group of twenty-two persons left the Administrative parking lot of Tuskegee Institute at approximately 10:30 a.m.

The group was divided into three smaller groups in order to attempt desegregation of the three churches at the same time. The Methodist church of Tuskegee, located directly across the street from the Tuskegee Post Office was one of the churches to close and lock its doors to the intergrated TIAL group. A deacon of the church told George Ware, Project Coordinator of TIAL that, "Y'all ought to wait to be invited!" and "If we let you in the church will be divided". Ware allowed to worship her". The group remained on the steps of the church, knelt in silent prayer and left the premises to join the others at the First Baptist Church.

The Presbyterian Church, located near City Hall also closed and locked its doors and the TIAL group was denied admission. The group remained outside until the end of services and knelt in prayer as the congregation came out of the church; they were joined in prayer by the minister of the church who later apologized for what had happened and promised that something would be worked out. Another interesting incident occurred at the Presbyterian Church: Mrs. J. H. M. Henderson, the wife of a prominent scientist at Tuskegee Institute and who a member of the Biracial Committee for Greater Tuskegee, was also denied admission to the church. Mrs. Henderson did not know that TIAL was going to be at the church; she simply

Write  
memo  
again  
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wanted to read the announcement which stated that the Alabama Presbyterian Congress has released a statement indicating that all Presbyterian Churches should not deny persons admission to the church on the basis of race or national origin.

The First Baptist Church of Tuskegee was the third church which TIAL sought to integrate. When the group was seen approaching the church, the doors were locked. The group knocked on the door for approximately forty-five minutes but admission was denied. A white member apparently a deacon of the church, asked the group to leave in rather terse and angry terms. Wendell Paris and myself explained that we were children of God and that this was the House of God and thus we should be welcome. At this point he indicated that we were not "any children of God" and so "why the hell don't you leave." We told him that the body present would remain until the services were over.

Joined by George Ware and the group from the Methodist Church, we knelt in silent prayer at the end of the services and left. The congregation left the church by the side door in order to avoid us.

In my personal opinion, I feel that this is only one of the many problems of race relations here in Tuskegee. We are all doing so fine here and Tuskegee is such a model community in Alabama. Tuskegee isn't what its published to be; there should be more integration of all facilities by law. If Tuskegee is so great, why can't we go to church together? Why was the city pool closed? Why wasn't anyone prosecuted for throwing acid and rubbish in the city pool? Why aren't the city limits extended? Why don't we have a full time fire department? Why can't A&P and Big Bear have Negroes on the cash registers? Why is the county jail segregated? Why does Pat's Cafe and Lakeview private clubs exist? Why can't there be better housing, garbage pick-up and improved sewage systems?

All of these questions I ask you. How can we say that Tuskegee is so great with all of these problems? These are only a few! Why? Why?

## THE POOR OF MACON COUNTY

Wendell Paris

In every county in the state of Alabama, as well as in other states, there are people who are considered to be less fortunate or the poor. These are people who are forced to live under lower economic, educational, social, and cultural conditions. They are located throughout this county.

Macon County has poor people of both races. The question sometimes come up as to what is being done by the community to help these less fortunate people. There seems to be very little indeed. Macon County is so busy trying to help the middle class Negro to enjoy total equality that it has forgotten its under-privileged brother. Not only is the white man not interested in the welfare of the poor, the Negro himself has forgotten his brother who suffers most of all.

It is a general feeling that Macon County is an ideal place in which to live, that people in Macon County have better race relations, are better off economically, have better educational and cultural backgrounds than any other community in the south. But this general attitude does not represent the true picture of the over-all county population. Macon County is an ideal county only for the middle class Negroes and for the parasitic white man who lives off others without making any useful fitting returns.

The poor Negroes are continuously exploited by the white man. This is borne out by the fact that Negroes are forced to work for substandard wages. He is further prevented from holding jobs through which dollars makes possible. People of lower economic and social levels suffer humiliation from both races, by economic pressures from the white man and social pressures from the Negro.

Finally let those who are heard to say that Macon County is such an ideal community, answer why is it that certain church doors are closed to people because of race? Why is the Negro property tax systematically assessed higher than that of the whites? Why is there over 100% registered white voters?

## DEMONSTRATIONS AND THE NECESSITY THEREOF

### "The Lucky 13"

Sam Young

I feel that demonstrations are necessary in Tuskegee. Not by the students and younger people but by all residents of Tuskegee. WHY?

Because:

1. Tuskegee needs to extend its city limits.
2. Negroes are denied equal job opportunities at places such as A & P, Big Bear, the banks, etc.
3. The streets in many Negro sections need paving and resurfacing.
4. Tuskegee needs to place street lights in areas where they are urgently needed.
5. Tuskegee needs a full-time Fire Department.
6. The Macon County sheriff department needs to be intergrated.
7. Tuskegee needs better sewerage facilities; in some areas where Negroes live the smell of swerage permeates the the whole area.
8. Tuskegee needs better school facilities:
  - a. Thoroughly integrated facilities
  - b. More Negroes in Tuskegee High School
  - c. White children in Negro schools
  - d. Better bus facilities: Buses upon which Negro children ride are dangerously over-crowded while the buses upon which whites ride are not so.
  - e. Better schools should be placed within reasonable proximity to people living in rural communities so that students do not have to travel long distances in order to get to school.
9. Tuskegee should have integrated recreational facilities and a public statement should be issued by the City Council to clarify this matter.

10. More Negroes should be hired in city offices.
11. The City Jail of Tuskegee and the Macon County Jail should be integrated. (Negro prisoners are human beings also.)
12. Tuskegee needs integrated housing facilities (there are two "Negro housing projects" and two white projects; the "Ole separate but equal bit".
13. Tuskegee needs integrated churches (or maybe there are two Christs a white one and a black one and two "separate but equal heavens."

Some of these things were promised to Tuskegee: Where are they? The Tuskegee Institute Advancement League (TIAL) is planning a massive demonstration for July 17th. We want everyone to attend and to think seriously about the above statements, ("The Lucky 13"). We will proceed downtown to City Hall, where we will present to the mayor (if present) in petition form "The Lucky 13". If he is not there we will continue to the City Park where "The Lucky 13" will be discussed. Afterwards, a freedom rally with the singing of various and sundry spirituals and freedom songs. After the rally the crowd will disperse and future plans will be announced as to the possibility of another demonstration to present the petition.

"A MOTHER'S PLEA"

Betty Gamble

A huge Negro Mother sitting on the stoops one day.  
Her big black baby sleeping on her knee.  
Cast her eyes up heavens way.  
And began her earnest plea:

Dear God dis boy of mine,  
Conceived by me and my mate,  
Done had the deep misfaution of crying  
His fus breaif in a wurl of prejudice and hate.  
'fore he a nutha day olda be,  
Or is old nuf to reasun and unastan.  
If he can not be totally free  
And live like any other man,  
Ruther than see him suffer too,  
Father take him back home wid you.  
I've lived and suffered under dis white man's law,  
I've yassuhed and naw shued every day.  
But deep in dis baby's eyes I saw,  
That old craving to be totally free in evy way.  
And if he muss suffer in a white man 's land,  
And enter in the back door,  
And be ashamed to thank like uh man,  
Take him home with you furever more.  
For dis little child sleeping here  
So peacefully 'pon my knee.  
For evy little breaif so dear.  
Dear God, at lease let him be FREE!

Tuskegee Church Attempt (cont. from page 8)

to come inside to hear him speak. He seemed shocked to hear that we had been unable to come inside.

He came over and shook hands with us and said that he was truly sorry that we had not been able to worship, and that he hoped some day, we would be able to worship together. He then led us in prayer. The other minister told us that at the next meeting of the Southern Presbyterian Synet Meeting, he would again bring up the issue of desegregation of the Presbyterian Church.

The two ministers then departed, and we all left.

TIAL and Tuskegee's Image  
(cont. from page 10)

racial issues in Tuskegee and prevents their expression, not to mention any resolution of them. This concern with Image replaces any courageous facing of racial issues as racial issues, and it strikes at the heart of the democratic process. Racial harmony and elaborate courtesy are pleasant, and they impress outsiders. Most especially do they impress the whiteman, for they ease his conscience and quell his fears of Negro resentment and reprisal-- and, in places like Tuskegee, Negro liberals reading the Reporter about racial peace and harmony in one place in the Deep South. In short, the Image helps the whiteman more than it does the Negro. In the interests of Image, Negroes unwittingly tom for Minister Charley.

The pattern is familiar and frustrating. Northern cities also like to project an image that nothing is really wrong. So effective are such images at times that when anyone begins to cry stinking fish in the town he is labelled a troublemaker and an extremist. Too much of the racial problem rests on a near congenital inability of whites to face the fact of racism in all its ugliness and and potential violence. Image-consciousness soothes as it sometimes leads to correction of (cont. on next page)

## TIAL and the Tuskegee's Image (Continued)

the more obvious problems. The targets of racial reform then become cloudy and all but invisible. But everyone knows the problem is still there. The smart whites and Negroes of the power structures, fastidiously respecting one another's bailiwick (and the segregation that supports them), participate in removing enough of the obvious targets so that outsiders are convinced--and sometimes they convince themselves, as they are doing in Tuskegee--that all is well. To do something about racial problems in such situations is like wading into a room full of tapioca pudding.

This is the way the racial issues do not get discussed. No one lets on that they even exist. At council meetings the Negro community is always "that community". Negroes are always "them". The racial problem is always "it".

It is to the credit of TIAL and SNCC that they challenge this fig-leaving of racism. Just as SNCC has nationally been the goad and gadfly for such organizations as NAACP and SCLC, so too TIAL in Tuskegee and Macon county must stir from their complacent slumbers Image--conscious councilmen and their supporters in TCA, NAACP, and elsewhere. It is not enough to elect Negroes or "good" whites to public office. An all-Negro City Council can have all of the potentialities for bad government that all-white Councils have. They must be kept honest by being watched--and criticized. Pressure must be kept on them, for nothing basic has changed in Tuskegee, and the whiteman ain't gonna let it change unless he has to. TIAL must strengthen its program toward radicalism in the honorable sense of that word: getting at the roots of problems and eradicating them instead of fiddling with bits of the problems and applying tokens and palliatives--and the Image. Such a radicalism will work through dissent, criticism, public disclosure, testing, demonstrations--the full



## TIAL and Tuskegee's Image (Continued)

panoply of democratic action.

There must be unrelenting public debate and disclosure of what is really going on in Tuskegee, through TIAL's newsletter and "white papers" prepared by knowledgeable individuals. We need a teach-in devoted to Tuskegee and Macon County government. The Tuskegee News needs to be assisted and goaded into complete coverage of all meetings of city and county bodies. (We had that coverage before Tuskegee's Tribune and its fractious editor, Almena Lomax, left town--or were driven out.) TIAL must attend regularly all meetings of public bodies in Macon County. And they must ask those annoying and embarrassing questions when The Image takes precedence over realities.

None of this requires large numbers of people; witness the impact that a determined and savvy minority of academics has had in the conduct of U. S. foreign policy (which also has short-circuited and sometimes corrupted the democratic process).

TIAL can be the catalyst for this. In the absence of something like this, matters can only get worse. Standing between Tuskegee and racial violence (not to mention the tapioca fudding of de facto and shirt-tail racism) are groups like TIAL and SNCC who foresake the goal of seizing the seats of power and instead seek to make democracy and equality realities. And to hell with **THE IMAGE.**

Tell 'em George! (cont. from page 21)

Alabama. This is a peaceful state; we should be proud we don't have the crime rate that New York has got. Even the press in Alabama has not always been what it should be. There's one newspaper in Birmingham--well, I don't know. Maybe they'll be in for a rough time.

Now about the flag. The American flag flies in the best place on the grounds. Bought by little children of this state--white and colored, yes, white and colored. Now, I've been to Texas. That's the only place where the state flag flies over the post office. Now, I've been to Massachusetts. And you know in one building are anti-American. We are proud of the flag over the capitol; it represents a centennial. We're proud of that flag.

Applause: They looked at each other: "There's our man, up there. Protecting our rights." An old lady in pink with a hearing aid, cane, wheelchair whispered: "The war of northern aggression. Proud of that flag."

"Now, young people. You've got to remember to play fair. I remember that when I played football here in this state of Alabama and you know where I mean. I remember that there were two or three players who in a pile up would give a player a jab or a kick. Now, I don't want to call their names but today they're not getting on very good. I also remember there were two or three players who would tackle me; I'd be out of breath, but they would help me up, give me a pat on the shoulder, and tell me I'd done a good job. Today they are successful men with families and money in the bank. So you young people, remember to play the game fairly.

Now, we've got a filibuster going on in the legislature. Some of those men have the wrong idea. They're trying to stop our program.

I want to tell you how proud, how honored I am to be here, I want to wish you, I want to congratulate, good luck, be proud."

Tell 'em George!

Applause: they looked at each other: "There's our man, up there. Protecting our rights." The man in the white shirt over on the side had rolled up his sleeves to applaud; his tattoo showed: "Mother Dear."

The Lady in Pink: We're so happy, we're so honored, this important occasion, I'd like to introduce, for the granting of diplomas."

The students came forward blushing, smiling, proud in white and pink. The diploma was given and each walked towards the speaker. He got up, but did not smile. He stood alone. He sighed deeply. He turned to the crowd and smiled, applauded, shook hands with the graduates. "Congratulations, congratulations, congratulations, good job, congratulations, congratulations, congratulations."

Applause: "There's Billy, see him, our Billy."

The Lady in Pink: "And the science prize goes to, the math prize, the best student prize, our school, this important occasion, the president of the class."

The President of the Class: "Our appreciation, yes, to express it to our speaker, this silver cup, a surprise."

The speaker took the tall silver cup, applause, he stood by himself looking for a place to put the tall silver cup.

The Lady in Pink and the Man in White: "A reception will follow, stay, we're so happy, we're so honored, this happy important occasions, we're so proud, help us, Lord, amen."

"What is America"

by Betty Gamble

Is this the land of the free and the brave?  
Or is this the land of the trees and graves?  
Where white men lynch Negroes from the highest tree,  
Simply because they desire to be free.

Is this America where the people's voice,  
Is reflected through the candidate of their choice?  
Or is this the country where the minority  
Elect the officials to govern the majority?

Is this America that sends the Negro  
Overseas to fight the foreign foe,  
And there to sustain democracy,  
Then return them home where they aren't free?

Is this the America where the Statue of Liberty  
Opens her arms for those yearning to be free?  
Or is this the America that camouflage,  
And stands out as an Oasis, but is really a mirage?

Before we advertise America  
As the country of freedom near and far,  
Let's see if all this equality is a fraud  
And we've only been spreading lies abroad.

There is no total equality in any nation,  
As long as they practice discrimination.  
Whether it be found in Communist Russia,  
Or the so-called Oppressed Man's Utopia, America.

The Middle Class Negro (cont. from page 16)

and believes that the correct way to obtain justice is through the courts. We all know that this is a guise because the major decisions which have come from the courts are a result of outraged Negroes projecting issues into the public eye by taking the issues into the streets.

When psychologists discussed the symbolic significance to middle-class people of what goes on in the streets they concluded:

"...the street and what happens in the street are often symbolic of all that is vulgar and perilous in life. The street is the antithesis of privacy, security and the support one derives from contemplating and living amidst prized personal possessions. The street re-crowds, potentially hostile strangers, sweat, dust and noise. Those who spend much time on the street have nothing better to do and nowhere to go: the poor, the foot-loose, the drifters, juvenile delinquents. Therefore the middle-class person seeks almost automatically to disengage himself from the life of the streets."

Thus, the middle-class Negro is willing to allow himself to be discriminated against rather than fight for his rights through planned non-violent, direct action.

I feel that the lack of a sense of responsibility on the part of middle-class Negroes toward the poor or unfortunate in Macon County is inexcusable and that the poor who constitute a majority should force their leaders to act in their best interests. If the leaders do not respond to pressure then the poor must act as a political lever and force the middle-class Negro to help them elect leaders who will act in the interest of the majority and not the select few.

"OH LORD, NEVER NO MORE"

Betty Gamble

We simply refuse to return to second class citizenship.  
We refuse to be served from the rear door.  
For we are the new breed they speak of.  
Segregation, Oh Lord never no more!

The sun beats down on our picket lines.  
We demonstrate from shore to shore.  
The white man cries out SEGREGATE!  
We reply, Oh Lord never no more!

We refuse to go to the back of the bus  
As our forefathers did before.  
We sit up front and mix with the crowd  
And say, Oh Lord never no more!

When they call us we will answer  
Only to the name of Negro  
All the yassuhs to names like Nigger...  
OH LORD, NEVER NO MORE!