

file - New Integration

The Defenders' NEWS and VIEWS

Published by Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties
1210 Traveler's Building Richmond, Virginia

Vol. I, No. 1

August 1955

"We, in Prince Edward County, want the Defenders to know that we appreciate their help in informing other areas of our problem. It has proved that we are not standing alone in this fight to maintain segregation, and at the same time provide education for our children. Perhaps we know better than anyone else that it is necessary for all of us to band together if we are to preserve our way of life."

August 5, 1955

(signed) JACK BRUCE, Member Board of Supervisors

In recent months our membership has grown to such proportions that we are having difficulty keeping in touch with each other. We are proud of our membership growth and chapter expansion. It means progress. We feel that you naturally want to know what is happening in various parts of our Commonwealth through the efforts of our members. We know you have ideas which should be shared with all who have joined our ranks. Our NEWS AND VIEWS publication can disseminate the facts to serve such a purpose. You will hear from us often. Drop a line to our State Office, let us know what you are doing and thinking in your community, and what you would like to hear from us.

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The following, Section 3, from the CERTIFICATE OF INCORPORATION OF DEFENDERS OF STATE SOVEREIGNTY AND INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES, outlines the purposes of the organization. The will of the people in the various localities, acting in unity, can make the purposes effective.

SECTION III

"The purposes for which this association is formed are: to disseminate amid the people information concerning the fundamental principles and concepts of our federal government and a due regard for that federal system; to teach and proclaim the necessity of the Federal Government restricting itself to its proper sphere and of preserving the sovereignty of the states; to instill a recognition of the worth to each individual of the historic liberties the citizens of the United States have enjoyed, and to increase the determination to defend those liberties by all honorable and lawful means against all efforts to encroach thereon; to seek by all honorable and lawful means the retention by each state of its full right and power to regulate within its borders, in the manner it believes to be most conducive to the happiness and good of its citizens, its own domestic arrangements, and within the limits of the law at any time existing, to study, investigate, plan and advocate means and methods by which the people of each state may enjoy to the full this right and power in any of its

domestic matters, whether educational, recreational, economic, social or otherwise; to provide the medium through which those desiring to further these purposes may make their views known throughout the country and may bring to bear in all proper ways their influence for the accomplishment of the same; to cooperate with others adhering to like principles in the furtherance of and effectuation of those principles.”

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The names and residences of the officers of this association for the current year, are:

ROBERT B. CRAWFORD, *President*.....Farmville, Va.
 C. D. JONES, *Vice-President*.....LaCrosse, Va.
 WM. B. COCKE, JR., *Secretary*.....Sussex, Va.
 E. FLOYD YATES, *Treasurer*.....Powhatan, Va.
 WM. E. MAXEY, JR., *Executive Director*.....Powhatan, Va.
 COLLINS DENNY, JR., *Counsel*.....Midlothian, Va.

We will tell you more about the officers in another issue.

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And now your chapters — and their secretaries . . .

Amelia Mr. R. E. Arrington Amelia, Virginia	Cumberland Mrs. Robbie S. Whitlock Cartersville, Virginia
Appomattox Mr. John G. Plunkett Appomattox, Virginia	Dinwiddie Mr. W. E. Bolte Dinwiddie, Virginia
Arlington Mr. William Hall 1043 N. Monroe Street Arlington, Virginia	Fairfax Mrs. Clyde G. Miller Route 3, Fairfax, Virginia
Brunswick Mr. J. R. Orgain, Jr. Alberta, Virginia	Greenville Mr. M. A. Taylor Emporia, Virginia
Buckingham Mr. Wayne Dawson Dillwyn, Virginia	Lunenburg Mr. Aubrey Chandler Victoria, Virginia
Campbell Mr. W. R. Herndon H & L Chevrolet Motor Co. Brookneal, Virginia	Mecklenburg Mr. V. C. Danials Boydton, Virginia
Charlotte Mr. W. S. Crouch Drakes Branch, Virginia	Norfolk Mr. J. H. Bloodworth 4133 Granby Street Norfolk, Virginia
Charlottesville Prof. S. J. Makielski Barracks Road Charlottesville, Virginia	Nottoway Mrs. Helen G. Wilson P. O. Box 396 Crewe, Virginia
Chesterfield Mr. Lemuel M. Llewellyn Route 8, Richmond, Virginia	Petersburg Mr. Heath P. Lamb 2017 Mattoax Avenue Petersburg, Virginia

Powhatan
Mr. R. H. Boelt
Powhatan, Virginia

Prince Edward
Mr. T. W. Brooks, Jr.
P. O. Box 2, Farmville, Virginia

South Norfolk
Mr. Donald Liverman
P. O. Box 7583
South Norfolk 15, Virginia

Southampton
Dr. L. A. Branch
Franklin, Virginia

Sussex
Mr. J. N. Barker
Wakefield, Virginia

Surry
Mr. T. Linwood Cofer
Surry, Virginia

We also have members in the following cities and counties:

Accomac
Caroline
Clarke
Colonial Heights
Fauquier
Fredericksburg
Gloucester
Goochland
Halifax

Hanover
Henrico
Isle of Wight
King William
Louisa
Lynchburg
Nansemond
Nelson
Norfolk County

Orange
Pittsylvania
Prince George
Portsmouth
Richmond City
Spotsylvania
Warren
Williamsburg
Princess Anne

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If there is not a chapter in your community . . .

1. Encourage your friends and neighbors to send in their application to our Richmond office. Write for copies of *A Plan for Virginia*.
2. Send a list of prospective members to the Executive Director for his files and ask him to send you the names of those in your community who already belong.
3. Use this list as a nucleus for holding an organizational meeting to which all interested persons are invited.
4. Ask a state officer or someone from an adjoining community chapter to come to this meeting to help you organize.
5. Explain the purposes of the organization. Give out material on the subject. Ask State Office to send material available. Solicit dues. Plan how you may help to carry out the principles of the Defenders.
6. Remember, it takes only 20 members to form a chapter. This gives an organized unit representation on the board of directors.
7. If you move, ask the secretary of your chapter to send a note of transfer to the State Office. The Executive Director will notify you of a chapter or members in your new locality.

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If you know of any member who has not received a copy of this issue of the Defenders NEWS AND VIEWS, please have them ask the chapter secretary to notify the Executive Director at the State Office, at once.

The High Court's Second Mistake

A great deal has been written, over these past 16 months, about the massive error committed by the United States Supreme Court in May of 1954. In its two decisions of May 17, the court threw away the Tenth Amendment, rewrote the Fourteenth Amendment, and usurped the prerogatives of Congress in administration of the District of Columbia. The court abandoned the established precedents of 58 years, turned its back on lawbooks, and went to a left-wing Swedish sociologist for testimony to support its legislative enactment. The magnitude of this lawless decision is not yet fully grasped.

But relatively little has been said of the court's second mistake, which was a mistake in tactics. When the court decided to impose upon the South what Mr. Myrdal imagined was good for the South, it decided to delay the full impact of its opinion. First the court would stab us in the back, a year later it would shoot us in the head. It would be less painful that way. The idea was that over a period of 12 months, opposition to integrated schools would calm down; we were to have a cooling off period; we would be soothed and lulled into an easy compliance.

It is evident now that the court's slick strategy has misfired. Far from calming down, opposition is growing daily more resolute. Far from cooling off, the heat of resentment grows more intense.

In September of 1954, the opponents of integration could not possibly have rallied 2,000 persons to a meeting in Norfolk. Yet last Thursday night, far more than 2,000 turned out to jam the Norfolk Auditorium in a demonstration against mixed schools. This meeting was called by the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties, which now has 30 organized chapters in Virginia and a membership of more than 5,000 persons. Within the next few weeks, other chapters will be established in Brunswick, Louisa and Culpeper.

The same story is developing through-

out the South. In Mississippi, Citizens Councils are providing a powerful counter-force against the well-disciplined NAACP. In South Carolina, councils have come into being in most of the counties with heavy Negro population. In Tennessee, the Federation for Constitutional Government, sparked by Professor Donald Davidson, of Vanderbilt University, is offering leadership of the highest stature.

The "year of grace" has proved to be just that, though in not quite the way the court envisioned. It has accorded the South an opportunity to pass new laws, and to establish a new legal defense against invasion of State and local responsibilities. More than this, the year has provided an opportunity for the South to learn a little something—though a liberal Washington press has struggled manfully to conceal the truth—of what massive integration can mean in terms of educational levels and social problems. The white parents of the District have had to learn this the hard way—and they have fled into Arlington by the thousands. This Fall, Washington's schools are 63 per cent colored—a startling gain of two full percentage points in a single year. White parents remaining in the District are grouping themselves in ever tighter residential lines.

We begin to take heart.

At the cost of God knows what bloodshed and bitterness, the court might possibly have imposed its legislation upon a stunned and leaderless South in the Fall of 1954. The Fall of 1955 finds us much better equipped to resist. We still have far too many separate organizations seeking the same aims; we still lack leadership in too many places. But day by day, the opposition to mixed schools is growing stronger and more effective.

We can say now to the NAACP that it will have to fight a hundred times harder for every inch of ground that it gains; and we can say to the Supreme Court, with more than mere bravado, *the South has just begun to fight.*

**THE DEFENDERS OF STATE SOVEREIGNTY AND
INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES**

1210 Travelers Building

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Richmond, Virginia

Forced Integration Bitter

INTEGRATION of the races in public schools is not satisfactory anywhere it has been attempted in the 17 states affected by the 'Black Monday' unlegal decision of the U. S. Supreme Court. Even though Northern newspapers and magazines continue to advocate integration in schools and to idolize leaders of the integration movement, information is beginning to come to the South that all is not pleasant even in those areas where there is a minority of Negroes, who have been integrated for years. Washington, D. C., which President Eisenhower wished to be the "model" for all of the Nation, is everything but happy with the situation.

Much has been said about Hoxie, Arkansas, how integration was taking place in the schools without incident and with everyone happy. Hoxie opened its schools in July for a six weeks period, then closed during the cotton harvesting season, to open again in October. Hoxie is the center of School District 46, which covers an area of eight square miles containing 4,000 families. The normal school population is about 1,000 white students and twenty-five Negroes. Until the integration experiment, the Negroes were transported 25 miles to Jonesboro to a Negro school. Hoxie became notable because a Life Magazine photographer "covered" the story at the July 11th opening, and the reading public led to believe that all was well at Hoxie. "On Monday, July 25, someone brought into town a current issue of Life, which was passed eagerly from hand to hand . . . a two-page spread of 'Integration at Work in Hoxie,' showing white and Negro children self-consciously sitting and playing together in the Hoxie school." Things began to happen.

The Sunday Magazine section of the New York Times describes conditions in Hoxie as follows:

"Meanwhile, the whole community has been split from top to bottom and is enveloped by anxiety and bitterness. There have been threats of violence, intimidation and economic boycott. Friendships have been sundered and families have been ostracized. Preachers quote Biblical sanctions from their pulpits both for and against segregation. Communist and other more vaguely defined 'outside influences' have, it is alleged, been at work.

"Though Hoxie (population 1,855) is the unlikeliest focus of national attention imaginable, both friends and foes of integration across the land are watching the 'battle in a test tube,' with morbid fascination. For the pressures and the conflicts which have erupted in Hoxie in the last few weeks are precisely those that exist—or are incipient—in any of hundreds of other Southern towns which sooner or later must face up to the imperative of the Supreme Court's historic anti-segregation decision of May 17, 1954."

The Times correspondent reports further the appearance of "impeccably discreet Federal Bureau of Investigation agents inquiring into possible violations of Federal civil rights status. This is largely a strategy of 'counter intimidation' engineered by Penix (attorney for integration) for the civil rights laws applicable to the present case are notoriously fragile. But, real, live G-men in a Town like Hoxie can stir up a lot of apprehension," opined the Times correspondent.

This is the story of Hoxie, Arkansas. It is not a pretty story, and it shouldn't

happen. These people should be left alone to work out a solution for their community. National magazines have overplayed one side of the integration story in the South. And we wonder what interest the FBI has in Hoxie, Arkansas. We have always had the greatest respect for the FBI, and they may have a perfect right to be in Hoxie, Arkansas, but their presence does not permit calm consideration, nor cool thinking in a situation as we understand it to be in Hoxie. If the Federal government thinks it is going to intimidate the South with the FBI, it is in for some definite disappointments. If we know the temper of the people in the South, they will not stand for it. Some solution for the dilemma can be and must be found, there is one thing certain, namely, that it isn't force, it isn't intimidation. And that is something that should be understood now.

What has happened in Hoxie, Arkansas, might have happened in Farmville, which has been the focal point of interest in this situation. Except, that the people in Prince Edward County met the problem definitely, foursquare, unequivocally. They know what they want, they have made it clear, they have not wavered. They seek a solution peacefully and calmly. They are not mad with anyone, but they will not have integration in the public school system. We believe this to be the wish and determination of all the white citizens and a vast majority of the Negro citizens. They want to attend their own school.

Certainly the example of Hoxie, Arkansas would convince anyone who had doubts.

file integrator

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Vol. 1, No. 4

October 1955

THE FARMVILLE (Va.) HERALD, TUESDAY, OCTOBER 4, 1955

Debnam Talk Draws 2,000 To Norfolk Center

500 Southside Visitors Hear NAACP Blasted

Some 2,000 intent listeners, including 456 Southside Virginians just off the train, heard W. E. Debnam charge Thursday night in Norfolk that integrationists have marshalled three of America's most potent influences, the pulpit, the press and politics.

The Southern author, lecturer and newspaperman was speaking in the packed Municipal Center in the Tidewater city, with firemen refusing admittance to another hopeful 100 persons outside.

In the audience were the hundreds who had boarded the Norfolk and Western Railway special that started at Farmville with 128 passengers and added others during stops at Burkeville, Crewe, Blackstone, Waverly and Petersburg. Many additional persons gathered at those centers from outlying communities, to join the throng that numbered nearly 500 when the four-hour journey ended.

The visiting author of "Weep No More My Lady" and "My Old Kentucky Home, Good Night" was in Norfolk, where he once served as a newspaper reporter, at the invitation of the Norfolk Chapter of Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberty.

Must Be Separate

Charging that further hope for advantage and cooperation between the races lies in separated living, Debnam declared that "if we submit to the desegregation order of the Supreme Court it will bring in a smog of hate and misunderstanding that will ruin us all."

He called the court's order "a vicious assault on our spiritual and economic welfare by a court with sworn duty to uphold those very things."

The author saluted the Negro race for "the greatest progress ever recorded by a race of people in such a short period." He charged that integration will stop that and, in addition, will bring mongrelization, and he said, "mongrelization will bring moral and economic decay."

Fires At NAACP

He fired broadside at the NAACP, claiming that its one goal is "amalgamation" of the races. To cover their real purpose, he said, the NAACP has marshalled the three P's, pulpit, press and politics.

All three, he charged, have used misguided thinking to build their case. He blasted the "brotherhood of man and Fatherhood of God" plea with the statement that "Holy Writ, from Genesis to Revelations, insists on racial separation." He also charged that a study of scriptures reveals Christ's opposition as evidenced by his sanctioning the traditional separation of Jew and Samaritan. "The prophets of amalgamation get no support from Jesus Christ", he said.

Against politics, he laid the charge that no help to the South can be expected from either political party. "The South," he said,

"if it is to work its segregation problem, must do it unassisted."

Press Unfair

The national press, he charged, will acknowledge in print only an attack or an apology on the South. "It amounts to a conspiracy," he declared.

"The South", Debnam added, "has made more progress in racial understanding and cooperation than any other section of the world. But that's a story no editor will honor with publication."

His solution to the court order; obey the order, by continuing public schools, and on an integrated basis, but at the same time maintaining private school on a segregated basis with public funds. "Then let the patron decide where his children shall get their schooling," he added.

He said he believes such a system would prove in the end an improvement in public education, providing more opportunity to exceptional children and giving competent teachers a chance to bargain for their services with private school operators.

Call For Vote

"By a sovereign vote of a sovereign people, let them know there will be no enforced integration in the schools as long as we're driving the bus," he asked. "Have both integrated and segregated schools and let the parents choose—that is legally and morally unassailable", Debnam charged. It would, he said, silence the "abolitionist, NAACP rabble rousers, too."

The Norfolk meeting concluded with an audience participation question and answer period, a panel of six including J. Segar Gravatt, of Blackstone, and Collins Denny, of Richmond, offering answers.

SOUTH IS OFFERED A LESSON

By Anthony Harrigan
A special writer Charleston
News and Courier

In the 30-odd years of its self-satisfied existence, Time the weekly newsmagazine, has published more attacks on the Southern way of life than Southerners have had time to count.

With the issue of the Sept. 19, Mrs. Henry R. Luce's editorial writers have fired another shot at their favorite target. The unprovoked attack is an article entitled "The Law." It begins on page 23 and is a profile of Thurgood Marshall, Negro, chief counsel for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

It is kind of political Horatio Alger story the editors of Time tell their readers, who are amazed at all the praiseworthy anecdotes Time has managed to pick up, a fairy tale enjoyed by the magazine's readers in a segregated (nobody mentions the fact) Northern suburb such as those in which Time's editors reside.

Now nobody is mad because a Negro boy worked his way through school and gained a big reputation—even if he grew up to be a power in the NAACP, an organization pledge to destroying the fabric of Southern life and tradition.

In the present critical period of our history it is dangerous to lose sight of the real enemy. Marshall is far less of a danger to the South than the mentality revealed in the article dealing with him.

Every Southerner who reads a daily newspaper ought to buy the Sept. 19 issue of Time. The reason? Not because we want the magazine to make money at the

expense of the South. No, it is that the article sums up the libels about the South which are in wide circulation outside the South. It displays the hypocrisy with which the people who edit big circulation magazines treat the faith of the South, its integrity and the reasonableness of its ways.

Maybe you don't realize the extent of the libel. Well, this is the way Time defines segregation: ". . . a paralyzing sting in its (America's) conscience and the ugliest blot upon its good name in the world?"

Is that the way you define your world, the South, the state of South Carolina, Charleston? Odd, isn't it, that thousands of tourist flock to the South each year to enjoy something, a quality of good living and happy human relations they don't find in their own baliwicks? But Time doesn't care to take that into account; the South cannot do right; it cannot be right.

The Article ought to be read by Southerners because they will see that behind all the oily, sanctimonious talks about "the astonishing progress of racial desegregation" and a vast and complex social revolution" and shaping anew "law, government, customs, practices, schools, factories, and farms" is a fierce and unceasing attack that will strike—at every Southern town and county, home, office and factory; sudden, swift disruption of established society.

The insulting "Report Card: Progress of the States Toward Desegregation" (page 25) on which South Carolina received "Grade F"—ripe in its insulting overtones of superiority over the

South—is an other indication of the way the South is regarded.

But remember: Time magazine is influential. The facts, distorted and misused, are arrayed in a way to dazzle the person who doesn't know the South, who doesn't understand that local autonomy—liberty—is more important than any self-proclaimed social revolution, who doesn't understand that states rights is the principle that maintains liberty for all men and to which all devoted Americans must always be faithful.

The article contains a lesson for Southerners. It is that Southerners, must be sure of their objective: liberty and the right of the people of the states to determine the shape of their society.

The Time men and others of their mentality have tried to persuade America that Southerners want to keep Negroes down in the ditch. We know better; we know that we want Negroes to have health, education and prosperity.

The Southern fight is everlasting for liberty. To win the fight Southerners, South Carolinians have to be as determined as the ambitious, hardworking Thurgood Marshall. We have to be cool, subtle, skillful in legal and economic maneuver, resourceful in writing legislation, and calmly and quietly but openly — so that all can see — resolute in staying with this fight, not giving a bit, not relaxing, succumbing to pressure, until the big government, bloc society, regimenting, variety-hating anti-South forces in America back down and leave us free to work out our own problems in our own house.

EDITOR'S NOTE: From time to time, we shall reprint outstanding articles from the press which we feel our members will find of interest. Please suggest any timely news reports or editorials from your area which might be used by the Defenders for wider distribution.

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The **Defenders' NEWS and VIEWS** ★ ★

Published by Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties
1210 Traveler's Building
Richmond, Virginia

Vol. 1, No. 5

November 1955

"The people of Virginia are now in great distress because of the recent deplorable ruling of the Supreme Court of the United States declaring segregation in the schools unconstitutional. This ruling is shocking and contrary to all legal precedent. Our people in Virginia are now facing a crisis. It is necessary that the issue be faced forthrightly and a decision be made by our people.

"I am proud to have been one of the first to join the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties in their endeavor to acquaint the public with the problem and to preserve for our people their individual liberties which are being gradually taken from them by a grasping arm of the Federal Government.

"On June 9, 1955, I expressed such a feeling before the House of Representatives, and included with my remarks the forthright statement known as 'A Plan for Virginia'."

November 10, 1955

(signed) Watkins M. Abbitt
4th District, Virginia
Congress of the United States

I HEARD EMMETT TILL'S MOTHER

by Homer G. Richey
President, Charlottesville Chapter

On the night of Monday, October 31st, I went to a NAACP meeting at the Mosque in Richmond. The principal exhibit of the evening was Mamie Bradley, the mother of Emmett Till. But before I get to Mamie Bradley, I want to tell you about the meeting generally.

I estimated the crowd at close to 4,000. Of this number perhaps a dozen white people were there, about five of whom I took to be reporters. Prior to the raising of the stage curtain, the organ played such selections as: Nobody Knows the Trouble I've Seen, Drink to Me Only With Thine Eyes, Battle Hymn of the Republic, and O, Lord, Our Help In Ages Past.

The meeting was opened by the presiding officer with the remark: "This is a sad occasion. We come, however, not

just to mourn the dead but to protest against the criminals."

The first speaker was Jimmy Hicks, a reporter for the Afro-American, negro newspaper, who had been present at the Till murder trial. Hicks told how he went to Greenville, Miss. and rented a U-Drive-It car. He said he did not want to be seen in Mississippi driving a car with a Chicago or New York license plate. He made every attempt to create the impression that Mississippi was the jumping off place, a land of barbarism and violence. He later referred to "the reign of terror behind the cotton curtain of Mississippi".

Hicks first drove to the all colored town of Mound Bayou where he consulted with a Dr. Howard, NAACP leader and agitator. He then drove to Sumner, Miss., the scene of the trial. He went to see Sheriff H. C. Strider to see what arrangements had been made for reporters covering the trial. Hicks said Sheriff Strider informed him he "hadn't made up his mind

whether to let niggers into the trial. "

This remark of Hicks set the stage for what was to follow. Hicks is a shrewd man and understood the psychology of his audience perfectly. He knew that there is nothing which infuriates a negro so much as the use of the word "nigger". He employed this technique, that of inflaming the audience, again and again. In fact he told them that "there wasn't a day while I was in Mississippi that somebody didn't call me a nigger. "

Another technique effectively employed by Hicks was to give the whole of his activities in Mississippi a cloak and dagger aspect. He told of attending the funeral of a negro who had died a day or so before the trial. This funeral, he said, came in handy for the Mississippians, as it gave them an opportunity to have some white people attend the funeral and show to the outside world how the white people love and look after their colored folks. While at this funeral he was put in touch with a negro woman standing near a car, told to be very careful how he was seen talking to her. This woman told him to go to a place at Glendora called "King's" and talk to a negro called "Too-tight".

Hicks went to Glendora and to King's. King's turned out to be a negro night club. It had a dirt floor. People were sitting around at tables drinking beer and dancing -- dancing in their bare feet. The impression was left that no negro in that part of Mississippi had enough money to buy shoes. He latched onto a woman who was able to tell him something about "Too-tight" (whose last name turned out to be Collins). She said Too-tight was in jail, in the Charleston jail, where they kept the white folks. The jail in Sumner, she explained was for negroes only, and the jail in Charleston for white folks. For some reason they had put Too-tight in the white folks' jail. This business about Too-tight, as Hicks went on, turned out to be a way of getting an important state's witness out of the way.

Hicks asked the woman to go with him the next day to the Charleston jail to see Too-tight. She said she couldn't, that she had to pick cotton. Hicks offered her what she would make picking cotton for a full week if she would go. She said she couldn't, and appeared frightened. When pressed for a reason, she said; "If I don't show up to pick cotton that man will whip me, and I just ain't gonna let myself be whipped no more." When asked if she had really

been whipped, she replied in the affirmative and said any negro on the plantation where she worked was whipped unmercifully if he failed to show up for work.

After all the build up of Too-tight's importance as a state witness, Hicks weakened his argument by later stating that "Too-tight lied comin' and goin' and when I get back to Mississippi I'm goin' to tell him he lied. "

Hicks described the trial as the most disgracefully conducted trial he had ever seen. He said beer and coca-colas were sold in the courtroom. Everyone failed to show any respect for "Mrs. Bradley" and just called her "Mamie Bradley". Every morning when the Sheriff passed by the table where the colored reporters were seated, he would say: "Good mawnin, niggers. " Poor Willy Reed, a chief witness for the prosecution, had to make his way through a hostile mob in the aisles to the witness chair, unescorted by any law enforcement officer. "We", said Hicks, "had to guarantee to get Reed out of Mississippi before he would testify. "

Hicks told of a negro Congressman Diggs who came to Sumner and couldn't get into the trial. He sent his card in to the judge. It was handed first to the bailiff who said to a deputy sheriff: "This nigger here says there's a nigger congressman outside." The deputy's reply was: "A nigger congressman? Is that legal?"

Hicks told how Diggs proposes to introduce a bill to unseat the Mississippi delegation in Congress. "And what can you do?", he shouted at the audience. "You sit down and write your congressman and tell him if he don't support Congressman Diggs, you are goin' to vote to unseat him. "

After Hicks' speech there was a pause while a collection was taken. The NAACP was put forward again and again as the only solution to the situation. Everyone was urged to pay poll tax, register and vote. The presiding officer said: "Now you're mad. Give because you're mad. We're gonna be mighty disappointed if we don't get at least three or four thousand dollars here to-night. "

Mamie Bradley then spoke. This was no grief stricken mother. I sat there amazed, amazed at the way Mamie Bradley had been coached in the art of speaking. She spoke simply and naturally, using colloquialisms, telling a story

in the most effective way it could be told. Whoever taught Mamie Bradley her role did a masterful job.

Mamie told how Emmett had always been a good boy, had helped with the work, was liked by everyone. She told how he left for Mississippi with her warning that he was going to a different sort of place and to be careful. She told how she had received her first letter from him and was so proud of him. Then she received news he had disappeared. The next part of her speech was to build up the atmosphere of suspense until she finally found out what had happened.

She told of meeting the body at the train, accompanying it to the funeral parlor, having the body taken out of "that old box," as she called it and laid on a slab. I cannot bring myself to repeat her description of a horribly mutilated body. She walked around the slab, again and again, hoping against hope it was not her boy. She called on others who had known Emmett to look. All, without exception, said it was Emmett.

Mamie Bradley wound up her speech by saying she had no more tears to shed, that she knew when she saw Emmett, millions of tears would be shed for him. She said she had embarked on this crusade and that she was "walking hand in hand with God". She called on everyone to join the NAACP. She told the audience they must learn "to walk upright." "I now feel", she said, "that all we have to do is to walk right up and take what is ours."

No mention was made of Emmett Till's father, Louis Till, who was glorified by Life Magazine recently as having died in action, in the service of his country. Unquestionably, the silence on this point was due to the true story of Louis Till's fate as uncovered by the Jackson (Miss.) Daily News and published in that paper on October 14 and 15, 1955. This story is a simple and not a pretty one. Emmett Till's father, Louis Till, was tried by court martial, sentenced to hang and was hung for three crimes committed on one day in Italy in the Summer of 1944. He, on that day, had raped two Italian women and killed another one.

The white people of the South must become acquainted with what they are up against. I wish every white man in America could have been invisibly present at that Richmond meeting. Reading about a NAACP meeting in the paper

and being physically present at one are two different things. We are not fighting something sporadic. We are fighting a world wide conspiracy, the aim of which is to mongrelize the white and negro races, and the NAACP is the long arm of that conspiracy, financed by it and guided by it.

(Note: According to an AP release, November 10, 1955, "Mrs. Bradley was in a recent tiff with the Negro organization, which dropped her from a proposed fund-raising tour of 11 Western cities for demanding a \$5,000 fee or one-third of the proceeds, plus expenses.")

THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BOARD of Directors of the Defenders was held Wednesday, November 2, at the John Marshall Hotel in Richmond. Approximately 50 board members and officers representing all of the chapters were present. The officers elected to serve you for the following year are as follows:

President	Robert B. Crawford Farmville, Virginia
1st Vice-Pres.	Wm. B. Cocke, Jr. Sussex, Virginia
2nd Vice-Pres.	C. F. Radcliff 207-19 Franklin Bldg. 702 Duke Street Norfolk, Virginia
3rd Vice-Pres.	James S. Easley South Boston, Va.
Treasurer	E. Floyd Yates Powhatan, Virginia
Secretary	Mrs. Charles Reynolds 5902 Morningside Dr. Richmond 26, Va.

J. Segar Gravatt, Blackstone, was elected to the Board as a member-at-large.

Among the items of business promoting a great deal of interest and discussion was the policy of dues. The following resolution was unanimously approved and adopted:

RESOLVED the \$10.00 annual dues per member as provided by by-laws may include husband and wife if they so desire. Such dues may be collected on a quarterly or semi-annual basis by any chapter if they so desire. All dues shall be forwarded by the chapters within 30 days to the Association less 10%.

RESOLVED, dues paid by a new member in the last 6 months of a fiscal year, shall operate to extend his membership through the next fiscal year, otherwise all renewal dues are due and payable on November 1 of each year.

HARPER'S MAGAZINE FOR OCTOBER 1955 has an article by Lee Nichols and Louis Cassels entitled, "The Churches Repent". The purpose of this article is to prove that "the most segregated institution in America is beginning to open its doors". We quote the closing paragraphs as follows:

"CHURCHES that have successfully achieved integration have had to face this problem (social inter-mingling) realistically. One answer is to let the children lead the way. With fewer prejudices to overcome, they respond enthusiastically to experiments in inter-racial friendship, and their example is usually sufficient to shame their elders into following suit. The Washington, D. C. Federation of Churches reports that several churches in the nation's capital have found that 'the first and most easily executed step' toward racial integration is to bring Negro and white children together at Vacation Bible Schools. Regular Sunday School classes and church-sponsored summer camps have been used elsewhere to break the first hole in the racial wall.

"Women's groups have also played an important part in battering at segregation. Indeed, the Young Women's Christian Association has apparently moved more rapidly than any voluntary quasi-social group in America toward the complete elimination of racial barriers. At its 1946 national convention, the YWCA adopted an 'Interracial Charter' which pledged the organization 'to pioneer in an interracial experience that shall be increasingly democratic and Christian.' It has lived up to this pledge in an inspiring way. In the north and in many border states local YWs are now operated on an entirely nonsegregated basis. And even in the deep South, courageous women are treading deftly and determinedly among the taboos to bring white girls and Negro girls together under circumstances that no bigot dares criticize. The length to which this effort has gone in the South was dramatically illustrated in June 1954, when three hundred white women and a hundred Negro women from sixty Southern cities gathered at the YWCA camp at Blue Ridge, North Carolina, for a completely nonsegregated four-day conference.

"It can be done. The churches and their related institutions have only barely set their feet on the long, rock-strewn road toward color-blind Christian fellowship. But they have finally made a start."

REDS SCORE SEGREGATION, PRACTICE IT, according to David Lawrence in the Richmond News Leader, October 20, 1955:

FOR MONTHS the Soviet radio has been conducting a propaganda campaign against the United States on the ground that there is segregation of schools in the South as between Negroes and whites.

Now comes evidence of Russian hypocrisy. They themselves practice segregation, though little has been known about it.

Robert F. Kennedy, who has just finished a tour of a "closed" section of the Soviet republics in company with Justice William O. Douglas of the Supreme Court of the United States, makes the disclosure about segregation in a copyrighted interview in "U. S. News & World Report."

Mr. Kennedy, who is a son of Joseph P. Kennedy, former Ambassador to Great Britain, took leave of absence from his post as counsel for the Senate Subcommittee on Permanent Investigations, paid his own expenses, and made a first-hand study of conditions in the Central Asian region of the Soviet Union, where up to now no visitors from the United States have been permitted to go.

Few people realize that this region of five Soviet republics has a population of about 20,000,000 persons and covers a bigger area than India before its partition and is larger than all of Western Europe. The people are for the most part of Turkish and Iranian stock with a strong Mongolian strain.

FOLLOWING IS the colloquy after Mr. Kennedy was asked: "How do they (the Russian soldiers) understand the language?"

"A. I don't think they have any problem with that — in performing their duties they probably don't have much contact with the local people. In addition, more and more people now understand Russian. This is so despite the fact that the Russians maintain one set of schools for their children and one set of schools for the children of the local people. It is a segregated school system.

"Q. Why is that?"

"A. The explanation the officials gave us is that people like their own schools.

"Q. It isn't a racial question?"

"A. I believe that is a reasonable assumption. In every city that we visited in Central Asia the schools were segregated—the Russian school children in one school, the local children in another.

"Q. Is there a difference in color between the Russians and the natives?"

"A. Oh, yes. The Russians are European, white. The natives are Mongolian—a dark race."

"HOW DO you account for the fact that so many people in America who call themselves 'Liberals' are so enthusiastic about Russian things and want us to recognize them and play ball with them?" Mr. Kennedy was asked.

"I think the same groups have made mistakes before," he replied.

The interview then went on:

"Q. It seems to me everything you have said would be anathema to any real 'Liberal'—"

"A. That is what I can't understand either. . . .

"Q. Did they make a great many concessions to you over there?"

"A. Some concessions, at least over the old policies—the fact that we are allowed to travel in Central Asia at all, and, in addition, I think they showed us things and allowed us to do things they wouldn't have permitted a year ago, but I don't think it adds up to a great deal.

"We are dealing with a government to whom God, the family or the individual means nothing and whose practice it has been in the past to make promises and treaties to serve their purposes and to break them when it had been to their advantage. It can only be suicidal for us during this period on the basis of smiles to strengthen Russia and weaken ourselves."

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"Signatures attached to the statement were: Mrs. Theodore F. Adams, Richmond, wife of the pastor of First Baptist Church; Dr. Belle Boone Beard, Sweet Briar College professor; Mrs. Roger Boyle, Charlottesville writer; the Rev. W. Carroll Brooke, Staunton, Episcopal minister and president of the council; Wilson M. Brown, Richmond, vice-president State-Planters Bank and Trust Company and treasurer of the council; William M. Cooper, Hampton Institute professor and associate executive director of the council; Mrs. Henry W. Decker, former member Richmond School Board; Roland D. Ealey, Richmond attorney; Dr. John M. Ellison, Richmond, chancellor of Virginia Union University.

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"Last week, the COURIER carried a detailed expose showing that two top members of the Southern Regional Council's Board of Directors, who were also high officials in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, have been branded as

known Communists in testimony before Congressional Committees by former associates in the party.

INCORPORATORS OF SRC

"Dr. Mitchell, who along with Editor Ralph McGill of the Atlanta Constitution and others incorporated SRC, not only held a high post in the "red" dominated Southern Conference for Human Welfare but his name also has been linked to other Communist-fronts, according to reports and records of Congressional Committees.

"It is in this atmosphere that a recent \$240,000.00 grant made by the Ford Foundation to SRC is being spent to destroy segregation in the South.

"Authorities on combating Communism and its menace to our form of government expresses fear that the Southern Regional Council could well become the Communist Party apparatus in the South, infiltrated as it is by persons with known records of association with Communist and Communist-front groups.

COMMITTEE'S REPORT

"Branding the Southern Conference for Human Welfare a Communist-front, the House Committee on Un-American Activities in its report on that organization dated June 12, 1947 concluded:

"In the light of the fact that a significant number of the leading lights of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare are associated with organizations or campaigns for the defense of the Communist Party or individual Communist, or with organizations defending the Soviet Union, or its policies - issues which have nothing to do with the South - one is forced to the conclusion that, by and large, the common bond among its supporters is a certain degree of sympathy for the Soviet Union and/or the Communist Party, rather than any primary interest in human welfare in the South. One is further forced to conclude that the professed interest in the Southern welfare is simply an expedient for larger aims serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party in the United States."

THE RICHMOND NEWS LEADER - November 3, 1955:

"A State-wide group organized last July, the council is made up of professional, business and industrial participants representing both races and the three major religious faiths. It is one of 12 organized in Southern States as affiliates of the Southern Regional Council and is financed by funds from the council and matched with funds from the Ford Foundation."

AUGUSTA, GEORGIA COURIER - October 17, 1955:

"A former high official of the Communist-front Southern Conference for Human Welfare is today Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council.

"This disclosure came as a part of the series in which the AUGUSTA COURIER is exposing the Ford-Foundation-financed Southern Regional Council, as a haven for Communist and Communist-fronters.

"Dr. George S. Mitchell now heads SRC as its executive director. It has been exposed by this newspaper as the successor to the Southern Conference for Human Welfare which was branded a Communist-front by the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities.

24 ON BOARD OF DIRECTORS

"We have uncovered the startling fact that besides Dr. Mitchell, a total of twenty-four high officials of SCHW now are on the board of directors of SRC.

"We have shown that at least thirty-eight officers, members of the executive staff, or directors of the Southern Regional Council's Board of Directors have known records or association with multifarious organizations, which have been cited as Communist-fronts by either the Attorney General of the United States or the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities.

"From records and official reports of the House Committee Investigation Un-American Activities, the name George S. Mitchell is identified with other Communist-front causes."

HON. JAMES O. EASTLAND of Mississippi in his speech to the Senate of the United States, Thursday, May 26, 1955:

"By the Special Committee the Conference for Human Welfare was cited as a Communist Front Organization; and on June 12, 1947, the Congressional Committee cited the Southern Conference front organization 'which seeks to attract Southern liberals on the basis of its seeming interest in the problems of the South' although its 'professed interest in Southern Welfare is simply an expedient for larger aims serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party in the United States.'"

THE FIRING LINE, published by the National Americanism Commission of the American Legion, July 1, 1955:

"In 1947 the House Committee on Un-American Activities cited the Southern Conference for Human Welfare as a Communist-front organization, which seeks to

attract Southern liberals on the basis of its seeming interest in the problems of the South" although its "professed interest in Southern Welfare is simply an expedient for larger aims serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party in the United States." (See House Un-American Committee Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications, 1951, pg. 104).

GRASS ROOTS LEAGUE, INC. Charleston, S. C., Research Bulletin No. 2, October 1, 1954:

"The Southern Regional Council of Atlanta is conducting racial integration propaganda among church and other groups, and recently has received a \$240,000.00 grant from the 'Fund of the Republic' (Ford Foundation) for 'educational purposes in 12 Southern states.' The Southern Regional Council in 1951 received \$2,500 from the Sidney Hillman Foundation (C. I. I.) for improvement of race relations and social justice in the South (N. Y. WORLD-TELEGRAM, March 31, 1951.) Communist affiliations of members of the board of directors of the Southern Regional Council are disclosed by a series of articles in the AUGUSTA (Georgia) COURIER beginning with its issue of August 16, 1954, based on reports and records of the House Un-American Activities Committee and the U. S. Attorney General, stating: 'At least 38 of the SRC's officials and members of its board of directors have association with groups and activities which have been branded Communist-fronts by responsible federal officials or congressional committees ... That Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director of SRC, was also a top official in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare (e, page 139) and his name has been linked to other 'red' fronts, according to records and reports of the House Committee Investigating Un-American Activities.' The Red records of many of these SRC officials are being published currently. The official monthly publication of the SRC is called NEW SOUTH. Is it the successor or continuation of the Communist Party organ, NEW SOUTH, launched August 1938, with negro Communists Henry Winston and Benjamin Davis among its editors (e, page 137)? Also the Southern Conference Educational fund, (whose address is 822 Perdido St., New Orleans), under investigation by the Senate Internal Security Sub-committee as a possible Communist-front, is headed by James A. Domdrowski, formerly secretary of the Communist-front Southern Conference for Human Welfare, at 808 Perdido St., New Orleans (e, page 138)."

GRASS ROOTS LEAGUE - Research Bulletin #3:

"George S. Mitchell, Ph. D.: George S. Mitchell is Executive Director of the

Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Ga., ----- The Southern Regional Council was exposed last year as an off-shoot of the defunct, Communist-front Southern Conference for Human Welfare by the AUGUSTA (Ga.) COURIER. George S. Mitchell was named in 1938 as a Vice-Chairman of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare when he was associated with the Farm Security Administration at Raleigh, N. C. In 1946 he signed a statement opposing injunctions in labor disputes which statement was prepared by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties cited by the U. S. Attorney General as 'subversive and Communist.' As a sponsor of the Civil Rights Congress (cited as 'subversive and Communist') in 1946 George S. Mitchell was identified as Director of Veteran's Service, Southern Regional Council. In 1947 he was listed as Vice-President of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. Also in 1947 a George Mitchell was listed (HUAC Report of July 21, 1947) as a member of the Executive Council of the Highlander Folk School, Monteagle, Tenn. which '... keeps pretty close to the (Communist) party line.'

"The Southern Regional Council issues anti-segregation literature and propaganda with special attention to church groups. On July 1, 1954, Dr. George S. Mitchell, addressing the Dallas, Texas, convention of the NAACP 'asserted that church leadership in the South, particularly organizations composed of church women, had 'spoken forth-rightly' in support of the recent Supreme Court decision banning public school racial segregation laws. Utmost significance must be given to church leadership...' (Ref. A). Page 27 of 'Just, Right & Necessary' states: '... there is the cooperation of the Episcopal National Council with the Southern Regional Council.' The wording of 'Just, Right & Necessary' resembles closely some of the literature published by the Southern Regional Council. The Southern Regional Council also has been working to spread anti-segregation propaganda in the Methodist, Episcopal and the Presbyterian Churches of the South."

"CLOSER UP" - No. 20, October 21, 1955, edited by Upton Close, Palm Beach, Fla.:

"Ford Motor Co. 's Fund For the Republic, endowed with \$15,000,000 of tax free profits has, according to news dispatches of Oct. 16, made an additional grant of \$150,000 (to be added to the \$240,000 already granted) to the notorious communist front organization, The Southern Regional Council - to destroy racial segregation in the South.

"The Southern Regional Council is the Successor, in all but Name of the Communist-front Southern Conference for

Human Welfare, dissolved only when its open aid to the Red Front became a stench and embarrassment to its wealthy backers (as previously exposed in the columns of Closer-Up).

"But the proof herein lies in deeds, not in platitudinous protestations. And the freewheeling, oftentimes devious deeds of the Fund's officials with its fifteen million tax-free dollars do not jibe with their words."

AN ARTICLE BY SAUL PETT IN RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH, Sunday, November 6, 1955.

Racial Equality Support

"The fund also supports groups seeking to expand racial equality. Its largest such grant, \$245,000, went to the Southern Regional Council with headquarters in Atlanta. The fund also granted \$200,000 to the Vanderbilt University law school in Nashville, Tenn. The money is to be used to finance a legal service reporting court opinions and other documents relations to legal problems arising from school segregation cases."

WHITE SENTINEL, ST. LOUIS, MO.:

Tax-Exempt Ford Foundation Supports Anti-White Conspiracy

"New York City, October 28th - Thurgood Marshall, mulatto head of the Legal Defense Fund of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, announced that it has received a \$50,000.00 gift from the Ford Foundation's Fund for the Republic.

"Marshall said that the \$50,000.00 gift from the tax-exempt profits of the Ford Motor Company would be used for the purpose of continuing our fight to remove all forms of discrimination (sic) against colored Americans in education."

"In other words this money will be used to fight the White man's rights to educate his children in White public schools."

What is our answer to all this? How can we compete with this all-out effort----we who have no great tax-free foundation to steer our path, no great man's millions to ease our way?

We, the little people, who tend our farms, shops, homes and offices day by day, must give of our time and efforts after work, and of our dollars after taxes. A united and determined people can be the answer----IF there are enough of us willing to make these sacrifices.

Tell your friends this the next time they question the \$10 annual dues required to be a part of our organization to DEFEND our rights and liberties.

Let Senator Eastland know that you support his firm stand for segregation and urge him as Chairman of the Senate Internal Security Committee to investigate the Ford Foundation. Write him as follows:

Hon. James O. Eastland
Senator from Mississippi
Senate Office Building
Washington 25, D. C.

"Fund For The Republic is the child of the Ford Foundation, which holds 90% of the stock of the Ford Motor Co., and which was endowed with \$300 million by the will of the late Henry Ford, so that control of the company would remain in the hands of the family and to escape inheritance taxes. The Foundation's 'take' from the Ford Motor Co. by way of dividends amounts to some 30 millions a year - all tax free."

FULTON LEWIS, JR., in his column of October 5, 1955, concludes that . . .

"The more I delve into this Fund for the Republic, the more amazed I am at the many similarities between its program and that of the Communist Party."

AN ARTICLE IN FACTS FORUM, November 1955 By Russell Turner, Staff Assistant to Fulton Lewis, Jr.:

"Accumulation evidence of the ultra-liberalism and blatant anti-communism of the \$15,000,000 tax-free Fund for the Republic has spawned a new gag line appended by some to any mention of the organization's name: 'Which Republic?'

"The evidence, accumulated during the Fund's two and a half years of actual operation, shows conclusively gullibles that the domestic Communist menace is and always has been a myth, to stop any effective investigations of Red operations and influences, and to smother anti-communism wherever it may crop up.

"The evidence is that it would put an end to every form of personnel security program, in or out of government; that it would have the country accept at face value the self-appraisal of the Communist Party, U. S. A., as simply a domestic political movement, despite legislative, executive and judicial findings that it is a subversive conspiracy directed from Moscow and designed to overthrow our government.

"Officials of The Fund for the Republic say its purpose is to determine, and report to the people on, the status of civil rights and liberties guaranteed them by the Constitution, and to seek the removal of any restrictions on those rights and liberties.

The Defenders' NEWS and VIEWS

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