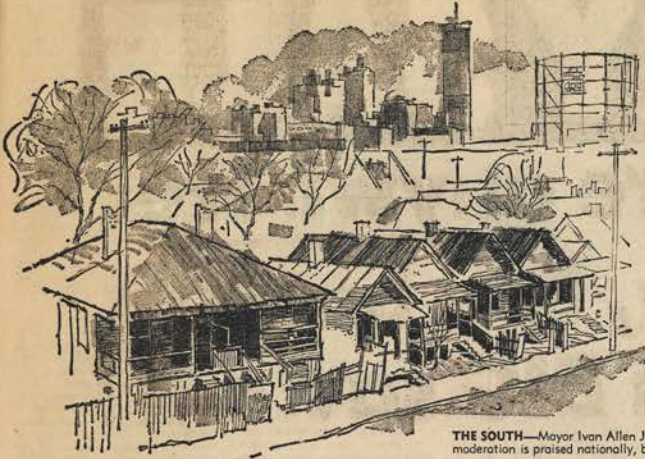


The View From the Bottom of the Barrel



THE SOUTH—Mayor Ivan Allen Jr. and Atlanta, a city whose image of moderation is praised nationally, but ridiculed in Georgian hinterlands.



RAY ROGERS

SAN FRANCISCO

At summer's end, racial disturbances broke out in San Francisco and Atlanta, two bellwether cities seemingly attuned to the changing times. The outbreaks were minor compared to the scope of last summer's riots in other cities, but the reverberations were felt across the country. Why San Francisco? Why Atlanta? For some answers, Opinion offers the assessments of Ray Rogers and Jack Nelson, Times staff writers who were there.

The southeasterly view of the San Francisco peninsula from Hunters Point is breathtaking. But for its Negro inhabitants it is a view from the bottom of a barrel.

Hunters Point is the 123-acre site of a naval shipyard operation which includes 2,000 two-story dilapidated apartment houses built during World War II for migrant shipyard workers. Now, under the auspices of the California Housing Authority, 20,000 Negroes and a handful of whites are housed there.

Poverty on this hillside is stifling. Families, with as many as 15 persons, huddle in cramped apartments. The young men and women who live there blot-out their oppressive circumstances with liquor, sex and joyriding in stolen cars.

Symbol of Hilltop

Symbolically, on Hilltop, the apex of Hunters Point, all that remains of a large shopping center which serviced the area is a liquor store. It does a heavy business from early morning until late at night. Residents pass the rest of the merchants were driven out by the young men who reacted violently to their discourteasiness.

And these same young men—about 200 in all—reacted violently again two weeks ago when 19-year-old Mathews Johnson Jr. was fatally shot by a white policeman while fleeing from a stolen car. They left their hill and converged on 3rd St.—a main thoroughfare six blocks away—and smashed and burned white business establishments for two days.

One young man, who wore a black handkerchief tied around his head to prevent perspiration from ruining his straightened hair, said: "Yeah, I was with them and I'd do it all over again. What did they ever do for us but take our money and spit in our

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faces. And they didn't have to kill that boy. No sir. But they are cops and they think they can do anything they want to us and we won't do anything about it. But them days is passed, believe that or not.

One of his companions said with quiet determination: "Man, we may have to do it all over again, you know, because I don't think they gonna set right. All they had so far is a little taste. We got the stuff to really lay it on them, and we would have laid it on them if they had come up on the Hill. We were ready for them."

This particular young man is a member of a normally law-abiding family that has lived on the Point for several years. One of his brothers is a well known professional sports figure and he, himself, is college-educated. But while serving in the Army he got into enough trouble to receive a bad-conduct discharge, and things have not been the same for him since. "I don't want to hang around the Hilltop liquor store drinking wine with friends."

"What's the point in trying because they got you going and coming," he said last week. "I don't want to live like this, but I know they ain't going to do anything for me but whip my head if I just look like I want to get out of line. But I know this ain't going to last forever because we done took as much as we can stand and that's it. A man can't live like we do up here and accept it day after day and be happy."

Defense in Violence

Most of the young on Hunters Point, the bulk of whom are unemployed, are not unlike these young men. They have lived by their wits for so long that their only defense is violence. They want the chance to have more than their parents had, and they will not be put off.

Adult Negroes at Hunters Point may or may not agree with what the young have done, but they would not interfere.

While funeral services were taking place at the Evergreen Baptist Church on 3rd St. for young Mathews Johnson, several hundred teenage Negroes stood quietly outside the church, waiting and watching. The silence was eerie and plainclothes policemen, black and white, were edgy as they moved among the crowd.

Youths with red armbands, who volunteered to assist the police in maintaining calm during the funeral, seemed to have more rapport with the crowd as they directed people in and out of the church.

A Negro youth in a leather coat said: "They ain't going to kill any more of our young men like that. We ain't going to have that."

Attitude of Adults

And so the adults realize their young are reacting to conditions which have been prevalent at Hunters Point for too long. And they do not regard them as extremists.

A 45-year-old construction worker said: "We gotta make these people respect us. I mean them people that own the stores around here, mostly, but also the people downtown. To many residents in the low income housing development on Hunters Point do not believe they will ever be able to accumulate enough wealth to leave their bleak hillside."

Apartment rents range from \$55 to \$175-a-month, and rise as the family's maximum income rises. A family earning \$200-a-month would pay \$135-a-month, and this would not include their utilities.

Owen Brown, a 55-year-old disabled construction worker who has lived on the Point for five years, said: "When you sign the lease it says this is supposed to be temporary housing. They tell you that while you're living here you're supposed to save your money for a down payment on a home. How in the hell can

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ATLANTA

The Shiny Image Begins to Fade

JACK NELSON

ATLANTA

For 8 years most of Georgia has managed to maintain a tenuous—if sometimes spotty—image of racial moderation, due largely to the influence and reputation of its moderate capital city—Atlanta.

But the victory of a virulent racist—Lester Maddox—in a Democratic primary runoff for governor exposes to the country a fact most Georgians already knew: The great majority of the state's whites are just as rigid as Alabama and Mississippians in their opposition to the civil rights movement.

Moreover, Atlanta's moderate accommodation with the movement has been achieved only through a rare combination of long-time political participation by Negroes; pressure

by civil rights groups and the federal government, and strong leadership by responsible press, religious and civic groups, business and industries with vested interests in the city's image.

If a majority of the whites who voted in Atlanta's city election of 1961 had had their way, Lester Maddox and not the racially moderate Ivan Allen Jr. would have been elected mayor. A large Negro bloc vote gave Allen his victory margin. Last month Maddox polled 56% of the white vote in Fulton County (Atlanta) in the runoff with former Gov. Ellis Arnall, a liberal on race. (Although with heavy Negro support Arnall carried the county, 80,278 to 43,295.)

Congressman Charles L. Welner, who has contributed greatly to the Atlanta image, needed the Negro

vote to defeat segregationist opponents in 1962 and in 1964. And it took the Negro vote for him to get the Democratic nomination for another term last month—a nomination he surrendered Monday rather than "compromise with hate" by complying with a party oath to support Maddox as a party nominee.

If Georgia's image has been misleading to the nation, it also has tranquilized some of its moderate politicians into believing the state—and most of the South for that matter—had "turned the corner" on the race issue. Just last year Gov. Carl E. Sanders told a press conference at a Southern Governors' Conference that race was passe in southern politics.

And Congressman Welner told an interviewer last year that the race issue was dying and "even Lester

Maddox admits that Negroes have the right to vote." Welner called Maddox's action in closing his Pickwick restaurant rather than serve Negroes "a great service to the people of the South" because it showed the ultimate result of bitter-end resistance. "The people discovered that there is something to this talk about the law of the land, after all," said Welner. "They looked at Lester and said, 'well, if ole Lester can't stop it, I can't either.'"

Atlanta's image of moderation, praised nationally but ridiculed in the Georgia hinterlands, was a strong factor favoring Maddox in the primary race for governor. As a southern city with northern racial problems—its public accommodations, schools and other government

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JOHN W. HOLMES

TORONTO

America finds it difficult to understand her allies.

Her soldiers are dying in Vietnam to defend the free world from Communist aggression while Canadians alleviate their balance of payments by selling wheat to Peking.

America by various treaties is committed to defend Canada and other allies if they are attacked, yet these allies, with the exception of those nearest the war scene, offer in return no physical support and only muted moral support on Vietnam.

It is surprising that the U.S. public is as tolerant of the allied positions as it has been.

Yet while the allies understand the anguished feelings of America, their protector, there is a perspective which the United States must try to understand. It involves a political principle which the Americans themselves have long held dear: the relationship between taxation and representation, between the obligation to carry out a policy and the responsibility for making policy.

The dilemma is inescapable and cannot be solved by any simple poli-

John W. Holmes is director of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs and in 1950-51 he was acting permanent representative of Canada to the United Nations. His periodic column of comment, written exclusively for The Times, will present the Canadian viewpoint on hemispheric and global matters.

tical principle, such as the pooling of sovereignty. The best that the United States and its allies can do is recognize the dilemma and each others' perspectives.

For Canada, Britain and other close friends of the United States, the approach to Vietnam is bound to be at variance; the allies had little to do with unilateral decisions by which the United States became entangled in Southeast Asia. This is not to argue that U.S. policy is totally wrong, and the allies' positions are totally right. It is not even to argue that those decisions should have been multilateral. But it is a fact that the Vietnam involvement was U.S. policy, not allied policy.

Of course, there had been some consultation and some sharing of

views, but the allies accepted rather than concurred in U.S. policy. They had no alternative.

For the most part, I do not think that the friendly western countries would be disposed to question Washington's right to decide; after all, America's own vast resources are being used to carry out that policy. The allies are disposed, though, to ask for the right to offer advice. Most of them recognize that they cannot easily escape from an attitude of "my protector ally, right or wrong."

The fact remains that it is harder to die in a war which is not one's making. In a real sense, it is not a war of America's making either; she went to help, as she saw it, a weak people struggling against internal and external aggression.

Most thoughtful people in allied countries understand how and why the United States was drawn into the war. But that does not mean that a majority of them think that the United States was wise in its response. Like the vocal minority in the United States, some of them regard America as the aggressor. This opinion is not so important as the

opinion of those who feel themselves engaged on the U.S. side, but who feel that Washington has embroiled itself in a mess for which they are loath to accept responsibility.

Although some western nations have accepted the trend of U.S. policy in recent years, it is not a direction they favor. By concurring in the Geneva agreements of 1954, Britain and France accepted the principle that the three nations of Southeast Asia—Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam—must be encouraged to live in neutrality. They were not naive enough to believe that the Communists would respect that neutrality, but they did see the possibility—the only one—that a kind of equilibrium, a vacuum between the pressures of Communist and American power, could be created. It was the best prospect.

The United States, while promising to respect the Geneva accords, withheld its moral support which alone could have given the accords a chance of success. There is no value now in recommitments or arguments as to which path was correct. The United States went off in its own direction, and what is happening now stems from that decision.



THE WEST—Mayor John F. Shelley and San Francisco, a city with a view which can be breathtaking or dismal. Times drawings by Pete Bestorova

A Canadian Viewpoint--Vietnam Is Your War, Not Ours

Atlanta's Shiny Image Is Beginning to Fade

Continued from First Page

facilities are desegregated, but it has ghettoes and has experienced Negro riots—Atlanta conjured up images that intensified the fears of whites living in areas of heavy Negro population.

To say this was a decisive factor in Maddox's overwhelming victory (442,053 to 373,004) over Arnall would be oversimplifying a complex political picture. Arnall was far from an attractive candidate—even to many moderates. There is an abundance of evidence that supporters of the Republican gubernatorial nominee — Congressman Howard (Bo) Callaway—voted in large numbers for Maddox, reasoning that a fanatic would be easier to defeat than a liberal in the November general election. And there were other factors.

However, Atlanta loomed large in the minds of whites and Negroes alike who went to the polls to choose between a well-known liberal and a better-known segregationist.

Wasn't Atlanta where black power or advocate Stokely Carmichael had his headquarters? Wasn't it where members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee helped touch off Negro rioting in the last few days before the first primary? Wasn't it the home of a Negro bloc vote that went to Arnall in the first primary and then swung to him in the runoff with Maddox?

Marching Across Georgia? Couldn't you see masses of Negroes—no, black hordes—marching into every little town in Georgia shouting "BLACK POWER?" And who would stop them? Certainly not Ellis Arnall, who had promised to put Negroes on the state patrol.

But Lester Maddox would stop them. He had shown his determination when he waved a pistol and handed out ax handles to a white crowd in 1964 to bar Negroes from his restaurant in Atlanta.

Jim Pinson, a veteran newspaperman in a county which won an overwhelming vote for President Johnson in 1964, but voted for Maddox over Arnall, summed up the attitude of the white majority in his area: "We had some reservation, but it's out the window now. There already was resentment over the school desegregation guidelines and then the Atlanta riots came. The people saw them as an example of where moderation failed. Seeing Stokely Carmichael hollering 'black power' on television didn't help."

Georgians know Maddox is not a well-educated man, but they see him as a self-made man who showed great courage by bucking the federal government. They see him as a man who doesn't smoke or drink and he is a good man and we'd have done the same things he did if somebody tried to take over our business.

Impact of Progress Whites on the low and lower middle rungs of the economic ladder voted heavily for Maddox, not only in rural Georgia but in Atlanta and other cities. They are the ones who first feel the impact of Negro progress, whose chances at new jobs may be threatened by equal employment opportunities, whose neighborhoods are more subject to "block-busting," and whose schools usually face the largest doses of federally enforced desegregation.

Their frustrations often are as deep-seated as those of the Negroes they fear. What better way to vent such frustrations than to vote for a man who has shared the same fears and who holds the same people responsible — President Johnson, the Supreme Court, the left-wing press and such ill-defined culprits as "the Communists?"

The white voter reaction — in Georgia, Maryland, Arkansas, Louisiana and other states — has been simply defined as "backlash." While the term is a means of conveniently describing negative reaction to demonstrations and riots, it obscures the unfortunate conclusion that the Negro race is guilty of transgressions or excesses, and is therefore being punished.

The truth, of course, is that only a tiny fraction of the nation's Negro population has been involved in riots and the great majority of those killed and injured in the disorders have been Negroes. The only riots to occur in the South this year were in Jacksonville and Atlanta where the disorders were confined to two areas with no more than several hundred persons involved; in both cities officials acknowledged that Negroes had just grievances which were ripe for exploitation by agitators.

But the riots, the cries of "black power" and the open housing marches led by Martin Luther King Jr. have been used as excuses not only in Georgia, but in many parts of the country, by northern as

well as southern congressmen to warn the Negro that his movement is out of bounds and must be slowed down.

Such warnings by northern politicians are of great political benefit to the Lester Maddoxes and George Wallaces who have warned all along that too much was being done "for" the Negro. The south of the North was once a check on some of the excesses of white supremacy in the South, but riots in northern cities and Dr. King's quest for housing forays into Chicago have eased that pressure.

At a time when he has to run to stay up—when Maddox and the other segregationists are showing strength at the polls and the civil rights movement is stalled—the Negro is told he is moving ahead too fast. Yet the facts are that he is still almost as isolated as he ever was from the mainstream of American life, that he is still the last hired and the first fired, that he does not have free access to the housing market, that despite a 12-year-old Supreme Court decision and the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the overwhelming majority of his schools are all-Negro, and in most of the South the 1965 Voting Rights Act has been of little benefit to him.

Gains and Standstill A brief look at Negro progress during the eight years of relative moderate state leadership in Georgia reflects few gains outside Atlanta and some other urban areas. New employment opportunities—at policemen, firemen, department store clerks, telephone operators, airlines employees and as professional staffers in some cases—have opened in the larger cities, but rigid exclusions still exist in most places. More than 95% of the state's Negro students still attend all-Negro schools, many of them inferior to the white schools. Negroes don't dare use public accommodations in most areas and in some counties they are still afraid to register to vote.

But the gains of the civil rights movement in Georgia and the relative lack of official defiance in the state seem significant when compared with the small gains, the violence and turmoil and official resistance in neighboring Alabama. Georgia has experienced sporadic



Tornell, Burchard, Switzerland, Mohrbecher

Arnall. Among them is James Gray, who ran a strong fourth in the first primary. During the first primary campaign, an indignant Maddox charged that two men purporting to represent Gray offered to buy him out of the race for \$100,000. Since his nomination Maddox has announced plans to appoint Gray chairman of the Georgia Democratic Party.

As for Bo Callaway, he finds himself—the saying goes—between a rock and a hard place. Some of his own supporters helped to put him there by taking advantage of the fact that voters are not registered by party in Georgia and by voting for Maddox in the Democratic primary. This could rank as one of the biggest political blunders in Georgia history. Callaway, a segregationist, doesn't know whether to step up his appeal for the large white supremacy vote or try to appeal to the Negroes, and moderates who were disgusted with the Maddox nomination.

SAN FRANCISCO: THE VIEW FROM BOTTOM OF BARREL

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You do that if every time you get a 5% increase on your job they raise the damn rent! And there ain't no sense in thinking about trying to beat them because you got to show them your withholding statement at the end of the year."

A white housing authority employee who lives on Hunters Point said he saw young Negroes walking along the slopes with rifles, shotguns and Molotov cocktails.

'These People are Mad'

"They never bothered me, but hell would have broke loose on this hill if the police had come up here in force," he said. "I know it sure as I am sitting here. These people are mad, and they should be. No man should have to live the way they have to up here. But where can they go? There's some nice places over in Fillmore, but they want \$200-a-month for them. I can't pay that kind of rent."

It is hazardous to generalize, but the post-riot mood at Hunters Point seemed more angry and more suspicious than in Watts. As white San Francisco began—a year or even five years too late—to come directly to the aid of the Hunters Point Negroes, the scope of the problem was shown clearly when Jim Murray, chairman of the Chamber of Commerce civic affairs committee, met Sept. 30 with a group of young Negroes to attempt to understand the conditions at Hunters Point.

Murray tried to assure the youths that the Chamber soon would make hundreds of jobs available to them. He told them how at a recent meeting of the executive body of the Chamber several important members pledged their cooperation.

'No 50-Cent Jobs'

One youth interjected: "Why is it when you people do something for us you never include us in the meetings? And another thing, we don't want any 50-cent jobs for the holidays. The Post Office does that every Christmas, but some of us at this table have records and that's that. What are you gonna do about that?" Murray did not waver. He told them these questions would be given serious consideration by the Chamber.

Murray read the same statement he had read to the press moments before the meeting, but a Negro said:

"You mean that? I want you to sign that, so later we don't hear you denying you said it. We're familiar with that scene."

Murray then signed the statement which said that the Chamber was accelerating a seven-point program, to provide jobs and job-training for Negro youths.

The need for urgency was voiced last week by San Francisco's Mayor John P. Shelley, who when asked whether he was satisfied with what had been done to ease tension since the riot, said, "No, I'm not and never will be. There's too much discussion and not enough action on the part of a lot of people."

Unemployment is a dismal reality among these young men. Most of them dropped out of school early because it seemed pointless. Some of them have the ability to handle semi-skilled jobs but most of these jobs go to the high school graduates who do not have school records.

One Man's Story Some of them are even discouraged before they ever get to prospective employers. Said one young man:

"Sometimes I get up early in the morning feeling good. I know there's a job out there for me. I leave the hill early on the bus. I pick up a newspaper and check out the jobs. I see a couple that sound like I can handle 'em. I'm feeling real good about then, you know."

"I'm walking real fast along Market St. and I'm looking at the people. I don't see myself. Then I know what's going to happen. I know I'm not going to get that job because they're going to say I don't have enough experience. So I turn around and get back on the 3rd St. bus."

"Later I meet the fellows on the corner and we get ourselves a bottle of wine and after awhile I forget all about what happened that morning. I may have dropped out of school because I knew what was going to happen. Hell, I seen it happen before to my father and my older brothers. I wasn't going to let them mess up my mind. But I ain't stupid. I know what's happening. And everyday I see what happens to my friends. They mess over my people for too long. They better stop that foolishness and get themselves together and straighten up because we ain't playing."

Peking Dogmatists Are Going Too Far

ROBERT S. ELEGANT

HONG KONG

Seventeen years ago, Mao Tse-tung stood under the peaked eaves of the Great Heavenly Peace in Peking and declaimed: "Today, the Chinese people stand erect!"

The Communists' long journey toward power had finally come to its goal with the proclamation of the

Times staff writer Elegant reports from Hong Kong.

Peoples Republic of China in October, 1949. Great risks remained, but the greatest task had already been accomplished. For the first time in 150 years a unified China was ruled by a single government.

Mao, at first a young generalist and the prophet of the revolution, laid down an audacious program. He would expel foreign influence from China, remake the country's economic and social structures, create a new Communist man; direct China toward a new golden age of perfect harmony, and make that new China the guiding force of a new Communist era throughout the world.

Massive Frustration Seventeen years later, none of those great purposes, except the expulsion of foreign influence, has been attained. Facing massive frustration, the Communist Party of China, Mao's proudest creation, is now in a state of disarray which recalls the demoralization within the bureaucracy and the collapse of an Imperial dynasty.

It would be foolhardy to predict the collapse of Mao's dynasty, if for no other reason than the total absence of any organized opposition outside the Communist Party. But it would be deliberate blindness to ignore the evidence of disension within the party itself. The present Great Cultural Revolution is the most sweeping purge in the history of the party and the most frenzied effort to "remake the Chinese socialist" his chief target is the anti-party, anti-socialist, bourgeois black gang in power within the party, according to Defense Minister Lin Biao, Mao's protégé who is the effective ruler of China.

What, then, are the Chinese Communists fighting about?

Voluntarism Evidence The evidence has been so voluminous and so vehement that it tends to obscure the answer. Personal power is the major prize the winner will take. But power is not the ultimate issue.

The issue is nothing less than the policies which will determine the future of China. A substantial segment of the party is in revolt against repression combined with ill-founded economic policies at home and the attempt to bring the world under Chinese sway by sponsoring guerrilla wars abroad. Those phenomena are the practical expressions of Mao's visions. If the controversy were limited to sweeping protests against Mao and his policies, it would be epoch-making. But an even greater issue is involved.

The Communists are approaching a crisis in the process which has been the essence of China's history since the 18th century—the nation's adjustment to the rest of the world. Because they had developed a unique civilization in isolation from other nations that might have appeared their equals, the Chinese considered China and the world to be synonymous. Nations in the western sense, did not exist. Outside China's borders were only "barbarians."

Such was the Chinese attitude when the West first came to China with its Bibles, its guns and its machinery. Unlike the Japanese, the Chinese have never really abandoned that attitude, or realized that equal nations exist. Mao's vision of a Communist world under Chinese tutelage maintains the traditional concept of Chinese superiority. The Communists' failure to make

that superiority a reality has at least begun to convince many "leading cadres" that China must learn to live on equal terms with the rest of the world. They have argued that Peking must seek rapprochement with Moscow and Washington, while ceasing to sponsor "revolution" abroad. Such a policy must carry with it abdication of the grandiose responsibility to reshape the world under China's tutelage. It implies acceptance of the equality of other nations.

The immediate issue, the storm center of the present debate, is the validity of the canonized thought of Mao, which the dogmatists insist is the highest wisdom of humanity. The pragmatists consider the thought of Mao merely a body of words which is in part useful and in part false.

'Outdated Remarks' Lin Mo-han, a former deputy director of the party's propaganda department, observed in 1961: "When studying the thought of Mao Tse-tung, there is no need to take very word as gospel. Some of Chairman Mao's remarks are outdated."

Lin's objections were sugar water by comparison with the vitriol hurled at Mao and Maoists by other senior members of the party. The dominant clique of the party has responded to all difficulties by intensifying repression. By such tactics the dogmatists have not only alienated the masses, but have made dissenters of many of their former comrades. The Chinese party is experiencing a revolution against dogmatism.

The open expression of disillusion began in 1958. It intensified during the "Great Leap Forward" of 1961 and came to climax in 1963-1966. Its practical result was the refusal of substantial groups of officials in the provinces to carry out all the orders of Peking.

American action in Vietnam also has played a major role in convincing the realists that China cannot carry the world before her. Any major U.S. action in Vietnam would undermine their position. On the other hand, serious U.S. offers of accommodation — diplomatic and economic — would shake the dogmatist argument that China cannot, under any circumstances, come to terms with the "imperialist camp."

While fresh diplomatic efforts have been made, the dogmatists, who control the armed forces, are now seeking to bring the apparatus of the party to heel. The attempt has consumed much more time and effort than must have appeared likely when they planned the counterattack.

Control of Apparatus

Nonetheless, it appears that the dogmatists will reestablish a high degree of control of the party. They will probably be able to reassert effective control over the apparatus so that it is, once again, responsive to their wishes. The struggle goes on many of the sources of power to fall.

But the apparatus will be largely different from what it was before 1958 or even 1966. Each purge tends to winnow out the more competent and more independent cadres. This greatest purge appears likely to remove almost everyone but the hacks, the dogmatists call "apparatchiks" because of their ability to survive inside the party. The Chinese party will, therefore, be a much less effective instrument than it has been in the past.

Both the strength and the quality of the intra-party opposition to the dogmatists have reached an overwhelming peak. It is unlikely that the dogmatists can indefinitely maintain their dominance against not only the people, but the party as well. A period of ever increasing repression lies ahead. It is only the great crisis which turns the Chinese regime toward liberalization cannot be long postponed. It may come when Mao dies. It may come sooner.

GALLUP POLL: Public, 'Who's Who' Disagree on U.N. Seat for Red China

GEORGE GALLUP

PRINCETON, N.J. "I'm in favor of admitting Communist China to the U.N.—the bad boy is always better behaved inside the club than outside," said a Massachusetts physician in a Gallup survey of the nation's leading citizens.

A Florida historian commented in the same vein: "Your deadliest enemy is the man you refuse to talk to and who feels he's rejected."

These are typical views of the leading citizens, a large majority of whom favor admission of Red China to the United Nations. To learn the opinions of these prominent people, a sample of names was drawn at random from the 1966 edition of "Who's Who."

This survey of leaders—in fields from banking to the arts—shows opinion to be 2-to-1 in favor of admitting Communist China. This is in contrast to public opinion in general, which is 2-to-1 in opposition. Debate on the admission of China is scheduled this month in the Uni-

ed Nations. Last year, the General Assembly voted 47 to 47, with 23 abstentions, on a resolution to bring China into the United Nations. A two-thirds vote is required for any change.

In recent surveys—one based on a sample of the nation's adults, and the other based on a sample of persons listed in "Who's Who," this question was asked:

Do you think Communist China should or should not be admitted as a member of the United Nations?

Here is a comparison of the findings:

Leaders Profile	Should not	Should admit
Should not	44%	25%
Should admit	22%	36%
No opinion	4%	19%

The vote of the general public since the first measurement on this issue, in 1950, has been consistently on the negative side, especially if it meant that a nationalist China would lose its seat.

Lester, Bo Still Exchanging Barbs

ATLANTA (UPI) — Gubernatorial candidates Howard (Bo) Callaway and Lester Maddox exchanged barbs Tuesday night when both addressed a meeting of the Georgia Municipal Association.

Callaway, a Republican, accused his Democratic opponent of making wild promises to get himself elected and knowing full well the money would not be available to fulfill the promises.

"The old saying that money doesn't grow on trees apparently hasn't registered with my opponent," Callaway said.

The GOP nominee specifically accused Maddox of promising an education group to give teachers a \$1,200 per year pay raise in the first year of his administration "but he failed to tell the public about this."

"He failed to tell them they will have to foot a \$200 million bill in four years to fulfill his pledge," Callaway said.

He said Maddox also had promised to triple the normal increase in local school financing and "he doesn't have any idea where you can raise that kind of money."

Secret Meetings Cited

Callaway mentioned as well that secret plane trip his opponent took to meet James Gray in Florida and the closed-door meeting of Atlanta area Democrats where Maddox is alleged to have promised to endorse the 1968 Democratic nominees and three Negroes running in state elections.

Maddox has since denied he made any such pact with Democrats, calling the charge a "sinister plot." Mystery continued to shroud the trip to Florida.

Both incidents were examples of "Maddox's irresponsibility," according to Callaway.

The republican pledged to support most of the major platforms of the GMA including the continuation of direct grants to cities, new sources of local revenue and tax relief for homeowners.

Barbs Returned

Maddox, who addressed the group later, let fly with barbs even more pointed than Callaway's.

"Nothing but a fool would say he would take politics out of any department," Maddox said. "He (Callaway) either is a fool or thinks you are."

Callaway had pledged to take politics out of the highway department.

"Bo Callaway and the bankers that control him have climbed down into the gutter of hate," Maddox continued.

Then, half joking, Maddox said he had already been somewhat successful in his bid for

governor.

"Weltner has left Congress, Johnson has left the country, Martin Luther King has gone north and Ivan Allen has gone into hibernation."

In a talk earlier at Augusta, Maddox said an out-of-state building firm offered him \$50,000 for his "political influence."

He said the firm—which he refused to name — was interested in contracting with the state. Maddox said he could have picked up \$50,000 in cash in Augusta Tuesday had he agreed to go along with the bribe.

Maddox said he refused to meet with the company's representatives.

It was the second time Maddox has claimed offers of large amounts of money. He earlier charged that he was offered \$100,000 to drop out of the governor's race before the first primary election.

Office of the Mayor

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

PHONE 522-4463

From Betty Robinson

Favorable

the state's economy, but no recession.

And even these figures don't tell the whole story.

clarity and expand their taxation and spending views between now and November 8. Voters should insist that they do.

In the Enterprise 10-5-66

Principle or Pragmatism?

ON THE BASIS of what he has said for the record, the decision of Rep. Charles Weltner of Atlanta, to withdraw as a candidate for re-election rather than support Lester Maddox is both noble and naive.

Weltner, a 38-year-old, two-term liberal Democrat, said his oath to the party required that he support the Democratic nominees, and "I cannot compromise with hate. I cannot vote for Lester Maddox."

Maddox is the pistol-packing, ax-handle

swinging segregationist who is the party's gubernatorial nominee.

What makes Weltner's decision noble is his obvious dedication to principle. What makes it naive is his apparent belief that it will change anything—or for that matter that his oath was binding.

As everywhere else in the country, the Democratic Party in Georgia has wrapped its arms around everyone from Eugene Talmadge to Martin Luther King. The oath is more of a pledge of allegiance to party principles than to any individual candidate, just as the Oath of Allegiance to the flag doesn't compel us to like all Americans or everything about the United States.

If there is validity to Weltner's decision, it is that there is method in his madness, and he is not telling all. Being a politician, Weltner has reason to hope that the state Democratic Party, already split, may turn to him if Maddox is defeated next month. He might hope to be the party's choice to succeed Republican nominee Howard Callaway in the governor's chair. And he might be right.



Rep. Charles L. Weltner

Fire the

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Thursday 10.6. - 1966
Detroit Mich.

Mr. Allen:

The enclosed is what
the Free Press has to say about Mr.
Wellmer.

I thank God for a gentleman
who will ^{put} principles above politics.
He also knows that Atlanta and
Georgia will drift into obscurity,
never again to rise, and this could be
the most shameful thing that could
happen. I don't want to see Atlanta
and Georgia to go to hell like Birmingham
and Ala.

Walter H. Jordan

3117 E. Canfield
Detroit 48207
Mich.



Hon. Sam Allen
-Mayor - City Hall
Atlanta Ga.

October 6, 1966

Dear Mayor Allen:

You are to be admired for your character and courage in speaking out about the lack of ability of Mr. Maddox. I hope you and your fellow citizens will be successful, and will ultimately prevail.

Sincerely,

Eleanor Forrester

Mrs. J. W. Forrester, Jr.

Dear Mr. Mayor:

Because I am sure you have received a number of letters criticizing you for your forthright statements against Maddox, I want to send my earnest respects to a man who had the courage to spell out bluntly to we Georgians the mess in which we find ourselves. If more politicians were like you and Mr. Weltner, how much better off would our country be!

And while I am at it, let me praise you for your courage during the riots. I hold my head higher because Atlanta has a mayor of your caliber.

A grieving Georgian

MISS RITA KITTS
The Foundation
Warm Springs, Georgia

31830



The Hon Ivan Allen
Mayor of Atlanta
Atlanta
Georgia

The Barclay



111 EAST 48TH STREET, NEW YORK 17

October 6, 1966

Dear Mayor Allen:

On television last night in Philadelphia, I heard Vice President Humphrey refer to you and Charles as "two shining lights in American politics". I enthusiastically agree.

Congratulations on your statement about Madam. You said vividly what we are all thinking.

Best wishes -

Carolyn Johnson

1437 Valley View Rd. Dunwoody, Ga.

St. Matthew's Church
WHITEFIELD, N. H.

Shrine of Our Lady of the Mountains
BRETTON WOODS, N. H.

St. Patrick's Church
TWIN MOUNTAIN, N. H.

P. O. BOX 187
WHITEFIELD, NEW HAMPSHIRE
03598

OCT 5, 1960

Dear Mayor of Atlanta,

In watching the news on television the other night, I was privileged to hear your forthright statements on Sister Maddox.

May God bless you for speaking out in behalf of justice and charity. Keep up your good work and please stay in public office.

Sincerely yours,
(Rev.) Michael J. Duffin

Oct. 1, 1966

Dear Mr. Mayor;

I feel that this "Thank
you" note is quite appropriate
since I do want to sincerely
thank you for your statement
of non-support for Lester
Maddox. Quite frankly, I
cannot think of anyone who
is less qualified to be
governor of this state or head

Thank
You!

of our democratic party.
Again, I greatly
appreciate your stand.

Sincerely,
Anna Kay Blair
(college student)

786 Sherwood Rd. N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30324

September 29, 1966

Dear Mayor Allen,

Thank you for your

views as expressed on T. V.

in the evening of September 29.

It is exactly how I feel

and as I know many other

Georgians do also.

Sincerely,

Eda (Mrs C.W.) Bowdler

665 Mt. Paran Rd.

Atlanta, Ga

Saturday, October 1, 1966

"First the blade, then

Keeping sight of the goal

In a lull during the Negro outburst in Atlanta earlier this month, Mayor Ivan Allen allowed himself to think aloud in the company of a television reporter as they walked through a troubled area on a morning after. What Mr. Allen said was to the effect that there were often excesses at a time of tumultuous change, but that this should not deflect society from its goal. This was the observation of a level-headed and far-seeing man. And it was all the more remarkable because the Mayor had borne the brunt of considerable abuse from the more activist Negroes involved in Atlanta's troubles.

Mr. Allen forecast, nevertheless, the effect that this Negro outburst was likely to have on Georgia politics. This effect has now manifested itself in the outcome of Wednesday's Democratic primary election. Segregationist Lester Maddox triumphed over moderate Ellis Arnall, who was seeking to get back to the governor's chair that he had once occupied for a term. This leaves the contest in November to two men whose views on race are not very far apart: Howard Callaway, the Republican gubernatorial candidate, comes from the same part of the spectrum as Mr. Maddox. In other words, the white backlash seems to have swept out of the running any moderate candidate for the Georgia governorship.

There is little doubt that the turn that the Negro revolution has taken this summer is having an effect on American public opinion as a whole. Figures quoted by pollster Louis Harris in a CBS television documentary this week showed strikingly how white attitudes toward Negroes have changed since the summer began. The

trend already was apparent by June. By then, public opinion was split about evenly into "pro" and "anti"—a fall off from the euphoric days of not so long ago when sympathizers with the Negro revolution outnumbered resisters two to one. According to Mr. Harris, the end of the summer sees this proportion roughly reversed. Resisters to the current trend or pace of the revolution now outnumber sympathizers two to one.

From Atlanta, attention now shifts to San Francisco. There—after Mr. Maddox's success in the Georgia primary—the immediate question is whether this week's outbursts in the Negro sections of San Francisco will swing back to Republican Ronald Reagan those votes which he was apparently beginning to lose to Democrat "Pat" Brown in the campaign for the governorship of California. Mr. Reagan is cut in a different mold from that of the victor in Wednesday's primary in Georgia; but there is general agreement that in their respective states both he and Mr. Maddox have directly or indirectly sought the white backlash vote.

For our part, we are inclined to go along with Atlanta's Mayor Allen. Neither the outcome of the Georgia primary nor the regrettable and intermittent outbursts in the Negro ghettos of big cities is likely to deter American society as a whole from the goal which it has set itself—equal rights, equal opportunities, equal responsibilities for all. The goal has within itself its own dynamism. Human failings and human excesses may cause the caravan to falter or impose detours. But it has not turned back or disintegrated in its nearly two-hundred-year journey—and is hardly likely to do so now.

Let teachers teach

It is time to get national Teachers administration probably considers itself for-
 Corps te to have even 1,250 trained con-



3117 E. Canfield
10-1-1966
Detroit 48207
Mich.

Hon. Dan Albert.

Thanks for the way in which
you expressed your feelings about
the recent campaign for Governor
of the great State of Georgia. Atlanta
is my native City and I will always
love and cherish her success, as well
as the welfare of the state. Certainly
hope and pray that you and the other
people of the City and State of like caliber
will put this little Madson in his
proper place. Atlanta and Georgia does
not need his kind of leadership. Atlanta
has found her place in the Sun.

It is also the recognized
 Metropolis of the Great south-
 eastern part of this Country
 It is in the national eye as a
 successful baseful town as have
 been stated by Mrs. Mc Hale of the
 Braves. The Falcons are doing fine
 in the world of football. Atlanta and
 Georgia must not be hurt ^{by} any group
 - white or black - who would drag
 her name in the dust of ignominy
 and shame. I sincerely trust that
 you and the law abiding people of
 Georgia ^{with} Marshall your forces did
 stop this madman before he brings
 Shame to my beloved Atlanta and
 Georgia. I have enclosed a state-
 ment from the Free press

SP

Mr Allen, it may be a
surprise to hear me say it but
I helped you and a few others to
open Spring St. school... in 1919
I was the first janitor there, and
Mrs. Jo. Bergman was the principle

Walter T. Jordan

after smashing plate-glass



Lester Maddox

Maddox Is Winning In Georgia

ATLANTA — Lester Maddox, a strong disciple of racial segregation, apparently won nomination Wednesday as the Democratic candidate for governor of Georgia.

With 1,034 of 1,908 precincts reported, Maddox had 279,783 votes to 166,209 for former Gov. Ellis Arnall, who is regarded as a racial moderate.

* * *

MADDOX, who identified himself with Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace, campaigned against the "Great Society and godless communism."

Arnall vowed to move Georgia forward into the "21st century."

Arnall carried the suburban areas of Atlanta, Savannah and Macon, but the margin was not enough to offset the rural vote that went to Maddox.

Maddox appeared on the way to the greatest upset in recent Georgia political history in a campaign in which the old line politicians remained silent.

Arnall had led five other candidates in the Sept. 14 primary but was forced into a runoff by Maddox.

Maddox, 50, waved a pistol and provided ax handles for customers to chase Negroes from his cafeteria last year. He closed his restaurant rather than desegregate. He has no previous political experience.

Arnall, 59, who maintained loyalty to the national Democratic Party, said that Republicans were supporting Maddox because they considered him an easier opponent for Rep. Howard H. Callaway, the GOP nominee for governor.

Maddox called Arnall a super-liberal.

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Detroit Free Press

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

JOHN S. KNIGHT, PRESIDENT AND EDITOR

LEE HILLS, EXECUTIVE EDITOR AND PUBLISHER

JOHN B. OLSON, GENERAL MANAGER

Published every morning by Knight Newspapers, Inc., 321 Lafayette Blvd., Detroit, Michigan 48231

10-A

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1966

As We See It

Georgia Deserves Better Than Its November Fate

*This was his Georgia, this his share
Of pine and river and sleepy air,
Of summer thunder and winter rain
That spills bright tears on the window
pane.*

*With the slight fierce passion of a
young man's grief,
Of the mocking bird and the mulberry
leaf.*

So Stephen Vincent Benet described it in his classic "John Brown's Body." But Benet was talking of the Georgia of Clay Wingate, the Georgia of a hundred years ago.

Since then Georgia has made great strides. Despite the red-gallused Gene Talmadge and some of his successors, Ed Rivers and Marv Griffin, Georgia has become the second most enlightened state of the Old South, only behind North Carolina.

Ellis Arnall was one of the first liberal Southern politicians when he was elected governor in 1943. Since then there have been several, notably the last two, Ernest Vandiver and Carl Sanders, who cannot succeed himself. Gradually Georgia has been moving into the 20th Century.

But now the steps of progress have fallen silent. The Democratic Party of Georgia has all but destroyed itself, and the people

of the state in November face a choice no free people should be called upon to make.

In a runoff for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination, arch-segregationist Lester Maddox stopped the comeback attempts of Arnall. Maddox is known in the North as the man who furnished axe handles to the white patrons of his Pickrick Restaurant ("You pick it out, we'll rick it up") to ward off would-be Negro patrons, and when ordered to permit Negroes to enter, closed his doors rather than submit to law and to human dignity.

Facing him will be freshman Rep. Howard "Bo" Callaway, Georgia's only Republican congressman and the scion of a paternalistic cotton mill family. Callaway is the kind of a Southerner who is "good to his niggers"—so long as they don't get "uppity ideas" about equal rights and things like that. Callaway is also the young man who led Georgia down the Goldwater path in 1964.

No matter who wins, the people of the state will lose. Maddox openly professes to be a devotee of George Wallace. Callaway openly professes equal affection for Barry Goldwater.

Georgia deserves better.

Saturday, October 1, 1966

"First the blade, then the

Keeping sight of the goal

In a lull during the Negro outburst in Atlanta earlier this month, Mayor Ivan Allen allowed himself to think aloud in the company of a television reporter as they walked through a troubled area on a morning after. What Mr. Allen said was to the effect that there were often excesses at a time of tumultuous change, but that this should not deflect society from its goal. This was the observation of a level-headed and far-seeing man. And it was all the more remarkable because the Mayor had borne the brunt of considerable abuse from the more activist Negroes involved in Atlanta's troubles.

Mr. Allen forecast, nevertheless, the effect that this Negro outburst was likely to have on Georgia politics. This effect has now manifested itself in the outcome of Wednesday's Democratic primary election. Segregationist Lester Maddox triumphed over moderate Ellis Arnall, who was seeking to get back to the governor's chair that he had once occupied for a term. This leaves the contest in November to two men whose views on race are not very far apart: Howard Callaway, the Republican gubernatorial candidate, comes from the same part of the spectrum as Mr. Maddox. In other words, the white backlash seems to have swept out of the running any moderate candidate for the Georgia governorship.

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trend already was apparent by June. By then, public opinion was split about evenly into "pro" and "anti"—a fall off from the euphoric days of not so long ago when sympathizers with the Negro revolution outnumbered resisters two to one. According to Mr. Harris, the end of the summer sees this proportion roughly reversed. Resisters to the current trend or pace of the revolution now outnumber sympathizers two to one.

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limps

⊕
**FAMILY
 FEATURES**

*Dialogue
 with youth*

By Erwin D. Canham

*Editor in chief of
 The Christian Science Monitor*

Reader: Would you please comment on the operation and purpose of the "spoils system"? To most Australians this system seems to be a form of corruption built into the political system. Do you approve of it?

Anna S.
 Victoria, Australia

E. D. C.: The "spoils system" is a form of corruption built into the political system. You are quite right. It comes from the phrase, "To the victor belongs the spoils." It used to prevail in the United States, and it did so previously in Great Britain and elsewhere. Government servants held their appointments at the pleasure of a political patron. Now the system has been largely replaced by civil service. In the United States, the civil service does not extend quite so high up in political rank as in Great Britain. This is partly because American administrations do not usually change as often as in parliamentary countries. It would be impossible in Britain or Australia to clear out the second and third rank of officials in government departments whenever the government changed. In the United States, a department head and his immediate subordi-



246 Daniel Ave S.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30317
October 5, 1966

Dear Mayor Allen:

Thank you for expressing publicly your opposition to Lester Maddox. Eventually his nomination will be recognized for what it is, a costly mistake for the people of Georgia. Georgia will survive this nomination, as she will endure through Maddox's administration, if he is elected. How much damage is done, how costly the mistake, will depend upon the views and conduct of other office holders. The Nation must be told

that Maddox does not speak for all Georgians.
By your words and actions you have helped tell
this story. I appreciate it. Most of my friends,
neighbors and co-workers appreciate it. Please
continue.

We also thank you for having the courage
to face a riotous crowd in your efforts
to maintain order. This was surely a factor
in preventing more wide spread disturbances.

Sincerely,

Paul A. Crowe

Mrs. William Shepherd Dix, junior

Dear Mayor Allen,

I spent the first 25 years of my life in Rome, Georgia. It sometimes seems that I have spent the last 25 years being ashamed of Georgia politicians. I was very proud of your statement of two nights ago on N.B.C. concerning Lester Maddox.

I want you to know that as a former Georgian it helps a great deal to have a few of our southern leaders have the courage to speak out at a time like this. Sincerely yours,
Jane G. Dix.



Dear Mayor Allen,

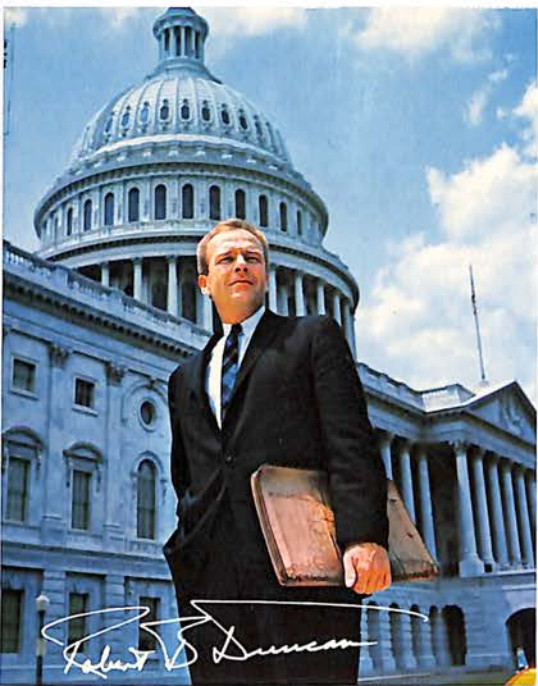
Hooray for you! I'm so glad someone had the gumption to say what they really thought of Lester Maddox. At least one person in Georgia could stand up and say to the Nation - "No, we are not for this man." I am ashamed to be a

Georgian and proud to be
an Atlantan.

Thank you for your
courage to take a stand.

Sincerely,
Sally Sinkler
(Mrs Brock Sinkler)

Sunday, October 2nd



ROBERT B. DUNCAN—experienced, realistic statesman whom AP lists as “one of the HARDEST WORKING Congressmen on Capitol Hill.” **DUNCAN**—the only man to serve two consecutive terms as speaker of Oregon House of Representatives. **DUNCAN**—the kind of diligent, decisive “shirtsleeve” senator Oregonians can depend upon for intelligent leadership in the U.S. Senate. **DUNCAN**—father of 7, an Oregon lawyer, WW II Navy pilot and member of Navy Reserve . . . a man you can trust to make up his mind, stand and be counted.

Keep **BOB** working for **OREGON**

DUNCAN

DEMOCRAT ★ U.S. SENATOR

Duncan for Senate Committee, Sid Leiken,
chm., 2230 W. Harvard, Roseburg, Oregon  12

**WHAT IS THE MOST
IMPORTANT THING
YOU SHOULD DO
BEFORE YOU DIE**



Most people would say to make a will . . . others might say to get your affairs straight . . . some might say to be sure and purchase a cemetery lot. As you read thru this short note, you will come to the same answer I found in my life in 1950. I have found it to be so wonderful that I want you to know it is the most imperative thing in your life, and it should be attended to at once. May you continue to read to the last word.

1. God loves you and this fact alone is exciting. "For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life." John 3:16

2. You are a sinner and condemned to death as such. Romans 3:23 tells us "For all have sinned and come short of the glory of God." Romans 6:23 tells us "The wages of sin is death; but the gift of God is eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord." The Bible warns us over and over this eternal death is in a lake of living fire.

3. As sinners we are separated from God and cannot experience this love that he has for us. Therefore the question now is; how can we be reconciled to God and what can we do about this sin problem. Can we work our way into the grace of God by our talent, good works, money, intellect, or by our good looks . . . we can try the best we can but each of us must come to the fact that what we do ourselves is temporary and not

lasting. We find in John 14:6 Jesus tells us "I am the way, the truth, and the life; no man cometh unto the Father, but by me." We find in Romans 5:8 "But God commendeth his love toward us, in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us."

4. It would be well for you to now read John 3:1-8, for in this passage Jesus tells Nicodemus three times in eight verses "Ye must be born again." Now keep in mind Nicodemus was a very religious man, a good man, a wealthy man, a well educated man and a good family man . . . but Jesus told him "Ye must be born again." What Jesus told him was that he had been born the first time physically and in sin, and that he needed to be born again spiritually. With this new birth he would be entirely new, not made over. In fact a new baby.

5. Now for the answer to the question, "What is the most important thing you should do before you die?" The answer is to accept Jesus Christ as your personal Lord and Saviour, asking Him to come into your life, to forgive your sins by washing them in the blood He shed for you, to be the Lord of your life, that you surrender your will, emotions and intellect fully to Him. Not just to know about Him, or to think the church can take you to heaven; but in having this personal relationship with Him and in inviting Him into your heart. John 1:12 tells us "But as many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on his name."

Revelation 3:20 tells us, and this is Jesus speaking, "Behold I stand at the door and knock [this is the door of your heart]: if any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come into him, and will sup with him, and he with me." Won't you do it?

Have you invited Jesus into your life, to be the Lord of your life? If not, why not do it right now. Bow your head, talk to Him as you would your very best friend, tell Him you are a sinner, ask Him to forgive you, to come into your heart to be the Lord of your life, that you surrender your will, emotions and intellect to Him. Now thank Him for coming in.

Did He come in and how do you know? He said He would come in (Rev. 3:20) not by feeling but by faith. It is by the testimony of the Word of God.

"And this is the record, that God hath given to us eternal life, and this life is in his Son. He that hath the Son hath life; and he that hath not the Son of God hath not life. These things have I written unto you that believe on the name of the Son of God; that ye may know that ye have eternal life, and that ye may believe on the name of the Son of God." I John 5:11-13

Buck Talman

Oct 4, 1966.

Dear Mayor Allen,

May I take one minute
of your busy schedule to tell
you how much my husband
& I admire your courage and
integrity in expressing your
views on Mr. Maddox as
possible governor of this
beautiful state of Georgia.

Please know, that
when you appeared on T. V.
& made that announcement,
you made a great number of
Georgians feel very proud
to have you as their Mayor.

Respectfully Yours
Mrs & Mrs Michael Contento

McIntosh
1071 Westmont Rd. SW.
Atlanta Ga.
30311



Mayor Ivan Allen Jr.
Mayor's Office.
City Hall
Atlanta, Ga.

D & B

October 3, 1966

Dear Mayor Allen,

You have surely set a fine example for those of us who respect law and order and progress. Your courageous behavior during the unfortunate riots of several weeks ago set you even more apart as a man who is truly devoted to his duty and his city.

And now we see that you will not be compromised by "politics", either. To know that

There are still one or two
responsible men in office
who will not be shackled
to the hate-filled rabble
rouser who aspires to the
governorship of this state
is most comforting. We
know there will be better
days ahead, especially if
we can keep men like you
in office.

We are proud to be Atlantans
and proud to be your
supporters.

Mr. Mrs. Robert Friedland

Mrs. Wayne V. Greenberg
413 Aumond Road, Augusta, Georgia 30904

October 4, 1966

Mayor Ivan Allen
City Hall
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mayor Allen,

Enclosing a copy of a letter sent to Rep. Weltner. These sentiments reflect the feelings and attitudes of many people in Georgia who salute the Mayor of Atlanta, as well, for his dignified and courageous expression of contempt and disapproval of the symbols of degeneration and hate that vie for power in the Democratic Party of our state. Where, indeed, would we be without men of such direction and independence as Ivan Allen and Charles Weltner.

Your statement was so direct, honest and appropriate that it leaves little to add. But one feels compelled to say Thank You.

Sincerely,

Lois I. Greenberg

Mrs. Wayne V. Greenberg
413 Aumond Road, Augusta, Georgia 30904

October 4, 1966

Rep. Charles L. Weltner
803 Peachtree St. N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Rep. Weltner,

Rarely is one able to reflect with pride and joy:
There is an honorable man! You have stood up to be counted
among those Georgians who really care what happens in our
state. You have, at great personal and professional
sacrifice, displayed your banner for all to see. And we
applaud you.

I congratulate you, and many of my friends, unvocal though
they remain at this time, have taken great heart from your
gesture. We are not pleased with the choice (or is it an echo?)
between Maddox and Callaway. We feel that Georgia is worth
more than this. We have come too far from that kind of
government and philosophy that these men represent and
we have not come so far that we can afford to risk it.
If Georgia is to remain an integral part of these United States
and grow and prosper in accordance with its potential, we
must have leaders we can trust; leaders of the caliber and
stature of Charles L. Weltner.

We urge you to consider accepting a write-in draft for
the gubernatorial election. We need a governor we can trust;
a man who will ensure dignity for all men, a man who will
bring honor and dignity to the State of Georgia. A good
man in a naughty world: Charles L. Weltner.

M. L. Mortlock
5602 Whitfield Chapel Road, Apt. 301
Lanham, Maryland 20801

October 3, 1966

Dear Mayor Allen,

If you need encouragement,
please let this white, Anglo-
Saxon, Episcopalian, life-long
Democrat applaud your
courageous, Christian attitudes
and actions. You give me hope
for the whole human race!
Thank you. Do not despair.

Sincerely yours,

Miss M. L. Mortlock
U.S. History Teacher
Bowie Sr. High, Bowie, Md.



Mayor Ivan Allen
City Hall
Atlanta, Ga.

Mrs. Thomas R. Nolan
45 Rumson Way, N. E.
Atlanta, Ga. 30305



My dear Mayor,

It makes us very proud to have such forthright and courageous men as you in government. You may be sure that all decent-minded Georgians appreciate your putting integrity ahead of political expediency.

Clifford and Marion Groover
4258 Woodland Brook Dr
Smarna, Georgia



AMCOA

ARCHITECTURAL MANUFACTURING COMPANY OF AMERICA
A DIVISION OF SHOWER DOOR COMPANY OF AMERICA
P. O. BOX 29202 • ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30325

from the desk of—

Oct. 4, 1966

ROBERT ROBBINS

Dear Mr Mayor —

Your expression of
your stand against the
nomination of Maddox
was great!

You have led the
way for others to follow.

May God bless you
and your family.

Sincerely,

Bob Robbins

Mrs. Sara K. Bernath
2939 Ridgevalley Road N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30327

Dear Mayor Allen,

I want to personally thank you for your comments about Mr. Maddox's nomination for governor. I also admire Mr. Helton for his reason for not running.

We are very lucky indeed, to have you for our Mayor. Please do not think about leaving us anytime soon.

Sincerely
Sara D.

480 So Milledge Ave B-1
Atlanta, Ga 30601

October 3, 1966

The Honorable Mayor Allen
Atlanta, Ga.

My dear Mr Allen:

We need leaders like you who speak out against those, like Lester Maddox, who preach hate and violence. Just you and one other (Mr Heltrier) have demonstrated that you have ethical standards which you practice. Thank you.

I hope in the days ahead that you will continue to fight for right. I and many others stand ready to work with you. Please do not hesitate to let us join with you - when the time is right. Perhaps you, Mr Heltrier, and others will be able to unite the more moderate Georgians for action.

May you have continued success in your work and life.

Sincerely and respectfully,
(Miss) Merle M. Weckler

Thought perhaps you might like to read what we Oklahomans think of you and the situation in Georgia.

I am a former Atlantan, still have many relatives in and around there.

As you know, Oklahoma integrated peacefully and with no dire results. Can't see much difference, if any, than before. But what with Mexicans, Indians, Negroes, whites and a large number of foreign youths attending T.U. which lays emphasis on production and use of oil, we have a very different set up than Atlanta. And, if you will pardon me, more intelligent leaders - that is, I mean more of them. Or maybe it is because politicians want the votes of ALL races.

Percy Williams
Percy Williams.

TULSA DAILY WORLD

"Oklahoma's Greatest Newspaper"
EUGENE LORTON
1869-1949

Page 6

Saturday, October 1, 1966

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WALTER BISCUP, Editor of Editorial Page

PHIL DESSAUER, Associate Editor

N. G. HENTHORNE, JR., Associate Editor

BIBLE THOUGHT

The Lord shall guide thee continually.—Isa. 58:11

Sickness In Georgia

TWO MEN in the State of Georgia personify the sickness the civil rights movement has brought to our political life in 1966.

One of course is LESTER MADDOX, the new Democratic nominee for Governor who won last Wednesday's runoff primary with the help of a powerful white-backlash vote.

The other is MAYOR IVAN ALLEN of Atlanta, one of the leading civil-rights moderates in the South and a Democrat. He calls MADDOX "totally unqualified" and says his nomination resulted from "ignorance, prejudice, reactionism and the duplicity of many Republican voters."

(In Georgia apparently there is nothing to keep Republicans from voting in a Democratic primary, and it's believed many of them voted for MADDOX in the belief he could be beaten in the November general election.)

ALLEN is one of the progressives of Atlanta who have tried to bring reason and goodwill to the problem of race relations. They have made their City probably the outstanding showplace of racial progress in the South.

But recently the new radicals fo-

mented street riots in Atlanta and villified ALLEN as an enemy of the Negro when he used police power to break up the fighting. That was a bitter moment for a man who had spent years trying to do constructive work in one of the most sensitive areas of human relationship.

But that wasn't the end. It wasn't enough that black power zealots turned on a longtime friend of true civil rights; their fanaticism put fuel in the anti-civil rights political campaign of MADDOX.

So now we see the flames fanned by STOKELY CARMICHAEL and his followers burning down the structure of progress erected by men like ALLEN. And Georgia falls backward in race relations with the renomination of an out-and-out segregationist who is best remembered for using a pistol and ax-handles to drive Negroes out of a cafeteria he once operated.

It boils down to this: Between the extremists—CARMICHAEL types at one end and the MADDOX people at the other—the IVAN ALLENS in Georgia are caught in a frustrating squeeze. They are victims of the new militancy, just as is the cause of civil rights itself.

Honorable Ivan Allen



Mayor of the City of Atlanta

City Hall

Atlanta

Georgia

(Personal)

Mrs. Sara Cook Smith
Murphey Avenue
Barnesville, Ga. 30204

Abilene, Texas
September 30, 1966

Mr. Ivan Allen
Mayor, City of Atlanta
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Allen:

I am a Georgia girl now living with my family in Texas. I have been very proud of my home state in its attitudes toward progress particularly in the racial situation as it exists in our country.

Now, I am disappointed. But I want you to know that in spite of the sick feeling I have over the choice of Lester Maddox as a Democratic nominee for governor of Georgia, I appreciate so much your statement which I heard on TV. And I also appreciate your position and attitude during and after recent racial tension and strife in Atlanta.

Although I agree with you that the seal of the state proclaiming wisdom, justice and moderation has been tarnished, I am proud to know that some Georgians...and I refer to you and those like you...still know the meaning of these words.

Very sincerely,
Beth Murray Walker
Mrs. Marshall Walker

Telefax

WESTERN UNION

Telefax



201P EST OCT 3 66 AA331

A LLC198 PD ATLANTA GA 3 1259P EST
HONORABLE IVAN ALLEN JR, MAYOR OF ATLANTA
ATLA

HAVE BEEN OUT OF CITY FOR SOME TIME KEPT ABREAST OF ATLANTA
NEWS YOU ARE A MAN OF TREMENDOUS INTEGRITY AND COURAGE IT IS
A PRIVILEGE TO KNOW YOU SINCERELY
JOHNNIE YANCEY

Walter B. Shiver
P.O. Box 749
Fort Myers, Fla.

Sept., 30 1966

Mayer Ivan Allen, Jr.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

First, I agree fully with your statement in regards to the election of Mr. Maddox.

I write this to you in the interest of common sense, and a plea for sanity, if it can be obtained.

My background, ten years military, studied and practiced law - Navy, a discipline administrator and now an Accountant.

The Civil Rights movement and the racial riots are two complete problems, the first has been made into law and in time will work it self out, but push it, more problems will be created. The racial issue or riots are riots, a fair but firm stand through law enforcement plus some problem solving will element that ill.

But, it seems to me that the voting public has now let their emotions become inflamed, with that, their logical approach to the matter is hard to appeal to.

From all the material I have read, and it started coming out in early 1966. The choice of candidates was limited. The defeat of Mr. Arnold seems to be a defeat put-forth to President Johnson. As for Mr. Maddox, that is just inflamed emotional voting.

You know this as well as myself, I am fully aware of the growth of your state and the economic stability you now enjoy. The state of Georgia no longer has to depend upon the seasional income of the farmer. Cotton, peanuts, patotes, etc are of the past.

Georgia's economic condition, is known to you much better than myself, but I do know that it is much better than the state of Florida. We have our problems to, but Georgia has too much to loose. To myself, there is but one thing to do, protect the economic growth (money).

You now have Mr. Maddox and Mr. Callaway to be elected in November. As for Mr. Maddox, there seems to be a lot of doubt in his being an administrator. He has come out with a platform of the broken record of Guide Lines. That point even if voted into law, is doomed to failure and your state may well end up with a large deficit. Mr. Wallace's plain is going to end in the same results. Plus being in the RED. The law is the law.

Mr. Callaway, as I understand, is a man of wealth in his own right. He then should understand the laws of economics. Mr. Johnson violated them.

My main point is this, the national picture is not good at the present time, nor does it show any signs of getting better, before it gets worse. The balance of payments are lagging by ten years, more money is going out, than coming in. That account is out of balance. What is coming in, is for gold. Inflation is now a reality and will only increase. Next August will be felt hard. Then you will have a few measures to control these conditions, but at the other end there is deflation. One extreme to the other.

People are talking, writing, calling recession, depression and inflation. Their ideals of this condition are destorted. Its one extreme to the other, but the middle ground is the problem. The national greuch is the ill or symptoms, but the ill is the gold and balance of payments.

Please bear in mind, to fight a war on a long term basis, one needs money, not paper; but gold to back that paper up.

To save words and space, you are aware of the condition, if the people emotions are inflamed now, just waite until their pocket books hurt.

Looking at the national picture, one that understands it, can very easily focus it down to the state and local level.

There are two examples I wish to suggest. 1. In Europe from last figures, they hold 28-29 Billion in dollars. Gold on hand is 4 Billion for exchange, 10 Billion in reserve, giving a total of 14 Billion. That gold is dropping every month. Mr. Johnson has entered into agreements in this matter, and borrowed 4.5 Billion more. Total 9 Billion in liabilities. It is robbing Peter to Pay Paul, and is only a short term cure.

2. The construction business has had 4.5 billion dollars pumped into it, the interest rates have been leveled off, keeping them in line, but the banks are still short of cash to loan, plus their interest income is still high. This money has not been of too much help, because the contractors can not borrow the needed money to start construction. No construction, no mortgages. Their picture is not bright. No wonder it looked like deficit spending. In Atlanta there are 40 saving and loans associations. Their picture should not be any brighter than others.

If one is going to wind up with a deficit, lets not make it any bigger. Everything in the national picture will affect the states, down to the people.

Some how, some where - only you know. Put these issues before the people, not this emotional race argument. To myself it is this, my stomach comes before pride.

My family argues the race issue, but not myself. When a client comes in to get the final results. If he has a profit, I am the good guy, if he is broke, I am the biggest SOB walking. The same applies to taxes.

If I can be of assistance through writing, having on hand much material and facts, plus sending out articles all over. Please feel free to ask. I take no sides, but bring out the issues, and never let up.

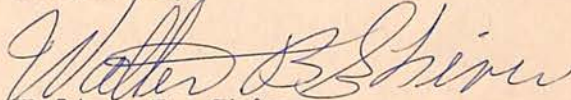
Just thinking out loud. We now have a backlash pattern. just what started it. Your riot could have been aimed at swing the public from one extreme to the other.

Your law enforcement agency couldn't be broken down, but the riots could enflame the emotions of the votes, making them swing to the other extreme. President Johnson is losing favor, so there is one way to look at it.

This pattern is not new, it is quite old. Hitler started these ideas and made them work. Recall he got into power using emotions.

Then he fought a war on others gold.

Sincerely,


Walter B. Shiver

W. B. Shiver
PO Box 749
Fort Myers, Fla.



REGISTERED
NO. 2137

Mayor Ivan Allen, Jr.
Atlanta, Georgia



FORT MYERS
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ATLANTA, GA
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FORT MYERS
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Miami, Florida

Dear Mr. Allen:

Having lived in Atlanta until my marriage in 1942, I want you to know that I am proud of you and your record. But I am sorry for what happened during the Stokely Carmichael rebellion.

Mr. Baggs is editor of The Miami Daily News and is a former Georgian--perhaps you know him.

I thought you might like to read these two articles.

Sincerely yours,

Miriam Patton Lee

(Mrs. S. J. Lee)

761-3183

Mr. J. B. ...

[Handwritten signature]

...

...

...

...

...

...

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...

Memo from
Rusty Bruton

Dear Mr Mayor.

Please accept
my compliments on your
statement re Mr Maddox.

I'm not much for
platitudes - but this one
appeals to me.

"The only thing necessary for
the triumph of Evil, is for
enough good men to do nothing!"
Edmund Burke.

Kindest personal regards
Rusty



THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

The Honorable Ivan Allen
Mayor, City of Atlanta
Atlanta
Georgia

Sept. 30, 1966

Dear Sir:

My most sincere
thanks to you for
saying so well what
thousands of Georgians
felt concerning the re-
cent fiascos in our
state. Long may
your voice - of
reason, sanity,
and plain old-
fashioned kindness -
be heard. It will
be needed in the
critical days ahead -
Fellow Georgian

Pharmy army
Sept 30-64

Mayor of Atlanta

Sir: This nation is so badly
in need of more men like
you and Ralph McGill and
such courage you have
displayed. In a sick world
of white people. My parents
were borned and reared in
the South. So know something
about your problems. you gave
me hope when I had almost
given up and was sick
at heart because of my white
races action. So from the
bottom of my heart I thank

God for such men as you.
Keep up your good work
and maybe this nation can
still live up to what it
preaches (Freedom for all)

A white Southerner
Memorial Senior Citizen ^{Jones}
1405 So 7th ave apt 10 4.

Thomson Army 85007
Walter Jones (Mrs)



Mayor Ivan Allen
City Hall
Atlanta, Georgia

1320 COMMERCE BUILDING
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303



Mayor Ivan Allen, Jr.
201 City Hall
68 Mitchell St. S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Sept 14-66

Dear Mr. Allen,

I've been very much impressed with your activities, and steps in regards to negro's in Atlanta. I do pray your well still fights for white people, and don't be overpowered by these dirty negro's. It seems every one is loving to them, I can't see why. And when I heard one of them say they were going to bring Atlanta to its knees I shuddered. For they seem to have favor of all white citizens, leaving us with nothing except

to do as they say, will be
 a crucial job, Johnson
 is no one to be taken to
 US citizens, no one has
 a say, aside a negro.
 I am a Democrat but am
 open to make a change, I pray
 that you & others like George
 Wallace will help us to
 survive.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Helen L. Franklin
 P.O. Box 2000
 Ward 3, Precinct 2,
 Charleston, S.C.
 94 Broad St. 29401

Sept 20, 66

Dear Ivan,

I want to
commend you for your
statement on the election.

It was the only
honest, sensible, and
straightforward one made.

Best wishes to you
and your family.

Sincerely

Angel Allen Campbell
(Mrs Kenneth A. Campbell)

5592 Colton Drive, N. E.

Atlanta, Georgia 30305

September 30, 1966

Dear Mayor Allen.

Just a note of thanks to you for having the courage and integrity to speak the truth about the run-off election. Let us hope that your wise reprimand will awaken and reform the electorate.

I hope that your action in this matter - and your presence at the recent racial disturbance - rewards you with the satisfaction of work well done. We're proud to have you as Atlanta's spokesman.

Very sincerely,
Rancy B. Morris

Sept. 29th 1966

REBECCA C LOW
613 CENTRAL AV
SUMMERVILLE S CAR 29483

To The Mayor of Atlanta
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Sir: This evening we heard your speech on the T.V. — and I am writing to say it is exactly how we feel about the election of Mr Maddox. It is pitiful to see supposedly Christian people behaving in this way — and I believe those of us who have sound beliefs in truth and justice and reason must work together for Peace and right thinking in our world beginning with our own City —

Our prayers are with you and may God guide us to bring justice out of hate and prejudice —
I am a white citizen and my

ancestors - were among the first
founders of our Nation - and I
love our Country - it is sad
to see these wrong directions
taken by those who should
know better.

Sincerely -

(Miss) Rebecca E. Low

613 Central Ave -

Summersville

South Carolina 29483

Sept. 29

Dear Mayor Allen,

I would like to extend my congratulations and thanks to you for your courageous statement over nation-wide television tonight. My parents and I and all responsible Georgians are proud of the stand you have taken against that bigoted, ~~stupid~~ stupid, hate-mongering, high school dropout. It's a sad day for progress and sanity in Georgia but we must all take hope that soon voices of intelligence and reason such as yours, Governor Sanders, and Mr. Magill will win out in the state and we can once again feel proud of our state. Until that day all that we can do is vigorously oppose Mr. Maddox and his wave of race hysteria. I feel ashamed of Georgia but knowing that there are men fighting "the good fight" lessens the shame and makes the fight seem worth the effort. Congratulations once again for your stand and for the job you are doing for the best city in the country, Atlanta.

Sincerely,
Jim Parmenter

V.S. If you should happen to see Mr. Maddox,
you might suggest he send a thank-you
note to Stokely Carmichael of SNCC.
We all appreciate your valiant efforts
for racial harmony and applaud your
fine effort to prevent racial unrest.

Box # 815
Johns Hopkins University
Baltimore, Md.
21218

BALTIMORE, MD.
PM
30 SEP
1968

AIR MAIL



Mayer Ivan Allen
City Hall Building
Atlanta, Georgia

AIR MAIL

1019 Pabnetty Ave. S.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30314
October 1, 1966

Hon. Ivan Allen, Jr.
Mayor City of Atlanta
City Hall
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Sir,

You are to be commended
for the statements released to
the general public in regard
to the recent election.

Maybe, in the not too
distant future there will be
more public servants of your
calibre, with courage to speak
against evils.

We pray God will continue
to direct and bless you.

Yours truly,
Mr. & Mrs. G. A. Sturdevant

P.S. We were greatly in-
spired with your address at
the Hungry Club.

INTEROFFICE CORRESPONDENCE

TO MAJOR IVAN ALLENDATE Sept. 30 1966

FROM _____

In reference to _____

Your Honor:

I wish to congratulate you on your forthright, courageous statement, in regard to the run-off election for the Democratic Party nomination for Governor. As long as there are intelligent people like yourself available, who can and will express their opinion, there is hope that our difficult problems can be solved. You have my prayers and support to keep up the good work.

John J. Cerkner

JOHN J. CENKNER
1811 W. 14 MILE RD.
ROYAL OAK, MICH.



MAYOR IVAN ALLEN
ATLANTA, GA.

September 30, 1966
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mayor Allen,

I wish to congratulate you on your statement concerning Lester Maddox's nomination . Wednesday's run-off was not only a mistake but a tragedy for Georgia. If more of our Democratic leaders had spoken in behalf of a candidate of wisdom, justice, and moderation, perhaps this tragedy would have been averted.

May I commend you on the fine leadership you gave Atlanta during the racial turmoil!

Yours truly,

Frances F. Pearson

Mrs. Joseph T. Pearson

Allen Calls Nomination Deplorable

Although many Democratic leaders were reservedly congratulating Lester Maddox Thursday, Atlanta Mayor Ivan Allen called his nomination as governor "deplorable"

Gov. Carl Sanders, who is on a trip to Europe, sent a congratulatory telegram to Maddox.

In a statement released here by his office, Sanders said:

"As a life-long Georgia Democrat, I hope that our party will be victorious in the general election in November. As I have said before on many occasions, I intend to vote for the nominees of our party on Nov. 8."

SEEMED STUNNED

However, one source said that when Sanders was reached by telephone in London Thursday he seemed "a little stunned" at Maddox's victory over former Gov. Ellis Arnall in the runoff.

Mayor Allen declared, "It is deplorable that the combined forces of ignorance, prejudice, reactionism and the duplicity of many Republican voters have thrust upon the State of Georgia Lester Maddox, a totally unqualified individual as the Democratic nominee for Georgia."

Allen said the "seal of the great State of Georgia lies tarnished. The wisdom, justice and moderation espoused by our founding fathers must not be surrendered to the rabble of prejudice, extremism, buffoonery and incompetency."

PROGRESS AT STAKE

The mayor, who had defeated Maddox in 1961, added, "We cannot permit our state's progress to be stopped and reversed by yesterday's mistake."

Allen said he probably would have to "go fishing" on election day when Maddox opposes Re-

Continued on Page 14, Column 4



September 29, 1966

Mayer Swan Allen
City Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mayer Allen:

Please let me extend my appreciation for the statement you issued concerning Mr. Lester Maddox' nomination for governor of Georgia. Mr. Maddox has virtually no qualifications for the governorship, and many of his past actions and statements leads one to wonder about his mental stability.

Although not a Georgia citizen, I have followed this campaign with interest and was quite dismayed by the result. It seems that bleak days are ahead for Georgia and the state Democratic party. It will be your responsibility to be a voice of reason in Georgia. I wish you every success.

Sincerely,
James P. Powell

Mrs. Robert Robbins
1480 West Wesley Road N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30327

Dear Mayor Allen,

It is indeed wonderful
to have a person like you
serving as our Mayor.

We are truly proud of your
courage and convictions and
especially, you, as a person.

We are proud of
Atlanta, which is a great
city, and hope to keep it
growing ahead.

Mrs. Robert Robbins
1480 West Wesley Road N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30327

If ever we can help in
any small capacity, please
let us know.

Sincerely,
Mrs Robert Robbins

CW L

Dear Ivan -

I rarely write a "fan" letter -
but after your appearance on
Huntley-Brinkley tonight, you
will probably receive a bushel
basket of them!

Thank you for expressing so
strongly what so many of us feel.

Sot and I admire and support your courage, your integrity and your great intelligence and warmth. We feel blessed to have you in a key position for our wonderful city - but even more - to know you as a friend.

Affectionately
Claudia

Thursday Evening
7 p.m.

ERH

JEP

September 29, 1966

Dear Mayor Allen,

It was with pride that I heard your denouncement today of Lester Maddox and his supporters. Those in political service should be willing to lay aside party loyalty when incompetent persons are chosen to lead their

Party. Your honesty and
leadership shown in the
recent weeks have en-
couraged all the young
voters of our acquaintance.
Congratulations.

Most sincerely,
Judy Agnew
(Mrs. James S. Agnew)

Atlanta
Sept 30 '66

Dear Mayor Allen:

Paragon this instru-
tion (if such it is); but I
wouldn't violate my
conscience if I failed to
express ^{to you} my admiration
for your courage, both
physical (on Sept 6) moral
intellectual and political
I have not seen the paper
- and I'll be 93 in Oct

My deep and grateful
thanks ^{to you} for expressing
what all intelligent
non-prejudiced folk
in Georgia believe.

Perhaps you were too
young to remember when
my husband was a pupil
of Atlanta school later he
was at Univ of Ga.

God bless you Sincerely
(2 mds) Elean P. Bartlow

Tuesday
Sept. 27, 1966

Dear Sir,

While reading newspaper and magazines, I read the horrible news of the racial problem in our city. I am from Atlanta and I've always thought of it as the nicest city in the U.S.

Sir I would like to ask one question on the rioting. Where are the National Guard and Army Reserve? I don't believe they're doing their job there. Sir, what if we troops here in Viet Nam didn't do anything? I know you're doing your best and you probably need help, much help. That's why the National Guard would be an aid.

Thank you
P.F.C. Hawkins

P.F.C. Hawkins
1st Artillery "C" BTRY.

1st Cav. Div. (AIR)

APO San Francisco Calif.
96490



Major Evan Allen
Atlanta, Georgia

2787 Margaret Mitchell
Dr.
Atlanta, Georgia
30327
September 30, 1966

Dear Mayor Allen,

I wish to commend [no; thank-] you for the stand you have taken regarding the candidacy of Lester Maddox. I am disgusted and appalled at the weakness with which so many other leaders of the Democratic Party have endorsed Mr. Maddox's campaign and platform.

I feel that you, like me, are embarrassed for the State of Georgia. How can we talk about "fast-moving progress toward a better Georgia" and, at the same time, nominate and support a government-defying racist for the highest position in the ~~land~~ ^{State}? How can I go off to college and be proud to say I am from Georgia?

Though I am a senior in high school now, I will be able to vote in the next city election. I want you to know that you will have a tireless, enthusiastic worker in me at that time. Your courage and sensibility are the only comfort I have in this time of

Georgia's disgrace.

Sincerely,

Martha Landesberg.

P.S. I have now heard that Congressman
Walters has taken the same stand as you
have. I am not at all surprised. I have
great faith in both of you. You are both
an inspiration to me.

REX L. LEE, D.D.S.
705 CANDLER BUILDING

OFFICE PHONE
JACKSON 2-7491

HOME PHONE
767-3028

September 30, 1966

Dear Sir,

My apologies for the informality of this letter, but on the spur of the moment after hearing your denunciation of Mr. Maddox as Democratic nominee, I want to express my gratitude and admiration for your courageous stand. I had much pride in you as Atlanta's mayor earlier this month during the unrest which took place. However, I feel this stand you have taken is much more brave in the face of political criticism.

(2)

There is some consolation in all this mess knowing that one man is leading us who is not afraid to speak out for what he believes, and that is rare today.

Again, thank you very much for helping me to have faith in the leadership of this state. I only wish Georgia had more men like you in responsible positions.

Sincerely,
Nancy Dempsey
(Mrs. Dewey W.)

3354 Burk Pl. #79
Chamblee, Ga. 30005



The Honorable Ivan Allen, Junior
City Hall
Atlanta, Georgia

Riverside, California Press-Enterprise 9/19/66

Dear Mr. Allen,

Your conduct has not gone unnoticed.
Too bad there aren't more leaders like
you. I'm a Yankee + an integrationist,
a WASP, but I just don't understand
how people can consider themselves

Christians and believe in democracy
+ not be willing to treat negroes as
human beings. We have many bigots
in the north and west, too. The usual
publicity coming out of the South makes
me feel it's one area I never care
to visit.

Sincerely,
Mrs. J. F. Hodgkin

Atlanta and LA

There are mayors and there are mayors.

Mayor Ivan Allen Jr. of Atlanta has been lately in the news, his city having been the scene of racial rioting even though it is the most advanced of major Southern cities in the enlightened handling of its racial problems. Mayor Allen not only acknowledges the problems but concedes that his city has not progressed as fast as desirable in eliminating them.

In stark contrast to most Southern politicians, he testified in favor of the public accommodations section of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, saying Federal law in this area was necessary; he has favored the open occupancy section of the civil rights bill which passed the House of Representatives.

Throughout the rioting in his city, Mayor Allen was on the scene, in the thick of it, literally risking life and limb.

He didn't remember a speech he had to give in another part of the state, excuse himself from duty and take off.

He didn't limit his efforts to the obvious cries for support of the police in the face of violence. He worked closely and constantly with Negroes and whites trying to restore order.

One has the feeling that if Mayor Allen of Atlanta were appearing before a Senate committee there would be no need for questioning concerning his leadership abilities, but that if such questions were asked, and no matter how severely phrased, he would have meaningful answers, for his city and for himself. He wouldn't plead helplessness.

There are mayors and there are mayors.



Mayor Ivan Allen, Jr.
Atlanta
Georgia

Mrs. J. Hodgson
4124 Massel Rd.
Riverside
California

Mrs. E.M. Schaffrick
204 Hickory Acres Dr., Smyrna, Ga. 30080

Parke, Davis & Company



SPECIAL DELIVERY



SPECIAL DELIVERY

SPECIAL DELIVERY

Mayor Ivan Allen
City Hall
Atlanta, Ga.

SPECIAL DELIVERY

SPECIAL DELIVERY

ATLANTA, GA. FEDERAL AVIATION
MAY 19 3 30 PM



Sept. 29, 1966

The Hon. Joan Allen
The Governor's Mansion,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Mr Allen

God bless
You, for putting the truth
before your fellow Georgians.
It is an outrageous act
that Lester Maddox was
"Chosen" as Governor.

Our Physician, who is a
Republican said Mr M. is
a Psychopath.

He hasnt the slightest ^{conception}
of how to run the Government
except to react to violence.
We were in Atlanta
during the disturbance there,
we thought you handled
the situation beautifully.
As head of a great city,
as a good father, as a security
person of great inner security
and as a fine Christian.

How can we whites expect
so much of the negro? when
we have something out of
the ordinary. we use our
emotions instead of our
intellect. ^{if the} white people would
listen to the negro more as
you did they could solve
the problem -
we wondered when we
were talking to our Daughter's
maid during the trouble in
Atlanta. She said most of
those people (~~Some~~ S.N.C.C.)
would vote for Mr. Maddog
because they could meet Maddog's
violence with their own
violence and get the Federal
Government to move in. here
we tried to persuade her
to advise the colored people
she knew that it didn't
work that way.
Sen. Talwadge and Russell
are to blame somewhat - They
could help more when good
honest people run for office.
Sen. Talwadge has looked
like he has sucked on a
sour persimmon for about eight
years now.
Both Senators are always



blasting and blaming the
Federal Government for something
we know in what condition
Georgia would be if we
had no federal help.
We came there in 1929.
Many people here who
were in N. P. A. then are
now big fat Republicans,
we just cannot vote
for that maddox creature
and we shan't vote
for the Republican.
It is too bad they
were allowed to get into
the Democratic election.
We believe tho. that
Mr. Maddox will win
in the General election.
There is no need for
the rural people to change
the pattern of a life time -
and if the irresponsible
negro votes for Maddox
and the good ones don't go
to the polls - well -
Maddox is in!

Mr Allen, you and
our last three governors
have worked so hard
to keep Georgia on the
right track and right
now it seem for
naught.

We will move back-
wards with Alabama
and Mississippi.

It is cold comfort
that Bibb County went
for Mr Arnall by a
couple of hundred votes.
Madlock promised all
the people he would
reverse the school desegregation
at all.

It is pretty grim isn't
it.

We do wish the best
for you and yours.

Sincerely,
Catherine Ginn

MRS J. HAIRES GERRITT
1975 WIREVILLE AVE.
APT. B-2, MACON, GEORGIA.

Sup H. Harris
1 of 750 mends at
Macon, Ga.
312 61.



The Hon. Ivan Allen,
The Governor's mansion,
Atlanta Georgia.

Mayor Allen:

Thank you for the statement I just heard on the radio. I have been living out of the south for 5 years, teaching in a state university. I have been able to hold up my head proudly as a Georgian. You can imagine the view of Lester Maddox held in other areas.

I am here for a year's study, not eligible to vote. A colleague just called me, long distance, incredulous. Unfortunately, things I have heard make me doubt that.

His victory is due to Republican plotting - but I hope so!
They'd better get us out of it!

ex-Georgian



Mayor Ivan Allen
City Hall
Atlanta, Ga

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

R. W. MCFALL
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

849P EST SEP 29 66 AA634

NSB412 SSL405 NS HVA2599 PD HUNTSVILLE ALA 295555PCST

MAYOR OF ATLANTA

ATLA

JUST HEARD YOUR SPEECH ON TELEVISION CONGRATULATIONS WE WHO

CAN SEE BEYOND TOMORROW BELIEVE YOUR COURSE IS RIGHT

EUGENE C WARD 2407 GLENN ST

2407

(44).

1966 SEP 29 PM 9 02
RC ATLANTA GA

MAJOR OF ATLANTA
USERS SELLING HIS WAREHOUSE IN HUNTSVILLE ALA 35893
RPPS EST SEP 29 66 AASH

ATLA
JUST HEARD YOUR SPEECH ON TELEVISION CONGRATULATIONS WE WHO
CAN GET BEYOND TOMORROW BELIEVE YOUR COURSE IS RIGHT
EUGENE C WARD 3007 GLENN ST

2107
(11)

D- 97376

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

R. W. MCFALL
PRESIDENT

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940P EST SEP 29 66 AH528

A LLW332 PD ATLANTA GA 29 642P EST

MAYOR IVAN ALLEN

ATLA

THANK YOU FOR BEING THE ONLY DEMOCRAT IN GEORGIA WITH COURAGE
TO SPEAK OUT

MRS HUBERT MALLON 2138 ZELDA DR NORTHEAST

(39)•

1946 SEP 29 9 53 PM
RC ATLANTA GA

MRS. HUBERT MALLOY
TELEPHONE ROOM
THANK YOU FOR BEING
TO SPEAK OUT
ATLA
MAYOR IVAN ALLEN
A LITTLE FOR ATLANTA
9000 EST SEP 29 66 AM

C- 52629

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

TELEGRAM

R. W. MCFALL
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

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716P EST SEP 29 66 AH483

SSH425 A MZB400 CGN PD MIAMI FLO 29 646P EST

MAYOR IVAN ALLEN *3700 Noville Dr*

ATLA

CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR VERY FINE BROADCAST SORRY I 'M NOT THERE
TO HELP YOU

JOE SCHLESSINGER SR

(50)•

YOUR EST SEP 29 66 AM 883
SEARCHED A RECORD FOR MIAMI FLO 29 66 AM 883
MAYOR IVAN ALLEN

RC ATLANTA 6

1966 SEP 29 PM 7 42

CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR VERY FINE BROADCAST SORRY I'M NOT THERE
TO HELP YOU
-JOE COMBSINGER SR

ATLA

(20)

52582

C-



Telefax

WESTERN UNION

Telefax



412A EST SEP 30 66 AA169 LA042
L LL9070 NL PD 5 EXTRA LOS ANGELES CALIF 29
MAYOR OF ATLANTA GEORGIA
CITY HALL ATLA

DEAR SIR CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR STRONG STAND AGAINST THE INSANITY
AND BIGOTRY OF LESTER MADDOX WE APPLAUDE YOUR STRONG AND COURAGEOUS
VOICE

MR AND MRS RON LEITELBAUM 3544 JASMINE LOS ANGELES CALIF.

827

Telex

WESTERN UNION

Telex



630A EST SEP 30 66 AA252 SYA123
SY NC108 NL PD NEW YORK NY 29
THE MAYOR OF ATLANTA GEORGIA IVAN ALLEN
ATLA

I THANK YOU FOR SANITY AND DEEPLY COURAGEOUS STAND AGAINST
THE SICKNESS OF BLIND PREJUDICE AS MANIFEST BY THE LAMENTABLE
CANDIDACY OF LESTER MADDOX
PAUL STEIN 320 RIVERSIDE DR NYC.

8357

Telefax

WESTERN UNION

Telefax



719A EST SEP 30 66 AA272

A LLA168 NL PD 6 EXTRA ATLANTA GA 29

MAYOR IVAN ALLEN

CITY HALL ATLA

DEAR MAYOR ALLEN, THANK YOU FOR HAVING THE COURAGE AND ABILITY
TO EXPRESS PUBLICLY WHAT THE DECENT PEOPLE OF GEORGIA MUST
FEEL ABOUT THIS DISCRACEFUL DISASTER AT THE POLLS. AS A LIFETIME
GEORGIAN AND LIFETIME DEMOCRAT AND VOLUNTEER WORKER AT THE
ELLIS ARNALL HEADQUARTERS I WOULD LIKE TO TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY
TO THANK YOU FOR YOUR WONDERFUL LEADERSHIP AS MAYOR OF ATLANTA
AND IF I CAN EVER BE OF ANY SERVICE TO YOU OR THE COMMUNITY
PLEASE FEEL FREE TO CALL ON ME SINCERELY

MRS GOLDIE BARNETT 1783 RIDGEWOOD DR NE ATLANTA GA.

8432

Telefax

WESTERN UNION

Telefax



1143A EST SEP 30 66 KAA39

A KPA004 DL PD KP ATLANTA GA 30 1131A EST

IVAN ALLEN MAYOR, CITY OF ATLANTA

CITY HALL ATLA

CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR STAND RE LESTER MADDOX. HOPE YOU WILL

GIVE SOME CONSIDERATION TO A MEANS FOR A MODUS VIVENDI FOR

NON RACIST NON RADICAL DEMOCRATS

BRUCE ANDERSON

124

(34)

Telefax

WESTERN UNION

Telefax



1123A EST SEP 30 66 AA418

A LLS13 PD ATLANTA GA 30 1043A EST

MAYOR IVAN ALLEN

CITY HALL ATLA

CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR VERY RESPONSIBLE STATEMENT AGAINST
MADDOX IT IS A COMFORT TO KNOW THAT WE HAVE A MAYOR WITH COURAGE
AND FORESIGHT IN TROUBLED YEARS AHEAD PLEASE CONTINUE TO SPEAK
OUT AGAINST WHAT YOU CONSIDER WRONG AND HELP CARRY ATLANTA
FORWARD AND NOT BACKWARD WE ARE BEHIND YOU

MRS WILLARD KELLS

1126A

153.

94 Third Ave
NY NY 10003

Dear Sir:

I would appreciate
very much your sending
me a copy of your
remarks concerning
the victory of Mr.
Maddox in the
recent primary.

Thank you.

Yours truly
S. Weber

Detroit Free Press

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

JOHN S. KNIGHT, PRESIDENT AND EDITOR

LEE HILLS, EXECUTIVE EDITOR AND PUBLISHER

JOHN B. OLSON, GENERAL MANAGER

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10-A

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1966

As We See It

Georgia Deserves Better Than Its November Fate

*This was his Georgia, this his share
Of pine and river and sleepy air,
Of summer thunder and winter rain
That spills bright tears on the window
pane*

*With the slight fierce passion of a
young man's grief,
Of the mocking bird and the mulberry
leaf.*

So Stephen Vincent Benet described it in his classic "John Brown's Body." But Benet was talking of the Georgia of Clay Wingate, the Georgia of a hundred years ago.

Since then Georgia has made great strides. Despite the red-gallused Gene Talmadge and some of his successors, Ed Rivers and Marv Griffin, Georgia has become the second most enlightened state of the Old South, only behind North Carolina.

Ellis Arnall was one of the first liberal Southern politicians when he was elected governor in 1943. Since then there have been several, notably the last two, Ernest Vandiver and Carl Sanders, who cannot succeed himself. Gradually Georgia has been moving into the 20th Century.

But now the steps of progress have fallen silent. The Democratic Party of Georgia has all but destroyed itself, and the people

of the state in November face a choice no free people should be called upon to make.

In a runoff for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination, arch-segregationist Lester Maddox stopped the comeback attempts of Arnall. Maddox is known in the North as the man who furnished axe handles to the white patrons of his Pickrick Restaurant ("You pick it out, we'll rick it up") to ward off would-be Negro patrons, and when ordered to permit Negroes to enter, closed his doors rather than submit to law and to human dignity.

Facing him will be freshman Rep. Howard "Bo" Callaway, Georgia's only Republican congressman and the scion of a paternalistic cotton mill family. Callaway is the kind of a Southerner who is "good to his niggers"—so long as they don't get "uppity ideas" about equal rights and things like that. Callaway is also the young man who led Georgia down the Goldwater path in 1964.

No matter who wins, the people of the state will lose. Maddox openly professes to be a devotee of George Wallace. Callaway openly professes equal affection for Barry Goldwater.

Georgia deserves better.

Sept. 29, 1966
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mayor Allen,

My husband and I have just heard your reaction to the victory of Hester Maddox, and we want to thank you for speaking out wisely and courageously. We are temporarily misplaced Southerners who are appalled at the victory of the Wallaces and the Maddoxes and at the silence and seeming non-existence of the Southern Moderates. I hope that your words will encourage some show of commitment from other moderates. However, right now the view of down there from up here simply couldn't be worse. Please keep trying.

Sincerely,
Mrs. E. F. Barber

469 West 21
New York, N. Y. 10011

Let's Face It

The Demise Of The Democratic Party In Georgia

By E. R. Bradley



Last evening at 7 o'clock--when the polls closed--the Democratic Party of Georgia committed suicide. It is dead politically and will be for perhaps a decade or more. In the selection of Maddox to head the Democratic Party it made the election of Calloway a certainty. But worse than this, it has now placed at the head of the party an extremist who lacks the sophistication of Wallace, and who will continue to embarrass Georgia in the nation's news media. We have now replaced Alabama and Mississippi in the national press as the most backward state, politically speaking, in the South. This is so even if Calloway is elected, for Lester will continue his press releases and head the party's delegation to the Democratic National Convention in 1968.

Maddox, who is sure to suffer a defeat in November, will carry with him such men as Vandiver and Sanders, and perhaps even Mayor Allen in the next election. That is, these men's future in Georgia is out the window. A coalition of extremists will dominate for sometime. Even Talmadge's seat is insecure, and Russell will be replaced by Calloway either during the term or when Russell's term of office is over. (I am assuming his health will not allow his running in 1972.)

Political scientists will long evaluate how the state of Georgia with its enlightened leadership could suddenly go into reverse. The backlash will be some people's answer. But an analysis of the size of the vote shows that it was a case of apathy. "Stayhomeitis" hit Georgia. A minority of unreconstructed rebels, aided and abetted by thousands of office-hungry Republicans, dealt the death blow. As a matter of fact, the only Democrat of stature in Georgia who had the courage to try to save his party from a Klan-type leadership was Garland Byrd. No other candidate, past or present, liberal or conservative, spoke out for Arnall.

Carter made a last-minute aside for Arnall, but it was weak and largely ineffective. In fact, he never mentioned Arnall's name.

On November 8 we have the choice between Democratic extremism and Republican extremism. The shadow of Ol' Marv hangs over the Republican Party, but at least it will not be openly racist. But in the end there would be little difference between Maddox and Calloway in office. Neither is progressive; neither will project an image which will bring support from the national party. Georgia must now go it alone. In effect we have seceded from the union.

So now a poorly led and divided party must hand its head in shame while it tries to gain respectability and support. It will be a long, hard road, for the Republicans will capture and hold the Negro vote even without a contest. Having declared war on the Negro, alienated the liberals, and turned its back on Washington, the Democratic Party in Georgia will find the road back bitter and frustrating.



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Mr. Lester G. Maddox
Atlanta, Georgia

Kansas City, Mo.
September 30 1966

Dear Sir:

I presume that if a Negro soldier, able-bodied or wounded, wandered into your lunch stand from the jungles of Vietnam, you would not serve him? Even though you know he is risking his life to make it possible for your continued participation and benefit from the American way of life, you would not serve him? If so, you are not the man I fought for in the Argonne and at Verdun in 1918, nor the man my two sons fought for in Europe in the 1940's. Certainly, if you are on such close terms with God as your campaign talks appear to indicate, He must have told you that he created all men equal. I do not believe he said that any one human being had the power or authority to say that he is better than another man, irregardless the color of his skin. We must remember too, that the actual worth of one human being in his chemical makeup is about 85 cents, current drug store prices, and that goes for all human beings whether they be rich or poor, black or white.

I was proud to have Negro soldiers next to me in the Argonne, and they and the ones fighting in Vietnam and their families, some of them now bereaved, can live next door to me any time or patronize my place of business.

Eddie (White) Landrigan
12th & Locust
Kansas City, Missouri

cc: The Atlanta Constitution
Time Magazine
The Kansas City Star
The Kansas City Call
Mayor Allen of Atlanta ✓

Jamaica, New York
September 29, 1966

Dear Mr. Allen,

Earlier this evening I was viewing the Huntly - Brinkley Newscast here in New York. The very first report was of the tragic results of yesterday's run-off election. It is hard for me to completely express how proud I was of you as I heard you read your statement to reporters. To my mind, yours was a statement of courage and forthrightness as well as one of honesty. I am only temporarily absent from

the adopted State which now claims
my heart but I am looking forward
to an early return to Georgia — and
I still feel confident that with
men such as yourself and others, we
can yet help make Georgia the best
State in the Union — the pathway
has been made rougher by yesterday's
vote, but success is still possible.

God bless and keep you —

Sincerely yours,

Francis X. Ellis
c/o Bp. Molloy House — Box 24
Jamaica, L. I., N. Y.

11432

Own Funeral

ATLANTA — I was witness!
I saw the birth of hatred and
ignorance when Georgians elect-
ed Lester Maddox. How sad to
see Georgia's people laugh at
their own funeral.

PEGGY FOX BARTON.

'Sickened'

ATLANTA—I am sickened by
what the voters of this state
have done to Georgia by their
choice of a nominee for gov-
ernor. It is time we did some-
thing about laws governing the
primaries, and stop this deplor-
able manipulation of the candi-
dates by a group of Republi-
cans who have helped put a
man like Maddox into the race
for governor.

CONCERNED GEORGIAN.

Atlanta, Georgia

October 4, 1966

Mayor Ivan
City Hall
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mayor Allan:

First we want to say how much we love you as our Mayor of
Atlanta and also for the wonderful way that you handled the
racial disturbance on Boulevard recently.

We certainly know that there would have been more trouble had
you are gone over and settled it. Everyone loves you for your
courage and act.

But now, everyone is scared to death with the loss of Ellis Arnall
as Governor and just a week hardly from this day and now it is
Charles Weltner. How distressing and everyone is so frightened that
the thought of an idiot, insane, uneducated man who knows nothing
but trouble and hate is about to take over.

Oh God, please don't let this happen. Mayor Allan, we can't have him
in the high office of our beloved State. It is tragic.

Please do something to get him out of office, please, please do something.

Don't you think that Charles Weltner would consider this, he is such a
wonderful person and we would all want him.

Please do something about this situation, impeach him or anything to
get him out. You know Mayor Allan the Republicans voted for that
idiot or he would not have had a chance. Isn't that the lowest thing
to do, but they did it to get Esslis out. We are so afraid that he might
get in with his smooth talking. We understand that he got a lot of votes
too in the South Georgia area where the poor, dum people live and you don't
know any better.

It is a awful thing to happen to our State. Maybe the write in for Govenor
would get him out.

I beg you Mayor Allan, please do not let him come in.