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EG: Great heroes – Nelson Mandela, Gandhi, Martin Luther King, Jr. – you had mentioned at reception as great heroes and Tom Prewitt said same thing.

RS: Prewitt was representing the airport and I with NAACP of lunchroom desegregation at the airport. (Me: Dobbs House). I filed a suit? Before it came to court, a nationally famous black reporter tried to segregate him, made national headlines. they got so embarrassed. Tom Prewitt and I signed an order to desegregate it. Me: Carl Rowan.

RS: Have a copy of our bylaws – Democratic club. Rec. we did that.
Grace Meachum – sit-inner with LeMoyné – stayed in touch, my then-wife. She was involved after that when we did our campaigns.

When we did our campaigns, my writing is terrible. I used to do a couple of things -
- flow chart for the campaign structure, which would be a sheet which would go about 12 feet across the wall arranged the weeks up to the election, three to four months out – each day I'd mark the stage we were supposed to be it. We'd break it down to where we got various functions outlined on the wall and we'd check them off and she used to draw them for me. I'd do it and she'd do it on copy paper for me.

After Clement won, right after the 1959 campaign, last election, two-year term Two years before that election, there had been an election. It might have been 1958. Clifford Allen who was the assessor of property. We endorsed Orgill ran for governor. Unions were the most sympathetic group to the black flight. Effective 7,000 votes. **Here he talks about split vote, cancelled each other out in 1958.** He brought this up in 2000 interview too. Rudy Ojardie has support of unions. **Unions were the most sympathetic group to the black plight.**

After Aug. campaign in 1959, we had this turn out. Before the next election, I think we got the 1960 census tract. It was 63 or 64 I think. Then, no such things as computer and all that stuff. Looked up the black population in every county in the state. The black vote was in five major cities – Mphs, Nashville, Chattanooga, Jackson, and ?. There was a band of counties, East Tennessee zero and you could list of school teachers by race, and barbers by race and beauticians by race. (UMemphis collection) We want to meet at Fisk University Park Johnson Hall. We agreed to meet again, drew up proposal for statewide organization. Set up voters league, three major divisions. First Clement race where we gave that study. We backed Kefauver – if he succeeded onto hanging onto the Senate seat. Here he talks about TVC and forming of it. We got grandmaster of Prince Hall Masons and woman who was his counterpart in the Eastern Stars, I think that's what they called it, the female branch of the masons. They wrote? All their lodges. I think 12,000 black Masons across the street? Got there, every county had five or six people from of all kinds. So, we organized TVC. We had three grand divisions – W,

E, and C TN. We had organizations by county. Everyone of 52 counties started out with a group working in it. We also backed Kefauver.

In that election, the presidential election was in 1964 election, that was the most effective election we were ever in. WE kept both Senate seats and five Congressman were elected and in not one of those races was the victory margin bigger than the black margin.

It was clear. What happened was immediately after, Kefauver had a heart attack and died. At that point, on eof the civil rights act. Worked through Congress. We were sweating. Bill on the agenda, you got to take a position we can live with, he voted for it, governor we put in office, Bass run for Democratic primary. When Clement announced in his speech, he criticized Bass, He said, "If I had been your senator, I would not have voted for the Civil Rights Act." All the papers did was-- He went on to explain that he had problems with speciric items but not the whole bill but it got lost. We put copies of that as headlines on all the material. We backed Bass. We had highway patrolman statewide before New Jersey did.

Bass was pretty good but it really was his wife. She was in favor of everything we wanted. gorgeous woman model. She loved politics, she loved the issues. I don't know whether it was or his wife. I know she h ad to have an influence. She was the one who made him worthy of being a Congressman. I think when they divorced, he disappeared.

EG: How accountable did you keep the politicians you helped elect?

RS: With Clement, that made sort of a statement. When A.W. and I, flipped a coin and house, I pulled the Senate election. I got about 40,000 and lost by a few thousand. He won his race. So the next year, I won the district race - Anyway The district I was living I won. But Clement supported the legislation that we were backing. We couldn't get it out. There weren't any blacks except him anywhere I don't think in the legislator with A.W.. Next year, Two more from Memphis. Some from Nasvhille and one from Chattanooga.

Would you say that was the direct result of the TVC?

Yes. Yeah, Memphis, Nashville, and Chattanooga. I don't think Knoxville got anybody, maybe later. Not sure if someone else from West TN. We introduced the law providing minimum wage for state covering maids and to appeal the death penalty. We got it passed in the House and they never got out of committee in the Senate. Clement was against the death penalty personally. He made a speech and would start crying when got up. There was a hard-nosed crooked eyes, cross-eyes, Deliverance. That it was cheaper. His whole argument. He embarrassed half of them. Oppose death penalty because it's cheaper.

Did you feel you were able to make as much an impact in public office in terms of CR stuff that you wanted or intended?

I'll tell you my big disappointment. I changed my focus after I got my divorce and remarriage. At that point, not int. or so in any future in elective office for a while. Last

election before King got elected – 1967. That election was the first the city had under the new charter. We restructured from a commissioner to council form of government. Big dispute. We wouldn't have gotten involved if run-off had been on the agenda. Council-manager strong mayor, weak mayor or so forth. Chamber got somebody from Houston efficient. We said efficiency is good – effective representation from groups that make up issues. They brought them over to talk about form and how it worked impact on the budget, he was bragging about it. He said, "We've always had blacks, I think two." I said, "And they are elected from districts." He said, "They're elected citywide." How many carried black support?" He said none and that ended discussion. Clarence Thomas-like representation.

KEY**We were 33 percent of the vote. The next issue whether we wanted to go with districts or some mix. If we had gone for districts, we maybe would have picked up one more seat but we would have been a minority. We could have made noise and not had any leverage. AW and Jesse and I agreed that the best combination of at large plus districts, districts guaranteed rep., at large gave you chance to have a set of seats that wouldn't be so parochial. With at large may be able to have people get focused on agenda items made sense for whole city. We had that in place. I think we had 7 district. We needed at least one or two district seats to pass anything. After smoke cleared from Martin Luther King's death. Up until we'd adopted the thing, we'd get a slate of blacks and whites – groups that have some attraction across the city would give the city the ability to have a – thought it would be good. Get support from unions. So give city a majority so new focus broader than parochial focus. At that point, still had Democratic club in tact. We had gotten a sales tax passed for schools – carried by black wards. Our kids need more money. We had an informed electorate b/c of network of precinct clubs across the city put in place by 1959. You could get heard plus narrow focus be out there for everyone to hear. Maybe we could give a chance city to look beyond the parochial. While we were doing that, the commission adopted a resolution adopting a run off. It was illegal, until new charter was adopted, it had to be done by the legislature. The legislature wouldn't vote for special acts of local application unless local people supported it. Something about blacks could stop it. I think Marion Boyd was still the only judge here in Federal district, back down for any impact. We decided to try and then if we lost, then go to court. Loeb won the mayor's race. Willis ran and was accused of being bought. He had the best practice in town. His family owned third of stock of Universal Life so money not an issue of the family. Idea was that maybe we might make it with the run off but we didn't. That's when garbage workers strike and King killed. We were sort of frozen. By the time we got over the shock, it was a whole different ballgame. My son filed the suit – the courts threw out the run off because it shouldn't have been guiding law of city b/c it shouldn't have been law. After that, five or six black judges elected which showed you that without that run off, we would've been in there then. We had figured that would take too long with Boyd. We missed and then King got killed. All our folks were grieving. Slate with support of unions.

So the Assassination of King had definite impact on black political activity? It took us out for a while. By the time we got some semblance for enthusiasm of anything political that Fords were a dominant force.

EG: And it was the result of the organizational network with SCDC and Increase in black voter registration that laid groundwork for Ford to come in office. What were you hoping to achieve through political action?

RS: I still wondered what would have happened if run off hadn't been there. This might be a totally different city. March on the majority, that would've been the formula, as a safety valve, it would set the stage for dialogue broader than parochial. It was a formulation I don't think anyone's done yet. – make it a viable option – racial minorities. Any kind of minorities involved. If we don't get it right here, it's not going to get it right any where on earth. place on church, umbrella-type government recognize. He said this government at least has some recognition or so of minorities. Most people just tolerate minorities. After the Clement election, getting back to Tom [Prewitt], Ross Bass was the senator and I guess maybe there was another seat added. There was a vacancy on the district court here. There was a meeting on Chattanooga for something. Obstructionist like Marion Boyd was, Bass said he had come up with a name, somebody had suggested Tom Prewitt. I knew him and respected him. Oh God, if he gets in, we won't be able to handle him. Opposition was if you give a dumb one. He comments on Prewitt's intelligence. Philosophically at that point he was conservative. Bass had said I've done so much for you, I need to do something for the conservatives. We had no idea he would grow like he did.

I don't know if he knows what happened to him. In terms of other than philosophically at that point.

What happened to the Shelby County Democratic Club?

We used to have our schisms every election. After the '59 campaign in August, a thousand, two thousand people, indicated they wanted to stay together to work on stuff. So they would put together a charter at a meeting at one of the churches, it might have been Bunton's church. An AME bishop. The thing called for precinct clubs to be organized in any precincts where ten people interested in setting up a club. The members from that precinct elected a chairman and a secretary and if more than ten people in a club a chairman and a secretary and another member. Because chairman would automatically be on central committee which was made up of at least one person from every precinct in the club -- one person plus an additional if club was more than ten people. The central committee elected the county-wide officers, that was the committee that endorsed. At beginning we'd have votes like 180 to 200 or so. Really Big participation. We met every month. Jesse Lockard was on county court, there would be reports what was going on every month at various legislatures. So, we had a lot of education going on like on the sales tax – we had a discussion about that and what it meant to the school system. Then, the precinct leaders talked about it in their precincts and their churches and stuff.

[Turns Tape Off and On]

Dismissed the case. Bob Carter covered Mphs district. Here he talks about Boyd dismissing the case. He used to do that on the Evers versus the transit authority case.

Discusses similar case. Evers refused to move back to bus. He doesn't have standing. He rides a car, not a regular patron, Judge reasoned, so he had to dismiss that. We had to appeal that. Issue of jurisdiction. How get to work.

Public works threat – that's when King got killed. We never got to Phase 2.

A lot of lit in 1950s emphasizes legal action of civil rights --.
There were three legs – political, direct action, and legal.

Regarding what hoped to achieve through political action and voter registration and so forth.

By political action, we thought some impact on the school system, on the police, on the services to black communities and black areas of town. A lot of things that weren't glamorous but they were workings of government, and employment. The next election after that August primary in 59, the 60 election--.

"Liberals" in town – they were the residue of Crump era. They negotiated with three people like this. **Lieutenant Lee** had been a pretty good friend of Harsh. He said, "We ought to sit down with them b/c they're in office." Kefauver was on the ballot then and was challenged by Tip Taylor who had ran strong in governors race but lost. Ellington beat him I guess. We were worried about him as a challenger to Kefauver. When Kefauver had one here... The way Based on whether your ward went to the machine. The city wouldn't make loans to black farmers... They had a lot of weight, people listened to them. Lenient crop policy with loans based on whether your ward went to the city? We couldn't even get people to show up? This time, that was on the agenda. We had a committee set up. It was – I think A. Maceo Walker was in it, I was in it, AW, Jesse Turner, president of LeMoyne?, Lt. Lee, Harsh, Jones, and the Sheriff – Mel Hinds. We decided – up until then no one wanted to be publicly identified as candidate with the black vote. "I want your support but keep it quiet or else we'll lose a lot of white vote." Keep it quiet. Let's see what we can do. We had four five issues – we said we'll consider supporting you but we want you to do some things now before election day – We want you to take down signs in every public building under your jurisdiction that say white nad colored, we want you to hire people in nontraditional jobs like sheriff before election day. We can't expect – you to something about Paul Barrett. Three or four things like that--.

Side B.

REVIEW: (shows me sheets)

Card out – like you come out and you give me a card.

We could push your address and give you a list like this, with people you know and might have known.

First see the ones you know, maybe 10 houses or 5 houses. Theoretically, that may be 10 or 20 votes. We're not asking you to go door-to-door. We're asking you to talk to the folks on the list that you know. Then, get them to talk to people they know.

Start that out and it would build. "As interest got bigger, you'd have a crescendo of people asking for routes."

You could get computer to print out their sheets. "Instead of having a stranger, I think you canvass, see someone you know, instead of mechanical voice on the phone with canned message.

You'd give the candidates half of those cards and let people fill them out and they'd turn them in. We could crank them out and call people, you know, "Here's your list." Keep a flow going.

Like a snowball effect?

Yes. I don't think they'd do it anymore. Takes front-end input before get together. We used to love it. You could pull your combinations, you could put together precinct combinations for race, identify the race and what precincts involved? and then try to pull volunteers off of those contacts. Gave you focus and flexibility.

That's the format on Volunteer card, This would be a list of churches in any given election. We'd have addresses of all the churches and we'd have barbershops and beauty shops.

Scrapbook my mother had. (Articles about the campaign).

EG: How influential was the Tri-State Defender?:

RS: I don't know. It was the vehicle – the black voice. This was one you just met – Erika. (Referring to daughter)

In one of these I said, "We won everything but the election" and I meant in terms of having a critical mass of people that wanted to stay involved.

Kennedy made me ambassador to Trinidad.

EG: As a result of election?

RS: Yes.

Involvement with Kennedy. Ms. Lillie Wheeler is one of them. Jenny Betts. They know two – three more.

EG: Beautiful story.

RS: My favorite part of it is Druzy Anderson – they sent her. I love that.

Mama – kept track of all campaign activities.

Taken when sober. We got used to going up there. When Klan had a rally they'd go out there and burn crosses on Stone Mountain, GA.

Laurie, Wellesley, freshman, law school, Boston University. Tarik's godmother is an Egyptian. Alexandria, Egypt, Her diss. and book

IN North Carolina, there was a woman who wrote a book on Julia Hooks, who led anti-lynching. Person as from UNC. Ben Hooks is a descendent of hers. Last week – one of shows on book reviews.

Several things in the box I'm not sure where in box ran across them.

Discussion about Mr. Lockard.

You were saying constants of political activity – you, A. W. Willis...?
Locakrd was one.

You said Lt. Lee was one?

George W. Lee was leader of Republicans here – Lincoln league. He had real good political acuma/en. He was a Republican, because the Democrats were all under the heel of Crump.

Why did you end up being Democrat given South so solidly Democrat?

Because the Democrats had the presence. When I was in college, I was interested in political science. He was a part of group that backed woman against Nixon. We could vote here. I can remember for Roosevelt always. In front of my home there on Walker, there was a streetcar and they were always doing public works administration work. They started all those housing projects like LeMoyne Gardens. There was a row of shot gun duplexes. Row of outhouses and pump. My mother used to always save food for somebody who would come by and need sandwich. We got used to that. I'd be embarrassed when she used to call me in for lunch and we didn't have enough, maybe had sardine. I associated Republican Party then not with the Civil War but with Hoover, you know the Depression.

How influential was the Lincoln League in the 50s?

They were influential if there was a Republican president in political things here. The Republicans always gave Lt. Lee a say. Early on, the Repub. Party until reaction to post-Civil War area, Mississippi had a lot of black Congressman. The Republican party had a lot of black participation because of that schism – Democrats were the rebels. East Tennessee was Republican during the Civil War. The cotton economy was West of Tennessee River, basically.

Alma Morris still living?

Yeah.

What was women's political activity like, role of women in electoral politics?

"The women were the muscle. The women were the driving wheel. The men made the noise, and the women did the work. Except for a few of us, I thought the noise didn't matter. I thought the people who mattered were the ones who were going to be out there doing the grunt work."

Typing up canvassing list, organization?

Yes. "A lot of folk thought that that politics was about making speeches, and I thought that was the least of it."

It seemed like looking at press coverage what got most applause were statements about human rights and dignity?

He nodded.

272: W. C. Handy (has music sheets of song)

How did political activity intersect with protest activity when sit-ins came on? You talked about one of ways was same leadership?

The boycott, for example, was NAACP driven and NAACP officers were the officers negotiating in chamber of commerce committees. Those leaders also were the Democratic club leaders. So, on the boycott, it was a NAACP boycott but the foot soldiers were out of those precincts. Picket line on Main Street. Talked about group who walked from Florida to Main St. to picket and back.

Florida is a street?

Yes. The picket line went from Beale to Auction. We had picket line every 25 feet on both sides of Main Street. They would walk back home. They had no cars. How can you not be proud of those folks? That kind of commitment. The precinct roots was the circulation system for the bodies that went down to do pickets of sit-ins or whatever. The precinct leaders were able to tell those folks what was coming, what they were going to do.

I've got the galley proof of "Why we strike"

EG: I asked him about Bill Farris and if he was strongly against campaign.

RS: He wasn't a rabid person. He was taking advantage of the circumstances, that's all. That's fair. I just happened to get in the way of it.

RS: Picture of him with sit-ins. Picture of school integration – I walked those twins to school.

Brief re: school desegregation. He shows me -- Negro innate pensity toward Communism.

– Norfleet – Come on and go to lunch with us. I'm busy. "We want to take you to lunch."

Local community theater desegregated. We went and they wouldn't let us in. After blacklisted the theater till they desegregated.

Open letter to [Bill] Farris.

A. W. ran for the House and I ran for the Senate, our campaign piece in 1960 (is in Kennedy library) because Orange Mound – one of the guys in the Orange Mound took that up there – so they got it, put it in their archive. Featured – See in inside pictures of precinct leaders are focused.

He didn't know how much material was in Kennedy library about Memphis.
John Seigenthaler – stayed in touch a lot they knew what we were doing.

Deputy sheriffs beat kid to death. When acquitted, threw a party for them. Campaigned against him and put out campaign literature about this – I have a copy.

What were benefits and limits of the electoral activity, now, then? Did it accomplish as much as you would have liked?

It never accomplished as much as I would like but what were options? You can do strikes, pickets and direct action. Every now and then it coalesces. Like the effort for Harry Truman, I was at Rutgers when he beat Dewey. Highs are highs and lows are low. I don't our electorate is as sophisticated, not capacity for critical processing. Electornic media is like Coliseum in Rome– big distractions.

So Kennedy got int. in black vote?

IMPT -- They had done some research about black potential in the South as part of the preparation for the campaign. Seigenthaler, I think, focused Bobby on Memphis b/c he had watched the Democratic club emerge after 1959.

I ran for the Democratic State Executive committee, State Supreme Court for election. Solution blue ribbon commission to invite people who were interested recommendationf or the slate – he was pretty good governor. We interviewed people who were interested in running. Slate retired all but one of incumbents. One of more progressive courts in the country. Talked about – review later.

TAPE 2

Tape 2

See field notes. I accidentally did not turn the tape on. Lost some substantial parts. When I turned it on, he was going through box of materials that he brought out for me to look at.

Me: I see that you were the most democratic of everybody.

RS: Tells story again about aware of press coverage. Are you the peckerwood Paul Revere?

Me: You had NBC news came and got nationwide attention?

RS: That was all a blur – that night.

Me: Bill Farris' family said he was progressive.

RS: He was. Somebody did try to buy us once in governors race. He told him we're going to have to oppose as you result. It ain't about money, it's about changing things.

Me: Lane was telling me how in 63 you couldn't ignore the black vote.

RS: "The 59 campaign was the one that moved us from being peripheral to being the fulcrum. Lt. Lee had pointed out that as a possibility."

Me: That that would happen.

RS: "Because if we backed these conservatives they win, there's no excuse for anybody not seeking open black support. We became the balance of power. That one election did it, and it's changed the dynamics ever since then." "What that did was give us a vehicle and a venue for the next decade thru which to work. The offices that we were seeking were sort of this symbolic goal but the fundamentals had changed with that election with how politics were/was going to work in Memphis."

Me: With Engaging in political action it seemed like it was for everyone in the community but do you feel that middle class or upperclass blacks benefited disproportionately compared to poorer blacks?

RS: I'm not sure b/c I don't know how you'd measure the difference b/c a lot of things that didn't happen for poor blacks didn't happen b/c they (weren't) in the position for anything to happen to them. You have to get to a certain layer before you get to the next layer. In the 59 campaign, most of the people in Mphs – we had a handful of lawyers, when I say handful like under 20, we maybe had 25 doctors, maybe 7-8 or 9 at most lawyers, you had lots of preachers ... Roy Love's church was the biggest, I think, black demonimation. It may have had 1100 black members than. Bunton's was probably one of the old, larger, CME, and they probably had 400-500 members. Most black people with jobs were maids, yard? People, the masses got on the buses and rode to pick cotton and chop cotton. In fact in 59 campaign, they were trying to get planters in Mississippi or Arkansas to pay more for the bags for cotton picked that day so they could get more from out of town. As it turned out, the drivers here they would get old used schoolbuses to transport, oak caste/bucket out to back of with water at back of truck. They would sell cotton at 5cents a cup and ssell sandwiches. It was the poor extracting the poor. There were no rest breaks or anything. They were meeting at LeMoyne College and we got them not to go. Those buses didn't roll on election day. They parked them so people couldn't get out of town. "That election was full of chess moves."

I saw some whites called you and wishing you well but it must've been a reall small percentage.

Yeah.

People with leadership. He talks about Armour and says his attitude was an important part of the story and should be remembered in history. I said that this demonstrates importance of leadership.

You experienced a lot of threats during campaign?

Yeah, they would call at night and send cabs and stuff like that. We used to get in the car after that on weekends and we'd leave the house on Friday and after we got in car decide where we were going to stay so nobody would know where we were.

The thing I'm most disappointed not getting slate together. The thing I'm most proud of is interracial law program. Almost didn't get it off the ground. Seigenthaler was instrumental in helping me get off the ground, made some calls to some foundations.

It was first integrated one in the South?

Yes...

RS: It wasn't all grim.

EG: What can be achieved now to achieve more harmony?

Get rid of this presidency. They are evil and they lie. Neocons don't think much of people except for rich people. Everything they've done is not even not good it's worse with everything – environmental, test ban treaty, thumbing his nose as with other people. What's so bad if say anything that disagrees you're a traitor, unpatriotic. They have everything but brown shirts and a lot of folks that would fit well in them. We're 5 percent of population of world. Damage we've done in that short of time. Half of people worried about where they're getting clean drink of water from. Here we are gas guzzlers.

530: RS: We wanted to introduce legislation re: federal electorate so black folks could all vote in federal even tho they may have problems in state elections. We figured that would create enough splits in hierarchies that we could run. He/RFK said I'll listen you all b/c I don't what you did in Shelby County for my brother and respect what you did but what you really need to do is go home and tell your folks to get off their asses and go register. He had no concept of what they were up against. We had tent city down here on Fayette and Haywood. Seigenthaler says while you're here you might as well as go see president. This is when they had missed opportunity re: photograph with JFK.

So Democratic Party hq was integrated at that time?

Yes, we've voted since Crump machine.

Alwasys been integrated?

I don't know. Know hq until presidential election. Ones I went to it was integrated.

Whit epeople in SC except you as full members?

The ones I went to--. Skippy Hanover we were friends. At that time, we were focused on state and local elections. In the process, Dem party desegregated. I guess next two

years after that we were electing people to party offices. Hanover – we became good friends.

Best

Unbiased, democratic election. Talks about Paul Revere – editor of Press Scimitar?

Nationwide attention for the election—that night. “That was all a blur that night.”

Letter to Ferris. He was just being snide. Somebody did try to buy us once in the voters council in governor’s race. Money is nothing – change is.

1959 campaign moved us from being peripheral to being the fulcrum. Lt. Lee had no excuse not seeking black support. We became the balance of power. It changed within two years. Can you get black support – yeah. Gave us a vehicle and venue for next decade to work -- offices symbolic goal, fundamentals change with that election.

Middle-class and upper-class blacks benefit disproportionately?

I’m not sure because I don’t know how you’d measure the difference. A lot of things that poor blacks, get to a certain ledge before you get to the next ledge. In the 59 campaign, handful of lawyers, doctors, lots of preachers of churches, Roy Love’s is biggest – 1100 members, Bunton’s probably CME – 500-400 members. Most black people with jobs were maids, the masses got a bus load to pick cotton. Planters in Arkansas and Mississippi pay more of them out of town – the driver old Sell people water picking cotton. The poor extracting the poor. Trying to get organized. No breaks or anything. They would sell the water. They were meeting at Lemoyne, Teamsters helping them, we got them not to go. People not out of town. That election was full of chess moves.

Some white people calling you and supporting you, but it must have been a really small percentage. Yeah.

Full-page add – “Why we strike”

Story about the little girls. Armour. It wasn’t all rednecks.

Threats during the campaign – harass.

They would call at night, send cabs. We used to get in the car on weekends, nobody would know where we were.

When time? Howard Johnson’s Central at Bellevue. Phone rang this is about 6 in the morning. I show up there – Maceo Walker, A.W., they had Invaders – Having a race riot started. We had reason to believe – you all will be on the surveillance. Maceo.

We didn't Most disappointed was that plan we had putu together to split at large and district seats on city council. I feel most happy about is the interracial law firm. We had a hell of a staple of lawyers. Bill Caldwell one of the bright

Lawyer story

Story about defending porno stars.

Deep red -- (points to his chair/foot rest)

It wasn't all grim

What can be done now?

Get rid of this president. Not just bad policies. The neocons don't think much of people.

FOLLOW UP -- Met with RFK during Kennedy administration -- A. W. Willis and Russell Sugarmon. Introducing legislation creating federal electorate -- so black folks could vote in federal elections even tho problems in state elections. That would create enough space so that we could run -- take those splits that were created in the hierarchies. What he said, "I'll listen because I know what you did for brother and respect what you did." Tell your folks to get off asses and register -- no concept what up to blacks were. When had Freedom riders. Seigenthaler -- Speak to the president, president from Uganda. Get ready to take pictures with president and ambassador -- term didn't get up. God, why didn't we.

Dem. Party hq -- oh yeah, ones I went to they were always integrated -- the ones I knew -- We were friends. At that point focused on state and local offices, in the party desegregated, next two years after that electing officers to party office. His family did condemnation work for county and --. We became good friends.

We elected him -- that's what he did -- child support. Gina.

Field Notes:

He said they were putting pressure on John Ford Canale to stay in the race.

He didn't seem to think TSD was so influential.

He didn't think sit-ins had any impact on electoral politics.

He emphasized in 1960 -- shift to "Can you get black support."

He said he never wanted to be appointed to MLGWC -- I mentioned Hunter Lane had said that he did.

Said after 1959, they named it Will Fowler expressway.

He said that SC Democratic Executive committee was black and he didn't experience any differences in treatment b/c he was black.

He said politics were part of 3-pronged movement—politics, protest, and legal action.

He said that the movement was peaceful is an assessment that is untrue and minimizes the struggle.

He said people of all ages involved in political activity.

He said Seigenthaler followed Dem. club after 1959 election targed black vote and Seigenthaler let them know about Memphis.