

Atlanta Report:

Slums Cause Outbreak

By ANNE BRADEN
(Patriot Editor)

ATLANTA, Ga.—On September 6, Atlanta's black ghetto erupted—a pent-up volcano of frustration and hunger and slums.

Immediately white Atlanta, with a few notable exceptions, put the blame on the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

That essentially is what happened here in the outbreaks last month that shattered Atlanta's image as a city with "good race relations."

The disturbance which continued off and on for a week took place in two different areas—first, Summerhill-Mechanicsville and then the Boulevard area. There were repercussions in a third section, Vine City.

These areas are widely separated but are all part of an inner-city ring of slum ghettos that circles the shining new buildings of Atlanta's downtown.

As in other cities, some slums have been cleared by Urban Renewal. But most of the cleared land has been used for expressways, motels, and other commercial buildings.

Edward Moody, a life-long resident of Summerhill-Mechanicsville and a leader in neighborhood organizations, says: "This section has been neglected ever since Negroes moved into it."

Conditions became worse when a large tract of land nearby was cleared and people from there moved to Summerhill, doubling up in already overcrowded housing. On the cleared land, Atlanta—under leadership of Mayor Ivan Allen—built its new 18-million-dollar stadium and has been saying ever since that it does not have money for new housing projects promised for Summerhill.

In February, 1966, the Community Council of Atlanta (a Community Chest coordinating agency) issued a major report on Summerhill-Mechanicsville. Among the problems it found were: virtually no recreation facilities . . . no enforcement of laws related to standard housing . . . most homes lack repair and maintenance . . . low income, illiteracy . . . poor health care. . .

The report said: ". . . Many try very hard to keep their homes neat and clean, but their efforts are constantly frustrated by the condition of housing; others have given up or never tried . . . Discussion . . . revealed a very high rate of malnutrition (including just plain starvation) . . . with occasional exceptions, grass is nonexistent . . . It should be no surprise that most people simply do not believe the benign expressions of good intent made made by local officials. . ."

Jobs are low-paid or nonexistent. As one civil rights worker put it: "Atlanta is really living off this great reservoir of unskilled black labor." Most women who work are domestic servants for \$7 a day . . . others work in laundries for \$32.50 for a 48-hour week, or cleaning motels for \$30 a week.

Added to all this is the constant

dread of police.

These are the conditions that produced the trouble in Atlanta. The match was lit when police shot a man they were trying to arrest on suspicion of car theft, Harold Prather.

The *Patriot* interviewed several eye-witnesses of the beginning of the Summerhill outbreak, including J. C. Casselberry of Radio Station WAOK, who happened to be near when Prather was shot and stayed on through the night. This is the picture that emerges:

Prather ran when police stopped him. He was shot immediately in the side, eight feet from police. As he ran toward his mother's home he was shot again in the side and as he fell on her porch again in the back. This was around mid-day.

A crowd gathered immediately; Prather was eventually taken to the hospital and survived. Police tried to disperse the crowd, but it kept regathering. Stokely Carmichael, chairman of SNCC, was brought to the scene by a WAOK reporter.

The reporter asked him what SNCC was going to do. Carmichael also spoke with people milling in the streets. According to



—SNCC photo by Julius Lester

BROKEN-DOWN ghetto houses encircle Atlanta's shining sky-line of bright new buildings. About a year ago newspapers here ran a series of articles describing rat-infested housing throughout this area. People in Atlanta say virtually the same articles could be written today because there has been no change.

Casselberry, what he said both on the radio and to people was, in substance: "We can't take things like this any longer. Turn out the community and we'll mount a protest." He said he would be back

about 4 p.m. for a rally.

Casselberry says he was near Carmichael the entire time he was on the scene and that he said nothing calling for violent action.

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Wansley Case Removed from Virginia Court

LYNCHBURG, Va. — Authorities here are continuing their four-year effort to execute 21-year-old Thomas Wansley on rape charges.

Prosecutor Royston Jester III recently obtained a new indictment charging him with raping a Japanese woman here nearly four years ago.

But Wansley's lawyers have succeeded in taking the case out of the Virginia courts, at least temporarily; they have filed a petition to have it removed to a federal court.

This means the state can take no further action on the case—or on two others charging Wansley with raping and robbing a white woman—until the petitions have been ruled on by the U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals. The hearings will open in Richmond October 7.

When Wansley's lawyers petitioned to remove the first two cases to a federal court last February the presiding judge charged Atty. Philip Hirschkop of Alexandria, Va. with contempt and ruled that Atty. William Kunstler of New York could no longer practice in his court.

Hirschkop was convicted of the contempt charge recently, fined \$50 and given a five-day prison sentence. The prison sentence was suspended.

The charge was part of a general pattern of harassment of civil rights lawyers in the South.

Hirschkop plans to appeal his conviction, which he describes as "an obvious attempt to get me out of the Wansley case."

The Virginia prosecutor was able to reindict Wansley after the Japanese woman returned to Lynchburg from Hawaii, where she had been living.

Wansley was originally convicted on the three charges and given two death sentences and a 20-year prison term for the robbery charge.

The Virginia Supreme Court overturned the convictions and ordered new trials in 1964.

The Southern

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Water Supply in Danger

Protests Halt Strip Mining

(By Staff Correspondent)

HEMP HILL, Ky. — Residents of this former mining camp have rallied to save their community from the ravages of strip mining and, as the *Patriot* went to press, they seemed to have succeeded.

The Virginia-based Greer-Ellison Mining Company announced it was suspending operations in the area, after the people

filed a petition claiming the mining was endangering their water supply.

The company's announcement came after bulldozers had already breached the reservoir which had accumulated in an abandoned underground mine, which supplies the entire community. The water ran out for several days.

Then investigators from the Kentucky Department of Natural Resources arrived, in response to the petition. The company filled in the cavity it had already made and announced it would do no further mining in the area. They moved their equipment to the other side of the hill.

Residents have been unable to determine how much permanent damage has been done to their water. There has been no shortage yet, but this may be due to the fact that there has been a lot of rain.

Eighty-six families live in this Appalachian community, in three- and four-room homes purchased from the Elkhorn Mining Company when the mine closed down during the fifties. For most of them, these houses represent their only savings.

A large proportion of the people in Hemp Hill are old. The majority of them were unable to find work after the mine closed, partly because of job shortages and partly because most were disabled after a life-time of work in the mines.

They support themselves with disability pensions and various forms of welfare. Many grow vegetables and raise a few chickens or hogs on small plots rented from the Elkhorn company—or they did, until the strip-miners ruined a large slope on which most of the gardens were located.

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Residents of Hemp Hill walk across a muddy slope—all that remains of vegetable patches they cultivated until strip miners moved into the area. (Patriot Photo)

2,400 May Be Jobless

Headstart Grant Expires

By MICHAEL HIGSON
(Special Correspondent)

"... Now I have heard many times that even if I didn't have an education, the way we brought up our family was proof enough for me to work in Headstart. This was my chance to get a sort of head start too, and it really has helped me..."

—Mrs. Rozy Meredith, of Kosciusko, Miss. (mother of James Meredith). An employee in CDGM's Headstart program.

Mrs. Meredith is one of 2,400 poor people across Mississippi who have been busy this summer, teaching and caring for three, four and five year olds, in schools, sometimes in churches, and sometimes in buildings built especially for Headstart.

In the future, there may be few pay cheques. CDGM's grant (CDGM stands for Child Development Group of Mississippi) has run out and it now appears it will not be renewed. This was one of the few remaining "grass root" poverty programs in the state.

If there is no grant Mrs. Meredith will, she says, "build an extra room onto my house and take in the little childrens and try to do something for them." This will probably happen in a great many other places.

Many headstart centers will stay open on a voluntary basis—it is hard to guess for how long—while people wait for the right decisions to be made in high bureaucratic places.

The waiting game was six months last time, and it culminated in two bus loads of Headstart children travelling to Washington, DC to lobby the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO).

This summer 12,000 children were involved in CDGM's program at a cost per week well below the national average. But this kind of statistic, even the issue of whether there will be a continuing program for them, is small to something else that is at state.

Who Will Control the Program?

It is the national poverty program, and whether the poor are to be allowed to run their own programs independent of the power structure. If this seems over-dramatic, there is plenty of evidence that poverty funds are being controlled, more and more, by existing and very familiar institutions—the city machines in the North, the county power structures in the South.

In August CDGM sent OEO a massive \$41 million proposal for a headstart program that would take in 30,000 children, and would last 12 months. This had been voted for at a public hearing which, for sheer numbers and involvement, resembled a Movement meeting in 1963 or 1964.

OEO refused to consider the \$41 million proposal. After that a \$21 million proposal was substituted, to refund existing centers and those which have been operating on a voluntary basis.

Mississippi's congressmen have opposed CDGM's funding. Rep. William Colmer opposed the entire poverty bill, saying it was inflationary.

Colmer comes from the comparatively wealthy Gulf coast yet even this area has two anti-poverty projects, and there are adjoining Community Action Agencies (CAA's) which have put in for Federal funds. Colmer's criticism was probably not directed at the amount of money (Mississippi, for instance, has received a much needed \$50 million in poverty funds over a 14 month period) but at the control still exercised by people outside of the usual structures of power.

A new menace has been the rapid spread of CAP boards. They are now in all but two of the State's 82 counties and some, already, have started headstart projects. Unless OEO policy changes, these boards, which usually are controlled by fairly wealthy whites, will run all poverty programs in Mississippi.

An old menace, and a more substantial one than Colmer, is Senator John Stennis, Mississippi's junior senator.

At the end of September, he announced that he had assurances from OEO that no more funds would be given CDGM. Instead they would go to a new organization, the Mississippi Action Program, which has the approval of state leaders. He indicated that if this is not done, he is prepared for an all-out fight on the question.

A member of the Senate subcommittee on Appropriations, Stennis had CDGM investigated in 1965, and was largely responsible for the Senate probe this year. Last month he sent his own investigators to Mississippi, and one result was a story headlined in the Jackson Clarion Ledger (Aug. 23) as "Stennis would halt funds to CDGM". It contained 16 allegations, including one that the organization was tied in with the Black Power movement. CDGM had little difficulty in proving them all to be groundless.

That was in August. CDGM is now being investigated, simultaneously, by three bodies—OEO, the Government Accounting office, and the Senate subcommittee on Appropriations.

They will shortly be joined by a fourth—an independent analysis group of whom the most prominent members are A. Philip Randolph, President, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and the Rt. Rev. James Pike, controversial bishop in the Episcopal Church. The 15-member body is reportedly the idea of Walter Reuther. Reuther, who supports CDGM's funding, is head of the United Auto Workers union and sponsor of the Citizens Crusade against Poverty (CCAP).

Fred Mangrum, a former SNCC worker who now does research for CDGM, said he believed OEO has been trying "to bleed CDGM to death. They (OEO) would like to see Headstart taken over by the CAP boards."

John Mudd, director of CDGM, says it is natural for OEO to take a safer, less controversial course, in view of mounting criticism of its programs.

The CAP Boards Mangrum talked about contain a good sprinkling of Gov. Paul Johnson's "men". One theory is that the Governor has moved to see that Moderates (Mississippi-style) control the poverty program in the State.

No Strong Base of Support

To counter these developments, CDGM has had to go beyond its usual reliance on Liberal support, in and out of Congress. It is having to deal with what one of its friendly critics—Lawrence Guyot, chairman, Freedom Democratic Party—refers to as its failure to develop a strong base of support within Mississippi.

In late September, it began organizing, with the FDP, a referendum to establish—in part—that base of support. The referendum may bear some similarities to recent poverty elections in cities like Chester, Pa., and to the Freedom Votes in Mississippi, and it will almost certainly be held before mid-October.

In the interval CDGM and FDP have to build a real understanding of the issues facing CDGM, and more generally, poor people who try to organize politically and economically. If this can be got over, the referendum will be a more important event for a great many people in Mississippi than the Congressional elections on November 8.

Civil Rights Collection

MADISON, Wisc.—The State Historical Society of Wisconsin began in 1964 an intensive Civil Rights Collecting Project, which now comprises seventy separate series of materials. Private collections and organizational papers have been added to extensive Abolitionist papers and over 100 trade union collections. These are housed in one of the nation's best American history libraries, to form a research center both for the civil-rights movement and for interested scholars. The many collections received are being proc-

essed by a professional manuscripts staff. The Society offers its archival services to readers of The Southern Patriot. Especially useful material includes letters, diaries, memorandums, petitions, legal depositions, pamphlets, and fliers. For further information, including a complete checklist, write to Russell Gilmore, Office of Field Services, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 816 State Street, Madison, Wisconsin 53706. Inquiries about donation of material should also be addressed to him.

Book Notes

History of Nonviolence

Yale historian Staughton Lynd, well-known pacifist and civil rights activist, has edited a comprehensive collection of materials entitled "Nonviolence in America: A Documentary History" for the American Heritage Series (Bobbs-Merrill Co., 717 5th Ave., NYC, 535 pages, \$3.45 paperback only, 1966.)

It attempts to "present the history of the idea of nonviolence in America" from the colonial period to the present. He explores the forms of nonviolence (pacifism, direct action, civil disobedience), nonviolence as a tactic and as a way of life, and the relationships of nonviolent movements with other methods of social change (political action, class conflict.)

Lynd has included selections from the pre-revolutionary Quakers, the Abolitionists, Anarchists, Progressives, Conscientious Objectors of both world wars, direct action movements for peace, and two articles on nonviolent revolution. This is the first volume published which contains the full texts of the "key American essays on nonviolence—Thoreau's 'Civil Disobedience,' William James' 'The Moral Equivalent of War,' and Martin Luther King's 'Pilgrimage to Nonviolence.'"—c.s.

Strip Mining Stops

(Continued from Page 1)

Some of the younger men have found jobs in the nearby small towns or scab truck mines.

In many ways Hemp Hill is typical of the small Appalachian communities which managed to survive the shutdown of the coal mines during the fifties. Life isn't easy; chronic job shortages have forced many families to rely on welfare. But the people have managed to rebuild their lives in these new circumstances, to find a new equilibrium.

Strip mining tends to destroy this kind of equilibrium by disrupting water supplies and farming—sometimes by simply burying the community.

Because of the financial and legal difficulty of fighting the companies, most mountain communities have offered little resistance when the strip miners moved in. But occasionally the people decide to fight, and sometimes they win.

In nearby Knott County last year, local people resisted the strip miners. Women sat in front of the bulldozers and were dragged away to jail. Snipers fired at the machinery from the hill-sides. The company armored its bulldozers and tried to carry on. But eventually aroused public opinion forced them to agree not to begin strip mining in any new areas in the county.

As the residents of Hemp Hill

wanted to see what results their petition would have and planned their next move, many thought of the example of Knott County. If the petition didn't work, one woman said, "we ought to just do like those old women did over yonder in Knott County. We ought to get our guns and go over there and tell 'em to git. I can shoot a .38. We'll go up there and they'll come off in a hurry." Many people agreed.

What happens next will depend on whether the company keeps its promise, and on whether the new area they have begun work in seems likely to cause further damage to the water supply.

If it does, the company will have to face the opposition of a community that is united in its protest—all but one of the families signed the petition. The people have a tradition of successful organizing; their wages were doubled and their hours halved shortly after the United Mine Workers organized the Elkhorn Mine during the thirties. And they have nothing to lose—they have no jobs and they own their own homes.

Nothing the power structure can do to them is as drastic as what will happen if the water supply is destroyed—the community will die and their homes will become unsalable. They will lose everything they have salvaged from a lifetime of work in the mines.

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★ Anatomy of a Black Panther

What They're Saying in Lowndes County

By ROBERT ANALAVAGE
(Assistant Editor)

LOWNDES COUNTY, Ala.—The term Black Power appears almost daily in the nation's press. It has frightened most white people and caused considerable debate among black leaders. And many congressmen—as well as the president of the United States—have blamed the defeat of the 1966 Civil Rights Bill on its usage.

The rallying cry of Black Power was first raised in Lowndes County, Ala. Here black people, with the help of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) organized the Lowndes County Freedom Organization (LCFO) and adopted the black panther as their symbol.

Running as a third party in the May primary, LCFO nominated seven candidates to run for office in the November general election.

Behind the slogan of Black Power are people. People such as the seven candidates who are seeking political office. To understand Black Power is to understand them.

All of them were born in Lowndes County. With the exception of two men, they have lived here all their lives. Sidney Logan, Jr., candidate for sheriff, spent two years in the army. He fought in Belgium and Germany during World War Two. Frank Myles served in the army during the Korean War.

All of them are poor. Most earn their living by farming. None of them has ever voted in an election before. For black people were not allowed to vote in Lowndes County before.

Most newly enfranchised Southern Negroes have opted to participate in the Democratic Party. The black people of Lowndes did not. Why?

When Mr. Emory Ross, candidate for county coroner, was asked this question, he answered: "We decided if there was to be any progressing we had to form our own party. We realized that the same people that are in the Democratic Party, are the same people that have been keeping us down all these years."

Sidney Logan said: "In the Democratic party there is a doubtful chance for a colored person to get on the ballot. The Democratic and the Republican Party is controlled by the white power structure."

The other candidates agreed with this and expressed virtually the same sentiment.

Yet it is estimated that approximately 600 Negroes voted in the Democratic primary in Lowndes. Why?

Mr. Myles feels that many did so because they wanted to support Atty. Gen. Richmond Flowers for Governor, because they thought he was a liberal. The LCFO did not back candidates for state-wide office.



Mrs. Alice Moore (right), candidate for tax assessor in Lowndes County, and Mrs. Willie Mae Strickland, candidate for the board of education, discuss the forthcoming elections with a reporter. (Photo by Leslie Jordan)

Mrs. Alice Moore, candidate for tax assessor, feels they were intimidated easily because they live and work on land owned by whites.

Mrs. Willie Mae Strickland, candidate for the board of education, said, simply, "Some of them, maybe there was something wrong with their heads."

Almost every aspect of life for black people in Lowndes is controlled by white people. Although 80 per cent of the county's population is black all five positions on the board of education are occupied by whites. This year, however, three of those running for these positions are black.

One of the candidates, Robert Logan, refers to education in Lowndes as "half education, not good enough for anybody."

On the subject of school integration, he feels that schools "should be integrated to a just status."

Mrs. Strickland feels school integration at this time is not the important thing. "We're not really interested in school integration," she says. "We need better schools for our children; better libraries. The money that comes into the county—they put most of it on the white children and the colored children gets nothing. We are tired of these things. We don't want integration, we just want better schools for our children."

John Henson, the third candidate for the board of education, promises, if elected, what people everywhere who are interested in good education desire.

"I'll try to improve school facilities, get better teachers, see that the money that is appropriated for the county is

handled properly. . . . I want to get proper salaries for instructors that will teach the kids."

To accomplish these goals in education or in any area of government, the county needs money. Mrs. Moore, if elected, will try to find that money in taxes.

"I don't think that taxes have been assessed properly," she states. "Eighty-seven white families own 90 per cent of the land in Lowndes County. The rich haven't been paying their fair share of the taxes. I will correct this."

Mr. Myles, who if elected must collect these taxes, outlined what his policy would be:

"My policy will be to collect tax from whosoever the tax assessor assesses. I can guarantee peoples that I will collect the tax. If I don't collect, I'll get the sheriff. If he can't collect, the property goes up for sale."

Government in the Deep South is set up in such a way that practically all power resides in the office of sheriff. Sidney Logan, Jr., a farmer and World War Two veteran, was selected by his people to run for that office.

He is, by temperament, a quiet gentle man. He speaks slowly, but powerfully. Not once, during the interview with him, did he smile. Most people would easily describe him as a sad man.

He talked about his service in the U.S. army:

"They said we had to protect our country. Well, I went all out to protect my country and I come home and couldn't even vote."

He says that the present sheriff has two white deputies, four Negro deputies (who can't arrest whites) "plus a lot of

whites who carry their weapons around with them when they are deputized. Tom Coleman, the man who killed Rev. Daniels, is one of them."

Black people in Lowndes are poor. They struggle to survive as best they can. The many who pick cotton work about twelve hours a day. They earn an average of three dollars a day.

"A few months ago," Mr. Logan related, "people started to register and started voting in ASC elections (county agricultural board that sets cotton allotments, controls farm loans, etc.) They were told they had to move off the place and leave the county. Well, we wanted them in the county. So Stokely got some tents for us out of Atlanta and put them up for the peoples. That's the only place peoples had to go when they got kicked off their land."

What can this county, a county where three people have been killed for engaging in civil rights activities, expect from a sheriff who is a black man?

"First thing I'm going to do is do away with this one-sided law enforcement," Mr. Logan promises. "In the past the white breaks the law—if he don't do a major crime, nothing's done. And the Negro can do a little thing and he's called in question. Everybody is gonna come under the same law. I'm not out to take advantage of nobody but I want to see the job done the way it should be."

Finally, each of the candidates was asked how he reacted to the term Black Power.

Mr. Henson: "Why, the term Black Power is like calling the Democratic Party the rooster (symbol of the Alabama Democratic Party). I feel that I am a member of LCFO and naturally if I'm elected it's got to be Black Power."

Mrs. Moore: "I think the press has misused that term. We are seeking power and we are black people—therefore we can't be white power. We just want some power to do the things we need. We just want to get in and get our share. We have lived under white power all our lives."

Sidney Logan, Jr.: "The black panther is just like the rooster in the Democratic Party. We are black people and we're after power so it's got to be Black Power. We represent the people that have been left out of the power."

Mrs. Strickland: "I don't use the term Black Power. We are not any more black power than they are white power."

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An interview with Mr. John Hulett, chairman of the Lowndes County Freedom Organization, will be published in a future edition of the Patriot.

Moderate Ellis Arnall was defeated by ax-handle segregationist Lester Maddox in a runoff for the Democratic nomination for Georgia governor, and observers gloomily added it to the list of what they termed "backlash" losses. But, as one Atlanta voter pointed out, it was "still the same old lash". By this he meant that the backlash is nothing more than the reactions of violent prejudice which civil rights forces have always encountered when they raised their demands sharply in the South.

Arnall's defeat had been preceded by Democratic governorship primary victories for segregationists in three other states: Alabama, where Mrs. George Wallace rolled over nine other candidates, all but one running as racial moderates or liberals;

Arkansas, where Jim Johnson, who founded the White Citizens Council there, defeated five other candidates who soft-pedaled the race issue; and Maryland, where George P. Mahoney's opposition to housing desegregation was considered responsible for his victory.

In Louisiana, John R. Rarick, segregationist critic of President Johnson, won the Democratic nomination for a seat in the House of Representatives by labelling the incumbent, James H. Morrison, an ally of the "black power voting block."

These results, and an outbreak in San Francisco after a policeman shot a 16-year-old boy, contributed to the feeling that the

tide was running backwards for civil rights.

Senate majority leader Mike Mansfield said he agreed with an Appropriations Committee bill provision which would permit a physician to assign patients to segregated rooms when the doctor and the hospital's chief medical officer testify it is in the interest of their physical and mental well-being.

At the same time, Education Commissioner Harold Howe II, administrator of the much-disputed Health, Education and Welfare Department guidelines for desegregation, was being grilled by the Rules Committee.

Other losses came in three court cases:

The Justice Department agreed to dismiss federal indictments against 17 white men accused of conspiracy in the killing of three civil rights workers two years ago in Neshoba County, Miss.—ironically, because Negroes had not been fairly represented on the grand jury that indicted the men.

A state court judge threw out a charge against Thomas L. Coleman, accused of wounding Rev. Richard Morrisroe, white Roman Catholic priest from Chicago who took part in civil rights work in Lowndes County last year.

And a jury composed of eight Negroes and two whites failed to convict Eugene Thomas for

the killing of Mrs. Viola Liuzzo, a civil rights worker, also in Lowndes County.

* * *

Warnings to "take it easy, or risk causing such resentment that communication will break down completely" were heard from Washington to California, where Gov. Brown's supporters worried about the effects of backlash on his campaign.

These warnings had a familiar ring to Southerners, who have often received the same advice from moderates here. From experience, many in the South have concluded that there is no slow, painless way to eradicate racism; they point out that those white communities which have been unable to dodge a sharp challenge from the freedom movement are the ones which have changed most.

The News in Brief

'SNCC Didn't Cause the Slums'

(Continued from Page 1)

By the time Carmichael returned around 4 the crowds were in turmoil. Casselberry said he said nothing at that time; he stood on the sidewalk watching.

Meantime, a bit earlier, four other SNCC people had arrived. About 150 people were in the streets, all very angry. Cleveland Sellers, a SNCC leader, says an assistant school principal in the area asked his advice on how trouble could be averted. He suggested that if police would leave the neighborhood, people would calm down. The principal thanked him but came back later to say the police would stay. "I tried," he said.

Two of the SNCC people, William Ware and Bob Walton, had sound equipment on the scene. They asked for people who saw the shooting to tell what happened.

They were arrested almost immediately. This further angered the crowd. At that point there had been no violence.

Police pushed the growing crowds back on a sidewalk. Then one man, not a SNCC person and still unidentified, called out: "We don't have to take this; let's get in the streets." He pushed off the sidewalk. Police immediately arrested him and pinned him roughly against a police car.

That police action, according to Casselberry, is what triggered the violence. Bottles and bricks began to fly. Police apparently panicked and began arresting people indiscriminately, some quite roughly. They tried to move a police car and hit a pregnant woman.

Soon thereafter the mayor came. People called out that they'd listen to him if he got police out of the neighborhood. Crowds rocked the car on which he stood and he fell to the ground.

Casselberry says it was at that point, apparently in anger, that the mayor gave the order to fire tear gas.

"Get them out of here," he quoted the mayor as saying. "I don't care how you do it but get them out if you have to tear the houses down."

From that point on there was bedlam, as police fired tear gas and guns into the air and some into buildings. Until 9:30 p.m. they were still chasing people up alleys and down side streets and in some cases breaking into homes to arrest people.

The next day the newspapers said SNCC had incited a riot. Ralph McGill, publisher of the *Atlanta Constitution* called it a "klan-type group." Eugene Patterson, *Constitution* editor, wrote that SNCC was born in Atlanta and "it would be fitting if it died here."

Mayor Allen told the press SNCC was to blame and attended a hastily-called meeting of the Atlanta Summit-Leadership Conference, a coalition of prominent Atlanta Negroes. That group adopted a statement "condemning those who would incite disorder." The statement did not mention SNCC by name but the discussion in the meeting did.

The statement went on to point out conditions which make such trouble possible.

"I think they thought if they implied criticism of SNCC first people would listen to them about conditions," one person commented. "But it worked the



AN ARREST at the scene of Atlanta street disturbances last month. Eye-witnesses say it was police actions like this, not SNCC that caused the violence.

other way. No one seemed to hear anything but the condemnation of SNCC."

Four days after Summerhill, the second outbreak came in the Boulevard area. This was triggered when whites in a passing car shot two Negro teen-agers, one fatally. Later two people were charged with this crime; no action has been taken against the policeman who shot Prather.

Crowds in the Boulevard area were especially angered because a white policeman who had been slightly injured asked an ambulance to take him to the hospital before the wounded Negro youngsters, and it did.

There was never any allegation that SNCC people were on the scene that time, but by then the blame for the entire situation was so firmly fixed on SNCC that few people noticed this detail.

Meantime, the press of Atlanta and the country was making much of reports that even in slum areas black people were turning against SNCC. A SNCC literature booth in Vine City was burned down on September 7; some SNCC people were beaten by other black people.

WAOK's Casselberry reports that he talked personally with young people in Vine City who said police urged them to attack SNCC while they looked the other way. Hector Black, a Vine City community organizer, told of similar reports. SNCC rejected Black's work in Vine City last winter because he is white so he has no personal motive for defending the organization.

Vincent Harding, widely respected Mennonite leader now teaching in Atlanta, tells of seeing people threaten to beat a SNCC worker in Vine City while police stood nearby with arms folded.

Locally and nationally, the press also played up the resignation of Julian Bond from SNCC during this same week.

Bond says his resignation had nothing to do with the disturbances, that he wanted to resign last summer because he is 26 and for personal reasons but delayed it because "people would think I was against black power." (Bond, who has been elected to the Georgia Legislature three times, although not yet seated, has said in speeches that he is an example of "black power.")

He finally resigned in a personal letter to Carmichael. He did not release his resignation to the press but the news leaked out.

He said he gave no interview to a reporter who quoted him as saying SNCC was "acting kind of crazy." He said this remark had been made earlier in a private conversation in another context—referring to his opinion that things were somewhat disorganized in the SNCC office.

Primary election day, when Bond ran again for the legislature, and won, came after his resignation from SNCC. But SNCC people again got out in the neighborhoods and worked for him.

What is the feeling toward SNCC in the Atlanta black community now?

No one can say for sure, but by the Friday following Tuesday's trouble in Summerhill, the Vine City Council, a powerful neighborhood organization, adopted a statement saying emphatically that it had played no part in any effort to run SNCC out of the area.

"We've fought with SNCC sometimes, but we ended up defending them," says Mrs. Helen Howard, a Council leader. "We felt police and city officials were trying to use us."

By the time of the Boulevard outbreak, Carmichael and other SNCC leaders were in jail on riot charges and crowds in the street were shouting to the mayor: "Let Stokely out and we'll go home."

The truth is that there is a battle going on between SNCC and its opponents for the minds of black Atlanta. Those who want the opponents to win but think they believe in freedom had better examine the essence of this battle.

Some would like to think that black people who have rejected SNCC have done so because they think SNCC is "violent" and they don't like violence.

Mrs. Vincent Harding, herself a Negro who has talked with many people says this is pure illusion. "It's fear," she says, "fear like people have always had. They are afraid SNCC will bring trouble, will bring the police and tear gas or maybe they'll lose their jobs."

In white Atlanta too there is a battle for men's minds. One clear call to sanity came from the Greater Atlanta Human Relations Council.

This group has for years been doing the tedious thankless work of knocking on official doors, attending endless meetings—trying to get Atlanta's boards and agencies and committees (and it has a multitude of them) to act on its problems.

In a three-page statement, the Council pointed out that SNCC did not cause Atlanta's slums and said that



—SNCC photos by Rufus Hinton

THE FACE OF THE GHETTO: An unidentified man looks into the dismal scene of Atlanta's slum streets.

the "basic responsibility lies with Atlanta's lack of concern over miserable conditions. . ."

But even Council leaders wonder how many people heard. One of them said:

"Many people just concluded we were defending SNCC and didn't read the rest of the statement."

Many Atlanta "moderates" were taking a "plague on both your houses" position. They say the city has been irresponsible and so was SNCC—by calling for protests and bringing sound equipment into a tense situation.

But one wonders what these people would suggest should have been done.

SNCC workers have appealed to federal court to stop the state prosecution against them on riot charges under the Supreme Court decision in the SCEF case which established the right of federal courts to stop injustice before it occurs.

In their suit, they maintain that what Carmichael and others said in Summerhill on September 6 was an exercise of their free speech right to call for peaceful protest, and that police caused the violence.

One black woman in Atlanta said recently: "When I heard about that boy being shot on Boulevard, I just turned my face to the wall and said to myself 'What can you do, how many more times will it happen?'"

One wonders how much longer those who want peace but have never lived with this sort of dread want people to turn their faces to the wall.

For those who do not live under unbearable conditions, it is all too human to blame any trouble on those who say "Resist." The next step is to try to destroy the people and organizations you have convinced yourself caused the trouble.

The evidence seems clear that powerful forces both here in Atlanta and nationally are trying to destroy SNCC, instead of facing the deep social problems of this and other cities.

Lowndes County

(Continued from Page 3)

Mr. Myles: "I'll describe it this way. The black panther is the beast that lives in the forest. He'll run from you as long as he can and the minute he can't run no more he turns around and comes out fighting. The Negro has run for a hundred years and now he can't run any more. We don't mean fist fights but we are fighting for power. That panther when he gets hemmed up he's gonna be fighting and that's what we are doing."

Robert Logan: "It means not to take over, but to share."

Mr. Ross: "Once you get power, we all live together. But one side got the power—the other side got no power—it's no good. Somebody's always going to be living bad. We got to get on the same level of power. Wherever you live it is so. You got to let people know you mean business. It's time out for playin'."