

## Protests Cut Penalty

# Jury Gives Wansley Life

(By Staff Correspondent)

"After trying, for a long time, to find the right words to thank the many people of Lynchburg and throughout the United States for supporting my cases and fighting for my life, I've come to the conclusion that there will never be adequate words to express my gratitude to them.

"These people have showed me that although I was and am just another Negro, there is someone who cares. These wonderful people have given me, my life back and something to live for and a new outlook on the world as a whole. By their acts, they have said, 'We will not see this injustice done. We will not let even you Mr. Judge and Mr. Commonwealth take a life in vain.'

"At one time, I'll have to admit, I almost lost faith in mankind but these people have restored it. They have showed me that even though there may be evil, hatred and prejudice in the world, it is still a beautiful world and there are a lot of good people in it who will fight for what they believe in."

—Thomas Wansley

\* \* \*

Four years ago, Thomas Wansley was convicted of two rape charges and sentenced to death. A handful of people in this Southside Virginia town believed he was innocent but, by and large, he was very much alone.

Last month Wansley was retried on one of the rape charges. This time, friends and supporters crowded the courtroom and filled the street outside for the five days of the trial.

He was convicted again—but the sentence was life imprisonment, not death. A week later the local judge dismissed the second rape charge and said it was "forever barred from prosecution." The movement which sprang up to support Wansley had made a difference—both to him and to Lynchburg.

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"If they knew that when they laid hands on one of us they'd have to face all of us—they wouldn't mess with any of us. . . . You can only let Mr. Wansley go to the electric chair if you don't recognize that he is part of you, recognize he's black—and that's the reason they're picking on him. If Mr. Wansley dies, I blame you."

—Stokely Carmichael

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Why the movement developed as it did is probably the result of a number of factors.

Local people who have always believed Wansley to be innocent have been organizing public opinion here for four years. Other individuals and organizations, such as the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF) and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) have helped to arouse support for Wansley throughout the state and nation. A number of people who felt that something important was at stake came to Lynchburg for the trial.

The atmosphere in the South is changing; Negroes no longer feel completely powerless to influence events. And there is a growing recognition that Negroes who receive the death penalty on charges of raping white women

are usually being punished for their race, rather than for a crime.

Wansley—who was 17 when he was charged with raping Miss Annie Lee Carter, an elderly white woman, and Mrs. Kyoko Fleshman, a Japanese—has always believed this is why he was accused. In a letter to his lawyer, he once wrote:

"As I look back into the past with very little confusion and no fear I can clearly see that in December of '62 the opinion of most of the so-called high class

Pictures Taken In Lynchburg During The Wansley Trial—  
See Page 5

and yes, even some of the prejudiced poor people, was 'Get a Negro—any Negro—and kill him; burn him for raping these white women. Our women.' So you see, in '62, someone had to cry—someone had to DIE. And hence, (Dec. 8, 1962) I became the victim of circumstances."

The black community of Lynchburg has come to realize this, and to know that if the killing of black men is ever to be stopped, people must stand up for each victim, and say NO.

\* \* \*

"The atmosphere in Lynchburg is what lawyers mean when they talk of 'trial by newspaper.' When a city is inflamed, the fairness of the court proceeding is always in question. . . . In this atmosphere, the least Judge O. Raymond Cundiff could have done was transfer the trial to another city, some-

thing he refused to do."

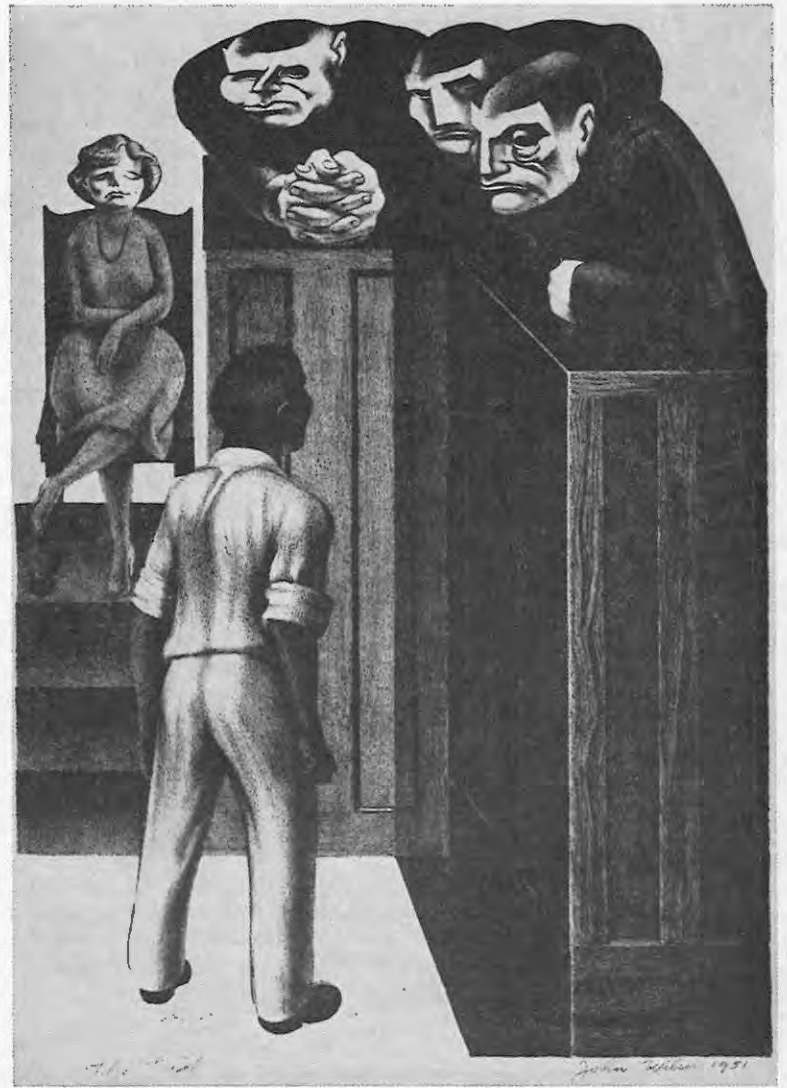
—The Washington Post

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On March 14 Wansley's supporters filed into the courtroom, past a large mural that shows Negroes planting the tobacco that laid the basis of Lynchburg's prosperity. During the next five days, it became obvious their presence might influence the verdict but it could probably never free Wansley, because white Lynchburg is not capable of giving him a fair trial. His lawyers—Philip Hirschkop, Alexandria, Va., William Kunstler, New York, and Charles Mangum, Lynchburg—claim the local newspapers are responsible for this.

They spent the first two days of the trial showing how prospective jurors have been influenced by newspaper charges that Wansley is guilty and that one of his lawyers is a communist. The Washington Post said that the American press was on trial with Wansley.

Almost all the prospective jurors said they read one or both of the local papers, and remembered reading stories about Wansley and references to Kunstler. But, strangely, none mentioned the Communist charge when (Continued on Page 4)



JOHN WILSON'S PICTURE OF "THE TRIAL" was handed out by supporters of Thomas Wansley while his trial on rape charges took place in Lynchburg March 14-18.

## The Southern PATRIOT

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### Miami Jail is Last Stop

## Florida Peace Tour

(By Staff Correspondent)

MIAMI, Fla. — Three peace workers were arrested amid shouts of about 200 shocked students at Miami-Dade Junior College's North Campus on March 29.

Tom Gardiner and David Nolan of the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC) and Nancy Hodes of the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF) were speaking on free speech, the war in Vietnam, and U.S. China policy when police dragged them away at the order of the college administration.

The incident occurred on the last leg of a Florida peace tour sponsored by SSOC and SCEF. It began when students asked the college administration to approve the Peace Tour program.

The deans finally agreed to sponsor them if they would debate three people with opposing views. When the trio met with the deans to discuss the procedure they were given absurd ground rules, such as a five-minute presentation from each side and "no emotional speeches, no public, no publicity, and no literature."

### Program is Cancelled

When the peace workers asked for an hour to discuss the conditions with students and with the other debaters, the deans told them to sign an agreement immediately or leave. After a heated debate the college representatives cancelled the program.

Meanwhile the South Campus administrators, who had been giving the runaround to students who wanted to sponsor the Tour there, finally agreed to have the Tour members debate two professors. The professors refused to debate so the peace travellers presented their usual panel discussion, sponsored by the South Campus Young Democrats.

A few days later, several North Campus students invited the Tour members to speak in front of the main building on campus. The deans told them to leave and ordered them arrested when they continued to speak. Police dragged them off one by one.

The trio spent two days in Dade County Jail before A. Richard Finchel, a local friend of SCEF, posted bail of more than \$1,000. Because they were from out of town, bondsmen had refused to get the trio out of jail. All three face charges of disorderly conduct and resisting arrest without violence.

Students and faculty at the college were outraged by the incident. Many of them offered to help bail the speakers out of jail. They are planning further action at the same place for early next week. A

(Continued on Page 2)



COLLEGE ADMINISTRATORS told police to remove Tom Gardiner when he attempted to speak at the Miami-Dade Junior College without permission. He and two others were jailed for two days until bail could be raised (photo by John Massey of Miami.)



## The Month in Review

### All Schools Must Integrate

Officials in six Southern states were ordered to integrate classrooms from kindergarten through high school in a sweeping decision by the U. S. Court of Appeals in New Orleans.

The court in effect upheld guidelines for integration laid down by the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The order is effective with the 1967-68 school year, and it is doubtful that the U.S. Supreme Court will ever hear an appeal.

The Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, president of SCEF and the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, called the decision the most important in the field of school segregation since the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954.

He proposed that a seminar be held by civil-rights groups to map ways to see that the court order is enforced. This would counter plans of segregationist officials in Mississippi and Alabama to get around the decision, as they did the 1954 ruling. Other states immediately affected by the new order are Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas.

Former Gov. J. P. Coleman of Mississippi, who was appointed to the Court of Appeals by President Johnson in the face of outraged protests from civil-rights groups, was one of four judges who dissented from the decision. Eight others were for it.

\* \* \*

Louisiana lost its fight for exemption from key sections of the 1966 Voting Rights law when the U.S. Supreme Court ordered election officials to help illiterates in the voting... The high court refused to review the way Mississippi's legislature apportioned U.S. Congressional Districts in the state. Movement leaders claim the districts were gerrymandered to promote white supremacy and prevent election of a Negro congressman... The Justice Department asked the Supreme Court to extend the "one man, one vote" doctrine to city and county governments throughout the country.

\* \* \*

Adam Clayton Powell, Julian Bond, Floyd McKissick, and other movement leaders announced plans to organize a "third force" political party. Powell said it was too early to tell if the all-Negro movement would develop into a third party. Meanwhile, CORE is setting up a coast-to-coast drive to organize Negro power blocs to influence national elections, and Mississippi movement leaders have formed a "political action committee" to unite the Negro vote in this year's elections in the state. Forming of all-Negro parties was announced in Philadelphia and Los Angeles.

\* \* \*

Three Lowndes County churches were burned March 13-19. They were a former church building near Hayneville, which housed the local anti-poverty program headquarters; a Negro church sometimes used as a meeting place for civil-rights groups in Fort Deposit; and a white Presbyterian church in Benton. No report about the cause of the fires has been issued. And in Liberty, Miss. a Head Start office was heavily damaged by a bomb.

\* \* \*

A Nashville grand jury has refused to indict Patrolman Joseph W. Jackson for the shooting of Vanderbilt student Thomas Windley Hall (see February Patriot) two months ago. The District Attorney said the case was closed "unless something new develops".

## Book Notes

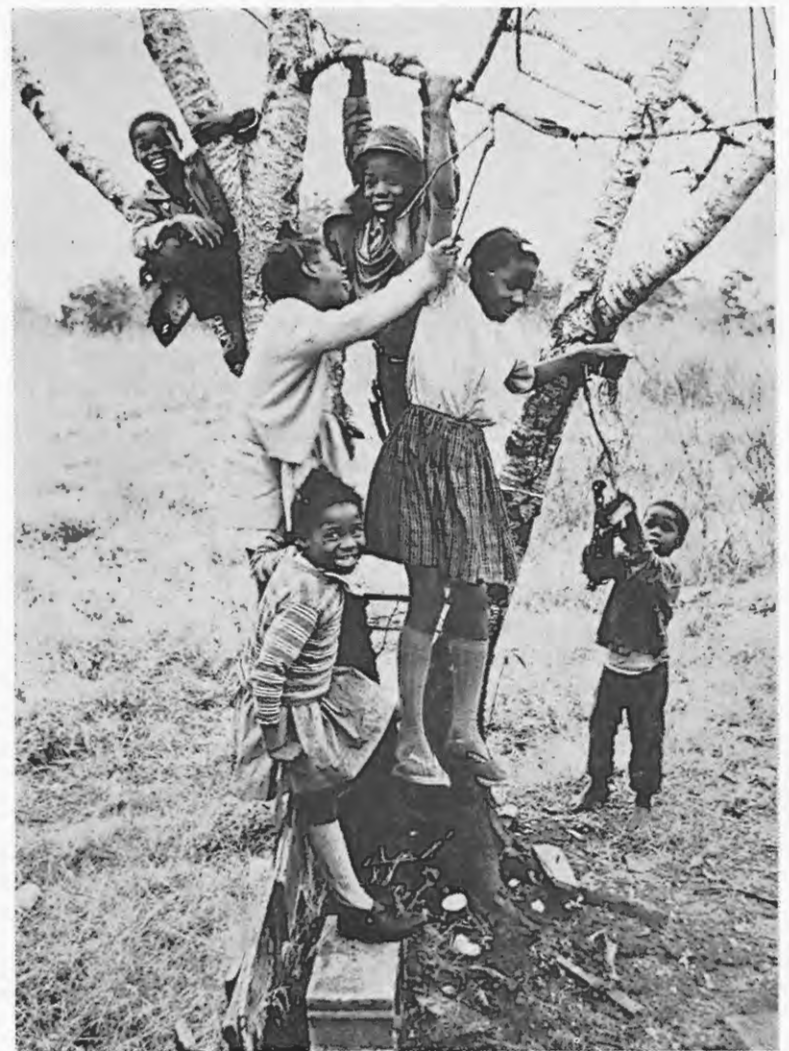
### The People of Johns Island

Guy Carawan is the folk singer who helped the Southern freedom movement find its music. He was able to do this because he not only knew how to sing, he knew how to listen—traveling the South, hearing the people's songs and what they said.

Now he has used his remarkable ability to see and hear the world around him in a book he produced with his wife Candie. It is "Ain't You Got a Right to the Tree of Life?" (Simon and Shuster, 630 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y., \$3.95.) A third collaborator is photographer Robert Yellin, who has illustrated the book with some of the best pictures yet to come out of the South.

The book is the story of the people of Johns Island off the coast of Charleston, S. C. Here live black people long cut off from the mainland, who retained much of the rich culture of their past even as they developed one of the South's strongest grass-roots freedom movements.

Guy began visiting Johns Island in 1959 and came to love it, recognizing there something important in America's heritage. Later he and Candie lived there two years. In their book, they let the people speak for themselves as they recorded their words and songs on tape. It is a beautiful book in the true sense of that word, an authentic record of a brave and strong people.—a.b.



ONE OF THE MANY photographs by Robert Yellin which illustrate the Carawans' book on Johns Island.

### Valuable Additions to Handbook

Extensive surveys of the law of the poor, and conscientious objection to war, are now available in the Civil Rights and Liberties Handbook (Box 673, Berkeley, Calif., \$10).

The editors point out that many of the "deserving" poor have rejected the standards by which "some are deemed 'deserving' and some deemed 'undeserving' of a

share in the material and social benefits of our affluent society."

The handbook emphasizes procedures to help these people qualify for special assistance, to stop invasions of privacy by welfare agencies, to prevent evictions from slum apartments because of complaints to city health departments, and to stop artificial classifications designed to prevent

normal social relations.

The section on the draft lists the chronological steps in the selective service process. The relevant forms, and many of the best publications of the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, are reproduced.

It includes a table of 6,000 cases of constitutional litigation reported in the Civil Liberties docket.

## Peace Caravan Tours Florida

(Continued from Page 1)

quiet, sheltered campus has been stirred into action by the blundering of its administrators.

The Tour members feel that constructive "stirring up" is the main purpose of their peace-education program. During the month of the tour, they spoke at seven college campuses and two high schools about Vietnam, China, U.S. foreign policy, and the draft.

### Other Obstacles

Although Miami-Dade Junior College was the first place they were arrested, they and campus groups sponsoring them had to fight other obstacles to freedom of speech at a number of other colleges.

When approached by campus groups sponsoring the Tour, administrators at many of the colleges reacted by dismissing the three as "a bunch of Communists." One college dean labeled the group "card-carrying dropouts," but pressure by students and faculty finally forced him to allow the program on campus.

### The "Campus Revolt"

A Tampa TV newscaster informed the three that they had been allowed to speak at the University of South Florida (USF) only because he had told the dean that he intended to film the program as part of a series about the "campus revolt."

Most of the students who attended the programs, in groups of 35 to 100, were anxious to hear new points of view and to discuss the questions raised. Small but growing peace groups sponsored the Tour locally, and the appearance of the Peace



Nancy Hodes  
At SCEF NY Dinner—Before Arrest

Tour program attracted new people to a number of these local organizations.

At USF for example, 100 people, most of them sympathetic listeners, showed up to hear the panel speak and the handful of students who make up the Students for Peace and Freedom on campus had never seen any of them before.

The Tour members estimate they have spoken to several thousand people on the tour, not counting those who heard them on TV and radio. What they accomplished was summed up by a student at one of the high schools, who told her friends and teachers, "before they came, this was a quiet place. If they did nothing else, at least they got all of us thinking."

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## LUAC Farce Opens in Lafayette

## Committee of the Absurd

## a non-play

Written by R. ANALAVAGE

Directed by Jack N. Rogers (Counsel for Louisiana Un-American Activities Committee)

Inspired by the recent hearings in Southwest Louisiana

I

SCENE: An empty auditorium in Lafayette, La., the night before the Louisiana Joint Committee on Un-American Activities is to open hearings into "communist infiltration" of the local poverty program. Members of the committee sit at a long table just as they will the following day. To the right of the committee, appropriately, is a smaller table where sits Jack N. Rogers, the committee counsel. An empty witness chair is beside him. TV cameras, unattended, are positioned at strategic locations, observing in silence. In a far corner, a small American flag is barely visible, dwarfed by an enormous Louisiana flag which



Jack N. Rogers  
Counsel for the Committee

stands parallel to the committee's table. An open window is seen directly behind the committee.

ROGERS: (a pink, fleshy man, looks at sheaf of papers, then looks up.) O.K., Jesse, we're ready to begin.

SEN. KNOWLES: (assuming a contrived importance which he has acquired after years of serving as representative for Standard Oil when he is not chairman of LUAC) Ladies and gentlemen, fellow patriots . . .

ROGERS: (interrupting brusquely) No, no, Jesse. This is only a rehearsal. Save the speech for tomorrow. (Stands) Look, we just want a brief run-through. All we're doing tonight is making sure y'all know your lines. 'Sides, we don't want it to appear contrived. (Sits)

KNOWLES: (hurt) Well . . .

ROGERS: Just briefly summarize what you're going to say.

KNOWLES: (Even more dejected) Well—well, I thought we'd have Harold open with a prayer.

ROGERS: Fine. Sets a good mood. Harold.

SEN. MONTGOMERY: (a likeable looking man who resembles a living caricature of W. C. Fields which is what makes him likeable.) I plan to get up and ask Almighty God, the Lord and Father of us all, to bless this committee and ask him to forgive all those who hate America.

ROGERS: Wonderful, Harold. Back to you, Jesse.

KNOWLES: (a little more confident) I'm going to remind the audience that these hearings are very, very important. That we are going to prove—ah, I mean, see—if the Communist Party is taking part in the poverty program in South West Louisiana and whether several people associated with the program hold ideas detrimental to Louisiana or—I mean, and—the United States.

ROGERS: Good. One point though, Jess, make it solemn. (A plump, fortyish woman dressed in a mini-girl scouts uniform wanders on stage. They all stare at her.)

ROGERS: Oh yes, fellows, this is Molly. She'll show up and hand out cookies to the press. I think it adds a bit of warmth to the proceedings. (They all smile at Molly's warmth. She leaves.)

ROGERS: Fine. Now to get back. One word so y'all get the feel of the thing. And I can't put it a better way than this. How many committee members got niggers with poverty programs in y'all's area?

COMMITTEE: (shouts back resoundingly) None!

KNOWLES: (meekly) There's one in my area. (They all glare at him contemptuously as he rushes to explain.) But the politicians control it! (The committee's scorn subsides.)

ROGERS: Now that's what I'm talking about. In this area, the niggers almost got control of the poverty program and that involves three million dollars! (Committee gasps.) I don't have to tell you what that means. They already set up that damn co-op in Sunset by themselves and it involves four hundred niggers. Independent niggers, too. If they succeed in running this program they'll be able to build a power base and really challenge things. That's why we got to stop them.

REP. STIMSON: (incredulously) Jack, how in hell niggers ever set up that co-op? And how in hell they ever organize to raise all this ruckus 'bout federal money and 'bout this "maximum participation of the poor" they always yowlin' about?

ROGERS: That's what these hearings are for. We all know that niggers haven't ever behaved like this before. And we are going to show how the communists have come in here and stirred them up (Turning, he calls) Mr. Robert Angers, Jr.!

II

ANGERS: (enters, sits in witness chair, places an attaché case on table, opens case, begins sifting through mounds of paper. He is tight-lipped, grave, intense, determined. At this point, figures of two men appear in rear window. They are John Zippert and Marion O. White.)

ROGERS: Mr. Angers, will you please identify yourself.

ANGERS: I am an American journalist who specializes in communistic infiltration. For three months I have been

In March, the Louisiana Un-American Activities Committee (LUAC) held hearings in Lafayette, La., to investigate "communism" in the poverty program. The Patriot's Deep South correspondent declared that the proceedings were so unbelievable that the only way to report them was to write a play. The setting is the day before the hearings at an imagined rehearsal. Judging by what happened the next day, it's at least 90 per cent non-fiction.

involved in exhaustive research on two poverty organizers in the area, namely John Zippert and Arthur Emery, Jr. ROGERS: Gentlemen, Bob's testimony will be probably the most important of the hearing. He will tie Zippert and Emery into every communist and communist-front organization in the country. Once we determine that these two people are communists, we can detail their work in the community, with whom they talked and associated, and destroy their effectiveness. Bob, what do you have?

ANGERS: Zippert first. He works for CORE which (here he scoops up a paper from his attaché case) is identified by the Alabama Committee to

Preserve the Peace (Alabama HUAC) as "an organization which is an important part of the criminal communist conspiracy and a dedicated agent working to sovietize America." (BANG! As shot is heard, a figure wearing a faceless mask and a placard marked CORE staggers on stage and falls motionless.) Once Zippert tried to recruit students for a World Youth Festival. These festivals, according to the House Un-American Activities Committee in Washington, are financed by the Kremlin and always take place behind the Iron Curtain. (Another shot, another figure, wearing Youth Festival Placard, staggers on stage, falls, placard overturns, revealing initials: CIA) in cities such as Moscow, Prague, Algiers, Helsinki and Vienna. (Zippert and White guffaw.) He was once a member of Students for a Democratic Society (he produces another document), an organization which California HUAC found that 20 out of every 100 SDS members had pro-communist backgrounds (shot, figure with SDS placard falls to floor.) He has also associated with members of SNCC (pause) which advocates black power (pause, bang, appropriate action) and he attended a meeting of the MFDP, where Ossie Davis, who writes pro-Communist plays, was present. Sen. James O. Eastland, incidentally, has termed the MFDP a socialist organization (BANG! MFDP figure bites the dust.) Another Mississippi group he too has spent time with, is the Poor Peoples Corporation, which you gentlemen will recall, illegally invaded a United States Air Base and staged a tent-in across from the White House. (BANG! PPC goes down.) Recently, Zippert spoke at an anti-war rally in New York with Herbert Aptheker—who is the chief theoretician of the Communist Party, U.S.A., and whose daughter, Bettina, was a leader of the Berkeley Free Speech Movement (BANG, Scotch FSM)—and Zippert took basically the same position on Vietnam as Aptheker. Finally, if there could be any doubt as to what Zippert's views really are, I have here (again he dips into attaché case) a copy of a relatively new radical magazine called The New South Student which contains an article by Zippert where he wrote, "one must do more than organize politically, one must attack the system at its economic roots!" (The committee is shocked. Muffled mumblings are discernable.

Black Power, SDS, Moscow, Vietnam. Finally they compose themselves as Angers moves on to the next target.) ZIPPERT: (disgusted) I'm leaving, Marion, these cats got curious notions about subversive activities. Man, that bit about the Alabama Committee to Preserve the Peace is wild. (He leaves, White remains.)

ANGERS: As for Arthur Emery, Jr. He worked at one time for the American Friends Service Committee, which is a left-wing pacifist group (BANG!) was a field secretary for the National Sharecroppers Fund, a socialist group (BANG!) and he opposes the hot war in Vietnam, serving five months in the penitentiary for his Quaker beliefs.



John Zippert  
"These cats got curious notions about subversive activities"

And, I'm told by different witnesses, his wife stood up in a local Lutheran Church and asked for contributions for the Viet Cong!

SEN. MITCHELL: My Gawd! Who told you this?

ANGERS: I don't have names, but I know it to be a fact.

ROGERS: Sen Mitchell, it is not important who told Bob this, just so Bob tells us about it. I'm sure we'll leave the impression we want with the audience. Continue, Bob.

ANGERS: Just last week, Emery made a speech at a local high school where he: 1) told the students they should let their consciences be their guides before obeying authority; 2) that they should refuse to serve in Viet Nam because it is an unjust war; 3) that the people of Cuba were worse off before a Castro takeover; 4) that communism had brought some efficiency to Russia and advantages to China; and 5) that hunger and poverty were worse evils than communism.

KNOWLES: (paling) You mean they don't believe in capitalism?

ANGERS: (dramatically) Senator, I don't believe there's a free enterpriser in the bunch.

ROGERS: That's good, Bob. You also found Zippert's and Emery's names mentioned in several communist periodicals, didn't you?

ANGERS: Yes. (Several committee members ask at once: Which ones? What did they say?)

ROGERS: Again, boys, it is not important what they said or which ones, the point we are making is that they were mentioned. People will know what we're talking about. See you at the hearings tomorrow, Bob. Next witness.

III

(Exit Angers, enter Roland R. Hebert [pronounced ay-bear] a small, immaculately dressed man who is past director of ACADIAN NEUF, a nine parish (county) CAP-type agency. Hebert sits in witness chair.)

ROGERS: Mr. Hebert, tell the committee what you encountered as your chief problem as director of the poverty program here. (White leans forward in window, his interest is caught.)

HEBERT: We were constantly harassed by a group of radicals. The chief ones, I'd say, were a Catholic named Father Albert McNite, who is president of a group called Southern Consumers. . . ROGERS: (interrupting) Which employs Arthur Emery.

HEBERT: Yes. (BANG!)

COMMITTEE: (en masse) Hummm. . . HEBERT: Another radical was a colored lady named Marian White.

ROGERS: Marian White, for the committee's edification, is a former president of the state NAACP. (BANG. NAACP figure joins others on floor) Jess, your line.

KNOWLES: Oh yes, ah, let me get it right. Ah, this McNite and White—hey, that rhymes (Rogers frowns,

(Continued on Page 6)



# Community Rallies to Support Wansley

(Continued from Page 1)

Kunstler asked what they had read about him—although, after he brought it up, they all remembered it. There was a sense of shame—a half-conscious recognition that this was something which should not affect the case and should never have been brought into it.

But a number of jurors said they believed the charge, and several admitted their anti-communist feelings would prevent them from giving an unbiased decision. Others, primarily through reading the local papers, believed Wansley was guilty. By the time a jury of 12 and one alternate had been chosen from a panel of 61, Wansley's lawyers had proved that white Lynchburg cannot avoid being influenced by the local press.

\* \* \*

Kunstler: Did you believe that you were suppressing essential information that the jury must know if it is to judge the value of your remarks?

Probation officer Lee Read: There's a possibility that it would appear that I was.

\* \* \*

During testimony by prosecution witnesses, the audience real-

ized how determined the authorities were to kill Wansley. In a shocking episode, one witness was permitted to describe a supposed "confession" by Wansley.

Wansley's supporters listened in stunned silence. But during the next two hours, Kunstler forced the witness, Lee Read, to admit that his testimony was a tissue of lies and half truths, designed to mislead the jury and inspired by the suggestion of the commonwealth attorney. By the time he finished, Read had collapsed completely.

Wansley's lawyers asked the judge to declare a mistrial and to strike Read's testimony from the record. Cundiff refused.

The testimony of Miss Carter, the rape victim, was confused and contradicted some things she had said at the two previous trials. But she insisted she could identify Wansley positively as her attacker. At the same time she claimed that her testimony three years ago, that she was "not too sure" he was the man, was also true.

Hirschkop asked how she could reconcile these two statements. "Well, naturally," she said, "I've seen his picture in the newspaper and I've seen him in court since then."

This is the identification on which the prosecution rested its case, and which Wansley's lawyers argued was not sufficient to convict him.

The lawyers' final arguments symbolized the conflict between the Old and New South.

Jester pounded the table and harangued the jury about the attack on "this sweet little lady"—whom he referred to frequently as "Miss Annie." For him, it was clear, she was the traditional figure of white Southern womanhood, outraged by a black man. He demanded the death penalty, both to "spank" Wansley and "to show other people what they can expect."

Kunstler asked the jury to decide on the basis of the evidence, or lack of it, rather than emotion. He asked them not to be swayed

by the race issue or the fact that this was "the most explosive of crimes—the rape of a white woman by a black man."

The jury returned in less than three hours with two guilty verdicts and two sentences of life imprisonment. The second was for stealing a change purse containing 12 cents and two bus tokens.

The sentences shocked Wansley's supporters. But they knew that their presence had probably prevented the jury from sentencing him to death again—and that the trial had created a movement whose strength could improve their own lives.

\* \* \*

"Some people are saying they won't join with us because we're for black power, or for this, or the other thing. But all that isn't important. The important thing is for us to stand together."

—A 14-year-old student, addressing a rally

\* \* \*

While the hearing went on, equally dramatic things were hap-

pening outside the courthouse. People who were unable to get in stood in the street and listened to speeches by local people and visitors from other cities. At night they marched to the jail and sang outside it.

More than 200 high-school students cut classes to attend the trial. When school officials threatened them with detentions and suspension, their parents took more children out and filed a class suit in U.S. District Court. They claimed the children were being deprived of the First Amendment right to protest "a gross miscarriage of justice." Girls from Lynchburg's predominantly-white Randolph-Macon College volunteered to tutor them until the suit was won.

The school officials gave in. They promised that detention periods would be used only to give the children extra tutoring, to make up for the lost time.

\* \* \*

"Wansley is representative of thousands who have cried out in the silence of the jail cell, who have been killed, unnumbered and unknown. And the only difference is that we know his name. He's lucky in that respect. And maybe, by helping one, we can help all."

—William Kunstler

\* \* \*

Over the last four years Wansley has become a symbol of resistance. His name is known across the country; the story of his last trial was carried prominently in the New York Times, Washington Post, and a number of smaller papers. Sympathizers from Boston, New York, Chicago and many Southern cities attended the trial. People in Philadelphia and Washington held simultaneous demonstrations in protest.

The case has become a rallying point for people who are fighting to end the death penalty for rape, and the dishonesty of the trial will help that fight.

But the most important result of the trial was what it did for Wansley himself. During the last four years he never lost hope, even when only a handful of people supported him. And at the hearings last month, after so many years, he knew that he was no longer alone.



LYNCHBURG NEGROES CONFRONTED POLICE outside the city's courthouse, as the Wansley trial went on. For five days, they filled the courtroom and the street outside. (Patriot photo by Les Jordan)

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**SCEF**

3210 W. Broadway  
Louisville, Ky. 40211

## Youth is Focus at SCEF Reception

(By Staff Correspondent)

NEW YORK — Some of the young people who have played—and continue to play—such a large part in the Southern freedom movement spoke at SCEF's annual reception here March 20.

Among them were Julian Bond, now a member of the Georgia House of Representatives, Bob Zellner, who is working to organize white Southerners, and Mrs. Victoria Gray of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP).

All of them were concerned with politics. Not the traditional party politics, but what has come to be known as people's politics, or new politics.

### Changing Goals

Bond discussed how the movement's goals have changed, from the early fights for the right to eat a hamburger to a time when "many people thought that the single most important thing was the right to vote, and the right to vote alone."

"For the first time, I think, people are beginning to realize that it does no good for Negroes in Mississippi to be able to vote if they have to choose between Eastland or Stennis...."

"So, for the first time, different parts of the Movement are turning toward politics... which take a lot of different faces but rest on ideas which are generally the same."

"People must bring themselves together first, and then seek larger alliances based on interest and based on need. And, hopefully, some day in this country there will be an alliance which will make the country do the sort of things it wants to do."

Mrs. Gray reported on political organizing in Sunflower County—"which has knocked a gaping hole in the South's political wall. We are working to widen the gap and break the Democratic Party's monopoly—for far too long—on the state."

Zellner said white working people in the South have been inspired by what is happening in the black communities.

### Whites Seek Leadership

"In the past, they have usually felt a sense of competition with black people. But now, when they see that there is an organization in the black community, they look to it for leadership in many situations."

"I'm not saying that this is a widespread feeling throughout the South, but it's more widespread than we think. And we plan to stimulate this and organize around it."

He and his wife, Dottie, are moving to New Orleans this month to set up the Grass Roots Organizing Work (GROW) project. It aims to organize the working white man and the poor white man in the South. This project is being supported by SCEF and is also under consideration by SNCC.



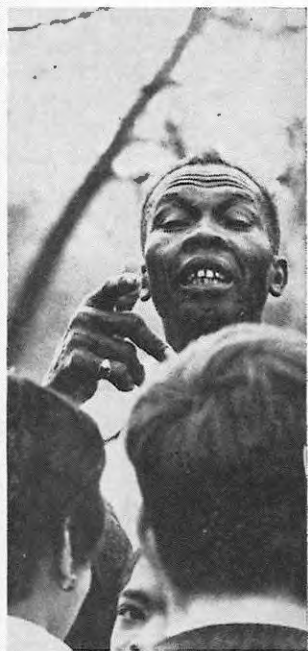
Bob Zellner  
Organizing the white south



Julian Bond  
People's politician



Many rally while  
 A few just watch,  
 as  
 A young man's life is juggled  
 in the hands  
 of bigotry—Lynchburg!



—Wansley trial photos and poem by Les Jordan



"Those who profess to favor freedom and yet deprecate agitation, are men who want rain without thunder and lightning. They want the ocean without the roar of its many waters."

FREDERICK DOUGLASS

# THE PEOPLES FORUM

"If you want the happiness of the people, let them speak out and tell what kind of happiness they want and what kind they don't want!"

ALBERT CAMUS

## The Death of Liberalism

Re: your discussion with Mr. McCrackin in the December issue. Is it possible Mr. McCrackin, as well perhaps as many of the rest of us, has not sensed the extraordinary change in the temper of young people all over this nation since 1960? The change might be summed up in a slogan: *Liberalism is dead*. It no longer inspires or convinces or converts. The Vietnam war may be putting the last nails in liberalism's coffin. last nails in liberalism's coffin.... One casualty may be non-violence.

Viewed abstractly, non-violence should appeal to the group I'm talking about. But non-violence, rightly or wrongly, has become identified as just one more way of cooperating with—and indeed supporting—a larger system of violence and corruption. Too many non-violent leaders have concerned themselves more with the manipulation of consensus power and politics than with attacks on the oppression built right into that very consensus system.

These men excite little interest or respect in many of these younger people. Non-violence too often connotes liberalism. Beyond this, the absolute adherence to one principle runs counter to the current emphasis on practical experimentation with varied ways and means to dismantle, or at least to foul up, the system.

Given these factors, why be alarmed about SNCC? What do we have to offer as an alternative to Black Power? Integration as an ideal is badly tarnished: integration with what—the Great Society? If the rest of us have the capacity to inspire youth with something better than they have seen or thought, now is the time to act. Otherwise the fall of

liberalism will surely lead to a sharpening of political tensions and to increasing internal violence.

This result can be deplored, but it is certainly beyond the black or white power of SNCC either to cause or to prevent it.

R. D. LAKIN  
Ft. Collins, Colo.

## Open Letter to Sears Roebuck

In the course of catching up on some of my reading recently I encountered an item in the "Southern Patriot" published in Louisville, Kentucky by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. referring to an incident occurring in Lowndes County, Alabama following the election last November.

It appears that Robert Logan, a Negro who had been a candidate for the Board of Education on the ticket presented by the Lowndes County Freedom Organization, was discharged from his job at a Sears Roebuck store following the election. There were several other instances of retaliation by the white power structure against Negroes who have run for public office but the Logan incident appeared to be the only one involving a nationwide organization.

I have been a rather steady

purchaser of goods from Sears Roebuck & Co. including several appliances. I am prepared to boycott Sears Roebuck & Co. in the future and encourage my friends to do likewise, however, unless I receive prompt notification that Mr. Logan has been rehired, his lost wages been restored to him, that the manager responsible for discharging Mr. Logan has been disciplined, and that firm instructions have been given to all branches of your corporation that such cases are not to recur whether in Lowndes County or anywhere else in this country.

It is bad enough when an outrage of this nature is perpetrated by some small town shopkeeper but when a corporation which expects to enjoy the patronage of everyone does it, it is intolerable.

DAVID J. FRIES  
Watertown, Wisc.

## Mr. McCrackin Replies

"Many months ago I became concerned about SCEF's support of SNCC and I wrote asking for clarification of the basis for this support. My desire for an answer to this question was then and still is a personal one. I do not question SCEF's right to support any idea or organization which it believes it should, but knowing SCEF's policy on integration and non-violent direct action, its support of SNCC has been a puzzle to me.

"Although the Patriot has carried three articles in response to my original letter, I am unable to see wherein it has faced up to and dealt with my basic question which is: Does SCEF agree with me that SNCC has abandoned its commitment both to integration and non-violence and if it does think so, how can SCEF continue to support SNCC when SNCC has so radically reversed these basic philosophies?"

MAURICE MCCRACKIN  
Cincinnati, Ohio

(Editor's Note: The Patriot planned a series of four articles to comment on the questions our friend Mr. McCrackin raised, and we are indebted to him for raising questions that stimulated us to analyze basic questions facing the movement.

The fourth article, which will appear in May, will deal with his question about integration and the whole matter of blackwhite relations in the movement. We believe we answered his question about SNCC and nonviolence when we wrote in the January issue:

"I differ in the way I see the facts from Mr. McCrackin. He believes SNCC has called for violence to change America. I do not think so.

"I believe I have read everything SNCC leaders have written for publication, I have listened to them on TV, I have talked with many of them personally.

"I have not heard them call for violence.

"In fact, just the opposite. What I have heard SNCC saying—since it began community organizing in 1961 and continuing in recent months—is that oppressed people of this country must organize themselves from the bottom up and take control of their own destiny.

"This is political organization... It seems to me that if there is any possibility of avoiding wholesale violence it rests on the slender hope that people will find a way to organize effectively..."—Anne Braden

## Committee of the Absurd

(Continued from Page 3)

Knowles fumbles)—ah, did these two men appear to be under the influence of anyone?

HEBERT: Yes sir, they appeared to be under the influence of John Zippert.

REP. RICHARDSON: A Catholic priest in the poverty program, and under Zippert's influence? (BANG, Catholic figure stumbles on stage, falls to kneeling position, holds his guts).

HEBERT: There was also a nun involved named Sister Catherine. She was a close associate of Zippert's. (Bang, Catholic figure is shot again, fatally collapses.)

REP. RICHARDSON: I didn't think their church would allow that. Seems like a conflict of interests working in poverty programs.

ROGERS: Mr. Hebert, what is your opinion of Zippert?

HEBERT: He called me a racist. He also got all the Nigras to call me by my first name. (Grimaces) They'd come into my office and say, "How's it going, Roland, baby?"

ROGERS: Why did he do that?

HEBERT: Because I called them by their first names.

ROGERS: How did he disturb your program?

HEBERT: Every time we wanted to do something, he'd stop us. Once he brought in four bus loads of people with picket signs and marched outside my office. They called me a racist, too. Then he would contact the regional OEO office in Austin and influence them against me. He also wrote two letters to Washington protesting the way we wanted to run the program. Said we didn't have the interest of the poor people at heart.

ROGERS: (stily) To whom did he write in Washington?

HEBERT (Slowly, enunciating each

word for maximum effect) Adam Clayton Powell. (Much stirring, sighing, shuffling of feet.)

ROGERS: I think that little exchange should have a good effect on the audience. In what other activities was Zippert involved?

HEBERT: He was one of the chief organizers of the Grand Marie Vegetable Coop (shoot Grand Marie)

WHITE: The only co-op in the area—of the poor people, for the poor people, and by the poor people, you might add.

HEBERT: Grand Marie was able to get \$48,000 in OEO funds and these funds were administered by a division of Father McNite's group which was called the Southern Consumers' Educational Foundation.

SEN. DANNY ROY MOORE: (beams with enlightenment) Do you think there's any connection between that group and the Southern Conference Educational Fund... since they both have the same initials...?

ROGERS: (Struck by the point) Good inference, Danny, I'll point out that the Southern Conference is a communist front.

REP. STINSON: (who has been half sleeping, stirs) How do we know it's a communist front?

ROGERS: Stinson, don't be an ass. We said it was a communist front in '63. (SCEF figure is summarily executed) That's the value of Un-American Activities Committees. We can cite these Red groups and every time we hold new hearings, we just refer back to the groups we or other HUACs have already cited and link more individuals to them. It's the Catch-22 principle. A thing is right as long as we can keep getting away with it. And I do think it's very significant, as Danny mentioned, that both groups have the same initials.

SEN. MOORE: Right. Where there's smoke, there just gotta be a fire.

KNOWLES: What is your opinion of Grand Marie?

HERBERT: Well, I think it could be run better by us, the parish officials. Those people ain't too awfully experienced at running their own affairs.

ROGERS: O.K. Roland, I mean, Mr. Hebert. Your testimony has tied in Zippert, whom we have already found to hold un-American views, with the local poverty program. You have also linked him to Grand Marie, which received \$48,000 in federal funds—pity we couldn't have held these hearings sooner, we might have destroyed that too—and you have shown how Southern Consumers, which has the same initials as a communist front, administered those funds. You have also cast suspicion on that radical Nigra lawyer White, and a Catholic priest and nun. See you tomorrow.

IV

KNOWLES: Are we through rehearsing?

ROGERS: Jess, I'm surprised at you. No un-American hearing is complete without the paid informer. Oh, before he comes in, I want to caution y'all about saying the word 'nigger' at the hearings tomorrow. (Several Committee members protest: What the hell we supposed to call 'em?)

ROGERS: Call them... Colored people or Nigras. Now remember that. You can learn. LBJ did. Had a terrible time, too, but he learned. Now, come on in, Joseph. (Enter Joseph Henry, a short, stocky Negro about 25. White leaves window shaking his head.) Gentlemen, this is Joseph Henry. Joseph is a good boy and has been an undercover agent for me for some time. He attended many poverty meetings in the area and he will testify that he personally saw Zippert and Emery influence White and McNite, who in turn influenced the nig—ah, colored people. For good measure, I

had Joseph infiltrate several radical groups in New Orleans and he can shed further light on the concentrated efforts the communists are making there. Joseph, no need to go through your part. You should know it real well by now. You can go now. See you tomorrow, boy.

HENRY: Yes, suh. (leaves)

ROGERS: Well, there you have it. There'll be more of the same. After the witnesses have testified, Jess, you can get up and make the usual speech about the communist menace. Maybe OEO will cut off the poverty funds to the area completely—our influence on that office is increasing—and if we don't get the funds cut off, I think we'll get rid of the radicals and get more responsible Nigras that we can deal with. Any questions?

KNOWLES: I was just thinking. These hearings, they resemble pretty much the hearings we always have. The same methods are used, the same results are found. Only the names of the people we expose change.

ROGERS: (suspiciously) What are you driving at, Jess?

KNOWLES: (apologetically) Oh, don't get me wrong. I mean, these un-American hearings are vital and necessary if we are to preserve our way of life, but maybe the audience... will start... getting... a little bored. Maybe we ought... to change... the procedures... a li'l.

ROGERS: (reassured, smiling) Don't fret a mite, Jess. We've been using the same act for years. The audience hasn't gotten tired of us yet. O.K. See y'all tomorrow.

(They all file out except Rogers. The lights slowly dim, and a soft, hauntingly beautiful rendition of the song "America" is heard. Soon the stage is dark, except for a small light which falls on Rogers and the slain, motionless figures and their placards as the music continues and the

CURTAIN FALLS



# Open Housing Struggle Moves into the South

(By Staff Correspondent)

LOUISVILLE, Ky.—The struggle against discrimination in housing moved across the Mason and Dixon Line as a major campaign for an open housing law developed in this border city.

Intensive efforts for the law began last August. When verbal appeals failed, demonstrations started early in March and a month later were continuing almost daily, sometimes hundreds strong. It was the first such campaign in the South.

In a sense, it came 10 years too late. A decade ago Louisville, like many Southern and border towns, had a "checker-board" pattern of housing in older areas—that is, not real integration but sections where black and white people lived in adjoining blocks.

In recent years, here as in other Southern cities, this pattern has been changing. Now, as in northern cities, whites flee to the suburbs and older sections turn to ghettos. Had the entire city been opened sooner, this process might have been stopped. With intense effort, it still may be—but not as completely.

## Effects of the Campaign

However, the recent campaign has had profound effects. For one thing, it opened up the possibility of campaigns for open housing in other Southern cities—in some of them, perhaps, before the ghettoizing process goes as far as in Louisville.

For Louisville itself, the drive produced the beginnings of the first mass movement in the black community since sit-ins ended

segregation in public places here in 1961.

More important, it ripped the mask off Louisville prejudice. This is a town where many white people have been bewitched by the nationwide reputation for liberalism their city has enjoyed since it began desegregating its schools peacefully in 1956.

## Demonstrators Dragged Away

The first effects of removing the mask were not pretty. Police dragged 70 demonstrators bodily from City Hall, where they were sitting in to protest failure of the aldermen to pass a pending open-

housing bill. There were serious charges of police brutality here and at a later demonstration, but officials ignored them.

An openly racist group was organized—the first to appear here in many years.

But for those who believe that racist violence and hatred only boil to the surface because they exist at the core of a community, there was hope for the long range. According to this theory the hatred that is suppressed and hidden under a veneer also destroys and kills—and only when it comes to the

surface is there the possibility of coping with it and eliminating it.

An encouraging sign is that many Louisville white people are supporting the housing drive. Several hundred whites signed a newspaper ad in support; scores marched. More than 30 organizations, many of them predominantly white, voted support.

A split in the forces came when some supporting groups urged the federal government not to grant money to Louisville under the model-cities program unless it enacted an open housing law.

Critics said it was wrong to jeopardize the city's chance of getting these funds because the model-cities program itself would help break down segregated housing.

## Open Housing First

Those who took the position that open housing must come first included the civil rights groups and community organizations operating in the city's interracial area, the West End. They said:

"... in Louisville as in other American cities the basic problem that underlies all our other problems is the segregated pattern of housing... unless there is a determination to eradicate this we cannot rebuild Louisville or any other city successfully... For too long, the victims of segregation have been asked to moderate their stand so that other efforts can go forward. Now we are saying that no constructive effort really can go forward until this basic evil is faced..."

Whether the turmoil in Louisville would produce creative results seemed to hinge on how many white people could face this truth. As April began, the ordinance was still not passed, and demonstrations continued.

The drive is under the leadership of the Kentucky Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC affiliate), the NAACP, and the West End Community Council, a community organization in the interracial area. Support came from the SCEF and local groups. Much credit is due young SCLC staff members who came to Louisville and began to organize people to act, especially the young people.



LOUISVILLE DEMONSTRATORS gather by the Ohio River (Mason and Dixon's Line), ending a walk called a "march to the sea." It symbolized both Gandhi's famous march and the fact that, unless housing opens on the city's expanding east and south sides, Negroes would have no place to go except into the river. (Photo by Les Jordan)

## 'We Shall Overcome' Our Hatred Should Be The Chant Of Whites

By JUSTIN MCCARTHY

(Mr. McCarthy is editor of the *United Mine Workers Journal*. This article is excerpted from an editorial which appeared in the March 1 issue. The Patriot feels that this commentary on the black power issue from a major labor journal will be of interest to people in the civil-rights movement.)

When you come right down to cases the so-called "white backlash" does not exist. This term has been used loosely by political pollsters and politicians and uninformed newspaper writers and radio and television commentators throughout the nation.

The reason we say there is no such thing is simply that whatever anti-Negro prejudice has been publicized recently was always there. This prejudice is not something new and it was not brought about by racial demonstrations or the likes of Stokely Carmichael of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. To say that Carmichael and his "black power" colleagues had that much influence is giving him altogether too much credit.

Anti-Negro prejudice in America is a sickness that has plagued our society for nearly as long as the nation is old. To a great extent it is based on the fact that most Negroes in this country originally were slaves and regarded as "inferior."... It is only in the last 100 years that they have been able to climb out of this role and take their places as relatively free men. And it is only in the last few years that, as

a nation, we have said to them by law: "You are entitled to the same rights as other Americans." But a lot of us don't mean it.

In the struggle for civil rights for Negroes there was bound to be some extremism, the same as there was some extremism in the early days of the CIO.

We don't think the fight of American Negroes is essentially any different than the fight of working people of all races in the 1930s. Working people in the nation's mass production industries wanted essentially one thing when John L. Lewis led their organizing drives in the '30s. They wanted a sense of dignity as human beings and not to be just cogs in the machine.

That's what America's Negroes are fighting for today: A sense of dignity as human beings.

That, of course, is essentially what Stokely Carmichael is saying when he chants "black power." He's saying to Negroes:

"You must have a sense of dignity in your own worth as human beings."

Unfortunately perhaps, Brother Carmichael is stepping on a lot of toes and bringing to the surface a lot of hostility that was already there anyway.

Some commentators say Carmichael is responsible for the election of Lester Maddox, the Negro hater, as Democratic governor of Georgia. This, in our book, is pretty mixed-up thinking. The majority of white

voters in Georgia who named Maddox already felt like he did and voted for him, Stokely Carmichael notwithstanding. They didn't get this way all of a sudden just because Stokely Carmichael "stirred up" Negroes in Atlanta with "black power" chants.

When Carmichael chants "black power" he isn't doing anything different than left wingers in the labor movement did in the 1930s when they sang their so-called radical labor songs and shouted

insults at the bosses.

Responsible Negro leaders are opposed to the "black power" slogan if it leads to violence. But, let's be honest, the violence up to recently has all been on the other side. The violence that robs Negro Americans of their human dignity is the white violence of race hatred, of black ghettos, of "keep them in their place," of lynchings and beatings, and constant insults and low pay and lousy jobs and all the other

degrading ways that white America has forced on its Negro citizens...

So, we say, the so-called "white backlash" is nothing but the age-old sickness of racial hatred erupting. It's nothing new; it's been there all the time.

The whites of this nation had better start applying the chant "We Shall Overcome" to themselves. Because if they don't overcome their prejudice we're all in for some terrible times—blacks and whites.

## King: On Political and Economic Power

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., in a recent major interview, stated his opinion that the tasks facing the civil rights movement today are two: to attack oppression and to "organize the Negro community for real political and economic power." He said:

... What we are faced with now is the fact that the struggle must be and actually is at this point a struggle for genuine equality. The struggle over the last ten or 12 years has been a struggle for decency, a struggle to get rid of extremist behavior toward Negroes... The problem is now that in order to end the long night of poverty and economic insecurity it would mean billions of dollars... There will be more resistance because it means the privileged group will have to give up some of their billions, and I think the so-called white backlash is expressed right here.

... The next conclusion I have reached is that the great need in the Negro community and the civil-rights movement is to organize the Negro community for the amassing of real political and economic power... This means the hard job of organizing tenant unions... welfare recipients... the unemployed and underemployed... I am rec-

ommending to SCLC that we begin to train more field organizers so that we can really go out and organize these people and thereby move into the area of political action. I think the Negro can improve his economic resources much more if these resources are pooled and I intend to do much more in this area so we can make economic thrusts...

People talk about divisions in the civil-rights movement. They talk about the white backlash and go on to say that is here because of shouts of Black Power and riots in our cities and they so easily forget that California voted an open housing bill out of existence before anybody shouted Black Power or before there was a major riot in our country...

I see the white backlash as a new name for an old phenomenon. It is just a part of the long and tragic... ambivalence on the part of white America where Negro rights are concerned. I see the excuses being used now for inaction and the only answer to this is commitment... The dilemma of Negro America is the result of the failure of white America to ever have a kind of solid, determined commitment to civil rights.



## 'Souls of Black Folks'

## Views, Hopes of Sunflower Candidates

By ROBERT ANALAVAGE  
(Assistant Editor)

SUNFLOWER, Miss. — The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) recently held a primary election here, the first in which Negroes have taken part since Reconstruction.

The people selected candidates to oppose Democratic Party nominees in a special city election on May 2. A similar election will be held in the nearby city of Moorhead on the same day. (See March Patriot for background.)

The candidates' views and hopes, in many ways, represent the thinking and feeling of the black South. So do the candidates' lives.

The youngest, Otis Brown, 21-year-old candidate for mayor, has been arrested so many times for civil-rights activities he can't recall the number. He stopped

counting at eleven. Married and the father of two children, he has been out of work for two and a half years.

## Jobs and Justice

If elected, he says, he will "represent people, not color. The main things we need are justice and jobs. People need a decent income. There's white poor in the town too. Our policies will benefit all the poor."

Brown is aggressive and does not hesitate to say, "to change things in Sunflower, we're going to have to tear the whole system apart."

In addition to jobs and justice, the things most people talk about are pathetically simple. Lonnie Echols, 53, a farmer who is running for alderman (the only candidate with an income) says "We need paved roads and street signs. We need a sewage system. We

want the police to enforce the laws. In the colored community, whites speed through at 50 miles an hour and there's kids playing in the streets. That's got to stop."

Elvin Gibson, 69, candidate for alderman, wants to bring light industry to the town. "There's never been a factory here, 'cause there's never been anyone to speak up for one. The white folks don't want no factory 'cause they want to keep us all field hands and domestics. They work a man like a mule, here, then turn him loose to die. Worked me hard all my life, and that's the way they did me."

## Taxation

Gibson gets angry when he talks about taxes. "We been paying taxes and I don't know what happens to them. Yes, I do—it's all been going over there." He pointed to the white side of town. "If I pay taxes, let me see some good come of it."

Mrs. Annie Mae King, candidate for alderman, is a kind of folk hero. She has lived here all of her life and "raised up fifteen kids right here. And ain't a one of 'em turned out bad. All of 'em finished high school and four went to college and four was in the army—one in World War II, another one over there in Korea."

Where are her children now? She paused and said sadly, "all in the North."

Her home was burned in 1964 ("They never found the ones that did it. Course, I didn't expect them to") and on another occasion a SNCC staff car was fire-bombed while it was parked in her front yard.

She works as a volunteer at a Head Start center which has not been founded by OEO. (Poverty funds do go to a Head Start center run by the power structure.)

Mrs. King was the first chairman of the local FDP and it is in her name that the suit which overturned the last elections was brought.

"I'm proud to be a candidate," she said. "My ancestors came here as slaves in the 1800's and my great auntie owned land here before this town was even named."

"If I win, I want to work for all people, not just the colored. But I think we're going to have to win a majority just to show the white folks what we can do."

Mrs. Lela Mae Brooks, candidate for alderman, is a tiny, energetic woman who spends most of her time out campaigning. And, perhaps strangely, she campaigns for white votes also.

"I think when I talk to the poor whites and lay out my plans for them, I'll get a few of their votes."



Otis Brown  
Candidate for Mayor

Her face breaks out in a wide grin when she points out (as she loves to do) that Sen. James O. Eastland's plantation borders her town. "I don't think he's going to like it at all if we win," she laughed.



Mrs. Lela Mae Brooks  
Candidate for Alderman

Mose Griffin, candidate for alderman, is 67 years old. He is a very skilled man—painter, carpenter, and paperhanger. Yet he has been out of work for three years, living solely on social security.

He has a third-grade education and just recently learned to read and write at an adult education school (OEO) that he attended for eight months. He is very proud of this accomplishment.

It is he who best described the soul of the Sunflower movement and what it seeks to achieve.

"See those streets," he said. "When you was here last, you remember they was just dirt? Well, since we been campaigning, the officials just rushed in here and poured gravel on them. Wasn't blacktop like we wanted, but if they could only afford gravel—that's all right. But the point is—it's not just getting things done; we want to help make the decisions. The most important thing is participation, being a part of things."



Lonnie Echols, who is running for alderman in Sunflower County, is the only candidate with an income (photos by Bob Analavage).

## Ten Negroes in 14 Months

## Birmingham Fights Police Killings

(By Staff Correspondent)

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — "Birmingham Negroes are Tired of Being Killed by Police," say the signs. "Ten Negroes killed in the last 14 Months—but not One White."

The placards are part of a campaign which has pitted Negroes here against the power structure for the last two months—a campaign to stop police from killing black people.

The movement is staging daily marches and mass meetings, and encouraging people to stop buying from downtown merchants. In addition they plan to request police department records for the last ten years, so they can document their charge that "in the past, police policy appears to have been . . . 'apprehend and arrest the whites and shoot the Negroes.'"

If the request is denied they will file a suit. The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (ECLC) has agreed to handle the case, which will open up possibilities for similar action in other communities.

When the protest began, the Birmingham power structure replied quickly with major policy statements. There was wide coverage in local newspapers. The Birmingham News congratulated the city on showing a "new spirit."

But when movement leaders asked them to back up sweeping promises with action, it became clear that the spirit of the old Birmingham is still very much in control.

The protest was touched off in mid-

February when police killed two Negro men in the space of four days while trying to arrest them. Only three weeks earlier a deputy had shot another Negro—while picking up his dog to take it to the pound.

Civil-rights leaders immediately presented a list of ten recommendations to the city's power structure. Members of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights (ACMHR), led by the Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, took to the streets, carrying coffins and signs to explain what they were protesting.

## Their Recommendations

Among the recommendations were: immediate investigations of the most recent killings, publication of a statement of policy by the police department, and automatic grand-jury review of all police homicides.

The Birmingham News, once the city's strongest bastion of segregation, said "the statistics are there, and odds say that reasonable questions can be asked."

"They deserve prompt, reasonable and dignified answers. Answers with sufficient substance to give concerned people a place to start."

A few days later, city and county officials issued a major policy statement from the Birmingham Police Department. This states, among other things, that police will enforce laws fairly, stop cursing and using abusive language, and use no unnecessary force in making arrests.

But officials rejected the most crucial

recommendation, for an automatic review of all deaths caused by police. This would have put teeth into the policy statement and made it enforceable.

"We want the assurances of the city and county backed up by an agreement for automatic review of police homicides," movement leaders replied. They said the Negro community "can no longer be comforted by silence and empty promises . . . it is a matter of life or death."

The black population decided to intensify the protest by calling for a "60-day period of mourning for the dead"—during which Negroes would stop shopping downtown, and in the shopping centers. They handed out thousands of leaflets calling on the people to "wear old clothes to express old, old grief—and to prevent new killings."

One of the leaders, Tom Wreen, explains that merchants control the political power structure in Birmingham because they pay 70 per cent of the taxes. "By tying up the economy, we'll make them jump on the politicians to meet the needs of the community."

Birmingham leaders, who had already made all the concessions they intended, greeted the "economic withdrawal" coldly. The News said the response of local officials had "indicated the existence here of a new and highly promising climate for good and productive relationships between the races."

But, they said ominously, "there seems to be at work in the community a force which is aimed at preventing

accord and stoking dissension." They warned that this would result in "the alienation of many whose support for (Negro) goals and aspirations is essential."

And so, once again, Negroes here seem to be facing a solid opposition.

The civil-rights groups supporting the campaign are solidly united, too. They include the ACMHR, the Birmingham branch of NAACP, the Tuscaloosa Citizens for Action Committee, Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance, Birmingham Council on Human Relations, Birmingham Baptist Ministers Conference, and Birmingham Housewives League. They are being assisted by the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF) as well as ECLC.

## Campaign is Broadened

A number of the local groups recently called a statewide meeting to carry the campaign for 'decent and equal law enforcement policies' throughout Alabama. Representatives said it might lead to a mass march on the state capitol.

In the meantime, the daily marches continue. The local papers haven't printed anything further, and so the people consider themselves a "living newspaper" to carry their message to the black and white citizens of Birmingham.

What is that message? "We need protection from the hoodlums, both in uniform and in the streets," Wreen says. "We need to create some democracy in the police force—to make them realize that government is of the people, by the people and for the people—and that all the people have a right to be protected by the police."