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"One Side, Lady—We're Looking for a Conspiracy"



Houston to Put Militants on Trial for Murder

By ROBERT ANALAVAGE
(Associate Editor)

"'Outside agitators' have not been causing the riots in our cities. It has been the 'inside agitators' that are to blame—the growl of a man's stomach telling him he is hungry, the emptiness of a man's pocket telling him he has not money for clothes and a livable home."
—New York Representative Joseph Resnick

Anybody who reads the daily newspapers or watches the evening news on TV is being told that the above statement is untrue. They are told that conditions don't cause revolts or outbreaks. Individuals and organizations do. And if they doubt this, they have only to follow the increasing number of investigating committees to find more evidence:

Thus, a black SNCC worker organized a "liberation school" and taught black people to hate whites (for whites had never given them reason for hatred) and that was all it took to make Nashville explode. Two SCEF workers, one a pregnant woman, were setting the stage for "class war" in the Kentucky mountains before they were nabbed by conscientious and diligent police work by the head of the local coal operators' association. "Black power advocates" from Jackson State, Southern University in Baton Rouge, Texas Southern (TSU) in Houston, all sparked the uprisings on the campuses.

Just how long these "arrogant" individuals and organizations

thought they could get away with this can only be guessed. Happily, the forces of law and order will now move to punish the agitators. They might have moved (and probably will) against any number of individuals in a score of areas, but it appears that the prize will go to the city of Houston. There, five young men will be brought to trial, charged with committing murder, conspiring to commit murder, and felonious rioting.

The five, former students at TSU, are Charles Freeman, Floyd Nicholas, Douglas Walker, John Parker and Traywell Franklin, Jr.

All are members of the militant Friends of SNCC group which Lt. M. L. (Joe) Singleton (head of the Houston police department's intelligence division) told the McClellan Committee is responsible for the violence that occurred on the TSU campus last spring.

Remember last spring in Houston? This SNCC group and these individuals were involved in two incidents.

First, there was the group's participation on a picket line at a recently integrated junior high school. They were protesting the dismissal of black students who had been involved in a fight with white students. The white students only received a three-day suspension.

Across town in a black residential area, at the same time, SNCC was asked to help the community get rid of a garbage dump, because the people didn't like the foul odors, smoke, rats, roaches and filth it caused. Demonstrations were staged.

After the second day the city's finest moved in, with dogs, clubs and rifles. Many were beaten, many were arrested.

That night a rally was held at the TSU campus and students began mapping plans for continual demonstrations, with the added charge of police brutality. A few police watched. One made a sarcastic comment, and in what was perhaps more symbolic than threatening, he was hit by a watermelon rind. A student was arrested and taken away.

The students were angry. When more patrol cars showed up they were greeted with a barrage of bottles and bricks. Police arrived in force. After consulting with student leaders, they withdrew. The students then put up barricades of burning tar boards and debris, to close the main thoroughfare. Hundreds of police returned. The students retreated to their dormitories and over 5000

rounds of ammunition were fired wildly against the buildings by police. In the process, one student and a policeman were wounded, and another policeman was hit fatally.

In a rage, police entered the dorms. They destroyed student property valued at \$15,000, beat students, forced them to lie on the ground over broken glass, and arrested 488. All—except the five—were soon released.

The TSU administration expelled 52 students, including every active member of the SNCC group. The five students were indicted and will soon face trial.

"What worries me," says Dr. Archie Buffkins, a TSU music professor and advisor to the SNCC group, "is that the authorities

BULLETIN

The murder trial of the five TSU students, which had been set for November 27, has been postponed for three months. Defense attorneys argued that McClellan Committee hearings had so inflamed the atmosphere that there could not be a fair trial.

will use this trial as an intimidating tool against the whole community. You know," he said, "none of the five students had any guns on him when the arrests were made."

Dr. Buffkins is one of the authors of a University report that charges the police were responsible for the outbreaks. "The report was not even considered by the McClellan Committee."

The report states that: "There appears to be little if any attempt on the part of the Senate Committee to secure a balanced investigation." What this refers to is the fact that the McClellan Committee only received testimony from the Mayor, the police, and people hostile to the SNCC group.

Another man, the Rev. Earl Allen, who resigned from a \$16,000-a-year job with the poverty (Continued on page 8)

Courthouse Gang Can't Stop It

Pike Folk School To Open

By JOE MULLOY
(Special Correspondent)

PIKEVILLE, Ky.—The Marrowbone Folk School is about to open in spite of smear tactics used by the local courthouse gang. The adult workshop center, incorporated last June, will open November 24. The August 11 "sedition" arrest of three poverty workers, including me, caused only a momentary setback.

Thomas Ratliff, prosecuting attorney and defeated Republican candidate for lieutenant governor of Kentucky (see story page 7) who led the arrests, labelled the center a communist training school, and tried to wreck it.

A large building in Hellier, Ky., was to have housed the folk school. The day before the arrests the owner stalled in selling it. He later admitted that he was tipped off about the planned arrest and warned "not to have anything to do with them."

The owner—Chester Reece of Wolfpit, Ky.—later sold the building to a Republican front group that wanted the school stopped. He said he did so under threat of losing his job. Reece is employed by the OEO-funded Big Sandy Community Action Council.

Two Marrowbone community organizations also lost their meeting halls. One of them is in the Bowling Fork section. When a crowd of 50 people showed up for a Saturday evening music jamboree they were barred from entering by a court order signed by the county judge. The door was padlocked.

It seems that the sheriff had coerced the owner, an old woman who lay dying in the hospital, into putting him in charge of the place. The people were told they could have the center back if they would disown the Appalachian Volunteers (AVs) and work under the courthouse-

dominated Community Action Council. The people of Bowling Fork refused and are still locked out.

You Can't Stop An Idea

Undaunted by the sedition scare and the loss of several buildings, the people of Marrow-

bone Creek decided to build their own place. Construction started in October in the community of Poor Bottom. About \$2,000 was collected through fund raising and donations by friends. Even the county attorney, a Democrat, (Continued on page 8)



RESIDENTS OF MARROWBONE CREEK in Eastern Kentucky put the finishing touches on a building they constructed to house their folk school, after the local power structure blocked their attempts to buy a building. (photo by Karen Mulloy).

Our 25th Birthday

With this issue, the *Patriot* ends its first 25 years' reporting on the freedom struggle in the South. Some of the events of those years are described in words and pictures on page 5.

ELECTION AFTERMATH

Struggle Changes In Mississippi

By ROBERT ANALAVAGE

JACKSON, Miss.—Twenty-three black candidates, seven of them supported by the Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP), now have won political office in Mississippi, following the recent general election. The biggest gain was Robert Clark's Holmes County victory, which made him the first black man elected to the legislature since Reconstruction. (See profile on opposite page.)

Other MFDP winners include Kermit Stanton, supervisor (Bolivar County); Griffin McLaurin, constable (Holmes County); U.S. Rimmer, justice of the peace (Madison County); and Melvin Smith, constable, and Matthew Walker, justice of the peace (both from Issaquena County). James Joliff, running as a Democrat in Wilkinson County, won also. The other 16 won offices as Democrats in the October primary (see October *Patriot*).

Some things changed in this Mississippi election; some remained the same.

One change was the MFDP's endorsement of a candidate for Governor, Rubel Phillips. Phillips, a Republican and a segregationist, asked for black votes and ran on a platform of improving educational and economic conditions for both races.

The MFDP endorsement was strongly criticized by many of the Freedom party's supporters, but MFDP chairman Laurence Guyot defended it by saying that black people "should no longer have to offer their support in secret. We will no longer have the back-room politics which has permeated Southern politics."

But many of the old ways were still being used, because they were still effective. Poor black people who are economically dependent on whites did not feel they could vote freely. Many were subjected to economic intimidation and were vulnerable to being bought off. One candidate, Mrs. Unita Blackwell of Issaquena County, who lost by 26 votes, feels she was defeated by that alone.

Another gimmick the power structure used was manipulation of black election officials. In the early morning hours when most black people vote black poll watchers were not allowed near voting tables (one was arrested for insisting on this right) and illiterates were often forced to ask white officers for help in filling out their ballots.

In the aftermath of the election, it appears that two distinct groups of black political power have emerged in the state. On one hand, there is the MFDP, with six people holding local office. This includes, with Clark's victory, the most powerful political office held by a Negro in the state. Clark is automatically a force in Mississippi politics—to what extent depends on him.

Then there are the 16 other black people who won office who have, for the present, identified themselves as regular Democrats. Whether the party of Eastland, Stennis, and John Bell Williams (the new Governor) will permit them to participate in the party structure, and to what degree, is still unknown. If they are incorporated into the party structure, this could decidedly weaken the MFDP's challenge at the 1968 Democratic Convention in Chicago.

In terms of allies and support, the two groups of black politicians are decidedly on opposite sides. The regular Democrats are dominated by Charles Evers of the NAACP. He is a loyal Democrat and a strong supporter of L.B.J.

Evers has an impressive array of allies. They include Hodding Carter III, who is the publisher of the *Delta-Democrat Times*, and a high official (along with Evers) in the state's Young Democrats organization (loyal to L.B.J.); the Mississippi Alliance for Progress (MAP) which was set up to rival the Child Development Group of Mississippi (CDGM), is supported by Stennis and Eastland, and includes some of the most powerful corporation heads in the state; and Claude Ramsey, head of the state AFL-CIO. All of these forces have big money.

MFDP still must rely on the broad masses of black poor for mass support (something else that remained the same in this election was that communities of poor whites continued to support the reactionaries, voting their prejudices rather than their needs). CDGM, the largest poverty agency in the state, which unlike MAP employs poor people from top to bottom, and the (unfunded) Friends of the Children of Mississippi, another poverty agency, are MFDP partisans. So is the Poor People's Corporation.

The numerous independent parties and organizations that exist at the county level are MFDP groups.

Finally, a new organization called Mississippi Action for Community Education (MACE) is being set up in the state and could well play a central role. It is an offshoot of Walter Reuther's (UAW) Citizens Crusade Against Poverty, and will be funded by the Ford Foundation.

The director of MACE is Ed Brown (brother of Rap), a former SNCC field secretary. Its board of directors contains many MFDP leaders, including Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer. MACE will be active in six key Delta counties.

As the struggle in Mississippi goes on, it becomes more and more complex. What was once mere protest, becomes politics. MFDP, which was set up by the people, for the people, will be facing new battles, not all of them against whites. The room to maneuver has expanded, the power to do so has grown, if ever so slightly.

But if the context of the struggle has become complicated, its goals remain, almost pitifully, the same—how to free masses of poor people, black and white, from the oppression of this wretched state. The recent election changed none of that. Not an iota.

The Month in Review

Election Gains in the South

People across the South were encouraged by the victories of Negro candidates for mayor in Cleveland, Ohio and Gary, Ind., and by the defeat of segregationist Louise Day Hicks for mayor of Boston.

In Mississippi, John Bell Williams, an entrenched racist Democrat, won the governorship over a more moderate GOP opponent. But Robert Clark, a Negro, was elected to the state legislature and six more black candidates won county offices (see pages 2 and 3 for more detailed reports).

In Virginia, Dr. W. Ferguson Reid, a Negro physician, was elected to the General Assembly and black candidates were elected sheriff and county clerk in Charles City County. In Nansemond County a Negro member of the board of supervisors beat back a strong challenge from a white opponent to win a second term.

In Kentucky Mrs. Georgia Davis was the first Negro woman ever elected to the State Senate. Three of the four red-baiting candidates for state office were defeated (see page 7) but voters elected Louie Nunn, a conservative Republican, as Governor.

In Louisiana voters turned out for the Democratic primary (the general election is not until April, but victory in the primary is considered certain victory in the election). They elected Ernest Morial, a Negro lawyer, to the House of Representatives.

In Memphis Negroes won three seats on the ten-member council.

Louisiana governor John McKeithen ordered the National Guard into Grambling College after more than 2,000 of the 4,200 students demonstrated because they feel Grambling is more concerned with its athletic

team than its academic image. They asked President R. W. E. Jones to resign either as head of the college or as coach of the baseball team. Twenty-seven students have been suspended.

Black students at Duke University in North Carolina lay down in the hall outside the president's office, protesting the result of a student referendum. The students had defeated a resolution which would have barred groups from patronizing segregated business places.

Ten students have been reinstated at Bluefield State College, W. Va., after suspension for their part in protest demonstrations against discrimination by the college administration. Bluefield, once an all-Negro school, is now 70 per cent white. The president and most staff are white. The administration has been charged with trying to turn the school into an all-white college.

Three white men were arrested

in Selma, Ala. on murder charge after John Arthur Langdon, 23 was killed by a single rifle shot on a lonely road in Dallas County, November 7. The sheriff said the men admitted the killing but said it was accidental.

The Nebo Baptist Church in Murfreesboro, Va., was gutted by fire November 12, with damages estimated at about \$100,000. It was the fifth major fire there in six weeks.

The homes of 11 Negro families in Haywood County, Tenn. have been set afire since August 4. The wave of burnings followed a U.S. District Court order to place 10 Negro teachers in five previously white schools and 10 white teachers in four schools attended by white children.

Violence erupted in Winston Salem, N.C., after the burial of James Eller, a 32-year-old Negro. Eller died after he was black-jacked by a white policeman who had picked him up for public drunkenness.

Charleston Adopts Open Housing

CHARLESTON, W. Va.—The City Council has reversed its position and voted 19-6 to adopt an open-housing ordinance. They adopted an amended version of a bill supported by open-housing advocates. It is considerably weaker than the first bill presented to council, which was defeated 17-8.

The new bill exempts buildings which contain accommodations for two or three families; those which accommodate four families, if the owner lives in one of the units; single family, private residences in which rooms are rented; and apartment suites where rooms are subleased, if the owner or tenant resides in it. The penalty for violating the ordinance was reduced from \$500 to \$100.

Open-housing supporters pointed out that it was a compromise. However, Berley Geiger, the militant young spokesman for Charleston's ghetto residents, said "I feel this ordinance is a step in the right direction." He said the council's action in adopting it has helped greatly to reduce tension in the city.

Charleston is believed to be the first city in West Virginia to pass such an ordinance.

Book Notes

A Valuable Bibliography

Thousands of books, documents, articles, and pamphlets written on the race question since 1954 are listed in a new work by Elizabeth W. Miller called "The Negro in America: A Bibliography." Despite some omissions, the book is valuable for those who want to know what has been said

in this field. The past is tied to the present by listing some of the better works prior to 1954. There is an index of authors, plus a chapter on tools for further research. Published by Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass.; \$6.95.

Draft Law

A 70-page supplement on the new draft law and a Bill of Rights Citator which classifies some 6,000 cases have been added to the Civil Rights Handbook, edited by Ann Fagan Ginger. The draft section includes the full text of the selective service act

and regulations which went into effect last July. The citator provides cross references to civil liberties, due process, civil rights and law of the poor cases. Order both for \$10 from Box 673 Berkeley, Calif. 94701.

The Southern Patriot

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Eastern Representatives: Sandra Rosenblum and Carol Hanisch.

December, 1967

Vol. 25, No. 11

Movement Christmas Gifts

Economic pressures are still one of the most powerful weapons of those who would keep things as they are. In a number of places resourceful people have launched projects to win economic independence.

The Community Market is an agency which was formed recently to help these groups and individuals market their products. By coming together, they can lower marketing and advertising costs and improve service to their customers.

You can help the movement and buy useful Christmas gifts by ordering products from the Community Market. Write to R.R. 3, Box 156, Newaygo, Mich. 49337 to get their catalogue.

It lists products made by the Freedomcraft Candy Co-op and Freedomcraft Wood Products, both in Mississippi; pecans, candies, and cakes from Koinonia Community in Americus, Ga., and many others.

Suede and leather purses, and a variety of dresses and other articles are available from the Poor People's Corporation in Mississippi. To get a catalogue, write Liberty House, PO Box 3193, Jackson, Miss.

Beautiful quilts are being sold by the Freedom Quilting Bee in Alabama. Send \$25 per quilt to the Bee, 810 29th Avenue, Tuscaloosa, Ala. 35401.



MARK X FOR
ROBERT G. CLARK
 STATE REPRESENTATIVE
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November 7, 1967

Justice - Education - Industry

"Support A Political Rebirth" - Vote Independent

Mississippi's Black Legislator

By **MIKE HIGSON**
 (Special Correspondent)

JACKSON, Miss.—The election was not a spectacular one but it was, in some ways, as crucial to the realization of black power as those which took place the same day in Gary and Cleveland. The contests were for local offices in several Mississippi counties in which black independents, supported by the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP), opposed white (Mississippi) Democrats.

People wondered whether any of the black candidates running for the Legislature would win. Generally the talk was pessimistic. But one candidate did win—Robert G. Clark—while nine other candidates for smaller offices in his county (Holmes) were surprisingly losing.

He became, at 37, the first Negro to sit in the Mississippi House of Representatives since Reconstruction. He won 3,510 to 3,394 over J. P. Love, a planter and cattleman who had held the Holmes County seat since 1956.

Some people in this county, which is among the 10 poorest in the nation, have not taken kindly to the idea of a Black legislator. Clark has heard of threats to "get him" before he takes his seat in January, but they don't worry him although he lives on his own, a good way from Lexington, where he works part-time as a teacher and coach. He carries a gun—but this is like saying, in Holmes County, that a man normally wears trousers. There is nothing odd about the usual.

Clark admits that tension is high—higher, he thinks, than it has been all summer when Lexington, the county seat, very nearly had a riot several times. But tension, like the gun, has become only more prominent as the whites (a 30 per cent minority) have been forced to give up the first few shreds of their power.

The power structure is, of course, obstinate and ostrich-like. It was the obstinacy of one particular body—the county Board of Education—which finally made Clark decide to run for the Legislature. This was in May.

The Board refused to sponsor a work-experience program which would have helped 240 poor families in Holmes County. Clark, who was then head of a program to root out illiteracy, decided he could perhaps do more by "changing some of the state legislation which allows local authorities too large a say-so on poverty programs."

He was serious about winning—more serious than many other candidates. The seriousness also contained a sense of mission or purpose, which may reflect the influence of his father, a teacher, and his grandfather on his father's side, who was a county chairman of the Republican Party in Mississippi during Reconstruction.

As a young boy he was taught that he had to make good at school, and he grew up believing that he belonged to the community where he was born. Partly for that reason he went to college in Jackson rather than in Memphis (Jackson was closer), and for the same reason he has recently turned down job offers which would take him away from the county. It's a pretty strong brand of idealism, but its roots are in reality.

A Rural Representative

His attachment to the house and community where he was born, explains how Clark is a "rural" Representative; and it is no paradox that this is so at a time when Mississippi is emerging painfully from rural narrowness and the rural stranglehold on its politics.

Clark is out to beat rural poverty—a condition which affects at least half of the 942,000 black people in the State, and a rather high number of whites too.

He farms 70 acres himself so he understands the need now (and for a long time past) for a massive Federal effort to diversify farming, and increase the income of small farmers. Clark also talks about his intention of getting support for legislation to update the educational system in the state.

He can speak here from personal experience too: as a small boy he walked six miles to and from school each day, then he boarded part of the way through high school, worked for 25 cents an hour at Jackson State College, and finally ended up teaching at three high schools.

Clark believes, with the growing number of people who advocate development of the South, that this way the out-migration can be stopped. "The movement from the land," he said, "since the 40's was not to the city as a city—people were going where they thought they could get economic security."

In his own county, which has a large proportion of black landowners for Mississippi, the annual median income for black people is under \$1,000. And people are leaving, though perhaps in smaller numbers than three or four years ago.

Clark avoids labels. He describes himself, for example, not as a candidate of a particular political group, but as a candidate "of the under-privileged

people". He ran a tactical campaign which was part of, and yet separate from, the FDP effort; Clark went after and probably got the middle-class black vote because he was with everyone and against none.

He agrees and yet asks the right to disagree with certain parts of FDP's and NAACP's philosophy. This is particularly true now. He knows that as the one black legislator in the State, he becomes, automatically, some kind of a leader.

Clark has definite plans on two points. One is to pull together a meeting of the heads of black organizations in the state; he feels that out of this will come suggestions for proposed legislation (he would like the emphasis to be on education and welfare), and possibly a new (black) organization in which the components would keep their identity.

The other plan is really a commitment: "I intend to keep my connection with Junior Saints College (Lexington), to continue to operate my farm, and to keep contact with people in this county. I'll have an open office and I'll have special days to be there. And I'm going to make time to deal with the problems of poor people."

Times Are Changing In Prince Edward

(By Staff Correspondent)

FARMVILLE, Va.—Black Power is coming to Prince Edward County, one of the battlegrounds of Virginia's "massive resistance" to interracial schools. In some districts, black people have built enough political strength to elect and control their officials.

Attitudes are changing in the white community, as a number of parents begin to speak out against high-handed white leaders who deprived their children—as well as Negro children—of a decent education.

But the change is far from complete. The school system is still in the hands of the band of men who closed it down from 1959 until 1964, rather than allow black and white together. The effects of those five years are still felt—in a drop-out rate that is higher than any other county in the state; in hundreds of children, black and white, who have been lost to the schools forever; in 13-year-olds struggling to keep up in the third grade.

Federal Aid?

Prince Edward County made national headlines briefly in September, when the school board tied 3-3 over whether to ask for federal aid for the public schools. The money was for teaching aids to repair some of the damage caused by the five-year "education gap".

The county has an official tie-breaker who is called in whenever a deadlock occurs. He would almost certainly have voted not to accept the aid. Before this could happen, one of the three men who had voted against the federal money asked the board to reconsider the question. Then he changed his vote.

This man made it clear that he had not changed his personal opinion—but the Negro majority which elected him in the Prospect district last July had convinced him that he had better represent their wishes.

This is one example of black power that is beginning to make itself felt in this Southside Virginia county. Another was the election of a Negro candidate for Justice of the Peace in the Democratic primary last July.

Whites Rebel

Meanwhile, local whites are becoming more and more disgruntled at the actions of the handful of white leaders who have been making decisions for the county for generations. A sheriff who had inherited the job from his father was thrown out in the Democratic primary. The man who beat him received a majority of white votes—even though he campaigned openly for Negro support, promising to appoint two Negroes as part-time deputies. Now the prosecuting attorney seems destined to lose his hereditary position, too—replaced by a young lawyer who also has sought black support.

A good many white parents say privately that they would send their children to the public schools if they were not afraid of economic and social retaliation. Meanwhile, they send their children to interracial schools in neighboring counties, rather than to the all-white Prince Edward Academy, which was set up to replace the public schools.

The schools are still at the center of movement struggles here, because they are still run by a handful of white supremacists. The

(Continued on page 7)

Movement Fights Senate Probe

By **BARBARA FLYNN**
 (Staff Correspondent)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—More than 20 leaders of the Southern freedom movement have called on the United States Senate to stop an investigation of the National Conference for New Politics (NCNP) and associated organizations.

They signed a petition asking the Senate to stop Sen. James Eastland and the Internal Security Subcommittee (SISS), which he heads, from continuing with their investigation of NCNP.

Eastland and others are trying to stem the tide of "new politics"—the politics of participation by poor people, black people, and other powerless groups—which is sweeping across the South. A prime target of their investigation is the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP), an NCNP affiliate.

The FDP is organizing the people of Eastland's home state to demand full equality and freedom for all black citizens. Thus, it represents a threat to his political future—and to the future of all racists in politics.

Recently, six black Freedom Democrats were elected to public office in Mississippi. Next year more will be. No wonder Eastland is worried!

His plan to use the subcommittee to smear and perhaps destroy the FDP was announced in a Senate speech September 22. But agents of SISS had begun their work during the summer; during August and September they were busy stealing letters and other documents from NCNP files.

Some of this material was included in Eastland's speech to Congress.

Attorneys William M. Kunstler and Arthur Kinoy of New York have filed a suit on behalf of the NCNP and MFDP. The suit asks for the return of the stolen material and an injunction against the investigation.

Defendants in the suit are: Eastland, J. G. Sourwine (chief counsel to SISS, who recently was ordered to pay \$777 in court costs to the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), for his part in the seizure of documents from SCEF's Louisiana office in 1963), Benjamin Mandel, research director for SISS, and other still unidentified agents of the subcommittee.

A resolution authorizing the investigation was unanimously approved by the members of SISS on October 11. This was not made public until October 26, and then only because the subcommittee's lawyers wanted to introduce it as evidence for the defence in the NCNP suit.

The petition is only part of a broad counter-attack. It will be circulated nationally and then presented to the Senate.

Initiating signers include: The Rev. Ralph Abernathy, Julian Bond, H. Rap Brown, Tom Gardner, Laurence Guyot, Myles Horton, the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., Michael Lottman, Floyd McKissick, the Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth, the Rev. C. T. Vivian, and the Rev. Philip Young.

For copies, write SCEF, 3210 W. Broadway, Louisville, Ky. 40211.

Draft Resistance in The South

Then . . .

(By Staff Correspondent)

"Signs of defection appeared in the northern counties in the early part of 1862. . . . Conscripts took to the woods, where they were joined by deserters from the army. The Third Alabama Reserves deserted en masse. General Pillow reported in September that there were from 8,000 to 10,000 deserters and Tory conscripts in the hills of North Alabama. . . . Much unrest in several northern counties . . . where armed bands were not only defying conscript officers but also had stormed the jail and released a body of deserters . . ."

This passage describes a little-known part of Southern history—the widespread draft resistance that spread through the hill country of the South during the Civil War, when men refused to fight a war they did not believe in, to save a system they did not support.

These men were the real ancestors of thousands of young men, North and South, who are deciding today that they cannot fight an American war which they do not believe in and do not support (see stories in this page, also February Patriot).

The story of Christopher Sheats, a leader of the Southern "resistance", was brought to public notice recently when local historians discovered the site of his grave in Winston County.

Winston County is in north-west Alabama. In 1860 there were only 14 slave-owners, who owned a total of 122 slaves, in the county. Most farmers tilled their own soil. They elected Sheats, then 21, to represent them in the Southern secession convention of 1861, after he promised to "vote against secession first, last and all of the time."

He and 21 other North Alabama delegates did so, but they were in the minority. Soon after he returned home a mass meet-

High Court Turns Down Levy Appeal

WASHINGTON, D.C. — The U.S. Supreme Court has refused to hear an appeal by Howard Levy, the young Army doctor who was sentenced to three years at hard labor by a court martial last spring. This was after he spoke out against the war and refused to train Green Beret medical aides for service in Vietnam (see June Patriot).

Before the court-martial began, Levy's lawyers claimed that the articles of the military code under which he was charged— for refusal to obey an order, conduct unbecoming an officer, and causing disloyalty among the troops—were unconstitutionally vague.

They asked the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia to rule that Levy was entitled to a civilian court hearing on the constitutionality of the charges. The court refused. The U.S. Supreme Court supported that decision November 13.

Levy is still being held at Fort Jackson, Columbia, S. C. Letters addressed to him there will reach him.



This is the gravestone of Christopher Sheats, discovered recently in Winston County.

ing was held. The people adopted the following resolutions:

"We agree with Jackson that no state can legally get out of the Union; but if we are mistaken in this, and a state can lawfully and legally secede or withdraw, being only a part of the Union, then a county, any county, being a part of the state, by the process of reasoning, could cease to be a part of the state.

"We think our neighbors in the South made a mistake when they bolted, resulting in the election of Mr. Lincoln, and that they made a greater mistake when they attempted to secede and set up a new government. However, we do not wish to see our neighbors in the South mistreated, and, therefore, we are not going to take up arms against them; but on the other hand, we are not going to shoot at the flag of our fathers, "Old Glory," the flag of Washington, Jefferson and Jackson. Therefore, we ask the Confederacy on the one hand, and the Union on the other, to leave us alone, unmolested, that we may work out our political and financial destiny here in the hills and mountains of North-west Alabama."

One of the few Confederate sympathisers present at the meeting called out "Oh, oh, Winston secedes! The Free State of Winston!" It has been known as the Free State of Winston ever since.

If the South had left them alone, the men of Winston County would probably have remained neutral

"Lots of the men who settled Winston County had been through the Revolutionary War," says Frank Walker, the local historian who found Sheats's grave. "They'd had enough of

fighting. They came here to hunt and fish and farm. The water was pure, and the land was covered with streams, and bear and deer. They could live quietly here. Very few people owned slaves, and their sons didn't see the point in fighting for those rich men's slaves."

Historian V. O. Key says that Winston County was typical of one or two hundred counties strung out along the Appalachian highlands of the South; "the highland yeomanry did not want to fight a rich man's war."

Confederate cavalry invaded Winston County, arrested all the men over 18, and gave them five days to decide to "make up their minds to go and fight for the Confederacy, or to be shot in the back."

The mountain men's attitude rapidly changed from neutrality to one of hostility and indignation. Many in Winston County joined the Union army; others fled to the hills, where they were joined by draft resisters and deserters from other parts of the South.

Sheats himself was arrested by state officials and thrown into jail soon after. He stayed there for the duration of the war. His life was spared because, as soon as the Union officers learned of his arrest, they sneaked into Winston County and kidnapped a Confederate officer to hold hostage for Sheats. The Southerners never learned that the hostage had died of measles several weeks after he was arrested.

After the war, Sheats represented Alabama in Congress from 1872 until 1874. He died in 1904. On his gravestone, discovered recently, are the words: "I love my country, my God and my kind. I have served them all. I want no praise or song or prose."

. . . and now

(By Staff Correspondent)

FORT KNOX, Ky.—Tom Tuck is one of a growing number of GIs whose opposition to the war in Vietnam has baffled and enraged the army. Tuck, 20, decided he would rather be in jail than in the army, so he refused to sign the loyalty oath. When the army inducted him anyway, he decided to fight from inside.

"I told them I was going to try to organize the troops against the war in Vietnam," he said. "And if they sent me to Vietnam, I would organize some troops that would be fighting—but they wouldn't be fighting for the United States. I said there's no point in me or any black GI going over there to fight one war, and then coming back to fight another one. I don't believe Negroes belong in the army."

His first gesture of open rebellion came in his second week of basic training, when he refused to pick up a rifle.

"The lieutenant said, 'I'm giving you one more chance. Will you take it?' I said, 'What will you do to me if I don't?' He said, 'You'll get court-martialled.' Then go ahead and court-martial me," I said."

"At that point," Tuck says, "they gave me a tour of the stockade. They locked me up in a cell for half an hour and started asking, 'How do you like it in there?' They showed me the irons and straitjackets. I tried not to let it bother me, but it was really bothering me."

By then, Tuck had organized a group of 11 other black anti-war GIs from Cleveland, his home town. They had all gone to school together. They talked about how to get out of the army and how to organize more soldiers against the war. One of the officers called them "the Dirty Dozen", and the name stuck.

Apparently the decision to court-martial Tuck was partly an effort to break up the Dirty Dozen. "When I went to the court-martial, the man said: 'You're the one that has to be made an example of, because we can't have this in the army.'"

They were partly successful. Some of the original group stopped speaking out against the war. But a number remained determined.

Tuck was sentenced to 30 days at hard labor and loss of two thirds of his salary, for refusing the order to pick up a rifle. The sentence was suspended.

The trial brought him to the attention of the Cleveland Draft Resistance Union, which has been giving him support and literature ever since.

The members of the Dirty Dozen were split up and transferred to other bases as soon as basic training ended. Tuck was the only one left at Fort Knox. He was transferred into another company and immediately started organizing a new group.

After one of Tuck's white converts started tacking literature up on the barracks walls, the commanding officer said anyone found with anti-war material would be court-martialled. Tuck ignored the order and kept handing it out.

A week before he finished cook school, he spent the night talking to some men who had decided to go airborne. "We started talking about it, telling them to face reality. We just hounded them all night. We

got three to drop out of it. And the next day my commanding officer moved me out of the barracks and put me in a private room with two corporals to watch me."

The day his course ended, Tuck learned he has been assigned to Fort Knox. He will not be sent to Vietnam. Two agents for military intelligence tried to grill him on his beliefs and associations, but he refused to answer till he gets a lawyer. His security form is being studied now. "They're trying to find out if I'd be a threat to the army if they kept me in here."

They will probably recommend discharging him. But Tuck is no longer sure he wants to get out of the army. "I'm starting to enjoy it at Fort Knox, messing with them. It might be a good way to spend the next two years."



Fred Brooks Refuses Draft

NASHVILLE, Tenn. — Fred Brooks, a militant SNCC member, has been arrested for refusing to be inducted into the army. His draft call came as he was waiting to testify before Senator McClellan's hearing into ghetto outbreaks. McClellan obligingly postponed the hearing so Brooks could make his appointment with his draft board.

Brooks, 20, headed the controversial Nashville Liberation School, which was briefly funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity last summer. The Senate investigators wanted to question him about charges that the school was teaching hatred of whites, as well as about the April outbreaks in Nashville's ghetto (see May and October Patriot).

Brooks's induction was speeded up after he was expelled from Tennessee A&I for movement activity. A federal court refused to delay his induction until a judge could rule on the expulsion, and on charges that his draft board is illegal because there are no Negroes on it.

If convicted, Brooks says, he will spend his time organizing the black inmates of the prison. "You can organize in jail just as well as you can out," he says. "They'll be getting out some day."

The Southern Patriot — 25 Years of Struggle

By ANNE BRADEN

With this issue, The Southern Patriot is 25 years old. For a quarter of a century, this paper has recorded month by month the struggles of Southerners trying to make their region a democracy—a real one.

On this page, we reprint some pictures and headlines that tell about just a few of the struggles we have reported:—the battle for labor's rights to organize in the South (upper right); white farmers in Alabama forming a cooperative (upper left); black farmers in Mississippi on strike for decent pay (middle right); Virginia citizens, black and white, appearing before their legislature to demand an end to Jim Crow laws (center left); the struggle against school segregation and hospital discrimination; the demonstrations of the 1960's that brought Southern racism to the attention of the world. There were many others.

As we leaf through the early issues of the paper, we are struck by the similarity of the struggles reported in its earliest issues and the ones we write about now.

The Patriot started in December, 1942. Its publisher was the Southern Conference for Human Welfare (SCHW), which had been formed in 1938. The purpose of the SCHW was to help Southerners organize to build a society where there could be a decent life for all.

The issues that fill the pages of the Patriot in its early years are economic and political:—support for organized labor, the problems of small farmers, the crying need of the South's people for medical care; and always the battle for the vote and political action.

Thus the paper did not start as a "civil rights" publication. But from the beginning there was special emphasis on the needs of black Southerners; the fight for fair employment, for an end to double standards of justice in the courts, efforts to halt racist violence.

Then, in the late 1940's, publication of the Fund was taken over by the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF) which started as the educational wing of SCHW and continued as an independent organization when its parent group went out of existence.

SCEF decided in that period that the No. 1 issue in the South was racial segregation and the oppression of black people—that until this evil could be eliminated, until black people could organize as free citizens, there was no hope of solving the other problems that plagued the South.

For almost two decades the pages of The Patriot reflected this single-minded concern. These were the years when black people in the South organized and moved to break the barriers of segregation and demand simple justice. The Patriot reported this upsurge—and the efforts of Southern whites who defied the status quo and joined in the struggle.

By 1964 the legal back of segregation had been broken, the token battles won. SCEF, like several other Southern groups, realized that if life was really to change in the South people must organize for economic justice and political action.

Thus, in the last few years, economic and political issues again fill many columns of the Patriot. New and broader movements for change have been growing in the South and the Patriot reports them:—new efforts by labor to win a better life, new battles for academic freedom, new campaigns for independent political action, a new Southern movement for world peace.

A consistent thread runs through the changing struggle that the Patriot has been part of. Traditionally the South has been an area ruled by a tiny minority. Wherever the disfranchised and disinherited have spoken out, wherever they have organized to win the power that can give them some control over their life conditions, the Patriot has been there to report it, to encourage it, and to help the effort grow. This we think is the meaning of democracy, and as the movements of the late 60's expand, we shall continue in this role.

In 1946, the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) listed the Southern Patriot as a "subversive" publication, and its name continues on that list. We leave it to the reader to decide if this is a "subversive" publication—and, if so, subversive of what.

The Southern PATRIOT

Volume 4

Nashville, Tennessee, June, 1946

No. 6

OUR STAKE IN LABOR'S ORGANIZING DRIVE



Volume 4

New Orleans, Louisiana, November, 1946

No. 10

The Southern Farmer: What Future?

He doesn't own the land he tills.
His income is about a third that of the Southern city worker; about half that of the Nation's farmer.
His children have poor schools.
His family works long hours in the fields.
His health is bad and there are no doctors or hospitals within easy reach.



He must have land, his own land.
He must have government help in buying that land.
He must have easier credit for diversifying crops, buying farm equipment, setting up cooperatives.
He must have federal aid for education, health and housing.



"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

Successes of the Smith Campaign

Here's a quick resume of the results of Ben Smith's campaign for the Louisiana legislature:

1. We got 1400 votes, in an area which went for Goldwater three years ago and contains the highest income levels of any urban area in the South—a real silk-stocking district.

2. We got those 1400 votes solidly in the Negro and white University areas—that is, when we got a voter for Ben, he knew what the issues were and wasn't just voting for a name.

3. Other candidates were often put on the spot by voters being canvassed—one white upper-class lady we know slightly reported being asked by a black voter whether her candidate was in favour of open housing, equal property tax assessments, an end to the war, and Ben Smith, in that order. Great story!

The other candidates were shocked to find that voters were eagerly responding to an egg-head, militant, anti-Johnson campaign, and one fellow put out in the black areas an anonymous little card saying he was running with Ben (two candidates were to be voted for in our district, because of reapportionment).

4. Ben raised enough money for brief TV spots in which he concentrated on the simplest and most scandalous issue, namely the war and what it is doing to domestic policies. He was the only candidate who even mentioned this overriding issue publicly.

5. We feel we won a significant moral victory, in that ours was the only liberal candidacy and we got so many votes even though Ben was not endorsed by any group except the Negro city-wide organization (OPPVL) and a few minor liberal organizations. Also, our budget was comparatively low—about \$4,000, most from up East.

The main result, we feel, was in raising issues which were otherwise ignored and in making it feasible to speak about fundamental reforms, in the tax structure and all, in public. Toward the end we referred to Ben as the man who said out loud that the emperor wasn't wearing any clothes.

Many fine young people came to us spontaneously, and especially on the university campuses Ben was certainly the hero of the hour. Now our task is to hold onto these great people and turn them into a real movement.

Ben summed up the results of the campaign in a letter he sent to supporters after the election: "We have done what we set out to do, which was to organize the beginnings of a radical political movement within the Democratic Party in this area."

MRS. BEN SMITH
New Orleans, La.

(Ed. note: Peace movement supporters believe Ben Smith's campaign was the only one in the South which included opposition to the war in Vietnam as a central issue. If you know of any other candidates who spoke out against the war, please write and let us know.)

School Problems in South Carolina ...

Every year local school officials complain about how the federal government makes it harder on them. This year the big squeeze is for more teacher integration. But somehow these local white people always figure a way around the rules.

This year it has been reported that some counties in South Carolina are using a new approach. In some of the Negro schools there are white "teach-

ers" this year. But in one case that we know of, these teachers are called "Coordinator" or "Aide". They travel around the school together and ask the regular teachers if they can observe their classes. And that's about all they do.

The principal doesn't even know what they are supposed to do, or how much they are paid, or even if they are qualified teachers. This is because these white "teachers" are not responsible to him, they are responsible to the white superintendent. And this

REPORT FROM THE PENTAGON

Here are a few unorganized notes about our experiences in Washington during the October 21 march.

Firstly, the press reported the lying figures of the "official military" count which put us at 55,000 strong, but also had the decency to report (in many cases) that the organizers' count came to 150,000, which is, of course, more reasonable.

There were lines continuously flowing of people abreast marching into the Pentagon parking lot for at least two and three-quarters hours at a rate of one line per second, which comes to about 99,000. John Werry claims he entered the lot at 5 p.m. and that he wasn't even in the last section. We entered it around 2:30 and were in the second.

Secondly, contrary to top military spokesmen's official disclaimer, the military did indeed use tear gas on the demonstrators.

I saw with my own beady blue eyes the military police don their gas masks in about three seconds flat, and saw one soldier, with tanks on his back and a funny spray nozzle (like is used for insecticides) point this thing at the demonstrators. A few seconds later, I felt a burning in my eyes, chest, nose and throat, which took over two hours to go away.

When they took out their masks, I ran, taking Thach and the children with me, because I got scared because I'm three months pregnant, and didn't want anything to happen to the baby or the children.

ROBIN ROBINSON
Urbana, Ill.

is in the same county where Negro teachers are working in white schools—but the difference is that they have to work.

Local Negro leaders have reported this practice to the federal government but it doesn't seem like they are too interested in doing anything about it. This is another reason why parents everywhere in this state must know what is happening in the schools their children go to.

from Lowcountry Newsletter,
Johns Island, S.C.

... and in Virginia

Of late, 15 Negro children from the Rescue-Carrollton area have been ordered by Smithfield High School Principal Richard Saunders to ride School Bus No. 17 crowded in to the first three seats on each side of the aisle as they travel to and from sparsely integrated schools daily. The children, vaguely recalling that Mrs. Rosa Parks refused to be jim crowed to the back of a Montgomery, Ala. bus some years ago, told their parents.

A delegation of mothers went to see the principal, and

two other ranking school officials. During that conference, one school official reportedly said: "That is integration as far as I'm concerned," and if the children did not remain seated as instructed "they would have to get to school the best way they could." No official now wants public credit for the utterance, although two will admit it was uttered.

from The Observer,
Virginia Council on
Human Relations

A Gift of Peace and Justice

Out of compassion for our troops in Vietnam, their suffering and dying, and for the tormented agony and dying of the Vietnamese people, we shall refrain from sumptuous feasting and from the buying and giving and accepting of gifts, at this Christmas time. Instead, we shall move into Christ's birthday with shame that our country is so flagrantly disdaining His message. Not until we have accepted the gift that He offered, the spirit of peace and justice, shall we celebrate.

MRS. ANNELLE EASLIC,
New York, N.Y.

Neither Sweet nor Fitting

Ernest Hemingway once said, "They wrote in the old days that it is sweet and fitting to die for one's country. But in modern war there is nothing sweet nor fitting in your dying. You will die like a dog for no good reason."

For many there is no real freedom in America today. Yet we send American soldiers half way around the world to fight for a freedomless regime of totalitarian dictatorship, while this semi-slavery exists here.

The congress would rather spend money to wage war in Vietnam, than to wage a war against rats, poverty, hunger and despair in our slums.

"Hawk" congressmen who rant and rave for stepped-up

war, grow fat and rich from the profits of military-industrial complexes in their districts.

RICHARD CHINN
Providence, Ky.

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — People are always asking "Where is 'Bull' Connor?" who used to be the terror of Birmingham. The former police commissioner is now chairman of the Alabama Public Service Commission, which regulates utilities in Alabama. He is also a member of the Democratic National Committee, but announced on Nov. 15 that he will not run for reelection to that office. Connor is partly crippled from a stroke.



They should—that's where the civil-rights movement started. And that's where the people, black and white, are beginning to get together to take political power.

HELP US CELEBRATE OUR 25th BIRTHDAY

Give a Gift Subscription to
The Southern Patriot

Next month the Patriot ends its 25th year as a militant, accurate, honest newspaper about the South. Help us increase our circulation and expand our organizing work. Give your friends gift subscriptions to the Patriot for Christmas. They'll be informed it's on its way. The Patriot is published by the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), 3210 W. Broadway, Louisville, Ky. 40211.

Here is \$_____ (\$3 per subscription)
Please send the Patriot to:

My name is _____

Tribute to Beecher

I owe you a debt of thanks for acquainting me with that great poet, John Beecher. He certainly indicts this rotten, racist system under which we live in no uncertain terms. One verse from his pen tells more than many chapters of prose. I'm working on my sixtieth year and have seen a great deal of the seamy side of life, yet when I read some of his poems I'm forced to lay the book down because of wet eyes . . . I know very little of poetry but to me he is a master of the art.

MARSHALL GROB
North Bend, Ore.



THE ROAD AHEAD

The Kentucky Elections— The Failure of Red-baiting

By CARL BRADEN
(Executive Director)

The recent election in Kentucky seems to show that Red-baiting and witch hunting are losing strength as vote getters. Three fourths of the Red-baiters were beaten in the November 7 races for top state offices.

The only one elected was Louie Nunn, who eased up on this form of political trickery during the last month of his campaign. He was elected governor on the Republican ticket by almost 28,000 out of 875,000 votes cast.

The three defeated were Thomas Ratliff, Republican candidate for lieutenant governor; Lester Burns, G.O.P. nominee for attorney general, and Christian Glanz, a supporter of George Wallace of Alabama. Glanz ran for governor on the Conservative Party ticket. Nunn, Ratliff, Burns, and Glanz seemed at times to be running against my wife Anne and me instead of their respective opponents. All vowed to chase us and SCEF out of Kentucky.

Nunn first made this promise when he sought the Republican nomination in the spring. He won in the May primary election.

The Red-baiting Team

This victory teamed him with Ratliff and Burns, both of whom are prosecuting attorneys in the mountains of Eastern Kentucky. Ratliff is also a millionaire coal operator in Pike County.

In July, owners of small tracts of land in Pike County stopped one of the big coal companies from tearing off the side of a mountain to get coal.

Ratliff and other coal operators were so angry that they decided to strike hard at the people who, they thought, had organized the small landowners against them.

Crying "communist" and waving warrants, they raided the homes of two SCEF workers and a field director for the Appalachian Volunteers. Sedition charges followed.

There also followed one of the wildest Red-baiting campaigns seen in any state in many years. Ratliff and Burns took to the newspapers, the radio and television, and the campaign platform with the message that "The Reds are gonna get you."

Day and night they attacked SCEF and the Bradens. We finally wound up in the Pike County Jail on sedition charges, but a three-judge U.S. District Court freed us.

Instead of stopping Burns, this made him worse. He plastered the state with stickers and posters saying "Burns In; Bradens Out." On election night, before it was known that he had been defeated, he said his first act as attorney general would be to "clean out that place at 3210 West Broadway and run the Bradens out of Kentucky."

He awoke the next morning to learn that he had lost by 18,025 votes. Ratliff had lost by 13,000, despite Nunn's victory by 28,000.

Ratliff lost his own county of Pike by almost 2,000 out of 19,408 votes that were cast. 112 people who voted for Nunn didn't even bother to mark their ballot for Ratliff. The crowning insult was that Ratliff ran worse in his home precinct than he did in the primary election.

Now there is a sign on the door of SCEF headquarters in Louisville which says: "Burns Out; Bradens In."

The Continuing Struggle

How Companies Use Rights Act to Break Southern Unions

By JACK MINNIS
(Research Director)

Last month this column dealt, in general, with the need to see clearly the reality of U.S. society; and the need, then, to work out programs which can at least be supposed to deal with that reality. To observe reality, and to accept it, is a difficult task. From the cradle we are taught in home, school, church, by newspapers, magazines, movies, radio, TV to believe in a social reality that does not exist. Using the analogy of the bullfight, a writer once remarked that the process of education and communication—politics—in the U.S. teaches the people to charge the cloth. Here is a fine example.

There's been great distress in the media, and among the leaders, about "crime in the streets." "The time has come, in my judgment, when the American people are going to raise up and revolt against the lawbreaker in this country," declared President Johnson the other day. "We are going to have to obey the law." He was talking about "domestic disorder."

Meanwhile 18 of the largest and most respected publishing houses in the country admitted, in effect, that they had conspired to fix the prices of school books abnormally high. This meant that every school system and every parent in the country paid an extra tribute to these publishing houses for books for their children.

The State of Florida filed suit against five of the largest chemical companies for fixing prices of tetracyclin sold to city and county health units, thereby overcharging these health units millions of dollars annually.

A Threat to Health and Safety

Twelve of the largest corporations in the country have been sued in Illinois for discharging into Lake Michigan "dangerous materials posing a grave threat to the health and safety of the population."

These three incidents were reported during a three-day period. They are typical of the behavior of U.S. business. Which crime does more social harm? When a kid throws a brick through a window, or when a corporation steals millions from public-health units? When a demonstrator defies a cop, or when a corporation charges so much for school books that many families cannot afford to buy them for their children? When a young thug mugs a citizen

in the park and lifts his wallet, or when a corporation poisons the drinking water of millions?

Movement people must answer these questions for themselves, or they'll charge the cloth from now on, and every pass will be a victory to them.

From all this, can we draw a general conclusion about business behavior that will help us anticipate and understand the reaction of many corporations to the fair-employment provisions of the 1964 Civil Rights Act? I think we can if we're prepared to look at reality.

The Logic of Profits

The men who run the corporations are not conscienceless devils, doing evil for its own sake. Rather they are quite ordinary individuals merely following the logic of their own premises:—maximize profits. Now how would you, as a good corporation executive on the way up, use the employment provisions of the Civil Rights Act to maximize profits? The answer is simple: minimize wages.

We have undisputed evidence that one of the largest corporations in the country is doing precisely this. In a plant where they employ a large minority of black workers, the company last year integrated wash rooms and drinking fountains. Management, through this and various other devices, endeared itself to the black workers. Thus, when management was confident that it had the loyalty of enough black workers, it began upgrading black workers in a way that was certain to drive white workers into a wild-cat strike. The objective was to break the union so management could set wages and working conditions on its own.

We have persuasive evidence that this is a concerted program of many corporations, working through their business and trade associations. When unions in the South have been broken, then management can hire workers, black and white, on its own terms, and work them on its own terms.

Had people in the movement been as sophisticated about the U.S. as, say, a Chamber of Commerce executive in a medium-sized town, they'd have known this was a likely outcome of the 1964 act.

Knowing this, they'd have never charged the cloth. They'd have gored the matador.

Black Power Comes To Prince Edward

(Continued from page 3)

board has no Negro representatives, or even any sympathetic whites, although in fact the schools have only 12 white students.

The board runs the schools as cheaply and poorly as it dares. It is not interested in giving black children any extra help to make up for the years they lost.

These are some of the results of those years:

—Prince Edward County has the highest drop-out rate in Virginia. Hundreds of black children dropped out when the schools were first closed. Others, who came back to school in 1964, had been seriously handicapped, and many more drop out every year.

"About 500 were damaged almost beyond repair," according to the Rev. Francis L. Griffin, a long-time movement leader. He says remedial programs helped some children, but they have not been as effective as they should have been, because there was no follow-up the next year.

—There is a high rate of truancy because there is no compulsory education in Prince Edward County. It was dropped in 1959 so white children could not be forced to go to the public schools.

—School taxes are far too low. The board of supervisors was able to reduce tax rates considerably when the schools were closed, since this is a major expense in rural counties. They have kept taxes down ever since.

(Dr. C. G. Gordon Moss, a white professor at Longwood College in

Farmville, points out that the board urged people who were saving money on taxes to contribute it to the scholarship fund for the private school. "This is the main way that public funds have been used to support the public schools—but it's too indirect to ever be proved in court.")

—Many of the best Negro teachers left the county while the schools were closed. Some have returned, but the majority of teachers are new, and parents are dissatisfied with many of them.

—The school supervisors refused to rehire cafeteria supervisors who had been active in the movement. Now the cafeterias are sloppily run by less experienced, but politically acceptable, people. Federal food programs are mishandled; some of the most needy children are not getting free milk and lunches. This is a serious problem in a poor community, where the school lunch is often the only substantial meal the children have.

SNCC Chairman H. Rap Brown, discussing violence: "A stable and just society cannot mount a successful offensive action against a black youth who breaks a window, and at the same time plead that it is powerless to protect black youths who are being murdered because they seek to make American democracy a reality. Each time a black church is bombed or burned, it is an act of violence in our streets. Each time a black body is found in the swamps in Mississippi or Alabama, that is violence in our land. Each time black human rights workers are refused protection by the government, that is anarchy. Each time a police officer shoots and kills a black teenager, that is urban crime."

These things are part of a day-to-day harassment of the black children. Mrs. Inez Hicks, a militant local woman, described another kind of harassment:

"They pulled my boy out of school when he had only one year left, even though he'd lost so much time, and he's in Vietnam now. They did that to several boys. I've had seven children in government service and it seems like you can't even get a break when you need one." (Another of Mrs. Hicks' sons joined the Navy when he was 16, because the schools were closed and there was nothing else for him to do.)

But black people in Prince Edward County have a long tradition of struggle to improve their schools. In 1951 high-school students boycotted classes in protest against conditions, and they won some concessions before they went back. In May of that year, their parents filed in U.S. District Court one of the suits which later became a part of the famous school segregation cases of 1954.

The movement here is steadily building political power, and it seems only a question of time before they break the racists' control of the public schools.

However, there is one group of people who are still powerless. These are the white poor, whose children were thrown out of school, too, in 1959. Some were given scholarships to attend the private school, but at least 200 each year could not afford to go there or to schools in the neighboring counties.

Less than a dozen white children have enrolled in the public schools since they reopened. The parents of the rest are reluctant to send them to classrooms where they will be so heavily outnumbered by Negro children, or they are afraid of retaliation from the power structure.

If these parents speak to children who have enrolled in integrated schools in another county, they learn that it has not been a painful experience. In Goochland County, for example, there is only one junior high and one senior high school. Both are interracial. There have been no problems.

These white parents are becoming steadily more resentful of the clique of men who deprived their children of an education. But they are powerless because they have never organized. Gradually, they are coming to see that they need the strength the black movement has built.

That's the way it is almost 17 years after the fight for interracial schools began in Prince Edward County.



Pike People Build Folk School

(Continued from page 1)
gave \$5. The money was enough for the shell of the 30-by-50-foot block building.

James Rowe, a former coal

miner who is now an organizer for the AVs, helped in the construction. He was fired from his job in the mines after he and his wife criticized Thomas Ratliff and defended the arrested organizers.



The Marrowbone School is built now . . .

He said, "The finish work on the inside will be done one room at a time this winter. We plan to have a large meeting room, an office for our newspaper, a library and medical clinic, and two bedrooms."

"We've run out of money too. But we got this far, and I guess we'll get the rest somehow."

There have been constant bomb threats to the school but the people keep right on working. Rowe has written a song about the project, to an old gospel tune called "Working On The Building":

You branded us with sedition
You called us Communists
too
But you better quit your
slander
And work on the building
too.

What It Is

The Marrowbone Folk School is an adult residential training center for Appalachian problems. It is based on the belief that the people themselves hold the answers to many of their problems.

The school will work with small groups of people, informing them of their rights, teaching them Appalachian history and about the economics of the coal industry, and helping them to organize to overcome their problems. This will be done in a workshop atmosphere with the people teaching each other from their own experiences, coupled with specific research from the outside.

It will bring together people from many communities, get them to open up to each other with the problems as they see them, and then draw the solutions and strategies from them. This will make teachers/organizers out of the participants, who learn from each other more about themselves and what is to be done.

This method of crisis education has been developed most successfully by Myles Horton of the Highlander Center in Knoxville, Tenn. Most of the board members of the Marrowbone School have been in Highlander workshops during the past year and credit the Highlander Center with the idea for the school.

Medical Clinic Planned

A free medical clinic is being developed as part of the school. It is 20 miles from Poor Bottom to the nearest doctor. Without a welfare card it costs \$75, cash in advance, to get into the local hospitals. Since welfare cards in this area are determined mostly by a person's politics, there are many needy people without them.

A Pikeville doctor has agreed to donate his time several days a month to the clinic. The main cost will be to pay for the medicine that he prescribes. Money is needed for a medical fund.

The Marrowbone Folk School can play an important role in the movement in Appalachia. It can help the people develop the political consciousness to take and maintain power. And it can break down the barriers of



. . . six weeks ago, it looked like this.

isolation and distrust that the politicians promote between the communities, between the races, and with the outside world.

Contributions should be mailed to:

Marrowbone Folk School
c/o Edith Easterling
Box 356M, Route 2
Pikeville, Ky. 41501

Playing Games With Mountain Poverty

By SUZANNE CROWELL
(Staff Correspondent)

WHITESBURG, Ky. — Young people in four Eastern Kentucky counties got a taste of federal poverty politics when their job-training program was arbitrarily cut off, then restored, at the beginning of November. For most of the 370 youths involved, the \$40-a-week salary was the only earned income of their families.

The cutting off of the Neighborhood Youth Corps program was announced in a telegram from William Davies, regional director of manpower programs for the U.S. Department of Labor. Officials of Letcher, Knott, and Leslie-Perry Community Action Councils were told at 4:45 one afternoon to announce that the program ended the next morning at 9. Yet, the day after the elections, the program was restored.

The reason is not yet fully known. The contract was signed with the Department of Labor on October 25. When the program was defunded, the people were told that all contracts signed after October 23 were void. Davies has refused to comment on the restoration of the program November 8. But the solution may be found with Kentucky Congressman Carl D. Perkins, head of the House Education and Labor Committee. He may have been able to have the contract predated.

The total budget for the Youth Corps, beginning November 1, is \$805,000. All but a fraction of this is spent on rent and groceries for the trainees' families:

One trainee, 18, supports his wife and two children. He is trying to get his high-school diploma and enter a state fire prevention school.

One is 16, living with his widowed mother and five brothers and sisters. The family is entitled to buy \$80 worth of food stamps and also receives a small Social Security disability pension.

Another, 19, lives with his parents and eight of their children. The family gets \$221 from

Social Security and welfare monthly. After starting the program he bought a pair of glasses so he could study and a used truck so he could get to work.

A girl, 18, lives with her parents, who are both disabled, and nine brothers and sisters. She is learning to type and studying for her high-school diploma.

The merits and failings of the program and other federal poverty efforts are not at issue here. But the callousness of the poverty bureaucracy and Congress toward a group of families facing another "winter in Appalachia" without heat and adequate food certainly is.

While mountain residents could not be much more cynical about federal programs than they are now, there is still time for more children to be sick and cold and hungry, and more fathers to be unemployed.

TSU Five

(Continued from page 1)
program and is highly respected in the black community, was also denied an opportunity to testify before the committee.

McClellan, committee sources say, "does not wish to open the hearings to the black power advocates and provide them with a forum for airing their views." According to a Houston paper, Mr. Allen "is regarded by committee members as a Negro militant (an activist of the type which McClellan appears to be attempting to discredit during his hearings)."

The students maintain that the policeman was killed by a ricocheting bullet, and certainly with all that live ammunition flying around this is a possibility. Guns were found in the dormitory—three of them. The state of Texas has not said these five particular students fired the shots. What the state is saying, is that the five students incited the "riot" that led to the death of the patrolman.

Under Texas' Felonious Rioting Act, a person found guilty of inciting a riot may be held responsible for any and all criminal acts which occur during it, regardless of whether he actually participated in the criminal act.

The McClellan committee has already provided the atmosphere. The newspapers have provided the props. As this point the trial of the TSU five seems a mere formality.

For it is the five who are on trial. It is not the roaches and rats and the filth of that dump the students were protesting. It is not the white school administrators of that junior high school, who expelled black students while only suspending the white students for three days. It is not even the police who beat and arrested 488 TSU students and wantonly destroyed \$15,000 in student property. It is not conditions or causes that are on trial—instead, five individuals and the TSU SNCC organization are to stand trial.

This is, of course, the way it America in 1967 will have it. It has all been written already by Franz Kafka. His book was written in the early thirties, just a few years before his mother and brother died in Hitler's gas chambers. The name of the book was *The Trial*.

This Is Fulbright Country?

Arkansas Peace Tour - A Report

By DAVID NOLAN
(Special Correspondent)

FAYETTEVILLE, Ark.—A peace tour of Arkansas campuses ran into problems at Arkansas State University (ASU) in Jonesboro, when the college president threatened to expel students who attended a teach-in on American foreign policy. He also brought pressure on a church to refuse the use of its facilities, and is reported to have invited two FBI agents onto the campus.

The incident occurred midway through a tour by four young peace travellers—Nancy Hodes of SCEF, Bruce Smith and myself of the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC), and Mike Vogler of Arkansans for Peace.

We attempted to meet with ASU president Dr. Carl Reng to discuss his actions. He said he was busy all day but would meet us the next morning. Then he cancelled that appointment.

We had to leave Jonesboro because we were due at a meeting in Memphis. But, disturbed by the lack of freedom at ASU, we sent an open letter to Dr. Reng.

The letter said we "were wrong in Fayetteville that Arkansas State University was

merely a glorified junior college—that there were many new buildings here, but that attitudes on the part of the college administration were back in the horse-and-buggy day." We said this appeared to be a true assessment of the situation.

The letter drew a response from Jonesboro attorney Lee Ward, a former candidate for Arkansas governor who recently has spoken out against the war. Ward said: "I feel quite deeply that any student or faculty member should not be made to feel 'watched' or 'suspect' just because of a strong disapproval of our foreign policies in Asia."

Stifling Free Discussion

He added that he did "fervently hope" that the administrators had no "willingness or desire to stifle free discussion among students and faculty at ASU."

At Hendrix College, a Methodist school in Conway, Ark., we were well-received by the students and by professors who invited us to speak in their classes. But one of the college deans, a retired military man, made sure we would not be able to stay in the college dormitories over night—a decision that the school newspaper later criticized editorially.

(This same dean had previously been at the University of Arkansas, where he created a stir by refusing to let a Bulgarian diplomat speak on the grounds that he was a Communist.)

We spoke at off-campus religious centers at several schools, because the students did not think the administration would allow the use of campus facilities. Evidently Senator Fulbright's example has not been enough to convince Arkansas "educators" to allow dissent on their campuses.

The Arkansas trip was the second peace tour sponsored by SCEF and SSOC. The first tour, in Florida last spring, was delayed when we were arrested at Miami-Dade Junior College for speaking without the permission of the school administration.

Besides giving a dissenting view on foreign policy, the peace tour always seems to raise the issue of academic freedom. From Miami to Jonesboro we have run into administrators who believed our ideas were too "dangerous" to present to students.

The student response, on the other hand, has been quite good, building the hope that together we can forge a free South in a peaceful world.