

# NEW SOUTH

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*in this issue:*

**THE POOR PEOPLE'S  
CAMPAIGN**

**VIOLENCE  
IN MIAMI**

**TERROR IN  
MISSISSIPPI**

**RURAL DIXIE'S  
PLIGHT**

# NEW SOUTH

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## NEW SOUTH NOTES ☐ ☐ ☐

On October 9, 1968, a group of private citizens calling itself "Better Schools-Atlanta" issued a report on student achievement and the overall quality of education available to children in Atlanta public schools. The report showed that black children were, in March, 1968 (the most recent date for which figures were available), still overwhelmingly segregated:

A total of 92.3 per cent of black elementary school students attend all-black schools. An additional 3.1 per cent are in schools with token integration, and only 4.6 per cent are in integrated schools, i.e., schools with more than five per cent students of the opposite race.

In the high schools, 14.9 per cent of all Negro pupils were in token integrated schools; 7.6 per cent were in integrated schools; 77.5 per cent remained segregated.

The persistence of segregation in Atlanta schools, six years after desegregation (under a court-ordered freedom-of-choice plan) began with nine Negro high school students enrolling in formerly all-white schools, was not in itself surprising. It more or less followed the national pattern. And, to white Atlantans, as to most (even the well-meaning) white Americans, desegregation never meant more than permitting Negroes to attend "white" schools. Freedom of choice, the desegregation plan most commonly used by southern school systems, whether under court order or HEW guidelines, was predicated upon this notion. Recent court attacks on freedom of choice, attacks which have placed the whole concept in judicial jeopardy, have indicated federal jurists' dissatisfaction with slow progress in desegregation, and their insistence upon results. "The burden on the school board today is to come forward with a plan that promises realistically to work to eliminate segregation in public schools and promises realistically to work now," said the Supreme Court in May, 1968.

School boards' adoption of plans other than freedom of choice has met with strengthened resistance by white parents, who have again been introduced to a revolutionary concept in equal education. They have, in effect, been told that desegregation means more than Negroes' attending "white" schools—that there shall be no more dual structure designations "Negro" and "white"—just schools.

This new concept has spawned another paradox, illustrated by the sad situation in Atlanta. True desegregation cannot exist until whites attend "Negro" schools, voluntarily. Yet Negro schools in the city, whose school system is touted as among the best in the South, simply do not afford the quality of education available in white ones. All-black schools in Atlanta receive, according to the report mentioned above, less of everything—fewer textbooks per student, less valuable buildings, less equipment, a higher pupil-teacher ratio—and suffer the obvious consequences:

By fourth grade, students in black schools are already one year behind their peers in white schools. . . . By the eighth grade, the differential between the black schools and the white schools is clearly alarming. Students are five years apart.

No Negro should be expected to attend a school "not fit" for a white, nor live in a house or neighborhood "not fit." Until this concept is accepted, until the white community which controls the boards of education and the bond issues stops condoning school administrators' perpetuation of separate, unequal educational facilities (in Atlanta, the willful deprivation of over one half of the city's school children), the South will continue, in its time of savage devotion to the "law and order" shibboleth, to flaunt the law—not *Brown versus Topeka*, but *Plessy versus Ferguson*.

Glenda Bartley



# THE POOR PEOPLE'S CAMPAIGN

By WARREN PRITCHARD

*Mr. Pritchard, a member of SRC's information staff, spent two months this summer in Washington with the Poor People's Campaign.*

The Poor People's Campaign began to bog down about mid-afternoon, Sunday, May 19th, seven days after the first cadre of poor people arrived in Washington. That afternoon some 1,300 incoming campaigners, evicted on four hours notice from the District of Columbia Stadium, moved into an uncompleted Resurrection City. The eviction coincided with the beginning of the monsoon-like rains that eventually would move some residents to wonder if even the Lord was still on their side. Spirits would remain high for several weeks as residents went out to challenge segments of the most powerful government on earth, but from that afternoon the measure of Resurrection City was more that it survived as a symbol than that it sustained a movement.

After that Sunday, the City was never to become the secondary concern of Campaign leaders. The Rev. Andrew Young of SCLC would observe later that it became instead a millstone hung around their necks, demanding energies that would have been better spent in the business of confrontation. In Selma, Albany, Birmingham, and Memphis, leaders had not had to attend to the feeding and sheltering of their followers. In earlier days, those who had not been jailed or hospitalized after demonstrations returned to their own homes, and the weather was a minor hindrance compared to physical harassments such as police dogs and firehoses. In Washington, the absence of other visible challenges, obstacles to be overcome, intensified the

effect of the rain which dumped more water (nine inches) on Resurrection City during its six weeks than normally falls on the park there in three months.

Events preceding the stadium evacuation pointed up weaknesses that would continue throughout the Campaign to plague an organization run largely on faith and dreams (and still sorely grieving the loss of its prime dreamer scarcely a month before) with many more plans and decisions than clear communications of either.

Administration of the Poor People's Campaign was loosely divided into three levels, sometimes operating as a unit, sometimes not. At the top was the executive staff of SCLC, the Rev. Ralph Abernathy, the Rev. Jesse Jackson, the Rev. James Bevel, the Rev. Mr. Young, and Hosea Williams. They made the major decisions, set the major policies, and to the degree circumstances allowed, the minor ones as well. Below this was a middle echelon of administrators, both paid SCLC staff members and full-time volunteers; they took responsibility for the day-to-day functions of the Campaign—feeding and transporting the people, planning for incoming caravans, and later maintaining construction, education, and social services at Resurrection City. The third level was a large group of part-time volunteer helpers and others—mostly students—who were both workers and demonstrators.

Most of the middle echelon people were included with the executive staff in its deliberations, but on any question debated in the nightly staff meetings (which frequently ran long after mid-

night) there rarely emerged a consensus to be passed down as a single decision. More often, the people at the middle echelon, who might have taken part in the discussions the night before, would receive at least two orders during the course of a day. — orders reflecting in number and substance whatever viewpoints had come up in the meeting. An order received from above in the morning was almost certain to be countermanded later in the day.

From this there developed at the middle echelon the practice of acting without regard to any decision passed down from above unless it concurred with one's own view of a situation which, more often than not, demanded immediate attention. Within this middle echelon, communication between the various segments usually was maintained on an *ad hoc* basis and aimed as much as anything at avoiding a duplication of efforts. As the operation of Resurrection City became a major task of the Campaign, the administration came more and more into the hands of those whose authority, especially fiscal, fell far short of the mounting responsibilities they faced.

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By Wednesday, May 15, when Resurrection City was three days old, most of the first cadre of poor people — more than 400 from Quitman County, Mississippi, and Memphis — had moved into the plywood structures that they had helped complete. At that point, the planners, most of them in the middle echelon of the Campaign's administrative framework, were hurriedly preparing for the arrival of 800 members of the Eastern Caravan and approximately 500 from the Midwestern Caravan, both expected to arrive on Friday, the 17th.

It had become clear that construction was not moving forward rapidly enough to provide accommodations for all of them at Resurrection City as they arrived. But Friday was still two days away, and during that period of grace more church-

es in suburban Maryland and Virginia could be enlisted to serve as reception centers, feeding and housing the incoming campaigners until they could be accommodated in the City. With luck, ample arrangements could be ready in the churches by Friday and all 1,300 people expected on the two caravans would have a place to stay, at least temporarily. Originally the churches were to have been used for a short period of time —perhaps overnight—to receive and orient the people before they moved on to the City. Now it was foreseen that many of the churches might have to house people for two, three, even four days.

Then came Wednesday afternoon. New reports from the Midwestern Caravan put its number at 1,000 as it entered Pittsburgh. According to schedule, they would spend the night there and depart for Washington the *next morning*, Thursday. Twenty-six busloads of people were coming a full day earlier than those planning and dovetailing the arrivals ever expected them.

The planners, mostly the middle echelon people, had been working from an old schedule that had been obsolete for several weeks. For a week since the Midwestern Caravan had left Chicago, the Campaign information center had received progress reports from its volunteer reporter travelling on one of the Caravan buses. He had called in twice daily, giving details of the reception provided at each stop, the number of people joining at each city along the way, and how closely the schedule was being followed. This information was in turn passed on to newsmen who were following the progress of this and other incoming groups. Thus the frantic workers at the SCLC headquarters did not realize until the eve of arrival that the 1,000 journey-weary travellers would be upon them the next evening, while suburban Maryland newspapers, and major news agencies, even Tass, had known the correct arrival date for at least a week.

At a meeting called late Wednesday

night at the headquarters, after the accurate schedule had become known to the workers there, the decision was made to contact the leader of the Caravan in Pittsburg and have him hold there until things in Washington could be straightened out. It soon became clear at that meeting, however, that the only first hand communication between the Caravan and Washington had been through the information center. Consequently, no one at the headquarters knew how to contact the Caravan leader.

By 3 a. m. Thursday, several attempts to locate the Caravan leader had failed. A call to the United Press International office in Pittsburg revealed the name of a church where a reporter said he thought a rally had been held earlier in the evening. A call to the church was taken by a sleepy assistant pastor who could confirm only that the Caravan was in Pittsburg and that the rally had been held at that church earlier in the evening. He didn't know where the Caravan leader was staying, but thought his pastor did. The conversation ended as he promised to find the pastor and have him notify the Caravan leader to call SCLC headquarters in Washington.

He finally called later Thursday morning and agreed to postpone departure for Washington until Friday. He said he had tried to call several times Wednesday and before, but the switchboard operator at SCLC headquarters, under strict orders, would not accept his collect calls. It was not learned why he did not pay for a call himself.

The planners had gained time now, but only for the one Caravan. On Wednesday at about the time they were realizing that it would be upon them one day earlier and 500 persons stronger than they had anticipated, a call had come from Chicago (again to the information center, not SCLC headquarters) with the report that a new group had just been recruited there and would leave for Washington within the hour. Travelling directly, non-stop, this Caravan would bring an addi-

tional 500 unexpected campaigners into Washington on Thursday morning. "Sweet Mother of God, are you sure?" was the reply to this news from one of the harried planners. No one dared guess how many such *ad hoc* groups might be forming in other cities across the country or, more alarming at that point, how many might already have departed for Resurrection City without bothering or being able to notify anyone in Washington.

Thursday and Friday, the situation was as near panic as it ever got, but everyone stayed at work, stayed "on the case," as a Campaign slogan put it. The Midwestern Caravan, its members waiting impatiently in Pittsburg, was again ordered to postpone departure, this time until Saturday at least. The people's patience was near its limits. There had been trouble three days earlier during the stopover in Detroit when a force of mounted policemen had charged a crowd outside their rally there. The Rev. Mr. Abernathy had dispatched the Rev. Mr. Young and Hosea Williams to Detroit after the incident, and the Caravan's departure the next morning had been held up by day-long attempts to hold a demonstration protesting the police action. Now they had been asked a second time to wait in Pittsburg.

The Caravan leader explained to his people what he knew of the situation in Washington and put their next move to a vote. They decided to move on toward Washington, with the idea of staying over in Baltimore if necessary. Waiting there was no worse than waiting in Pittsburg, it was reasoned, and the Caravan would be just that much closer to Washington and Resurrection City. But Baltimore, which had provided food and shelter to the Eastern Caravan just departed, had nothing prepared for these 1,000 from Pittsburg when they arrived there on Saturday afternoon.

Again the Caravan leader put the next move to a vote. The choices offered were sleeping on folding chairs and gymnasium floors in Baltimore or the possibility

of sleeping outside on the ground at Resurrection City. They voted unanimously for Resurrection City, with or without food and shelter.

In the meantime, on Saturday, at an afternoon meeting hurriedly called in the office of the mayor of Washington, SCLC staff people reached an agreement with the owner of the District of Columbia Stadium for the use of his auditorium on an emergency basis to shelter the incoming campaigners for two or three days while construction was being completed at Resurrection City.

Also on Saturday, some of the suburban churches were demanding that their facilities be vacated in preparation for Sunday services. (One such demand came very near provoking a test, unprecedented, of whether a group of poor people would be evicted forcefully from a church by a well-to-do congregation, never unanimous in its Good Samaritan impulse.) The group coming directly from Chicago (380 actually made the trip) had arrived on time Thursday and been accommodated at two churches in the area of central Washington. By Friday night these churches too were beginning to demand that some of their guests leave, particularly a restive group of young men—a number of whom identified themselves as Blackstone Rangers—who were finally coaxed away, largely on the prospect of there being girls at Resurrection City. Early Saturday evening, the Midwestern Caravan moved into Washington and on to D. C. Stadium. By midnight more than 1,300 people, most of them hungry and weary from travel, were sheltered there.

The excitement of the previous weekend was almost forgotten now. The thrill of watching history pass by as the first buses from Marks and Memphis had rolled into the city of Washington, the passengers anxiously singing freedom songs as they made their way to join the Mothers' Day march Mrs. King had led through the bombed-out ghetto area the previous Sunday, now began to seem

like something that had taken place a month or more in the past.

On Sunday morning, buses began shuttling between the stadium and the food tent at Resurrection City where an early lunch was being served. Shortly before noon, the stadium owner arrived with several police officials to investigate reports that his property had been damaged during the night. (Reports said someone had stolen candy and beer from a concession stand and damaged the public address system.)

After the inspection, the owner issued an ultimatum. He would return in the afternoon with a force of policemen. Anyone remaining on the premises after 4 p.m. would be arrested for trespassing.

Thus began the Dunkirk-like run for Resurrection City. Every available vehicle was rushed to the stadium. The people jammed aboard buses, trucks, and even into automobiles flagged down on the street. Minutes before the 4 p.m. deadline the last evictee had left.

Resurrection City residents numbering some 900 in the morning were now more than 2,500. Plans for orderly reception of new arrivals were tossed aside. The meticulously detailed specifications for locating and fabricating the plywood tents—which had never seemed very essential—were forgotten in the squatters-like scramble in the rain for a bit of space and material to build a shelter. Though many of the people got wet, no one had to sleep without some sort of roof over his head that night and few even missed a meal. Elsewhere, 400 members of the Southern Caravan were settling down in churches across the river in Arlington. And in the Far West, four separate caravans were gaining momentum and moving eastward toward Washington with some 500 new campaigners, among them the Indians and Mexican-Americans. The Mule Train with 75 was still in Mississippi.

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"Ghandi would have filled the jails by now," an India-born reporter observed during the third week of the Campaign,

adding, "At the time of the Salt March, he had more than a hundred thousand people in prison in just over a month's time." Dr. King, discussing the proposed Poor People's Campaign months earlier, had talked of nonviolently paralyzing the city of Washington, blocking with human bodies its bridges and thoroughfares. The surviving SCLC leaders would talk later of filling the city's jails, of sharing the pains of poverty with Washington's more affluent residents, and of permitting the nation's lawmakers no new business until they took up the old business of poverty.

In fact, just before the stadium was secured for shelter, when it looked as if they were about to be engulfed by many more people—all of them potential demonstrators—than could possibly be accommodated and fed, the leaders had considered initiating arrest-seeking demonstrations immediately.

Mass arrests at that time would have solved the pressing problem of housing and feeding not only the people they knew were coming but also the unknown numbers that they feared were forming—like the *ad hoc* Chicago group—all over the country. In the following weeks, such demonstrations might have avoided the stifling ennui that would develop in Resurrection City among residents who seemed to want nothing so much as to offer themselves limply to the police.

The need for housing was critical. For all the leaders knew with certainty, another week might bring thousands more campaigners to Washington, eager to demonstrate and be arrested. It seemed clear that sooner or later arrests would be sought anyway. So why not begin now? One answer was that the philosophy of a nonviolent movement, while not inflexible, is stern enough not to permit the use of such tactics merely to overcome its proponents' carelessness.

One aspect of the philosophy had been evident at Selma several years before (recalled by the Rev. Mr. Bernard Lafayette, National Coordinator of the Campaign)

when the leaders there had discussed providing demonstrators with protective gas masks and helmets and then decided against it in the belief that an oppressor's pain must be suffered raw and pure in order to create the kind of love that would wear down and eventually redeem him. In Washington the philosophy accounted in part for the leaders' reluctance to make things easier at Resurrection City—to put gravel on the quagmire roadways, to install showers, to make travel money quickly available to anyone who wanted or needed to go home—and reluctance, finally combined with an incapacity, to impose some vitalizing routine on the City's day-to-day operation.

On the day they might have chosen the Indian reporter's option, leaders of the Campaign were already committed to the slower course. They had lodged their demands with the various agencies of government and would spend several weeks collecting responses. Although it was unlikely that the demands would be met, the leaders were probably as bound to the step-by-step means—in which the escalation to civil disobedience is a latter resort—as they had been even to go on with the Campaign at all after the assassination of Dr. King.

Also, basic to the decision not to initiate mass arrests immediately was the fact that the Campaign leaders did not at that point know much about their followers. At a press conference on Thursday afternoon (May 16), the Rev. Mr. Lafayette sought to persuade groups of individuals not then on an incoming caravan to postpone converging on Washington until Solidarity Day, set for May 30, but subsequently rescheduled for June 19. Campaign leaders called for more time to get the City in order, to "workshop" the present residents in the philosophy and practice of nonviolence, and to screen out those among them who might be unable to pledge themselves to the principle. The diffusion of attention between the demands of the City and demands of the Campaign was such that



none of these intentions was ever fully carried out.

Registrars were able to maintain a reasonably accurate count of Resurrection City residents as they arrived — approximately 5,000 in all during the six weeks — even when the stadium eviction disrupted the reception process. But they could only guess at the number of people leaving, especially during the periods when heavy rains forced temporary evacuations. Several attempts to conduct a census, not being vital to survival, fell to the same confusion that frustrated the other less essential aspects of the City's operation.

(Early in the Campaign, a worker was sent to the Office of Economic Opportunity library for information on the non-black minorities participating. He learned there that the experts' estimates even of the numbers of Negroes, Mexican-Americans, and Indians living in the United States are not much better than the computations made at Resurrection City. Accurately counting other than white Americans requires more imagination than the Bureau of the Census apparently possesses. It also requires more sensitivity than the OEO statisticians seem able to muster as they continue nationwide distribution of a booklet — reckoning with sliding scales of income the number of poverty families in 1965, midway between the censuses — in which the word *Negro* is spelled throughout with a small *n*.)

As the weeks passed, the position and tasks of the middle echelon workers at Resurrection City became more and more difficult. They came to measure their success at the end of a day by basic accomplishments such as all three meals having again been served. Their work was maintaining little more than survival.

Whenever a member of the executive staff appeared at the City, he was immediately swamped with a multitude of nagging details. Residents wanting bus fare back to Mobile or Detroit, reimbursement for building materials, or a hundred other things, joined the pack

of newsmen in pursuit of the Rev. Mr. Abernathy, the Rev. Mr. Jackson, or Hosea Williams. The Rev. Mr. Abernathy was usually left above most of this detail. The Rev. Mr. Jackson's tenure as City Manager ended before the day-to-day demands and the weather became so debilitating. The daily demonstrations then seemed to take much of the pressure off. By the time Williams replaced him, it probably was too late for anyone to put the City in the kind of order that would have made it an unencumbering base for the demonstration-confrontation part of the Campaign.

Williams set about managing the City and directing the demonstrations with the vigor of a newly elected reform mayor. One of the at least half-dozen plans of community organization — an elected City Council with neighborhood representatives and a grievance procedure — was encouraged anew. Williams' appointment of new people to head the various segments of City administration was welcomed by some who had been there from the first, but others were alienated. His open criticism of the food service operation brought the dietitian to tears, but not to resignation. A threatened strike by the workers at the middle echelon, calling for the reappointment of the Rev. Mr. Jackson as City Manager, did not materialize. A few of them dropped out, but most stayed "on the case."

Williams provided a new image of reform just by being at the City, but he was there only relatively more than the other leaders, and the orders he issued did not carry down much more effectively because of his presence. The recipient of a plan or an order still followed it only if it fit his judgment of what needed to be done. Given the greater familiarity of these people with most exigent matters at hand, they usually were correct.

The memory of Williams at this time is of a man trying with some desperation and rather heavy-handedly to do everything. Dressed in a light blue or khaki jump suit, he would march through the

City, bullhorn in hand, calling the people to lunch, later, calling them to line up for a demonstration, and taking time in between to conduct the mail call. He attempted several measures of reform at the City Hall, one of which was to lock himself inside and regulate the lines of residents demanding to have their problems heard. By the end of a day his voice would be hoarse from exercise on the bullhorn and public address system, announcing new plans, new policies, organizing and reorganizing into, it finally seemed, the stratosphere.

The unrecognized hero of the Campaign was a gentle young SCLC staff man from Savannah named Benjamin Van Clarke, Williams' assistant. From the beginning he was the rare constant at Resurrection City (like the man who was there every morning for a while with an urn of hot coffee) on hand at City Hall all day and most of the night listening to the problems, soothing the tempers, keeping the faith, the only high-level SCLC staff member who seemed deeply at home there. On one of the last days, as he called a meeting of the City Council for what must have been the one hundredth time, one could listen and almost believe even then that the whole thing was about to take new life and flourish.

Even after no more than 500 residents could be counted in the City, Williams continued to the end to operate as if he had 3,000, as if he were commanding an invisible army. It was argued that much could yet be accomplished with the cadre that he did have, a sort of pure hard core from which the less dedicated had been eliminated, most by self-selection out, over the weeks. Most of the 500 were still there when Resurrection City's camping permit finally — the Rev. Mr. Young later would say in effect, mercifully — expired.

The chaotic process by which decisions and plans were made and passed on to be acted upon was exasperating to anyone who craved to get on with whatever he perceived as urgent business at hand,

whether it was a question of seeking arrest or merely getting money to purchase plumbing pipes. Because they were fewer, because they were relatively better organized and more tightly maneuverable, and because they choose to avoid being caught up in the confusion, the Indian and Mexican-American groups never moved into Resurrection City. If they had arrived before it had begun to immobilize itself, their presence might have altered the City's eventual course. As it happened, they arrived in Washington late, and by then, their voices — like even the voice of Williams and other individual SCLC leaders — simply could not cut through and translate thoughts into action. It was a separation that came between people and common goals, between individual voices and concerted action, an unintentional *de facto* detachment which everyone finally seemed powerless to alter.

A mild expression of the exasperation was heard during the most moving demonstration of the entire Campaign. More than 400 poor people of all colors set out for the Department of Justice, seeking a rendezvous with Attorney General Ramsey Clark. They marched by groups, the Mexican-Americans out front, followed by the whites and then the Indians, with the blacks in the rear suddenly beginning to sing as they emerged from Resurrection City and rushed to catch up, their song spreading forward and quickening the pace. The marchers picked up a large escort of policemen as they crossed 17th Street and began the easy climb over the rising ground that leads from there up to the Washington Monument. Then just as the line stretched out in the open, its strength fully visible for the first time, a dark storm cloud floated overhead, generating an unseasonably powerful wind. The dozens of Monument flags were set straight out and cracking like whips at the very moment the first marchers passed by and on over the crest of the hill. It was as if the Almighty Himself were saluting the poor

people passing below in review. And then, as if to reassert celestial authority, the cloud opened and drenched them all with a short, hard downpour. Ten minutes later, the sun was shining again. They spent the afternoon and early evening outside a door of the Justice Department building.

The Attorney General refused several times to yield to the demand that he meet with more than a small group of the demonstrators. After his final refusal, Hosea Williams emerged from the negotiations and, with anger in his voice, announced that the time had now come to escalate the Campaign. He began leading the bulk of the demonstrators in a march around the block covered by the building, while Rudolfo (Corky) Gonzales remained with his predominantly Mexican-American group in front of the door. Williams' group circled the building twice, flirting with arrest each time as they swung off the sidewalk and out into the street between the line of policemen and Gonzales' waiting group. But when it was learned that the police intended to make no arrests under the several ordinances the marchers were violating, Williams announced that everyone would now march to a nearby church for a mass meeting to plan strategy. Gonzales, never ruffled or miffed, replied dispassionately that his group would stay, that the strategy was already made, and they did not need to sit up all night in some church like a group of bureaucrats discussing it. Williams then led his group back to Resurrection City. (It was not the split between the groups that newsmen were fond of searching for. Gonzales and Williams were together the next day to lead another demonstration back to the Justice Department.)

Brief moments of Dr. King's dream appeared in settings like the food tent at Resurrection City where two residents — one who likely was the son of a former slave and the other whose skin was white but whose appearance suggested peasant rather than slave-owning ancestry—stood

in the dinner line one evening swapping bites from the same baked potato. Or on the lawn of a West Virginia Senator's suburban home where residents of Resurrection City joined more than 100 of his poor white mountain constituents to tell the former Ku Klux Klansman they did not share his view that the assassinated leader had gotten what he deserved.

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Because SCLC leaders had been among the inventors and decorated veterans of the civil rights struggle, interpretation of a nonviolent movement to initiates and outsiders properly belonged to them. If a press briefing were scheduled to precede a march on the Capitol at mid-morning and no leader appeared at Resurrection City before mid-afternoon, this was explained as "one of those days that comes along occasionally in the movement." If newsmen were upset because of botched schedules that seemed to get demonstrations started just moments before their afternoon deadlines, it was made clear that a movement is not run for the benefit of the press. And if newsmen and others were frustrated at not knowing what was planned for the next day, or for the afternoon, or for even an hour later, they were told that this was a movement, not a military campaign. Interpretation was not spared the Campaign participants either, however.

In the latter days, two weeks after the Justice Department demonstrations, when groups of Resurrection City people were beginning to form their own strategy on the spur of the moment — seeking arrest in one particular instance when they were supposed to be maintaining a picket vigil at the Department of Agriculture—Hosea Williams rushed in at the call of lawyers who had informed him of the tactic and impending arrests, gathered the people up out of the doorways where they were sitting, led a march around the building, and then sent most of them back to Resurrection City with the admonishment: "We don't have a movement yet." In this and other cases, the leader was lagging

behind his followers. Nevertheless, he remained the final instrument for determining, almost cosmically, just when movement had in fact arrived, the people waiting in his absence for the paddy wagons notwithstanding. Movement in this case was being defined in the frame of some larger strategy, apparently known only to Williams, and oblivious to the abundantly obvious mood of his people.

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From the beginning there was a tacit agreement that the police would not enter Resurrection City unless they were called. Keeping the peace within the confines of the City was the responsibility of the marshals, a force at one time or another joined by almost every young man there and made up of several groups of varying legitimacy and longevity. Observers noted that being a marshal was the most popular occupation of the Campaign, the amateur sociologists among them theorizing that any isolated sub-society of Americans will first establish, before any other institution, a police department. Through most of the Campaign, however, being a marshal was simply the only thing there was for a young man to do. In fact, for anyone involved in the Campaign, either at Resurrection City or elsewhere, a useful job, even a job that gave the appearance of being useful, was an uncommon prize.

The poor at Resurrection City acted in the manner of poor people the nation over, doing violence to each other much more frequently than together they do to anyone else. Many of them had come from neighborhoods (if the backside of Marks, Mississippi, can be termed a neighborhood) where one has to provide for his own safety when threatened, neighborhoods where the basics — food, shelter, and clothing — as well as the luxuries — hot running water, sanitary toilets, adequate dental and medical care, a concerned system of education, and a base from which the collective voice could demand to be heard if not listened to — are things less constantly available than even

they were at Resurrection City. Among the inhabitants there was fighting and loving, stealing, and singing.

The last time I went inside the City was one of its last and tensest nights. Earlier, in the afternoon, several demonstrators had been injured by the police as they sought arrest in a nonviolent demonstration at the Agriculture Department. Later there had been an incident at a street crossing as those not arrested returned to the City. Police said they had used tear gas to drive the marchers inside the City after being attacked with rocks. A mass meeting had been called for 9 p.m.

Rumors were flying about. Some said the police were about to gas the entire area and sweep through the City. (They did gas it three nights later, responding, they said, to a rock barrage on cars passing by on a street nearby. This midnight gassing was to be so severe that more than 200 residents had to be evacuated, some to hospitals.) Others said the City was about to explode from within. I went that night out of a desire to see for myself what might be happening and with the feeling that if the Campaign were indeed ending there and then, I had an obligation to see it out, to witness its end because I had thrilled at its beginning. Perhaps I really went only because I fully expected that we — three companions, two of them black, the other white like me — would not be allowed in.

But the police at the outer limits passed us through and the marshals at the City gate uncharacteristically let us in with only a cursory check of credentials. The prevailing mood of the meeting, held around the City Hall and using the City's public address system for amplification (from which newsmen on the outside took their stories) was anger directed at the rock throwers who had exposed others, women and children, to the reaction of the police. SCLC leaders and residents of the City debated for more than two hours. One speaker, not a resident, called for a "black power meeting" the next

day, hinting broadly that the present leaders had had their chance and proved themselves incapable of "dealing effectively with the oppressors of poor black people." This challenge was rebutted by the Rev. James Bevel, Campaign philosopher and a sort of high guru of non-violence, who in typical eloquence put down the notion of violence with a "lesson in revolution," the essence of which was that "if you pass by a power plant on your way to burn a liquor store you ain't talking about revolution," and that fighting police on their terms "is like going after a tank armed with a peashooter." It was not so much that violence was immoral, which he held it was, but that it was ineffectual and utterly foolish as well.

Hosea Williams, who acted as moderator of the meeting and refereed use of the microphone by residents contending for a chance to have their say, told the gathering that the time had come to decide whether they wanted to have a Resurrection City or not. He warned them, in a bit of CIA baiting (which may or may not have been based in fact), that there were agents among them who might attempt to set fire to the City or otherwise provoke the police to come in. They must be alert to any infiltrators. (I suddenly realized that there was no way for me, or anyone else, to prove quickly to an impassioned challenger in that dark place that I was not an infiltrator. The lonely low-key panic recalled an incident when, caught as a tourist in the midst of a torchlight parade of chanting Communist Party marchers on a dimly-lit Calcutta slum back street, I had never felt so glaringly pale-skinned and, in that instance, American.) The Rev. Mr. Abernathy arrived shortly before midnight. He asked, as a personal favor, that the women and children go to bed while the men organized a sentry watch to protect them from infiltrators while they slept. He and the other leaders left as the City settled down for the night.

Nothing happened to me in Calcutta,

and nothing happened there in Resurrection City, despite the rumors, despite the tension, and despite the fears. In fact, given the injection into the City and Campaign of every noxious ingredient generally assumed to frustrate people to anger, even rage — from the fact that the city and nation never really permitted them a status other than potential rioters; to the few ghetto-bred young men who hit the street in Washington looking for action, girls, anything but the dullness offered at Resurrection City; to the pervasive heat and rain; to the miasmal hours of inaction; to a security system (later mirrored at the convention hall in Chicago) not infrequently abusive; to leaders who seemed at times to neglect them — it is remarkable that the people remained so peacefully faithful to non-violence. One resident, representative of many of the young men there, rejected the idea that formal leaders were needed to shape and guide what was already a beautiful community. Instead, he said, the people should congratulate themselves for being a ghetto that did not exhibit common ghetto characteristics. No one had been murdered. No one had died of an overdose of drugs.

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Law and order outside the City was, of course, the task of the regular police. Their usual duty with the Poor People's Campaign was to join an outgoing demonstration and march with it from the City to its destination and back. They were always out in force and in times of stress their resources and reinforcements seemed limitless. Almost 200 of them were counted in an alley adjacent to Resurrection City the night Sen. Robert Kennedy's funeral cortege passed there en route to Arlington Cemetery. They were mixed racially about three-to-one white to black.

Most of the time their duty was ludicrous as is any emergency-oriented official's. They darted about the acres of grass around the Washington Monument on their motor scooters, helmeted out-



riders escorting the marchers and looking like water bugs, feet and wheels obscured by the grass. Their officers were chauffeured in motorcycle side cars, looking menacingly like the ride-by shots in old war films in which the monocled officer patrols up and down the line of marching soldiers, shouting orders. On occasion the police used their machines to keep the marching lines straight and out of the street, running at dragstrip acceleration parallel to the curb, the officer crouching and bracing himself with black leather-gloved hands clasping the gunnels of the side car, barking orders into his bullhorn. To a person suddenly out near its path, a motorcycle can be as terrifying as a rabid dog loose in the street.

Once near the end of the Campaign, a group of women from Resurrection City took a walking tour of the Capitol area. After obeying a police captain's order that they break up into small groups or be arrested, members of one of the small groups decided they needed to use the ladies' room, located inside the Capitol building. The captain deployed his men. Twelve burly corporals surrounded the two dozen women and escorted them to the side door of the building where another officer informed them that Congress had just adjourned, that if they did not believe him they could check the flagpole where the absence of the banner would prove that the lawmakers had called it a day. No matter, the women repeated, they just wanted to use the ladies' room. The officer retreated inside the building and after a conference with the sergeant-at-arms came back to report that they could enter the building—but only four at a time, that being, he said, the capacity of the ladies' room. (As they were being escorted across the upper terrace of the Capitol, a trio of camera-bearing tourists, unaware that they were missing the best photograph they were ever likely to see, had waited impatiently for this procession to pass by so they could get their snapshots of the Wash-

ington Monument, off below at the opposite end of the Mall. The episode seemed to symbolize how little effect the poor people were having on the city—its officials as well as its tourists.)

The same sort of response had come several weeks before when the Rev. Jesse Jackson led some 100 Resurrection City residents to the Department of Agriculture the day after the same group had walked out on a sizeable lunch check at the department's basement cafeteria. During what was taken to be a stall until the cafeteria could be shut down for the day, Joseph M. Robertson, Secretary Orville Freeman's assistant for administration (normally engaged in the business of explaining the intricacies of the Agriculture Department to legislative committees) negotiated with the Rev. Mr. Jackson and the Rev. Mr. Abernathy for a meeting with Freeman. The negotiation turned into a demand from Robertson that the check be paid (it was) and from Jackson that the marchers be allowed to come in out of the driving rain. ("Do you mean that the Department of Agriculture is going to let hungry people stand outside its gates in the rain?")

The three retired to an anteroom off the main lobby to continue their negotiations. Shortly, as if on signal, the drenched marchers began filing through the front door of the marble-columned building and heading, it appeared, toward the cafeteria downstairs. This brought the negotiators rushing out of their conference. Robertson was quick to charge, as soon as he could work his way through the crowd that immediately surrounded the leaders, that this entrance was a breach of the "good faith" in which he had agreed to negotiate.

"This," he said in the tight-lipped manner of men who have learned to speak without using contractions, "is not a non-violent act."

"The people are getting wet," said the Rev. Mr. Jackson. "They just want to come in out of the rain and use the restroom."

"The restroom can only be used according to schedule," Robertson said, holding his ground.

"That, Brother Robertson," the Rev. Mr. Jackson observed, "is a biological process that does not subject itself to schedules."

Robertson left and after conferring upstairs returned with his verdict. Yes, wet and hungry people could come in out of the rain. But they must stay in the first foyer and "remain quiet and orderly." A force of policemen and building guards was on hand by now to see that they did.

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When the time for arrests finally came, the police force assigned to the Campaign — generally the same faces were seen throughout — had been waiting five weeks. They had been on hand every day to escort marchers from Resurrection City to whatever department or agency building they were visiting, walking with the people an average of maybe four miles per demonstration, and standing by outside as the demonstrators went into the buildings to stay no one knew how long. Like the newsmen, they had had to be on hand whether there was a demonstration or not, and the fact that few demonstrations left the City before 2 p.m. did not preclude the possibility that one would get off early in the morning.

Their high-level superiors accompanied most demonstrations (and when the time came, proved themselves as capable as their troops of hurling gas canisters) as did Justice Department officials and a small group of plains-clothes men who tailed the marchers in an ubiquitous light green Ford, uniquely distinguishable by its Vermont license plates. Behavior of the police was subject to a potentially constant public scrutiny by the television cameras that were as much a part of the campaign as portable bullhorns. That the presence of the cameras had an effect on their behavior was borne out at the Justice Department demonstra-

tion. Hosea Williams pointed out that many of the patrolmen on the front line of the force keeping the people on the sidewalk had removed their badges and charged that they were trying to conceal their identities in case they might need to use their billy sticks on the marchers. The badges were all in place again when the television cameras panned on them.

By the time Campaign leaders moved to seek arrest, they had long before lost the jail-filling potential that might have made massive civil disobedience a successful tactic. At the Agriculture Department three days before Resurrection City's camping permit expired, the demonstrators' clear intent to seek arrest was obvious. The police could have accommodated them without force and certainly without trifling with the violent reaction that they and most of Washington had expected of the poor people since their arrival in the city, and before.

The first arrests went smoothly as the policemen walked or carried demonstrators from doorways of the main Agriculture Department building to the paddy wagons. After 17 were arrested for blocking doorways, the strategy shifted to a wide intersection at the rear corner of the building. The demonstrators marched down the sidewalk to the corner where they waited for the traffic light to turn to green. When it turned they started to cross — some of them sitting down in the street and the rest continuing on to the opposite corner where they grouped and waited to repeat the operation.

As they watched, the police began a tactic that escalated the tension. Rather than giving the sitters a one or two minute warning to move on and then placing all of them under arrest, they immediately set to the task of clearing the street, seizing the sitters by any available appendage, dragging them to the curbside, and heaving them over, sometimes into the crowd. Some were taken to the paddy wagons that had been backed up to the intersection, but there was no pattern to the arrests. One person would be car-

ried to a paddy wagon while another next to him would be thrown over the curb. Those injured in the drag-off lay on the ground where they had been thrown.

As the street was cleared, the policemen formed lines along the curb, standing shoulder-to-shoulder and facing the demonstrators from a distance of perhaps three feet. They held this position, leaving the crosswalk clear and allowing the demonstrators to repeat the crossing and sitting, a few more being arrested at each drag-off.

Either because of some verbal abuse, because part of the crowd bulged out as someone was hurled into it, or for no reason at all, the line of policemen crossed the curb and surged into the group congregated there, a number of them driving to the center and flailing out with their riot sticks like men with machetes cutting a jungle path. This happened at least three times; each time two or three of the policemen abandoned their sticks and set on the demonstrators with their fists, as if to make a more personal attack of it. At least two were heard to remark that they had been waiting a long time for this opportunity. During each surge, the onslaught continued after one, two, and three bullhorn orders to "hold the line, get back."

That day only about 80 of the demonstrators were arrested. The policemen showed no more restraint the next afternoon in a garden-like setting back at the Agriculture Department building where some 150 demonstrators had returned with food and cots to resume a vigil begun several days before. A third of them settled down in front of the main entrance and the rest deployed themselves in several doorways at the back of the building. (The building was closed for the weekend.) In front a force of approximately 60 policemen was keeping watch on the demonstrators from under the trees across the street. (All of these policemen were white; a smaller group of their Negro colleagues was bivouacked

on the Mall about thirty yards to the rear.)

Suddenly a policeman who had emerged from a door to the side of the main entrance was scuffling with a young boy who had been standing nearby. Seeing the commotion, the policemen under the trees broke ranks and sprinted toward it, scattered like track runners after a false start, looking over their shoulders to see if they were all together in the charge, and continuing on after a second order to stop. When the first ones got there, the policeman — whom witnesses said the boy had called a "cracker" — was already marching him to the paddy wagon. The boy and a companion were charged with disorderly conduct and hauled away.

It was learned from a Justice Department official who was present at all the demonstrations that the arrest procedure for the street sitters the day before was what lawmen call a "process of attrition," by which they drag everyone off to the side, fulfilling the first order of their priorities which is to keep the street open to traffic. They arrest only a few persons at each drag-off, aiming, it is assumed, to discourage others from seeking arrest.

According to the Justice Department man, this was the plan set in advance by the police, and, in his words, "It went off beautifully." He apparently ignored the fact that several demonstrators were injured and that the policemen were only fleetingly controlled as they applied their "process of attrition."

There was one man seen from time to time during the Agriculture Department demonstrations who enjoyed free passage through the police lines and whose orders seemed to carry considerable weight. He wore blue coveralls with the word "POLICE" stencilled in yellow letters across his back, setting off his steel grey crewcut hair and dark glasses. His equipment included handcuffs, a long riot stick, a tool kit like that carried in a holster by telephone repairmen, a canvas satchel which resembled those other

policemen used to carry tear gas canisters, and, most puzzling, a large hunting knife which was strapped to his waist. Newsmen and other policemen said he was a medic, but that did not explain his knife or his order the day after the street arrests for "thirty-five hand fire extinguishers." What for, one wondered? For use in lieu of gas to disperse crowds? (The Department of the Army, in its 1968 manual on civil disturbance control, has put out instructions for making a crowd dispersal weapon from an ordinary fire extinguisher.) Or to put out fires? Fire seemed hardly a threat where the most combustible thing in sight was as fire-proof as the Washington Monument.

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The belief has been defended, especially in the South, that all justice resides in Washington, that redress of an individual or class grievance is largely a matter of locating within the federal structure the proper office or channel through which one's case can best be presented. It is federal legislation that has marked any advance in civil rights, and federal courts in which individual rights have been best protected. One has not looked with much hope to Montgomery, or to Richmond, or to Austin for leadership in the effort to end poverty; and mayors—even many southern mayors — have learned to make their pleas to Congress for the money they cannot expect to get from their state legislatures.

This faith in Washington has come in large part by default, a reaction to the daily attacks on the federal government and bureaucracy by the Wallaces and the Maddoxes and smoother proponents of the notion that all rights — including the freedom to be without food or to watch one's children so ill educated they can hardly read their own certificates of graduation — are wholly subject to local option. And in this atmosphere, the faults of an undertaking like the federal poverty program have been raised hesitantly, so threatening were already the critics even of its existence.

In this view, the majority of representatives and senators have been seen as men concerned with poverty but unable just now to find the funds necessary for a serious effort to narrow the gap between their have and have-not constituents. As for the war, it has been viewed as the result of honest bungling by a group of amateurs in world diplomacy who wandered uncomfortably into the role of imperialists and whose only real fault was puerile overzealousness in protecting the people of South Vietnam from the aggression of a fanatic band of communist puppets bent on ruling the world. As arbiters of the world's destiny, their positions, if nothing else, would seemingly have forced upon many of them an enlightenment (even if it amounted to nothing more than self and system preservation) that has never been expected of state legislators, and would have made them more urgently concerned with the fact that their society is, among its other maladies, rotting out at the bottom. It did not seem unreasonable to hope that they could be made to see in the Poor People's Campaign what Dr. King had called, "a moral alternative to riots," the stormy aftermath of his assassination being the hardest example to date of another alternative.

Going to Washington with these expectations vaguely in mind — hoping in effect that Washington could be confronted, and then made to intervene against itself — it soon became discouragingly clear that although the Poor People's Campaign at times failed to match the nobleness of its cause, the response of official Washington — legislators and administrators — was little better than the poor people might have received in a state capitol. The collective wisdom and sensitivity of the U. S. Congress, it turned out, does not far surpass that of the Georgia General Assembly, if at all. Some members, after failing to forestall the encampment of poor people on public land, spent the duration of the Campaign working to see

that they were evicted and to assure that similar encampments would never again be permitted. Powerful members who had in the past vowed never to legislate tribute to rioters or reward insurrection — some of them adding the use-worn phrase about “getting at the root problems” — now, even before the first cadre of poor people arrived in the city, said they refused to work under the gun of demonstrations. The President early acknowledged the “respectful” manner with which the Rev. Ralph Abernathy and the other leaders had presented their demands (in the President’s words, “view-points”), gave assurances that “we have made extensive preparations” for the encampment, and added that “the poor would be better served if Congress and the appropriate administrative agencies could have time to take proper action.” This, in a May 3 press conference, was one of President Johnson’s few public comments on the Poor People’s Campaign.

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The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare is the best example of a Washington agency which has enjoyed a protective allegiance among civil rights advocates in the South, most notably because it has been, since 1964, the instrument by which racially segregated schools are supposed to have been eliminated. In addition, as administrator of federal welfare funds, HEW’s sufferable standards of what should be paid have stood out in ugly contrast to the failure of state after state to come up with a share that might make public assistance more, in many cases, than a cruel joke. Restrictions that have made the bulk of their needy citizens ineligible for help traditionally have come not from Washington but from state legislatures.

The purpose of the Poor People’s Campaign demonstration at HEW, like that of the initial demonstration at other departments and agencies, was to receive a response to the demands presented by the Rev. Mr. Abernathy and other leaders

several weeks earlier. Following what by then had become a familiar pattern, the poor people departed Resurrection City in the afternoon accompanied by their police escort and marched the mile and a half to the department headquarters. The demonstrators would normally have been stopped at the front door while their leaders and department officials haggled over how many of the group would be allowed in to meet with the cabinet member in charge. This time, however, the entire group—some 350 strong—was permitted to march directly into an auditorium on HEW’S ground floor. Secretary Wilbur Cohen’s emissaries and the demonstration leaders would conduct their negotiations there.

As the people took their seats in the auditorium and began singing, the policemen who had escorted them to the building took positions in the corridor to the rear and joined building guards in sealing off a bank of escalators leading to the upper floors. Outside the building and across the street, a police bus (windows barred for paddy wagon duty if necessary) had brought in reinforcements. Office workers stood on tiptoes peeking in from the rear of the auditorium, and above them a number of faces were in view, jammed cheek-to-cheek in the tiny windows of the film projection booth.

There were rumors that the secretary was not in the building, that he had already left for the day. (It was after 4:30 p.m.) A vote prompted by Hosea Williams, who had just arrived to take charge of the demonstration, indicated that the group was prepared to wait there until Cohen came out to talk with them — to wait all night or be arrested, if necessary.

Soon several of Cohen’s emissaries came into the auditorium and whispered with Williams. Williams announced that Cohen was in the building and had invited him and four representatives from the group to meet in his office upstairs. The group promptly voted the offer down; “Brother Cohen” must come to



them. The emissaries departed, leaving an assistant secretary there who took a seat beside Williams and sat stiff-faced as the demonstration leader opened the floor to anyone who wanted to talk about health, education, or welfare.

Several people stood to describe abuses suffered at the hands of local welfare officials. Rudolfo (Corky) Gonzales spoke of land and language and culture taken from his Mexican-American people. "The southwestern part of the United States," he said, "is a colonized area." Referring to HEW and the government in general, he said: "If they can turn a kid into a technician in six months or a killer in six weeks, they can come into the ghettos, the reservations, the barrios, and the mountain villages and give us jobs."

An elderly man dressed in overalls and wearing a full grey beard stood, leaning lightly on his cane, and delivered a rambling account of how the government and the Social Security Administration, in particular, had bilked him over a period of many years. He concluded the long and detailed story — the rapid midwestern twang rushing almost to pass his thoughts and he pulling his best cues out of a past that was beyond the memory of most of his listeners—by laying the blame for his situation and the nation's squarely on the heads of the "true villains": Wall Street manipulators, Eastern tycoons, and the Bank of England.

It was shortly past 6 p.m. when Cohen finally arrived, followed into the auditorium by newsmen and the ubiquitous mantis-like television microphone which hovered over his shoulder as he made his way to the front. His response to the Campaign's demands was contained in a 35-page letter to the Rev. Mr. Abernathy which, after introducing a trio of staff members accompanying him, he summarized for the group.

HEW would "give information" to state and local welfare offices regarding the use of "courtesy titles" in dealing with their clients. Abolition of freedom-of-choice plans for school desegregation, he

said, had just been accomplished in a Supreme Court ruling; HEW would, however, continue to press for effective desegregation of school systems within its jurisdiction. (Later it was learned that at the moment he was speaking a number of final fund cut-off orders for recalcitrant Deep South school systems were sitting unsigned on Cohen's desk, some of them dating back as far as February.) In the area of welfare, Cohen said, HEW would continue to encourage states to simplify their eligibility regulations. He was hopeful that pressure could be brought on Congress to at least postpone for a year its freeze on federal funds for state aid to dependent children. (This, Congress's answer to illegitimacy among the poor, due to have gone into effect this July but subsequently postponed until 1969, will leave mothers and children to the doubtful mercies of state legislatures, hard prone to limit allocations for welfare and now enjoined from applying regulations that have served to keep child assistance rolls within what they consider to be an adequate budget. Secretary Cohen reportedly had delayed his school fund cut-off orders to avoid angering southern members while the HEW appropriations bill was before Congress. Enforcement of a civil rights law was thus subverted by fear of the power of men who once had fought it openly on grounds that "morality cannot be legislated" and who have now applied their own notions of morality in the welfare freeze law that will serve to starve needy children, legitimate and illegitimate alike.)

Repeal of the welfare freeze, Cohen noted, would not answer the old question of inequalities of welfare payments among various states (ranging from less than \$35.00 for the monthly sustenance of a Mississippi family to more than \$280.00 for a family in New York). For this, Cohen had a solution which he announced, with some pride, he had proposed in a speech just the day before: a federal standard administration of welfare by which recipients would receive

the same regardless of state.

Williams accepted the HEW response for delivery to the Rev. Mr. Abernathy and said he found Cohen's proposal for a federal welfare standard encouraging. Then after singing two verses of "We Shall Overcome," the people filed out of the auditorium and, joined by the police escort, began the long walk back to Resurrection City.

A second visit to HEW was one of a series of demonstrations conducted by the National Welfare Rights Organization, which had kept small demonstrations going throughout the Campaign, most visibly during the lulls when no larger demonstrations left Resurrection City. (The Kennedy assassination and funeral and complications at Resurrection City brought one six-day period of virtual inaction.) This group, some 40 residents of Resurrection City who had a personal interest in welfare, came to spend the afternoon at HEW. Some of them wanted to learn how they could become eligible for public assistance, some wanted to learn why they had been removed from welfare rolls, and others wanted assistance in getting their checks sent to Washington from their local welfare offices.

After settling into the downstairs auditorium—the same one used by the large demonstration—the group divided its duties and went about them methodically. A small group set out for offices on the upper floors of the building to "establish the freedom of HEW," that is, to establish the freedom of HEW officials to talk with poor people and vice versa. Another small group went to monitor an administrator who had promised to help expedite the payments of those who had received no checks since leaving home. A third group stayed in the auditorium to discuss the many obstacles involved in being certified eligible for assistance.

The group that had gone upstairs to "establish the freedom of HEW" was able to persuade some officials to come down to the auditorium. "We really put the bee

on them," said one member of the group, a minister from Marks, Mississippi. "The secretaries up there told us they had been ordered in a memo to have nothing to do with us if we came in the building. Some said they didn't have time to come down and talk with us, that they were too busy. Then we asked why was it they were never too busy to run to the windows and watch us march by outside. There was one lady so shocked to see us walk into her office she took off her glasses to get a better look, and when she did get the better look, she dropped the glasses."

Downstairs a group of minor officials congregated at the rear of the auditorium until one of the demonstration leaders urged them to come forward and "get acquainted with the people you're supposed to be serving." They moved forward hesitatingly at first but soon seemed to relax as they chatted with the people and took notes. The stories they took down indicated once again that if welfare poses a paralyzing threat to the initiative of the poor, a great many of them are in no danger at all: a young man from Birmingham, crippled from birth, denied assistance because "they said I'm able to work;" another from rural Alabama, disabled, in the hospital a year-and-a-half, saying he had been promised one dollar a month "so they could say I'm being helped, but I haven't seen even the dollar yet."

As the officials were listening and recording these experiences, a small group of more reserved looking men and a woman came into the auditorium and quietly seated themselves toward the back. They were from the Office of Social and Rehabilitation Services, or, as one of them related in a tone hushed with what seemed great respect, "the basic unit of the department dealing with public assistance." This, then, was the ultimate welfare office. The poor people had come to the right place.

The official (a subordinate, it turned out) who had spoken reverently of his office and later of his bosses, as one of

them moved in to survey the small groups of officials and poor people, was asked what "the basic unit" was going to do about these people's problems. "Well," he pondered, "it's been handled like this before and I assume it will follow the same pattern; we'll take down the complaints and work back through the regional and state agencies and then report back to this group, the NWRO. Ultimately, as you know, any corrective action will, of course, have to come through the state agencies." The same man commented on Cohen's proposed federal standardization of welfare, taken at the larger demonstration as a significant new response to Campaign demands. "Yeah," he said, "the secretary first started on that idea a couple of years ago."

While they were upstairs Secretary Cohen had invited several of the Resurrection City residents into his office. They returned to the auditorium with stacks of brochures and booklets and an 8 x 10 autographed color photograph of the secretary standing in front of the HEW building.

A NWRO leader, speaking through a bullhorn from the front of the auditorium, said, "We came here to stay until we at least made a beginning on our business. We've satisfied ourselves that we have made a beginning. But we'll be back tomorrow." Then repeating the theme promoted throughout the Campaign by NWRO, he said, "Groups like this one should organize and bring their business to local welfare offices just like we're bringing our business to HEW."

The upstairs windows were crowded with office workers watching as the people boarded their yellow school bus for the ride back to Resurrection City. As the bus entered rush-hour traffic, the people began singing. The songs were old ones with appropriate variations—"I'm gonna lay down my shuffling shoes, down by the welfare door, down by the welfare door. Ain't gonna shuffle my feet no more." The volume of the singing increased as the bus left the Mall area

where there were few pedestrians and inched its way down Independence Avenue past the queues of workers waiting to board their suburb-bound buses. But the songs were not penetrating the sealed windows to the air-conditioned space inside where the commuters sat, less than six feet from the singers, reading their newspapers. The freedom to speak (or sing) indeed did not imply a right here or elsewhere to be listened to, as the Rev. Mr. Abernathy had said.

One of the senior welfare administrators, among those of the high-level group who had appeared briefly to survey the auditorium in the afternoon, was seen later that evening with a companion at a restaurant in downtown Washington. After their second or third drink, the gist of conversation became audible to a chance eavesdropper nearby. The subject—not poverty or hunger or health or welfare—was office politics, a question of filling a clerical position apparently having transcended the flesh and blood evidence of the department's failure represented in their offices not three hours earlier. Perhaps the man long ago had given up concerning himself with whatever part he might once have seen himself playing in the failure. Perhaps he had once had hope and lost it, and now was surviving by feeding on the various forms of ignoring the loss. Perhaps he believed, as his subordinate had, that such matters as poor people and welfare really are best handled elsewhere. Or perhaps his greatest concern that evening was office politics.



The Poor People's Campaign was unique among the several assemblages of Americans this summer, a season in which the demand for "participatory democracy" was heard in many quarters. Standards of membership were simple and participation was virtually unlimited. Anyone who wanted to join perhaps the last pursuit of America's agile conscience, questionably represented in Washington, was free to come along. Although the judg-

ment may be made that its leaders brought the Campaign's slow decline upon themselves, it also is true but not so obvious that a mammoth corporation like Lockheed Aircraft is really no more efficiently constituted than Resurrection City, the aircraft makers' cost-plus defense contracts providing much of the cushion that takes up what many employees readily admit is an incredible waste of time, energy, and direction, and is for some destructive of a needed sense of place and achievement.

In its early stages especially there was much more hope within the Campaign than among outside observers, who saw no prospect of moving an election-year Congress in which the poverty program had always surpassed poverty itself as an issue. When they bundled their belongings into cardboard boxes and hoisted their children aboard the Greyhounds and mule wagons in June, many of the poor people set out for Washington fully believing that by the end of the summer—by fall at the latest—their efforts there would have brought nothing less than the end of American poverty.

In the hours of marathon eulogies immediately following Dr. King's assassination, America was exposed to its finest lesson in his philosophy, and the choice he had offered between chaos and community was more generally understood then than ever it had been when the prospect for his success had seemed much greater. It was not idle at that moment to indulge in the seemingly final hope that now at last the nation would rally to redeem itself. Rational people discussed the possibility of marshalling hundreds of thousands of people, not necessarily poor people, to present themselves at the White House or Congress every month until something of a reparation was forced from those high places. One was so conditioned by the conspiring events of the spring and summer, he could expect anything, and even the least promising hopes clung to the faith that somehow the expectations need not yet

have been only for catastrophe, despite every objective indication of an accelerating trend in that direction.

But a grieving mass did not rally and the Poor People's Campaign could not. Pressures—violent or not, it did not seem to matter—won no victories for the poor in 1968. Civil disobedience moved well into the new lexicon and emerged (along with terms like "permissiveness") to mean a license to shoot policemen.

In the end it seemed silly to have speculated back in February that Washington might try to kill the Poor People's Campaign with kindness, that the lawmakers might act quickly to draw up bills aimed at satisfying the Campaign's basic demands, guarantees of a decent job or a decent income—goals that were in full accord not only with justice and precedent but also with accepted concepts of subsidizing the non-poor that are as old as the Republic itself.

The fact that the poor people had come to Washington asking first of all for jobs went almost unnoticed and surprisingly so since the solution most generally offered by legislators for ending poverty is to put people to work. The demand for jobs, however, was overshadowed by its corollary, calling for an adequate income to be guaranteed to everyone who should not work—mothers, children, the disabled and the sick. Official Washington did not give serious consideration to meeting either of these basic demands.

It was the hardest indictment of the nation not only that its least powerful citizens should continue to be forced to live in poverty but now also that they had to be the ones to come hungry to this seat of affluent power demanding food of a society that calls itself civilized and allows children to starve. Perhaps the clearest measure of response to the Campaign was that the poor finally had to settle for hunger as their issue of confrontation, and it was a condemnable nation, rendering its verdict in superabundance, that denied them victory.

## THE POOR PEOPLE'S CAMPAIGN AND OTHER LOBBIES

By WARREN PRITCHARD

The Poor People's Campaign came eventually to concentrate its demands and demonstrations at the Department of Agriculture and to seek its arrests on the issue of hunger. During its six weeks in Washington, there was continuous sparring with other departments and agencies, but the campaigners kept coming back to the seat of responsibility, if not primary enthusiasm, for eliminating hunger.

Shortly before the poor people arrived in Washington, a senator from Delaware, motivated less to reveal an injustice than to suggest means of saving money, called for a \$10,000 limitation on subsidy payments to individual landowners, compensating them for the food and fiber they agree not to grow and preventing "losses which would occur to our endowment of soil and water resources for future generations in the absence of needed conservation measures."

An indictment — listing the amounts paid and the names and addresses of subsidy recipients in every county in the country—filled more than 1,450 pages of a volume printed as part of the testimony given at hearings on the USDA 1969-70 budget conducted by the Agriculture Subcommittee of the omnipotent Senate Appropriations Committee. The Poor People's Campaign used this listing to point out that a landholder like Mississippi Senator James Eastland enjoys a federally guaranteed income of \$13,160 a month, while poor families—suffering, among other things, the effects of the

production cutback in the senator's Sunflower County—can never really depend on a monthly welfare payment that averages less than \$35.00. It also was noted that the Mississippi senator's membership on this subcommittee and the Senate Agriculture Committee gives him a strong voice in keeping himself, and thousands of others similarly blessed, on this golden dole.

(Actually there are only 92,720 of them on the list, but they divided more than a billion dollars in subsidy payments last year. The list excluded payments of less than \$5000 and payments of undetermined amounts. Taken all together payments for the year exceeded \$3 billion. By comparison OEO's budget has never topped \$2 billion. The poverty war's most recent appropriation, \$1.9 billion for fiscal year 1969, means in effect that there will be no new poverty programs and no expansion of existing programs. But agribusiness subsidy programs get bigger every year.)

It is the regular testimony of witnesses before the subcommittee—again filling a large volume—that is a measure of the place of the Poor People's Campaign among the scores of lobbies operating in Washington during this and other seasons.

The most fervid of them was the imported fire ant lobby, a delegation of southern agriculture officials that included the state commissioners from Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, the commissioner's proxy from Florida, and two



members of the Mississippi legislature. They brought the senators dire reports of spreading devastation in the South and warnings of an impending national calamity if funds were not made available to block a ravaging fire ant migration, threatening to swarm northward and westward, engulfing cities in its path.<sup>1</sup> The lobbyists saw their main task as one of convincing the lawmakers of the magnitude and severity of the threat, much as the Kerner Commission had attempted and the Poor People's Campaign would attempt to do in quite another vein.

If only the senators could be made to realize how awful it was. "Gentlemen," pleaded P. L. Hughes, chairman of the Mississippi House Agriculture Committee, who might have spent part of his \$8,700 federal subsidy for the trip to Washington, "I know from personal experience, and I hope none of you ever have to experience it, how bad this problem is." Not hungry children but fire ants. "Their painful and economic presence is felt in everything we do now," Hughes said, and added that Mississippians, "as evidence of their concern," had levied a special tax on all real estate in some counties for funds to contain the ants.

The ant lobbyists' solution might have been lifted from an OEO brochure. Lack of knowledge was not the stumbling block, nor were methods and materials unavailable. (There was, however, sharp controversy surrounding a study conducted by the National Academy of Sciences which had concluded that fire ant eradication was biologically and technically unfeasible and expressed doubts that the pest was of sufficient importance

to justify costly attempts to eradicate it.) It was a matter of commitment and money, especially federal money. The lobbyists called for appropriations "on a state and federal basis in an adequate amount to do the job." Halwin L. Jones, Florida's representative, sounded like poverty war proponents when he said, "The solution to this uncertain atmosphere prevailing around the imported fire ant program is for federal funds to be made available and irrevocably so."

Senator Richard Russell of Georgia visited the hearing to lend his support to the southern agriculture men. He deplored what he called the Agriculture Department's lack of enthusiasm for fire ant eradication. "They still don't have the enthusiasm for this program that they do for a number of others that I don't think are as important," he said. Enthusiasm, Senator Russell noted, is crucial to the success of any Department of Agriculture program. It is unlikely that he was referring to the enthusiasm the USDA has failed to show in moving against Negro exclusion in its racist southern operations, a point ignored in the two months of hearings. Apparently the programs most worthy of enthusiasm are those that pay a few of his Georgia producers—six one-hundredths of one per cent of the population—over \$26 million in subsidy.<sup>2</sup>

(Congress made some \$6.4 million available in fiscal year 1968 for the fire ant program; about a million of it went to Georgia, supplementing the state legislature's \$1.5 million.)

The fire ant lobby was only one of many heard by the southern-oriented subcommittee. (Its chairman was Spessard Holland of Florida and members included

<sup>1</sup>The imported fire ant (*Solenopsis saevissima*), believed to have slipped into Alabama through the federal quarantine facility at Mobile sometime after World War I, has been a point of periodic political controversy in some southern states since the early 1950's. While some agriculture officials have testified to its ruinous potential, their detractors have suggested that the fire ant threat is largely a hoax. Its sting is painful to humans and can be fatal to young animals, and the mounds it builds are said to be damaging to harvesting machinery in hay fields and meadows.

<sup>2</sup>Excludes individual 1967 subsidy payments of less than \$5000.

Allen J. Ellender of Louisiana, James O. Eastland of Mississippi—these first three also in the top rank of the Senate Agriculture Committee—Richard B. Russell of Georgia, John Stennis of Mississippi, Lister Hill of Alabama, and Ralph Yarborough of Texas.)<sup>3</sup> In all, more than 50 “nondepartmental” witnesses brought their requests before the senators during the March and April hearings—everyone from the Farm Bureau to the Cranberry Institute, from the National Grange to the Federal Statistics Users’ Conference, and including such diverse bodies as the National Milk Producers Federation and the Wine Institute, the Pan American Tung Research and Development League and the Society of American Florists.

Some of the lobbyists spoke for a more equitable distribution of federal subsidies, a point that would be basic to the poor people’s demand for a guaranteed income. If the nation could subsidize its industries by more than \$5 billion yearly in research, development, test, and evaluation grants alone, how, argued the president of the National Limestone Institute, could it quibble over a couple of hundred million for water and soil conservation? “I would like to suggest,” he told the senators, “that if we can grant Lockheed Aircraft and General Dynamics about \$500 million each; American Telephone and Telegraph, \$393,842,000; and General Electric, \$356,079,000; then I don’t think we should create such a fuss over granting \$200 million to the one million farmers who are participating in this partnership program which will benefit all of our citizens.” How, the Poor People’s Campaign would ask, could the nation quibble over the lives of thirty million of its citizens, its congressmen argue whether people go hungry “by personal

choice,” or for “lack of education,” and whether there really are 10 million or, perhaps, only six or eight million ill-fed Americans?

Many of the lobbyists came seeking more money for research. The Institute of American Poultry Industries, claiming that its industry is unique among segments of the nation’s agricultural system in that it “operates under the full force of the law of supply and demand in our free enterprise system,” its producers not enjoying federal price supports, asked the senators for increased research to find, among other things, means of improving “employee satisfaction” and efficiency in poultry processing plants and to examine the problems of “poor hatchability” of chicken eggs, chicken house odor control and litter re-use, chicken diseases, and discoloration of chicken meat in cooking.

A spokesman for the United States Wholesale Grocers Association thanked the senators for their support of research in the area of employee inefficiency, findings of which had already enabled food distributors to “absorb all increased wage costs up to now.” He asked them to renew their support for research in food wholesaling, retailing, and food service—currently costing about \$225,000. The few large enterprises in the industry capable of conducting their own research, he explained, are rarely willing to share the knowledge gained in matters such as labor productivity. The spokesman joined the National Restaurant Association in asking that the research program be continued and its appropriation be increased to \$500,000. No one suggested an up-by-the-bootstraps approach for the less affluent members of the food service industry, claiming to be the fourth largest

<sup>3</sup>The six Deep South senators on the subcommittee combined a total of 162 years seniority, three of them having been first elected to the Senate in the 1930’s and the rest more than 20 years ago. Average seniority was 27 years each. By comparison, the eleven senators who supported the Poor People’s Campaign as members of an “Ad Hoc Committee on Poverty” combined only 91 years seniority, none having been in the Senate before 1955. Their average seniority was just over eight years per man.

in the country and to comprise more than 12 per cent of all U. S. retail business.

The Wine Institute (the California grape and wine lobby) spokesman, extolling for the senators the nutritious value of wine as a "food product"—so that it might be placed on a par with other "wholesome food products" for purposes of USDA research—asked the subcommittee to appropriate \$1.5 million for a pilot wine research facility in California. A proposed \$500,000-a-year program would search for means of producing high-quality wine from grapes of varieties now in "chronic surplus." The proposal outlined for the senators included investigation into such matters as the instability of wine flavor and color and development of better methods of marketing wine—including advertising. Where the California grape strikers' interests fit or did not fit into this scheme was not mentioned, although the national boycott obviously stood to lose if more table and raisin grapes were converted into wine. And as the poor people would soon learn in Washington, advertising poverty on the green lawn of Congress draws 20 days in the D. C. jail.

Chairman Holland, who found the *Hunger, USA* report intemperate, heard a number of lobbyists, particularly dairy associations, call for increased research aimed at improving the quality of food for livestock. The Holstein-Friesian Association of America asked \$2 million for development of more nutritious cow feed; a spokesman for the National Dairy Herd Improvement Association supported this request and told the senators of the great loss of nutrients and palatability incurred in present methods of harvesting forages—pasture grass, hay, and silage. "In my own experience," he explained, "I consider that at best an average of only about 50 to 70 per cent of the protein and feed energy that is in the standing crop ever gets to my cows." "In closing," he told the senators—as the poor people would repeat again and again—"I would like to have you note that at no time have we

requested actual handouts. Rather, we are asking more or less of a helping hand for people."

George S. Buck, Jr., representing the National Cotton Council, headquartered in Memphis, might well have been arguing for reform of the nation's welfare system when he came to ask the senators for more research money, the net effect of which, in his words, "would be to reduce federal expenditures very substantially, to increase our ability to earn dollars abroad, and to lessen the dependence of the cotton industry on various forms of federal support and assistance." He requested full implementation of a \$10 million research program for cost cutting in the production of cotton, begun by the USDA in 1964 and now about two-thirds completed. This and other research was urgently needed, he said, "to check the onrushing tide of synthetic fiber competition." One recalled the Mississippi mother's remark that the best suit of clothes ever owned by many a Delta youth was the uniform the Army sent his body back from Vietnam to be buried in.

(The 1968 estimated outlay for USDA research, more than \$150 million, included only \$4.2 million under the categories of human nutrition, consumer and food economics.)

At least one measure of USDA priorities was apparent in the allocations outlined by the department's head of research, Dr. G. W. Irving, Jr., when he asked the senators for \$1.2 million specifically for initiating or expanding research in existing facilities. Of the 17 areas selected for this initiation or expansion, only four bore even a remote relation to the interests of poor people. Two of these, totaling \$168,700, were aimed at improving plant sources of protein in grains and improving production of protein-rich lentils and dry peas. The third was a \$69,000 project to study the effect of processing, storing, and preparation on the vitamins and nutrients in various foods. The fourth asked \$103,000 for research aimed at more extensive use by

humans of dried whey, a high-protein by-product of the manufacture of cheese, usually disposed of in fluid form as waste. (Increasingly stringent controls on stream pollution and the fact that dry whey for human consumption is worth four cents more per pound than it is for animal feed were also cited to justify the proposed study.)

A proposal to spend \$50,700 for the "development of physiological and psychological measures of well-being of dogs and cats" could be viewed in light of the work of Humane Society lobbyists who had told the senators of malnutrition and other "grossly cruel and brutal conditions" under which laboratory animals live and whose photographs moved Senator Holland to remark it was "a rather pitiful situation." (A year and a half before, the lawmakers had been moved to pass the Laboratory Animal Welfare Act. Some \$400,000 was made available for the initial enforcement of its guidelines—an amount that seemed exorbitant in comparison with the grudging congressional allocations to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare for enforcement of school desegregation guidelines.)

Three of Dr. Irving's proposals were clearly in the interest of large landowners and industries. One of these sought \$198,000 (\$147,000 was available the year before) for study to improve the quality, transportation, and handling of American agricultural products exported to foreign markets. Another proposed spending \$42,900 for research that would help citrus processors comply with Florida's air pollution regulations by finding new ways for them to dispose of waste. Without this research, the proposal warned, processing plants faced "complete shut-down" and losses estimated at more than \$25 million. Vegetable growers would be assisted in another proposal calling for \$25,800 (\$94,000 available the year before) for research in mechanizing the harvesting and handling of vegetables. This research, it was explained, would help

growers offset labor costs estimated at \$800 million over the next two years and increasing due to "minimum wage laws, shortage of labor, etc." The "etc." may or may not have included strikes by farm workers represented in the Poor People's Campaign.

Senator Holland took strong exception to Dr. Irving's proposal to discontinue research in wholesaling and retailing, the \$225,000 in projects which, according to testimony, had helped grocers and restaurateurs overcome increased labor costs and losses due to poor administration. (USDA labor efficiency studies had "completely offset the rise in hourly wages" and had meant "billions of dollars" in savings to—it was said—consumers, since 1954.) The projects Dr. Irving sought to discontinue ranged from studies of office procedures, centralization of packaging and price marking of meat and produce, and wholesale ordering techniques to finding ways of lowering operating costs of small independent food stores in low-income areas and developing electronic scanning equipment for supermarket checkout operations. For Senator Holland, these were important projects which warranted continuation. He entered into the record five letters opposing the cut-back—examples, he said, of many others the subcommittee had received. The letters came from the United Fresh Fruit and Vegetable Association, three wholesale grocery and restaurant lobbies, and the Cornell University School of Hotel Administration.

The subcommittee devoted considerable attention—almost as much as it had given to the fire ant question—to examining USDA programs for feeding poor people. A major source of funds that the department uses to buy food for distribution to the needy and to school lunchrooms is not general taxes, but customs duties paid on imported goods, currently accumulated in the amount of \$600 million. A set portion of Section 32 funds, as the accumulated tariff receipts are called, is used by the Consumer and Mar-

keting Service (the division of USDA with administrative responsibility for feeding the hungry) to purchase agricultural products which, because they have been overproduced, are jeopardizing open market prices. The commodities thus removed from the market are distributed to schools and poor people.

(Few observers deny that without such manipulative arrangements, American agriculture would be subjected either to the scandalous storage costs of the 1950's or to the cyclical booms and depressions of the pre-1930's. Secretary Orville Freeman, testifying before the subcommittee, credited "Agriculture's progress in the 1960's"—rising output, rising income per farm, and disappearing surpluses—to a policy of "balanced abundance" and said, "Where we have allowed prices to seek market levels for competitive purposes, we have protected farm income by direct payments." The Poor People's Campaign would use such accepted concepts to build its case for a guaranteed income for poor people. The system, however, continued to be sold as an exemplary model of American free enterprise. An official of USDA's International Agricultural Development Service told the senators that his training programs were concerned not only with imparting new skills and technology to the 4,000 agriculturalists brought to the United States every year from underdeveloped nations but "equally concerned that they get a clearer concept of how agriculture works in a free enterprise system.")

A USDA request for increased spending authority to procure nutritious—but not necessarily surplus — foods for school lunch programs out of Section 32 funds met with Senator Holland's strong disapproval:

Senator Holland [to Rodney E. Leonard, head of the Consumer and Marketing Service]: If you have any justification for that increase, I hope you will present it for the record. If you haven't, as far as the chairman of the committee is concerned, he

would advise against meeting that request. . . . I think we have been rather tolerant and rather generous in this matter by agreeing to the \$45 million, and by agreeing to the \$104 million [ceilings set by the Congress on the use of Section 32 funds for Leonard's purposes] . . . and agreeing to some other diversions, as, for instance, the urgent new research objectives, and market development projects.

We know that the tariff rates are going down and we know that we will be having greater instead of less troubles [i.e., surpluses] with such things as poultry, beef, and pork. I do not think it is at all sensible to dip into Section 32 funds this heavily.

Leonard presented his justification, citing great increases in the number of children participating in the school lunch program (six million more children and 10,000 more schools participating than in 1961, with an increasing recognition of the need to help schools provide for students who cannot afford lunches) and offering Treasury Department estimates that customs receipts will continue to rise, although at a rate lower than in the past. "Factors associated with the rise," said Leonard, "are the high level of copper imports, the buildup of steel stocks due to the possibility of a steel strike on August 1, and the continuing rise in the importation of foreign made automobiles." What effect, one wondered, could a marching group of poor people have on a system in which the availability of food is bound in some way to the possibility of a steel strike?

Senator Holland [continuing]: All right, I want that [Leonard's request for additional funds to supplement school lunch menus with other than surpluses] to be clear in the record, because the committee certainly has no objections, in fact, has every expectation that when you use Section 32 funds properly in the reduction of



surpluses that are hurting various industries; particularly those which produce fruits, vegetables, and other perishable crops, we expect the school lunch program to be enlarged from that. But now here you propose to go further into Section 32 funds for your regular budget for purchase on the market. That is a very different situation.

What is good for children's diets, in this view, depends not on what foods are necessarily the most nutritious or even tasty, but on what foods farmers have produced more of than they can sell to anyone but the government. For poor people lined up at the warehouses for whatever is currently glutting the market, the senator's implication is clear: Let them eat cake—but only if it is surplus cake!

Leonard and other Agriculture Department officials were called before the subcommittee to discuss food programs only a few days before the Rev. Ralph Abernathy led the delegation of 100 leaders to present the Poor People's Campaign demands to the federal government and a few days after the release of the *Hunger USA* report. Senator Holland asked Leonard to comment on what he said was "quite an attack leveled against this program, just a couple of days ago by some group, as I recall it." Leonard repeated Secretary Freeman's reaction—welcoming the new attention "tardily" brought to the problem of hunger, but fearful that "the attacks were so sharp that it may dissuade the enthusiasm" state and local officials have for the programs. The senator's comment on the report suggested that it is somehow proper for public officials

to lobby about fire ants, but improper for them to publicize the national failure to feed hungry people.

Sen. Holland: What was the name of the attacking group?

Mr. Leonard: Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty. It is a private group.

Sen. Holland: Who are they? Who are the individuals?

Mr. Leonard: I can submit a list of them for you.

Sen. Holland: I wish you would submit a list. They don't have any public representatives on that Citizens' Crusade, do they?

Mr. Leonard: No officials of government or elected officials; no sir.

Sen. Holland: I read the report printed in the press. It seemed to me it is very intemperate and they had very little understanding of what was being attempted under the food stamp program.

Leonard submitted the list of names—including Walter Reuther, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., the Rev. Ralph Abernathy, Ralph McGill, A. Philip Randolph, Bayard Rustin, Roy Wilkins, and Whitney Young—which was duly entered in the record.

In the senator's subsequent questioning about food commodity and food stamp programs, it was apparent that his own familiarity with them was less than his knowledge of such things as crop insurance or the various species of foreign fruit flies. But it is unlikely that he would disagree with those on both sides of the hunger question who believe that the nation's agricultural administration (and the lawmakers who control it) is not the one best suited for guaranteeing every American a steady nourishing diet.

## VIOLENCE IN MIAMI: ONE MORE WARNING

By JOHN BOONE and WILLIAM FARMAR

*Mr. Boone is director of SRC's special project on crime and corrections. Mr. Farmar is former assistant director of the project, author of "The Delta Prisons: Punishment for Profit" and co-author of "Black Youth in a Southern Metropolis," both published by SRC in 1968.*

The late Walter Headley, veteran Miami police chief, made national news last year when he gave the press his prescription for controlling riots: "When the looting starts, the shooting starts. . . . We don't mind being accused of police brutality. . . . They haven't seen anything yet."

Headley's hard-line pronouncement, illustrating what many interpreted as the classic police response to ghetto unrest, was put to the test this summer during the Republican National Convention as three days of rioting erupted in the city's black ghetto.

The occasion which sparked the violence was a gathering at the office of the Vote Power League in the heart of an area ironically known as Liberty City. The meeting was described in an advance handbill as a "mass rally of concerned Black people—to create action!! Involvement of Black by Black for Black."

Although no one now seems willing to talk about who organized the rally, it was apparently sponsored jointly by a number of civil rights and community organizations, including the Vote Power League, SCLC workers and a local youth group called the United Black Students. The last seem responsible for the largest proportion of attendance.

Among the scheduled speakers were: the Rev. Ralph Abernathy, Wilt Chamberlain, and a variety of local representatives of organizations such as NAACP, SNCC,

and CORE. Abernathy and Chamberlain planned to speak at the close of the meeting, about 7 p.m., but the 150-200 young people who arrived at 1 p.m. to see Wilt "The Stilt" and Dr. King's successor became restless as the afternoon's speakers failed to arrive on time. The meeting was kept going by calling on some of the more articulately militant members of the audience. The audience grew increasingly restless due to the lack of organization.

The first incident took place when a white local reporter entered the meeting hall. According to community sources, people standing near the door explained that the meeting was for black people only and asked the reporter to leave, which he did. However, he attempted to return and this time was carried out of the door by three black men. While this had no direct relation to the later events, it did help focus the attention of the police on the proceedings.

Braced for trouble during the Republican Convention, the police appeared on the scene fairly early that evening. As the bored young people began to wander out of the building in the course of the afternoon, several white policemen were visible across the street, probably providing the young people with a solidarity they could otherwise never have achieved. Already frustrated by the disorganized and dilatory nature of the proceedings inside, the young people shouted militant slogans and told the officers to leave. More people came out from the meeting and the crowd began to show some signs of cohesiveness. As one of the young men later put it, "We just wanted to walk up

and down a little, you know, demonstrate." The police, angry, afraid, and uncomprehending, responded — more by gesture than by word, but still responded. And the confrontation had occurred. The youngest of those gathered in front on the meeting place, literal-minded in the way of children, carried the implications of that confrontation to their logical conclusion. A rock was thrown at a passing, white-driven car. A few others imitated that first daring child—and Miami's "riot" was born.



After this initial confrontation, the police withdrew, they said later, in order to regroup. Some responsible residents felt that the withdrawal had been intended to permit the situation to deteriorate to such an extent that the police could justify the use of overwhelming force. In any event, the withdrawal of the police and their failure to stop vehicular traffic on 62nd Street, signalled a new phase in the disorder. Some of the young people began breaking into and looting a few stores. Passing cars began to be pelted by rocks and bottles and one car was overturned and set on fire. Several drivers were injured by flying missiles or by fists, and the police returned, this time in a force of about 100.

As the first radio and television reports of the disturbance reached the community, the crowd in the streets began to swell. Residents of the apartments overlooking 62nd Street threw bottles and other readily available missiles at cars, trucks, and the newly arrived and highly visible police. The activities of the available police were focused mainly on protecting the largely white-owned property in the area and breaking up street gatherings—with clubs and chemicals.

At this point, in the early evening, there was no visible presence of black leadership in the area. To be sure, during the late afternoon, some "leaders" (elected officials, old-line civil rights activists, self-appointed spokesmen and a few people with some legitimate claim to leadership)

climbed on top of police cars to call for calm and order. Their appeals had no apparent effect on the courses of the disorder.

A number of interested persons, including several civil rights activists, requested police officials to withdraw all the white officers from the area and leave the restoration of order in the hands of black policemen. "It worked for Stokes," said one, referring to Cleveland's Mayor Carl Stokes' controversial decision to remove white police from the affected areas of his city during widespread disorders there in July. Stokes' action, though apparently justified by the calm which soon followed, was widely criticized in police circles. One prominent Miamian reported that, when he made a similar suggestion late Wednesday afternoon in Liberty City, the police lieutenant in charge responded: "Hell, No! Can you guarantee there won't be any trouble?"

By 7:30 p.m., the number of police amounted to 200. The situation was static, at worst. There was some sporadic looting. The police administration's much publicized warning about looting and shooting did not produce the nightmarish reality it promised because, official sources said, it was not put into effect. Some observers thought that such an order was made but that most individual policemen could not in conscience, as one officer later put it, "shoot people for stealing chewing gum."

In the course of the evening, a number of eminent personages, including some of national renown who had been attracted to the city for the Republican Convention, put in appearances in Liberty City in an effort to stem the disorder and restore calm by the charisma, apparently, of their presence and the force of their logic. Dr. Ralph D. Abernathy, President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, appeared on network television early in the evening and issued an appeal for adherence to the principles of non-violence and a demand for social justice. Shortly thereafter, he arrived in Liberty

City in the company, oddly enough, of Claude Kirk, Governor of Florida. This pair walked the length of 62nd Street in the troubled area, speaking to what crowds they could gather and interviewing individuals. What effect they may have had is impossible to estimate.

The city of Miami Beach, which had acquired a quite respectable array of anti-riot equipment as part of its preparation for the Republican National Convention, contributed two self-propelled fogging machines to the police effort. Similar machines are used on farms for insect control. Like the farm machines, the police equipment can spread a thick fog over a large area in a very short time. Instead of pesticide in Liberty City they used tear gas. Predictably, the very presence of the weapon guaranteed its use, without reference to the seriousness of the situation.

The spreading fog of "non-lethal" gas soon accomplished its purpose of clearing the streets. With the temperature near 90 degrees, very high humidity and little air motion, the gas did not dispel quickly. It soon permeated the flimsily built walls and window frames of the tenement housing, public and private, which abounds in the area. Hundreds of innocent women and children were gassed. Many returned to the streets to escape the gas accumulating in enclosed areas; others afraid to go into the street stayed, weeping and choking, in their stifling apartments. A number of policemen also suffered from the effects of the gas.

Sporadic incidents of fire-setting and looting continued until after 11 p.m. Small groups of people remained on the street until well after midnight, but by 2 a.m., the police felt that the situation was under control. Most of their officers were withdrawn from the area.

On Thursday, the action began early. Small groups began gathering around 8 a.m. Rocks and bottles were thrown at cars. By 10 a.m., the main thoroughfare was closed to automobile traffic. The situation worsened as more people gathered in the streets. The original

groups of very young boys were joined by teenagers and older men. Some looting resumed in stores which had been broken into the night before. The police, whose ranks had been depleted by the need for rest after the long action the night before, felt, by noon, that the situation was out of control. County officers and Florida highway patrolmen were brought in to supplement the city of Miami police. By 3 p.m., 75 highway patrolmen, 150 Miami police, and an undetermined number of Dade County officers were involved in the police action. Crowds estimated at up to 1,000 were in the streets, most of them moving from spot to spot to escape the tear gas being fired by police, who were using clubs and chemicals, some said indiscriminately, in an effort to stem the disorder.

At this point, the police officials on the scene decided that the situation had worsened to the extent that the forces they had available were not capable of restoring order. Jurisdictional questions were raised. The mayor of Miami, Stephen Clark, conferred with Governor Kirk. Both were holed up in a command post which had been established the night before in a park more than a mile away from the scene of the greatest disorder. Clark formally advised Kirk that the city was unable to cope with the situation and requested that the governor send in the National Guard. Kirk complied immediately. By 5 p.m., the police had withdrawn and were replaced by 800 National Guardsmen (who had been held on standby at a local armory) and 200 sheriff's deputies (who had been stationed at the nearby city limits to prevent the spread of the disorder into the county's area of jurisdiction.) But between 3 p.m. and 5 p.m., the police had killed two men and shot a fourteen-year-old boy through the chest. The police claimed they were snipers. No guns were found near them.



*John J. Austin, 29, was killed about 4:30*

that Thursday afternoon. He had been shot in the back of the head and died almost immediately. Austin worked as a laborer in a local warehouse. He earned about \$85 per week and owned a new car. He worked that day as usual, and went directly to 62nd Street from his job, arriving, according to witnesses, no earlier than 4:15 p.m., and not, said a friend who spoke to him at the time, very much aware of what was going on. Within 30 minutes he was dead.

Moses Cannon, 39, died, apparently, in the same fusillade of police bullets which killed John Austin. Cannon, who had suffered a massive heart attack a couple of years earlier, and who received a disability welfare pension, couldn't move as fast as the rest of the crowd who were fired upon by the police. He was shot from the back and died a few hours later.

Late in the evening, in the central Negro district, over three miles from the main scene of disorder, a small disturbance had broken out. In the course of the police action, one more man, conceded by all to be a bystander, was killed by the police.

Ejester Cleveland was the father of two adopted children. He had a job in a car wash, waxing automobiles in return for the minimum wage — \$1.40 per hour. According to his family, he took no part in the disturbance of Wednesday night and went to work as usual on Thursday.

Cleveland spent a quiet evening at home, unwilling to risk going out into the street. Late in the evening, however, he did go out onto the balcony of his third floor tenement on N. W. 22nd Street near 3rd Avenue. There, he and some of his neighbors watched the fire burning in a grocery store nearby and observed the people in the street below.

Police claim that, at about 11:30 p.m., a sniper fired several shots from the roof of Cleveland's apartment building. In any case, police sprayed the whole building with bullets. Four residents of the area were wounded, including Cleveland's wife, and Cleveland himself died almost immediately from a gunshot wound in the lower abdomen.

Back in Liberty City, the 1,000 troops and deputies, with the help of their tear gas spraying machine, soon cleared the streets. Melvin Reese, Miami's city manager, imposed a 6 p.m. curfew over most of the ghetto areas. Shortly thereafter, the troops, split into two forces, one at 18th Avenue and one at 7th Avenue, were ordered to move toward one another on 62nd Street. Tear gas, rifle butts, and military discipline prevailed over the people of the community, and by 8 p.m. the two forces had met and the streets were partially cleared. Those in command felt that the situation was now under control. With troops stationed along 62nd and adjoining streets and police stationed around the perimeter of the area, there were only isolated incidents of rock throwing late in the evening. Midnight brought a brief but heavy and cooling rain, which drove most of the remaining residents indoors and, except for a couple of minor fires and an occasional rock thrown at a passing car over the next few days, Miami's "riot" was over.

Despite pleas to the contrary by the black community, the occupying troops remained in Liberty City until the following Tuesday. The curfew also remained in effect until Tuesday, although its harshness was somewhat mitigated by a reduction in the length of the curfew as of Sunday.



Given the growingly volatile nature of the ghetto temper and the strict enforcement edicts of police administrators, many of the police actions during the disorder are difficult to explain. Some of their moves were so inept as to place in question either the competency of their leadership or the inadvertence of their acts. It may be argued that the police were withdrawn in order to organize against the possibility of continued disorder, and that the street was not closed for fear such a move would suggest that

the authorities took the situation too seriously, or would provoke a hostile reaction in the community. In sum, it seems evident that the police were at once preparing for the worst and hoping for the best. But such attitudes serve to point up the role of the police function itself in the evolution of disorder. Duties of the police are generally considered to be law enforcement and the maintenance of order. In times of relative domestic peace, this pairing provides no problems, but in moments of stress such as the nation is presently experiencing, a contradiction arises. For in America's black ghettos we are rapidly reaching the point where the most simple exercise of police power can, in the proper setting, provoke widespread and violent rebellion, and where, in an effort to suppress that rebellion, police officers find they must consciously ignore hundreds of flagrant violations of the law.



The outcome of the Miami disturbance was predictable. High public officials made vague references to the need for "a reordering of priorities." A local Urban Coalition-type organization was formed by business, labor, and religious leaders in the Greater Miami area. In the aftermath of the riot, a number of groups and influential individuals in the black community organized a Black Coalition as an instrument for dealing with this major new source of white power and of impetus for change. This has caused a further split in the already fragmented black community. A number of established leaders disparage the value of negotiating with the private sector and urge continued reliance on political pressure and negotiation with elected officials with whom many have developed close ties over the years.

According to responses in the black community, the traditional leaders, elected officials, and civil rights activists have little influence in the slum neighborhoods.

Although these worthy people are regularly singled out by the white community as spokesmen for the ghetto, there is no evidence that they have any power base in the community, or, in fact, that they speak for anyone but themselves.

Except for the Urban League, which by its own definition is not a civil rights organization, there are no significant private agency programs in the areas of education, housing, or employment in the Miami ghetto. The local arm of the federal anti-poverty effort, an agency known as the Economic Opportunity Program, Inc., or EOPI, conducts the customary programs and has not shown any inclination toward innovation; however, under its new executive director, its programs may become more viable.

The new director, Mrs. Marie Carl, feels that the most significant result of the disorder was "the emergence of youth as a strong reservoir of leadership." Her view was reinforced by an interview with a group of young men in Liberty City. The youths involved were all very angry and very bitter. One of them remarked, "All we need is a leader. We're ready to go." In the context of the gathering, it was quite clear that the speaker was a leader but did not yet recognize his own role. The day he and others like him do recognize it, Miami may discover it is too late for "negotiations" with them.

There is considerable evidence that this view is widely shared, with some apprehension, in official circles. A number of official and semi-official agencies moved quickly after the disorder to sponsor organizations or establish programs in Liberty City. Just as quickly, they hired as officers and workers many of the most militant and articulate young men in the community. This use of potential militant leadership shows a degree of foresight (some think cunning) which one would not have expected from Miami's pre-riot leadership.

As a result of the disorder, some black organizations are turning their attention with increasing urgency to the internal



problems of the ghetto. The Miami Urban League's Project Equality, which in the past focused its efforts in the area of open housing, now plans to concentrate on community development within the ghetto.

At the end of the spectrum are several militants, notably, Bernard Dyer, head of the Liberty City Community Council.

Although Dyer is widely considered to be the most forthright and articulate spokesman for the militant view and despite the fact that he has performed quite effectively, including the organization of a successful rent strike, many knowledgeable people suggest that he, too, is without substantial power in the black community.

While the riot did not seem to breathe any new life into the disarrayed civil rights organizations in the city, a number of new organizations have sprung up and their militant tone and radical proposals may force the moderates into some kind of activity.

Among the Miamians, black and white, interviewed in the preparation of this report, pessimism about the prospects for civil order was almost universal. As one affluent and influential black agency executive put it, "Nothing has happened since the riot; we're right back where we started. Its certain to happen again. Next time I'm going to put down my attache case and pick up a brick."

At one recent meeting, a white staff member of the local community relations board responded to an appeal for help on the question of police brutality by saying, sadly and, perhaps, portentously, "You know we can't really help you. You'll have to do something yourselves."

□ □ □

Generally, Miami's black community believes the police made war on the residents of the ghetto rather than on crime. The black community is unusually sophisticated about the nature of crime control in Florida and many individuals spoke freely of white gangsters who took over the rackets by assassinating black

operators in West Palm Beach and Miami, and stated that the city is really not serious about crime control. They speak of million-dollar crime syndicates operating freely all over the city and speculate about how quickly a policeman would be killed if he started "messing with" those white gangsters. While the black community does not condone the prevalence of certain vices in the ghetto, they are convinced that these highly visible and persistent patterns of behavior are by no means so grave a problem as that which prevails in other sections of the metropolitan area. Consequently, when policy was directed in such a harsh manner toward the black community, it was interpreted as racist and as a declaration of an "open season" on black people. Interviews revealed that black people in Miami still bear the scars of a system which, until recent years, required them to possess a pass in order to work in white suburbia. Adult bitterness hanging over from the oppressive past has apparently been transferred to the children. The most hated of current practices is the identification system—systematic police demands for adequate identification from ghetto residents on the streets at night with subsequent arrests as the penalty for failure to carry such identification; and search and seizure activity which, in the words of one young man, "makes you feel like a puppet." Both adults and youth state that incidents of harassment occur daily in slum areas. Policemen, mostly white, patrol the neighborhoods regularly, on motorcycles or in automobiles.

Shotgun forces march up and down the streets of the business area and, at will, "invade" bars and poolrooms and line up the patrons in a very degrading and dehumanizing manner, applying search and seizure authority.

The black residents of Liberty City expressed, in practically every case, the idea that they reside in a concentration camp. They feel "boxed in" and constantly harassed. Youngsters strongly re-

sist curfew, stating that they "get tired of looking at TV," and can't stand the prevailing heat of the apartment units. They feel caught in a trap since they are uncomfortable and bored in their quarters and harassed on the outside.

Verbal abuses and degrading physical approaches ranked high among reports of poor police practices. Tears welled in the eyes of one man when he reported that on leaving a tavern recently in the company of friends, carrying a bottle of beer in his hand, he was approached by the shotgun squad and a "young white cop" said, "Well, well, well, what do we have here?" taking his beer and emptying it, while obviously enjoying this use of authority.

The police feel free to enter these black places of recreation at will to "look for hoodlums." They invoke search and seizure authority freely and, in the minds of the people, systematically violate the rights of every individual they encounter.



The khaki-uniformed force of the sheriff's department, which provides police services in the extensive and heavily populated, unincorporated areas of Dade County, contains several black officers, all of whom hold the rank of sergeant. There are those who suggest that the black deputies were given this rank in anticipation of an eventual merger of police forces in the metropolitan area. As one elected official put it, "The sheriff wants to be sure that his niggers will be more important than the city's niggers."

Whatever the county authorities' motives may be, the fact is that the black city policemen have not fared as well in terms of rank or respect. Of the nearly 90 black officers on the Miami police force, only one holds the rank of lieutenant, and he is currently assigned as the head of a two-man community relations team. His position in this command is as black assistant to the mayor. There are three black sergeants, and nine black officers who hold the rank of "Special Police Investigator." This position was

apparently created for black policemen. There are no white officers in this rank. The nine men perform the functions of detectives in the ghetto, but have been refused a permanent rank. As one of the nine put it, "I've been doing investigative work for nearly 10 years without ever having the authority of a white police officer doing the same work. But you can't expect much more from a police department whose parking lot is full of cars bearing confederate flags and 'Wallace for President' stickers."

Consequently, the morale of the ordinary black policeman is reportedly very low. He is aware of the role that he is expected to play in the black community and for years he played this role with some pride, even though he realized that he likely would not be promoted because he is black. Many black policemen believe that the tests which are supposed to be the basis for promotion are fixed so that "the man" can select the "right kind of Negro" for promotions and otherwise control the number of black officers that are in advanced positions.

A recent survey by the Miami HERALD reinforces observations that the black community looks askance at black policemen:

It is commonly believed that one way to increase acceptance of the police in Negro areas is to recruit more Negro policemen. But this doesn't work always.

In southern cities, Negro policemen are often resented more than whites—possibly because Negroes have to be self-consciously tough on fellow citizens to be accepted by white officials. Negro citizens may think that black policemen have sold out to the white establishment.

In some northern cities, where Negroes often make up a substantial portion of the police force, including the officer corps, black policemen have more power and security. And surveys have shown that Negroes in such cities prefer Negro policemen.

But Miami follows the southern position.

Miami Negroes were asked whether Negroes here get better treatment from white police or from Negro police. Most, 60 per cent, saw no difference. Of those who did see a difference, nearly five times as many said white police are better.

Some black policemen believe the department's "get tough" policy undermined their image in the black community by exposing the community to concentrated racist attitudes and behavior.

One of the black superior officers on Miami's police force insisted that there is no discrimination in recruitment of black police, but inadvertently admitted that the practice prevails when he said: "We are not even up to our quota."

The black police say that white policemen tend to use every excuse to avoid patrolling with a black officer. There are usually three men in an automobile, two white and one black. The black policeman is left out of "social pastimes," small talk, with what appears to be a studied indifference. Black officers state that the racist attitude of white superiors causes the whites to feel that they can "damn well do as they please."

The concrete situation upon which the black police build their case of racist policies was a "field promotion" rule which they say was created for the sole purpose of promoting a favored policeman who was extremely skillful in his field, but was working in an area where there were few opportunities for promotion. After he was promoted, the rule is said to have been inadvertently left on the books until a number of black "special investigators" also became eligible for a "field promotion." The rule was then rescinded and it was only after extensive litigation that the black officers were finally granted their current positions in a compromise settlement.

The Miami HERALD survey concluded that the state of race relations in the city

is significant for the entire South. All southern cities possess the ingredients similar to Miami's that are basic to civil disorder. Attitudes of anger and outbursts were the rule in all of our conferences in Miami on all levels, notwithstanding the fact that we purposely delayed our survey to allow the tempers of residents time to cool. All ghettos over the nation are brooding. Disorders that are known only to the police and to those on the scene occur in our cities daily, ignited by the chemical action of the constituents of the ghetto, especially the police. Advocates of tough "Law and Order" programs for police rather than intelligent programs that would involve recruitment of high caliber personnel, training and innovation, assume that beefed-up police departments can control riots. However, a cursory overview of the manner in which our riots have been precipitated and eventually put down will attest to the inadequacy of even the most sophisticated police departments (for example Cleveland and Chicago) to prevent or control a riot. (Not even the support of state police has been enough in most cases.) Therefore, the role of the police in this connection should be examined and changed according to the contributions that they are capable of making.

The fundamental role of a policeman involves patrol, distress and crisis chores, and arrest. Obviously, something is happening during these processes that causes disorder. It is acknowledged that there is very little respect for the law in the ghetto and little respect by the law. There is only fear and hostility, manifested through aggression and deadliness by both slum dwellers and the police. Police administrators are becoming increasingly aware of the policeman's ability to ignite a disorder in carrying out his patrol and arrest functions. There is evidence that some of them are expediently controlling the nature of response to distress calls for fear of triggering a riot. On the other hand, many patrolmen avoid such a response because they consider this a highly

dangerous duty. These tendencies are having an impact on the nature of police protection for the many innocent residents of the ghetto, who are the real victims of our inadequate police departments, and could be connected with the increased rate of homicide. In order to remedy this situation, it has been suggested that patrols in slum areas be boosted. Some suggest black and white patrolmen—others feel that they should be all black. Probably, what is needed most is a professional policeman, black or white, and a clientele that will respect the law. Most probably the latter will not prevail until honest decision making appears on every level of our society—socially, economically, politically—because the oppressed of the nation increasingly will not obey the law in the midst of injustice.

There are a few Marshall plans for law enforcement agencies to consider. One of the best was suggested by the President's Commission on Crime, which in part recommended:

The Commission visualizes the CSO as a young man, typically between the ages of 17 and 21, with the aptitude, integrity, and stability necessary to perform police work. A CSO would be, in effect, an apprentice policeman—replacing the present police cadet. He would work on the street under close supervision, and in close cooperation with the police officer and police agent. He would not have full law enforcement powers or carry arms; neither would he perform only clerical duties as many police cadets do today. He would be a uniformed member of the working police who performs certain service and investigative duties on the street. He would maintain close contact with the juveniles in neighborhoods where he works. He might be available in a neighborhood storefront office or community service center, and might use a radio-dispatched scooter to move around

the community. He would perform the service duties discussed earlier in this chapter that inner city residents need so badly and that law enforcement officers have so little time to perform. He would be an integral part of the police teams. . . .<sup>1</sup>

Not only would this be a means of recruiting policemen who appreciate the problems of the black community, it would be a source of employment for youth, contributing to the solution of the factor of unemployment, a highly explosive element among the causes of disorders.

Other recommendations which should be implemented by police departments immediately is the establishment of three levels of entry in police work. The highest level would be the "police agent" described in the Crime Commission Report:

To enter a police department as a police agent would require considerable educational attainment—at least two years of college work and preferably a baccalaureate degree in the Liberal Arts or Social Sciences.<sup>2</sup>

The police agent position would also be opened to those without the baccalaureate degree who demonstrated a capacity for imaginative and responsible police work. The agent would do whatever basic police jobs were the most complicated, sensitive, and demanding. According to the recommendation, there would be a police officer level as follows:

He would respond to selected called-for services, perform routine patrol, render emergency services, enforce traffic regulations, and investigate traffic accidents. In addition to these responsibilities, the police officer would be an integral part of the team policing plan, working in concert with police agents and CSO's

<sup>1</sup>*President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice*. U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., p. 108.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*

in solving crimes and meeting other police problems. If he desires to do so, he would be helped by the department to qualify as a police agent.<sup>3</sup>

Professionalization of law enforcement agencies is not a panacea that will take care of all of America's illnesses. However, if we are enabled to move in this direction immediately, disorders will be better controlled, and residents of our cities will be better protected. Citizens on all levels will be more willing to cooperate with police. This will give us the time that we need to reorder priorities and address ourselves in a more determined manner to other domestic problems. However, if we continue to boost

militaristic police control policies, implicit in the crime control bill that was passed this year, with 400 million dollars to be spent over the next three years for riot control equipment rather than control by professionalizing the system, civil disorders will likely be escalated.

In summing up the meaning of Miami's disorder and, indeed, of all disorder and rebellion which has occurred over the past few years, one Miamian observed, "There's one fact, white people don't understand. And that is that in the minds of all black people, there is a riot every-day."

It seemed an ominous warning which the nation should not have needed again.

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<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*

## THE GIFT

By RUTH BEITTEL

*Mrs. Beittel is a Jackson, Mississippi, housewife and free-lance writer.*

I hope I shall be invited to Mari's "kaffee klatsch" again this year. Mari's coffee is worth going for at any time because she grinds it just as she needs it, serves it strong and piping hot, topped by cool mountains of whipped cream. And at Christmas time Mari always makes the rich Viennese strudel filled with poppy seeds or ground nuts. But these delicacies are not the "raison d'être" of my desire. It is because I shall never, never forget what happened at the kaffee klatsch early last December, something which revealed—and Mari might—. But let us start with the day of the party in Mari's apartment in upper Manhattan.

Although I had often admired her grand piano, brought over from Vienna and occupying, in all its ebony glory, most of her living room, I found myself somewhat overcome by the central decoration for this festive occasion. On a blue velvet scarf thrown over her precious piano Mari had placed a small, but gloriously colored stained-glass replica of the creche at Bethlehem. It had come, she said, from a window in her family home. A skillfully placed electric bulb illuminated the Holy Family, and there was no other light in the living-room that gray afternoon. I felt as though I were in church rather than at a coffee party, the more so because Mari was playing some Bach chorales as recorded by Albert Schweitzer at Gunsbach. The other guests must have felt as I did, for they were talking in subdued tones as they

visited the coffee table.

It certainly was a different sort of Christmas party, and I was the last to ask for my coat. I think, perhaps, if I had not been so reluctant to leave I might never have heard the story which no one could have convinced me Mari would be willing to tell. As it was, she did not get my coat, but smiled in a curious way, patted the chair which commanded the best view of the glowing window, and said,

"Sit down, my dear, I have something to share with you—something I trust you will understand."

She refilled our coffee cups, and then we sat down to wait until Mari was ready to speak. I was reminded of a teacher of mine who was always admonishing us to "recollect in tranquility." Presently Mari began.

"At the risk of boring you I want to tell you a little about my last Christmas in Vienna—not long before Hitler took over. I doubt if I would have thought of telling you if I had not seen you yesterday looking so longingly in the window of the Butterfly Shop. You never even saw me, you were so absorbed."

She was right. Butterflies are a passion with me, so now I prompted, "You do have me really curious. What do butterflies have to do with Christmas in Vienna?"

"We were lucky," Mari continued. "By 'we' I mean my husband, our daughter Elsa and me. We were very lucky for we still had a comfortable, warm apartment, with a little balcony just off the living-



room. When I found I could actually buy a fat goose in the market, and a small fir tree, I hesitated no longer. I invited my nephew, his wife and six-year-old son, Gabriel, to share Christmas Eve with us. As you may imagine, bitterness and cynicism were rampant in all of Austria—I was going to say even during Advent, but think I should say especially at this normally joyous time of year. Where was there any 'good news?' So to provide for a child's 'Christ-kind' was literally a god-send, and we were glad for the opportunity to forget for the moment the increasing difficulties of the Schnusznig government.

"I resolved that everything should be as gay as possible—or perhaps I should say, as the budget allowed. In order to keep the tree fresh we put it outside on the balcony where it was bitter cold. On the evening of the twenty-third Elsa and I brought it into the living-room, which also served as dining-room, and set it up on a low table. Most of the ornaments we had from many other Christmases — red cornucopias for the little hard candies, the star Elsa made her third year in school, and a beautiful angel, complete with wings and halo, which I had created."

"What, no popcorn balls?" I could not resist asking.

Mari shook her head, and I thought she had a halo too—a halo of fine, white hair a bit ruffled above her unwrinkled, pink face. Her large, brown eyes were shining now, and I suddenly realized how beautiful she must have been that last Christmas in Vienna. Her voice quivered a bit as she continued.

"Of course we had a few chocolates from Demel's, and they were made in such clever shapes—Saint Nicks and all. We tied them to the tree with bits of red ribbon, and also some of my decorated Christmas cookies like we had today. Then we arranged the Krippe—the scene with the Holy Family, and the animals, shepherds and wise men all in a little yard full of mica snow beneath

the tree. Last we carefully placed on the tree the finger-length white candles. By the way, I have never been able to get used to the electric lights on your trees. No, don't say it. I know—fire hazards—but you have never seen a tree so—magical in the pure light of candles. And have you ever looked at the beautiful shining it makes in the eyes of a little child?"

I shook my head, and I thought she murmured something like "it's unfortunate — many of civilization's refinements." I was too concerned to hear the rest of the story to pay much attention to digressions, for Mari's excitement was obviously rising.

"By the time my nephew and his family arrived on Christmas Eve the whole apartment was full of the smell of good food intermingled with the woodsy fragrance of our tree. Little Gabriel was almost overcome with happiness when he saw the tree, and without taking off his heavy coat sat down on the floor to see the baby Jesus in His little bed. Finally his mother got his coat and boots off, and after opening our few simple gifts we all took our places at the dining table. If I do say it myself, the dinner was excellent—the last of its kind we saw for years. We tried to have something special for everybody—baked carp in its spicy sauce for my nephew's family so recently come from Hungary, the roast goose to please my Danish husband, the Christmas strudel for Elsa and me—but I must not bore you with more. After we had eaten the last bite and were lingering over our coffee, I asked Elsa to play some familiar carols on her zither. All the lights were out except for the candles on the tree, and no one was saying anything—just humming or singing a little as they felt like it.

"Suddenly my daughter said, 'Why, mother, even I didn't know you had a white butterfly on the tree. It looks almost real.'

"'Butterfly, what butterfly? We have no such ornament,' I replied.

"Elsa stepped over to the tree to point out the 'ornament,' and as she did so the white butterfly, so diaphanous against the tree in the candlelight, floated down from the topmost branch where it had been poised, and came to rest on my hand. Was it really a butterfly, born out of season in the heat of our apartment,

or a symbol, a materialization of something out of this world? Somehow I heard music — glorious, distant music though everyone sat quiet and motionless. Then Gabriel's wonder-filled little voice piped up, 'Aunt Mari, I think the Christ-child must love you very much to give you a butterfly for Christmas.'"

## TERROR IN MISSISSIPPI

By JACK NELSON

*Jack Nelson is Atlanta correspondent for the Los Angeles TIMES. His three part article on Mississippi Klan activities, reprinted here, originally was published in the TIMES on July 28, 29, 30, 1968. Copyright, 1968 by the Los Angeles TIMES. Reprinted by permission.*

### JEKYLL AND HYDE TERRORIST

Meridian, Miss.—Pretty young Kathy Ainsworth, a soft-spoken teacher with an excellent record, turned out to be a terrorist in a story that rivals that of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde.

Since her death in a gun battle with police here last Sunday in what officers termed a bombing attempt, the FBI has linked her to Ku Klux Klan records and files on violence and bomb-making.

Many of her friends in Miami and Jackson, Miss., find it impossible to believe it is the same person who was also a cheerful churchgoer who loved children and was worshiped by them.

The documents were found by Mrs. Ainsworth's husband, Ralph, in a desk at their home in Jackson and were turned over to the FBI. Neither Ainsworth nor any of his relatives shared his wife's fanatical beliefs.

Mrs. Ainsworth, 26, and Thomas Albert Tarrants, III, 21, were shot by Meridian police in a wild exchange of gunfire when officers caught them as they were allegedly trying to dynamite the home of a Jewish businessman here.

Tarrants, who emptied a submachine gun in the battle, critically injuring a

policeman and a bystander, was seriously wounded and is at a hospital under heavy police guard.

They were a strange pair—the quiet teacher adored by her students and their parents who had no idea of her role as a terrorist and the tough-talking hoodlum who exhibited hatred for Jews and Negroes and a fondness for firearms even at 13.

No one who knew Tarrants was surprised at his Ku Klux Klan activities, but all who knew Mrs. Ainsworth, except for her associates in the Klan and perhaps a few other fanatical friends, were shocked to learn of her double role. Friends in Jackson, where she attended college and taught a fifth-grade class, found it incredible that she could be involved in any kind of hate action, much less violence.

"It was a Jekyll and Hyde case," says her father-in-law, Richard Ainsworth, a Mendenhall, Miss., car dealer and retired Army colonel. "Kathy was the sweetest person you would ever meet anywhere, but she just got brainwashed by her mother and other people. Her mother is anti-Negro and anti-Semitic — just the worst you ever saw."

The mother, Mrs. Margaret Capomacchia of Miami, a native of Hungary, is an outspoken anti-Semite who has told acquaintances her daughter died fighting for what she believed in.

"She was just as satisfied at the manner in which Kathy died as if she had died in

the middle of church," Ainsworth said.

Mrs. Ainsworth had friends who ranged from Adon Taft, the highly respected religion editor of the Miami HERALD, to Sam H. Bowers, a violent Klan leader who has been convicted on a federal civil rights conspiracy charge in connection with the 1964 lynching of three civil rights workers in Neshoba County, Miss.

Police sources and numerous acquaintances of both Mrs. Ainsworth and Tarrants have told the TIMES that older fanatics had influenced them with propaganda and hate material from organizations in Arizona, California, New Jersey and other states.

Ralph Ainsworth, manager of two Jackson health clubs, would only say, "She was an angel, that's all I can say." But it was learned that while he knew of her Klan connections, he did not know she was so deeply involved and he frequently urged her to quit the Klan.

Ainsworth's father said that the day before the violence, his son quarreled with his wife about her attending racist meetings. Ralph, a Military Police sergeant in the National Guard, was in summer encampment at Camp Shelby near Hattiesburg when he heard a radio newscast reporting that his wife had been killed.

#### **Identified as Suspect**

Tarrants had been identified as a prime suspect in at least a dozen bombings, burnings and shootings that have occurred in the Meridian and Jackson areas in the past year. But until the violence here, police knew little about Mrs. Ainsworth's activities, only that she was a member of the Klan and of a Klan front, the Americans for the Preservation of the White Race (APWR).

Found in a desk at the Ainsworth home were several manila folders bearing subject labels, including Klan, APWR, bombings, segregation, conspiracy, integration versus segregation, Cuba, and civil rights.

The files contained a thick manual used by the militant and heavily armed Minutemen, entitled "We Will Survive," by Art and Kay Esterman. It contains numerous

hate messages against Negroes and Jews, along with voluminous instructions for bomb-making and the use of firearms.

A page in the book lists "Arizona Newsletter, Post Office Box 288, Sedona, Ariz." as the address for use in sending for current materials for the manual. It lists the same address for "Liberty Bell Books."

#### **Includes Thunderbolt**

Other material in the files included copies of Klan reports and newsletters, scare publications warning of communism and such fanatical hate periodicals as the THUNDERBOLT, organ of the violently racist National States Rights Party.

Mrs. Ainsworth, an honor graduate of Coral Gables High School in Miami and of Mississippi College in Jackson, was considered highly intelligent by friends and fellow teachers, but her literature contained some of the most simplistic hate messages, including an article entitled "Scientists Say Negroes Still in Ape Stages."

She and Tarrants carried out their Klan roles in the name of "Christianity" just as all Klan members do. While there is little to indicate Tarrants has ever been religious, Mrs. Ainsworth was a devout churchgoer. She taught Sunday school and sang in the choir at Coral Baptist Church in Miami before she left for Jackson to attend Mississippi College, a conservative Baptist institution.

#### **Parents Were Divorced**

She was born in Chicago, but was reared in Miami with a brother, Anthony, Jr., several years older than she. There her mother, Mrs. Capomacchia, did domestic work and other menial jobs. Mrs. Capomacchia and her husband, a native of Italy, were divorced when the children were small.

If the daughter ever had any racist or anti-Semitic feelings as a child in Miami, she kept them well hidden. Even her closest friends say they never suspected such sentiments until long after she had moved to Mississippi in 1960. One friend, Adon Taft, the religion editor, says, "She was an ideal girl from all we knew, the

kind of girl we had long told our daughters we would like them to grow up and be like."

The girl was a babysitter for the Taft daughters and was taught to play the piano by his wife, who also directed the Coral Baptist Church Choir.

"She was wonderful in every way you could think," Taft said. "She dated the nicest boys, a couple became ministers and a couple physicians. I never heard Kathy speak an unkind word about anybody. She was zealous in her church work, but not a fanatic."

#### Personification of Sweet

"She loved to bake cookies and send them to the boys overseas and give them to friends," Taft continued. "She was the personification of the word sweet—everyone who knew her would say that. At high school she was a member of the Cavalettes, an elite marching group selected on the basis of popularity and scholastic ability."

Mrs. Capomacchia is something else. Acquaintances say she long has been anti-Semitic, although neither her husband nor her son shared her bias.

A circus follies dancer as a young woman (her husband was a juggler), she had little formal education. She was extremely close to her daughter and was determined that she would be well-schooled. She worked hard as a domestic and as an electronics plant worker, got Kathy through high school, then sent money to her when she went to Mississippi College, where part of the tuition was covered by a scholarship.

One of Mrs. Ainsworth's closer friends in Miami, who did not want to be quoted by name, told the *TIMES*:

"Kathy loved her mother and was close to her, but didn't seem to share any of her views until some time after she left here. Her mother was outspoken against Jewish people and seemed to be happy any time anything bad happened to them.

"I know her mother knew people who kept guns and worried about Negroes raping white women and Communists tak-

ing over the country and felt we would have a holocaust at any time—it was wild, like Weirsville. But I can't imagine Kathy in that kind of situation with the Klan any more than I could myself."

Friends in Miami first began noticing Mrs. Ainsworth's segregationist views a few years ago when she came back from Mississippi for visits, but no extremist leanings were evident until last summer shortly before she married Ralph Ainsworth. Even then there was nothing to indicate fanaticism.

#### Little Reaction

Miss Shirley Fulcher, a friend of 15 years who teaches at Miami Beach High School, recalls that last summer Mrs. Ainsworth was noncommittal when Miss Fulcher told her she was enjoying teaching at the predominantly Jewish school because she appreciated the talents and abilities of the students.

"But Kathy later told a friend of ours that she was certainly disappointed in me," Miss Fulcher said.

Miss Fulcher, Mrs. Ainsworth and Mrs. Adon Taft attended a theater last summer to see "To Sir With Love," a movie based on an interracial theme and starring Negro actor Sidney Poitier.

"Mrs. Taft and I thoroughly discussed the movie," Miss Fulcher said, "and she mentioned that Poitier was good-looking. Kathy didn't say anything, but she later told a mutual friend she found Poitier utterly repulsive and disgusting and didn't see how we could pay money to see such movies."

Miss Fulcher said she knew that for some time hate literature poured into Mrs. Capomacchia's home in Miami, but she said she had always thought Kathy was a marvelous person.

"My brother dated her," Miss Fulcher said, "and I would have been happy if they had married."

When Mrs. Ainsworth moved to Jackson in 1960 to attend college, Tarrants, nicknamed "Tat" by his classmates, was just beginning to blossom as an extremist. A former classmate recalls that at 13 Tar-

rants was engrossed in William Shirer's *Rise and Fall of the Third Reich* and that he put a stink-bomb in a Jewish girl's school locker.

Tarrants grew up in a middle-class neighborhood in Mobile, Ala., near Phillips Junior High School and Murphy High School, where former students remembered him as "just a normal kid" until his teens. His father, who sold used cars but now is a real estate salesman, is a hot-tempered segregationist who has accused the FBI of harassing his son.

A former high school classmate of young Tarrants says, "He talked tough, used violent words and had an impulsive temper, but people just laughed at him."

A former junior high classmate recalls that Tarrants was obsessed with guns: "Not just squirrel guns like I'm interested in and every youngster is interested in, but tommy guns—just how far they would shoot and how many they would kill. He would talk about Communists invading the United States and he would become very disturbed."

#### Led Demonstration

In 1963, when Murphy High was desegregated, Tarrants led a violent demonstration of 300 of the school's 2,900 students. The students ran wild, racing around police lines, tearing down fences and yelling, "Two-four-six-eight, hell no, we won't integrate." Tarrants was one of 54 students arrested and charged with disorderly conduct.

An acquaintance of Tarrants' father said he saw the father standing near the demonstration.

"He said he thought his boy might get in trouble and he just wanted to be there," the acquaintance said.

Police at Prichard, a small industrial city north of Mobile, later seized an automatic shotgun from young Tarrants after he became involved in an argument with a Negro service station operator. But no charges were filed.

Tarrants came under the influence of extremists in Mobile and Mississippi. On June 11, 1964, at 17, he was arrested with

Robert M. Smith, then 39, Mobile leader of the National States Rights Party, and charged with possessing an illegal weapon—a sawed-off shotgun. Smith was charged with possession of moonshine whisky.

Tarrants pleaded guilty to the weapons charge in federal court and U.S. Dist. Judge Daniel Thomas gave him a probated sentence with a warning that if he kept bad company or, "If I ever hear of you with a gun—even a shotgun going dove hunting—I will revoke your probation."

Unknown to the court, Tarrants continued to keep the same company he had. Mobile police had his father turn in his son's .22-caliber rifle, which police suspected had been used in the shooting of a Negro youth. They never linked the weapon to the shooting, however, and young Tarrants went to a Mobile police official and told him, "Well, I can't beat you. I want to join you. I'd like to have my rifle back." The official says he refused to give it to him.

On December 21, 1967—the day after his 21st birthday when the probated sentence expired—Tarrants and Klan wizard Sam Bowers, 43, were arrested in Collins, Miss., in a car which had been stolen in Memphis. Tarrants was charged with possessing a submachine gun found on the seat of the car. He made bond and returned to Mobile.

Mississippi authorities were unable to extradite him for trial because the charge was a misdemeanor, but he was later indicted on a charge of interstate transportation of a stolen auto and became a fugitive.

No federal charge was brought on possession of the gun, although a submachine gun is an illegal weapon under federal law.

The FBI traced the weapon, a German-made M-3, and found it had been stolen in 1958 from a National Guard armory in Mobile. (The FBI has information that gun raids on a number of guard armories in the South have been the work of Klan groups.)



The weapon has remained in the government's possession. A similar one was used by Tarrants in his battle with police here.

Mrs. Ainsworth and Tarrants had been close associates long before the Meridian violence. When Tarrants' picture appeared in a Jackson newspaper last week after the gun battle, Ralph Ainsworth remembered that he had met the youth several months earlier while visiting with his wife in the Mobile home of Sidney Crockett Barnes, a house painter known to police as an extreme anti-Semite.

Barnes, 63, and his wife had strong ties with both Mrs. Ainsworth and Tarrants. The couple moved to Mobile in 1964 from Miami, where they were close friends of Mrs. Capomacchia. Barnes told Ainsworth that Tarrants was like a son to him. When the Ainsworths married, Barnes gave Kathy away.

After visiting Barnes last summer, shortly before her marriage, Kathy told a friend she had come to believe as he did, that an internal Jewish Communist conspiracy threatened the country. She told a friend that at first she didn't believe it, but that she had digested much literature on the subject and was just as convinced of that as she was of the Christianity of the Ku Klux Klan.

A reporter telephoned Barnes' home in Mobile to try to interview him, but he refused, declaring, "Don't you know these lines are tapped?"

Barnes and his wife attended the funeral of Mrs. Ainsworth in Mendenhall Tuesday and then went to the Ainsworths' three-bedroom frame house in Jackson where they stayed for several days with her mother, Mrs. Capomacchia. Ainsworth tried to enter the house Wednesday, but was barred by a court order secured by Mrs. Capomacchia, who bought the house. She had been letting the couple stay there in return for paying the monthly house notes.

#### **Chases Klan Members**

Richard Ainsworth, Ralph's father, said that three different times on the day of

the funeral he chased off members of the Klan who came around the funeral home. He said they always sought out Mrs. Capomacchia and he finally told her they were her friends and he wanted them out. He said it angered her, but she finally persuaded them to leave.

On another occasion, he said, Mrs. Capomacchia urged a stranger at the funeral home to try to continue the work that had been started by her daughter.

Mrs. Capomacchia and Tarrants' father have been bitter about what happened at Meridian.

"No one can tell me the truth about how my daughter died but her and she's dead," she told a TIMES reporter who telephoned her.

She refused to say anything else, but Adon Taft of Miami said she told him, "Kathy stuck her neck out and if more people stuck their necks out this country wouldn't be in the mess it's in."

#### **Chief Stops Tirade**

Tarrants' father went to the Meridian Police Department and began loudly accusing the FBI of harassing his son and driving him to violence. He stopped his tirade after Police Chief C. L. (Roy) Gunn told him, "The FBI people are my friends and I won't allow that kind of talk around here."

Later Tarrants grappled with a television cameraman outside the hospital where his son is and had to be pulled away by police officers.

The incongruity of Mrs. Ainsworth joining with young Tarrants in a dynamiting attempt seems heightened by their contrasting appearances, she a brown-eyed brunette, 5-foot-3 and 115 pounds, he a rangy 6-foot-4, 165 pounds, with dark brown eyes and hair.

"She was so pretty and petite," her father-in-law said. "I've got a step-daughter who's 14 and could wear her clothes. It's just hard to believe. She never talked violently, not even loudly or harshly, and was always cheerful, laughing and full of life."

### Carried Klan Cards

Even things Mrs. Ainsworth carried to her death illustrated her split personality. Among her possessions, found in her purse or in the car in which she was shot, were cards showing membership in two Klans—the United Klans of America, with dues paid through 1967, and the Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, with dues paid through March, 1968.

She was also a member of Sam Bowers' White Knights, which the FBI has linked to at least eight racial killings and many bombings, burnings and shootings.

In her purse she had a Belgian-made .25-caliber automatic pistol loaded with five bullets.

A card from Christian Nationalist Crusade, P.O. Box 27895, Los Angeles, contained this inscription: "No man escapes when freedom fails . . . The best men rot in filthy jails . . . And those who cried 'Appease! Appear!' are hanged by those they tried to please." The CNC is a product of the anti-Semite Gerald L. K. Smith.

### Attended Legislature

Mrs. Ainsworth also carried two cards of admission to the Mississippi House of Representatives—one for her and one in her mother's name. One of her duties as a member of the Americans for the Preservation of the White Race was to attend legislative sessions to lobby for Klan-backed programs and to make telephone calls to legislators inclined to vote against Klan wishes.

Her APWR membership card was signed by Mrs. Johnnie Hawkins, mother of Danny Joe Hawkins, a Klansman who owned the car in which she and Tarrants were riding. Hawkins is under indictment in a Jackson bombing case.

No evidence was needed to pin down Tarrants' Klan connections, but he carried plenty of it with him. He also carried a draft card identifying him as 4F (because of his criminal record), which must come as a surprise to some of his former associates at the Masonite plant in Laurel, where he worked for a while. Tarrants was fond

of bragging to them that as a soldier he had killed more than 70 Viet Cong and he talked of enjoying killing.

Tarrants carried two of Sam Bowers' calling cards, one labeled "Political Investigations" and introducing him (Tarrants) with a notation in ink signed with Bowers' name and saying, "All courtesies and accommodations will be sincerely appreciated."

Written on a slip of paper Tarrants had were the names of 18 southern civil rights leaders, including Mississippi's Charles Evers and Aaron Henry, and two Selma, Ala., ministers—Fred D. Reese and L. L. Anderson. On the same slip was the name of James Finch of Hattiesburg, the district attorney who last March successfully prosecuted for murder a member of the White Knights who was sentenced to life imprisonment for the night-rider slaying of civil rights leader Vernon Dahmer.

Cards Tarrants carried included one from "Richard Carlborg, arms and ammunition, 1245 Screenland Dr., Burbank, Calif., . . . member NRA and AOA," and another labeled "Christian Nationalist Alliance, P.O. Box 449, Lancaster, Calif., security division."

(Carlborg, 25, sold guns and ammunition to pay his way at Glendale City College, but said he did so little business he dropped his licenses some months ago. He said Tarrants probably picked up one of his cards "at one of the gun shows where I used to trade.")

Tarrants carried a stenographer's notebook with this written in ink:

"Please be advised that as of March 23, 1968 I Thomas Albert Tarrants III, was forced to go underground or be arrested and imprisoned on framed Fed charges of violation of Nat. firearms act and other misc. charges.

"My decision to make this announcement was in part influenced by a similar announcement made by that great patriot Rbt D Pugh of the Minutemen (Robert DePugh, head of the Minutemen, has been a fugitive for several months from a bank robbery conspiracy charge in Se-

attle, Wash.). In that my situation is very similar to his I have decided to make public this announcement.

"I will further state that I have always believed in military action against the Common Enemy.

"I have committed myself totally to defeating the Communist Jew conspiracy which threatens our country—any means necessary shall be used.

"On March 23, 1968 I was forced to go underground or face framed federal charges . . . Please be advised that since 23 March 1968 I Thomas A. Tarrants have been underground and operating guerrilla warfare. . . ."

On another page he wrote what seemed to be almost incoherent mumbo-jumbo.

"Brother . . . kinsman . . . Melchezidec . . . Without mother without father . . . having neither beginning of days, nor end of life; but made like unto the son of God . . . abideth a priest continually . . . order of Melchisedec . . . a brother of race . . . what seek ye? . . . Peace, order, observance of the laws of YAWVEH."

On another page, under the topic "Prima Facia Considerations," he had scribbled:

"Not a game—this is war—must start to get and think like military men. Caution—demoralizing effect of capture, defeat—depriving cause of strength.

"Selfishness in action by doing small insignificant act.

"Change of attitude to passive.

"Necessity of being face in crowd . . . inconspicuous.

"Don't let people know what to expect.

"Practice self-control and will-power.

"Cover-story-methods.

"Attempt to draw out and identify militants demon etc.

"Observant . . . explosives . . . assassinations . . . funds . . . sanctuaries, etc. etc."

### Seem Almost Normal

For those who knew Tarrants such notation would seem almost normal for him, but stunned friends and acquaintances of Kathy in Miami and Jackson still can't

understand how such thoughts possessed Mrs. Ainsworth's mind.

"She was an excellent teacher," said a former colleague at Duling Elementary School, where Mrs. Ainsworth taught for five years, quitting in June after telling a friend, "I'm going to be a lady of leisure and perhaps start a family."

"We just thought she had everything," said the teacher. "We had the highest regard for her. She was thorough and hard-working. She loved her children and they worshiped her."

If her segregationist feelings were ever expressed in the classroom, none of her colleagues is aware of it. Neither are the parents of her students—not even those of a Negro child who was in her class last year, nor the parents of the Jewish child she also taught.

What happened to Kathy Ainsworth then? Her mother obviously had tremendous influence over her. But the daughter did not exhibit any real signs of racism or fears of a "Communist-Jewish conspiracy" until she moved to Mississippi, where many of the officials, newspapers and business and professional leaders have voiced such fears.

And it was in Mississippi that she found the "action" to go with the beliefs. It was there she found people willing to lead her into the violence demanded by another piece of literature she possessed, published by the Christian Educational Assn., Union, N. J.

"Records show that at least 90% of all Jews are Communists," the pamphlet declared and it called on all "red-blooded Americans" to "rise up and rid the country of your enemy."

But Mississippi has no monopoly on fanaticism, hate and violence. And leaders here, even those who strongly support segregation, are quick to point out that Tarrants was from Mobile and Mrs. Ainsworth was from Miami. This is one thing, they say, that can't be blamed on Mississippi.

The fact is that the minds of Mrs. Ainsworth and Tarrants were shaped not only

in Mississippi but in the United States. Both were influenced by the hate propaganda which floods the country from California and many other states and both were dedicated to wiping out the "common enemy."

The Kathy Ainsworth who belonged to the Klan undoubtedly died, as her mother said, fighting for her beliefs.

### SUSPECT IN 300 ACTS OF TERROR

Laurel, Miss. — Sam H. Bowers, convicted in a case of three killings, charged in a case involving a fourth, and suspected of giving orders that resulted in six other murders, still walks the streets of Laurel.

As imperial wizard of Mississippi's White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Bowers is suspected by police and the FBI of masterminding almost 300 other acts of violence—shootings, beatings, bombings and burnings.

Convicted last Oct. 20 of a federal civil rights charge growing out of the 1964 lynching of three men in Neshoba County, he has continued to hold Klan meetings while remaining free on appeal. Meanwhile, White Knights terrorism, which, according to court testimony, the imperial wizard must approve, has continued.

U.S. Dist. Court Judge W. Harold Cox allowed Bowers to remain at liberty under an appeal bond of \$10,000, but stipulated that he could not leave Jones County (Laurel). A federal judge has discretionary powers to grant or deny an appeal bond in a felony case and may revoke such a bond in face of evidence the defendant is dangerous to the community.

Since Bowers' conviction, at least 20 acts of violence have been laid to the White Knights; he has been charged with kidnapping, and there has been court testimony that he ordered the 1966 death of Hattiesburg civil rights leader Vernon Dahmer, who was killed in a firebombing attack on his home.

The last major violence by the White Knights occurred June 30 in Meridian, Miss., where police surprised two Klan members allegedly trying to dynamite a

Jewish businessman's home. In an ensuing gun battle, Mrs. Kathy Ainsworth, a pretty teacher turned terrorist, was killed and her Klan colleague, Thomas Albert Tarrants, III, was injured. Tarrants, firing a submachine gun, critically wounded a policeman and a bystander.

The day after the gun battle, the TIMES has learned, Bowers wrote to one of the Meridian policemen who were watching the house, complaining that police had killed "a Christian, American patriot . . . doing her best to preserve Christian civilization by helping to destroy the body of an animal of Satan's synagogue. . . ."

It was a typical Bowers hate epistle, except that he engaged in untypical self-deprecation ("my witness is damaged by the fact that I am an ignorant, filthy and dishonorable sinner").

In the five-page typewritten letter to officer Tom E. Tucker, Bowers wrote that "as one who has been repeatedly accused of having blood-stained hands," he could sympathize with Tucker "for the horrible experience which you have undergone."

### 'Principle of Law'

"Mr. Tucker," Bowers wrote, "the principle of law as it has been twisted and abused by the animals in the synagogue of Satan, one of which you were guarding and protecting on the night when young Kathy was killed, and one of your fellow officers was wounded nigh unto death, is not the law of our father; it is the law of Asiatic, cannabalistic slavery."

The law, although moving much too slowly for his potential victims, is steadily weaving a web around the imperial wizard. Along with three other White Knights and a Klan attorney, he is charged with kidnapping in an alleged attempt to force a false statement from a witness in the Dahmer arson-murder case. He also is charged with arson in the case.

In the kidnapping case, one witness testified Bowers became enraged when other Klansmen refused to carry out his order to "eliminate" the victim.

Tirades are not unusual for Bowers. Ever since the U.S. Supreme Court's school

desegregation decision of May 17, 1954, he has frequently become enraged over racial questions. But he was not known to have initiated any organized opposition to the civil rights movement until 1963, when he joined a Louisiana-based Klan and shortly thereafter formed the nation's most notorious Klan—the White Knights.

#### **\$50,000 in Bonds**

Bowers today is under a total of \$50,000 in bonds—\$20,000 in the kidnapping case, \$10,000 in a federal case involving the Neshoba lynchings, \$10,000 on an arson charge involving the Dahmer killing and \$10,000 in the federal civil rights case growing out of the Dahmer killing.

He was tried on the arson charge, but a mistrial was declared after a jury reported it was hopelessly deadlocked 11 to 1 in favor of a guilty verdict. He faces another trial on the charge. In the same case three White Knights already have been sentenced to life—two on murder convictions and the third on a plea of guilty to murder.

Bowers is frequently seen here at an old Klan hangout, John's Cafe, operated by Devours Nix, 44, head of the White Knights bureau of investigation and an arson defendant in the Dahmer case.

The imperial wizard, slim (6 feet, 165 pounds), with high cheekbones, heavy-lidded eyes and long blond hair combed to the sides, used to slip around wearing dark glasses to prevent investigators from getting clear photographs. But that was before he became so deeply involved in criminal charges. Now he doesn't bother.

He seems devoid of humor. During his trials in federal court at Meridian and in state court at Hattiesburg, he sat quietly chewing gum, a grim expression on his face except for occasional smirks when he seemed to be enjoying some private joke.

Bowers, 43, a bachelor, is hardly the stereotyped, rednecked racist, although many of his henchmen are. The grandson of a former congressman, he attended college almost two years, is a voracious reader and a prolific and quite literate writer. He is a fairly successful business-

man and his partner in a coin machine firm is a reserve major who heads the local Army Reserve unit here.

Disowned by his father ("he's not mine anymore"), Bowers is defended by his mother, who told the *TIMES*, "He's fanatically interested in fighting communism, but isn't everybody?"

Mrs. Bowers, whose husband divorced her 25 years ago after she left him with Sam, then a teen-ager and another son, only 2 years old, declared she was convinced of Sam's innocence, "otherwise I couldn't bear this."

"I know a psychiatrist who would say Sam is a product of a broken home, but he's not," declared Mrs. Bowers, a retired state employee. "He was reared very carefully."

Bowers refused to talk about his troubles. To a reporter who tried to question him, he said, "I don't intend to cooperate with you and you don't have permission to use my name in any way."

Bowers lived an obscure life until he became a Klan chieftain. He was born Aug. 6, 1924, in New Orleans, the son of a salesman from Gulfport whose father, Eaton J. Bowers, a lawyer, served four terms in Congress (1903-1911).

#### **'Brilliant Mind'**

Sam Bowers' mother, Evangeline Peyton, the daughter of Lincoln Rigg, a well-to-do planter, says Eaton Bowers "read and talked constantly to Sam and he used to say Sam had the most brilliant mind of any child he had ever seen."

Bowers' himself has boasted of the relationship, although it is little known in Mississippi.

In a 1965 letter to FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, copies of which he sent to Mississippi members of Congress, Bowers complained about "harassment," and protested that he was a Christian with an ancestral background who should not have been subjected to "belligerent" acts by the FBI.

"The first president of the first constituted legislative assembly on this continent, the Virginia House of Burgesses, was

my direct lineal ancestor," Bowers wrote.

"It was my own privilege to serve as a volunteer in the USN from 1941-45. My grandfather, E. J. Bowers, a former Congressman . . . at whose knee I received a goodly portion of my education, was freely acknowledged by his contemporaries at the bar to be without peer in his grasp of the basic theory of the purpose of our law."

Bowers wrote then that he hoped he could continue to hold the FBI in high regard and that it would "not fall a victim, as so many other governmental agencies have, to the powerful anti-Christ forces which are destroying our country. . . ."

#### **'Animal Regulations'**

The FBI has since fallen from grace, as indicated in Bowers' letter to Officer Tucker, in which he said that without the spirit of Christ to sustain it, "our law becomes a set of animal regulations, the delight of bureaucrats and professionals such as Roy Gunn (Meridian police chief) and J. Edgar Hoover, and the glory of the synagogue of Satan Jews."

"Oh, the horror and sheer absurdity of it all," continued Bowers. "Imagine the children of God, WHITE PEOPLE, cheating each other over the 'rights' of a child of the devil! How can this occur? It happens when men such as J. Edgar Hoover and Roy Gunn violate the First Commandment of Almighty God and teach innocent men to trust in them and their law instead of first trusting in the Heavenly Father. . . ."

Mrs. Bowers, who lives alone in a small, tastefully furnished Jackson, Miss., apartment, recalls that as a child Sam was "an inveterate reader and read books far advanced for his age."

"He was wild about Erector sets and anything mechanical," she said.

Although she said she is "as proud of Sam as I can be," she said she was disappointed he went into the coin machine business . . . pinballs, cigaret machines and other vending devices.

"It's beneath him," she said. "I don't know why he got into it. I wanted him to

be a lawyer; his father was the first Bowers for generations that was not a lawyer."

#### **Father Is Retired**

Sam grew up in New Orleans, the Tampa-Ft. Meyers area of Florida, Gulfport and Jackson. His father changed jobs frequently, working as a salesman, as an agent with the U.S. Border Patrol Service, and then for a railroad and later in defense work. Contacted in an eastern city where he now lives in retirement, he said Sam "is not my son anymore, I disowned him a long time ago and I'm living as anonymously as possible. I wish you wouldn't say where."

Former high school classmates remember young Sam as a bright student who made fairly good grades, but worked well below his capacity. He seldom socialized and did not associate with girls, traits he has retained as an adult, according to long-time acquaintances.

School records at Fortier in New Orleans, which was considered the city's top public high school when he attended there, showed he got excellent grades in history, science and math.

Two former schoolmates recall that he never got into serious trouble, but enjoyed turning on fireplugs and outwitting police who tried to catch him. Said one, "Sam had an old beat-up Model A he was always working on or driving and enjoyed running around turning on fireplugs, then taking off before police had a chance to get him.

"It was just fun, he didn't mean any meanness, but he seemed to have a disregard for the consequences of anything he did. For example, one time he got hold of a railroad switch key and wanted to go change the switches, not to cause a wreck, but just to 'see the engineer's face when the train goes on the wrong track.'"

#### **Parents Divorced**

Records pertaining to a divorce decree in New Orleans, granted July 20, 1943, to Sam Bowers, Sr., showed that his wife left him on June 15, 1939, when Sam was 14 and his younger brother (now a college graduate, also living as anonymously as



possible and having nothing to do with Sam) was 2 years old.

Sam and his brother apparently were caught in the middle of a bitter marital dispute. Records indicate that at one time—after the separation but before the divorce—his father forcibly took his brother to New Orleans, although Sam remained with his mother in Jackson for two years.

On Dec. 17, 1941, 10 days after the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor, Sam, only 17 years old, left Fortier High School and, with his father's consent, but not his mother's, joined the Navy.

"He's fanatically patriotic," his mother says today. "But he thought he was fighting for a pure democracy, not for this lousy government."

Sam served in the Navy until Dec. 7, 1945, when he was honorably discharged as a machinist mate first class. The following year, having secured his high school diploma through an equivalency test, he entered Tulane University in New Orleans.

He transferred after a year and attended the spring and summer sessions at the University of Southern California school of engineering in Los Angeles, working toward a bachelor of engineering degree. There he became friends with a classmate, Robert Harry Larson of Chicago, who later offered to provide the managerial talents for a vending machine company if Bowers would do the mechanical work.

Larson, taller and heavier than Bowers and three years older, had attended four previous colleges—Central YMCA College, New Community College, and Illinois Institute of Technology, all in Chicago, and Washington and Lee University in Lexington, Va.

But neither Bowers nor Larson ever received a degree and after leaving USC moved to Laurel, where Bowers' father was living, and set up the Sambo Amusement Co.

Larson, now a distinguished-looking Army Reserve major, has never been connected with Klan activities and he has told investigators that Bowers never mixed

such activities with business. For many years Larson and Bowers lived in one of two small frame buildings which housed the firm's equipment and records. Larson now lives in one of the buildings and Bowers lives in the other across an alley.

Although Larson has remained a friend and business partner with Bowers, their relationship has been strained at times, according to acquaintances. One said, "I've known them to go for months without ever speaking."

Even in a city this small (population 27,000) Bowers early in his career here remained a nonentity except in places where he serviced coin machines. His only trouble with the law, before his Klan activities, came in February, 1955, when both he and Larson were arrested for illegal possession of liquor. Bowers pleaded guilty and was fined \$100; Larson pleaded innocent and the charge was dropped.

It was a strange charge for Bowers, who neither drinks nor smokes. "He always said he didn't want to be a slave to any habit," his mother says.

### Swastika Emblems

But people who knew Bowers well say he had some rather strange habits—like wearing swastika emblems on his arm or clicking his heels in front of his old dog, stiffly throwing a Nazi salute and exclaiming, "Heil Hitler."

"And he's always been a fanatic on guns and explosives," says a former friend. "He likes to talk about how to make explosives and he'll talk to you about it for hours if you'll listen. He's got a nasty temper and when he gets mad he stalks up and down, raising his voice and clenching his fist. I've never seen anybody try to head him off, they just back off."

When President John F. Kennedy was assassinated in 1963, according to this source, Bowers "just thought it was wonderful—he went into happy, crazy acting."

Bowers' mother, who also says she is an inveterate reader, shares her son's great anxiety about an internal Communist

menace. She told a reporter, "The Communists have infiltrated the FBI—I know that—I can read—Sam didn't have to tell me that."

Mrs. Bowers loathes the FBI and believes it is trying to frame her son.

"Bobby Kennedy sent 250 FBI hoods—you know the Kennedys control the underworld—to Mississippi and Alabama to deny us our rights," she said, without explaining further. She added, "No, I didn't get that from Sam, I read it."

Last December a constable in Collins charged Bowers and Thomas Tarrants with possessing an illegal weapon (submachine gun) which he found after stopping them on a reckless driving charge. "The FBI was just using reckless driving as an excuse to plant that evidence (the weapon) on them," Mrs. Bowers says. "Sam is fanatical about reckless driving and he wouldn't have been in a car with anyone driving recklessly." A jury acquitted Bowers of the weapons charge.

At one point in the two-hour interview Mrs. Bowers cautioned the reporter, "Don't use my address now. Sam's fanatical about trying to protect me from all this—it's vicious."

Occasionally she strayed from the subject, reminiscing about the old days when there was no civil rights movement. "All I want is if it could be just like it was. Our niggers had all they wanted. They were happy. We took care of 'em. Now the common people and white trash from the North have come down here and got our niggers all dissatisfied. The Yankees have just brainwashed 'em."

"I've lived too long," she said, "I never thought I'd have to face anything like this. I was rather carefully raised, too."

#### **Preparatory School**

Mrs. Bowers said she had a governess until she went off to preparatory school in New York—Miss Finch's Finishing School for Girls, which no longer exists.

Several times she volunteered that her son was not the product of a broken home and once she said, "Sam was not affected or frustrated over a divorce and

he never had a traumatic experience in his life, to my knowledge."

At the same time, she insisted he is innocent of any violence. "You couldn't pay him to bomb a church," she said.

She said his knowledge of history "is what makes him so very interested in fighting this thing—he knows how a race of people, like the Greeks for example, were mongrelized by a darker race of people. He has read everything he can get his hands on about communism and how it works, but he wouldn't kill anybody. He says that everything that's happening is all predicted in the Bible."

Mrs. Bowers said she and her son both love Negroes "who know their place."

#### **Church Members**

Mrs. Bowers said she and Sam are devout Christians. "I'm an Episcopalian and Sam's a Methodist like his father," she said, although for many years now Bowers has been a member of Laurel's small Hillcrest Baptist Church.

"When I think of the way people are persecuting Sam," Mrs. Bowers said, "why I think of the Blessed Mother and how she stood everything—understand now, I'm not likening Sam to Jesus Christ—but I think of how a mother stands such things and I know it's just God's grace." For the first time she wept, dabbing at her eyes with a tissue.

Mrs. Bowers was disturbed to learn that her son had written a letter to officer Tucker defending Mrs. Ainsworth and Tarrants, and said, "I don't know what good he thinks bombing a poor Jew's home will do, but I don't know what's in his mind."

"I'm his mother but I'm not responsible," she finally said, "Why does my background have a bearing on what he did? I don't see why you even have to write about Sam."

With all of her son's troubles, Mrs. Bowers has one consolation.

"I've never seen Sam so serene," she said. "He says he's happy. He says if the Father wants him to go to the federal pen, then that's where he'll go."

**REACTION AGAINST TERRORISM**

Laurel, Miss.—Shortly after he formed the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in early 1964, Sam H. Bowers told his followers, "If we permit our enemies and opponents to convince the public that they are good, and we are bad, we will eventually lose, regardless of how many of the enemy that we kill."

Today Bowers can count at least 10 "enemies" killed, many others injured and intimidated, and scores of churches, synagogues and homes burned or bombed.

There is still some support for the White Knights—hundreds still attend fish fry and barbecue rallies in their behalf and as recently as last year, a rally near Laurel drew 3,000 persons and raised \$1,000 for the legal defense of Bowers and other Klansmen.

But the support has dwindled and most Mississippians are convinced the Klansmen are bad. There has been strong public reaction recently against the Klan's terrorism, especially since two white Mississippians—a policeman and a bystander—were critically wounded in a gun battle with two Klan members at Meridian on June 30.

At its peak in 1964-65, Bowers' hooded order numbered 5,000 to 6,000 members, but federal sources say that today there are fewer than 500, including about 50 hard-core members.

Continuing FBI investigations and an increasing number of state and local investigations have resulted in mounting criminal charges against White Knights and have frightened many members into resigning.

In all, 36 White Knights have been arrested in cases of terrorism involving a total of seven murders. Bowers, who as imperial wizard, according to court testimony, must approve all "eliminations," has been convicted of a federal civil rights violation in a case involving three murders and faces a second trial—the first ended in a mistrial because of a hung jury—on a charge of arson in connection with a fourth.

The FBI and police have information that Bowers' Klansmen have killed at least three persons in cases in which no charges have been filed.

Much of the violence occurred in 1964 and 1965 when racists were incensed over the presence in Mississippi of large numbers of civil rights workers. Terrorist acts broke out sporadically in 1966 and 1967.

Some police sources felt that the back of the White Knights was broken Oct. 20, 1967, when an all-white federal jury at Meridian found Bowers and six other Klansmen guilty of conspiring to violate the civil rights of three young men who were lynched in Neshoba County. The sources were wrong.

U.S. Judge W. Harold Cox gave Bowers and Neshoba County Chief Deputy Sheriff Cecil Price maximum 10-year sentences and sentenced the others who were convicted to terms ranging from 3 to 6 years. He released all of them on appeal bonds.

**Meetings Continue**

Bowers, confined to Jones County (Laurel) under terms of the \$10,000 appeal bond, has continued to hold Klan meetings. White Knights terrorism also has continued, including the bombing of a synagogue and a rabbi's home in Jackson, the bombing of a synagogue and fire-bombing or burning attacks on 10 churches and houses in the Meridian area.

The White Knights have been heavily armed and according to federal records, at least one of the Klan's members—Louis Anthony DiSalvo, 41, a barbershop operator at Waveland—still holds a federal firearms license as a gun dealer. He is known to state investigators and the FBI as a violent-talking racist who speaks at Klan rallies and spreads hate literature.

After Bowers' arrest on the arson charge, FBI agents raided his coin-machine firm here and confiscated eight weapons, including at least one submachine gun, several revolvers, six canisters of .30-caliber ammunition and a case and several bandoliers of other ammunition.

A large quantity of ammunition and

more than two dozen other weapons were seized at the homes of other Klansmen arrested in the case.

### **Women Targets**

Women and children have been the targets of some Klan attacks, including two of the more recent ones. Last May 2, nightriders sprayed 25 submachine gun bullets into the home of Mrs. Flossie Lindsey, a Negro, in the Sand Hill community of Rankin County, injuring her 6-year-old grandchild.

Last June 6, Mrs. Lillie Byrd, a Negro widow, and her brother, Nelson McIntosh, were injured slightly when a night dynamiting wrecked their house.

Investigators have linked the White Knights to both cases, but no arrests have been made.

Since Bowers organized the Klansmen, the FBI and police have traced about 300 violent acts to them. The White Knights, who consider themselves "Christian soldiers" and mix bullets with Bibles and prayer meetings with military drills, are suspected of burning 75 churches.

### **Joined in 1963**

Bowers, a long-time fanatical racist, became interested in the Klan in 1963 and joined the Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Louisiana after it spread across the Mississippi River and established a klavern in Natchez.

A persuasive talker ("he can get these people to do damn near anything," one investigator said), he convinced a number of the Original Knights in early 1964 that they would join a highly secret Klan he was forming that would use "physical force" against the civil rights movement.

He was an instant hit with the people who generally make up the rank and file of the Klans—school dropouts, unskilled and semiskilled laborers and lower-income whites who manifest economic as well as social fears about Negroes and the civil rights movement.

They could look up to him but identify with him, too. He was better educated (almost two years of college) and used big words and fancy phrases, but he

shared their views and translated them into action.

### **Justifies Violence**

He even justified for them the use of violence in behalf of "Christianity."

"As Christians," he wrote in a lengthy "executive lecture" on March 1, 1964, "we are disposed to kindness, generosity, affection and humility in our dealings with others. As militants, we are disposed to the use of physical force against our enemies. How can we reconcile these two apparently contradictory philosophies, and at the same time, make sure that we do not violate the divine law by our actions, which may be held against us when we face that last court on the Day of Judgment?"

"The answer, of course, is to purge malice, bitterness and vengeance from our hearts. To pray each day for Divine Guidance, that our feet shall remain on the Correct Path, and that all of our acts be God's will working through our humble selves here upon this earth."

That was good enough for the Klansmen. Besides, their ranks came to include a number of persons who commanded some respect in their communities.

One was a highly regarded fifth-grade schoolteacher, Mrs. Kathy Ainsworth, who was killed in the Meridian gun battle, and another was a young businessman and former Laurel Jaycee leader who was charged with murder in one of the Klan killings.

A number of law enforcement officers (several in Laurel), jack-leg preachers and rag-tag attorneys and other professional or semiprofessional persons also joined.

Laurel was the logical place for a Klan headquarters—and not just because Bowers lived there. Its population (27,000) is 35 per cent Negro and many of its whites became incensed when the city's largest industry, the Masonite Corp., began trying to implement equal employment opportunities as required by government contracts.

Only a small village before World War I, Laurel, situated in an area lush with

long-leaf pines, developed as a rugged, small city around sawmills and other wood-products industries. It was the home of William H. Mason, who utilized northern capital to develop the Masonite Corp.

#### Group Secretive

The public here knows little about Bowers and the White Knights beyond what has appeared in news accounts of arrests and trials. The organization has been highly secretive and almost invariably has carried out its terrorism at night.

"Ours is a nocturnal organization," reads one of Bowers' Klan documents. "We work best at night . . . we must harass the enemy at night and, in general, have little or nothing to do with him in the daytime . . . We must remember that the Communists who are directing the agitators want us to engage in pitched battles in the streets so that they can declare martial law."

The Laurel LEADER-CALL, which has confined its coverage of the White Knights to arrest and court cases, was bombed by the Klan May 20, 1964.

Editor J. W. West says that the paper has never campaigned against the Klan but has stood firmly for law and order.

#### Reason Given

West said after the bombing of the newspaper that "word came back to us that they did it not because we did anything to them but because we didn't do anything for them."

"Anything we write about Bowers will be strictly from the court record," West said. "We don't want to fool with him."

Laurel residents are leery of talking about the White Knights. As one put it, "We don't talk much about them around here because we never know who we might be talking to. You don't know who all the members are."

In Bowers' March 1, 1964, lecture, he cautioned the Klansmen that with the approaching influx of civil rights workers to the state in the summer, Klan goals would not be easy to achieve.

"We are all of us in a highly irritated

and excited state of mind at this time," he wrote. "The Communists in the governmental administration and their fellow conspirators in the NAACP are deliberately trying to goad us into making mistakes, which they can exploit to their political advantage.

"To counteract this, we must keep our heads and get down to work. We must not make the classic military blunder of permitting the enemy to choose the battleground and set the conditions of the battle. We must design our own attack program, and stick to it without distraction!"

Perhaps one reason the Klansmen were in such an excited state of mind was that on the night before the White Knights had claimed their first victim—Clifton Walker, 37, Negro, of Woodville, who was killed with a shotgun at close range because of an alleged sexual involvement with a white woman. No arrests had been made in that case.

On May 2, two more Negroes were killed, but their bodies were not found until July 12, 1964. Henry Hezekiah Dee, 19, and Charley Eddie Moore, 20, an Alcorn A&M College student, were tied to a tree and whipped by hooded White Knights. Part of one body, tied to a railroad tie, and part of another, tied to a motor block, were found in the Old River south of Tallulah.

During the beatings, according to a witness, the Klansmen tried to force Dee and Moore to admit they were Black Muslims. They were not.

Two members of the White Knights were arrested in the case on a warrant sworn out by the local district attorney, but the case has never been prosecuted, apparently because of insufficient evidence.

The most infamous killings occurred June 21, 1964, when three civil rights workers—Michael Schwerner, 23, and Andrew Goodman, 20, both of New York, and James Chaney, 21, a Meridian Negro—were shot to death by a group of White Knights in a conspiracy aided by several

members who were law enforcement officers.

The bodies of the victims, buried in an earthen dam, were recovered 44 days later after an exhaustive FBI investigation.

State charges were never brought in the case, but a federal grand jury indicted Bowers, Neshoba Sheriff Lawrence Rainey, Chief Deputy Price, and 15 other White Knights on charges of violating the victims' civil rights.

Rainey and seven other defendants were acquitted; Bowers, Price and five others were convicted and mistrials were declared in the cases of the Rev. Edgar Ray (Preacher) Killen, E. G. (Hop) Barnette, then Neshoba's Democratic nominee for sheriff, and Jerry Sharpe, 23, Meridian pulpwood hauler.

Judge Cox said new trials would be held for Killen, Barnette and Sharpe, but so far they have not been scheduled.

The next murder victim was Earl Hodges, 47, a white mechanic at Eddiston, who was stripped, tied to a sawhorse and beaten from head to toe with a leather strap with tacks in it.

He was dumped out of a car near his father's house and died shortly afterwards.

Hodges had associated with members of the White Knights, who reportedly beat him because he refused to go with them on a mission to beat a white man the Klan believed was having an affair with a Negro maid. No arrests have been made.

#### **Murder Cases**

Other cases of murder include:

Jan. 10, 1966—Vernon Dahmer, 58, Hattiesburg leader of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, killed when two carloads of White Knights made a shooting, fire-bomb attack on his house, destroying it and sending his wife and three children fleeing into the night. A 10-year-old daughter suffered burns. Five Klansmen were charged with murder and arson, and Bowers and four others were charged only with arson. Three Klansmen already

have been given life sentences—two on being convicted and the third on pleading guilty. Bowers and 12 White Knights also were indicted by a federal grand jury for violating Dahmer's civil rights but have not been tried.

June 12, 1966—Ben Chester White, 65, Negro, shot many times with a rifle and a shotgun. Three White Knights were charged with murder in the case, and one confessed and turned state's evidence. An all-white jury acquitted one of them; the other two, including the one who confessed, have not been tried.

Feb. 27, 1967—Wharlast Jackson, NAACP leader at Natchez, killed by a bomb that shattered his car. A year and a half earlier, Natchez NAACP president George Metcalfe was injured critically in a similar case, but he has recovered. There have been no arrests in either case.

There have been other cases where Negroes disappeared and foul play by the White Knights was suspected but never proved. One case, for example, involves a Negro motel employe who made advances to a white telephone switchboard operator in 1964 and has not been heard from since.

And there have been vicious beatings where death did not occur. One involved Otis Matthews, 45, white, a native of Laurel and financial secretary of the International Woodworkers of America (AFL-CIO) local here, who was assaulted because the Klan believed he was promoting integration at the Masonite plant. Eight hooded White Knights beat him with a "black annie"—a leather strap four feet long, one-fourth of an inch thick and four inches wide with small holes in it and a wooden handle.

#### **Recent Cases**

There have been other cases of atrocities, some of which have occurred in recent weeks. And some Mississippians who are not directly involved in Klan activities continue to wink at the violence.

The White Knights raise funds through front organizations, such as the Americans for the Preservation of the White Race,

whose leader in Jackson is W. T. Pike, a state highway employe.

Many Mississippians who cannot accept the policies of the White Knights do not mind attending barbecues or fish fries to win support for segregation if it is not in the name of the White Knights. Some attend such rallies not knowing the money goes to the Klan, but others who go are well aware of it.

And more powerful organizations that have respectable community images, such as the Citizens' Council, directed by business, industrial and professional people—continue to promote segregation. Some political leaders and some newspapers also give a strident voice to never-say-die segregation policies.

All this perpetuates a climate in which Klansmen feel they have many allies.

#### **Situation Changes**

But the picture is changing. Already some leading Mississippians have dissociated themselves from the Citizens' Council. And political leaders are beginning to speak out.

Gov. John Bell Williams, a staunch segregationist who has a staff member who has associated with the APWR, visited Meridian after the bombing of the

synagogue there and announced that an intensive state investigation would be conducted. After the June 30 battle at Meridian between two Klan members and police, Williams issued a statement commending the police action and declaring that law and order would be upheld in the state.

The FBI, which infiltrated the White Knights with informants long ago, has brought steady and increasing pressure on the terrorists.

However, Bowers' "invisible empire," as the Klan calls itself, did not really begin to crumble until Mississippi juries began convicting some of them and local and state police joined the FBI in a concerted effort to solve Klan crimes.

Until recently, few Mississippi newspapers would speak out against the White Knights. Although they have yet to tell the extent of the White Knights' activities, some papers have begun to campaign against terrorism.

Bowers has expressed concern in several of his secret Klan documents that the White Knights "must always keep the public on our side."

"As long as they are on our side," one document reads, "we can just about do anything to our enemies with impunity."



## RURAL DIXIE'S PLIGHT

By NEIL MAXWELL

*Neil Maxwell is Atlanta Bureau Chief for the WALL STREET JOURNAL. His article here is reprinted with permission from the October 8, 1968, edition of the WALL STREET JOURNAL.*

Tunica, Miss.—It's been a rough year for Willie Brown, but he's got one thing going for him—both of his teen-age daughters have had illegitimate babies.

What would be a family tragedy in most American homes is a boon to Mr. Brown because the two \$20 monthly welfare checks for the babies are all the money the Brown family expects to get in the foreseeable future.

By trade, Mr. Brown is a cotton chopper and picker, a vocation that leaves much to be desired since there is hardly any cotton chopping and hand picking going on these days. Rumbling, twin-snouted machines do the picking, and tractors spewing weed killer have replaced the man with the hoe in chopping away weeds.

Last year, when the family earned \$300, Mr. Brown knew there would be far less work for him this year, so he decided to be a sort of independent businessman and sharecropper, growing 20 acres of cotton, half for himself and half for the landowner. But it has turned out to be a disaster; Mr. Brown expects to sell his share of the crop for about \$100 less than he owes the landowner, who put up expenses. So he not only has no prospect of earnings, but he also still must harvest the crop and thus can't hunt for other work.

### **Rich Land and Poor People.**

Mr. Brown is a member of the rural

poor of Dixie, a group composed mostly of Negroes who live in a broad band from here by the banks of the Mississippi to the Atlantic shores. Their number is not growing, but their plight is, because of such factors as the march of mechanization, minimum wage increases that have priced them out of jobs and a growing chasm between them and the whites who control their economy.

Tunica County is typical Mississippi Delta—rich land and poor people, with its 13,528 Negroes far outnumbering the 3,911 whites. And its poverty problems are typical of those in much of the rural South; they are widespread and hang on with a tenacity that defies most moves to eradicate them.

Most efforts being made to better the lot of the rural poor are being ramrodded by the federal government's war on poverty. In some forays, like the food stamp program that allows the poorest of the poor to buy \$12.50 worth of food for 50 cents, gains are unquestionable. Tunica residents also get the same poverty programs offered in big cities, which include classroom education and job training. Being rural residents, they also get special help under a federal migrant farm labor program in which they learn something about reading and writing and basic job skills.

But there is strong doubt, even among those supposedly being helped, that most attempts to crush poverty are even making a dent. Listen, for example, to Mary Lizzie Webb, a farm worker in her 30's, who has learned to write her name in a

basic adult education course. "I don't feel like that's going to help me get no job if there ain't no job to get," she says. "I figure about all it means is the next time I have to sign up for a poverty program I can do it myself instead of somebody signing for me."

#### Why Mrs. Brown Goes to School

She and 11 other Negroes are learning to be beauticians, a trade hardly anybody seriously believes they'll be able to practice here. There are already eight Negro beauticians in the county, and scarce are the Negro women who can afford to paralyze them.

One budding beautician, Bertha Brown, says, "Our teacher told us we ain't going to be able to get a job when we are through even if there is one because we won't know enough." Mrs. Brown, a displaced cotton picker, says the teacher told the students that they "would have to go every day for nine months to learn enough." Instead the school is held two nights a week and lasts seven months.

Then why is she going to school? "For \$1.00 an hour, that's why," she says. "I never had a job in my life that paid me that much." Students in the various poverty program courses are paid \$1.00 to \$1.30 an hour.

If some of the Negroes have doubts about the value of efforts to help them, so do the whites here. This is one case in which the southern blacks and the whites see eye to eye.

#### View of the Whites

"People have gone crazy over niggers, and they don't deserve any sympathy," says Mrs. Paul Best, who with her husband operates the Blue and White Restaurant where highway 61 passes through Tunica. "My brother runs a plantation and he can't get them to pick cotton; they would rather live on welfare."

"There's no niggers starving around here—you see too many fat ones," says R. I. Abbey, a wealthy plantation owner. "They don't want to get ahead; just want to sit and rock. They wouldn't get up to

kill a snake so long as they have enough to eat."

"The disadvantaged people — improvident would be a better word for them—waste their money," says Mrs. Paul Phillips, who with her husband runs the Tunica TIMES-DEMOCRAT. Driving her Buick through a Negro neighborhood, she points out the TV antennas that bristle from shacks as well as from decent homes and says, "They can spend for the luxuries but not the necessities."

With many whites sharing those sentiments, it's not surprising that while poverty programs are accepted, they are hardly welcomed enthusiastically. "My being chairman of the county advisory committee is a joke," says S. C. Wilson, a well-to-do cattle rancher at Dundee, a few miles from Tunica. "I've been intending to resign for a year because we don't do anything. We haven't had a meeting in six months and have none planned." The advisory committee is a biracial group that recommends what poverty programs the county should apply for.

However whites here may view the poverty problem, it seems clear that a lot of the people in Tunica County are terribly poor and that most of these poor people are Negroes. According to the Tunica County Development Association, 1,499 families, or 43 per cent of the total, had income under \$1,000 in 1960. Though there are poor white people in the county, a look at the school statistics shows what color most of the poor people are. The statistics show that 85 per cent of the students in the county come from low-income families. They also show that 85 per cent of the school children are Negro.

Attempts have been made before to retrain jobless Negro farm workers, with notable lack of lasting success. Two years ago some 60 Negroes took a poverty program course designed to get them jobs in businesses around town; of the 60, one still holds down a full-time job—at a Negro funeral home. One other has a part-time job as a sales clerk. Most of the rest were let go by the businesses as soon

as the poverty program quit underwriting their salaries.

To the Douglas Fleming family, living in a scarred wood shack with a rusty tin roof at the edge of a cotton field, poverty program training means only a wistful memory of relative affluence. The family—parents, 10 children at home and an ancient, shrivelled woman relative—lived better when Mr. Fleming was “on the program” than at any other recent time. But when it ended, there was no work for him.

### **“Ain’t Nothing to Do”**

Now he is one of some 40 local Negroes who have become migrant fruit pickers, jouncing from orange groves in Florida aboard an old school bus to tomato fields in Indiana, where Mr. Fleming and two of his school-age youngsters are working now. It is not a job for which he is ideally suited, because of a recent hernia operation, but his wife says there is no work for him here. “When he’s here, he don’t do nothing,” she says. “Ain’t nothing to do.”

By Mississippi Delta standards, the Fleming family would have to be classified as middling poor. They are better off than Mr. Brown, the sharecropper, but not as well off as those lucky enough to be enrolled in poverty program training.

One of those in the program is Jim Payne, who lives in a 15-foot by 20-foot shack a mile or so from where he was born. He shares the shack with his wife and 10 children, aged 15, 13, 11, 9, 8, 7, 6, 4, 3 and 2.

He not only gets his \$30 a week from the poverty program but also works a day or so a week on a county road crew, giving him a monthly income that sometimes runs as high as \$230.

Essential expenses, including food stamps, run \$160 a month, and additional food uses up the rest. Expenses include monthly payments on beds and mattresses (\$10.69), burial insurance (\$2.70), food stamps (\$94) and school lunches (\$21.60). The Paynes pay a penalty for sending two of the children to the white schools,

which some Negroes now attend under a limited desegregation program. Lunches there run \$1.70 a week for each child. At the Negro school, due to special anti-poverty help, first through third graders eat free; others pay 50 cents a week.

Like the Flemings, the Paynes have a car; like the Flemings’, it doesn’t run. But that beats farmer Brown, who doesn’t own even an inoperative auto. And while the two cars and the rusting hulk of a truck in the Flemings’ yard are junk, Mr. Payne’s shiny 15-year-old Mercury, with the grass growing high around it, may someday run again if he can save enough for four tires and a new clutch.

Mr. Payne has one other asset: Hope, however dim, of getting a job as a carpenter’s helper. He’s learning the trade in the poverty program, and he hopes to become good enough to land a job if there is a job to land.

He is one of 27 men taking turns at building a house to increase their skills. The government pays workers, and the owner provides the materials. It is a broadening experience for former cotton field workers. “The first time some of them were ever in a bathroom was when they built one,” the supervisor says.

There’s no great demand for carpenters’ helpers around Tunica, but it could be some will develop. If, for example, the federal government insists on massive school desegregation next year, as it vows it will, there will doubtless be demand for construction workers to enlarge the private school whites have set up to avoid integration.

The solution to poverty is, of course, to have good-paying jobs available and to get people trained to fill them. But luring an industry to a place like Tunica County is difficult. The only real industry here now is a mattress factory that employs 235 people, about 25 per cent of them Negroes.

The reason Tunica has little industry is closely tied to farm economics and attitudes of the white residents of generations past, observers say. In the decades

when hordes of field hands and their families were needed to chop the weeds and pick the cotton, there was no reason to encourage industry that might hire them away. By the same token, Negro children were not encouraged to attend school during the fall cotton picking season. "The plantation owners said, 'You keep those children working out there in the fields,'" says Calvin Norwood, local head of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

#### **Few Qualified Workers**

Today, the county not only has little industry but also has few citizens qualified for industrial jobs or even capable of being trained for them. Only 12 per cent of the county population in 1960 had a high school education, census figures show, and less than half the adults had gone past the fourth grade.

Things have improved since then, but the dropout rate is still high. It shows up in attendance figures at the Negro schools; this year there are 350 first graders. Last June only 62 Negroes graduated from high school.

"What we need is industry that uses large numbers of untrained men," says a businessman. "But I guess that kind doesn't exist any more. We've got a lot of low-class, low-pay labor, but that gives you low production, too."

There is a move afoot to lure industry here by building a 75-acre industrial park. Most financing is expected to be furnished by the federal government, because the county is so poor. At the moment, however, the park is barren ground, and no one seems to have any solid ideas as to what kind of businesses are going to flock to it.

## "LAW AND ORDER" IN SOUTH CAROLINA

By JACK BASS

*Jack Bass is the Columbia, S. C., correspondent for the Charlotte, N. C., OBSERVER.*

Public schools reopened in South Carolina this fall in an atmosphere of crisis perhaps more intense than any since the first token desegregation in the state in 1963.

Although most schools opened quietly, parents in several districts organized boycotts to protest plans to pair white and Negro elementary schools, and thousands of parents across the state were paying dues to join a new grassroots organization called "Citizens for Freedom of Choice." There were no reports of violence; although there were some threats made.

The Free Choice group was riding high through September, but got its first major setback when U. S. District Judge Charles E. Simons, Jr., a one-time law partner of Sen. Strom Thurmond, ordered the Swansea school board not to transfer 55 Negro students back to all-Negro Monroe Pinckney High School.

The Swansea schools closed on September 25 for three days after two days of a boycott sponsored by the local chapter of "Citizens for Freedom of Choice." The board agreed to reassign the 55 Negro students who last spring had chosen to remain at Monroe Pinckney. In July, the board had agreed to close grades 10-12 at Monroe Pinckney as part of a desegregation plan approved by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

Superintendent Arthur L. Goff told the

Charlotte OBSERVER that there were "no real problems" the first weeks of classes. There had been a few minor incidents, he said, and a couple of white boys dropped off the football team, of which about half the starters are Negroes.

At a September 7 rally that overflowed the 450-capacity Swansea High auditorium, white parents from Swansea and surrounding communities came to hear James Sikes of Columbia, chairman of the statewide "Citizens for Freedom of Choice," a group that had brought suit against Columbia schools and won a favorable decision from U. S. District Judge Robert W. Hemphill, Jr.

Goff suggested to some of the planners of the rally that they might want to discuss the situation first with the school board, but the suggestion was not accepted.

"The problems stemmed from the feeling set off at the rally," Goff said.

After the boycott started, there were threats made to some school bus drivers and tensions and rumors filled the community of less than 1,000 in Lexington County, 20 miles south of Columbia. In deciding to close the school temporarily after classes on Tuesday and to reopen the following Monday and transferring the 55 Negroes back to Monroe Pinckney, Goff said, "The board of trustees felt this was the only solution to restore normalcy to the community at the present time."

On Friday, September 27 a suit was filed in federal court in Columbia by

NAACP chief counsel for South Carolina, Matthew J. Perry of Columbia. Jack Greenburg of New York, chief legal counsel for the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, also signed as an attorney for 17 Negro plaintiffs.

Judge Simons issued his order the next day. On October 4, Simons gave the district a week to find out where the 55 Negro students now want to attend classes and said he would hear the matter further if a sizeable number of the 55 choose to return to Monroe Pinckney, but stipulated it would have to offer the same quality education as Swansea High. He also gave the board 50 days in which to file an integration plan that meets the criteria of the Supreme Court's May, 1968, decision in *Green v. New Kent County*, that freedom-of-choice plans may not be used to delay or avoid abolition of a dual school system.

Only three of the 55 students chose to return to Monroe Pinckney. Grades 10-12 remained closed there and all 55 students are continuing to attend classes at Swansea High School. At the end of October, Goff described operation of the schools as "very normal now." The protesting white parents had lost their case with the decision of the Negro students.

On Sunday, October 6, less than 400 whites attended a statewide "Citizens for Freedom of Choice" rally for which promoters had expected thousands. Both South Carolina senators, Strom Thurmond and Ernest F. (Fritz) Hollings, addressed the group, together with Marshall J. Parker, Republican opponent to Hollings in November.

George Wallace sent a telegram endorsing the efforts of the group and expressing regrets he could not attend. Also speaking was Second District Congressman Albert Watson, a Republican.

State Sen. Eugene Griffith of Newberry, who led a boycott effort there when schools opened, also appeared.

Gov. Robert E. McNair and Columbia Mayor Lester Bates were attacked by officers of the group "for doing nothing to

help our cause." Mrs. Melton Newman treasurer of the "Citizens for Freedom of Choice," said she personally went to see Bates and that he refused to respond. She said that Bates "is remaining coy about his political ambitions" and said the group should remember both him and McNair if they offer for political office again. The 63-year-old Columbia mayor is considered a likely candidate for governor in 1970, and there is a guessing game among political insiders as to whether he will run as a Democrat or a Republican.

McNair is considered a potential candidate for the Senate against Thurmond in 1972.

Watson noted at the meeting there was "some disappointment that the crowd did not meet expectations."

There were other signs that the grass-roots group was waning in influence. As many as 2,000 had turned out for meetings in Columbia and Cheraw a month to six weeks earlier to protest desegregation plans.

N. Welch Morrisette of Columbia, attorney for the group and former U. S. attorney in South Carolina under the Eisenhower administration, told the group they were standing up for what they believed was right and said, "There are statues all over this state to people who have stood up for a noble cause and lost."

Mrs. Newman reported total receipts of \$6,643.48, little change from a report several weeks earlier. Already paid out was \$5,000 for legal fees and court costs, with another \$1,400 in legal expenses outstanding. Other expenses left little more than \$700 in the treasury.

There were several other districts where school openings were disrupted.

In Calhoun County, all 14 faculty members of the lone white school at Cameron resigned and the school never opened, unwilling even to comply with a mild freedom-of-choice order imposed by Judge Hemphill.

At a hearing in September before all four South Carolina federal judges, Justice

Department attorney Frank Schwelb said the Cameron school closed because "basically, no leadership was given." Schwelb cited a deposition taken from the Cameron principal to indicate a lack of leadership. As an example, he said the Cameron schools refused \$100,000 in federal aid to which they became entitled after Hemphill's order, yet refused to pay \$16 a month for a telephone for an all-Negro rural school. Schwelb said the Cameron desegregation plan required only the admission of 18 Negroes to the white school and "limited faculty desegregation."

At the hearing, Schwelb said, "Free choice will have to go" in the 16 South Carolina districts involved in court-ordered desegregation plans.

Chief Judge J. Robert Martin, Jr., promised the districts each would have its "day in court" before having to abandon freedom of choice.

At Newberry, the school board quietly dropped plans to pair two elementary schools after a white boycott led by Sen. Griffith, who at 32 is considered a potential statewide Republican candidate in 1970.

(Pairing draws attendance zones according to grade level, making one elementary school serve grades 1-3, another grades 4-6, etc., drawing children from wider geographic areas than the traditional six-grade school plan.)

At Denmark, a pairing plan was dropped after a white boycott temporarily closed schools. Negroes then boycotted, and the board agreed to allow new choice forms to be filed.

At Columbia, the school board backed down on plans to pair four elementary schools after pressure from "Citizens for Freedom of Choice" in August and the threat of a boycott. After a complaint filed by Morrisette for the white parents group, Judge Hemphill issued an order stipulating the school board could open schools only under a freedom-of-choice proposal. Plans to assign some 600 white students to formerly all-Negro schools

under a plan of geographic zoning were dropped, although a three-judge higher court set aside Hemphill's order. The board was left with Hemphill's ruling that freedom of choice has worked adequately to accomplish abolition of the dual school system in Richland County. The case was argued on its merits October 28 in Richmond before the full Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals. Roughly 17 per cent of the Negroes enrolled in Columbia schools now are in classes with whites, but virtually no whites are attending once all-Negro schools. Several formerly all-white schools now have a majority Negro enrollment.

Perhaps the most disruptive school opening came in Chesterfield County. There, six districts had combined into a county-wide single district with 5,469 white and 3,882 Negro students enrolled (in 1967). One of the six was Ruby, where all pupils have attended the same school since 1964, and which had received national attention for the orderly transition. Before 1965, the Negro pupils in the district—about 20 per cent of the total—were bused to a school outside the district.

After seven days of classes and several mass meetings of a chapter of "Citizens for Freedom of Choice," at which whites threatened a massive boycott, the board on Sept. 7 temporarily ordered the school closed. They reopened under a modified freedom-of-choice plan, but Negroes staged boycotts that left classes virtually empty at all-Negro schools at Chesterfield and Cheraw.

Under the modified freedom-of-choice plan, the number of Negroes in classes with whites would increase from roughly 10 per cent in 1967-68 to 19 per cent in 1968-69, but a number of Negroes who opened the current school year in classes with whites were transferred back to all-Negro schools.

Negro elementary pupils in Cheraw and Chesterfield were sent back to segregated schools as were *Negro seventh and*



eight grade students at Pageland. All Negro high school students in Pageland and McBee were transferred to formerly all-white schools.

The district reverted back to free-choice forms submitted last spring, except for the Pageland and McBee High School students.

When school opened, Negroes in the Pageland area boycotted the seventh and eighth grades at the Mt. Croghan school, to which all pupils in the district in those grades had been assigned. The original desegregation plan approved by HEW called for all seventh and eighth graders to be assigned to the newer Petersburg school in Pageland, an all-Negro school. After protests by hundreds of white parents in August the board reopened the Mt. Croghan school, built in 1915, and sent all seventh and eighth graders there.

Negroes filed suit against the action, but on the grounds of distance traveled and inconvenience rather than racial discrimination. The suit was filed before the closing of the school and the change back to freedom of choice.

Judge Hemphill heard the case, but by then the Negro pupils in the seventh and eighth grades had been sent back to Petersburg and the white pupils all sent

to the predominantly white Pageland school. Hemphill found that relief in effect had been granted and ordered only that the Mt. Croghan school could not be reopened.

The complaint also asked that the original desegregation plan approved by HEW be restored. Hemphill declined to rule on that point and told the Negroes they should file a new complaint if they wanted to challenge the return to freedom-of-choice.

Negro leaders had been in Washington conferring with officials of HEW and the Justice Department, but thus far, no official action has been taken, although HEW officials said they will take steps to terminate funds.

In districts where funds have been terminated, the result generally has been a cutback in free lunch and other programs under Title One of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act under which the prime beneficiaries have been Negro children from low-income families.

Reports from all 93 districts at the end of October showed 36,594 Negroes in desegregated schools, compared with 17,588 Negroes in formerly all-white schools last year. A total of 31 districts are in compliance with HEW guidelines.

# TALKING ABOUT IT . . .

**Excerpts from speeches that have come to our attention in recent weeks about the South and its problems, the Movement, and race.**

## "TO SEEK A NEWER WORLD"

By Philip M. Stern

*(To readers of NEW SOUTH the following speech by Mr. Stern, delegate to the 1968 Democratic National Convention from the District of Columbia, might seem to contain such self-evident truth that their collection into a single powerful prose celebration of man's enduring all the evils of man-made society in order that the good might have a chance to prevail might appear unnecessary. Yet it tells the tragedy of our time that such a speech, such a celebration, was an act of courage, of defiance even, at the convention of the party born of dissent, built on dissidence and disorder, come to seeming unshakeable success on risk, now securing its position, battenning, closing discussion, band-blasting debate. Only in its locale was the speech partisan . . . it could have been delivered before the Republican Convention in Miami Beach. For delivering it at Chicago the author deserves more than praise for his courage; he deserves our thanks for reminding us . . .)*

Mr. Chairman, fellow delegates, I have the honor, on behalf of the delegation from the District of Columbia, as well as on my own behalf, to place before this convention the name of the Reverend Channing Emory Phillips.

But for a single wanton act just 83 days ago, our delegation would tonight be casting its votes for the sure nominee of this convention and the next President of the United States, Robert Francis Kennedy.

But we—and you—have been denied that opportunity.

In his stead, we place before you the name of Channing Phillips. To do so is not an act of presumption but of profound respect to the memory of Robert Kennedy, for he sought to offer a voice for the voiceless; to represent the unrepresented; to encourage votes for the voteless; to open the doors of political opportunity.

Channing Phillips symbolizes those to whom and for whom Robert Kennedy sought to speak.

For Channing Phillips is a member of that black minority in America that for so many decades has been voiceless and powerless.

He is among the voteless of this land, for he lives in Washington, D. C., whose citizens to this day are denied the right to govern themselves.

And he is part of the rising generation of which Robert Kennedy was a part.

It would, of course, be an act of disrespect to Robert Kennedy's memory to commend to this convention a black man merely because he is black. I do not presume to do so. I place before you the name of a serious man of public affairs who in my deepest conviction is abundantly qualified for the Presidency. He is qualified by his philosophy and by the instincts and passions that underlie it. He is qualified by the character and courage that enable him to see it like it is, and to tell it like it is.

And he is qualified by experience.

I do not mean the experience of long years of public office-holding. But what a narrow, myopic definition. What has the so-called "experienced" leadership brought us? When you leave this hall tonight, look about you—at the barbed wire and helmeted troops. Breathe deeply of the polluted air. And as you travel on streets over-choked with traffic, look at the decay of the city—and of the human spirit—that this hugely rich nation so stubbornly tolerates.

That is what "experienced" leadership has provided this country.

Office-holding is not the only experience that is relevant to the Presidency. More important, I believe, is the experience of living and seeing, and feeling.

In that respect, Channing Phillips is uniquely qualified for the Presidency.

No other candidate before this conven-

tion was born and raised in the ghetto. No other candidate has *lived* in the ghetto as a black man.

No other candidate has suffered the impotent outrage of an insult hurled gratuitously from a neighboring car in Mississippi.

No other candidate has experienced the flagrant indignity of being forced to serve his country in an all-black unit of a segregated Army.

That is a part of the "experience" that Channing Phillips would bring to the Presidency.

To him, the "quest for social justice" is no politician's platitude. It is a passion born of living in a black skin in a white man's world.

To him, the urgency of the urban crisis is no hollow slogan. For the victims of that crisis are his neighbors and friends.

This nation needs a President whose vision is not confined to the so-called "politically possible," but whose eyes are filled with the urgent, desperate needs of his fellow men.

Channing Phillips is such a man.

We need a President who recognizes the sham of spending tens of billions destroying a land and killing innocent people in an unjust war, while piously claiming that "fiscal responsibility" must mean starvation in Mississippi, or must bar a child from Head Start, or must sentence an entire race to live in squalor.

We need a President who sees the senselessness of a headlong rush for the moon, or for supersonic flight, while earthbound men live among rats and send their children to antiquated schools with underpaid teachers using outdated textbooks.

Channing Phillips is such a man.

We need a President who will no longer *tolerate* the existence of a voteless colony in our midst. Channing Phillips will not—for he resides in that voteless colony, Washington, D. C.

To my right on the wall of this convention hall, in bold letters, are the words "PROMISES MADE . . . PROMISES KEPT."

Let me remind you of a promise made in this Party's Platform four years ago.

We support home rule for the District of Columbia. The seat of our government shall be a workshop of democracy, a pilot plant of freedom. . . .

Florid words, fellows Democrats. A promise made, fellow Democrats. But *NOT* a promise kept. Today, the "workshop of democracy" you promised four years ago remains voteless—the only capital city west of the Iron Curtain that is not allowed to govern itself. Even occupied Japan and occupied Germany had more self-government than the capital of "the greatest democracy in the world."

For shame, Democrats! For shame!

There is much talk today about "law and order." Channing Phillips is dedicated to achieving peace and order, not only in Vietnam, but in the American city as well. But he knows that peace and order will not come about through billy clubs or barbed wire or tear gas. He knows you can break heads with billy clubs, but you cannot break spirits with billy clubs; you cannot destroy ideas with billy clubs; and, above all, you can't right wrongs with billy clubs. He knows that the only real path to peace and order lies in facing problems and meeting needs—and, above all, in giving people a real voice in their destinies.

That is the central importance of Channing Phillips' candidacy tonight. It says much about our country that he is the first black man in the history of the Republic to be placed in nomination at a major party convention.

There must be no political untouchables in America.

Eight years ago, the Democratic Party broke a taboo that members of the Catholic faith were politically ineligible for the Presidency. We nominated and we elected John Fitzgerald Kennedy. Tonight, the presentation here of a black man qualified for the Presidency must be the beginning of an awareness that a man's race is as irrelevant to his fitness for high office as is his religion.

The candidacy of Channing Phillips also gives new meaning to the concept of one man, one vote. In the politics of the future, that phrase must mean more than equality between city and country, between Precinct A and Precinct B. It must also mean that the voice of the poor be given equal weight with that of the rich. When the path of a new urban highway is chosen, the poor man's hovel must be considered fully as precious as the suburban mansion.

The make-up of the delegation that proudly commends Channing Phillips to you gives expression to that principle. That delegation encompasses the entire economic spectrum—from welfare mothers to a millionaire. And each has one vote—no more, no less—in the deliberations of this convention.

Each of us on this delegation proudly ran under the banner of Robert Kennedy, for he gave us the hope of a new politics for America—a politics of truth, no matter how painful; of meeting problems, no matter what the obstacles; and, above all, a politics of inclusion, not exclusion.

"Come my friends," said Lord Tennyson, "Tis not too late to seek a newer world."

Those words formed the title of Robert Kennedy's last book. We from the District of

Columbia pay respect to his memory by proclaiming that it is *not* too late. And it is in the quest of that newer world that my colleagues

and I commend to you, for the office of President of the United States, the name of Channing Emory Phillips.

## TO LIGHT THE DARKENED JOY

By Rabbi Jacob M. Rothschild, D.D.

*The following reflections on events of the past year by Rabbi Rothschild of the Hebrew Benevolent Congregation, Atlanta, Georgia, were delivered in his Rosh Hashonah Eve sermon, September 22, 1968.*

*"There is a crying in the streets . . .  
All joy is darkened  
The mirth of the land is gone.  
In the city is left desolation  
And the gate is smitten unto ruin."  
(Isaiah 24:11, 12)*

Who wrote these words? Some modern poet made distraught by events in Los Angeles, or Newark—Cleveland or Detroit—or the Chicago of late August? Not so. It was the prophet Isaiah who lived some 2500 years ago. Yet we could not better express our own feelings as we prepare this night to enter upon a new year.

Indeed, it is with some measure of sighing relief that we loose our hold on the year now ended. We're glad to see it go. It was not a good year. Its days were deeply troubled—and brought more pain than joy, more fear than hope.

Yet tomorrow looms just as dark and foreboding as was yesterday. We see lurking in the future the same unresolved conflicts that ravaged and despoiled the past. Society is in a convulsion of change. White and black, young and old, East and West stand face to face in mortal combat until the very foundations of faith are shaken and the life we have built upon them totters and falls.

What hope, then, can this Holy Day of the New Year bring us? It speaks of faith. It sends us back to the roots of our religious heritage for courage and strength. It offers the age-old story of man's capacity to meet repeated failure and to triumph over it. But above all it says: Stop, take stock, don't panic. It is a time when we are commanded to seek perspective, to look at where we have been and where we go. It is the hour of self-evaluation and self-judgment, a time to help us understand what is happening to us and why. Only

thus can we summon the wisdom and the strength to do something about it. Only then can we regain the confidence that within man does lie the power to overcome evil, to right wrongs, to create a better world.

Tonight we desperately seek the way that will lead us to that better world. Then let us look at life as it is, comprehend the responsibilities we share in having made it so, and having understood, find courage and faith to face the future.

### I.

What are the sources of our discontent? First of all, there is that war in Vietnam in which we are hopelessly and helplessly entrapped. Nobody likes it. Everyone wants it to end. The trouble is that no one quite knows how to stop it. Now we are engulfed by a kind of xenophobia. The very thought that this great country—our America—may be losing a war is simply unacceptable to the American psyche. To admit that America might be wrong, act in an immoral way, be on the side of injustice and inequity, is inconceivable to the majority of us. And as dissent becomes more widespread, the opposition to dissent becomes more powerful. The dissenters respond to repression by seeking stronger methods to voice their disagreement. And our land is torn by hatred and strife.

We face the Negro revolution with all its corollaries of urban unrest, crime and riots, striking school teachers, black militancy, increasing ghettoization, the growing gap between white and Negro incomes, lack of proper housing, failure to provide adequate education—the list is endless. There is no question but that we earned every bit of the scepticism and distrust—and now hatred—which black men demonstrate towards whites. We made promises and refused to keep them, proffered hope and withdrew it, weaseled on our word and lied outright. We demonstrated that we really didn't want an integrated society even though we said we did—not

even when we passed laws to prove our good intentions. We rejected every appeal to reason and moved grudgingly only when we were forced to move. Now we are aghast that the Negro says he doesn't trust us any more and doesn't want an integrated society either. Clearly, of course, we wanted our integrated society on the same terms we had always had it—and just as clearly the Negro didn't. So the gap between white man and black grows and deepens. Our cities are threatened with physical destruction. But more significantly, our souls are torn with psychic schizophrenia.

Even our children have deserted us. The once peaceful rejection of our virtues and values by hippies—the love children—which we deplored somewhat smugly—has turned into violent protests on university campuses and off. And let us be honest. We hear the phrase "generation gap" but we really don't understand it. We want our youngsters to be free and idealistic but we shrink from their overt acts of destructiveness. We don't want cops bloodying them with wildly swinging clubs but we can't fathom their virulent rejection of our values and norms.

Still another problem besets us: the growing violence that seems to have become a part of life in the United States. We were shocked by the assassinations of Martin Luther King and Robert F. Kennedy. We could say that these wanton acts were the outgrowth of the mood of violence that possesses our people. But they remain the acts of individuals. Not so the reign of terror that besets our cities, the violent confrontations between dissenting groups, the depth of a discontent expressed in rock-throwing and burning and destructiveness met by an even greater show of force by the police and other officers of the establishment. Can order ever be restored if justice to all our citizens is not first achieved? Does "law and order" mean only the application of unjust law to achieve an order by force of arms? The totalitarian state has no such problem. There are no riots in the Soviet Union. Is this our goal? And yet, can we allow our society to disintegrate in chaos, permit free and open rebellion that seeks to tear down the fabric of our democracy, that openly asserts that what we have is not worth preserving so we had just as well destroy it completely and start all over again.

We are decent people. Particularly on this Holy Day are we sensitive to the ideals and aspirations of our faith. We want peace and justice, compassion and mercy, dignity and opportunity for all men. What, then, has gone wrong with us and our world?

## II.

What has gone wrong is that we are hypocrites—and our hypocrisy has come

home to haunt us. There is so vast a gulf between what we believe and what we do that large segments of our society have simply given up on us. Is this charge of hypocrisy too severe? Judge for yourselves.

One great promise of the American dream is the promise of mobility. Mobility is another word for opportunity. It means that any citizen who has the ability to rise and move upward shall have also the opportunity to do so. We—the whites—take mobility for granted. Indeed, we Jews pride ourselves on the speed with which we have taken advantage of it. But we deny it to the black man. For him, only the exceptional can escape the stereotyped role we have assigned to him. He can't change his neighborhood; he can't get a decent job or aspire to promotion in the one he has; he can't improve his educational opportunities. Our dream is his nightmare. So he sees us for what we are—hypocrites.

We are not even honest in the expression of our attitudes toward him. John W. Gardner, now head of the Urban Coalition and former Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, puts it well. He writes: "Today there is a curious contrast between [white racism and Negro extremism]. Negro hatred of whites is often expressed openly. It is frankly defended and widely discussed. In contrast, white hatred of Negroes has gone underground. It is rarely discussed publicly, rarely debated candidly . . . yet the white hatred is there." Don't for a moment believe that the Negro doesn't know that it is there. That is why he resents all the more powerfully and reacts all the more viciously to professions of concern that he recognizes to be dishonest and false. He wants us, at the very least, to "tell it like it is."

But the black-white confrontation by no means exhausts examples of the gulf between what we are and what we profess to be. We believe in ethics but its absence in the business world has become a national scandal. We stamp our letters "Pray for Peace" but we vilify anyone who works for it. We maintain that we're a nonviolent people but advocate the right of every man to own a gun to use against anyone he disagrees with. We preach morality—but don't practice it. There's nothing wrong with our values. The trouble is that we don't really mean it when we set them up as our goals. This is why our young people are disenchanted. And until we are sincerely dedicated to our ideals—in deed as well as in word—the problems that beset us this night will never be resolved.

## III.

For what is the result of this gulf between profession and action? Only frustration and

despair, anger and extremism. Calmness and reason have fled the American scene. The apposition of conflicting goals has created a polarization that frightens and alarms us. We are victims of an all-pervading extremism that threatens to destroy our society. On the one side range those who despair that America will ever (or even really wants to) solve its problems. On the other gather the forces of those who would defend the institutions of our society against all change. Their confrontation demonstrates fear and hate on both sides. And both sides over-react with a devastating compulsion that we watch with justifiable alarm.

What took place in Chicago just a few weeks ago is still fresh in our minds. Whether or not these were "our kids," whether or not there was provocation, is beside the point. The point is that the police—the protectors of our society—lost their cool. They were no longer preserving the peace. They were wreaking vengeance on youngsters whom they did not understand and whom they hated.

Chicago highlighted the entire problem of law and order which now confronts us: license vs. repression. Are these extremes to be our only choice? If we permit this polarization to occur then our society is truly doomed.

The pendulum swings to similar extremes in every crisis we face. Our college campuses seethe with unrest. There is much to be said for student discontent, yet the question of both their tactics and their goals disturbs us. So does the stubborn determination of the establishment to put the rebellions down.

I see this—to me frightful—harshness everywhere in American life today. In Vietnam, the President stubbornly clings to his policy of continued bombing even though it quite obviously dooms us to an endless war. And those who seek a middle ground are not helped by the anti-war extremists who support the Viet Cong, pour blood on draft records, burn American flags.

For years—as you well know—I have devoted myself to the struggle for Negro rights, for the establishment of a truly integrated society in America in which all its citizens could live in dignity and decency. Now, shall I be forced to choose between a new Black Power militancy, which is just as racist as the Klan ever was, or a withdrawal from the battle because any moderation stamps me as an Uncle Tom? Furthermore, resistance breeds resistance which helps explain the startling and discouraging growth of the American Independent Party. The swing to extremism constantly narrows the middle ground and forces more and more Americans to the left or the right.

So here is our problem. Everyone wants

law and order. Do we want it with billy clubs or is there another way? We seek to remedy the inequities in our racial patterns. Do we create an integrated society or two separate ones? We want peace in Vietnam. Is our only choice total victory or abject defeat? Dare we let our options run out until all choice is gone except the one choice no reasonable man wants to take—that between utter chaos and absolute control?

#### IV.

Somehow we must return to reason and moderation in the resolution of our problems. But, first of all, we must genuinely want to resolve them. There is no room now for the old hypocrisies. And we must recognize the justice and the propriety of those who seek solutions in a way that creates confrontation with the status quo. I agree with those editorial writers who saw good even in the failure of the McCarthy youth movement. Great numbers of young people are now involved in the future of our country. They will remain involved. Their actions were not so much a rebellion as the expression of a new sense of responsibility. That cannot be bad for our country. What they need now is to learn responsibly to express their new found responsibility. If we let them do it within the framework of our existing institutions, both they and our country will be the gainers. But their present anger makes rational action impossible. Let us hope that reasonableness may be restored to our young people whose help and confidence we so sorely need.

So, too, let it be restored to the Negro's struggle for equality and dignity. I am convinced that vast numbers of Americans have at last come to see and understand the causes of the black disaffection with our tepid efforts to resolve the race question. More and more of us have begun to comprehend our own responsibility for creating the problem and what we must do to solve it. And we are ready to set about realistically and honestly to do just that. When before have the churches been so courageously outspoken? When before has the power structure of our society become so involved? How abysmally sad it is that at the very moment when we are at last willing and eager, the Negro turns his back on our efforts and wants no part of us any more. Like the boy who cried "Wolf," we have destroyed our credibility. But we must seek determinedly to rebuild it. We dare not use the excuse—we aren't wanted—to opt out. Indeed we cannot be included out of any of the problems we face. They are ours to meet. Tonight, on this Rosh Hashonah, we summon the courage and the determination to make our world express

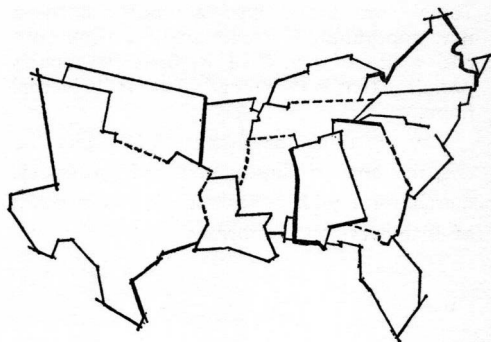
our ideals, our hopes—to speak for us—because we are determined that our voice shall be heard.

America, we like to say, is a nation of optimists. Of a certainty, Judaism is a faith for optimists. There is no signpost in Judaism which bears the chilling warning: Last Chance. Our religion speaks always of a new chance. And especially does this Holy Day impress upon us that lesson of courage and faith.

Tonight we are offered another chance—a new opportunity to create a world of purpose and a life of joy. That is Rosh Hashonah's promise. That is its strength. That is its eternal hope.

May we seize that hope and, despite the despair and disillusionment of yesterday, march forth with confidence into the dawn of that ever-new tomorrow.





## STATE OF THE SOUTHERN STATES

This round-up of events, developments and trends in civil rights, justice, politics, employment and other aspects of southern change, advancement and setback, comes from the Southern Regional Council staff and professional reporters.

### ALABAMA

The three-judge federal court which supervises Alabama's statewide school desegregation suit rejected on October 18 pleas from both Gov. Albert Brewer and the Alabama Education Association, which represents most of the state's 21,000 white teachers, to modify an order of August 28 directing 76 school systems to carry out extensive faculty and pupil desegregation.

Governor Brewer argued that the court's order imposed "an impossible task" on local school superintendents and urged local officials not to cooperate with the Justice Department, which he called "our adversary."

The court found, however, that 57 of the 76 school districts had already complied with the court's directives or had submitted good reasons explaining why they could not comply.

The remaining 19, the court said, either "failed to comply or failed to state any acceptable reasons for noncompliance." These were directed to appear in court on November 18 to show cause why they should not be required to abandon free-

dom of choice and institute a system of zoning, consolidation, or pairing in order to end the dual school system.

Meanwhile, Mobile schools—which are not covered by the statewide desegregation order but are under a separate suit—enrolled 2,800 Negro children in formerly white schools and 253 white children in formerly all-Negro schools. This compares with 632 Negro children who enrolled in formerly all-white schools last year. The Mobile school system, the state's largest with 75,000 pupils, is operating under a limited zoning plan to achieve desegregation.

Also on the education front, Gov. Brewer gave the teachers a four per cent pay raise as the new school year began. A study by Auburn University's sociology department indicated that nearly one-half of the state's 3,230 teacher graduates from the class of 1968 failed to enter the teaching profession. Low pay was cited as a prime reason for the loss.

Former Gov. George Wallace, the third party presidential candidate, raised an es-

estimated \$300,000 at a triumphant "homecoming" celebration on Sept. 21. Some 200 persons attended a \$500-a-plate luncheon honoring the former governor, another 1,300 attended a \$25-a-plate dinner, and the day ended with more than 15,000 Wallace partisans paying \$10 to attend a giant rally at Montgomery's Garrett Coliseum.

After several false starts, Mr. Wallace named his vice presidential running mate—retired Air Force Gen. Curtis E. LeMay. Earlier, Mr. Wallace had reportedly settled on former Gov. A. B. (Happy) Chandler of Kentucky for the spot, but backed out after Mr. Chandler refused to modify his stand as an advocate of desegregation. Later Mr. Chandler charged that southwestern oil interests were controlling the Wallace campaign and they had dictated the decision to drop him.

Another Wallace critic, however, charged that the state of Alabama was financing the Wallace campaign. State Rep. Bryce Graham of Florence filed a suit in federal court in Montgomery to prevent Mr. Wallace from using any state resources in his presidential effort. Mr. Graham charged that "enormous amounts of state money, personnel, and property have been and are being flagrantly and unlawfully squandered." U. S. District Judge Frank M. Johnson, Jr., dismissed the suit, saying it was a matter for the state, rather than the federal courts.

Meanwhile, Mr. Wallace disclosed that his personal net worth is somewhere in the neighborhood of \$77,000, most of which is in real estate and securities.

All three of the state's Republican Congressmen—John Buchanan, William B. Dickinson, and Jack Edwards—announced they would vote for Mr. Wallace if he should carry their districts and the presidential election were thrown into the House of Representatives.

A slate of candidates offered by the National Democratic Party of Alabama was denied position on the November 5 general election ballot in a ruling by Secretary of State Mabel Amos, who said the

party had not complied with the state law regarding qualification of candidates. In a split decision, a three-judge federal court upheld Mrs. Amos' ruling, but the U. S. Supreme Court reversed the decision and ordered the new party's nominees listed on the ballot. This meant that two slates of presidential electors pledged to the National Democratic nominees would appear on the Alabama ballot.

State Sen. Tom Radney of Alexander City, who had previously indicated he would run for lieutenant governor in 1970, announced he was quitting politics in Alabama. As a delegate to the Democratic Convention, Mr. Radney supported Sen. Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts for the presidential nomination. As a result of this support, he said, his family received threats of violence, and several acts of vandalism were committed against his property.

In Tuskegee, where Negro voters outnumber whites by an estimated three-to-one, Mayor Charles M. Keever, a white moderate who has held office for four years, won reelection by a two-to-one margin over Thomas Reed, a Negro businessman. However, Frank Bentley, a Negro, defeated an incumbent white City Councilman, John Sides. Negroes now have control of the five-man city governing body.

Negroes were elected to city governing bodies for the first time in the cities of Homewood, Jacksonville, and Uniontown.

Laura Industries Inc., a Selma firm which manufactures ladies sportswear, has signed a contract with striking members of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. The contract will gain the 500 employees a 30 per cent increase in wages and benefits over a three-year period. The strike was organized 14 months ago with the support of ministers who were active in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. At a victory celebration on October 9, Ramelle McCoy, a union representative, declared: "This union doesn't have any black members, it doesn't have any white members, and it

doesn't have any green or purple members. It just has members. . . . There are some people who don't want working people to stick together, because when working people stick together, they not only have something to say about working conditions, but they also have something to say about the way this town, this county, and this state are run."

Also in Selma, an integrated local union of the United Steelworkers of America called a strike against Bush Hog Inc., a firm which manufactures a brush cutting machine and which is owned by Earl Goodwin, co-chairman of the finance committee of the Wallace presidential campaign.

In Montgomery, members of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America struck the Frosty Morn meat packing plant in demand for a union contract. Union representatives claimed that more than one half the plant's 250 workers were on strike, but acknowledged that most of the strikers were Negro while most of those who stayed on the job were white. Company guards armed with shotguns stood at the plant entrances where the pickets marched, and Bobby L. Adams, a union representative, said local police failed to respond to a request to provide protection to the pickets.

In a more unusual strike, 700 inmates of Atmore State Prison staged a sit-down in protest over food, working conditions, and medical aid at the state penal institution. Prison Commissioner A. Frank Lee said no demands were met, but that he would be "glad to talk with prisoners about their grievances." Twenty leaders of the strike were transferred to Montgomery's maximum security Kilby Prison for disciplinary action.

Meanwhile, Federal District Judge Clarence Allgood of Birmingham ordered the state to desegregate its prison facilities for juvenile delinquents.

On the poverty front, Gov. Albert Brewer announced a reorganization of the poverty program and placed retired Air

Force General Ralph P. Swofford in charge of the agency, now known as the Alabama Programs Development Office. He will administer the state's role in both Appalachian as well as Office of Economic Opportunity programs.

The OEO announced that it was asking the Department of Justice to investigate "suspected financial irregularities" in the administration of the Southwest Alabama Farmers Cooperative, an organization of some 2,000 small farmers which markets truck crops cooperatively. SWAFCA first won approval from the OEO nearly two years ago despite a veto by the late Gov. Lurleen B. Wallace.

Despite the impending investigation, the OEO announced it was granting SWAFCA another \$595,751 for continued operation.

In Lowndes County, an OEO grant of \$1,105,305 put into operation the first comprehensive medical program in Alabama.

The Rev. Charles Sullivan, a 27-year-old Roman Catholic priest in Mobile, said he was asking a leave of his duties until the replacement of the Alabama Diocese's 82-year-old Archbishop Thomas J. Toolen, whom Father Sullivan called "incompetent." Bishop Toolen said no leave had been requested, but rather that Father Sullivan had "abandoned" his priestly duties.

Bishop Toolen also canceled a forum in Mobile at which Catholic laymen and priests were to discuss Pope Paul VI's encyclical on birth control.

Also in Mobile, the body of E. C. DeLoach, a 30-year-old Negro employee of the State Docks, was found hanging by the feet in a deserted school. Police authorities said they did not attribute the death to racial tensions. No arrests have been made in the suspected murder.

A new oil pool was discovered in Escambia County in Southwest Alabama, and the state's geologists believe the pool may extend to several other counties.

U. S. District Judge Frank M. Johnson, Jr., ordered a new election for the Barbour

County Democratic Executive Committee on the ground that Negro voters were discriminated against in 1966 primary elections.

Joe Jefferson of Triana, a Negro father of seven with an income of \$3,500 a year, became the first Alabamian to receive a low-cost housing loan for the rural poor under a new program of the Farmers' Home Administration.

## ARKANSAS

Half the state's biracial school districts began classes this fall with unitary systems, which was a considerable jump from 1967, but the figures were deceiving. Of the 215 school districts with both white and Negro students, 106 had abolished separate schools altogether and 28 others had closed Negro schools for some grade levels. These were for the most part small rural districts and districts with only a small percentage of Negroes. The big urban districts like Little Rock, North Little Rock, Pine Bluff and West Memphis and those in East and South Arkansas with large Negro populations began operating for another year under freedom of choice. In the absence of immediate statistics on the number of Negroes in integrated classes, knowledgeable school men guessed that the figure was less than 25 per cent of Negro enrollment. State Education Commissioner A. W. Ford said the state had made considerable progress toward integrated schools but confirmed that there had been backsliding in a few districts. In those, he said, "there still hasn't been a breakthrough in community attitudes."

Federal courts and the United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare made it clear that nearly all the 81 districts with dual systems would have to start unified programs in 1969. Eleven Arkansas districts operate under court orders and five have been told already that they must have unified districts in 1969. The most unsettling case is that of Gould in Southeast Arkansas, which was told by

the United States Supreme Court in its landmark freedom-of-choice decision on May 27 that it had to unify its system this fall. When school opened at Gould, more than 200 white students did not attend. The enrollment was 480 Negroes and 60 whites. The parents of many white students moved out of town, others sent their children to military schools and the rest awaited the opening of a private school. Gould's football squad began training with 41 Negroes and a white boy. The coach was less than despairing. He predicted a much improved season. Gould is not considered typical. Those working with federal school programs said most school districts had sufficient community leadership to avoid this course.

The Arkansas Council on Human Relations confirmed what most people suspected was happening in the districts converting to unitary systems. In a state-wide survey, the Council reported that Negro teachers were not finding places in the totally integrated systems. "If the present trend of faculty desegregation continues in the state, we are likely to, in the next 10 years, find ourselves fighting the same kind of desegregation fight as happened in the North before the 1954 Supreme Court decision when there were very few Negroes who taught in the public schools outside of the Negro ghetto," the report said.

One reaction to the Supreme Court's freedom-of-choice decision was the formation of a new group dedicated to protecting the freedom-of-choice arrangements. It is called Freedom, Incorporated, and is headed by a Texarkana surgeon, Dr. Mitchell Young. Dr. Young said in September that the organization had spread to 17 states.

For the first time since 1956, the Arkansas Democratic Party rejected segregation politics in choosing its nominee for governor. Veteran State Representative Marion H. Crank, a lackluster politician, nevertheless easily defeated Mrs. Virginia Johnson, wife of Jim Johnson, the state's staunchest segregationist and

chief Wallace supporter, for the nomination. He received 64 per cent of the vote in the runoff. Mrs. Johnson had barely defeated liberal Ted Boswell, a political unknown, for the runoff spot with Crank, and Bruce Bennett, a former attorney general who authored numerous segregation bills in the late 1950's, finished a weak fourth. Crank's credentials as a social reformer excited no one, most people recalling his service in the legislature for former Governor Orval E. Faubus. He sought out Negro leaders, however, and admitted in a television interview that he had voted for the massive segregation packages pushed through the legislature under Faubus for political expediency. His rural Southwest Arkansas constituency would have defeated him if he had voted any other way, he explained. Even Mrs. Johnson tried to break out of her husband's mold in the runoff. Johnson and two minor candidates had been defeated by Senator J. William Fulbright in the preferential primary and Johnson, who had campaigned with his wife, dropped out of sight for her runoff race. She said his only role in her administration would be that of a constitutional adviser. She eschewed his practice of refusing to shake hands with Negroes, posed with Negroes for photographers and even placed one of her few campaign advertisements in a Negro newspaper.

After his victory, Crank tried with a modicum of success to persuade dissident liberals and reformers, who had abandoned the party to help elect Republican Winthrop Rockefeller in 1966, to return. He had state Representative Charles D. Matthews, a 29-year-old liberal lawyer, installed as state party chairman, and had the state convention delete white supremacy from the party's statement of principles and adopt a relatively progressive platform.

Most progressives, however, remained wary of Crank's unsevered ties with the Faubus machine. Crank also refused to endorse his party's national ticket, saying he had his own race to run. Vice Presi-

dent Hubert Humphrey's picture was taken from the dais before the state convention began and propped against a musty wall backstage. Most observers thought Rockefeller, who kept the support of most Negroes and liberal groups, started out after the primaries on equal terms with Crank. For the first time in many years, Republicans lined up against Democrats for every statewide office.

In the aftermath of Little Rock's August riots, which came in the wake of brutality incidents at the Pulaski County Penal Farm, the Pulaski County Grand Jury launched an investigation of the farm. As the inquiry started, 13 Negroes filed suit in federal court challenging the make-up of the grand jury. It was made up of elderly white businessmen and a single Negro. The court ruled that the grand jury would have to represent a cross-section of the social and economic groups of the county. The grand jury dropped its investigation and the Pulaski County Circuit Court arranged for a white trusty accused in the slaying of a Negro inmate to plead guilty quietly to a reduced charge of involuntary manslaughter. A new grand jury was selected and it included five Negroes.

Most importantly, the racial clashes produced some promises from the city administration. Negro groups presented grievances to the city, many of them dealing with the police department. The city manager board rejected many of the demands, including a civilian police review board, but it promised some changes. Among them: The new city manager will be directed to offer employment on his staff to a Negro; an in-service training program is to be established to help Negroes pass civil service examinations; a rumor control center proposal will be studied; the board will encourage Negroes to apply for 10 new police positions; the Board will seek Negroes to place on city boards and commissions; federal assistance will be used "to the fullest extent possible" in city programs, including the training of policemen.

## FLORIDA

The economics of a slowly changing social order in the state of Florida offer a paradox in achievement.

A recent newspaper survey in Miami, the state's largest city, reveals that white merchants are slowly leaving the ghettos of the city. In less than a decade, the service stores now have Negroes on both sides of the counter—owners and customers.

The largest ghetto area in Miami is in Liberty City, scene of a short-lived disorder during the Republican National Convention in August. About 77 per cent of the businesses in Liberty City are now black-owned and in a stretch of nine blocks, 48 out of 50 stores, ranging from barber shops to funeral homes, are owned by Negroes. And in another 10-block stretch, 46 of 62 stores have Negro ownership. Because of a shortage of capital, many have more than a single owner. And here is the paradox.

The Greater Miami Urban League and the Economic Opportunity Program accuse the federal government, through the Small Business Administration, of holding the purse strings too tightly. The SBA recently announced plans locally to expand its own program for Negro businesses, but store owners or potential entrepreneurs complain that SBA loan requirements make it impossible for a black man to qualify.

Tom Butler, SBA's South Florida director, explained at a recent workshop how he was searching for ways to cut through the bureaucratic red tape but a spokesman for the EOP said that in two and a half years only 22 loans had been made to black merchants.

When the Liberty City riots occurred, ten merchants asked the city government to pick up the tab for several hundred thousand dollars' worth of damage to their stores. Misjudgment by city police, who had to call upon the National Guard for assistance, is blamed for much of the looting and fire bombings. But the city

attorney advised his commission the merchants have no recourse under the law.

Dade County is going to look ahead by providing special training for riot control police. The county manager filed a request for \$161,000 in federal funds to finance such a program.

And the city council of Homestead, a municipality in south Dade County, voted to spend \$5,000 for riot control equipment for use by a soon-to-be-established reserve police force of 25 members. Homestead is the center of conservatism in urban south Florida and home of South Dade High School, which has been in a turmoil over integration ever since classes began in September.

The county's school board found itself, as a result, in the middle of the argument between black and white parents. Trying to be all things to all people, the board suffered a major loss of effectiveness and standing in the entire community.

The ever-growing dispute began when the 130 black students, less than 10 per cent of the total enrollment at South Dade, objected to the school's song, "Dixie," the school's flag, Confederate stars and bars, band uniforms, Confederate grey, and the football team's nickname, the Rebels.

The school board decided first this was strictly a school issue and referred the matter to the students themselves. Many debates, in and out of school, resulted in a decision to hold an election. But the Negro students, widely outnumbered, boycotted it.

More argumentative Negro parents repeatedly appeared before the school board to demand first, more definitive action by the board itself, and second, transfer of their children back to a previously all-Negro high school. The board refused, except to order the superintendent to draft a new set of principles for school symbols.

Parents, meanwhile, called a boycott of the schools and Negro attendance dropped sharply for a single day. The school then voted to allow any or all of

the 130 blacks to transfer to any of 20 high schools in the county, as long as they furnished their own transportation. The majority quickly returned to classrooms in all-Negro Mays High, having made their point that the existing psychological climate in South Dade High prohibited them from participating in activities and progressing in their studies.

Meanwhile, the school board expects to hear soon from the superintendent about a new policy and insists the transfer of students was only temporary, a belief not exactly substantiated by previous decisions. The board will have four new members next year but whether it will have any strength and standing is a matter for opinion many months from now.

Chiefland and Levy County, in central Florida, have long been the center of Ku Klux Klan activity and a hotbed of racism. Yet patrons of the Chiefland school system overwhelmingly voted to recommend that their local school board accept guidelines from the U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare which will eliminate Levy's dual school system by the 1969-70 term. At stake is some \$300,000 for Levy's schools.

Rural Dixie County also has had its integration plans accepted by HEW and a final decision will be made shortly to effect the program by the fall of 1969. HEW officials studied the Lake County system to make certain local school officials are adhering to the federal guidelines. And a federal judge in Polk County ordered complete integration by the 1969-70 term. This suit, filed in 1963, labored through the many federal courts since that time. (And Polk County even named a Negro as administrative assistant to the superintendent.)

In an ironic twist, the one school in Columbia County most nearly complying with integration guidelines has been eliminated as that county's school board moved to provide a system that disregards race as a factor in student assignment. Such was the fate of Fort White

High School, and all because of economics.

Duval County, where all high schools are discredited for failure of the public to financially support the system, reported to a federal court there are 4,218 Negro pupils in 74 predominantly white county schools, but only nine whites in four predominantly Negro schools. Duval has 119,000 students.

Leon County (Tallahassee) has lifted its ban on school social activities, brought about by racial disorders in high school corridors.

The pressures have increased upon higher education in Florida. United Black Students, who staged a sit-in last spring in the office of Dr. Henry King Stanford, president of the University of Miami, have won most of their battles with the U-M administration.

The changes are reflected in required reading lists that contain books with new emphasis on the Negro's role in American history. The reappraisal is even more evident in the number of courses planned for the spring quarter which include the label "Negro," "black," or "Africa." Next semester a student may select "The Negro Writer in the U. S." (English); "History of the Negro in the U. S." (history); "Economic Development of Africa" (economics); "Geography of Sub-Saharan Africa" (geography); "The Negro in American Culture" (American studies); and "The Negro in American Politics" (government).

It is wrong, says Dr. Stanford, to assume the Negro has not already been included in some courses: "'Economics of Poverty,' as one example, deals with the economic development and change relevant to problems of black people." And J. Calvin Leonard, chairman of the Human Relations Department, offers courses considering all ghetto problems: "You can't talk about any of these problems unless you talk about the changing social conditions of the nation."

Dr. Stanford started a minor hassle by a decision to abolish the playing of "Dixie" by the internationally known



University Band of The Hour. The Student Government supported Dr. Stanford's action but rebuked him for not taking the students into his confidence prior to the edict. Students chant "We want Dixie" at the University's football games, but to no avail.

The new president of Florida A. & M. University at Tallahassee, Dr. Benjamin Perry, Jr., serves notice he will not stand idly by and see his predominantly Negro institution merged into the state university system, an action considered by several legislatures.

In his view, the merger would mean not only a loss of identity now more than 80 years old, but loss of a peculiar type of curriculum which has trained some of Florida's outstanding Negro citizens. "As long as we produce on this hill," says Dr. Perry, "I have confidence the Board of Regents will allow us to remain a separate university."

But a former professor at the University of Florida law school takes a divergent view of the state's education scene. Speaking from Howard University, where he fled for fear of his life in April, 1968, Stephen M. Boyer criticized the state's primary university as an intellectual desert. Florida is a plantation state, says Boyer, a young activist, and he thinks Gainesville, site of the University of Florida, is a town in rural South Georgia rather than the center of an urban state.

"At Florida, I see no hope," Boyer told a Tampa TRIBUNE reporter, "not till the millenium—that there will be student rebellion—student awareness, student consciousness. They are too concerned about who is going to be homecoming queen."

Whether such a viewpoint is correct may be determined at an early date by the State Department of Education. The department, through an unusual testing method, is establishing 381 pilot schools to determine how accreditation standards affect the schools' performance—that is, how much the schools actually teach the children, particularly the children who go off to the University of Florida and other Florida institutions of higher learning.

## GEORGIA

In the midst of the Democratic Convention in Chicago, State Agriculture Commissioner Phil Campbell gave newsmen a bristling, and some think rash prediction: No Democrat, he felt, would again win a statewide election in Georgia, at least in the lifetime of this generation.

The decision to seat a biracial challenge delegation alongside the regular party's mostly-white delegation appointed by Gov. Lester Maddox was enough to appall old-guard Georgia Democrats. Their opposition was compounded by the fact that the challenge delegation was led by State Rep. Julian Bond, a symbol of emerging aggressive Negro leadership.

The challenge was based on the contention that the regular delegation, hand-picked by Maddox and state party chairman James Gray, was chosen in an undemocratic fashion and that Negroes were not fairly represented. Seven of the 107 delegates and alternates were Negroes.

It didn't help the regular's case that Maddox and Gray, both outspoken segregationists, had bolted the Democratic Party in 1964 to support Republican Barry Goldwater for President.

"I tried hard not to make this a contest between Gov. Maddox and myself," the soft-spoken Atlanta legislator said after the convention approved the dual seating—a plan in which both the challengers and the Maddox delegates were authorized to take their seats after signing a loyalty oath, with the 41 Georgia votes split evenly. The two groups served on the floor as separate but equal units (two additional votes were automatically allotted to Georgia for the state's national committeeman and committeewoman).

The majority of the conventioners saw the matter strictly as a clash between Bond and Maddox.

Vice President Hubert Humphrey, according to Lt. Gov. George T. Smith, insisted that Bond be seated, because the Vice President didn't want to be put in

the apparent position of supporting a symbol of axe-handle resistance to Negro civil rights gains against a leader of the Negro protest movement.

Campbell and four other top Democratic state house officials and political powers announced several weeks after Chicago they were switching to the Republican Party.

Indications are that Campbell made up his mind during the convention, and he was apparently the key mover in the decision by the four others, Comptroller General Jimmy Bentley, State Treasurer Jack B. Ray, Public Service Commission Chairman Crawford Pilcher, and Public Service Commissioner Alpha Fowler.

The five make up Georgia's politically powerful "Capitol clique," and their defection was depicted by Georgia Republican National Committeeman Howard (Bo) Callaway as a major breakthrough in establishing the GOP as an equal party in the state.

Function of the clique has been to help individual members win re-election to office and to push for a united voice in both the legislature and the Democratic Party. The group has been considered by many to be the real core that has held the party together in recent years.

The group had planned to help Vice President Humphrey in Georgia this year in his bid for the Presidency, but that was prior to the national convention.

Their ire was compounded by the fact that Humphrey had, according to them, privately promised prior to the convention that the Georgia delegation would be fully seated, and that the Bond delegation would be rejected.

The switchovers did not start an avalanche of political defections as some anticipated. Instead, rallying points are now appearing for the Georgia Democratic Party on the right, left and middle.

Gov. Maddox, for one, said he intends to remain a Democrat, although he was actively campaigning for George Wallace and the American Independent Party. And he disclosed he may have another go

for the Presidency at the 1972 Democratic Convention.

Former Gov. Carl Sanders, a leading contender for the governorship in 1970 (Maddox cannot succeed himself under Georgia law), is saying the clique erred and the Democrats are still full of life in Georgia.

Another loyalist is Lt. Gov. George T. Smith, who declared in a mid-October speech that Democrats have the "courage" to stand up and be counted for their party. Smith, who like Campbell, was a Maddox appointee, participated in a walkout of a substantial number of regulars after the seating showdown at Chicago.

House Speaker George L. Smith, generally viewed as the most powerful legislative figure, said his name has been on the ballot for 30 years as a Georgia Democrat and "I expect it to remain as long as I live."

In the opinion of Sanders, the defections give the party "a unique opportunity to permit new life and blood. You couldn't have gotten five vacancies at the state capitol for love or money. It's a chance for new faces to appear."

Bentley, Campbell, Ray and Fowler are up for re-election in 1970.

Wallace supporters, generally, viewed the defections with contempt. Whatever their attitudes on race, most Wallace voters are not conservatives—at least not in the traditional big business-oriented Republican mold.

Former State Revenue Commissioner Dixon Oxford was the only political figure who followed the clique's action.

Two of Georgia's eight Democratic Congressmen, John Flynt and Bill Stuckey, both acknowledged they were considering a switch, but Flynt stood to lose 14 years of seniority since he would have to go on the bottom of the Republican list and this move was in serious doubt.

The bolt posed two questions: Personalities aside, where do most citizens of Georgia really stand—conservative or moderate-liberal? And, if there is a movement, what is its direction?

The defectors apparently think the answer is conservative on both counts.

There are those who disagree, however. Three of the more notable of these are Lt. Gov. Smith, State Labor Commissioner Sam Caldwell and State Welfare Director William H. Burson.

While most Georgia politicians have been either riding the fence, unsure of which direction to take, or, like Gov. Maddox, romping hard on all-the-way conservatism, Caldwell, Smith and Burson have been moving toward the moderate center.

The Labor Commissioner's direction, the most distinct of all, has been downright shocking at times to some old Georgia political hands. Examples have been his public endorsement of the late Sen. Robert F. Kennedy before the tragic Los Angeles assassination, his strong public praise for Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., following his death, and his open alignment with Negro organizations in the operation of the department.

Burson's is not an elective office, but some politicians in Georgia are convinced he has aspirations for future political races. He, too, has aligned himself with some Negro leaders.

In Smith's case, there has been a gradual, but continuous shift on many issues. Before the Democratic National Convention, he had publicly endorsed Humphrey for the Presidency—a stand which has caused him some wobbly-kneed moments since the convention. He has endorsed the federal poverty program, hailed Dr. King as a great Georgian, and taken similar positions on issue after issue.

In the September Democratic primary, Sen. Herman Talmadge rolled up a 3-1 victory over a liberal 30-year-old Negro attorney, Maynard Jackson, Jr., of Atlanta.

Talmadge's challenger did carry one county, however—Hancock in middle Georgia. Sweeping into office with him, in a notable breakthrough for Negro candidates, was a Negro county commission chairman and a Negro ordinary.

On other fronts of civil rights activity,

there were several developments of note in the fall.

In two communities, Ware and Pike Counties, black parents and students organized protest movements to express grievances and local school authorities granted concessions to end the demonstrations.

School student boycotts proved effective in both places, and officials with the predominantly Negro Georgia Teachers and Education Association say it may help lead militant demonstrations in other areas in the struggle for school desegregation.

State Prisons Director Robert J. Carter reported that an "orderly" desegregation plan is being carried out in the state corrections system, including the oft-criticized county-run public works camps, in compliance with a federal court order.

Carter says he has told wardens of county-administered camps to integrate or close down and turn the prisoners over to the state's custody for reassignment.

A citizens' commission named by Maddox to draft recommendations for prison reform continues to meet, but members seemed somewhat pessimistic that any permanent changes could be brought by the panel in a system rooted in politics.

## LOUISIANA

With Louisiana heading down the road to the right in the national political spectrum, Gov. John J. McKeithen, pressing his ambitions for a spot on the Democratic ticket, suddenly discovered that his support of Vice President Hubert Humphrey was creating some political anguish for himself back home.

McKeithen had been wooing the Vice President for months in a low key move to convince him that only a southern governor could save the South for the Democratic Party in November, and without the South the party had no chance nationally.

The governor was one of the first in the nation to come out definitely in support

of Humphrey for the party's nomination for President. Adroitly, he qualified his support, limiting it to "through the convention."

It left an out. The governor, sitting in the midst of the fury and fumes of Chicago, got the message from back home and took the out—departing the Democratic National Convention and the party nominees in the campaign.

The governor announced following the convention, that he could not support Humphrey in his election bid because the Vice President, among other things, had viewed with favor the service of Chief Justice Earl Warren.

Humphrey was left with the backing of top labor officials, uncertain support from the ranks of labor, and Negroes who presumably have nowhere else to go. The Negro votes comprise about 20 per cent of the registration in the state but usually lag behind whites in turnouts at the polls.

Gov. McKeithen had gone to the convention with dim, but flickering hopes that somehow he might wind up on the Humphrey ticket. He presented himself as a favorite son candidate and just to show the world Louisiana's racial progress, McKeithen announced that the state's only Negro legislator would second his nomination.

However, the Negro legislator, Rep. Ernest Morial of New Orleans, had second thoughts about the nomination speech and steadfastly refused to confirm the governor's statement. Obviously concerned about his own standing within the Negro community, Morial declined to commit himself beyond a vote for McKeithen as a member of the Louisiana delegation. The dilemma resolved itself when McKeithen withdrew as a favorite son candidate.

The fight over delegation strength by Negroes brought them increased voting power at the Democratic National Convention, but had no effect on the state delegation at the Republican conclave in Miami.

Negroes were allotted a total of three and a half votes of the 36 the delegation

had at Chicago when the list was first compiled by the Democratic State Central Committee. Negro leaders felt they should have at least seven and a half and, pressing their demands, finally increased their strength to six and a half.

Two Negroes seeking voting delegate seats at the Republican Convention, however, went to federal court for relief but were turned down on the grounds they had failed to exhaust remedies within the party rules.

The struggle over Negro voting strength on the delegation only tended to heighten anti-national party sentiment among conservatives who control the state party apparatus.

Conservatives, led by Plaquemines Parish political boss Leander Perez, who is the chief Wallace supporter in the state, promptly moved to prevent Humphrey from using the state Democratic Party's traditional emblem, the rooster. The issue wound up in court where a state district judge ruled Humphrey should get the insignia, which Perez estimated was worth 75,000 votes through habit voting practices.

Negroes running for Democratic nomination in congressional races were defeated by white incumbents.

Rep. Joseph Waggoner won the 4th District race with 77 per cent of the vote, while Leon R. Tarver, Jr., a Negro from Shreveport, polled 22 per cent. A third candidate had one per cent.

The Rev. Gilbert Harrison, Sr., Negro minister and school teacher from Colfax, was defeated by Rep. Speedy O. Long in the 8th District. Long polled 50,370 votes, with Judge James N. Lee of Bunkie getting 22,038. Harrison had 10,626 votes or 13 per cent.

A Negro candidate for city council in Baton Rouge made it into a runoff for five seats in the Democratic second primary (Sept. 28). Joseph A. Delpit, an attorney, promptly launched a campaign asking white voters to vote for him because he is a Negro and Negroes as a class should be represented on the council.

Racial disorder flared in the town of Rayne, La., following a fight between whites and blacks that resulted in the death of a Negro. The incident occurred Sept. 15 at a cafe and required a call out of the town's 14 policemen and sheriff's deputies to quell.

Later the building's windows were smashed and the interior ransacked. A fire bomb tossed into it caused little damage.

City officials promptly placed a curfew on the town, withdrawing it a week later when tensions eased.

## MISSISSIPPI

Out-of-state lawyers assisting Negroes in civil rights cases in Mississippi won a significant victory in the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals when the federal court threw out a rule severely limiting practice of non-resident attorneys before the federal district court in southern Mississippi.

The rule, adopted by Federal District Judge Harold Cox for the district would have restricted non-members of the Mississippi bar to one appearance per year in his court.

It was attacked by two groups of civil rights lawyers who have been operating in Mississippi the past four years—the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law and the Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee, both of which are mainly staffed by non-resident volunteer attorneys.

At the same time, the federal appeals court also struck down a Cox rule requiring attorneys who originally signed pleadings in civil rights cases to appear each time motions or preliminary proceedings were held in the cases.

The Fifth Circuit pointed out that of the 2200 lawyers in Mississippi, only 12 are Negro. "Of course all 12 are not always available . . . that is obviously an inadequate reservoir . . . moreover, there is ample evidence in the record to demonstrate the burden of handling such

cases." It said the difficulty of obtaining representation in Mississippi "is borne out by the literally hundreds of civil rights cases that come to us in which out-of-state lawyers have the laboring oar."

The court added, "It is not overstatement that in Mississippi and the South generally, Negroes with civil rights claims or defenses have often found securing representation difficult."

Night-riders and bombers after a several months' pause became active again in September, leaving their calling cards in widely separated parts of the state. First the home of Mrs. Vernon King, a worker in a Headstart program in Leake County near Carthage, was fired into by night-riders, narrowly missing the occupants.

Two nights later a home under construction for a Negro couple at Free Trade, a rural community 18 miles from Carthage, was bombed and severely damaged. The dwelling was being erected for Mr. and Mrs. Johnny Gates in an area not far from white residences.

A white man whose home was 150 yards away said he heard the blast in the early hours of the morning, "but I turned over and went back to sleep." Mrs. Gates had been employed in a Headstart program in Leake County.

Mrs. Winston Hudson, president of the Leake County branch of the NAACP, said that a white family once owned the land and sold it to the Gates to build the home, a modest \$8000 structure.

The following night, a cafe in a Negro section of Hazlehurst, about 100 miles south of Leake County, was bombed and virtually destroyed. Officers said that the cafe was owned by a white man, but operated by a Negro. The cafe had not been a site for civil rights activity, officers said.

The town of Indianola in the Delta county of Sunflower became the scene of a Negro student boycott as schools opened for the fall term. For two weeks, the boycott, launched over the rehiring of principals of the Negro elementary and high schools in Indianola, had varying

stages of success, at times joined by as many as 50 per cent of the students.

Dozens of arrests of Negro youths in and around the schools, as well as adults in other parts of the city, accompanied the school boycott.

The school boycott was finally called off after some white leaders invited Aaron Henry of Clarksdale, state president of the NAACP, to make an on-the-scene appraisal of the situation. Because of lack of funds to tutor the youths taking part in the boycott, Henry urged them to return to classes.

Unofficially, it was believed agreement was reached that the two Negro principals in question would not be back in their posts next year.

Meantime, Federal District Judge William Keady of the Northern District of Mississippi ruled unconstitutional an Indianola parade ordinance, opening the way for several protest marches in the city. A black economic boycott has been underway in Indianola since earlier in the year.

The U.S. Department of Justice moved into the scene meanwhile, filing school desegregation suits against the Indianola and Belzoni municipal school districts.

At least 100 Negroes were candidates throughout the state for election as county election commissioners. This was the first time Mississippi has held elections for county election commissioners, under a law passed by the 1968 legislature. Historically, three members of county election commissions were appointed, one by the governor, one by the attorney general and one by the secretary of state.

Suit had been brought more than a year ago by the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law attacking the system, since all appointees traditionally were white. Before a determination could be made in the courts, the legislature, apparently expecting the appointive system to be struck down, changed the law and provided the elective system. Now five commissioners will be elected to the election commissions in each county, by

an at-large vote. The new law, however, requires a runoff in each case where a candidate does not receive a majority of the vote.

Several dozen Negro candidates qualified to run for seats on county boards of education.

Some counties elect members of the board from districts, while others elect members at large.

In recent sessions of the legislature, a number of counties which have Negro population majorities in one or several districts, were permitted to hold at-large elections of the education boards.

In the Democratic National Convention at Chicago, the Loyal Democrats of Mississippi, an equally divided Negro-white challenge delegation, was awarded the state's seats over the Mississippi regular Democratic delegation.

Along with recognition of the delegation, headed by Aaron Henry, Clarksdale, the state NAACP president, and Hodding Carter, III, young white Greenville newspaper editor, the National Democratic Party also seated Charles Evers, Fayette, and Mrs. Pat Derian, Jackson, as national committeeman and committeewoman from Mississippi.

Shortly after the Democratic National Convention, Gov. John Bell Williams announced he would support former Alabama Gov. George C. Wallace for President on Wallace's American Independent Party ticket. The regular State Democratic Executive Committee also unanimously announced its endorsement of Wallace for President.

The state campaign for the Humphrey-Muskie ticket in Mississippi was headed by Aaron Henry and Claude Ramsay, state president of the Mississippi AFL-CIO.

## NORTH CAROLINA

Nine out of ten North Carolina Negroes feel that Negroes in the state lack equal opportunity. But six of ten whites dis

agree; they say whites and Negroes have equal chances in employment, education and other sectors of Tar Heel life.

These and many other findings are the result of a rare piece of poll-taking by Oliver Quayle and Company, Bronxville, N. Y. The firm was working for the North Carolina Fund, the private effort started five years ago "to break the cycle of poverty" for many North Carolinians. A forerunner by a year of the federal anti-poverty efforts, and a brainchild of former Gov. Terry Sanford, the Fund, with seven million dollars in foundation money, has spent the five years aiding educational, manpower training, low-cost housing and community organizing movements across the state. Many of the Fund's original efforts were absorbed by the Office of Economic Opportunity and, in North Carolina, the Fund itself often provided the required 20 per cent "local matching" funds, especially in areas where local governments haven't been interested.

True to its plan of 1963, the Fund officially closed its doors on Sept. 30. Executive Director George H. Esser, Jr., said the Quayle poll—based on in-depth interviews with more than 400 persons between April 6 and 20 of this year—was sponsored to help North Carolinians "understand one another and thus find mutually acceptable solutions" to racial and related problems.

Just how far North Carolina whites and Negroes are from "mutually acceptable solutions" was illustrated time and again in the poll. Moreover, in many areas, Negroes and whites don't even agree on the nature of certain problems, or even that certain problems exist.

For both races, prejudice and militancy tended to be greater in small towns and rural areas than among residents of North Carolina's major urban centers.

The black-white opinion clash was clear throughout the set of questions and answers, designed both to elicit general attitudes and strength of feelings.

Whites, for example, have little doubt

about what might cause riots: 74 per cent say "outside agitators" and 55 per cent mention "Negro disrespect for law and order."

Negroes disagree sharply. Lack of good jobs, say 72 per cent of the Negroes, can cause riots. Forty-eight per cent of the Negroes mention poor housing; only 21 per cent of the whites thought housing might be a riot cause. Forty-three per cent of the Negroes say general prejudice and discrimination might cause riots; a fourth of the whites see these as possible causes of trouble.

When the two races look at each other for such traits as public behavior, dependability and intelligence, whites believe they are far superior to Negroes.

Eight of ten whites thought whites more intelligent and more dependable than Negroes. Half the whites thought whites behaved better in public.

The frequency of these conceptions of Negroes increases in relation to the level of prejudice held by whites. Ninety-six per cent of the strongly prejudiced whites think whites smarter than Negroes. Fifty-five per cent of the Negro militants think Negroes are smarter.

Over-all, about 70 per cent of the Negroes say Negroes and whites behave about the same in public; half the Negroes think Negroes more dependable, and four out of ten Negroes think Negroes are smarter.

In many other areas of behavior and personality traits, North Carolina whites see themselves as superior to Negroes.

A majority of whites see Negroes as being lazier, less trustworthy, more likely to "goof off," and less likely to work hard.

Negroes feel strongly that they do not receive equal treatment from North Carolina policemen. Eight of ten Negroes said policemen treat them differently. Whites disagreed. Eight of ten whites believe police treatment is equal, and nearly eight of ten whites say treatment is also equal in the state's courtrooms.

Three of four whites believe Negroes



are no more likely to be arrested than whites, but four out of five Negroes see their chances of being arrested as much higher than those of white people.

Nine of ten whites think policemen are around "to protect you." Sixty per cent of the Negroes agree, but three of ten think police are there "to keep an eye on you" and "to bother you."

Trust of policemen, or lack of it, was also reflected in other questions. Half the whites said a police car cruising in their neighborhood made them feel "more secure." Six of ten Negroes said the same car made them feel "curious" or "nervous."

On government in general, the total response from both whites and Negroes was less than a strong vote of confidence for local government or local government office-holders. Only six out of ten whites feel local politicians in the state represent the people of their community. The attitude of Negroes about local government is even stronger; only one of four Negroes thinks local office-holders represent all the people. Half of the Negroes interviewed feel their official leaders do not represent all the people. (Significantly, a fourth of the Negroes are undecided on this question.)

A vast majority of both races, nine out of ten, feel poor people should have a voice in politics when decisions affect their well-being. Almost five out of ten Negroes say they do not "feel free" to go to city or county governments for help with their problems; only one-tenth of the whites share this reservation.

North Carolina Negroes see jobs and job training as important factors that could lift many of them out of poverty, give them equality and prevent race riots.

But Negroes and whites surveyed were dramatically split when asked if they felt that anyone who wanted a job could get it in North Carolina.

Nine of ten whites said anyone could; but only three of ten Negroes felt jobs were available without prejudice. About half the members of each race (48 per cent) felt that where someone lives does

make a difference in whether he can get a good-paying job.

North Carolinians all seem to agree that everyone is entitled to a safe and sanitary house, but eight of ten whites are generally opposed to open housing. Nine of ten Negroes favor it.

The Quayle analysis of the survey noted: "In this year of gaps, the racial gap in North Carolina is wide. The enormity of the job entailed in closing it is brought home by the substantial majority of whites who think everything is just dandy . . . . White attitudes toward the Negro in North Carolina are negative. The white man himself expects these attitudes to improve. This is something of a tacit admission and probably means that whites think *other* white attitudes will improve, for his are 'OK' by his own standards. Put another way, most North Carolinians who are white do not classify themselves as extremely racist and they feel that those in that category will improve during the next five years. When you think about it, it means little expectation of massive change. On the other hand, the Negro has high expectation and hope for change.

"These differences point to ultimate clash of one kind or another, and we believe the key is to make the majority of white people realize that *they* must undergo a further softening in attitudes toward the Negro. . . ."

In summary, the Quayle analysis said: "We do not wish to be alarmists, but the racial climate in North Carolina is not good. . . . The white considers the Negro inferior. The Negro knows his lot is inferior. Both races believe attitudes will improve, but there is genuine disparity as to what that means, for white people here really believe the Negro has a fair chance and seem unwilling to come to grips with the real problems. Indeed, he feels things will improve because the Negro will pull himself up by his bootstraps, and he has no interest whatsoever in permitting the Negro to live in his own community. He is still prejudiced, and there is no other way we can say it. The

Negro expects more, is willing to fight for it, but is opposed to violence and rioting. This is the one thing on which whites and Negroes can agree—they oppose violence. At the same time, a substantial majority of Negroes are willing to go all the way."

Of violence, the analysis said that in North Carolina, because of the wide differences in racial attitudes, levels of achievement and treatment: "It is possible in every community with a considerable black population."

A three-year-old desegregation suit against the state's largest school system, the combined city of Charlotte and Mecklenburg County schools with more than 82,000 students (about one-third Negro), has been reactivated by local parents. The Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education closed seven all-Negro schools two years ago in an effort to wipe out the final vestiges of the dual school system. Last year, about one-third of nearly 30,000 Negro students were in integrated schools and every child was taught at least part of the time by a teacher of a different race. The new motion contends that attendance lines are drawn to leave some schools nearly all-white and others all-Negro. The Board of Education is considering some public discussions of the situation. Charlotte schools (along with those in Greensboro and Winston-Salem) were the first to desegregate in North Carolina, in the fall of 1957.

Gaston County has lost its bid to escape from the provisions of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, and the first federal court decision upholding the act apparently has implications across the South.

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 said that counties in which fewer than 50 per cent of the eligible voters voted in the 1964 election would come under its provisions, including one prohibiting a literacy test, unless the county involved went to court to get itself removed. Gaston County tried.

"Given the congressional purpose of the Voting Rights Act, we do not believe

it is within our power to reward years of unconstitutional state action against its Negro citizens," said the opinion of Judge J. Skelly Wright, filed for the District of Columbia circuit.

Thus, the court tied a voting literacy test to the historical school segregation pattern: "During the entire period when the persons presently of voting age were of school age, the schools of Gaston County were segregated; indeed those schools remained totally segregated until 1965 when token integration was begun."

To reinstate a literacy test now (it was dropped in Gaston in March, 1966) when statistics showed fewer than half the eligible voters at the polls in the 1964 presidential election, would support "discriminatory state action" of the past, the court concluded.

More than 1,200,000 North Carolina youngsters returned routinely to school classrooms in September, but in Hyde and Pitt Counties, boycotts of schools were encountered as a result of court-ordered desegregation.

In Hyde County (Swan Quarter), Negroes stayed out of school most of the first month protesting the fact that, in a desegregation effort, many Negroes had been assigned to formerly white schools, but no whites had been assigned to Negro schools. In Pitt County (Greenville), whites were keeping their children out for a time because they thought too many Negroes were assigned. The boycotts declined gradually in effectiveness, but absences were still noticeably higher.

## SOUTH CAROLINA

There are reports the Justice Department is planning to seek indictments in the slaying of three Negro students last February in Orangeburg. Justice Department officials refuse to comment on the situation, but at one time in the last six weeks five lawyers from the civil rights division were in South Carolina investigating.

Meanwhile, South Carolina attorney general Daniel R. McLeod said it would be "inappropriate" for the state to hold an inquest in the deaths until federal authorities complete their investigations.

Gov. McNair referred the matter to McLeod after questions arose at a press conference early in September. The governor said there "is no question about the cause of death" and said it is contained in the FBI report to the Justice Department and that he had urged Attorney General Ramsey Clark to make a statement on the report.

McLeod said the deaths at Orangeburg represented "more than a normal case" and that the state had deferred to federal authorities from the beginning "because of the nature of the incident and the expert ability of the FBI."

If FBI findings are not made public after all federal investigations are completed, McLeod said the question of a coroner's inquisition should then be reconsidered.

McNair said that parents of the three deceased students are expected to file suits in the matter.

The students were slain by state highway patrolmen on the edge of the S. C. State College campus after four days of racial conflict that began over a segregated bowling alley in Orangeburg.

A \$34 million bond issue that includes \$5.5 million for S. C. State College has been upheld as constitutional by Circuit Judge John Grimball. His decision is being appealed to the state Supreme Court.

Lt. Gov. John West addressed an assembly of students at S. C. State College. About 60 walked out and were criticized by President M. Maceo Nance for their rudeness.

Twelve Negroes attended the national Democratic Convention from South Carolina, six as delegates and six as alternates. They unanimously supported the nomination of Vice President Humphrey. They also negotiated an end to the unit rule before it was abolished by the convention. The delegation split 24-4 on the seating of the Georgia delegation, with

Negro delegates voting in the minority to seat the Julian Bond group.

The Negro delegates led a group of approximately 100 Negro leaders in forming a Humphrey-Muskie campaign organization. Subsequently, a statewide "Citizens for Humphrey-Muskie" organization was formed, headed by Allendale banker Charles Laffitte, a close personal friend of Gov. McNair. The two groups were working together.

McNair named Ernest A. Finney of Sumter, a Negro who is chairman of the S. C. Advisory Committee to the U. S. Civil Rights Commission, as a member of the newly-created five-member state election commission. Finney, a delegate to the national Democratic Convention, was chairman of the Humphrey-Muskie campaign organization put together after the convention.

In January, the election commission will replace the five constitutional officers comprising the state board of canvassers and will hear protests and appeals from elections. The other members are Democrats G. P. Callison of Greenwood, a former state senator who served on a special nine-member election law study committee whose sweeping recommendations for election law change were adopted by the legislature, and Mrs. Margaret Townsend of Charleston, former chairman of the Charleston County board of voter registration. Republican members are N. Welch Morrisette of Columbia and Mrs. James A. Chapman of Spartangurg, a sister-in-law of former state GOP chairman Robert C. Chapman.

At Estill, a small community in Hampton County, four Negro candidates for seats on town council were defeated despite the fact that Negroes outregistered whites. There were 889 Negroes registered and 671 whites. In the past, less than 100 voters had turned out for town elections. More than 200 Negroes voted, and it was explained they thought this would be enough to win. More than 350 whites turned out, however. "It's part of the learning process" was the philosophical

comment of James L. Felder, field director of the S. C. Voter Education Project.

A Howard University law school graduate, Felder successfully passed the state bar and was sworn in before the state Supreme Court Oct. 2.

State Democratic Party executive director Donald L. Fowler, who is credited with playing a key role in expanding the role and bringing about full acceptance of Negroes within the state Democratic Party, is expected to return to his faculty position at the University of South Carolina. Dr. Fowler is a professor of political science.

Eugene McCarthy's South Carolina campaign manager, Yale University law student Gus Speth—a former Rhodes scholar from Orangeburg, issued a report charging that the Negroes on the S. C. delegation "did not truly represent the Negro community in the state." He pointed out that none voted for either McCarthy or Channing Phillips.

Speth also charged the state Democratic Party with stacking the delegation with Humphrey supporters and urged that McCarthy and Kennedy supporters work together to bring a new politics to South Carolina.

He suggested this should be done by work at the precinct and county levels, "but where it proves impossible to work within the party, I hope we shall not shirk from forming a new party to implement the goals synonymous with the names of Gene McCarthy, John and Robert Kennedy, and Martin Luther King," Speth stated.

## TENNESSEE

"It showed me first hand how bureaucracy works," mused blonde Nancy Hendrix, 25, as she surveyed the results of the summer she and a handful of other Tennesseans had spent supporting Eugene McCarthy.

Bureaucracy, it appeared, had won—even to the point of keeping three would-be McCarthy electors off Tennessee's November ballot, on grounds there were

technical deficiencies in their qualifying petitions. After Chicago, the Tennessee McCarthy camp ceased to exist as such; its treasurer announced that Tennesseans for McCarthy would support Humphrey.

Miss Hendrix, a Ph.D. candidate at Vanderbilt University, and other younger members of the McCarthy team, however, found themselves unable to pay even lip service to the Democratic nominee. "He's just lost touch with the whole new generation, and with the blacks," explained one student. In Knoxville, a University of Tennessee senior announced that a "New Party" convention would be held in Nashville.

No convention materialized. A last minute, all-night effort was made to collect the signatures needed to place on the ballot the names of three independent, McCarthy-pledged electors, Nashville social worker Hibbard Thatcher, Vanderbilt teaching fellow Roy Talbert, and Andrew White, a black Nashville minister. Election officials disqualified Thatcher and White on grounds they lacked the required 25 signatures of registered voters, and Talbert on grounds his petition was improperly worded. "It appears to me that the Tennessee legislature did not intend to have independent electors for President on the ballot," said Asst. State Atty. Gen. Robert H. Roberts.

Although the establishment seemed secure against attack from the new left in November, it received two jolts in the August 1 state and local elections. Party-switching state legislator Charles Galbreath, a free-wheeling, fast-talking maverick Nashville lawyer, won election to the state's Court of Criminal Appeals. And Avon N. Williams, Jr., president of the Negro Tennessee Voters Council, gained the Democratic nomination for a state senate seat from Nashville. In both cases, the result was to infiltrate into the system men who have long been loudly vocal about its flaws.

Galbreath successfully challenged a 50-year-old system under which Tennessee's higher ranking judges have been appointed by governors and then perpetu-

ally re-elected without serious opposition. The victory also left many of his fellow attorneys distinctly ill at ease: the profession's opposition to Galbreath's bid for the bench was nearly unanimous — of 4,000 lawyers to whom Galbreath sent letters requesting support, eleven took the trouble to reply. Now many of those who didn't must try cases for the next six years before Judge Galbreath.

Avon Williams was one of two Negroes nominated to the state senate; the other was J. O. Patterson of Memphis. Of the two, the Nashville civil rights attorney is clearly the more militant; his victory was also significant in its unseating of his opponent in the primary, State Rep. Dorothy Brown, a Nashville physician who was the first Negro woman elected to the legislature. Dr. Brown ran with support from the administrations of Governor Buford Ellington and Nashville Mayor Beverly Briley; she also refused to criticize the state for its part in routing Interstate Highway 40 through black North Nashville. Williams, a critic of both administrations, is also legal counsel for the I-40 Steering Committee, which fought the highway and won five significant modifications in the route.

In Memphis, the Democratic primary brought defeats for two men long considered mainstays in the city's Negro leadership, State Representatives Russell B. Sugarmon and A. W. Willis. Both were defeated by other Negro candidates, with observers concluding that the losers had failed to keep closely enough in touch with the new mood of militancy produced by the garbage workers' strike.

A Knoxville Negro, Theotis Robinson, Jr., meanwhile won Democratic nomination to the state house in his campaign against two white opponents.

Protest presidential candidate Dick Gregory, delighting a Vanderbilt University audience with a speech in which he pledged, if elected, to "paint the White House black," said he knew nothing of the University of Tennessee action banning him from a scheduled address at

UT's Knoxville campus. But Georgia legislator Julian Bond, who had been invited to appear on the same UT program, cancelled his appearance because the school prohibited Gregory's. "If the chancellor of UT thinks the students are too simple-minded to hear Gregory, they are obviously too simple-minded to hear me," explained Bond.

Dr. Andrew P. Torrence, vice president of Alabama's Tuskegee Institute, was named president of Tennessee A&I State University, succeeding Dr. Walter S. Davis, who retired after 25 years at the helm of the black campus. Torrence was named over strong protest from A&I's national alumni association. The alumni said they were critical not of the candidate chosen by the State Board of Education, but of the fact that the alumni were left out of the selection process.

Nashville's Metro Board of Education, refusing to revoke a suspension of all-black Cameron High School from interscholastic athletics, found its members named as defendants in a federal court suit filed by Cameron students and parents. The post-basketball game disorders for which Cameron was suspended, the plaintiffs charged, were a product of the school board's own actions in perpetuating "racial and socio-economic isolation of school children" by "conforming to community attitudes of white racial prejudice and discrimination." They asked U. S. Dist. Judge William Miller to order the board to re-zone Nashville schools in a manner that would produce "meaningful integration." James Mock, new Tennessee field director for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, meanwhile led 200 of Cameron's 1,300 students in protest demonstrations and threatened to "close the schools" unless the court action brought quick results, including withdrawal of the suspension.

## TEXAS

There is evidence that such organizations as the John Birch Society and the Ku Klux Klan cooperated with the presi-

dential campaign of George Wallace in Texas. Many members of the Birch Society, in particular, were prominent in American Independent Party affairs in the state. It was charged by some that the Birch Society staged a coup and took over control of the Texas party. It is known that at least 15 of the party's 32-member state committee are Birchers; some say as many as 28 are members. It was unclear whether the Birch people had consciously sought and won control or whether their predominance is coincidental. It is true, however, that several anti-Birch or non-Birch leaders of the American Party were displaced from the party's organizational structure, often to be replaced by JBS members.

Broadened participation by members of racial minority groups in Texas is expected as a result of the national Democratic Party's doing away with the unit rule in party conventions and, also, because of the national party's growing observance of the principle of minority groups having their rightful share of the decision-making. Texas liberals have organized a shadow Democratic Party—the New Democratic Coalition of Texas—somewhat along the lines of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic party, which has grown in influence in that state—to challenge the regular, conservative party. The Texas liberals, hoping to do their part to broaden the role of minorities in state politics, named a 124-member executive committee whose composition is to be one-fourth Negro and one-fourth Mexican-American (the other fourths being Anglo and youth—persons 27 and younger). The liberals are hoping their coalition will be the vehicle that at last will give them control of the regular Democratic party machinery, in 1970 or 1972. The coalition's long-range strategy still is being worked out but the basic idea is for the liberals to seek to develop precinct-level strength sufficient to form the basis for having the delegate votes to take over the party.

A Southern Regional Council survey found fewer Negro elected public of-

ficials in Texas than in such states as Mississippi, Arkansas, and Louisiana.

Two Texas cities, Austin and San Antonio, have adopted open housing ordinances and a third, Corpus Christi, was considering such a law. At the initiative of local realtors the Austin ordinance was challenged by petitions that required submission of the question to voters.

In Houston pickets were posted around the school administration building to dramatize demands for a meeting with the school board to discuss such matters as the teaching of Negro history in public schools there. NAACP leader Roy Wilkins, in town on business, joined the picket line briefly. Provisions have been made to include Negro history in existing history courses at Houston, as well as at Fort Worth. But Houston NAACP leaders say they have a number of other grievances they wish to discuss with the school board.

State Rep. Curtis Graves, Houston, a Negro, believes Negro history is not adequately portrayed in textbooks now in use in Texas. He promises to wage a fight on the question before the state again adopts its history textbooks, in 1970. Negro history will be the subject of a course now being offered for the first time this fall at the University of Texas at Austin.

Forty-three Negro soldiers faced court-martial action at Fort Hood after refusing orders to board transportation to await possible riot control duty in Chicago during the national Democratic Convention. The Negroes objected to their possibly being ordered to fire upon or otherwise physically repel fellow Negroes.

Leaders of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee have been under intense police pressure lately. At Houston the SNCC field secretary, Lee Otis Johnson, was convicted of selling a marijuana cigarette to an undercover policeman. Johnson was given a 30-year sentence by an all-white jury. He actually gave the cigarette to the officer but under Texas law that constitutes a sale.

At Dallas SNCC leader Ernie McMillan

and his chief aide, Matthew Johnson, were given ten-year prison terms for allegedly leading a raid on a Dallas grocery against which SNCC had organized a boycott. An estimated \$211 damage was done.

At Austin some twenty police officers were in the audience of 80 or 100 when SNCC workers from that city, Houston, and Dallas met. After the meeting two SNCC members were arrested in connection with an auto theft case.

A number of Texas public school systems have been prodded by the U. S. Office of Education for not dropping racial barriers effectively and fast enough. A Department of Health, Education and Welfare survey shows that three of four Texas Negro school children attended segregated schools in 1967-68, though Texas led the South in integration of schools.

Fifty-nine of the state's 1,278 school districts were sent letters last March warning of possible cases of noncompliance with civil rights laws. Of the 59, fourteen have submitted unsatisfactory desegregation plans. Another 80 or 90 letters were prepared for Texas school districts urging submission of a satisfactory desegregating plan by the end of September.

There are signs that the federal courts are wearying of the snail's pace of school desegregation in the region. The 5th Circuit Court of Appeals has ordered hearings held by inferior courts to determine the practical effects of the two basic approaches to school desegregation — the freedom-of-choice and the geographic attendance zone plans.

## VIRGINIA

A decade has slipped by since Virginia closed white schools in the fall of 1958 in a drastic effort to avert integration. Old concepts began to change as a result of that move and finally the high council of the state's long dominant political force has been opened to the minority race.

Six Negroes were seated on the Democratic State Central Committee (they are the first in history) at a re-organizational session shortly after the national Democratic Convention.

The breakthrough—and the factors surrounding it—is expected to have a far ranging effect on the staid old politics of the Commonwealth. A new era of across-the-board participation in the party is beginning, and as far as the old line state politicians are concerned it is more significant than the rise of George Wallace.

As in other southern states, Wallace's third party bid for President attracted more support than had been expected. It was no surprise for Wallace support to blossom in the black belt rural Virginia Southside, but when substantial Wallace followings showed up after the Chicago convention in liberal labor unions in the big shipyards on Hampton Roads, and in the western regions of the state where there are few Negroes and few racial problems, it became anything but a laughing matter.

Three Democratic congressional candidates — Reps. David Satterfield, III, of the Richmond area 3rd District and John O. Marsh of the Shenandoah Valley 7th, and Danville's W. C. "Dan" Daniel who was nominated to succeed retiring Rep. William M. Tuck — disassociated their campaigns from Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey. They went so far as to pledge to vote for whoever should carry their respective districts should the presidential election end up in the House of Representatives.

Daniel, although from the old Virginia conservative school of Democrats, found himself with the dominant white vote of the district split almost evenly between Nixon and Wallace. His GOP opponent, Weldon Tuck of South Boston and a cousin of the retiring Democrat, had the advantage of the Tuck name. And the race had further complications in the independent candidacy of Miss Ruth Harvey, Danville NAACP lawyer.

Satterfield, opposed by Republican



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