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Background For Murder

Kent Springs
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BERT ANALAVAGE

(Assistant Editor)

MEMPHIS, Tenn.—This city, where Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was assassinated on April 4, has been living a lie—as all U.S. cities are living a lie.

Memphis bills itself as “the City of Good Abode.” It crows about its integrated public accommodations and constantly reminds visitors that these were achieved without the necessity or “bother” of marches and demonstrations.

But beyond window dressing, Memphis treats its black citizens with the same contempt that most of white America has for black people everywhere. The issue that brought Dr. King to town, posterity must never forget, was a simple strike by a group of garbage collectors who were not asking for civil rights, or housing in a white area, or human dignity. All they wanted was a decent wage for a disagreeable service they perform for the public.

Dr. King came to town to focus attention on the strikers' grievances, by leading another of those massive marches he has led in the past.

Disorder Erupts

The march, never really well organized, went about five blocks before chaos and disorder erupted. A group of youths broke ranks and began breaking windows and running off with goods for which store owners had overcharged them for years.

King immediately halted the march. He was whisked away by several local ministers.

“He didn't really have a choice,” the Rev. James L. Lawson told the *Patriot*. “We were the ones who decided to get him off the streets. We feared for his safety.” Then, Mr. Lawson said, “we succeeded in turning the main body of the march back to the church.”

The young people, their numbers now about 300, engaged in pitched battles with the police. The air was filled with flying bottles, bricks, and anything else that could be thrown. Police attacked the youths with clubs and sprayed MACE, an anti-riot gas, and tear gas freely. Then the police turned these weapons on anyone with a black skin. Innocent by-standers, trying desperately to get out of their way, were maced and beaten unmercifully.

The marchers hurried back to Clayborn Temple and sought refuge inside. These were people who had not taken part in any of the violence. Nevertheless, the police invaded the church, spraying the people with tear gas pellets, and beating them with clubs.

“They were like the gestapo,” Mr. Lawson said.

Payne is Murdered

Larry Payne, a 19-year-old suspected of looting, was ordered to come out of a building. He emerged with his hands up. According to a number of witnesses I spoke to, a policeman thrust a shotgun into the youth's stomach and pulled the trigger. Payne died immediately.

Several stores were burned and looted. There seemed to be a pattern. The stores hit hardest were the pawn shops and easy-credit merchants that prey on the economic miseries of the poor and underpaid. Businesses owned by William Loeb, the mayor's brother, were also badly damaged. Loeb, along with singer Pat Boone, owns about 65 establishments in the Memphis ghetto.

The city and the state responded to the outbreak with massive police force. The city was no longer a city, but a military war zone. A curfew was slapped on. Liquor stores were closed. Beale Street, a symbol of black culture for the Deep South, was closed down. Helicopters buzzed the ghetto, tanks and armored personnel cars rolled through the streets. National Guardsmen with fixed bayonets, along with state troopers brandishing shotguns, and dogs patrolled. Black people were caught in a web of fear and stayed off the streets.

Those who ventured out regretted it. Beatings and intimidation were frequent. The police arrested and charged anyone they took a mind to.

James E. Swearingen, a black lawyer who defended many of those arrested, told me that “Judges accepted testimony from police without question. People were jailed and then charged with ridiculous crimes. In one instance, a Negro policeman arrested four youths for a curfew violation. When they appeared in court the next day, they were charged with disorderly conduct and breach of the peace. The Negro policeman rose in court and asked: “Who filed those charges? I didn't.” The case was dismissed.

Joseph Gray was one of many people beaten unjustly. He is a 25-year-old musician who has played with big-time groups such as Jimmy Taylor and Sam Cooke.

“I have a little group and we had a gig over in Forest City, Ark. But my organ player was sick and I went down to this club to see about getting another one. When I got to the club it was padlocked. I turned around to leave and this cop came up and hit me. Then several more of them came and beat up on me and I fell to the ground. They just left me there.”

Gray was taken to a hospital, where he received 45 stitches. When

(Continued on Page 5)



YOUTHS ERUPT IN VIOLENCE and break into stores which they feel have been getting rich off black people for generations (photos by Ernest Withers).



MARCH BEGINS, led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., on behalf of striking garbage workers. On April 16 an agreement was reached. It includes recognition of the union, checkoff of union dues through a credit union, and a 15¢ an hour pay raise. International union officers advised the men to accept it—and, at an emotional strike meeting, they all rose to vote YES.

On King's Death

Following is a statement by SCEF on the assassination of Dr. Martin L. King Jr. in Memphis, Tenn., on April 4:

“It is not enough to mourn. White America must search its soul and understand why this happened. It might not have happened if all the people (including high U.S. officials) who have been shouting about ‘crime in the streets’ and blaming black people for the crisis we face had been trying to stop the real crime in the streets—the crime of white racism.

“As for us, we will intensify the work we have long been doing:—reaching white people and helping them to find a way out of the dead-end philosophy of racism. We rededicate ourselves to the goals for which Dr. King was working:—an end to the war in Vietnam and the mobilization of our nation's resources to serve the needs of its people.”

SCEF was represented at Dr. King's funeral in Atlanta on April 9 by its president, the Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth; his wife, Mrs. Ruby Shuttlesworth; its executive director, Carl Braden, and several members of its board of directors. Mr. Shuttlesworth is also secretary of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), of which Dr. King was president.

Kentuckians Bring Suit to Abolish KUAC

(By Staff Correspondent)

FRANKFORT, Ky.—Many groups and individuals are joining a fight to stop the Kentucky Un-American Activities Committee (KUAC) from operating.

KUAC, which Kentuckians call “Quack,” was set up by the 1968 General Assembly to investigate “subversive groups and persons.”

SCEF and its executive directors, Anne and Carl Braden, were named as special targets, but other civil-rights and community organizations see the danger to all of them.

Several have joined in a suit in U.S. District Court to stop Gov. Louie B. Nunn from appointing 10 members of the Assembly to serve on KUAC.

Their suit charges that actions of the committee “will have a chilling effect upon the exercise of First Amendment freedoms, including the right to dissent from the policies of local, state, and national governments.”

The fight against KUAC began before the Kentucky House and Senate voted on the resolution setting it up.

Rep. Norbert Blume, a leader in the Teamsters' Union, led efforts to kill the resolution in the House. He told the House: “This type of thing has worked to the detriment of labor groups seeking to organize a gainst substandard wages and it has worked against the civil-rights movement.”

A determined fight was also carried on by Mrs. Georgia Davis of Louisville, the first black woman to serve in the Kentucky Senate. During the closing hours of the Legislature, Mrs. Davis made a moving speech in which she said:

“These committees always say that their purpose is to investigate for subversion and com-

(Continued on Page 5)



"The Crafts of Freedom"

NEW YORK, N.Y.—"Liberty House" proclaims the sign swinging on a Bleecker Street storefront in New York's Greenwich Village.

Inside, the shop is stuffed to the seams with "the crafts of freedom"—hand-made dolls from Appalachia, leather work and quilts from the black belt, candles, toys, jewelry—anything poor people have been able to make to keep themselves and their movements alive.

The store grew out of the need to find markets for products made in the co-operatives which developed in Mississippi in 1965 with the help of Jesse Morris and the Poor People's Corporation. Today, some 150 former cotton-field workers, maids and sharecroppers are self-employed in 13 Mississippi co-ops.

Crafts made in co-ops by Appalachian residents, Eskimos, American Indians, Mexicans, South Americans and Africans are also sold; as are movement items like posters, records, newspapers. All profits from the store go to the Mississippi co-ops.

The New York store is only one outlet. Sixty per cent of their sales are made by mail, from the main warehouse in Jackson (for a free catalogue,

write to Liberty House, P.O. Box 3468, Jackson, Miss. 39203)

Several stores across the country handle their products and a new store will open May 26 at Broadway and 84th street in New York. Two more are planned in Cambridge, Mass. and Harlem.

"What we need now is to expand our market," says Ellen Maslow, manager of the Bleecker Street store. "We need people to open Liberty Houses in their own neighborhoods or to get local stores to carry our products. We need people with special skills in crafts to go to Mississippi to teach their skills in co-ops, and people with sales and promotion experience to help with that end."

Anyone wishing to help in any of these ways can write to Liberty House in Jackson (see address above). In the New York area, call (212) 929-4192 or write Liberty House, 343 Bleecker Street.

* * *

Anyone who comes into the two Liberty House outlets in New York—at 343 Bleecker Street or 84th and Broadway—will be able to arrange for 10 per cent of the price of anything they buy, to be sent to any movement group they support. Remember SCEF.

Book Notes:

New Autobiography of Du Bois

No individual has emerged from the Negro liberation struggle in the United States whose creative writings and organizational activities have had a greater seminal influence than those of the late Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois. The publication of his "Autobiography" is a major literary event. (International Publishers, 381 Park Ave. South, New York; 448 pages; \$10)

As a psychological study, it presents the candid self-analysis of a gifted, sensitive human being who spent a lifetime seeking to help white America comprehend what it has meant for black people to "live within the veil"—that is, inside the world of exclusion based on color.

If an individual of the calibre of a Dr. Du Bois felt himself

"twisted and crippled" by the trauma of race, what collective ranking must there not be among black people confined to our urban slums and ghettos!

As a social document, it defines the historic tension between Tuskegee Institute and Atlanta University, resulting from the policy of accommodation advocated by Booker T. Washington and the activism of DuBois. It details the origin of the Niagara Movement, out of which emerged the NAACP, and describes the crushing consequences of the Depression, the beginnings of the Pan-African Movement, and the call to black people to resist colonialism in all its forms—including that internal colonialism which imprisons the Afro-American within the structure of the

U. S. economy.

Bitter experience drove Du Bois to advocate policies which clearly anticipate today's concept of "Black Power"—the conviction that white America will only make major concessions as they are compelled by organized economic and political strength on the part of the black community.

Fascinating is the intellectual evolution of a Harvard-trained youthful idealist with infinite faith in education through the brutal confrontation with experience and the liberating insights of world travel into a mature and prophetic revolutionary. People of color must look to something profoundly new and creatively different.

Reading this "Autobiography" will help white Americans to face the truth of history, and black Americans—who are in the travail of self-evaluation and re-direction—to find and fulfil themselves.

—WILLIAM HOWARD MELISH

The Month in Review:

Campuses Explode

Dr. King's assassination and the general turmoil that followed have hidden the fact that there was a good deal of upheaval across the South last month—on the campus, by labor, in the jury-box.

* * *

Students took over administration buildings at Howard, Fayetteville State and Virginia Union; they boycotted classes and picketed at Virginia State and Tuskegee.

In most cases, administrators closed down the schools, then made concessions, but Tuskegee applied a drastic "final solution" after students held 12 prominent trustees prisoner for almost 13 hours. They sent everyone home and told them to apply for readmission, warning that all militants will be screened out.

Demonstrations over Dr. King's death turned into clashes with police at Tennessee A&I in Nashville; A&T in Greensboro, N.C.; Florida A&M; Shaw University in Raleigh, N.C. The first peace vigil ever was held at University of Alabama, and 58 black students there gave a list of grievances to the administration as 300 white students cheered.

* * *

The Florida teachers' strike ended with 7,000 teachers debarred from their jobs. Birmingham transit workers, mechanics and maintenance men on the Mobile, Ala. docks, and Duke University non-academic employees all walked out. Packinghouse Workers at the Swift Oil Refinery in Chattanooga, Tenn., have been out since January 19 protesting pay cuts of 40 to 60 cents an hour.

* * *

Southern whites' ability to terrorize black people with impunity began to crumble. An all-white Mississippi jury convicted Cecil Victor Sessum of murdering Vernon Dahmer in 1966 and sentenced him to life. Macon County, Ala. Sheriff Lucius Amerson said he will prosecute two white lawmen charged with beating a black youth.

All white juries in Birmingham freed Johnny Coleman in the 1961 slaying of a white gas attendant, and James Huffman, charged with killing a white automobile salesman in 1967.

Which is not to say that terror-

ism is slackening.

Three white men shot into the back of a car in Wacissa, Fla., killing A. C. Huggins, 18; Curtis E. Harris, 23, a suspected bank robber, was killed by pursuing N.C. police; a black serviceman was shot to death in the Fayetteville, N.C. bus terminal February 17; Arthur Jones Hill died after he was shot in Charlotte, N.C. by arresting police.

Draft convictions: Cleve Sellers of SNCC (no sentence has yet been set); Harold Foster, 26-year-old Negro from Durham, N. C., two and a half years.

Brooks Gets 4 Years for Draft Refusal

By JAN PHILLIPS

NASHVILLE, Tenn. — White power struck again on March 17 when SNCC leader Fred Brooks was sentenced to four years in prison for refusing induction.

As in most draft cases, the jury, made up of older "respectable" folk, was carefully sheltered from the basic issue of the war in Vietnam. Evidence was overwhelming that Brooks indeed had refused to step forward. But the court itself refused to step forward and rule on the legality and morality of killing poor people in Asia.

Army officials made it clear in their testimony that Brooks refuses to kill on the orders of LBJ and the war profiteers. Carlton Petway summed up the government's case by equating an order to report for induction with a summons for jury duty.

Resplendent in a red, white and blue tie, he went on, "The Constitution . . . provides this country shall maintain an army. They did this so this country could be free, so it could protect itself to make it free and keep it free. So that you will be free, ladies and gentlemen of the jury, to drive from your house to the United States Courthouse. Because if you didn't have the Army, you wouldn't be free."

It was a tough act to follow.

Forty minutes later the jury returned with a guilty verdict. Attorney Reber Boulton, Jr., who was joined by lawyers from the ACLU and NAACP, said he will appeal.

When the establishment press, which spent a great deal of time reporting on Brooks' attire, asked him for a comment he replied, "Black Power!"

Southern Groups' Statement on King

ATLANTA, Ga. — Representatives of several Southern human rights groups met here informally on the eve of the funeral of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. They drafted a statement calling for an end to the persecution of Rap Brown and other militant leaders of the movement against war and for black liberation, pointing out that Dr. King had called for an end to Brown's persecution in his last public statement.

They said that: "The President of the United States could pay no more fitting tribute to Dr. Martin Luther King, lifetime disciple of nonviolence, than to end the war in Vietnam immediately. Instead of spending vast resources on the war in Vietnam the U.S. government must pro-

vide jobs, hospitals, schools, adequate housing and other basic necessities for poor people." Signers include: Lawrence Guyot, Jr., Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party; Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth, Southern Conference Educational Fund; Floyd B. McKissick, Congress of Racial Equality; Stanley Wise, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; Tom Gardner, Southern Student Organizing Committee; Myles Horton, Highlander Center; Owen Brooks, Delta Ministry; Dave Dellinger, National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam; Mike Spiegel, Students for a Democratic Society; Bobby Seale, Black Panther Party; Dr. Benjamin Spock, and Dagmar Wilson.

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Lowndes County Revisited

Panther is Three Years Old

By ROBERT ANALAVAGE

HAYNEVILLE, Ala.—The Lowndes County Freedom Party (LCFP), which takes as its emblem a black panther, recently celebrated its third anniversary. The party also chose a new chairman, Frank Miles, who ran for tax assessor in the historic 1966 election.

John Hulett, the former chairman, now works on a government-funded program which is trying to help people build low-cost housing. Many of the people in Lowndes have become involved in one federal program or another.

This makes sense, so long as it doesn't blunt the radical aim of the party. That aim, still, is to take power in the county, where black people make up 82 per cent of the population.

"Before we can do anything here," one woman said, "we have got to keep our people from leaving the county."

Exodus Ends

Mrs. Lillian McGill, who holds seats on various executive boards in the county, said "We have dented the surface. The most important thing is, we have been able to stem the exodus out of the county. We've been able to build homes for dozens of people that might have left."

Mrs. McGill reports that all the people who were evicted for political acts (about 60) and had to live in Tent City, now have homes.

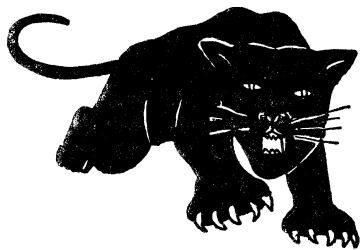
"Everybody got together and pitched in and we built them houses," she says.

The party is also trying to prevent the kind of economic coercion that people experienced in the last election, when they lost their credit at white-owned stores.

The Lowndes County Co-op is putting up a building. It will cost

\$35,000 and will be constructed on the land where Tent City once stood. People donate bricks and cinder blocks as well as labor. They are also buying shares in the co-op, in amounts ranging from \$25 to \$40.

The co-op will carry everything they need, from food to imple-



The Lowndes County Christian Movement, the non-political arm of the movement here, still has a \$225,000 grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) to teach basic educational subjects. The people receive a stipend ranging from \$28 to \$38. The program, which used to involve 100 people, has had to cut back to 75 as a result of congressional cuts in the War on Poverty.

There are other programs. The Head Start is run by the power structure. A medical program is being sent into the county, now that the Medical Committee for Human Rights has revealed widespread hunger and malnutrition in Lowndes. This, too, will be run by the

power structure.

Still, these programs only make unbearable conditions bearable. They don't change anything in the lives of the people. Only political power can do that.

LCFP Candidates Will Run

The LCFP is looking forward to the November election, when they'll again be running candidates for offices, including the board of revenue and justice of the peace. They still have a voting majority but, as people know from the last election, this is no guarantee for victory.

The white power structure has not changed. Recently, it gerrymandered Hayneville, the county seat, to exclude the black section, even though they must pay taxes.

LCFP Chairman Miles sums up the situation this way: "Fear has fallen a lot, treatment from whites is better, more people own their own homes. We have regular meetings in about five communities now, when it used to be a problem getting a meeting in one."

"As for those federal programs—they're good to a point. They help us. They provide some relief. But they also harm us. Once a person gets into the poverty program, he ain't interested in the freedom party. But people got to have something. You can't expect them to live on slogans."

"We keep on pushing. That's all. And someday we'll control this county."



CO-CHAIRMEN OF FAIR ELECTIONS COMMITTEE, Oakey Spence and James Washington, Jr., hold one of the posters they used to show their neighbors how to challenge fake voter registrations (photo by Suzanne Crowell).

Mingo Residents Fight Vote Fraud

By SUZANNE CROWELL

WILLIAMSON, W. Va.—"There isn't enough space in the Mingo County jails to hold the people willing to fight for fair elections," said Oakey Spence. In this spirit, the Mingo County Fair Elections Committee is attacking registration lists which are 137% of the census population.

It all started last August at a Poor Peoples' Conference at Athens, West Va., when James Washington heard about ways to combat the massive voter frauds which had made Mingo County elections a meaningless exercise. He helped to set up a county committee, and worked on the issue during the fall and winter. He was joined by Oakey Spence, a fellow citizen, and they began to hold district meetings all over the county.

By the time they were getting other people involved in the issue, they had become unrivalled experts on election law. They learned that any voter could challenge the registration of another citizen if he had cause to believe that citizen was no longer properly qualified. Of the 25,566 people on the rolls in 1960, only 19,576 could have been residents according to the West Virginia Elections Almanac.

With the aid of posters showing how to challenge registrations, they demonstrated that, with enough popular support, a massive overhaul of the lists could be made.

The issue became vital when the full import of the Green Amendment to the OEO bill was realized. It says that the "State or local government subdivision has the power to become the community action agency"—handing control of what is left of the poverty programs over to the county political machines.

At the same time, another organization, the Mingo County Political Action League, was laying plans to run some candidates of its own and to endorse others. Whatever the prospects for their success under normal circumstances, their chances were nil with the present inflated rolls.

Power Structure Reacts

"At first they thought it was a joke, but they don't think so now," remarks James Washington. His life has been threatened twice.

There have been four arrests, on ten warrants, for "Maliciously or frivolously, and without probable cause, challenging the right of a person to vote." The charge is punishable by \$100 fine and/or 90 days in jail.

The House of Delegates representative, T. I. Varney, now frequents the courthouse with a gun.

Meanwhile, after challenging 3000 names, the Fair Elections Committee charges that the county clerk, Tom Chafin, has not marked the challenged voter cards and sent the required registered letter requesting the appearance of the challenged voter. They charge him with simply removing the cards from the file and replacing them after committee people have left the courthouse.

After the arrests, the committee decided it would have to go outside Mingo County for help, and within a week the community raised \$780 to send a busload of citizens to Washington. There they met with the Federal Bureau of Investigation and Justice Department officials, who promised an investigation. They took hours of testimony from committee leaders.

The people also talked with assistants of Edith Green, author of the notorious amendment, and of Emmanuel Celler, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee. They met personally with Sen. Robert Byrd, Sen. Jennings Randolph and Rep. Jas. Kee. Rep. Kee

(Continued on Page 4)

5 Years and \$10,000 Fine

Mulloy, Pratt are Convicted

(By Staff Correspondent)

LOUISVILLE, Ky.—Joe Mulloy and Don Pratt went to jail April 8 for refusing to kill. They were given 5-year prison terms and fined \$10,000 each. They were unable to post the \$12,000 bail bond set by U.S. District Judge James Gordon.

A jury of people over 40 had found the young men guilty of violating the Selective Service Act by refusing to be inducted into the armed forces. Both have filed appeals.

Mulloy, an organizer for SCEF and the Louisville Peace Council, opposes war in any form. He told the jury that his draft board failed to give him a fair hearing on his claim that he is a conscientious objector. (See Peoples Forum, Page 6, for an account of his trial.)

Pratt is a former member of the ROTC. He refused to take the army physical examination at

the induction center here because he knew that a lung condition would cause him to be rejected. He wanted to challenge the Selective Service system head on.

Mulloy's troubles with his draft board began last summer when he helped small landowners in Eastern Kentucky to stop stripping of their land by coal companies. He and four other persons were arrested for sedition but the charges were later quashed.

As soon as the sedition charge was out of the way, the draft board ordered Mulloy to report for induction. He went through the process of induction but re-



Don Pratt

fused to be sworn in.

Robert A. Sedler, attorney for Mulloy and Pratt, began a major battle around the question of bail. He explained that Judge Gordon not only set an appeal bond of \$2,000 but also required each man to post \$10,000 bond to insure payment of his fine. The \$10,000 would be taken to pay the fine if they lost their appeals. He asked that bail be cut to \$3,000 each.

The jailing of Pratt and Mulloy resulted in daily picketing of the Jefferson County Jail by Mulloy's wife, Karen, and members of SCEF and the Louisville Peace Council.



KAREN MULLOY led demonstrators in daily pickets outside Louisville jail after her husband was convicted for refusing the draft. Bond was set at \$12,000 (photo by Joe Hoban).

Why Bluefield State Students Rebelled

By SUZANNE CROWELL
(Staff Correspondent)

BLUEFIELD, W. Va.—Ten students have obtained an order from the U.S. District Court stopping Bluefield State College from suspending them. This is an outgrowth of a protest which began almost a year ago.

A dispute over student rights developed into a fight over civil rights and racial discrimination. The 1954 Supreme Court decision in the School Segregation Cases, the historic role of Bluefield State in the black community, and West Virginia state politics—all are involved.

The protest started last summer when Carolyn Bratten, a white student, wrote a letter criticizing college disciplinary procedures and the lack of student rights.

The protest swelled soon after school began, when the college disciplined five black students for trying to cut a white student's hair during hazing. Ironically, the student, Alan Barker, considered it just a prank and did not ask for charges to be brought.

The hair-cutting only came to light when the administration investigated Barker's loss of \$25 at the same time—shortly before he suffered an epileptic seizure.

Black Students Punished

The money was later found in his room, but the black students were punished for the haircut without being granted a hearing, or even notified of the charges. They felt they were singled out because Barker is white.

Barker sided with them, joined the student-rights movement, and was later suspended after a homecoming demonstration. Meanwhile, black freshmen who had been hazed walked around bald, and their hazing was not punished.

The students demonstrated and invited the administration to a meeting at the student union. At this meeting, college officials asked the students to draw up a list of complaints and present them to President Hardway.

Among the grievances compiled by a seven-man committee were: no student representation on the student affairs committee, no specific list of rules (which resulted in vague charges), discriminatory hiring practices. The students appealed to Bluefield State alumni for support.

On October 5, student council leaders and the new student rights committee met quietly with the administration. The college promised to consider their carefully prepared six-page statement. Instead, five of the seven students present were suspended as soon as the meeting ended. They were charged with giving inaccurate information, threatening disorder, being at unauthorized meetings, rudeness, etc.

The Hearings

This time, hearings were to be held. Students brought lawyers, but the attorneys were only allowed to whisper to their clients. Carolyn Bratten was tried for the letter she had written months earlier. Another student, Alonzo Saunders, was told his verdict as soon as he

walked into the hearing room. Accuser and judge were one and the same. The



BLUEFIELD STATE COLLEGE STUDENTS and NAACP members marched on the West Virginia legislature during long struggle with the college administration and state politicians (Charleston Gazette photo).

other students refused to attend the kangaroo court.

By now, their grievances included the steady undermining of Bluefield State as a black institution. It was originally set up to serve the black community of West Virginia, but since the Supreme Court's 1954 decision the number of white students and faculty has increased steadily, year by year. Militant black students are afraid the school will eventually be completely white. They charge President Hardway with discriminating against the black students.

The next protest was a demonstration at half time during the homecoming football game. This was planned with the support of the opposing team. After the demonstration, students gathered around Dr. Hardway in the stands. He claims he saw students throwing rocks while they were being dispersed by the police, but he cannot identify anyone.

Ten Suspended

The following Monday, 10 students

were suspended without hearings. Demonstrations continued all week. National and state representatives of the NAACP came to the campus, and they later filed suit to have the students reinstated. Before Christmas, Huntington Judge Sidney L. Christie issued a temporary restraining order and the ten returned to class.

Before the case could come to court, the West Virginia State Human Rights Commission investigated the situation. They held hearings on campus and took

led his Negro supporters to understand that he would not reappoint Spangler, he reneged. People feel that he did so because he needed the machines' support to pass a succession amendment, so he could run again for Governor. The amendment failed, but Spangler was already on the Board.

Board members deferred to Spangler when the Bluefield State crisis arose. The Governor obviously decided that support from the politically powerful Board members was more important than from the Commission or the black community. He has so far refused to embarrass the Board into action. The Commission report on Bluefield State is now in his hands and he refuses to release it.

More Suspensions

The administration suspended 250 students for "academic reasons" at the beginning of this semester; among them were many who were later found to have been suspended "by mistake." Many were not told about their appeal rights in such a situation.

The student-rights committee has learned that the school's accredited standing is on probation, but students were never told by the administration that their degrees were in danger.

In Charleston, students met with the Governor and demanded that he release the Commission report at once. He offered to publish four of the points—if the students would drop their suit. This they refused to do. They marched on the capital and the four points were finally released.

Pressure mounted on the school administration, and they appointed four students to a student-faculty committee, but the people named were not leaders in the protests. The governor suggested naming two more, but the school balked at appointing Alonzo Saunders, so the student body president (the Governor's other choice) resigned.

Stalemate

The situation has stalemated. The federal judge's decision was expected in March but it has not been made. The Board of Education has refused to make any recommendations because the court case is still pending, although the logic behind this escapes most observers.

In the next few weeks there will be a new student council election, and no whites are running. Alonzo Saunders will probably be elected to the council.

It is probable that no reforms will be made on the Bluefield campus, this year at least. The college will continue to reduce the proportion of Negroes in the student body and on the faculty. Freedom of speech, of the press and of assembly will continue to go unrecognized.

Many of the students originally involved have transferred to other schools, along with the faculty members who dared to speak out. Only a strong response by the State Board could save Bluefield, and that is not likely.

Mingo Vote Frauds

(Continued from Page 3)

originally opposed the committee when they challenged a friend of his, but after meeting with the people he voiced support.

Sen. Byrd was not so yielding. A former klan member, now angling to be majority leader, he had little time for his constituents. When the meeting was finally held, after some misunderstanding (or hedging) his arrogance irritated the group. Some walked out.

The people were aware he had helped the county school superintendent devise minimum desegregation plans that would still be legal, but he said there was nothing he personally could do to help them with the vote situation.

Saturday, March 30, one accused member of the Free Elections Committee was tried at the Mingo County Court House. A rally of 1000 people was held to support her.

Challenging voter registrations and travelling to Washington to see how their representatives respond—or fail to respond—to their needs, has been the beginnings of political education for these people and many more. If they are ever to win power, they must control the election machinery. The first step toward this has been taken.

Brown Refused Bail in Virginia

(By Staff Correspondent)

RICHMOND, Va.—State troopers and city policemen wearing plastic-visored helmets and brandishing billy clubs ringed the federal court house here April 8. Persons entering Judge Merhige's court room were searched by federal marshals that day. The occasion: a bail hearing in the Rap Brown case.

After three days of outbreaks in city ghettos following the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, the power structure was more than usually frightened. By 8:30 a.m. six of ten spectators' benches had been filled by white men in business suits, the majority of them police agents. The press took up much of the re-

maining space; and black people were allowed to occupy the rest. Among them were Rap Brown's mother and sister.

Most of the black people were young and had come from Washington in a car caravan organized by SNCC. Many more were unable to gain entrance to the crowded courtroom and waited outside.

When Brown was brought in, his supporters stood to honor him. Weakened from a seven-week fast, which he finally ended that day, Brown walked slowly, as if each step were a great effort. But during the proceedings he was alert and smiled several times at his friends.

William M. Kunstler and Philip

J. Hirschkop, Brown's attorneys, asked the judge to stay his bond revocation order of February 21 or to set new bail until the order could be appealed to a higher court.

Kunstler argued that the right to bail is guaranteed by the eighth amendment to our constitution, and that the government has no right to make a special case of Rap Brown or any man simply because he expresses outspoken criticism of things as they are.

Another motion was for a plenary hearing on a writ of habeas corpus. All three motions were denied and were appealed to the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals at Baltimore.

Memphis: Background for Murder Portrait of a Mountaineer

(Continued from Page 1)

the hospital authorities saw the shape he was in, they assumed he must be in trouble—so they called the police, who then arrested him. His hearing was seriously impaired by the beating and he is worried that his musical career may be ended.

Ernest Withers, a black photographer, was working late one evening in his Beale Street shop. When he tried to leave, along with me and several photographers who work with him, we were stopped by Guardsmen and police.

"What kind of joint is this?" a cop barked.

"This is my place of business," Withers replied.

After they refused to give us permission to leave, he called the chief of police to lodge a complaint. The chief asked, "Why should I help you, when you're trying to burn the city down?"

Withers looked at me and said, "I got three sons in the army, one of them in Vietnam, and I can't even leave my shop to make my living."

The "Memphis Formula"

Soon the power structure, which had started by screaming "riot", began to change its tune. The commander of the National Guard went on television to claim that his tactic of massive force had "averted a riot."

City officials began to make digs at other cities for not having handled their outbreaks similarly, and local commentators predicted that the "Memphis formula" would ensure a calm summer. The city became even more determined not to respond to the demands of the strikers, and the protests of police brutality that now poured forth from the black community.

Then Dr. King returned, vowing to lead another march. The city got an injunction to stop him. King said he would ignore the injunction and he urged a "nonviolent confrontation with the city." It was central to his philosophy that confrontation is necessary to expose a city's sickness.

It was in this atmosphere, in the "City of Good Abode", that a bullet crashed into his neck and spine.

Anti-KUAC Suit Filed

(Continued from Page 1)

munism, but the record shows that they almost always investigate groups that are working for civil rights, labor rights, and rights of other minority groups."

A week after passage of the resolution, the suit against KUAC was filed by SCEF; Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC); Students for a Democratic Society (SDS); Louisville Peace Council; Lexington Chapter of CORE, and SDS's Louisville affiliate, the Aunt Mollie Jackson Chapter.

Individuals who sued are the Bradens; the Rev. A. D. King, a leader in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and brother of Dr. Martin L. King, Jr.; the Rev. Leo Lesser, Father James Gorman, Mrs. Lucretia Ward, and three professors at the University of Kentucky, Lawrence X. Tarpey, Abbie Marlatt, and Gene L. Mason.

They were soon joined by the Black Unity League of Kentucky (BULK); the West End Com-



POLICE USED MACE and tear gas freely during Memphis outbreak. Here one cop charges on a black photographer taking his picture (photo by Ernest Withers).

Dr. King and the Militants

Following are excerpts from interviews Bob Analavage had with black Memphis students before Dr. King was assassinated. They spoke to him three days after the first march led by Dr. King ended in violence. It is important to listen to what they have to say if one is to understand their alienation from King, and their rejection of nonviolent direct action in Memphis.

These students are members of the Black Organizing Project (BOP), which has organized several cadres in the community and on campus along lines similar to those called for by SNCC and the Black Panther Party, whom they consider their allies.

* * *

"The local black leaders do not see the maturity of the human rights struggle in this country. They are conducting an old-time civil rights campaign and it can't meet the needs and problems of the black community."

"You had violence on the march because King didn't understand the situation here. He assumed the movement here was led by the ministers. It

wasn't. The young people here have reached a political consciousness that those ministers do not understand or control."

"They (the ministers) did not bring us into any of the planning. They shut us off from the rest of the community. They even told the strikers not to have anything to do with us. . . . Those students that 'rioted'—if you want to use that term—were merely calling attention to their existence, saying 'we're here and you're going to have to deal with us'."

"King can use the old people and the ones that have been following the ministers since '54. But he can't control the young. We are quite capable of leading ourselves. As for non-violence—that died in Newark and Detroit."

"We have unity with King in terms of attitude. We differ on tactics. We are not yet together on how we can gain liberation in this country."

"King believes in black power, only he calls it Soul Force. But any time you call for a mass mobilization of black people in a show of force like King is doing, he is calling for

black power."

"If King thinks his views are the prevailing ones, he is in for a rude awakening."

* * *

The Rev. James L. Lawson, the local minister leading the Memphis campaign, denied that the students were barred from any meetings. "I invited them to come to the planning sessions. They came and behaved like John Birchers. They refused to have any agenda. They refused to discuss any of the day-to-day problems of a sustained struggle, like where do you get money, how do you feed people?"

"All they were interested in was having ideological discussions. They spoke at some meetings and criticized the leaders and to me it seemed they wanted to destroy the unity in our community. If this is revolutionary thought, I want nothing to do with it."

Rev. Lawson does not blame the students for the violence. "All young people have to do is watch television to learn all they want about violence. And there is the war in Vietnam, that can teach anybody about violence."

The Measure of Greatness

(Continued from Page 7)

people that this would cost support for his organization, he is reported to have said: "I don't care if I never get another nickel. This is something I have to do."

I don't know that these were his exact words, but I could believe them because I had seen Martin stand for an unpopular cause before. Soon after I first met him in 1957, he came to Louisville to speak to a group and told them that they should act to correct the injustice that had been done when my husband Carl and I were charged with sedition after we sold a house in a white neighborhood to a black couple.

There was still an hysteria in Louisville then and many of our friends were afraid to speak to us, much less defend us. We had not asked King

to take the position he did; he didn't have to, there was no glory in it, only criticism. But he did it—presumably because he felt a principle was at stake.

Later, in 1961, he did a similar thing in a larger arena when he initiated a clemency petition for Carl as a protest against his jailing by the House Un-American Activities Committee. HUAC was much more feared then than now, and there was no glory in this either—only criticism, which indeed did descend on him.

The measure of greatness in a man, I think, is his capacity to take a stand for what he believes is right when no possible personal gain to him is involved. Because of the circumstances of my own life, I was one who was privileged to see King in this role.

(By Staff Correspondent)

Robert Fulcher is a poor white man who lives in the West Virginia mountains. Like many whites in his area, he used to want nothing to do with black people or their movements, because he believed white people were naturally better than Negroes.

But in the course of working with poverty programs in his area, he met many black people and he came to respect them. He became consciously aware of the lies he had believed and had told others himself. He came to realize that, in his poverty, he had a common cause with Negroes—and that what helped to keep them both down was the racism taught him in school, in his newspaper, on his television set.

When Fulcher was invited to go to a meeting of the Poor People's Campaign in Atlanta, he went, and came back believing that Martin Luther King had something he wanted to be part of. He saw all the Hispanos, Puerto Ricans, Indians and black people, and he had hopes that all these people could get together and start something for all of them.

When King was shot Fulcher felt the loss very personally. He believed King was killed for him. And at a meeting of people from his community, he delivered a sermon in the Holiness style he knew well—a sermon about the sins of white people, and how he was afraid for his race and ashamed of it.

Ashamed because it taught its children hate, and afraid because, while it was so busy teaching hate, it never realized the dismal shape its own people were in. Fulcher said the Appalachian people were well known for their religious outlook, and that they had still failed miserably to live up to the Christian concept of brotherhood and love.

On Sunday, April 7, he received an invitation to sit in the Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta for Dr. King's funeral, because he was involved in the Poor People's Campaign. He was proud to go.

This is not a fairy tale, or a story of instant conversion. It is an illustration of what needs to happen all over the country.

It is the job white people have almost entirely neglected — of combatting racism in white people by organizing them for change in situations where racism will be exposed for what it is—a way of keeping the poor in their place. As long as the examples are so few that they are recited and commented on like the one above, there will be small hope for changing America.

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

FREDERICK DOUGLAS

THE PEOPLES FORUM

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

ALBERT CAMUS

Dr. King: Casualty of Vietnam

Dr. Martin Luther King is dead—the result of another assassin's bullet. Do we need further proof that violence begets violence, especially when official violence at the very summit of power has become national policy? President Johnson stated March 29 that "We will not let violence or lawlessness take over this country." Yet, he is responsible for more death and violence in Vietnam than riots in the United States have caused in this century.

Dr. King is a casualty of the Johnson Administration War in Vietnam as surely as if he had been killed in Saigon or shot down over Hanoi. Many more of our bravest and noblest here and abroad will become victims of the insane violence spawned in Washington, D.C., since World War II, unless the global grab for power initiated by Harry Truman in 1945 is soon abandoned.

Walter Lippman accurately described the situation, I believe, when he wrote in Newsweek, August 1, 1966, "This great country has problems of its own which it cannot, except at great risk, simply tinker with any longer. The condition of our cities . . . is explosive, not only because of the black ghettos, but these cities are becoming progressively unlivable for everyone, black or white. They need great sums of money. Neither attention nor money is available now that the Administration has gone off whoring after false Gods in pursuit of World Power."

We cannot acquire respect for people or human life at home while brutalizing and dehumanizing those of a different color here and ten thousand miles across the oceans. Johnson's wars of aggression, such as in the Dominican Republic and Vietnam, have already destroyed us morally, both at home and abroad.

Only by ending the war in Vietnam and using the resources saved thereby to reduce poverty at home and rebuild, as far as is possible, the damage we have done to the Vietnamese people, can we regain our self-respect, or begin to reacquire the respect of the rest of the world.

By declining to seek the Presidency again, Johnson has created a favorable climate for a fundamental change in the world situation. If he would follow this up promptly by submitting his resignation as President, peace abroad and tranquility at home would, I believe, be greatly advanced.

In common with all humane people, I share in the sorrow for

Strike Reprint

The Radical Education Project has reprinted the article about the strike in Laurel, Miss., which was in the January Patriot. It has been given a cover, bound into a folder, and entitled "Black Workers Set Against White—Strike Broken." Price is 5¢. Order from Radical Education Project, Box 625, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48107.

the loss of America's noblest servant—a truly great world citizen, Dr. King. If the magnitude of this crime serves to alert us as a people to the even greater crime we are committing against our own people who are living in abject poverty and those we are murdering overseas, then Martin Luther King's death will not have been in vain. An end to war abroad and achievement of justice at home is the only memorial worthy of this hero of non-violence.

HUGH B. HESTER
Brigadier General,
U. S. Army (Rtd.)
St. Petersburg, Fla.

Kangaroo Court for Mulloy

Friday, April 5, I attended the trial of Joseph Mulloy for refusing induction into the Armed Forces. The whole process can only be described as "kangaroo".

It was clearly shown by the testimony of the members of Local Board No. 47 that none of them had any clear notion of what the Universal Military Training and Service Act or Selective Service regulations set forth as a legal basis for conscientious objection. Yet, each board member was absolutely sure, in some cases without even reading his claim and file, that Joseph Mulloy's claim did not

COLLECTOR SEEKS MOVEMENT SOUVENIRS

WANTED—old political campaign buttons, badges, ribbons, items, etc. Collector engaged in historical project wants all such material—especially want items of Eugene Debs, Tom Watson, Bob LaFollette, Henry Wallace and other radical candidates and movements. Will donate to the Southern Patriot for all items received. Send items to: Dan Bessie, 7313 Zelzah Avenue, Reseda, Calif. 91335.

come within the scope allowed by law.

The conviction and the sentence imposed on Joseph Mulloy bespeak the hate and fear that the establishment has of people who work for social justice and who are courageous enough to stand firm for their beliefs.

It bespeaks the illness of our society when a man is sentenced to 5 years imprisonment and fined \$10,000 for refusing to kill brown people in Viet Nam, because he believes it wrong to kill. And, it is corrupt to use Selective Service and mock justice to silence a worker for social justice and equality.

If Judge Gordon believes that giving Joseph Mulloy the maximum sentence possible under the law will discourage others from standing on their beliefs and ideals or working for social justice in America, he is very badly mistaken.

Just as the bullet which struck down Dr. Martin Luther King will not stop, but will intensify, the Civil-Rights Movement, this harsh sentence merely makes the sickness, which is rampant in America, all the more apparent and underscores the dire need for a change.

ARTHUR CORSE
Louisville, Ky.

ECLC Will Defend George Edwards

In *The Southern Patriot* of March you carry a letter from Mr. George S. Edwards calling for help in his draft case. You will be glad to know that the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee has taken his case and a member of our National Council, Sanford Katz, will represent him in court.

CLARK FOREMAN
National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee
New York, N.Y.

VISIT FROM THE FBI

When the younger, slightly familiar man at the door said, "Federal Bureau of Investigation" I had a distinct feeling of *deja vu*. My wife offered them tea in her ordinary way; the young agent's hand shook as he handed me a slip of paper enunciating my rights and options, and I suddenly saw the two men quite realistically. They were men. They were doing their job (their questions betrayed that they had the answers already, that they were merely following orders to let "the movement" know who was boss).

I have worked on cases, as a writer, that the F.B.I. was connected with and I have no illusions about Hoover or what he is capable of, or that the two pleasant men opposite me would—if they were ordered—come in the middle of the night like the S.S.

We talked about the Kennedy assassination, the war, the draft, Dr. Spock. I reminded them that they, too, might have to say "no" to the government (in the case of a Right coalition). They left and I remembered, suddenly and more vividly than for a long time, what the Peace and Freedom movement was all about and why I felt joy at the sure knowledge that I could, would go to the end (using the "weapons of the brave") for the brothers and sisters in Asia, in the ghetto, on the campus.

DONALD FREED
Beverly Hills, Ca.

Klansmen Convicted in New Orleans

Last week Albert D'Orlando, the minister of our First Unitarian Church in New Orleans, had to go into Criminal District Court and give testimony regarding the attempt by six members of the United Klans of America, New Orleans Chapter to blow up his house at midnight on March 14, 1965.

As the trial, conducted by the District Attorney's assistants, began in an old-fashioned courtroom, the indicted Klansmen were seated in a row under the judge's nose. The spectator's section was rife with FBI men and schoolchildren—an odd combination: the teacher who planned the field trip didn't realize just how sordid a trial her pupils were going to watch.

Albert's short period in the witness chair was marked by convincing, low-key testimony, describing with dignity the dramatic events of that weekend three years ago. James Reeb had just been assassinated in Alabama, a public memorial service was to be held downtown, Albert had been asked to deliver a prayer for his Unitarian colleague who had been martyred.

He was sitting up late in his study in his old home on Nelson Avenue while his wife, Pauly, and her father sat up in a nearby room. Suddenly an explosion shot up the wall outside his study window, and Albert, rising from his chair, saw huge flames from his house reflected in the windows of the house directly across the street.

Running out the front door, Albert managed to extinguish the fire with a garden hose before it exploded a 250-gallon capacity oil tank which was right under his study. It was a very narrow escape!

Anyone who knew the D'Orlandos during those tense weeks can only feel a deep admiration for their courage and coolness; and some of us knew, as the trial last week was going on, that Albert's car had been shot into during the early morning on March 17, 1968.

(To our continuing amazement, Albert—upon discovering the damaged car—drove calmly to the church, delivered an excellent sermon on the newly-published Kerner Commission Report, and only after he returned home for lunch called the police, who were at that time preparing to go to trial and prosecute the Klan members. So that his confrontation with the bombers in the court took on fresh meaning.)

At one point in the courtroom proceedings, Albert was asked to look into the faces of three Klansmen seated in front of him and report whether or not he knew them, and I watched him as he looked from one face to the next with complete aplomb. Looking at these somewhat seedy middle-aged men, I felt a mixture of fear and contempt.

The methodical statement of the State's case outlined the actions of these Klansmen on that spring night three years past—a number of Klan members gathered to counter-demonstrate at Jim's Restaurant and Bar on South Carrollton Avenue, where some black students were trying to desegregate the facilities. Upon arriving too late, as the students had left, they sat around drinking beer for several hours and dreamed up various ways in which they could counter-picket the James Reeb Memorial Service the next day.

Then they drove around for a while, trying to decide whose house to bomb, and after deciding on Albert's house they purchased some gas and made up two huge Molotov cocktails, following the "usual procedure" of taping a half-cigarette which contained a thick, corded fuse onto the side of a big pickle jar filled with gasoline.

Upon lighting the fire bomb fuses and placing the bombs in brown paper bags against the gas pipe under Albert's study, they drove away hurriedly in their 1953 Pontiac.

These details were obtained from the second witness, a young Klansman named William Elmer Cross, Jr., who had finally decided to turn State's evidence (along with two others, all three yet to be tried in their turn). Albert was shown for identification the fragments of the fire bomb, the box of safety fuses, the burned wood, in turn; while the jury peered over his shoulder with obvious trepidation.

One of the macabre details of the conspiracy to commit aggravated arson is that Klan members had enjoyed a shrimp boil (a traditional and delectable Louisiana feast) at the home of Lloyd Barnett in Algiers (a sub-section of the city something like South Boston) to plan and demonstrate to inexperienced members the aforementioned "usual procedure" of preparing fire bombs.

The outcome of the trial was not seriously in doubt, and just before suppertime the lawyers adjourned and worked out a quick settlement with the judge—the Klansmen pleaded guilty and were given five-year sentences.

So three are behind bars, but meanwhile the corrosive forces at work in our society in Louisiana continue unabated. Just last week I talked with a new faculty member at Tulane University who had come out for open housing and desegregated education, and I had to suggest the "usual procedures" applied by our side: take the telephone off the hook, buy big fire extinguishers, buy an alarm, sleep away from the windows, turn on lights outside the house—and sit at home wondering why the national and local authorities can't offer more forceful protection of our rights to freedom of action and speech.

CORINNE FREEMAN SMITH
New Orleans, La.

The Continuing Struggle

Deeds, not Words

By JACK MINNIS

(SCEF Research Director)

A letter arrived the other day from a new *Patriot* reader. He'd read the story on the Laurel strike and offered support for SCEF's program. The letter closed with these words: "I am writing to you on the day of Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King's funeral. I regard it as appropriate to the occasion because SCEF appears to be putting his 'dream' into practice."

Unconsciously, perhaps, he had shown the dimensions of whatever differences of opinion exist among black people about what is to be done. (Such differences are probably largely manufactured by the governing class; nevertheless I think there did exist a basic difference in outlook between King, on the one hand, and the "black-power advocates", on the other.)

King, as I understand him, was convinced that there must be black-white unity. I'm not certain what he thought should, or would, be the purpose of such unity. But I suspect he regarded it as primarily a moral rather than a political or economic imperative.

The "black-power advocates" whom I know, and whose positions I think I understand, take an entirely different approach. Rather than begin with a moral imperative and then "dream" about the reality it implies (children roaming hand in hand through the Georgia hills), they insist that history teaches that white racism cannot be changed. As a result of this, they think, black unity is needed to avert a program of genocide.

They might very well admit the theoretical necessity and possibility of black-white unity behind a class-based political and economic program. However, they are hard-headed men who insist that theories which are not grounded in current social reality are luxuries their people cannot afford.

If they can be convinced that white racism is not unchangeable, that programmatic genocide isn't inevitable, it will only be by the deeds of whites—never by their arguments, or their morality.

Whites throughout the country will bridle at the suggestion that it is the responsibility of white people to convince blacks. They will insist that the black power folk are arrogant and unworthy. Such whites have deluded themselves in the past by denying the evidence of their own life experience. Now they will have to deny the evidence and opinions of Johnson's riot commission. Many will succeed in this double delusion. They will succeed because they are unable to muster the determination to see beyond the prejudices society has ingrained in them.

And that's precisely what the black-power folk are predicting.

If whites succumb to the comforts of their delusions, they will ensure a state of things about which they'll be unable to delude themselves—and which they'll find uncomfortable indeed.

Matters have gone beyond morality or love or nonviolence. They've come to this point: If a large proportion of U.S. whites do not alter their innate racism, they can only become what the "good Germans" were—connivers at genocide. And the change can-

not be shown by words. It must show itself in deeds. Deeds, that is, of an appropriate kind.

Some 150,000 people, many of them white, attended King's funeral in Atlanta. It was nice to pay tribute to a man history will call great. But what happens when those whites go home?

Will they feel that by attending the funeral they've done all that should be expected of them? Will they go out and organize for McCarthy, Kennedy or Humphrey? Or will they recognize their own responsibility for the incident which made the tribute necessary?

Will they recognize that every major candidate in the presidential race has been in a position for years to make significant contributions to end racism in the U.S.—and none has even scratched the surface?

What the U.S. will be in the coming years depends upon what those whites do now.

And the time for dreaming is past.

This paper was drawn up in response to the suggestion, increasingly heard in the movement, that the only relevant thing white people can do at this point in U.S. history is to supply guns to the black militants in the ghettos.

It was circulated at the recent SDS National Council meeting in Lexington, Ky., by representatives of the Aunt Molly Jackson chapter of SDS in Louisville, Ky., National Community Union, Southern Student Organizing Committee and Southern Conference Educational Fund. It has been cut slightly because of space limitations.

Is genocide imminent? If it is, it must be stopped, and we must plan how to stop it.

We know that supplying arms to our black brothers to combat genocide will not stop the genocide. More guns will only raise the ante, and make mercenaries of blacks for the white left against the system. Equally true if white revolutionaries join the combat, blacks will pay the price in blood. The genocide will still continue. If we are to make the

Organizers' Forum

Instead of Gun-running

revolution, we must do what blacks have told us for years: organize and revolutionize white America.

Summer Programs in the White Community

a. Start where the people are. The self-interest of the white suburbs is to not have a riot.

b. Move from self-interest to understanding that oppression breeds rebellions—stop rebellions by stopping oppression.

c. Develop specific support for the victims of oppression. We have listed many suggestions below.

What to do on Campus

1. Preserve the freedom for black people to organize through anti-repression activity. Circulate a petition in support of Rap Brown's right to speak; fight the Eastland and McClellan commit-

tees, etc. Explore legal attacks against new anti-riot laws, with hundreds of whites as plaintiffs.

2. Support white organizers in white communities: publicize their work, invite speakers to campus, etc.

3. Educate in three ways:

a. About specific incidents, i.e. Memphis.

b. About white oppression—who controls black universities, the ghetto economy, its political machines, poverty programs. You are likely to find them coincident with those controlling our lives.

c. About your city—what weapons has it bought (can you sue for misappropriation of funds?) etc.

4. If a rebellion occurs while you are in school, dramatize the things you have learned in (3) through rallies, demonstrations, petitions. Go downtown and leaflet or disrupt traffic to show your support, and strain the city's resources.

5. Use intensive campus organizing techniques developed around the war; teach-ins, dorm discussions and canvassing with petitions or ads in newspapers.

7. Be aware of national guard maneuvers and participate in filing suit for injunctions to prevent maneuvers in the ghetto (this has been done in Nashville).

In the Summer

1. Redirect students to their own middle class communities. Raise money for food and medical supplies for emergencies. Perhaps a national fund would be a tool through which to raise the issue of racism.

2. In line with (1) attempt to narrow the base of politicians intent on racism. Attack them.

4. Emphasize that police brutality is the fault of politicians just as much as police, if not more so. The ruling class is responsible for repression; the police are their agents, and not independent of them.

5. Visit police stations during rebellions to help minimize police brutality by acting as observers.

6. Push a campaign for condemnation of the U.S. in the U.N. Find out about SNCC's work there.

7. Seek out black civilian patrols and publicize their findings.

8. Take a Rap Brown petition to work, or something. Use your summer job to talk to people.

9. While doing draft work, explain what soldiers may be ordered to do in the ghetto, as well as Vietnam. Resistance by whites on that issue should be publicized.

10. Talk to national guardsmen and GIs on the possibility of ghetto duty. One defection would be a great victory.

* * *

Remember that if the government is determined to commit genocide, no amount of arms we could raise will stop it. The only thing that would have stopped Nazi genocide would have been the masses of German people. We must reach masses of white people here, with concrete and specific actions. And we should have started yesterday.

THE ROAD AHEAD

By ANNE BRADEN

I think Jack Minnis, in his column on this page, has raised precisely the right question about Dr. Martin Luther King's funeral: what will all those white people who went to Atlanta to pay tribute to King do when they get back home about the conditions which caused his murder?

I also think Jack is right when he notes that, although King believed until his death in the possibility of overcoming white racism and building black-white unity, most black people in this country don't believe in such a possibility.

And he is right when he says that, whether white people like it or not, the burden is on them to prove to black people that racism can be overcome.

I must disagree with Jack, however, in the contradiction he constructs between the moral imperative to bring change and the political and economic necessity to do so. Also the contradiction he establishes between dreams and action.

I simply do not see these distinctions. If the politics and economic system in this country (or in any country) do not serve the needs of the people, then they must move to change them, and the decision to do so is by definition a moral act.

Those who make a serious effort to change a society must make sacrifices and take risks and accept the possibility that they personally may not live to see the fruits of their effort. I don't think great numbers of people will choose this course in any sustained way (they may do it spasmodically) unless they are gripped by some dream and vision of the better society that they would build.

The dream, the vision, the moral force supply the motor power for economic and political change, and I don't think any lasting movement can be built without it.

Because Jack makes a contradiction that does not exist between politics and economics on the one hand and morality on the other, I think he errs in assessing Martin Luther King's role in the movement and in history.

In the first place, he imputes to King ideas that there is no evidence he held. Jack says he apparently saw black-white unity only as a moral imperative, whereas others are thinking in terms of politics and economics.

But King repeatedly said, and most emphatically in the later years of his life, that what is needed in this country is the building of political power by poor people and a redistribution of the nation's wealth.

In his assessment, Jack—unintentionally to be sure—feeds the building of a false image of King that the power structure in this country is seeking to impose on him.

In recent years, many people were rejecting King's philosophy of nonviolent direct action, and so frightened people in power tried to push him into a role of a controller and restrainer of the movement and tried to paint him in that image.

But King was never a restrainer. From Mont-

gomery in late 1955 until his last hours in Memphis, he was always a mobilizer of people.

No one should mistakenly think in hindsight that King presented the idea of nonviolent direct action in Montgomery because black people were being violent. Except for a few courageous pioneers, people weren't doing anything; they were crushed.

King didn't organize the Montgomery movement and never claimed to; in his book about it, he gave full credit to the people who did:—Mrs. Rosa Parks and E. D. Nixon. But King emerged with a dream, a vision, and a contagious faith—and inspired people with a sense of history and strength. And the South and the nation were shaken.

From then on, that was his genius—his ability to inspire people to go forth and do battle. A nonviolent battle, but always a battle.

The night he died, the television networks played a sequence from a speech he had made in Memphis the night before—his last speech. There had just been a court injunction to stop a new march in Memphis. In his familiar style—the repetition of some key phrase—King was thundering:

"Somewhere I read . . . about freedom of speech. Somewhere I read about freedom of assembly. Somewhere I read . . . about freedom of association. We didn't let no police dogs turn us around, we didn't let no fire hoses turn us around . . . and we're not going to let no injunction turn us around . . ."

The crowd (young and old) rose to its feet applauding and cheering—human beings, men and women, infused with a new faith and strength, ready once again to go forth and do battle.

The power structure needed Martin Luther King as a "man of peace"—a man who would say to his followers "take it easy." They need his image and his memory that way in death. But I am convinced he never in his lifetime acquiesced in such a role. The most tragic disservice we could do to both him and the movement is to let that image be imposed on him in death.

* * *

I would like to add one personal word about Martin Luther King. The world knew King as a leader of a popular cause—one that, although it brought him abuse and finally death, also brought him honor and glory. But he was also a man who would take a stand for an unpopular cause and risk his reputation to do it when he felt it was right.

He did this when he came out against the war in Vietnam in early 1965—before any civil-rights organization had done so. When told by some

(Continued on Page 5)

Knoxville Tragedy

Students are Scapegoats in Unsolved Killing

By MICHAEL FRIEDMAN
(Special Correspondent)

KNOXVILLE, Tenn.—Four black youths have become the scapegoats for a murder that police are unable to solve.

Although not charged with the killing, three of them—students at Knoxville College—will go on trial April 29 to satisfy the public's demand for some action.

It all started on March 9, when the body of a white cab driver was found on the campus of the college. The dead man, A. J. Boruff, had been shot with a .22-calibre pistol. Near the body was his cab, which had been burned and battered with rocks.

The chain of incidents which led up to his death had begun early the previous evening, when police heard rumors that a dormitory on the campus was to be blown up. They tried to halt a group of young men, one of them carrying a paper bag, outside the campus. The youths dropped the bag and fled. Police said the bag contained bottles of gasoline stuffed with rags.

At 1:45 a.m. city police went onto the campus and arrested a student, Gary Keel. They claimed they had seen Keel in the group that fled.

Police also stopped a car with Alabama license plates as it entered the college and arrested the two people in it, a student and a non-student. Later, police efforts to move the car were temporarily stopped by the students' hostility.

When it was learned that city police had come on campus and arrested students, there was an effort to call the students out of their dormitories and tell them what had happened. As the group was gathering, a delegation of students went to the college president's house to ask his aid.

Though not receptive to the students' complaints, the president, Dr. Robert L. Owens, agreed to go to the city jail and negotiate. Meanwhile the crowds had been growing. Bullhorns were used to call the students out, and two groups formed, one near the back of the campus and one near the front.

While this was taking place, Boruff drove his cab onto the campus and was warned to leave. He continued to drive to

the dormitories at the back of the campus, where he ran into the group which had gathered there. His cab was chased. At some point he abandoned it and began to run.

Here the story becomes completely unclear. All that is known for sure is that some shots were fired and a few hours later the body was found. Who fired the shots? Where did the shots come from? Was there an exchange of fire? None of these questions have been answered.

This was as far as the affair went, save for the damage done to Boruff's cab.

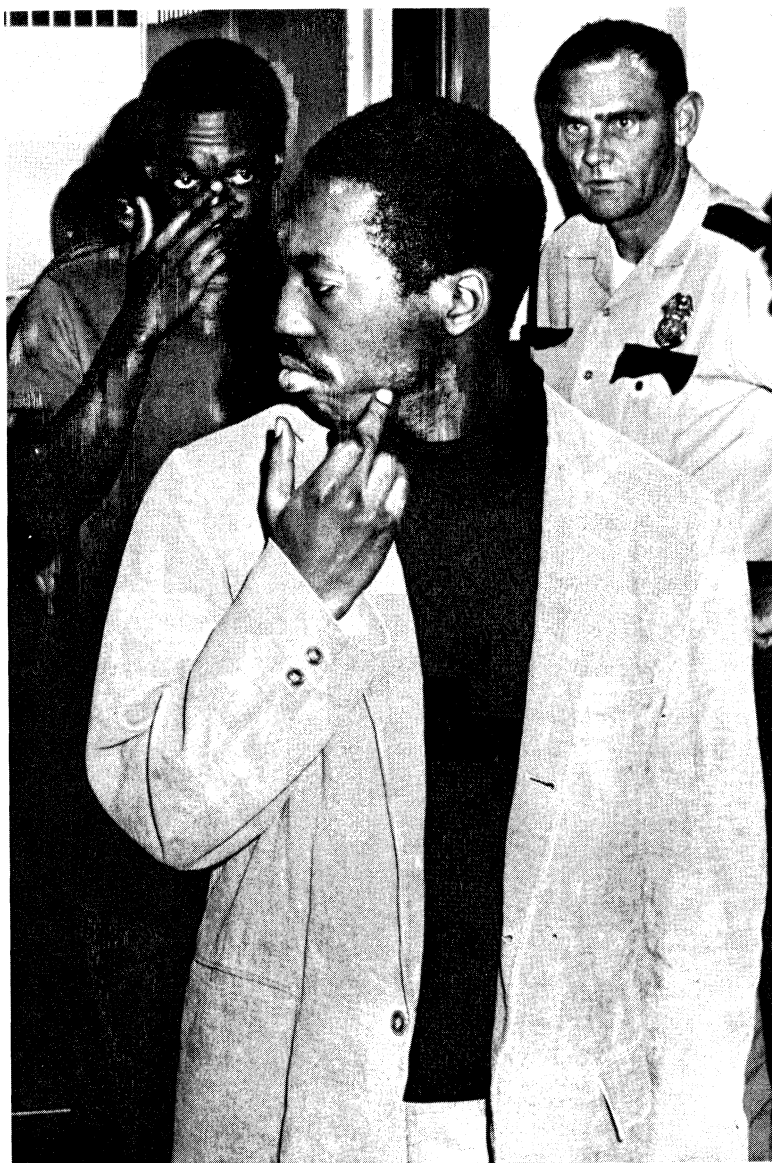
Police Deterred

Knoxville was saved from becoming a bloodier Orangeburg because the college president was at the city jail when the cab company relayed Boruff's call for help to the police. Their immediate response was a plan to invade the campus and "save" Boruff. Dr. Owens talked them out of this, and probably saved some lives.

In the following days a number of persons—students, ex-students and non-students—were arrested. Most were held without charges. All had connections with a campus group called the Student Social Action Committee (SSAC), the focus of black-power militancy at the college.

Four people are still in jail. The three students—Gary Keel, Hope Tigner III, and Joseph Scott—are charged with possessing explosives and conspiring to arson (police claim they planned to blow up the gym). Tigner also faces charges of arson and felonious assault. Donald Wallace, a former student at the college, is charged with possession of marijuana, with bond set at \$1,500.

Knoxville bondsmen have refused to post their bonds. And there is reason to believe that authorities would refuse to free



THREE KNOXVILLE COLLEGE STUDENTS enter courtroom for arraignment on charges of possessing explosives. From front to back: Hope "Pete" Tigner, Joseph Scott, Gary Keel (News-Sentinel photo).

the youths, who have been in jail since mid-March, even if they could raise the money.

When Tigner was first picked up, he was charged with possessing explosives and bond was set at \$1,500. His parents arranged for bail from an out-of-state company and he was released. A few days later, the police arrested him on two new charges and sent him back to prison under \$6,000 bond.

Bail for Keel and Scott had been set at \$1,500 each, making a total of \$9,000 for the three students. The student body voted

(430 to 76) to raise it for them. And so the police immediately found a new charge (conspiring to burn the gym) and raised Tigner's bond by \$3,000, Keel's and Scott's by \$1,500. The student body has been unable to raise the additional \$6,000.

Thus, it seems clear that authorities are determined to keep them in jail—although there is no suggestion that they were responsible for Boruff's death.

The police have made little effort to solve that case. There have been only half-hearted attempts to find the murder

weapon, and no efforts have been made to investigate anyone who is not connected with the black-power group. Police have not even considered the possibility that the killer was not a student.

Police Captain Waggoner says: "The whole campus stands under indictment," until the murderer is found. This has been used to justify wholesale intimidation and harassment of the students. They are constantly being asked what they know about the four youths already under arrest.

"The only conclusion that can be drawn," one teacher said, "is that the police are less interested in finding the murderer than in 'proving' that the people whom they suspect are guilty. Only the facts have prevented them from doing this."

Public sentiment has been aroused by reports of "black-power" plots and agitation.

Administration Won't Help

The college administration has done nothing to help the students. Dr. Owens has continually refused to allow the college to play an active role in raising money for bonds or legal fees, and he has hindered those alumni, faculty and students who want to help—although he has not stopped them.

His main concern seems to be with fund raising for the college, and with problems he will now have in some parts of the white community.

A college administrator told one of the jailed students that the public would condemn the college for aiding "criminal offenders." The student wrote Dr. Owens to point out that, by its inaction, the college was joining in the unjust effort to declare the four guilty before they were tried. His plea was ignored by the president.

The courts have already refused their plea for freedom under a writ of habeas corpus. Unless they can raise the bond, they will probably be in jail until the trial begins on April 29. Send money for bail and legal fees to:

Curtis Johnson
Knoxville College
Knoxville, Tenn.

Tulane Free Speech Movement Flickers

(By Staff Correspondent)

NEW ORLEANS, La.—A brief but vocal free speech movement sprang up at Tulane University and brought the first real confrontation between the students and the administration.

It all started innocently enough. The *Hullballo*, the student newspaper, wanted to publish two photographs that had sexual themes. The board of publications, made up of students and faculty and designed to arbitrate any "questionable" student material, voted to publish them.

Then John H. Stibbs, the dean of students, stepped in and unilaterally decided the photos could not be published. Ultimately, he was backed by university president Herbert E. Longenecker and the board of administrators.

Even Goldwaterites Outraged

Enraged, students formed an ad hoc committee which included moderate student senators, the student body president, and Tulane's SDS. The issue was so basic that even the former head of Youth for Goldwater joined in the protest.

They held mass meetings, which eventually swelled to 2,000 out of a total student body of 8,000. (One student pointed out that this was "a larger percentage than the Berkeley free speech movement turned out.")

Several marches on the president's house were

organized. Longenecker addressed them paternalistically: "I'm glad to see you're aroused about something and letting off steam."

This only succeeded in making the students more angry. SDS did research on the people who make up the board of administrators, and circulated it widely on campus. They discovered that President Longenecker is one of the U.S. government's top advisers on chemical and biological warfare.

Cargill Attorney

Ashton Phelps, vice-president of the board of administrators and the attorney who described the photos as "obscene" (ACLU lawyers opined they weren't), also represents Cargill, Inc. Cargill owns the salt mine in Southern Louisiana where 21 miners were killed recently because the company refused to make safety improvements recommended several months ago by the Bureau of Mines.

Nola Express, a New Orleans underground paper, said of Cargill: "Anybody who is legal counsel for Cargill Inc. is clearly an expert on obscenity."

The ad hoc committee then threw picket lines around businesses, downtown and in the campus area, which are owned or partially owned by Tulane directors.

But Tulane is not Berkeley. Southern colleges are not even colonies—they are plantations, and there is no tradition of protracted struggle.

President Longenecker addressed the student body in placating terms. He urged them to protest through

the appointed channels, forgetting that this was exactly what the students were doing when he over-ruled them.

Soon the emotion died down, and the majority of students resumed their sleepy existence. The pictures were not published. But this was not the end of it. Out of the ad hoc committee has grown a permanent student organization called MORTS (Mobilization of Responsible Tulane Students) which promises to continue to raise student-power issues.

Students and Labor

During the free speech movement, some workers were striking across town, and SDS sent a representative, Eric Gordon, to offer student help. It turned out that another of Tulane's directors, C. F. Farrot, the head of a construction firm, was trying to smash their strike. Gordon said that, upon hearing this, a strike spokesman said, "What can we do to help you?"

Unfortunately, both the strike and the student protest ended before any student-worker alliance could be formed, but even the hint of cooperation should not be underestimated.

Gordon summed up the student protest: "On one hand, it was a very small, bourgeois issue—'dirty pictures'—compared to the struggles going on across the country. But, on the other hand, it showed a lot of people, students, where the power of the community really lies."