

VOL. 30, NO. 5

May, 1972

PUBLISHED BY THE SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND (SCEF), LOUISVILLE, KY.

## Southerners Move Against the War

(By Staff Correspondent)

Anti-war actions swept through the South this spring, touching almost every state, most large communities, and many small ones.

It started slowly in mid-April, as a number of organized groups geared their protests to the due date for federal income taxes. (The average American worker now works two hours and 37 minutes each day just to pay taxes, and 61 percent of this goes for war.)

The protests grew as President Nixon stepped up the bombing of North Vietnam and spread further with his announcement of the mining of Vietnamese harbors on May 8.

In most places, the demonstrations were not as large as those that gripped the South and the country two years ago after the invasion of Cambodia and the killings at Kent and Jackson State. But in many places people said it was tne first time since then that so many people had come together to oppose the war.

There were also differences this time. For one thing, people opposed to the war were tending to discard the idea that the Vietnam War has been just an unfortunate accident. They were looking for causes behind it, and focusing their protests more on the big corporations in this country who are making money from war contracts.

Anti-war actions in a number of places took the form of protests at meetings of board of directors of the big companies that hold fat war contracts—International Telephone and Telegraph (ITT) meeting in Memphis, General Electric meeting in Houston—and at the offices of such big companies as Honeywell in a Miami demonstration, and in Greenville, S.C.

Another difference this time was that the anti-war actions reached well beyond the campuses. In many places students sparked the larger demonstrations—but most actions included all age groups, especially young married people in their 20's and 30's.

There was also a conscious effort on the part of peace forces to reach the average "man and woman on the street."

## Special Report Wallace Country

It is unclear at this time how hard George Wallace will be able to push his candidacy for president because of his physical condition. Regardless of his personal political future, the forces he represents will continue to be a factor in U.S. politics. On page 3 there is an article on what life is like in Alabama after 10 years of control by the Wallace forces. Reprints will be available from SCEF. Contributions of \$7.50 per 1000 are requested.



For example, one of the earliest spring actions was a march from Greenville, S.C., along a 107-mile route to the state capitol in Columbia in mid-Apri. It took a week, and about 60 people took part at one time or another, with 800 joining the final rally at the capitol.

The marchers stopped all along the way talking to people as they went.

"We were really surprised," said Leslie Turner of Greenville who helped organize it. "Most people agreed with us—and even those who did not would come out to where we were camping at night to talk with us, because they honestly wanted to know what we were saying and thinking."

In Nashville, anti-war people demonstrated downtown with guerilla theater and symbolic "die-ins." But they also went out into neighborhoods with leaflets and anti-war voter pledges. (In Nashville, school busing is an issue, and many of the same people who oppose busing support the war; some of the leaflets said: "Stop bombing, Not ousing.")

In Memphis, anti-war groups followed up demonstrations with an intensive effort to reach varied groups with a slide show on "automated war" being circulated nationally by the American Friends (Continued on page 7)

Above, young people leaflet passers-by as 240 marched against the war in Jackson, Miss. Below is Mickey McGuire, chairman of the Houston Committee to Free Angela Davis and one of eight people who chained themselves to the federal building in that city to protest the war. The eight are now free on bond, awaiting trial, and their case has become a focal point for more anti-war actions in Hous-



# 'We worked for them....now we'll fight them' Flood Survivors Challenge Coal Baro

By SANDY GAGE
(Staff Correspondent)

RICHMOND, Va.—A rare moment in Appalachian history occurred early in May when a group of active and disabled miners stood toe to toe with one of the most powerful coal barons in the country in a carpeted office here.

The miners were part of a delegation of about 50 survivors of the disaster on Buffalo Creek, W. Va. They had come to Richmond to confront the stockholders' meeting of the Pittston Company whose subsidiary, the Buffalo Mining

Company, was responsible for the faulty slag dam that killed at least 118 people in late February. (See March Patriot.)

Pittston mines have been killing off people, one at a time, for years. (The records for 1971 show nine deaths and 743 serious injuries.) But it took wholesale slaughter to make a man like company president Nicholas T. Camicia give any recognition to those who live in constant danger from the mines.

The main demand which the survivors gave Camicia was for speedy and full compensation for property damage caused by the 140 million gallons of water that rushed down Buffalo Creek last February. To date only one property claim has been

(Continued on page 2)

idzu Photo by Dave Doggett



The new wave of repression in America makes most timely the publication of The Nightmare Decade: The Life and Times of Senator Joe McCarthy."

Fred J. Cook shows how gutless people in government and the news media allowed a faker like McCarthy to run wild for four years.

The book bears out the theme that there is no substitute for the victims' leading the fightback against Red-baiting and attacks from the right-wing.

Of course it always helps to have the news outlets on your side, but they are surely not to be depended on when the crunch comes.

A few strong people who stood against McCarthy finally did him in, but not until the evil he represented had been become an institution.

Richard Nixon, an ally of Mc Carthy, is trying to use McCarthyism and all the other tricks of a dictator. Perhaps the younger generation will resist enough to put a stop to the new repression.

Publisher of "The Nightmare Decade" is Random House, 201 East 50th St., New York, N.Y. 10022; 580 pages plus notes and index; \$10.

-Carl Braden

Death and the Mines by Brit Hume provides an excellent overview of the events that have marked the downfall of the United Mine Workers of America.

The book describes the highly centralized UMW of John L. Lewis and how the later president, Tony Boyle, perverted that centralism into a means for corruption. It also covers the rank and file struggle for a black lung compensation

law and better mine health and safety regulations. The book concludes with Jock Yablonski's campaign to reform the UMW and his gangland-style murder.

Hume, an assistant to Washington cohumnist Jack Anderson, did extensive research on labor struggles in the coal fields from the spring of 1969 until Death and the Mines was published late last year. His work bears the marks of a liberal, professional journalist. He is fond of characterizing the chief figures in his book with quickie descriptions.

For example, UMW official George Tetler's 'country-boy' appearance marks him as an inept leader, while the same sort of appearance in a West Virginia poverty worker shows how well he adapts to local people.

The book is long on facts and background material, but short on analysis: why do so many miners put up with a criminal like Boyle? Why has the coal industry fostered a wheeling and dealing union? These questions are not beyond the scope of *Death and the Mines*, but they are dealt with only in passing.

Nevertheless, Hume's book is essential reading for those who want to understand the ongoing struggle to reform the UMW, Grossman Publishers, 44 West 56 Street, New York, N.Y. 10019; \$7.95..

\* \* \* \*

-Sandy Gage

Coaltown Revisited: An Appalachian Notebook, by Bill Peterson. A reporter for the Louisville Courier-Journal tells the story of Appalachia through interviews with the people who have been swindled by businessmen, government officials, and politicans for generations. 230 pages; Henry Regnery Co., 114 W. Illinois Street, Chicago, Ill. 60610; \$6.95.

The Human Rights Casefinder provides ready access to 8,200 constitutional-law cases decided between 1953 and 1969. They are arranged by subject matter and by names of plaintiffs and defendants. 273 pages; Meiklejohn Civil Liberties Library, 1715 Francisco St., Berkeley, Cal. 94703; \$25.



Postmaster, send P.O.D. Form 3579 to: SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND (SCEF) 3210 W. Broadway, Louisville, Ky. 40211

The Southern Patriot is published once a month except in July and August by the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF). Editorial and business offices, 3210 W. Broadway, Louisville, Ky. 40211; office of publication, 411 Cowan St., Nashville, Tenn. 37207; Eastern office, 507 W 111th St., Apt. 54, New York, N.Y. 10025; West Coast office, 5889 W. Pico Blvd., Los Angeles, Ca. 90019. Back issues are available on microfilm from Serials Section, University Microfilms, 313 N. First St., Ann Arbor, Mich. 48103. Thirty cents a copy, \$3 a year. Second-class postage paid at Nashville, Tenn. The Patriot is typeset in our own plant on our own equipment by movement labor. Editor: Anne Braden.

Executive Committee: Modjeska Simkins, President: Julian Bond, Virginia Collins, Jan Phillips, and the Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, Vice Presidents; Mary Britting, Secretary; Frederic Hicks, Treasurer; Laurie Grupper, Assistant Treasurer.

Executive Staff: Helen Greever, Executive Director; Mike Welch, Administrative Assistant.
Western Representative: Lucy Fried. Eastern Representatives: Lenore Hogan and Ruth Goldberg.

#### SCEF STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

SCEF is a Southwide interracial organization committed to the elimination of racism and sexual oppression; the abolition of an economic system based on the profit motive instead of on the needs of people; and the ending of imperialism—that is, the exploitation of the many by the few both in this country and across the world.

We believe that these changes will come about when powerless people organize at the grassroots; build their own democratic grassroots movements; and take control of their government, the earth's resources, and their own lives.

We believe that in the past the effectiveness of such movements in the South has been impaired by deeply rooted racism. This has kept us divided by color and ethnic identity, and has thus kept us powerless.

Therefore, the first priority of white participants in SCEF is to reach other white people, especially poor and working people. We believe that white people, in the course of their struggles, must vigorously combat racism and racist institutions, while seeking and creating alliances with the black liberation movement around common goals.

SCEF welcomes the cooperation of all persons who agree with these principles, goals, and approaches, regardless of any differences that may exist among them on other questions.

The Southern Patriot is dedicated to the task of reporting the activities of people and groups across the South who are building movements that help incorporate the principles stated here—and to providing information and analysis that can help them build.



After the flood at Buffalo Creek (1

# **Buffalo Creek Survivors Confront Pittston President**

(Continued from page 1)

settled: that one being with a man who worked for Pittston. A total of 1,000 homes were damaged or destroyed along the creek.

Pittston refused to hear the survivors' demands in the stockholders' meeting. Instead, they had seven spokesmen for the group four floors away to meet with Camicia and some of his advisors behind closed and guarded doors, with the press and the rest of the group kept out.

Those on the outside had ridden all night on a bus and walked several blocks in the rain to attend the meeting. Their discomfort graphically expressed the discomfort they had endured in the past weeks.

As stockholders uneasily brushed past the people from Buffalo Creek, one miner shouted: "We've worked hard for these people and now, by God, we're going to fight them."

In his closed meeting Camicia told the spokesmen that he, too, was a product of the coal fields, born and raised in Welch, W. Va. He gave the group his word that all damages would be paid quickly and in full. He blamed much of the survivors' dissatisfaction on a "lack of communication" between Pittston and its claim office in the creek area.

The Pittston president gave indication of his real priorities after the meeting, when asked why it had taken two weeks to get the Buffalo Mining Company working two months to get the people paid back.

"Part of helping the people in the valley," he said, "is getting them employment."

Camicia refused to take full responsibility for the disaster at the executive level. "The people who built the dam... are people who live in that hollow below the dam. If they thought it was faulty they wouldn't live there," he said.

Some of the spokesmen for the survivors were impressed with Camicia's straightforward, down-home approach. Others were not.

One man said: "If what they do agrees with what they said they'd do, no pressure will be applied. But if they don't do what they said, pressure will be applied."

Another man said of Camicia, "...he got the impression that if they didn't pay we was going to shut them down."

"There's a right way and a wrong way to do things," said spokesman Lucian Conn. "Today we did things the right way. But I want you to know, if we don't get compensated quickly, I'll be right in there doing it the wrong way."

The belief that a strike is the only way to get more than sweet talk out of Pittston is growing along Buffalo Creek, There was proof of this even before the survivors' bus returned from Richmond.

An early news report said the group had not been able to talk with anyone from the company at the stockholders' meeting. And most of the second shift at Buffalo Mining Company refused to work, as a result.

The next day, a Buffalo Mining employee who went to Richmond was fired for missing two days' work. An explosive situation was defused when survivors placed a call to Camicia and got the man rehired.

### \* \* \* \* \* Other news from the disaster area:

The State of West Virginia is taking advantage of the desolation along Buffalo Creek to build a new highway through the area. There are plans to purchase and demolish many of the remaining homes along the creek. Efforts are also being made to keep survivors who are in temporary trailer camps from moving back onto the creek.

A citizens' committee made up of residents of Buffalo Creek has been set up, mainly to deal with problems of legal aid. The group would like to see a class-action suit brought against Pittston for all those who suffered losses. This could mean a lot of money for the survivors, but only after years in the courts and after legal fees are paid. Many victims are penniless now.

The Governor's ad hoc commission investigating the disaster held its first public hearing recently, more than two months after the event. Another meeting was not scheduled until June.

The U.S. Interior Department has said that a safe dam could have been built at the head of Buffalo Creek for as little as \$50,000. Pittston's profits last year were 44.4 million dollars.

May, 1972

Vol. 30, No. 5

## 'Send Them a Message'

## **How It Is in Wallace Country**

By MIKE WELCH (Staff Correspondent)

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—As George Wallace has gained new support around the country, more and more people in Alabama are expressing dissatisfaction with what eight years of Wallace as governor have brought to the state.

In his 1962 campaign for governor, Wallace made it 'clear that he was the candidate of Alabama whites; his inaugural speech proclaimed "Segregation forever." He never had the support of Alabama's black citizens.

Now more whites are openly opposing him. G.T. Miller, a white farmer in Luverne, Ala., said recently: "I don't feel like Wallace is nothing like what he says he is. I don't think he's done anything for the working people.

"He more or less talks out of both sides of his mouth and spits on you at the same time. The same fellow standing in the school-house door to keep kids from getting an education might stand in your door to keep you from getting anything to go in your belly."

Many who oppose Wallace fear to be identified publicly. But a white miner in Tuscaloosa County told how he and four co-workers were fired last year when they joined the UMW strike, and the union claimed it couldn't do anything. They had believed Wallace when he said he was a friend of working people, so they wrote to him; they never received an answer. The miner said:

"Folks like Wallace use this talk about helping working people. He's like all the other politicians. He's a big bag of wind. It's just that he's got a different bag."

A look at conditions in the state shows why working people are not content in Alabama.

"The same fellow standing in the school-house door to keep kids from getting an education might stand in your door to keep you from getting anything to go in your belly."

-Alabama farmer

The state ranks last among the 50 states in expenditures for education—\$489 a year per pupil, compared to \$1000 in some states; teacher-salaries average \$7,376 against a national average of \$9,265. During Wallace's 1962 campaign he promised to increase old age pensions by 100 percent. From 1963 through 1967 they increased 36 cents—from \$69.30 to \$69.66.

Alabama was at the bottom of most national lists long before Wallace, but he has now had control of the governor's office for eight of the last 10 years and had almost total control of the state legislature during his first term. He has done nothing to change the basic living conditions of the people of Alabama for the better.

#### WAGES, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Alabama is forty-eighth in per capita income levels in the U.S.; the average Alabama worker makes \$1,069 less than workers elsewhere; the average Alabama industrial worker, \$1,206 less. Alabama is one of 16 states with no minimum wage law, ranks 42nd in amount of unemployment compensation paid (average of \$39.90 a week, compared with \$56.49 in Michigan), and is second among the states in percentage of people living in poverty.

#### TAXES

Wallace's tax program is sharply criticized here. Robert S. Vance, a white attorney in Birmingham, is chairman of the Democratic Party's state Executive Committee. He has opposed Wallace for several years.

"You don't find any similarity between what he is saying and what he has done," said Vance. "He prides himself on not increasing taxes. This includes not increasing the taxes of freeloaders, people able to pay: industry and the landowners.

"He sponsored the current ad valorem tax classification plan which is a free ride for the land barons. Most of the state's undeveloped land is owned by the paper companies. They'll pay at an assessment rate that is half of what the wage-earner in Birmingham will pay. That doesn't sound like a populist program to me."

The Alabama tax structure hits working people hardest. Over 32 percent of the state's revenue comes from sales and consumer taxes, only four percent from big corporations. Alabama does have the lowest property tax rate in the country, but it ranks fourth highest in amount of sales taxes paid by a family of four.

Wallace promised to end the sales tax on groceries but

raised it to six percent instead. He raised taxes on beer and tobacco, doubled the cost of a driver's license, tripled the cost of auto tags. At the same time, he had a maximum corporation tax rate of five percent written into the state constitution, making it virtually impossible to change.

#### **CONSUMER INTEREST RATES**

A major controversy developed last year around a new law increasing the maximum interest rates allowed from eight to 18 percent. John Ripp, president of the Alabama Consumers Association, told about it:

"The AFL-CIO filed suit challenging the illegally high interest rates being charged by Alabama banks. Shortly thereafter a bill was introduced into the state legislature. It was drafted and lobbied by credit agencies, banks, and merchants. During the prior term, this same bill was filibustered and died.

"He is like all the politicians. He's a big bag of wind. It's just that he's got a different bag."

-Alabama miner

"Last year its supporters went back over their prior presentation and worked up what seemed to be some consumer protection. But the real purpose was to increase the interest rates excessively. It is questionable whether anyone has benefited from these so-called protection provisions, but as soon as the bill was passed, interest rates went up.

"The Governor has said in the national press that he signed this bill because all the consumer groups supported it. That is not true. The state AFL-CIO and the Alabama Consumers Association, despite considerable pressure, refused to endorse that bill."

#### **NEW INDUSTRY**

Wallace maintains that his administration has attracted many new jobs to the state. Alabama union officials say that there are *some* new jobs, but the rest of the South and the country are getting far more. One labor spokesman said:

"Most of the industries that come in are marginal—chenille plants, chicken plucking plants, garment plants. About the only other industry that's come in is the paper industry, but it's totally automated. They spend \$50 million and create 100 new jobs.

"In addition, most industry comes in under the Wallace-Cater Act. The Governor is very proud of that. This act authorizes local communities to set up industrial development boards. These boards issue bonds to buy land and build and equip facilities for industry.

"The plant is leased to the company for just enough rent to make payments on the bonds. The company pays no taxes on the plant and makes no initial investment. Income from the bonds is tax-free, so often the company will buy its own bonds. It's another free ride for the big corporations."

#### **ANTI-UNION MEASURES**

One attraction Alabama holds for business is antiunion legislation. The laws have been on the books since 1953, but Wallace has done nothing to repeal them.

There is a "right-to-work" law which bars the union shop. And there is the Solomon Act under which most state employees lose the protections of the state-established merit system if they join a union. In fact, it means that they will be fired if they join.

"He doesn't have any answers to our problems. His record in Alabama proves that. And he has made matters worse by trying to divide us, white from black."

-Hospital worker in Alabama

Another attraction is the anti-labor activity of the Wallace administration. During Wallace's first term the Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Employees Union, AFL-CIO, was organizing workers at the Greensboro Packing Company at Greensboro, Ala. The Highway Patrol, then under the command of Wallace's man Al Lingo, showed up with a car in front of the plant.

Workers were called over to the car and offered bribes if they would inform on what was happening in the plant. The plant manager and a highway patrolman rode around and took auto tag numbers of everyone attending an organizing meeting.



George Wallace and his brother Gerald with President Nixon at the Birmingham airport in May, 1971. Nixon had invited the Wallace brothers to ride from Mobile on the presidential plane. It was perhaps a coincidence that shortly thereafter the Internal Revenue Service dropped a case against Gerald Wallace, and George Wallace announced that he would run for President in 1972 as a Democrat, not as an independent.

(This was in the same period when Alabama highway patrolmen were systematically taking tag numbers of people attending civil rights gatherings in the state.)

Later, the Greensboro workers were called into the plant manager's office one by one and questioned by a patrolman about union activities. Protests by the state labor movement finally ended the harassment.

#### CORRUPTION

Corruption is a central fact of political life in Wallace country. Democratic State Executive Committee Chairman Robert Vance described his impressions:

"During Wallace's first term, we had the most corrupt government in my lifetime, measured in dollars. I believe this administration is less corrupt if for no other reason than the fact that everybody around Governor Wallace has either been indicted or convicted.

"His finance director, Seymore Trammel, is under indictment. His docks director has been convicted in federal court for failure to pay income tax on a bribe. One of his finance chairmen, Earl Goodwin, is under indictment on an income tax charge—manipulating money that went into the campaign.

"In several big money areas, namely whiskey and asphalt, there was what I would call wholesale corruption. I mean people making money out of doing business with the state and then turning around and contributing a substantial part of that money to a fund.

"During Wallace's first term, we had the most corrupt government in my lifetime, measured in dollars."

Birmingham attorney and chairman, State Democratic Executive Committee

"I don't think that Governor Wallace personally is interested in money. I don't think he thinks about it as long as he's taken care of. His brother Gerald Wallace thinks about it a lot, I believe.

"They nailed him recently on taking a kick-back, One of the biggest law firms in the state was handling a state bond issue. They were instructed to pay \$60,000 to the Speaker of the House, who gave \$30,000 to Gerald Wallace through the law firm of Wallace and Wallace. The instructions were that he was to do no work. That was a specific instruction. And the bond counsel for this very reputable firm has admitted the whole thing.

"That's one incident that's been revealed. The question is how many more were not revealed. My guess is that there were many, and that the amount of money is very large. We are talking about everything that the state building commission builds. I don't say that the money has gone into George Wallace's pockets, but it has gone into the coffers that are being maintained."

Alex Hurder is a 27-year-old white hospital worker in Birmingham. He is president of the newly-formed 2000-member Local 1318 of the Laborers Union, which is organizing workers in the city's medical complex.

When asked what he would say to other white workers around the country about Wallace, he replied:

"George Wallace has gained a following by playing on the disillusionment many of us are feeling with this country, its two-party sytem, and with the top leadership of some unions. But he doesn't have any answers to our problems. His record in Alabama proves that.

"He has made things worse by trying to divide us, white from black. If we are divided in this way, we will never have the power to solve the problems that we face as working people."

#### 'AN INJURY TO ONE. . .'

Spring, 1972, in the South was a time of aggressive action on the part of people working for human rights and peace—as witness the articles in this issue on antiwar action, Appalachians confronting the coal barons, new strikes by black and white workers. But it was also a time of intense efforts to crush militant and outspoken black people and organizations; the cases reported on these pages are only two of many such situations. The repression also hits whites who step on powerful toes; see article below. "An injury to one is an injury to

## The Price of Militancy Ten Years in North Carolina



JIM GRANT

#### (By Staff Correspondent)

RALEIGH, N.C. - Two young men are free of all charges against them because they helped the federal government to convict Jim Grant.

Grant, a journalist and black activist, is under sentences totaling 10 years and is held in jail under \$50,000 bond. He is a reporter for The Southern Patriot and The African World.

U.S. District Judge John Larkins refuses to allow friends of Grant to post 10 per cent of the bail, or \$5,000, as provided under the Bail Reform Act.

Grant was taken to jail right after he was found guilty of helping Theodore Hood and Walter Washington to flee to Canada to avoid trial. The pair returned, was arrested, and agreed to testify against Grant and the Rev. Ben Chavis.

Chavis, another leader in the black liberation movement, was found not guilty by the same jury on the same charge on the same evidence. However, he is in jail under \$50,000 bond on state charges.

The use of high bonds to keep black activists in jail was attacked by the chairman of the North Carolina Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

The Rev. W. W. Finlator declared that "the conclusion is inescapable that bail of this amount has the effect of retention in custody and raises serious questions in light of the constitutional protection against excessive bail."

#### "The Purpose Is Control. . . . '

"In its report to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, the North Carolina Advisory Committee expressed concern over the conviction of minority groups in our state that political structures often operate not in the administration of justice, but for the purpose of controlling and impeding those who seek for greater justice and opportunity within the social order," Finlator said in a public state-

"It has to be said with regret that the imposition of such a high bail will only serve as further confirmation of the suspicion of these citizens and of our statement to the commission."

The Rev. Leon White assailed the use of Washington and Hood to obtain the conviction of Grant and to prosecute Chavis. He said this action indicated a conspiracy against Grant and Chavis by the federal government.

White, executive director of the N.C.-Va. Commission for Racial Justice (CRJ), told a news conference that "Rev. Chavis and Brother Grant are victims of political repression unprecedented in this

Spokemen for the black liberation movement in North Carolina have charged for months that federal and state officials are working together to destroy them.

Numerous people are in various jails throughout the state, while others are under indictment and awaiting trial within the next few months. Repression was

## Fire Bomb in Atlanta



Bird Photo by Marjorie Jordan

(By Staff Correspondent)

ATLANTA, Ga.-The office of The Great Speckled Bird, Atlanta's outstanding underground newspaper, was firebombed early in May. Equipment and building were totally destroyed.

Despite the calamity, the Bird has managed to publish regularly each week. The staff has been operating out of several decentralized locations.

Fire Department reports indicated that someone tossed a bomb or gasoline to start the fire. The attack came soon after verbal assaults on the Bird by Mayor Sam Massell and other city officials because of the paper's recent critical coverage of City Hall policies.

The Bird has recently published extenve exposes of Atlanta slumlords and City Hall practices. It has also been increasingly outspoken in support of workers on strike, struggles of black and poor people, and against the war.

The fire came soon after two other attacks on Bird operations. In April vice squad detectives conducted mass arrests of people selling the paper on the streets, on the pretext that they needed peddler's licenses. Soon thereafter, the U.S. postoffice said it would refuse to accept the paper for mailing if it ran its usual ads for abortion referral services. (The New York Times and several national magazines carry similar ads.)

Temporary court orders ended the arrests of the sellers and allowed mailing of papers, and further court hearings are pending.

Many individuals and organizations in the Atlanta community came forward with moral and financial support-including some who had never supported the Bird before. The paper wrote the next

"You see, Bomber, you got the property. . . . and you knew we had no insurance, no cash reserves. But you didn't understand about people and how people make the movement. . . . The people will make the Bird survive. And not just movement people, but people you thought we couldn't count on. . . .

The financial loss was about \$4000and the Bird still needs more help to recoup it. They also report that one of their most devastating losses was their photo and graphics file; anyone who can help them replenish that should send art to them. The address for funds and photos is The Great Speckled Bird, P.O. Box 7847, Atlanta, Ga. 30309.

#### Subscription Blank

	to all persons who give \$3 or more annually to onal Fund (SCEF), 3210 W. Broadway, Louisville,	
I enclose	, of which \$3 is for a Patriot subscription.	
NAME		
ADDRESS		
CHTY	STATE TI	0

stepped up after formation of the Black People's Union Party (BPUP) last year, and after young people across the state protested about discrimination in the schools. Grant called the repression "a typically Nixonian repressive move against the black community."

White said there is growing hostility in the black community because of "continual naked oppression on the part of the criminal justice system."

He added: "Hood and Washington have almost a hundred years in suspended prison sentences piled on top of their heads. That was wiped clean completely for their testifying against Rev. Chavis and Brother Grant."

#### Fight-Back Is Organized

Chavis is an organizer for the CRJ. which is a branch of the United Church of Christ. He is also a member of the SCEF board of directors and pastor of the First African Congregation of the Black Messiah in Wilmington, N.C. (For details of charges against him in Wilmington, see January and April Patriots).

The CRJ and SCEF are studying how best to challenge the paying off of people who help to convict others whom the authorities seem determined to keep in jail. There will also be a challenge to the method of jury selection.

Attorneys are making jury selection a part of their appeal for Grant to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit.

"The jurors for the trial were chosen from voting lists that were tainted in the first place," said William H. Allison, Jr., SCEF staff counsel, who took part in the defense.

"The government had already found prima facie evidence of racial discrimination in voter registration in some of the counties from which the panel was drawn. Only 14 per cent of the panel was black, whereas 25 per cent of the people in the area are black.

"The attitude of the judge toward Grant undoubtedly influenced the jury. There were also attacks on a defense attorney by one of the witnesses.

"Washington, who is about 26, had charges against him that could have resulted in his spending the rest of his life in prison. He had been diagnosed as an alcoholic and a user of all kinds of drugs.

"He said he became a member of a gang at the age of 15. He was discharged from the Marine Corps for shooting at civilians and was diagnosed as a psychopath and a schizophrenic.

#### Racist Group in Courtroom

"The head of the Rights of White People (ROWP) was in the courtroom at the end of the trial. Marshals searched the brief cases of the defense lawyers as they entered the room."

Other defense attorneys are James Ferguson, Adam Stein, and John Harmon, all of Charlotte. They and Allison plan to carry Grant's appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court if necessary.

SCEF has asked friends across the country and in other parts of the world to write to Gov. Bob Scott, State Capitol, Raleigh, N.C.; Warren Coolidge, U. S. District Attorney, Federal Building, Raleigh, N.C.; the Congressional Black Caucus, 415 Second St. N.E., Washington, D.C.; and U.S. Attorney General Richard Kleindienst, Department of Justice, Washing, D.C.

Tell them you want all black activists freed of charges against them, freed on reasonable bail if they have been convicted, or released without bail.

You may also wish to write to Jim Grant, Wake County Jail, Raleigh, N.C. He is in need of reading material.

### Life Imprisonment In Mississippi

By KEN LAWRENCE (Staff Correspondent)

JACKSON, MISS.—Hekima Ana, first of the Republic of New Africa (RNA) citizens to face trial here, has been convicted of first-degree murder and sentenced to life imprisonment.

Ten other RNA citizens including New African President Imari Obadele, still are awaiting trial on charges which include murder and levying war against the state of Mississippi.

The charges stem from last August 18 when a small army of FBI agents and Jackson police attacked RNA headquarters. In the resulting shootout, police Lieutenant William L. Skinner was killed, and one policeman and one FBI agent were wounded.

It took seven days and two nights of court sessions, and special venire lists of 700 men and women, to get a jury in the case. Most of the prospective jurors indicated that they would send Ana to the gas chamber without hearing any evidence.

Rev. R. J. Van Der Veen of the Netherlands observed the trial for the World Council of Churches Commission to Combat Racism. He commented to reporters that, from what he had seen so far in the United States, overt racism has been replaced by a subtler variety. "But as we see it this case," he said, "it isn't always possible for oppressors to stick to subtle forms."

During the selection proceedings, the prosecution used six of seven peremptory challenges to eliminate qualified blacks from the jury. Finally a jury of six white men, five white women, and one black man was chosen, with one white man as an alternate.

At one point Judge Russell D. Moore III kept court in session until 2:45 A.M., the longest day of court in the memory

of veteran observers here. Defense attorneys repeatedly objected that they could not properly represent the defendant when they were so tired, but the judge persisted.

During the trial, the courtroom was often packed with observers, most of them black students. Anticipating this, the court had ordered elaborate security measures put into effect. One spectator said, "It like being arrested, just to get into the courtroom."

Each spectator was required to furnish positive identification, which was recorded. Next, each person was photographed, both on film and on videotape. Finally, each person was searched three times.

The first search was a metal detecting doorway which the spectators had to walk through. Next a more sensitive manual metal detector was run over the person. And finally there was an old-fashioned frisk by one of the baliffs.

The prosecution's case against Ana was based on circumstantial evidence. An FBI fingerprint expert from Washington, D.C. testified that a palm print taken from a rifle matched Ana's. Another FBI witness, a ballistics expert, testified that the bullet which killed Lt. Skinner "could have been fired from the rifle" but admitted that it was impossible to be certain.

FBI agents testified that statements admitting guilt were made "voluntarily" by RNA citizens. A defense witness, Ms. Susie Plummer, refuted this, testifying that she saw an officer kicking an RNA citizen while interrogating him at the curb in front of her house.

Police testified that they had evacuated neighbors before raiding RNA headquarters, but could not recall who had been moved to safety. Nine neighbors called as defense witnesses testified that no one had evacuated them, and that they were awakened by gunfire.

The biggest surprise came when the defense called Ms. Christina Lundberg to the witness stand. She is a young white schoolteacher who lives around the corner from the scene of the shootout.

Lundberg testified that after being awakened by sounds of gunfire on the morning of August 18 she set up a tape



RNA Attorney John Brittain talks about the case at a rally attended by more than 300 Jackson young people. The rally was called by the newly-formed Youth Caucus made up of high school and college students, mostly white and organized with the help of a black Tougaloo College student. The caucus has been active in support work for the RNA 11; it is the same group that organized anti-war activities in Jackson (see page 1).

#### Hekima Ana, RNA Citizen



Hekima Ana (s.n. Thomas Edward Norman) was born August 21, 1944, in Charlotte, N.C. He spent his childhood first in a three-room shotgun shack in the Charlotte ghetto, then in a housing project, then in the country. His mother worked in a black snackshop at the local bus station, as a waitress, for \$18 a week.

As a young boy, Brother Hekima recalls, he and his friends often hung around a Charlotte golf course where they would run out and grab a player's ball, then run back in the woods to hide. Later they would sell the balls at the club house; they also made money by selling pop bottles, shining shoes and selling Jet. He says:

"We were always looking down, hoping to find a penny or maybe a nickel. Very little of this money went to buy candy, popcorn, or to go to the movies. It went into the family budget to buy food and other things."

Brother Hekima had finished elementary

school with good grades and good recommendations, but high school was hard. "When you can't read, school can be quite a task," he says. "If it wasn't for sports, I would have hung it up."

He was good at athletics and by his senior year found himself in leadership roles. His basketball team reached the state finals that year. "We lost," he says, "but we had a good excuse. One of our star players had been shot to death only weeks before."

He accepted an athletic scholarship at North Carolina College in Durham, one of 15 such offers he received, and "struggled through" four years, he says. After graduation, he joined Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA), worked in Chicago and says he "learned in 13 months what college had failed to give me in four years."

In 1967, he moved to Milwaukee to attend graduate school, and continued community work. He was living there when he visited Jackson in August, 1971, and was arrested in the shoot-out.

He had become a New African citizen in 1968 while attending a conference at Howard University. In 1970, he led the nation for three months while elections were being held; when Imari A. Obadele was elected president, Brother Hekima was elected vice president of the Midwest region.

recorder at her front window to record the incident. After the District Attorney's objection was overruled by Judge Moore, the cassette was entered into evidence and played for the jury. Included in the recording were the sounds of tear gas guns being fired, and bullhorn announcements to the occupants of RNA headquarters.

FBI agent Lester L. Amann testified that after the RNA citizens had been advised of their rights, their shirts and shoes were removed. But he insisted that the statements they made were "voluntary."

One of the bullhorn messages called upon the occupants to surrender "Sy Lee" or else "We'll burn him out if we have to." No one named Sy Lee was in the house.

On cross examination, Assistant District Attorney Tom Royals asked Ms. Lundberg if she thought that police were doing something wrong, and if they had been intimidating individuals. She answered "Yes" to both questions. He demanded to know how they were intimidating people. "By a massive show of arms," she said.

Hekima Ana and his wife, Tamu Sana, both took the witness stand and testified that they were awakened by one of the other RNA citizens just before the shooting began, and that they feared for their lives. Defense attorneys argued that he fired in self defense.

The jury returned a verdict of guilty, but failed to agree on the death penalty. That made the life sentence automatic. Before sentencing, Judge Moore asked Ana if he wished to make a statement. "I am not guilty," Hekima said, "and all of us here know it."

Ms. Olivia McClure, Hekima Ana's mother was in court throughout the trial. After the verdict, she said, "I don't think he got a fair trial. The trial should have been moved from Jackson. Hekima

couldn't get a fair trial here because the jury had already made up their minds. Some of them slept during the trial."

"Of course the news coverage of the events leading up to the trial was heavily prejudiced," she said. "Sure I know the history of injustice for black people in the past, but I had hoped that just this once justice would prevail."

She continued, "I wonder if people realize that what happened to the RNA citizens could happen to them. I guess we never think how repressive our society is becoming until it actually happens to us. I don't understand how people who claim to believe in freedom, equality and justice can sit around and watch this mockery.

"A few people, mostly young, attended this trial almost every day. Others helped in different ways. But aside from a few who spoke out, most people have

In reporting the RNA trial, the Kudzu, Jackson underground newspaper published by young white people, noted that just a few weeks previously an all-white jury in Federal Court had returned a verdict of acquittal in a damage suit against 50 state patrolmen and Jackson city police.

The plaintiffs were wounded students and families of two slain students who were victims of the 200-round barrage of ammunition fire at unarmed Jackson State College students in May, 1970. The Kudzu said: "The lawmen are free. Hekima Ana is in jail. . . the racist nature of the Mississippi and federal courts is all too obvious."

remained silent. It is because these people have not spoken out that this sort of injustice continues to prevail. It has happened to others, it is happening to my son, and it will happen again."

### Spirits Still High At Texarkana

(By Staff Correspondent)

TEXARKANA, Tex.—Prison officials have temporarily crushed the rebellion that shook the federal prison here in April, but they have not crushed the spirit of the men.

Walter Collins, who has been locked in isolation since April 14, wrote from the prison in late May:

"The men are in good spirits and committed to fighting the repression even

#### SCEF Names 1972 Officers

NEW MARKET, Tenn.-Modjeska Simkins, leader in the black liberation movement in South Carolina, has been elected president of the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF).

She succeds the Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, formerly of Birmingham Ala., who is now pastor of a church in Cincinnati. Shuttlesworth was elected a vice-president of SCEF.

Other vice-presidents elected at SCEF's board meeting here were State Rep. Julian Bond, Atlanta, Ga.; Jan Phillips, Palmyra, Tenn.; and Virginia Collins, New Orleans, La.

Other officers chosen were Mary Britting, Atlanta, secretary; Frederic Hicks, Louisville, treasurer; and Laurie Grupper, Louisville, assistant treasurer.

Mrs. Simkins was one of the founders of the Southern Conference when it was formed in Birmingham in 1938. She has been a vicepresident of the organization for many years.



Mrs. Simkins

The SCEF board voted to make it a priority to push for the broadest kind of anti-war coalitions throughout the South in the next few months. These coalitions should include and be led by basic sections of the population — black people, workers unemployed poor, women, and students.

if transferred. The knowledge that forces beyond the wall are moving in our behalf has kept men in the population together and struggling on the level that they can."

The rebellion, which was reported briefly in last month's Patriot, was peaceful and orderly. It took the form of a dining hall boycott and work stoppage, supported by 90 percent of the 500 prisoners. The demands were for simple human rights—such as better library facilities, meaningful study programs, uncensored mail. The action united black, chicano, and white prisoners.

Prison officials broke the protest by quick arrests. Prisoners charged that some were dragged down long corridors with a chain around their necks, some were beaten with flashlights and ax handles and sprayed with mace. By late May, all but three of the men charged with being "agitators"—Collins and two others—had been moved to other prisons. Many had lost their "good time," some as much as 150 days,

Collins, SCEF organizer who has been imprisoned here since December, 1970 for draft refusal, served as the chief scapegoat. He says he did not organize the protest but was elected to an eightman negotiating committee and made a speech at a meeting of prisoners, putting their grievances in economic and political context. (Excerpts from that speech and letters describing the prison situation appear below.)

Officials placed Collins in isolation from the other prisoners in "isolation," and threatened to charge him with mutiny. He and 12 others are preparing to file suit against the U.S. Bureau of Prisons and Texarkana officials. They ask that you:

Write to Norman Carlson, director, Bureau of Prisons, Washington, D.C. Ask that the demands of the prisoners be granted and that all charges be dropped. Send a copy of your letter to Warden L.M. Connett, Federal Correctional Institution, Texarkana, Tex. 77501.

(Also Walter Collins is eligible for parole this summer, and his hearing will be in late June. Even if you have written before; write again to the U.S. Justice Department, Washington, D.C., and demand that his five-year sentence be reduced to time served.)

## In Louisville Panthers Are Jailed

(By Staff Correspondent)

LOUISVILLE, KY.—Four members of the Black Panther Party and three supporters were jailed here in late May and held under bonds totalling \$430,000.

The charge was armed robbery against six men and a charge of "aiding and abetting" against the one woman who was jailed.

However, Louisville Party members and many others in both the black and white communities said the charges are a frame-up.

'It's the annual summer sweep of militants to keep the city cool," said one speaker at a recent protest rally. One summer recently two black leaders were held most of the summer on arson charges, of which a jury later acquitted them. Another year the famous Black Six arrests occurred early in the summer, and the charges were dismissed two years later.

The robbery in question allegedly took place at a tourist home in Louisville's black community. The Panthers charge that they are actually victims of a reprisal because of their militant program to rid the black community of drugs and drug pushers.

The local Panther chapter was just formed here this spring—an outgrowth of the Black Committee for Self-Defense which organized last fall. The Black Committee started an intensive campaign against drugs, which has been carried on by the Panthers; in recent months, the offices of the organization were visited repeatedly by police, and shots were fired into their window in February.

The arrests were made by city police without warrants but carrying submachine guns and shotguns as well as pistols. The Panthers were not told they were under arrest until they were in police cars.

The Louisville Civil Liberties Union condemned the circumstances of the arrest and publicly raised the question as to whether the real reason was the political beliefs of the Panthers.

### SCEF Tour to Meet With Shirley Graham

Shirley Graham DuBois has agreed to receive members of SCEF's African tour in Cairo this summer, and to meet with them. The tour, which will be led by Mrs. Virginia Collins, will make a three-day stop in Cairo in addition to visiting Tanzania, Zambia, and Kenya.

Cost of the tour is \$1499. The African tour is part of a travel program under which SCEF receives extra funds for its program in the late summer months. It is arranged by Special Tours for Special People. SCEF also benefits financially if you join other tours of this travel agency. For more information, use the coupon below.

Special Tours for Special People 250 W. 57th Street New York, N.Y. 10019.	
	72.
	ch
NAME	
ADDRESS	•••••
CITYSTATEZIPZIP	
	1000

## Collins Letters on Revolt

On the protest: "My keepers created the situation that made it necessary for prisoners in their keeping to revolt. Prisoners peaceably assembled and presented their grievances and in return they got not an attempt to resolve these grievances, but a mass lock-up and mass repression of the men whom they chose to be their spokesmen. . . We are being punished because the rulers of this institution are unwilling to admit that their rehabilitation programs and corrective policies are failures. . . . Men who refuse to end injustice and oppression are the men who make revolution. Thus, my keepers create their own demise; so be it."

On his speech to the prisoners during the rebellion: "I said that we are not criminals but rebellious victims of society. . . .poor, miseducated, abused, much abused, angry men who were nurtured in a racist criminal society. . .We need not correction but control over the economic system which affects our lives. . .We must

#### Keep Writing

Many letters sent to Walter Collins have apparently been returned to the senders by prison officials. If your letter is returned, he asks that you write again and ask your congressmen and senators to join in the protest about the stopping of mail.

come to a solution to our problems in prison through attacks on the governmental and social agencies and apparatus of this country—not merely on the bankrupt policies of individual men. . .Thus the demands we make upon the administration of this prison are demands upon America."

On the other prisoners: "I cannot even describe in words what I feel at this time for the concern, camaraderie and support of my fellow convicts. Race has gone back into the Pandora's box out of which it came; brotherhood and revolution have succeeded it..."

On the other prisoners who were locked in "isolation": "In the fleeting but beautiful moment of our collective stand against the inhumanity and viciousness of this prison I came to know these people as brothers, human beings, confused and much abused, but yearning to end their confusion, their abuse, yearning to be free. I want them to know that that moment can grow into a lifetime if they would act to make it so. . . I stand ready to undertake with them the dan gerous, painful path toward brotherhood and a democratic America."

On the charges against him: "My crime is making a speech whose truths were both overpowering and indisputable. .. My offense was saying publicly and in words that all could understand that the problems of this prison, the problems of prisoners are the problems of Amerika, racism and capitalism. .. My offense is being



black, politically conscious, morally responsible and articulate in a racist, criminal society and a prison that reflects this society, where black is a dangerous color, political blackness is a threat. . . My offense is having won the respect and support of the overwhelming majority of prisoners in this prison, regardless of race or political belief. . ."

On the official attempt to isolate him from other prisoners: "My keepers have given up on telling people not to talk to me when I am on the yard or passing through the corridors. Their admonishments go unheeded, and unless my keepers are prepared to lock up a large portion of the population they cannot stop prisoners from inquiring as to what they should do. . .

On the future: "Everybody is wondering where do we go from here? There is no question in my mind. . . .we can only go to victory. We can only continue to battle against the injustices of the prison system and the injustices of the society. . . .The masses here have been heard, the racial barriers have been broken, the struggle for right and justice is on, and those who create injustice and push repression and racism are on the defensive."

## Actions Against the War Spread Throughout the South

(Continued from page 1)
Service Committee. This same show was
being widely used in a number of Southern communities— Atlanta, Greenville,
and elsewhere.

In Louisville, anti-war activists leafleted plant gates in preparation for a rally. The leaflets pointed out that Vietnam is a "rich man's war and a poor man's fight," and printed facts and statistics to prove it.

The response at the plants was almost universally favorable. In Atlanta also, leafleting at plant gates was part of a peace drive by a new coalition.

Although in the past, workers in plants have not often been a part of the organized anti-war movement, the feeling against the war has been growing on the job, and this time around some of the barriers between "peaceniks" and workers began

#### 'The People Are Angry'

Al Long, of the staff of the Virginia Weekly, a radical newspaper that reaches both students and workers in Virginia, said some hospital workers joined the demonstrations in Charlottesville.

"And some people we know in the plants are very upset and angry," he said. "They've been against the war before—but they saw the movement against it as the students' thing, not their thing. Now some of them are beginning to see themselves as part of it."

Some workers joined the demonstrations in Tampa, and trade unionists from Tennessee joined Southern delegations to Washington for the peace demonstration on May 21. In Birmingham, a new 2,000-member local union of hospital workers endorsed the Washington action.

In Morgantown, W. Va., Lou Antal, president of District 5 of the United Mineworkers of America and a leader in the reform movement in his union, spoke at an anti-war demonstration. He said:

"I was once proud because I was awarded the Distinguished Service Cross in World War II, but today, medals hold little or no meaning whatever for me... The Vietnamese threw out the French only to have to contend with the mightiest and richest nation on earth... The heroism of the Vietnamese people will go unparalleled."

This sentiment was echoed widely. The demands of the anti-war actions tended to go far beyond the simple "end the war" slogans of the past. More people seemed ready to accept the premise-(always a hard one for any person to accept) that their own government is absolutely wrong and the other side is right.

For example, in the midst of demonstrations that mobilized hundreds of students at Tampa, the student ogvernment at the University of South Florida voted

support for the National Liberation Front in Vietnam. About 100 students petitioned for a reversal of this policy, the student governing body discussed it again, and for the second time voted to reaffirm the original policy.

Some of the biggest Southern demonstrations were in Florida. In Gainesville, more than 3,000 students were involved in actions that blocked major highways and brought 500 arrests. There were similar street-blocking actions, although fewer arrests, in Tampa and at Florida State University in Tallahassee, where two students were injured by a motorist; 700 Tallahassee students also marched to the governor's mansion.

In Charlottesville, Va., 1000 students burned Nixon in effigy after his May 8 speech. Earlier 800 students demonstrated at Blacksburg, Va., and a smaller number at Richmond. In Atlanta, 400 people marched in the pouring rain. Over 500 marched at Mt. Berry College in Rome, Ga. Rallies were held in New Orleans.

There were mass demonstrations in Austin, Tex., continuing vigils and x civil disobedience in Houston, hundreds of

Tom Gish, editor of The Mountain Eagle, widely-read Appalachian newspaper, editorialized against the escalation of the war: "The ultimate war, the last war, World War III is still a possibility as long as his (Nixon's) finger is on the trigger."

Another long-time writer on mountain issues, Tom Bethell, wrote in *Coal Patrol* that Appalachia as a whole now appears to be strongly anti-war. He said Defense Department statistics indicate that Appalachian coalmining communities on a per capita basis have suffered higher Vietnam casualties than any other region of the U.S. One reason, Bethell said, may be that so many graduating high school seniors have no choice other than the army or the coal mines.

students out at the University of Georgia in Athens, vigils in Raleigh, Durham, and other North Carolina communities. In Knoxville, Tenn., 150 people gathered for a march on Moratorium Day early in May and thereafter continued regular marches and vigils, including one to Oak Ridge; 150 students marched in Huntington, W. Va.; 2000 slowed rush hour traffic and leafletted in Morgantown.

Armed Forces Day May 20 brought demonstrations at a number of Southern bases, with active-duty GI's taking part—

When the Memphis Community Relations Commission invited spokesmen for various groups to a forum on May 20 to talk about health, housing and education needs, a group of peace activists, black and white showed up too. They said none of the problems could be solved as long as the U.S. was squandering billions of dollars on war and presented a resolution calling for immediate withdrawal from Vietnam.

The invited guests, about 50 and mostly black, voted overwhelmingly in favor of the resolution. When it came up for action at a regular meeting of the Commission the next week, the resolution failed, but the vote was close: 9 against, 7 for, and 2 abstentions.

more than 100 people at Ft. Campbell near Clarkesville, Tenn., 200 at Ft. Hood in Texas, 250 at McDill Air Force Base near Tampa.

In Jackson, Miss., 150 people—mostly white college and high school students—marched in the downtown area to protest the war in late April. On May 9, the day after Nixon's speech, they mobilized overnight for another march of 40. Prowar forces advertized on the radio all week to get out a counter-demonstration the following Saturday; only 14 people showed up.

#### The Hard Work of a Few

During the May 9 Jackson demonstration, a reporter asked one participant who organized it. He replied: "Richard Nixon."

That was true in a way. But few of the demonstrations were really spontaneous. Most of them were the result of hard work on the part of a handful of people. The general revulsion against the war does not automatically result in action against it. In fact, one minister long active for peace in Little Rock, Ark., said anti-war sentiment declined rather than increasing in his area after Nixon's speech.

"The people who have been opposed to the war because they thought our government was following a no-win policy now saw some hope for winning," he said. "They are terribly wrong, of course—but we can't fool ourselves that this feeling is not widespread."

Winning those people who are tired of the war but at this point could go either way was the continuing challenge to the anti-war movement as summer began. In many places, the spring escalation in Vietnam had brought together a variety of organizations, some of which had not worked together for a long time, if ever.

#### **New Coalitions Are Formed**

This was true in Atlanta, where a new coalition joined the efforts of people from the Socialist Workers Party, the Georgia Communist League (Marxist-Leninist), Progressive Labor, women's groups, and many independent radicals. It also happened in Nashville, where the Young Workers Liberation League joined forces with other radical groups—and in a different way in Berea, Ky., where demonstrations sparked a new on-going organization.

in some places, groups not previously active against the war were joining peace coalitions; for example, in Louisville where the Welfare Rights Organization and the Black Workers Coalition joined

with SCEF and Clergy and Laymen Concerned in sponsoring a rally.

And of course in the South as elsewhere the greatest weakness of the antiwar forces was that they were still too predominantly white and in most places had not yet found a way to link their struggle against war abroad with the struggle of black people who are fighting against oppression at home.

There were some breakthroughs. In Atlanta, a coalition of black groups—local organizations along with such national groups as the Black Workers Congress and Southern Christian Leadership Conference—mobilized their own demonstration against the war and turned out a crowd of several hundred people. Communication was being established between this grouping and the new coalition that was uniting white radicals,

#### **Blacks Move Against Imperialism**

In Norfolk, Va., in late April, black organiations—with some support from whites— shook the city with a demonstration that challenged imperialism in Africa. The occasion was the city's traditional Azalea Festival honoring NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization). This year Portugal had been selected among the NATO nations for special honor and provided the festival queen. Over 1000 demonstrators protesting Portuguese wars in Africa and NATO support for them disrupted the parade and forced the queen to abandon her float.

And in a number of places this spring-Nashville, Memphis, Huntington, and elsewhere- black people joined the antiwar marches.

But Moe Rapier, a spokesman for the Black Workers Coalition, told anti-war activists at the rally in Louisville:

"Whites seem to come out to protest when it's about the war. What we want to know is where are you when black people are in a life-and-death struggle to survive at home."

Ed Deaton, of the Florida Peoples Coalition at Tampa, called attention to the intense repression of black people in his state. "One problem," he noted, "is that lots of the black groups that might organize against the war are just too busy fighting to survive—and many of them are in jail. For example, all the leadership of the Black African Militant Movement (BAMM) in Miami is in jail. The Malcolm X United Front in Tallahassee has been subjected to constant arrests and harassment."

#### A Lesson for Whites

An incident that occurred in Louisville in late May dramatizes the situation. There seven black militants connected with a new chapter of the Black Panther Party were arrested in May on frame-up charges and held under high bonds. (See article, page 6.) Black supporters asked the city for a permit to hold a protest rally at the courthouse. It was denied.

Then the blacks got someone to apply for a period to hold an anti-war rally at the same time and place. The permit was granted—the blacks gathered and protested the arrest of the Panthers.

Today in the South it is safer and more respectable to demonstrate against the war than to rally in behalf of black militants under arrest.

There is a lesson in that for all whites who are working to end the war.



Memphis demonstration against ITT

(Photo by Ernest Withers)

## **Woodcutter Spirit Spreads**

## **Poultry Workers Organize in Mississippi**

By KEN LAWRENCE

(Staff Correspondent)

FOREST, Miss.-More than 60 black workers left their jobs at Poultry Packers, Inc., here to go on strike on the morning of May 10. The next evening these same workers called a meeting and formed the Mississippi Poultry Workers Union.

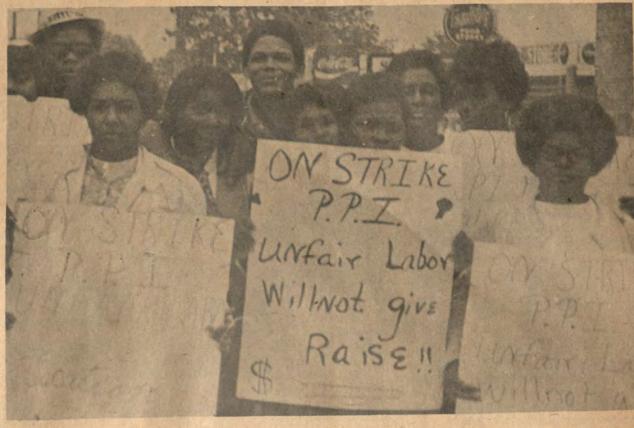
The immediate issue which sparked the walkout was a breakdown on the production line. According to Merle Barber, president of the new union, workers had to stay at their jobs during breakdowns, but were not paid for the time.

"That's like slavery," she said. "Sometimes we're at work for twelve hours, but we only get paid for eight."

After walking out, the strikers issued three demands to the company. First, a 25 cent hourly raise from their present \$1.60. Second, pay for breakdown time. And third, paid vacations. According to the workers, the plant's general manager said he would negotiate with them by supper time on the first day. Instead, the company began to advertise on the radio for scabs.

The radio announcement referred to PPI as "an equal opportunity employer." One of the pickets agreed. "That's right. Men and women, black and white, they all get the same bad treatment-no vacations, no breakdown pay, and \$1.60 an hour. But the white folks are scared. They think if they join us they won't ever be able to find another job."

The day after the union was officially formed, Poultry Packers told 69 black workers that they were fired. But the pressure was being felt. Pickets heard from friends that workers at



Gaddis Packing Company received a raise that same day. Gaddis is across the street from Poultry Packers. Workers said that Forest's mayor, Fred L. Gaddis, is a major stockholder in both companies.

"This is only the second time there was ever a strike in Forest," said one worker. "First was the woodcutters strike last fall." The strikers have asked SCEF's GROW organizers for help, because of their reputation in helping the woodcutters organize.

Help from the outside has already begun to

flow in. The NAACP has offered to provide some relief aid. The Laurel Local of the Gulfcoast Pulpwood Association took up a collection at its meeting, and raised \$44.91 for the poultry

One NAACP organizer told the workers, "If folks had done this 20 years ago, you wouldn't have this problem today. And if you don't do it today, these little children will have to."

Support may be sent to: Mrs. Merle Barber, president, Mississippi Poultry Workers Union, Route 2, Box 11, Forest, Miss. 39074.

## Florida Workers Refuse to Let Company **Break Their Strike with**

(By Staff Correspondent)

ST. MARK'S, Fla-Black and white workers have been on strike against the Seminole Asphalt Co. here for three months, despite efforts of the company to cause racial splits among them.

Seventeen men, both black and white, have gone back to work but twice that many remain steadfast in their fight with the employer. They struck February 20 to protest the firing of three workers and to win recognition of the United Steelworkers of America as their bargaining

An election held March 16 by the

National Labor relations Board is being disputed. The strikers claim the company put 22 extra employees on the voting list, although they had not been on the One black worker who returned was

> "Look at that," said one of the white pickets. "The company is trying to get us mad at the black man so they can play us off against each other. That man went back to work because he was in bad shape financially. We're not going to let the

> upgraded to truck driver, a job that the

company had never given to black men

company use us against each other." The strikers say their greatest problem is with the people in the communities in this area. Long years of propaganda against labor unions are paying off for the employers.

We don't have any problem about the black and white sticking together," one of the strikers said. "They know from experience that they have to stick together or they are going to be cut down separately."

"The community people don't have the experience of dealing with an employer like Seminole, and they don't know what it means to stick together in trouble. They need a lot of educating."

You may wish to write Gov. Reubin Askew, State Capitol, Tallahassee, Fla., and urge him to use his influence with Seminole Asphalt officials. The address of the strikers is United Steelworkers of America, St. Mark's, Fla.



## **Long Strike Ends** At Port St. Joe

PORT ST JOE, Fla.-A thousand workers at the St. Joe Paper Company plant here won pay raises of 87 cents an hour after a strike lasting seven months. However, they did not win the right to arbitration nor vesting rights which they had demanded.

Vesting rights allow an employee to get back retirement benefits, which have been collected instead of wages, when he leaves the company after working 15 years or more.

Members of Local 379, United Papermakers and Paperworkers, expressed thanks to many people who sent letters and money or who wrote to public officials in their behalf during the strike.

Another factor in keeping the strike solid was the unity of black and white workers. About a third are black. (For background see February and March

Lee Otis Johnson, former SNCC organizer who has been in prison in Texas for four years, was freed under bond June 2 by order of the U.S. District Court in Houston. This followed a finding by the court that he didn't get a fair trial on a marijuana charge in 1968.



A picketline at the Seminole Asphalt Co. in St. Mark's, Florida.