

Triumph of Democracy, Like the Charge of the Light Brigade, Theirs Not to Reason Why

"A voting official in Xuanluc (where 80 percent of those registered voted), the capital of Longkhahn Province, a largely Catholic area 50 miles north of Saigon, told a reporter he doubted that more than 20 percent of the villagers knew what they were doing. But they were doing it."

—Ward Just from Saigon in Washington Post, Sept. 13

I. F. Stone's Weekly

VOL. XIV, NO. 28

September 19, 1966



WASHINGTON, D. C.

15 CENTS

Why They Cry Black Power

There is a hopeful side to the riots and picketing in the slums. They indicate that the poor are no longer poor in spirit. This is the spark that hope has kindled, the real achievement of the poverty program, the beginning of rehabilitation. The negative side is the spread of race war. The Negro, the Puerto Rican and the Mexican-American will no longer wait humbly at the back door of our society. For them its shiny affirmation of equality is a taunt. Either we make it real or see our country torn apart. A race is on between the constructive capacity of our society and an ugly white backlash with Fascist overtones. The crossroads of America's future is not far off.

The Curse of Mankind

Our country is the last hope of multiracialism. The French, for all their civilizing gift, were unable to create that multiracial community Ho Chi Minh was once willing to enter. The British Commonwealth is splitting up over British unwillingness to act against the dictatorship of white minorities in Rhodesia and South Africa. Racism and tribalism are the curse of mankind, anachronistic contemporaries of the astronaut. Where white supremacy is gone forever, Arab and Negro slaughter each other in the Sudan; Malay and Chinese riot in Singapore; tribalism is breaking up Black Africa's most promising nation in Nigeria.

Racism here is only another example of a universal human disease. The cry of "black power" is less a program than an incantation to deal with the crippling effects of white supremacy. The "black" affirms a lost racial pride and the "power" the virility of which the Negro has been robbed by generations of humiliation. Its swift spread testifies to the deep feelings it satisfies. It is not practical politics; it is psychological therapy. Stokeley Carmichael's burning explanation of it in the Sept. 22 issue of *The New York Review* is to be read as the poetry of despair. The United States is not Mr. Carmichael's cherished model, Lowndes County; there are few other counties which have its overwhelming black majority. And it is typical New Left *narodnik* mysticism, albeit in Negro form, to call for "the coming together of black people" to pick their own representatives and at the same time to reject "most of the black politicians we see around the country today." Who picked Adam Clayton Powell, Harlem's absentee political landlord?

But rational argument will not meet the appeal of "black

Why the Pentagon Is to Salvage Negroes

"Secretary McNamara's plan to draft and train hundreds of thousands of young men now unqualified for military service was spawned by military necessity, despite all the hoopla about the war on poverty. The plan is primarily designed to maintain an adequate manpower pool—which has been cut nearly in half by a year's beefed up draft for the Viet Nam war. The reserve of men available for military duty has shrunk from more than 2,000,000 in midsummer 1965 to just over 1,000,000 as of July 31, 1966 . . . Some 30 percent of the McNamara draftees will be Negroes as against an average Negro draft rate of 10 to 11 percent."

—Washington Sunday Star, Sept. 11.

power." It affirms separation because it has met rejection. When Senators go out on the golf links to forestall a quorum rather than vote on "open occupancy," when hateful faces in the North greet Negro demonstrators with cries of "kill the jungle bunnies," when whites flee the cities as if the Negro were some kind of rodent, how else salvage pride except by counter-rejection? It is the taking of white supremacy for granted that is the danger, not the cry of "black power," which is as pathetic as a locked-out child's agony. Nothing could be more disastrous than to divert attention from the real problems of our society by setting off on a witch hunt against SNCC. In Atlanta, as in Watts, trouble began not because of SNCC (see its own account on p. 4) but because the cops are trigger-happy when dealing with black men.

Without extremists to prod us into action, we will not take the giant steps required to rehabilitate the colored and the poor. The Negro still wants in; he cannot go back to Africa; his only future is here. Not black power or white but a sense of belonging to one human family can alone save this planet. But the time is short before hate shuts the doors. The time is coming when we will regret the billions wasted in Vietnam. The time is coming when we may regret the number of Negroes we have trained there in guerrilla war. There is hardly a city where the Negroes do not already dominate the strategic areas through which the affluent commuter passes on his way to the inner core. SNCC's hostility to the war is not disloyalty but wisdom. We cannot rebuild that sense of community so essential to our beloved country's future by engaging in a white man's war in Asia while a black man's revolt rises at home.

SNCC's Version of What Sparked The Racial Outbreaks in Atlanta

Wish our readers would like to see SNCC's version of what sparked the Atlanta riots. Marion Barry of SNCC's Washington office gave the following account to the press Sept. 8 on his return from Atlanta where he was attending a SNCC workshop when the first outbreak occurred Sept. 5.

At approximately 1:15 p.m. two white policemen stopped a car driven by Harold Prather, a 25-year old Negro, who lived $\frac{3}{4}$ of a block away. The cops stopped Prather at Capitol avenue and Ormond st. According to 15 or 20 persons who witnessed the incident, Prather jumped from the car and ran and was shot three times by one of the white officers. "Prather kept moving at a very slow speed and was fired upon again as he tried to get to his home $\frac{3}{4}$ of a block away," said one witness. He finally made it and fell on the porch.

Immediately after the shooting, a crowd of 150 to 200 persons gathered at Prather's house to protest the shooting. There were no SNCC people present. Stokeley Carmichael, SNCC chairman, returning from a radio interview heard about the incident over the radio and went to the scene. The people there were very angry. The local people wanted Carmichael to come back and help organize a peaceful protest demonstration. It was called for 4 p.m.

Witnesses Asked to Speak

At approximately 3:30 p.m. two SNCC people arrived at Capitol Ave. and Ormond St., the scene of the demonstration; 200 people were there. The local people had made their own signs and gone around in the various neighborhoods informing their friends as to what had happened. At 3:45 p.m. Bill Ware, project director for SNCC's Atlanta Project, and three other SNCC people arrived with a sound truck. Ware asked the assembled people what had happened and they began to tell him. Ware said the whole group should know what had happened and asked if witnesses would tell about the incident over the public address system.

Several persons began telling what they had seen. Police officers immediately moved in and told Ware to turn off the P.A. system. Ware informed the policemen that he wanted to stop rumors and make sure that everyone knew what had happened. The policemen immediately arrested Ware. Another SNCC worker asked if people still wanted to talk. The local people said "yes." The talking continued and police arrested the SNCC person. This made the crowd angrier. They demanded that police release the two SNCC people. The local people said that they would sit in the streets until the two persons were released and the Mayor suspended the policeman who shot Prather.

The policemen tried to remove people and arrested some who lived in the neighborhood. The arrests were immediately protested by the crowd, but to no avail. The people really got angry and started pushing some of the officers and several bottles were thrown. Mayor Ivan Allen arrived on the scene and brought with him 150-200 white policemen and an armored truck loaded with white cops, machine guns and other riot equipment. White officers with shotguns were stationed all along the street.

At that time Mayor Allen tried to lead the crowd to the Atlanta stadium some 4 or 5 blocks away. The crowd refused to leave their neighborhood. The crowd was also angry because all of the white officers had machine guns and shotguns, but the Negro officers had only their pistols. This really set the crowd off. Bottles, bricks and other objects were thrown at the white officers.

What the Protesters Wanted

Allen tried to talk to the people from atop a police car but they would not listen because the crowd wanted one of their leaders to talk and not Allen. The block leader who got on top of the car demanded that 1) white cops get out of there with machine guns and shotguns, 2) the release of all those illegally and unjustly arrested, and 3) the cops be fired who shot the young Negro. The crowd cheered the demands but Allen refused to answer. He refused to address himself to their grievances, at which time he was toppled from the police car. Then 50 to 60 cops rushed into the crowd and started hitting and pushing people. Mayor Allen then directed that tear gas be used to disperse the 1500 people who were on the scene. "Tear gas them or tear those houses down," Allen shouted.

All 400 to 500 officers began firing their pistols and shotguns without warning, both in the air and at the crowd. It was a terrifying experience. Unarmed people were assaulted by officers armed with tear gas, pistols, machine guns and shotguns. Never seen anything like it. Little kids, 7 or 8 years old were hit with tear gas canisters. Black women were clubbed to the ground. Anyone who was not moving fast enough was immediately arrested and thrown head first in the paddy wagon. Cops fired tear gas indiscriminately into the homes of Black people who were not even on the street. Little kids came out gasping for air. Cops went onto Black people's porches to beat and arrest them. During this period, several police cars were stoned, and several policemen were injured. During all of this, the attack was directed by Mayor Ivan Allen. He ordered little kids tear-gassed. He ordered white cops to beat and arrest black people.

SNCC's Role in the Outbreak

Now as to SNCC's role: 1) SNCC has only one project in Atlanta and that is in an area called Vine City which is on the other side of the town from the disorders. 2) SNCC has never worked in the neighborhood where the disorders took place. 3) It was the shooting of the young Negro by the white cops, then subsequent arrests of SNCC people that made people angry. 4) The local people themselves made the signs and got their friends together. 5) Stokeley Carmichael drove through the area only after the disorders began. 6) Most of the SNCC people arrived on the scene after the crowd had gathered and police were beating people. 7) The focus should be on Mayor Allen and his racist cops and not SNCC. At 11 a.m. that day SNCC members had gone to the Mayor's office with a complaint concerning police officials. At this time Mayor Allen refused to speak with the group and dismissed them by stating, "You're out of line in Atlanta which is known for its fair and equal treatment of all citizens."

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