

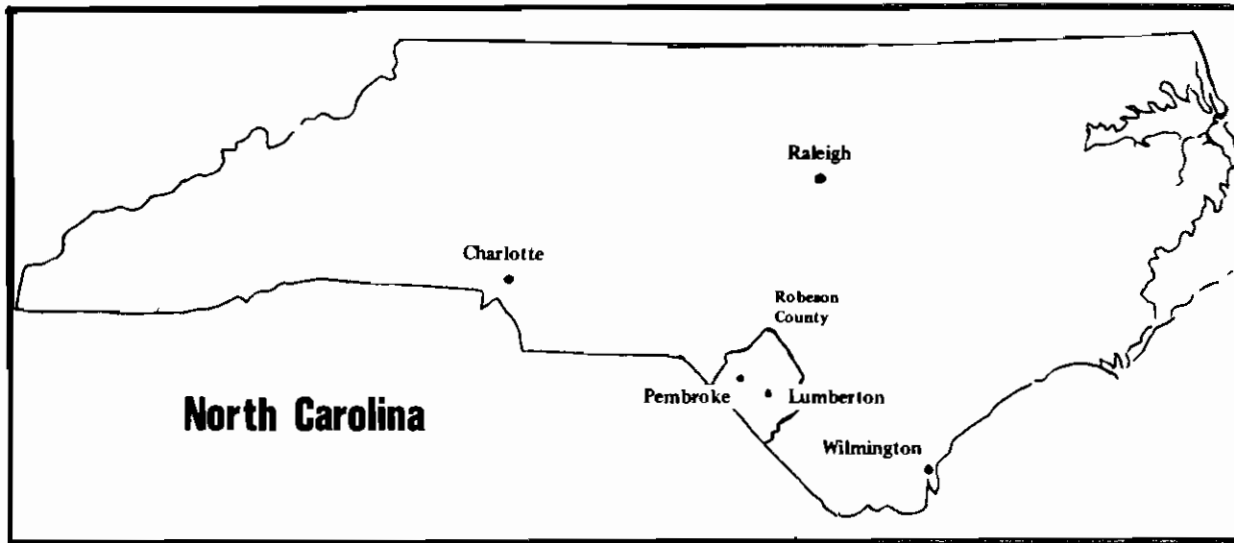
North Carolina: Laboratory for Racism and Repression

Much has been written about the New South, how the tradition of racist terror has been abandoned by a new breed of public officials ushering in a new era. Discrimination is now an occasional thing, lynching a distant memory. North Carolina, it is said, best exemplifies this reformist spirit. But like rouge on a corpse, the New South is little more than cosmetic to prevent the reality of North Carolina from showing through.

The origins of the myth of North Carolina as a New South showcase are to be found in the history of

militant trade unionism, for 25 years beginning in the late 1920s, a history that made great progress in providing protection for the working people of that state; and those postwar years in which Chapel Hill became the "Cambridge of the South," a center of intellectual probing, of challenging ideas. But these new directions were reversed during the repressive terror of McCarthyism—progressive unions were crushed, universities retreated—leaving North Carolina with the image of a New South but without the substance.

Because of that image, North Carolina was in large part untouched by the civil rights movement of the 1960s which concentrated its efforts in the more retrograde states of the Deep South. The cumulative effect of this recent history has left the state without a strong labor movement or massive civil rights organizations, making North Carolina relatively defenseless as it is turned into a pilot project for the newest and most comprehensive forms of repression devised by the state and federal authorities.



Southern Patriot Photo

Under Nixon Southern Strategy Becomes National Strategy

It therefore made good sense to Richard Nixon and the architects of his Southern Strategy, the indicted Messrs. John Mitchell and Robert Mardian, to implement that strategy in the North Carolina of Fort Bragg and Camp Lejeune, of Burlington Industries and Reynolds Tobacco, of the Duke Power Co. and the Wachovia Bank Corp., of Senator Sam Ervin and the Reverend Billy Graham. The Southern Strategy is of course a national strategy, to appeal to white racist fears using as a primary weapon the artificial issue of busing students to achieve integration.

Charlotte, the largest city in the Tarheel State, was the busing test

case before the U.S. Supreme Court, when the Court upheld that town's integration plan, North Carolina became a focus of racist terror, of mass jailings of Black students, and finally of numerous political trials and the long imprisonment of scores of key activists and leaders—Black, white and Indian.

From hundreds of cases in the last three years, consider only the following:*

Charles Lee Parker of Roanoke Rapids is serving life in prison on a burglary charge, although the U.S. District Court in Raleigh has held that he was indicted by an illegal grand jury. Parker was 15 when he

went to prison. His mother has for years been active in the Black movement.

In Greenville, a white youth and a young Black man were charged with raping a white woman. Both defendants denied the charges. They were given separate trials. The white boy was freed, the Black sent to prison for life.

Nathan Shoffner, an elderly Black man in Greensboro, was shot to death by state patrolman R.A. Clark, after a highway accident. Shoffner was alleged to have threatened the patrolman with a knife, before he was shot in the leg and allowed to bleed to death on the highway. Patrolman Clark was cleared of any criminal intent.

*These cases were reported on in some depth each month in the years 1971-3, by the Southern Patriot of Louisville, Ky. See also Carl Braden's pamphlet, *The Right to Organize*, 1972, published by the Southern Conference Education Fund

A month before, an unarmed 20-year-old, Michael Riggins, was shot in the back by a Greensboro policeman who claimed Riggins was running from the scene of a crime. The death was ruled justifiable homicide.

In Raleigh's Central State Prison, Black Panther party section leader Joe Waddell, age 20, was said by prison officials to have died of a heart attack. Rev. Benjamin Chavis of the United Church of Christ had seen Waddell in apparent good

health a few days earlier. When Waddell's body was returned to his family, all of his internal organs were missing, making an autopsy impossible. Waddell had no history of heart trouble.

Rape Still Standard Charge Against Black Men

Another young Black activist, Lawrence Covington, returned home to the rural village of Laurinburg after receiving an engineering degree at a northern school. Hired by the poverty program, he became a defender of the Black community against police brutality, and he joined a local school boycott. He was then accused of raping a 16-year-old white woman on Thanksgiving Eve 1970. The alleged victim, whose husband was in the service, said that she came to Covington for food stamps for Thanksgiving; that after they had talked about her returning to school to get a high school diploma, he turned out the light and had sexual relations with her. The young woman was involved in a similar incident some months earlier with two Black men. (In that first case, the charges were dropped amid much publicity.) Three months after being jailed, Covington was finally granted bail of \$15,000. It was too high for him to pay and he remained in jail. His trial with an all-white jury was halted pending a psychiatric examination. The long period of confinement apparently had an adverse effect on Covington's mind.

In Charlotte, Roy and Leroy Miller, 21-year-old twins, were stopped by police for questioning about a car theft. Roy Miller was shot at point-blank range by patrol-

man J.W. Swain. He was left on the pavement for almost an hour and a half while he bled to death, although two ambulances arrived immediately. Leroy Miller was arrested and beaten at police headquarters until he pleaded guilty to 14 counts of housebreaking and three of resisting arrest. He was sentenced to eight to ten years in prison. The Miller twins were Black, the police white.

Also in Charlotte, patrolman J.D. Ensminger killed 18-year-old Frankie Dunlap after Dunlap allegedly attacked the officer with an "Afro" comb. The police chief would not suspend Ensminger; the grand jury refused to bring an indictment against him.

Police in High Point conducted an early morning raid against the Black Community Information Center, in what law enforcement officials said was an effort to evict the occupants. The building is owned by a district court judge who, when told who the tenants were, ordered the eviction. No reason was given for the action and none need be under North Carolina law. The eviction party included 75 city, county and state police, armed with tear gas, bullet-proof vests and automatic shotguns. They sealed off the Black community at 6 a.m., an unusual precaution for only serving an eviction notice. (The assault on the office was led by



Southern Patriot Photo

High Point police chief Laurie Pritchett, who came to national notice as chief of police in Albany, Georgia, in the early 1960s. He was known there to lock up every man, woman and child who dared protest racial injustice in that Southwest Georgia town. Many were beaten in the Albany jail and police even threatened one young girl with rape by a police dog.)

Lawyer's Office Burned and Home Dynamited

In Charlotte, the law firm of Chambers, Stein, Ferguson and Lanning primarily serves Black and poor people involved in the liberation movement, and anti-war activists. The firm's office was burned to the ground, as was the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, with offices in

the same building. At the same time, a business in Montgomery County, 50 miles away, owned by the father of Julius Chambers, head of the law firm, was also set afire. A few years earlier, Chambers narrowly escaped assassination when his house was dynamited. The FBI

and police made no arrests in any of the incidents.

Since the U.S. Supreme Court ordered busing to achieve school integration in Charlotte, North Carolina's high schools have become the scenes of regular clashes between Black students and white

students inflamed by racist propaganda or police, the Blacks without exception coming up short. For a few instances:

Over 200 persons were arrested in Edenton, growing out of protests

over the firing of a Black band director in a local high school. Most of those jailed were booked on charges of parading without a permit or blocking traffic as they marched downtown. Six were ar-

rested for burning a Confederate flag, charged with "mutilating, defacing and defiling the flag." One must assume that the authorities considered the Stars and Bars as the legal symbol to which they owe allegiance.

Judge Warns Black Pupils "We've Got the Guns"

In Wilson, six other teenage boys and girls were sent to jail after a Black-white high school clash in which 16 Blacks and one white were arrested. On pronouncing sentence the judge allowed as how, "We're tired of all this protesting. We've got the guns, we've got the money, and we've got you outnumbered. We're going to stop you in this way or people are going to take things into their own hands."

The Statesville high school closed for several days and several students were hospitalized after a free-for-all over a white bus driver's refusal to let a Black student board the bus. There were 711 whites and 171 Blacks at the school. Mayor Francis R. Quis urged parents of the white students who were hospitalized to swear out warrants against Black students, whom he described as

"criminals." He said that "justice would be swift and sure." Police serving papers on one 16-year-old Black student, beat him, his mother and younger sister, and brought them down to the jail, leaving a one-year-old child alone behind.

School was also closed and several students sent to the hospital in the mill town of King's Mountain, when a group of Black teenagers was attacked by a larger group of whites armed with sticks. Two Black students, but no whites, were suspended in the wake of the beatings. The principal at Kings Mountain who referred to Black students as "niggers," took no action against white students who bring guns to school.

About 200 Black students walked out of school in South

Mecklenburg after a fight between Black and white students. Several carloads of county police arrested some of the students leaving the school, on grounds of disorderly conduct. The next day more Black students stayed home as 17 county police in riot gear patrolled the school.

Both West Mecklenburg and Myers Park High Schools closed after fights between whites and Blacks. The white racist "Concerned Parents Association" sent their children to West Mecklenburg in the 1960s to escape court-ordered integration. Black students who transferred her in the 1970s are called "niggers" and "boys" by their teachers. A school coach publicly announced that if he were 20 years younger, he would "go out and kill me some niggers."

Students demonstrate in snow in Raleigh



SOBU News Service Photo

White Teachers Boast Membership in KKK

Teachers in Pender County openly boasted of membership in the Ku Klux Klan or in the Rights of White People, another terrorist organization. But a Black student was expelled from school on grounds of "suspicion" of belonging to the Black Panther Party.

Numerous incidents have occurred around the efforts of Black students to observe the birthday of the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. At Charlotte's Garinger High, fire drills were started by whites during Dr. King's birthday memorial, and white non-students ap-

peared on campus with machetes, trying to provoke fights with Black pupils. At Harding High School, Black students were refused permission to hold a memorial for Dr. King, and those who attended services at nearby Johnson C. Smith University were suspended. Yet

school officials sanction country-and-western music shows and religious programs for white students.

Some 69 Black high school students were arrested on felony charges of rioting—which carry sentences of five to 10 years—after fights with whites at Myers Park,

South Mecklenberg and Olympic High Schools in Charlotte. Although there is evidence that the whites started the fights in each case, only two whites were apprehended, and they were set free after a preliminary hearing. The Black students remained in jail for weeks.

Teenagers Imprisoned After Protesting Murder of Black Farmer

The Village of Ayden was torn apart by months of turmoil. Protests were initially sparked by the killing of William Murphy, a Black farm laborer, on August 6, 1971, by white patrolman Billy Day. Murphy was shot to death while in handcuffs. Day said he arrested Murphy for drunkenness, but Murphy's employer said the man was "not noticeably intoxicated" when he saw him five minutes before the arrest. The Ayden hospital refused to perform an autopsy, but an examination at a Chapel Hill funeral parlor found that Murphy was shot in the back. The coroner's jury held that patrolman Day shot the man in self-defense. Day has been promoted to the Highway Patrol's personnel department.

Protests of the killing came immediately from the American Civil Liberties Union, the NAACP, the Black Panther Party, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Black Pastors' Conference of Pitt County and the United Church of Christ's Commission for Racial Justice. In response, Ayden authorities declared a curfew to prevent picket demonstrations and hundreds of demonstrators were arrested. (Some 800 charges are still pending.) The terrorist Rights of White People organization offered to send 300 men to Ayden to "keep order."

The KKK threatened to bomb the high school rather than permit integration. Shortly thereafter a bomb exploded in a rest room in the Ayden-Grifton High School.



photo by Audrey Schirmer

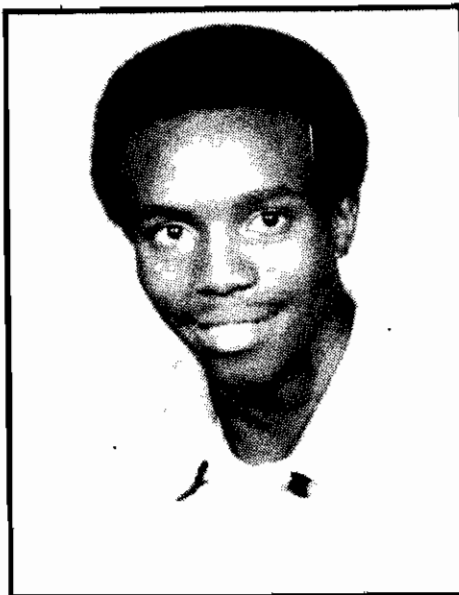
Nobody was nearby, so no one was hurt. No fingerprints were found, no eye-witnesses located, no evidence of any kind discovered. Still, deputy sherriffs arrested a 13-year-old Black student and threatened him with death if he didn't "name others." The boy said police held a gun to his head at the time. He finally gave names of several other boys who were active in the Pitt County movement. One of those named, Donald Smith, 17, son of a factory worker, confessed the bombing after being denied the right to see a lawyer and being threatened by police if he didn't

confess. His confession was the only evidence against him.

Donald's trial was a remarkable example of New Southern justice. During the proceedings the judge indicated to the jury his belief in the guilt of the defendant. The prosecuting attorney took the members of the jury to dinner just before they returned their verdict. When the guilty verdict was announced, the prosecutor and the sheriff's deputy who had obtained Donald's confession laughed loudly and jumped with glee. The deputy has since been named police chief in Ayden.

Donald Smith was sentenced to 40 years in prison. Notice of appeal was filed but later dropped when defense attorneys received a sentence of 20 years for the youth in return for agreement to never again appeal. On the day that Donald's appeal was withdrawn, 10 other teenage boys also pleaded guilty. With no evidence against them except forced confessions, the Ayden 11, teenagers all, were sentenced to a total of 133 years in North Carolina prisons. While his schoolmates are presently out of prison, Donald Smith remains incarcerated.

A year before the Ayden explosion, a similar chain of events was beginning to unfold in nearby Oxford. An all-white grand jury in that town was investigating the murder of Henry Lee Marrow, a



Donald Smith now serving 20 year sentence

Black Vietnam veteran. Three men faced indictment: Robert G. Teel, an officer in the Granville County Branch of the United Klans of America, Inc.; and his son and stepson, Larry Teel and Robert Oakley. The three were arraigned after having admitted shooting Marrow. Several Black witnesses testified that Larry Teel fired the gun point-blank at Marrow while the victim lay helplessly on the ground; and that the younger Teel was instructed to do so by his father who allegedly commanded, "Shoot the nigger." The grand jury apparently preferred the claim of the defendants that the shooting was an "accident" resulting from the bumping of Oakley's shoulder while he held a loaded rifle. No indictment was handed down and the three defendants were set free.

Frame-up of Dynamic Black Leader Starts in Oxford

The Black community, led by the Rev. Benjamin Chavis, protested the release of the Teels and Oakley. That same month the Teels shot William Chavis, a cousin of the minister. And again an all-white jury set free the two white men. Oxford was becoming explosive with tension. Two young Black men in the town, Walter Washington and Alfred Hood, were arrested and charged with possession of a dynamite and dynamite caps. The day they were to be tried, Washington and Hood turned up in Toronto, Canada. Rev. Chavis and Jim Grant, an organizer for the Southern Conference Educational Fund and reporter for the Fund's *Southern Patriot*, were arrested on charges of "conspiracy" to help Washington and Hood flee from prosecution. Chavis and Grant were also the two most well-known and dynamic leaders of the North Carolina Black youth movement.

Hood and Washington turned states evidence and became witnesses for the prosecution against the

two Black leaders. In return the state dropped charges against Hood and Washington, creating the remarkable situation in which two men were on trial for conspiracy to aid two other men escape prosecution, while the two escapees were freed from prosecution. On March 24, 25, 1974 *The Charlotte Observer*, after an eight-week investigation, reported that the informers Hood and Washington were paid thousands of dollars for their testimony in this and a subsequent case by the U.S. Justice Department under John Mitchell and Robert Mardian. Jim Grant and Ben Chavis were clearly on the White House "enemies list." With the Rights of White People packing the courtroom, the jury found Grant guilty and Chavis not guilty, to the puzzlement of observers. The charges and the evidence against the two were exactly the same. Jim Grant was sentenced to 10 years and is now imprisoned at the federal penitentiary in Atlanta.



Dr. Jim Grant



The Rev. Ben Chavis

Jim Grant Subjected to New Frame-up in Charlotte



Charlotte Observer Photo

Dr. Grant (he holds a PhD. in chemistry from Penn State University) has also been sentenced to 25 years on North Carolina state charges in another, equally bizarre case. A bit of history is necessary to cope with the meanderings of North Carolina justice: In October 1967, an integrated group of four persons was not allowed to ride horses at the Lazy B Riding Stable in Charlotte. Two of those in the group were T.J. Reddy, a Black poet, and his white bride-to-be, Vicky Minar, at the time a VISTA volunteer. The next day, they returned to the Lazy B with seven other persons, including Charles Parker, a Black man. This time, in front of photographers and reporters, Parker was allowed to ride and the incident was considered closed.

Then, 11 months later, one of the stables at the Lazy B burned to the ground, killing 15 horses. No mention of arson was reported at that time, nor any link made to the civil rights incident the previous

year. But *four years after* the initial Lazy B incident and three years after the fire—with patrolman Day killing Murphy and Klansman Teel killing Marrow, and the subsequent Black protests, and the Ayden High School explosion, and with Rev. Chavis and Dr. Grant being singled out by North Carolina authorities as undesirable elements—Grant, Parker and Reddy were arrested for burning down the stable. Again, like the rack, the wheels of North Carolina justice turned. Judge Frank Snapp in Mecklenburg County Superior Court at Charlotte prohibited supporters of the three accused men from passing out leaflets or picketing the courthouse during the trial, a prohibition later reversed when a federal judge finally persuaded Snapp that he was denying demonstrators their first amendment rights. Again, Washington and Hood appeared as witnesses for the government, and again they admitted that the state had agreed not to prosecute them if they would help convict Grant, Reddy and Parker.

Informers Paid Thousands of Dollars for Testimony

For the nine months preceding the trial, Washington, Hood and Washington's family lived in protective custody in a motel at the expense of the federal government. Hood said that he was paid \$105 a week for the nine months. Washington's \$100,000 bond (he was under 20-25 year sentence for armed robbery) was dropped, as was the

\$165,000 bond under which Hood was being held. The *Charlotte Observer* reports that the two were paid by the Justice Department at least \$4,000 each and perhaps as much as \$70,000 for their testimony.

A fourth man, Clarence Harrison, was also indicted, but Grant, Reddy and Parker had never even heard his

name before, let alone been associated with Harrison. While Grant, Reddy and Parker pleaded not guilty, Harrison pleaded guilty. But Harrison was allowed by Judge Snapp to leave the court free on bond, while the other three were held in custody throughout the trial. Harrison was later given a seven-year suspended sentence.

Word of Informers Send Charlotte 3 to Prison

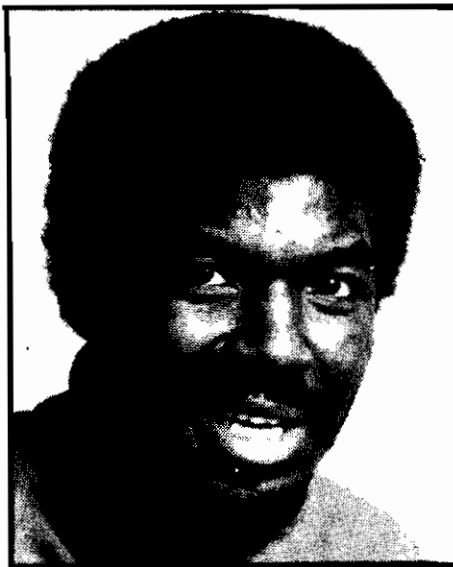
The prosecution centered on Jim Grant as the main villain, bringing out such facts as that he was a "card-carrying member of the American Civil Liberties Union." The Mecklenberg County fire chief, under defense cross-examination, testified that there was no evidence of arson at the site of the burned barn, and police witnesses revealed

that a bottle found near the scene of the fire contained no identifiable fingerprints and the bottle was not missing at trial time, in any case. As the state rested its case, the jury was left with only the fact that a fire occurred almost four years earlier; and the word of two criminals—admitted perjurers, who were not charged with the crime—

—that they, together with the defendants on trial, set the fire. No mention was made in the presence of the jury that Clarence Harrison had been charged with the crime and pleaded guilty.

The jury returned a verdict of guilty against Grant, Reddy and Parker. Judge Snapp sentenced the three to 25, 20 and 10 years

respectively, and set appeal bond at \$50,000 and \$25,000, for what he called "one of the most inhuman crimes I have ever heard of," referring to the deaths of 15 horses in the stable fire. Apparently less inhuman was the murder of a Charlotte man charged to the informer Hood six weeks later. Hood and two bodyguards shot the man in what police termed a drug war. Their bail was set at only \$4,000. Washington, the other informer, meanwhile again slipped bond and became a fugitive from justice. When Jim Grant was finally able to pay his bond and was freed pending appeal on the state arson charges, he was arrested within hours on the earlier federal charges



T. J. Reddy

Charlotte Observer Photo

of aiding fugitives and is now serving 10 years in that case. While the Charlotte Three received a total of 55 years for allegedly burning one barn, four white youths burned down six barns in 1973, also in Mecklenburg and Cabarrus counties, only to receive sentences ranging from eight months to two years. In other recent comparable cases, a white Charlotte man got three to five years with a recommendation for work-release for firebombing a grocery store a month after the Lazy B fire; and in December 1971 a white former volunteer fireman got five to 10 years at Hendersonville for burning down three schools.

Wilmington Authorities Take Over Frame-up of Chavis

Rev. Ben Chavis, Jim Grant's co-defendant on the earlier charges of conspiracy to aid fugitives, now faces 10 separate trials, and a possible 262 years in prison, for his political activities. A native of Oxford, where he led the Black movement, Chavis graduated in chemistry from the University of North Carolina at Charlotte. Later he organized a Black political party in Charlotte and ran for city council. But it was in the port city of Wilmington, the seat of New Hanover County on the South Carolina state line, that the young minister drew the wrath of the state authorities.

Wilmington's history seems to be one of things getting worse before they get worse. Wilmington had been the largest slave market in eastern Carolina before emancipation was proclaimed. But during Reconstruction after the Civil War, Wilmington became a city with a Black mayor and other Black and progressive white elected officials, and with numerous Black-owned businesses. The town was becoming one of the South's major seaports, but racist forces vowed to destroy the Black-white unity that prevailed in a democratic Wilmington. In the 1898 elections, Black Republican office-holders were defeated by an

alliance of the all-white Democratic party and racist Populists, supported by Northern capital. Democrats at the time had a paramilitary vigilante arm called the Redshirts, who interpreted their 1898 election victory as a signal to unleash a wave of violent terrorism against Blacks. Raiding the Light Infantry Armory, bands of Redshirts went into the Black community to shoot down defenseless citizens in the streets. House to house searches resulted in several more killings. State military forces, sent by the governor, sided with the mob. Hundreds of Black people were killed, and their bodies dumped into the Cape Fear River.

Black Students Protest Against Harrassment in Schools

"White power" in Wilmington was thus established—with the support of Northern wealth—through the barrels of government guns, and the power relation hold to the present. Today all of the judges in Wilmington are white, just as 99 percent of the judges across the state are white. The Wilmington police department is 97 percent white, similar to the state's ratio. All the prosecutors in Wilmington are white. The town—named by the now-defunct *Look* magazine as an "All-American City"—seemed to have been bypassed by the movements of the 1960s. The city

fathers went unchallenged—until recently.

Tension existed in high schools throughout North Carolina, as we have seen, and Wilmington was no exception. In 1969 Black students at New Hanover and John T. Hoggard High Schools demanded a Black studies program and more Black instructors. The school system responded by sending police into the schools' hallways and by banning meetings of Black students. In May 1970 Black students defended themselves against attacks by whites, and received additional beatings from police called in to

stop the fighting. By the end of the year, scores of Black students had been suspended or expelled from school, while white students went unpunished. Just before Christmas vacation, 17 more Blacks were indefinitely suspended from New Hanover High for fighting with whites, and again the whites received no punishment. In protest, about 80 percent of the Black students launched a school boycott. When school resumed in January 1971 a white boy assaulted a young Black girl with a knife. The principal suspended her but did not punish the white boy.

Armed White Racists Pour into Wilmington

The Black community began to organize in support of its school-children. Community leaders invited Rev. Chavis, who represents the United Church of Christ's Commission for Racial Justice, to come to Wilmington to aid their attempts to organize. On February 3, 1971, hundreds of Black students walked out of school at New Hanover High, Hoggard High and Williston Junior High, heading for a community mass meeting at the Gregory Congregational Church. After the meeting, about a thousand students marched to the board of education to present their grievances. The next day, the church's pastor began receiving phone calls from whites who threatened to bomb the church. The Ku Klux Klan started to bring into Wilmington members from enclaves in nearby Burgaw and Whiteville. Black leaders petitioned the mayor to impose a curfew to prevent bloodshed; the request was denied. Left with no alternative, Black students gathered at the church and set up barricades outside to prevent an armed attack on the building. Numbers of whites

carrying guns came into Wilmington in pickup trucks from Pender and Columbus counties as well as some from South Carolina. Trucks with armed whites cruised the streets around the church, escorted by local police. From time to time some trucks would try to crash the barricades and there were exchanges of gunfire.

For four days the siege of the church continued. One night, a fire started about a block from the church. Steve Mitchell, one of the student leaders, headed up the block to pull a fire alarm. Police waiting in darkness across the street shot him to death. An hour later, after the building had almost burned to the ground, firemen arrived on the scene. When news of the killing spread through the community, many people with arms, requesting guard duty, came to the church. Racist whites continued to ride up to the barricades and shoot at the church. A white man named Harvey Cumber, who was firing into the church, was himself mortally wounded by gunfire the day after young Steve Mitchell was killed.



National Guardsmen surround Gregory Congregational Church where Black community leaders and students held liberation services.

White Sympathizer is Forced to Leave City

The National Guard finally lifted the siege, but for weeks afterward terrorist violence was aimed at individual Black community leaders and their white supporters. Rev. Gene Templeton, the white pastor at the Gregory Congregational Church, was forced to leave Wilmington after a number of Klan threats and attempts on his life. Turmoil continued in the schools. On the 73rd anniversary of the Wilmington Massacre, groups of whites set upon Black students arriving in school buses at Hoggard High. As a result of the beatings, five young Blacks required hospitalization. New Hanover's school system adopted a plan resembling South Africa's passbook laws. Pupils were required to pay for a photograph and a set of fingerprints to be kept on file for "reference." Failure to submit to this procedure bars students from the county's schools.

The Rights of White People, a vigilante organization in eastern

Carolina which was critical of the Klan as being too "moderate," began to gather strength. Its leader, Leroy Gibson, a career marine, declared: "If necessary, we'll eliminate the Black race. What are we supposed to do while these animals run loose in the streets?" He offered to intervene in the school struggles if the police were not sufficiently up to the task of suppressing Black resistance. The mood of part of the white citizenry toward the Wilmington events was expressed by District Court Judge Johnny Walker, who said, "We should have sent in Lt. Calley to clean them [Black Wilmingtonians] up." At a rally in a local park, Leroy Gibson and 200 of his followers held a press conference. All were armed, many with automatic weapons. Gibson said he would hunt down Black activists "like rabbits," and threatened to make "citizen's arrests" of Black leaders.



A member of the armed vigilante group, The Rights of White People, erecting sign on new headquarters one block away from Rev. Chavis' church in the heart of the Black community

Wilmington 3 - More Movement Leaders Subjected to Frame-up

In March 1971, a Black youth, Clifton Eugene Wright, was killed by a shotgun blast as he answered the door at the house of a neighbor and friend, Mrs. Mollie Hicks. Mrs. Hicks is one of the adults who consistently supported the student movement, for which she suffered a number of reprisals. In December, nine months after young Wright was killed, one of the strangest cases in the history of North Carolina jurisprudence—a history hardly void of curiosities—was launched with the arrests of Mrs. Hicks, her teenage daughter Leatrice, and Rev. Chavis. Charged with being “accessories after the fact of murder” of Wright, Mollie Hicks was not even home at the time of the killing, Leatrice was asleep upstairs and Rev. Chavis was in Raleigh, 150 miles away. The indictments came only a week after Rev. Chavis was released on bond in the case with Jim Grant over “conspiracy” to aid fugitives.

Another man, Donald Nixon, was arrested with Chavis and the Hicks women, and charged with the murder of Wright. Then the state persuaded Nixon to testify against Chavis and the Hickses in return for which he was allowed to plead guilty to a charge of involuntary manslaughter. Nixon, who now admitted killing Wright, was released on \$3,000 bail. Chavis and the Hickses, who denied all knowledge of the murder, were held on \$10,000 each. (Rev. Chavis’ bail was later raised to \$100,000 when he mentioned at a Black political rally that he would some day like to visit Africa.)

The crux of the “case” against Chavis and his co-defendants was Nixon’s testimony that they had knowledge, after the fact, that Wright had been killed by Nixon, and that they then made false statements about the crime. The “false” statements they allegedly made involved an accusation im-



The Wilmington 3 - Mrs. Mollie Hicks, her daughter, Leatrice, 19, and Rev. Ben Chavis.

mediately after the murder that an unknown white man probably had done the killing. What was so peculiar about the state’s case is that by allowing Nixon to plead guilty to involuntary manslaughter, the prosecutor and the courts had thereby ruled that Wright’s death was accidental. Meanwhile they charged Chavis and Molly and Leatrice Hicks with knowledge of a murder which the state had already ruled didn’t really happen.

Black Newspaper and Synagogue Bombed in Wilmington

Wilmington Journal Photo



Demolished office of the Wilmington Journal

On the eve of the trial more than a year later, in June 1973, dynamite blasts leveled the offices of the *Wilmington Journal*, which has served Wilmington’s Black community since 1911. Another bomb blasted a gaping hole in the front of Wilmington’s B’nai Israel Temple. With national pressure against the prosecution, led by the Church of Christ’s Commission for Racial Justice, the Southern Conference Education Fund and the newly formed National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (whose co-chairperson, Angela Davis, spoke before mass rallies in the state and attended the trial for its duration), the case against Ben Chavis was thrown out of court. Leatrice Hicks’ case ended in a mistrial; Mollie Hicks was found guilty and given a suspended sentence of three years. Donald Nixon, the admitted killer, never did serve time.



Angela Davis, co-chairperson, and Charlene Mitchell, executive secretary of the National Alliance Against Racist & Political Repression enter courtroom in support of the Wilmington 3.

More Charges Piled on Rev. Ben Chavis

But back in the spring of 1972, after Rev. Chavis was finally released on bail in the Wright murder case, he was arrested again—this time on charges of “conspiracy to murder.” It seems that the authorities considered the death of Steve Mitchell at the hands of police in the Wilmington siege the year before as “justifiable homicide.” But the death of the white man,

Harvey Cumber, who was firing into the church, was considered murder, and Rev. Chavis and a member of his church were charged with “conspiracy” to kill Cumber. Whoever actually did kill Cumber had to have been involved in the shortest conspiracy on record, lasting the split second between being fired at and firing back. In any case, other members of the Wilmington

movement were charged with setting fire to a grocery store during the siege, or preventing firemen from extinguishing fires. Just prior to arrests, Wilmington police chief H.E. Williamson received a letter from the Rights of White People, giving a 30-day ultimatum to arrest someone for the death of Cumber. The ROWP suggested that it would move to make arrests if the police did not.

Mental Patient Chief Witness Against Wilmington 10

The Wilmington 10, as they came to be known, include besides Rev. Chavis, eight other Black men, most of them teenagers, and Ann Shepard, a white VISTA volunteer and mother of two, who is suffering from cancer. The trial of the 10 originally began in June 1972 but when a jury of 10 Blacks and two whites was picked, the prosecutor, Jay Stroud, suddenly came down with a fever and the judge immediately declared a mistrial. When the trial resumed in September, the state made sure Blacks were a minority on the jury panel, dismissing 42 prospective Black jurors without cause. This time the jury composition was reversed: 10 whites and two Blacks.

The main prosecution witness, Allen Hall, had been for several years in mental institutions. When Hall was arrested for arson in connection with the Wilmington siege, he claimed that he and he alone had exchanged gunfire with police on several occasions. During pretrial hearings when Hall became confused in his testimony he turned violent. At one point in the hearings he tried to physically attack Rev. Chavis, against whom Hall admitted he carried a grudge. In the September trial, Hall again contradicted himself several times under cross-examination by defense attorney James Ferguson. With obvious holes in his testimony, Hall became agitated and once actually



Criminal Justice News Photo

After release on \$350,000 bail some of the Wilmington 10 gather in front of Gregory Congregational Church.

jumped out of the witness stand and assaulted Ferguson. It took six deputies to subdue him and remove Hall from the courtroom, and one juror was knocked down by him on his way out. The response of the judge was to warn Ferguson that he would be cited for contempt of court if he again “provoked” Hall.

The judge, Robert Martin of High Point, was sent especially by the state into Burgaw to try the case. In addition, North Carolina Attorney General Robert Morgan sent a special prosecutor from his office to aid the prosecution. Morgan himself came to Burgaw one day to have lunch with Judge Martin during a noon break in the trial. Both the Attorney General and the judge told reporters they didn’t discuss the case. (Morgan hopes to be heir to Sam Ervin in the U.S. Senate.) The outcome of the trial came as no surprise to observers of North Carolina’s criminal justice system. All 10 defendants were found guilty. Rev. Chavis was sentenced to 34 years in prison; three others got 31 years each and

five others 29 years each; Ann Shepard was given 10 years as an accessory. Appeal bonds totaled \$400,000. The appeal was to be heard by the state appellate court in early May. Veteran observers speculated that the Nixon-Mitchell-Mardian Justice Department that bought and paid for the prosecution of the Charlotte Three and the earlier Ben Chavis-Jim Grant “conspiracy” case, had also financed and manipulated the conviction of the Wilmington Ten.



Ann Shepard, after release



Indians Also Come Under Attack by State

In Robeson County on the South Carolina stateline, one third of the 90,000 residents are Tuscarora Indians. Most of the Indians are farmers or laborers who live in shanty houses. Eighty-six percent of the Tuscaroras live below the poverty line. The median family income for Indians in Robeson County is \$1,324 a year. For Blacks, who make up another third of the county, the median is \$1,618. The Tuscaroras were the largest tribe in the area before bloody wars with English colonists in the early 18th century forced most of the tribe north to New York. But many Indians remained behind. A century later, in 1845, Robeson County Indians were designated "free persons of color" and thereby denied the right to vote, build churches or send their children to school. At the end of the last century North Carolina authorities responded to an Indian campaign for education by establishing Indian schools.

But in the mid-1960s the Robeson County Board of Education took control of the Indian public schools. Because the Tuscaroras are also primarily Black* as well as Indian, they have had to suffer oppression as both. The North Carolina state legislature and the federal government do not even recognize them as Tuscarora, but have designated them "Lumbee" because Lumberton is the county seat of Robeson County.

For several years the Tuscarora have been organizing themselves as a political movement, and have had

periodic clashes with the Ku Klux Klan. During the American Indian Movement's Trail of Broken Treaties in 1972, 35 carloads of Tuscaroras went to Washington and took part in the occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Local Tuscarora rallies in Robeson County have resulted in the arrests of and injuries to several dozen Indians. After staging a march on the state capitol of Raleigh, Tuscarora leaders were arrested by federal agents and charged with possession of papers the government claims were stolen during the BIA takeover. Two of those tried were given one-year sentences. Four AIM organizers have been indicted for "conspiracy to commit arson," a familiar charge against movement activists in North Carolina. Tuscarora chief Howard Brooks has been sentenced to two years in prison for "failing to disperse" during a demonstration demanding Indian control of Indian schools. Altogether some 50 Tuscaroras are in jail, under indictment or on appeal for "parading without a permit" and other charges related to their exercising their rights of free assembly, and petitioning for a redress of grievances. Recognition of the Tuscarora tribe by state and federal governments, which would mean some economic assistance, remains the primary demand of the Indians. Meanwhile, in the western mountains of North Carolina, the Cherokee, who are fewer in number, are recognized by the state and given their own reservation, on the proviso that they dance for tourists for free.

**For years the Tuscaroras sheltered runaway slaves during the period of the "underground railroad."*

**Altogether some 50 Tuscaroras are in jail, under indictment or on appeal for "parading without a permit" and other charges related to their exercising their rights of free assembly, and petitioning for a redress of grievances.*

Federal Center for "Behavior Modification" to be in N.C.

Perhaps most ominous of all federal measures in North Carolina is the development of the Federal Center for Correctional Research (formerly called the U.S. Behavioral Research Center), a 43-acre facility that will open this summer. Rising out of a mudflat in Butner, the facility is financed by \$13.5 million of U.S. taxes. The United Church of Christ's Commission for Racial Justice has warned that, "Prisoners will be chosen and shipped from around the country to Butner, N.C., to be experimented on. Many will never be heard from again. . . .

The use of drugs, brainwashing and hypnosis as evidenced in the movie 'Clockwork Orange' will be used on uncontrollable prisoners to develop methods to control other uncontrollables—inmates and non-inmates."

Prison activists have vowed to kill the Butner project through strikes, sit-downs and other necessary means. Two prisoners at the federal penitentiary at Marion, Illinois, reportedly committed suicide last year after being notified

that they were to be shipped to Butner. Marion has had a "behavior modification" center for some time, under the direction of Dr. Martin Groder, who has been appointed warden at Butner.

Psychosurgery, electroshock, massive drug doses, sensory deprivation, aversive conditioning—all fall under the category of behavior modification. Numerous prisons include several such programs. New York's Adirondack Treatment Center at Dannemora and the Connecticut State Prison at Somers already use aversive therapy in the form demonstrated in "Clockwork Orange," and electroshock as in "One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest." The federal prison in Springfield, Missouri, had until recently a program in which prisoners *begin* in solitary confinement and we are "rewarded" for docility with better conditions. If insufficient "progress" was shown by the prisoner after 18 months, he was then sent to a medical facility for treatment as a "chronic psychotic." Jessica Mitford, in her best-selling work "Kind

and Usual Punishment," charges that secret plans drafted for Butner are substantially an extension of the chemotherapy and psychosurgery programs used at the Vacaville, California, prison hospital to mutilate the section of the brain that controls social behavior.

In any case, Butner is slated to become the most advanced and massive center for experimentation on human beings by the federal government. Dr. Groder estimates that as many as 6,000 federal prisoners may be eligible for Butner. The "behavior modification unit" at Butner is to be made up of 200 prisoners, chosen from various prison populations. Those "subgroups of offenders" chosen for this program include "minority groups, high security risks, overly passive follower types, alcoholic felons, drug addicts, and sexually assaultive inmates." Groder is recruiting a 210-member staff for Butner, comprised of psychiatrists, psychologists, social workers and some 100 corrections officers.



Program Aimed At Prisoners Considered "Maladjusted"

Butner represents an idea whose time has truly gone—that a person can be locked up in a cage for a long time and with proper "treatment" emerge a better citizen. In

fact behavior modification programs are aimed at those prisoners that are considered "maladjusted" and discontented, to adjust them to and make them content in whatever

barbarous conditions they must function. All of this is done in the name of science. Dr. Groder's Program Master Plan includes the following language: "All research

programs shall effectively discourage overt and covert antisocial behavior. This will avoid the hypocritical involvement in programs that often saps their strength." The good doctor may have latched onto the perfect remedy for all those draft resisters once they are apprehended: slap them into Butner and "discourage" their "antisocial behavior" by making them catatonic. The Master Plan continues: "Each program and all the programs together will make every effort to prevent negative cliques from forming in the institution so as to prevent the usual negativistic inmate compound culture which interferes with corrective programming." Skeptics might conclude that what is being suggested is that

43 Attica prisoners and guards need not have been shot down had the 2,000 Attica inmates been shot up with drugs. Later in the Plan: "Each inmate will be carefully evaluated as to his deficiencies in areas that are necessary for community adjustment and success and each program will be measured by its success in eliminating these deficiencies." The curious might ask what "deficiencies" a Rev. Ben Chavis, say, possesses that would be "eliminated" to guarantee successful "community adjustment?"

When funds are being cut for health, education and welfare, it may seem a bit surprising that vast sums would be allocated to a facility like Butner. But Butner plans to be a training center for

personnel to utilize control techniques in schools, prisons and hospitals throughout the country. Prospects for experimentation are extensive. Recently the Justice Department, under which the Bureau of Prisons and Butner operate, received a proposal exploring the possible use of electronic technology on parolees and persons on bail.*An unremovable electronic device would be implanted in the brain, which would transmit basic information to a central computer. The computer would in turn analyze the data and send back electronic messages to "correct" the behavior if it is considered undesirable. Neurologists believe such a proposal will become feasible in the future.

Experiments Under Hitler Are Recalled

As new credence is being given to throwback racial inferiority theories like those of Arthur Jensen and William Shockley, the potential dimensions of "behavior modification" programs become apparent. Critics of the programs cite the precedents of German pseudoscience under the Third Reich for apt comparisons. Ironically, the center for these new experiments is set in Butner because of its centrality to the famed "research triangle" area of Durham, Raleigh and Chapel Hill, in which are located North Carolina's three pres-

tigious universities—Duke, North Carolina State and the University of North Carolina. The progressive reputation of these schools was the original basis for the New South image of North Carolina. Now their respective psychology departments and medical schools will direct the New Science at Butner, financed by the United States Department of Justice.

Butner's "behavior modification" experiments are not unrelated to other medical practices carried out by the state of North Carolina. The Eugenics Board of that state

has been performing sterilization operations on hundreds of poor people for years. Two separate lawsuits have been filed in recent months on behalf of Black women minors who had no knowledge of what was being done to them. One of the suits concerns a 14-year-old Black girl who was sterilized in 1968 when her illiterate grandmother was asked to mark a consent form she could not read. Six years later, now married, the young woman has discovered she cannot have children.

Hundreds Ordered Sterilized by North Carolina Officials

The Eugenics Board of North Carolina has admitted to ordering, between 1960 and 1968, the sterilization of 1,620 persons. Of that number, 1,583 were women and 1,023 were Black. Some 56 percent of the sterilizations were performed on persons under 20

years of age. The prerequisite for sterilization, according to the Eugenics Board, is a vaguely-defined "mental defectiveness," which is based on low scores on the outmoded "I.Q." examination. One would conclude from the state's own statistics that citizens are



Southern Patriot Photo

The American Civil Liberties Union filed suit on behalf of Ms. Nial Ruth Cox. Now 26, Ms. Cox was sterilized when she was 18 after officials threatened to deny her family public assistance

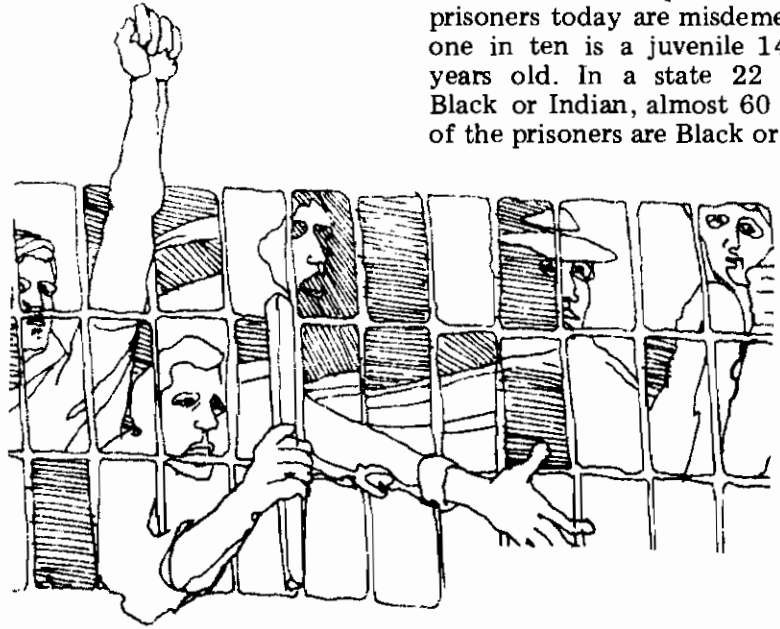
*See *Condemned to Die for Science*, Los Angeles, 1973, available from the Southern California Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, 730 S. Western Ave., Room 202, Los Angeles, Calif. 90005.

increasingly "mentally defective" to the extent that they are Black, poor, young women. Some sterilization and behavior modification programs have long been exercised in the state prison system. Prisoners are of course vulnerable to such programs, denied as they are rights of due process extended to citizens outside prison walls; and locked up, as they are, out of the eye of the public.

North Carolina's prison system is quite extraordinary, with the largest prison population per capita of any state. With only five million people in the entire state, there are 72 state prisons. In addition there is the state Central Prison in Raleigh, which predates the Civil War, and which houses the allegedly hardened offenders. North Carolina's prisons are designed to accommodate 10,000 inmates but there are now

11,600 behind bars, or 1,600 more prisoners than there are facilities. Corrections Commissioner Ralph

Edward has proposed the construction of an additional four prisons to house at least 3,000 more inmates. More than a quarter of the prisoners today are misdemeanants; one in ten is a juvenile 14 to 17 years old. In a state 22 percent Black or Indian, almost 60 percent of the prisoners are Black or Indian.



North Carolina Has High Percentage Set for Execution

Of the 81 persons still on death row throughout the United States, nearly 41 percent face death in North Carolina. All but 10 of these 33 are Black, and one is Indian.* And there is one woman, Mamie Lee Ward. Another woman, Marie Hill, lived on death row for over three years, starting at the age of 15. Both Mamie Lee Ward and Marie Hill are Black. Marie Hill was charged with the murder of a white grocery store owner in the town of Rocky Mountain, denied an attorney, and forced to sign a confession which she later repudiated, saying "I had no choice." She was tricked

into waiving a preliminary hearing, and was kept from her parents for more than a week after her arrest. The only evidence presented against her was the forced confession. Under public pressure, the state finally took Marie Hill off of death row by "reducing" her sentence to life imprisonment.

There are two gassing chairs in Central State Prison because it has been necessary in the past to execute more than one person on the same day. In 1947, five men were gassed in one day. Ten of the 31 prisoners facing execution in North Carolina are charged with

burglary or rape.* In order to circumvent the U.S. Supreme Court ruling on capital punishment—not that it is cruel and unusual punishment but that it is applied inconsistently and arbitrarily—North Carolina's legislature has passed a new law making the death penalty *mandatory* for rape, arson, first degree burglary and first degree murder. Hence the judge in a case has no say in terms of sentencing if the jury returns a guilty verdict. "What they decided," says a North Carolina prison official, "is that you can't kill one man and not another, so here they're just gonna kill them all."

North Carolina- Liberal or Reactionary

Given the realities of justice in this vanguard state of the New South, a brief historical overview is helpful to understand how North Carolina gained its national image

of progressivism. Much of the image derived from the gains made by trade unions in North Carolina—particularly in the tobacco and textile industries—when they were

stymied elsewhere south of the Mason-Dixon. And of course the academic communities of Duke, Chapel Hill and Raleigh, gave the state legitimacy in its claims of a

*These figures are as of April 5, 1974. The number grows by about five a month. State authorities estimate there may be more than 75 prisoners on death row by Christmas.

*In this century, North Carolina has executed 278 persons for murder, 71 for rape, 11 for burglary. Of these 73 were white men, five were Indian men, 282 were Black men and two were Black women.

southern Ivy League. However, North Carolina's image of a break with its reactionary past has long outlived the substance. In 1954, for example, in Greensboro, one of North Carolina's biggest cities, civil

leaders officially welcomed the Supreme Court decision on school desegregation and pledged to enforce the law. It became apparent by 1960 that such proclamations amounted to little more than lofty

resolutions in city councils. Greensboro became the birthplace of the modern Southern sit-in movement as students moved en masse to integrate public facilities.

Trade Unions Come Under Heavy Attack

At the same time, the hard-won advances of the trade union movement were being reversed. Textiles, the main basis of the state's economy, provided the arena for the defeat of the North Carolina labor movement, a movement which for years produced great heroism in the face of violence by the state and the corporations. In November 1958, hundreds of members of the Textile Workers Union of America in Henderson staged a walk-out after company attempts to rewrite and void every clause in the union contract. The strike lasted nearly three years, one of the longest in United States labor history. The entire repressive state apparatus was used to break the strike. Eight top union officers were sentenced to nine and 10 years in prison on charges of

"conspiracy" to dynamite a textile plant. The prosecution's case was based on the testimony of a paid *agent provocateur* who later admitted he participated in the frame-up in order to destroy the union. One fifth of the state's entire police force was used against the striking workers. Nearly 200 union members were arrested and almost \$300,000 paid in bail bonds. After three years of harassment, the most important union in North Carolina—which had been working under contracts since the mid-1940s—was destroyed, for more than a decade to come. The progressive food, tobacco and Agricultural Workers' Union in tobacco, the state's second industry, was similarly crushed. After the Henderson trials, one union after another lost previously held contracts in

North Carolina. With the defeats, Klan elements moved in to help dismantle the union apparatus, effectively playing on white racist fears to divide white workers from Black. These defeats were the culmination of a decade of McCarthyism, which began with the Taft-Hartly law in 1947, limiting the right to strike and eliminating Communists and other radicals from trade union leadership positions. It was hardly coincidental that in that same year North Carolina passed its own anti-labor "right to work" legislation, which remains on the books. Today, only seven percent of North Carolina's industrial workers belong to unions, the lowest rate of unionization in the country. And, consequently, the state's production workers take home the lowest wages of any in the United States.



Textile Labor Photo

Boyd Payton and seven other unionists begin their 9-10 year sentence for "conspiracy".

Students and Professors Given Same Treatment

A few years after the defeat of the Henderson mill workers hundreds of students and professors were arrested in Chapel Hill in 1963-4 for protesting racial discrimination. Judge Raymond Mallard, who presided over the trials of the Henderson strike leaders (During that trial, he told the union attorneys: "If you want to be sons of bitches, I can be a bigger son of a bitch than all of you put together") was assigned to the Chapel Hill

cases. Mallard did not limit his role in the trials to the courthouse, but accepted speaking engagements to denounce the students, "who are trying to or being used to destroy this free society of ours, through strife, mob action, and what is called by some civil disobedience." The judge sentenced hundreds of young men and women to prison for six months, one, two and three years, for protesting state-sanctioned segregation. Some of the

defendants were given "floating" sentences which could be put into effect any time Judge Mallard saw fit to do so during the next five years. The judge, who recently retired as chief of the State Court of Appeals, sentenced Joseph Tieger, an organizer for the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), describing the defendant as "one of the ones that are being used by the international conspiracy who [sic] would destroy this country."

Anti-Communism and Racism Divide and Weaken Movement

The spectre of an international conspiracy had been raised years earlier in the case of Junius Scales. Scales, the son of a prominent Democratic politician in the state, was sentenced to six years in prison as a leader of the Communist party in North Carolina. Scales was convicted at the peak of the Cold War for "conspiracy to teach and advocate" the forcible overthrow of the government. In the temper of the times, the jury took only six minutes to reach its verdict. Scales whole adult life had been devoted

to all those ideals carved in marble on government buildings and which are the basis of North Carolina's New South image. As a Chapel Hill student, Scales helped organize to integrate the university's graduate schools. (During his trial, the prosecutor told the court that "the government will concede that it is not necessarily a crime to advocate racial equality." Emphasis added.) Upon leaving school, Scales became a union organizer in a textile mill. He helped lead the defense campaign for Mack Ingram, a Black

man convicted of "attempted rape"; Ingram was indicted on the complaint of a white woman who said he leered at her from a distance of 75 feet across a road.

Anti-communism and racism were used in the Chapel Hill cases as well as the Henderson strike and Junius Scale cases, to divide potential resistance to the state against itself, and to make scapegoats of the worst victims of the state's apparatus of repression. In the universities, what had been for a period a mass movement became quiescent.

Black Community in Monroe Defends Itself from Attacks

While the clock was being turned back at Henderson and Chapel Hill, time stood still as it had for decades in Monroe. The seat of Union County (a Chamber of Commerce billboard during this period read, "Not a Union in Union County!"), Monroe was the scene of widespread Klan violence against Black citizens. Inspired by the NAACP's legal victory in the 1954 school desegregation case before the U.S. Supreme Court, a young Black man, Robert Williams, returned home to Monroe from the marines and joined the National Association. Williams soon rose to leadership and became president of the Monroe NAACP. After a successful campaign to integrate the town library, the group asked the city of Monroe to build a swimming pool for Black children. Blacks were denied use of the town's only swimming pool, although they paid

taxes for its construction and upkeep. Black children had to use unsupervised swimming holes and several drowned. When the appeal for another swimming pool for Blacks was denied by the city, the NAACP moved to integrate the town pool.

The Klan began to mobilize several thousand whites at rallies in Monroe, and organized armed Klan motorcades through Monroe's Black neighborhoods. Shots were fired from the caravans into Black homes; a Black woman was forced to dance at gunpoint. The city police refused to stop the violence. NAACP appeals to state and federal authorities also brought no relief. The Black community was forced to arm itself in self-defense. The Klan provoked a confrontation, but when Blacks returned the fire the Klan backed down and the motorcades stopped.



Robert Williams

Small Boys Jailed for Kissing White Girl

In 1958 the infamous "kissing case" brought Monroe national headlines. Two white girls and two Black boys were playing house one day when one of the boys innocently kissed one of the girls. His mother worked as a domestic for her mother. The girl told her mother and the two boys, ages seven and nine, were arrested, charged with rape and held without the knowledge of their parents. Robert Williams and the Monroe NAACP brought national attention to the case and the boys were finally released although, to this day, they have not been cleared of the charges.

Meanwhile, white assaults against Blacks continued. A pregnant Black woman was the victim of an

attempted rape in her home by a white man. A Black hotel maid and mother of five was kicked down a flight of stairs by a white hotel guest because, he said, she was making too much noise. In both cases, the whites were acquitted. In the summer of 1961 events came to a head. Tension increased as Black efforts continued to integrate the swimming pool. Then, one day several thousand whites trapped 10 Black teen-agers near the pool, together with Robert Williams and his wife. The Monroe NAACP president had guns in his car and announced that he would shoot the first person who stepped toward him. State highway patrolmen were called in and escorted the Blacks out of the hands of the mob. In

August when the Freedom Riders came to town to picket the courthouse, armed whites came from surrounding areas and trapped the demonstrators. The Freedom Riders were beaten and jailed and the Black district of Monroe came under assault from white night-riders. Two of these whites were stopped and surrounded by a crowd of Black neighbors. Robert Williams rescued the two and escorted them to the safety of his house, for which he was later indicted for kidnapping. When police threatened his life, Robert Williams fled North Carolina. That was 13 years ago and still today that state is trying to extradite Williams from Michigan, where he now resides, to stand trial.

Women's Rights Also Under Attack

Today as then, the Klan claims more members in North Carolina than in any other state in the union. But it no longer has hegemony over the vigilante Right.

The Birch society has built up strength in the state through its leadership in the successful cam-

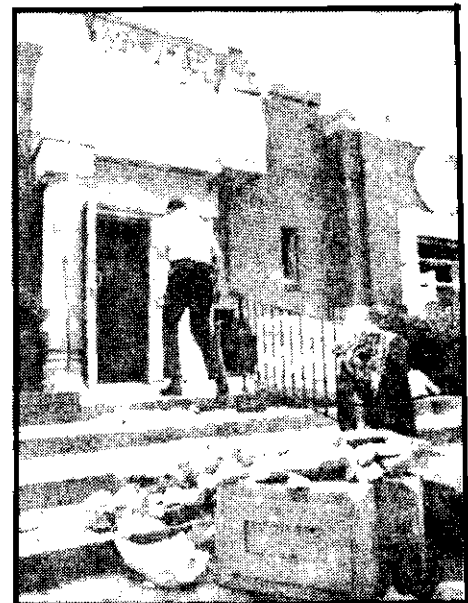
paign to defeat the Equal Rights Amendment for women. Emphasizing the points made by the Birch Society, State Senator Jack Rhyne of Gaston County argued that men could not allow their wives to be drafted to "distant battlefields, without bunks or toi-

lets." Elimination of the draft by the U.S. Congress was apparently not considered relevant. That ERA was lost in North Carolina became apparent when Senators Sam Ervin Jr. and Jesse Helms came out against it.

Racists Patrol Street With Automatic Weapons

While the Birchers are outflanking the Klan in political work, the Rights of White People is on the ascendancy in the use of violence. Leroy Gibson says that his ROWP differs from the Klan because "the Klan just sits around and talks about doing things, and we just do them." Gibson likes to point out that whereas the Klan prefers night-riding, the ROWP patrols the streets of eastern North Carolina towns with automatic weapons in broad daylight. The ROWP does not rely on arms alone. Its rallies in the parks of New Hanover County have drawn upwards of 1,500 persons. The ROWP's influence with the authorities is suggested by its relative impunity from the law. While Black activists like the Charlotte Three and the Ayden 11 serve exceedingly long prison sentences, ROWP leaders like Gibson

walk free, although they have been charged with the bombings of the Service Glass Company, the Jacobi-Lewis Supply So., and conspiracy to bomb a low-rent apartment complex and the headquarters of the Wilmington Police Department. On January 24, 1974, ROWP "propaganda minister" Lawrence Little was acquitted of bombing the B'nai Israel synagogue in Wilmington last summer, although a month later, with public outrage at the earlier acquittal, he was convicted of bombing the Wilmington *Journal*, which serves the Black community. On the day of Little's acquittal, Leroy Gibson filed as a candidate for the state senate. The Klan in North Carolina has now divided, and one section which works in alliance with the ROWP is also running candidates for state office.



B'nai Israel synagogue after bombing.

Impact of Military in N.C. is Considerable

Gibson and many of his followers are marine and army veterans. They, like their weapons, often come from North Carolina's Camp Lajeune, reputed to be the most brutal marine base in the country, and Fort Bragg, the largest military base on United States territory. Fort Bragg is also the training site

of the Green Berets, of the Chilean military's elite Rangers, and of the Portuguese mercenaries fighting to maintain colonial control of Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau. Both Lejeune and Bragg have witnessed resistance movements by enlistees in recent years, which have been met with severe

repressive measures. The impact of Lajeune and Bragg on North Carolina—with their quarter-million soldiers, dependents, civilian employees and retirees; and their near billion-dollar contribution to the state economy—cannot be overestimated.

Sen. Ervin's Liberal Image Hides 19th Century Politics

In recent years, Senator Sam Ervin has continued and epitomized the liberal image of North Carolina in the minds of his fellow countrymen. Adjudicator of Watergate evils, a walking Bartlett's of quotations from Bard and Bible, Ervin has been made into something of a folk hero in the manner that is done in these contemporary United States: a record of Senator Sam proverbs has been produced, campus speaking tours arranged, Sam Ervin T-shirts manufactured. Truly representative of North Carolina's established order, Ervin's libertarian image disguises his 19th-century politics.*

The candidate of Burlington Industries, Carolina Power and Light, J.P. Stevens and Co., Union Carbide, Westinghouse and Western Electric, the senator knows how to return a favor: he voted against the

1964 Civil Rights Act, the 1965 Voting Rights Act, the 1966 Mine Safety Act. Before accumulating fame with Watergate, Ervin's public speaking engagements were limited. Between 1968 and 1971, he gave only eight public speeches, before such groups as the National Association of Manufacturers, the New York Chamber of Commerce and the National Right to Work Committee, the main lobbies against the rights of labor. In 1965, Ervin led the filibuster against the repeal of amendment 14b to the Taft-Hartley Act, which prevented closed union shops. In the last Congress (1971-2) he co-sponsored no less than nine bills restricting labor organizing, strikes and the power of the National Labor Relations Board. Liberal vote tabulators like the Americans for Democratic Action and the AFL-CIO's Committee on

Political Education gave Ervin zero and 30 ratings respectively in 1968; 13 and 15 in 1970. On the other hand the National Association of Manufacturers rated him 82 in 1972 and the American Security Council, made up of retired Pentagon brass and defense industry executives, gave him a 100 perfect rating that same year.

That 100 rating was well deserved, as the senator voted for the space shuttle, military aid to Greece, the Trident submarine, B1 supersonic bomber and C-5A transport plane, continuance of the draft, and all defense spending. Ervin has called the Joint Chiefs of Staff a group of "fine Christian gentlemen," and declared his unwavering support of the Vietnam war by explaining: "If we pull out, Old Glory will be turned into a white flag."

Ervin Neglects Poor and Powerless People

Welfare for the munitions industry and the Pentagon is scarcely matched by a concern for the poor and powerless. Ervin has opposed the Equal Rights Amendment for women, day care for children, highway funds for mass transit, a Fair Employment Practices Commission for North Carolina, federal relief for nutrition and health care in his own home state, legal services for the poor, unemployment compensation for migrant workers, Medicare, relief checks, the war on poverty, consumer protection laws, open housing laws, anti-conglomer-

ate measures, extension of the minimum wage, and the Occupational Health and Safety Act, which would protect 55 million production workers on the job. He has said nothing about brown lung, the largest occupational hazard in the textile industry. In 1971, Ervin cosponsored legislation to prohibit food stamps to families engaged in labor strikes. In February of this year, Senator Sam led the opposition in the Senate in defeating ratification of the United Nations Convention against Genocide. An outgrowth of the Nazi slaughter of

European Jews, the Convention has been subscribed to by 78 countries over the last 25 years. North Carolina's senior senator has helped assure that at least while he is in office, the United States will not officially stand against genocide. Asked to cite North Carolina's number one problem, the man who has made his reputation as the Senate's first defender of the Constitution, answers: "Bussing." He has yet to be heard from in defense of the Charlotte Three, Wilmington 10, Donald Smith or the Tuscarora Indians.

**If the Democrat Ervin's politics are camouflaged reactionary, the recently elected Republican U.S. Senator Jesse Helms' positions are openly Neanderthal in the mold of Strom Thurmond.*

Banks and Industries Hold Real Power

Ervin's anti-labor, anti-human, racist voting record reflects the fact that power in North Carolina actually resides in the banks and major industries. The state has two of the country's 50 largest banks—North Carolina National in Charlotte and the Wachovia Corporation of Winston-Salem. Among the 500 largest industrial corporations in the United States are North Carolina's Burlington Industries, J.P. Stevens and Co., Cameron Mills, Cone Mills, R.J. Reynolds, Liggett and Meyer, P.J. Lorillard and American Tobacco.

Although Sam Ervin and Senator Jesse Helms may advocate states' rights, the concept does not pertain to corporate power. Most of North Carolina's textile and tobacco monopolies are still controlled by New York banks and insurance companies. A few examples should suffice to make the point. J.P. Stevens, one of the largest textile manufacturers in both North and South Carolina, is headed up by Robert T. Stevens, Secretary of the Army under President Eisenhower. Stevens is an Andover and Yale graduate and a director of General

Electric and Morgan Guaranty and Trust. Another recipient of J.P. Stevens profits is the Duke family, which also controls Liggett and Meyers, American Cyanamid, Alcoa and the Duke Power Company. The Duke name is very big not only in North Carolina with the power company, tobacco and textile holdings and the university bearing the family name, but also in New York and Washington, with the Doris Duke Foundation and a dozen prominent relatives in the diplomatic corps.

Most are Tied to Northern Capital

Luther Hodges, a former governor of North Carolina and John F. Kennedy's Secretary of Commerce, was also head of the textile industry's lobby and a vice president of Marshall Field. Even Roger Millikin, a former Birch Society leader and Barry Goldwater's biggest financial backer, has ties to northern capital. Millikin controls the Deering-Millikin textile mills in South Carolina and once closed down an entire plant rather than allow the workers' vote for a union to take effect. The company was defended before the U.S. Supreme Court by attorney Sam Ervin after

he left the North Carolina Supreme Court. Millikin also runs the Deering-Millikin Foundation and the National Foundation of Education in American Citizenship, which finances the Young Americans for Freedom publication, "Human Events." Coincidentally, Ervin is also a sponsor of the magazine, although Millikin was the chairman of the Nixon re-election campaign in South Carolina. Even with his vast powers in the Carolinas, however, Roger Millikin is listed in the New York Social Register and is a director of New York's First National City Bank, the world's

second largest.

However retrogressive the criminal justice system may be, however backward the level of social legislation, however violent human relations are, ultimate responsibility for the oppression of North Carolinians lies in the board rooms of New York and the government offices in Washington. The judge who longs for Lieutenant Calley, the highway patrolman who shoots a child because he is Black, the Eugenics Commission who approves the sterilization of a adolescent girl—all wield only surrogate power.

N.C. Has Largest Rural Farm Population

Measures adopted by the authorities in North Carolina have been inadequate, to be charitable, in dealing with the problems besetting working and poor people. While Senator Ervin finds "bussing" the state's worst problem, the legislature in Raleigh has budgeted \$55.19 per capita for highway construction and upkeep, and only \$2.02 per capita for health care. (Critics of corruption in state government have been asking where such large highway allocations have been going, inasmuch as until June 1973, unpaid prison labor was used to build and repair North Carolina's highway system.) Ralph Nader's

Citizen's Conference on State Legislatures rates North Carolina's 47th in the country on the basis of functioning, accountability, representation and handling of information.

North Carolina is at once the south's foremost industrial state but with the nation's largest rural farm population. Fifty-five percent of the state's population is rural, the balance urban. Urban, in terms of North Carolina, has to be qualified: only four towns—Charlotte, Greensboro, Raleigh, and Winston-Salem—have more than 10,000 people.

Seven of every ten of North

Carolina's non-agricultural workers are in blue-collar categories (the national figure is five in ten). And over two-thirds of these mass production workers are in apparel, textiles, furniture and food processing. Textiles and apparel alone account for 1.5 million or 50 percent of the industrial workforce. But only 7.8 percent of the non-agricultural manufacturing workers are unionized, the lowest percentage in the United States. (The national percentage is 25, throughout the south 18 percent.) Only 15 percent of the textile workers, as a group nearly half the entire working population, are organized into unions.

Lowest Average Weekly Earnings in the Nation

The state's repression of labor through "right to work" laws and other measures means that North Carolina's mass production workers take home the lowest average weekly earnings in the country, \$97.17, a third less than the national average of \$133.73 (1972 figures). Of 16 recommended national standards, North Carolina's workmen's compensation laws meet only three. Second in the nation for

percentage of persons employed in manufacturing industries, North Carolina is 32nd in per capita income. Meanwhile the cost of living is far higher than the national average.

Labor unions, whatever their politics, remain the most powerful lobbyists for social legislation for the whole people. The repression of North Carolina labor therefore had a devastating impact on the entire

state. Of the state's poor, 58 percent are white, 42 percent Black, although only 22 percent of the population as a whole is Black. But the median family income for Blacks is half that of whites. Public welfare is still based on standards set 20 years earlier, so that today a family of five—an unemployed mother with four children—receiving welfare gets only \$164 a month.

Health Care Far Behind Rest of Nation

As people organize in concert to alter the order of things, the power of the state is brought to resist the alterations. Thus, North Carolina's apparatus of repression—from police and vigilante violence to political trials, from "behavior modification" to death row—is designed to keep the poor in their place and the rich in theirs.

The Association of American Medical Colleges says that adequate health care requires one doctor for

every 571 persons. In the United States as a whole there is one doctor for each 711 persons, but in North Carolina the figure is one per 1,063. The state has only three hospital beds per 1,000 citizens. And 43 percent of North Carolina's school-children have inadequate diets, the greatest deficiencies being in Vitamin A, iron, calcium and protein.

Education is also in serious straits: almost a third of North

Carolina's high school population drops out before graduation. Not that every child reaches high school; one of every 10 persons over 25 years old has less than five years of school, twice the national average. Six percent of all the nation's homes lack plumbing, but in North Carolina the statewide figure is 14.3 percent. For Black families, the figure soars to 38.6 percent without plumbing

People Are Coming Together to Resist



Chief Howard Brooks

But people throughout North Carolina are coming together to blunt the repressive drive of the state and federal governments. They are Black, Indian and white; trade unionist and unorganized worker; church leader and non-believer; pacifist and active-duty GI; university professor and prisoner without means. They are the nucleus of the newly formed North Carolina Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, headed by co-chairpersons Howard Brooks, Tuscarora Indian chief; Dr. Helen Othow, professor of humanities at Raleigh's St. Augustine's College; and John Russell, state president of the Amalgamated Meatcutters and Butcher Workmen's Union.

By every indication, North Carolina has been selected by the federal government to serve as a laboratory for racist and political repression. If the authorities succeed in their plans for North Carolina, their plans will be much more advanced for Minnesota and Massachusetts, New York and New Mexico, California and Colorado.



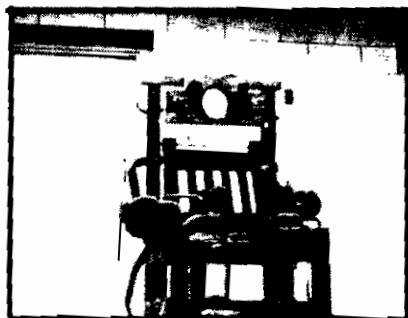
Dr. Helen Chavis Othow

African World Photo

The National Alliance Against Racist & Political Repression has therefore singled out North Carolina for its national programmatic thrust. Our immediate demands include:

1. Freedom for Donald Smith, for Rev. Ben Chavis and the Wilmington Ten, for the Charlotte Three, for Dr. Jim Grant, for the Tuscarora Indian defendants. Freedom for all North Carolina political prisoners!

2. Abolition of the death penalty!



3. Halt the opening of the Federal Institute of Correctional Research at Butner! Turn the facility into a federally funded general hospital for all working and poor North Carolinians!

Write James Holshouser, Governor, State Capitol, Raleigh, North Carolina 27602. Urge him to free political prisoners and stop the persecution in his state.

- Mobilize for the July 4 national demonstration in Raleigh.
- Write your Congressman to end the death penalty and stop HEW's funding of behavior modification centers.

Branches of the National Alliance

So. Calif. Alliance Against Racist & Political Repression
730 S. Western Ave., Rm. 202
Los Angeles, Calif. 90005
(213) 388-1288

Friends of San Quentin Adjustment Center
3169 16th Street
San Francisco, Calif. 94101
(415) 626-0690

Connecticut Alliance Against Racist & Political Repression
P.O. Box 222, Bishops Sta.
West Hartford, Conn. 06117

Florida Committee Against Racist & Political Repression
P.O. Box 495
Miami Beach, Fla. 33139

Chicago Area Defense Committee
606 South Ashland Ave
Chicago, Illinois 60607
(312) 243-8523

Kentucky Political Prisoners Committee
P.O. Box 1543
Louisville, Ky. 40201
(502) 589-6310 or (502) 778-3348

Greater Boston Alliance
c/o Hallkenny
89 Hammond St
Roxbury, Mass. 02121

Michigan Alliance Against Racist & Political Repression
Room 1236, Book Bldg.
1249 Washington Blvd
Detroit, Michigan 48226
(313) 961-6680

Minnesota Alliance Against Racist & Political Repression
c/o Sumption
2421 11th Ave. South
Minneapolis, Minn. 55404

St. Louis Coalition
P.O. Box 4827
St. Louis, Missouri 63108

North Carolina Alliance Against Racist & Political Repression
c/o Othow
417 Hill Street
Raleigh, North Carolina 27610
(919) 833-1828

Oregon Committee Against Racist & Political Repression
161 Madison St.
Eugene, Oregon 97402

Portland Committee Against Racist & Political Repression
P.O. Box 8426
Portland, Oregon 97205

Philadelphia Committee Against Racist & Political Repression
2247 North Broad St.
Philadelphia, Penna. 19132

Southern Committee To Free All Political Prisoners
P.O. Box 4643
Memphis, Tenn. 38104

Wisconsin Defense Organization Against Racist & Political Repression
P.O. Box 3507
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53706

The National Alliance appeals for support of the demonstration called by the North Carolina Alliance



The above poster is available through the branches of the National Alliance and the National Office, 150 Fifth Ave., Rm. 425, New York, N.Y. 10011 (212) 243-8555

I would like more information about the North Carolina program of the National Alliance

I would like to help build support for North Carolina in my area (see listing of Alliance branches/chapters on page 23).

Please issue () individual membership(s) @ \$5.00; () organizational membership @ \$25.00 min. in the National Alliance and forward membership card, newsletters and all information about activities.

Please send.....copies of this pamphlet @ 25 cents each, 50 @ \$11.50, 100 @ \$20.00.

In support of the struggle against racist and political repression I enclose \$.....and wish to further sustain the Alliance's work in North Carolina by contributing \$..... () annually, () semi-annually, () monthly.

Name Phone

Address

City State Zip

Trade Union

Organization

School

