

Published by the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), Louisville, Ky.

White Mississippi's New Generation

By ROBERT ANALAVAGE
(Assistant Editor)

JACKSON, Miss.—Kudzu means two things in Mississippi. First, Kudzu is a vine that was brought to this region from across the seas to stave off erosion. The plant proved difficult to control, resisted all efforts to stamp it out, and now grows wild across the state.

Second, *Kudzu* is a newspaper that is home-grown, impossible to control, difficult to stamp out and—like its namesake—is growing wild across the state.

The *Kudzu* is staffed by young white Mississippians who have dropped out or dropped in, depending on your perspective. The police don't like it, the Jackson newspapers don't like it, the university administrators don't like it.

But the young people do. It attacks racism, imperialism, plastic culture, the war in Vietnam. It supports all the people who are trying to do something about those things.

It addresses itself to the young white community. It sells 600 copies at Mississippi State University, 200 copies at Milsaps in Jackson, 50 at Ole Miss, and, believe it or not, 15 copies at Delta State in Cleveland, where all the planters' sons and daughters attend college. It also sells hundreds at white high schools in the Jackson area. So far it pays for itself (the staff is starving, however) and it will soon move into south Mississippi.

All this, of course, frightens the people who run America's most totalitarian state. Recently, the staff was arrested while selling the paper at a local high school. The charges resemble those that officialdom used to make only against black people and 'outside agitators.'

"We were selling papers for about 10 minutes," said Dave Doggett, *Kudzu's* young editor and founder, "when suddenly the place was full of cops. They threw one of our people down, kicked him and threw him in a car. Bill Peltz, a photographer for *Southern Media*, began taking pictures of the beating. The cops

Carol Thomas Jailed Again

GAINESVILLE, Fla.—Carol Thomas, whose struggles with the power structure have landed her behind bars twice already this year, is back in jail. She is serving the remainder of a four-month contempt sentence.

She was held for six weeks at the beginning of the year, before getting out on bond. In early October, she was ordered to complete the sentence. The fifth circuit court held an emergency hearing November 14 on the merits of the case and the bond question—and denied both. They docketed the case until February. Mrs. Thomas will finish serving the sentence December 17.

She was in jail during the summer, serving a six-month term for resisting an officer. The Judge granted her probation after three months, after people from across the nation wrote him protesting her treatment.

grabbed him, exposed his film and arrested him."

Doggett and other staff members were driving away in a mini-bus while this was occurring. The police stopped them, pondered awhile on what charges to make, and finally hauled them off to jail on a vagrancy charge.

"Selling the papers," Doggett commented dryly, "is, of course, our means of support."

They were tried four days later. Meanwhile, Milsaps College, a liberal Methodist institution, brought pressure; so charges against four people who had the good fortune to attend that school were dropped. The vagrancy charges against the others were dismissed and, in their place, charges of resisting arrest and assaulting a police officer were substituted.

Doggett was fined \$600 and sentenced to six months in prison. Two others were convicted and fined \$1,250 and sentenced to 15 months. They are all out on appeal.

When news spread that an 'underground' paper had sprung up in Mississippi, it was greeted with disbelief. White people in Mississippi doing this? Impossible!

Doggett explains: "The important thing to understand is that this generation of white kids are different from their parents. We will soon see a new generation of Mississippians. Things are happening all over the country; now they are happening here."

These things are happening to young people like Doggett and his staff. He was born in South Carolina and came to Mississippi when he was two. His father was a Methodist preacher and the family moved around the state quite a bit.

"I've always been a free-thinker," he says. "My father was a preacher, but by high school I was an atheist."

In 1965 he attended a conference at Mt. Beulah sponsored by the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC). He was impressed with the other young white Southerners he met there. Upon finishing college last year (Sociology) he joined the SSOC staff. He wanted to organize white people in Mississippi.

"I figured the best way to do that would be to start a paper. It opens communication and gets a lot of people involved, you know, putting the paper together. It's easier than getting them to come to a meeting or something."

His father has had trouble understanding his son. "He's a liberal man," young Doggett says, "and his principles say he must

(Continued on Page 6)



KUDZU STAFF MEMBERS, Dave Doggett (left) and Everett Long, stand in *Kudzu's* Jackson office (photo by Bob Analavage).
← See story at left

How Repression Works

N. C. Dentist Found Guilty of Negligence

(By Staff Correspondent)

CHARLOTTE, N.C.—Dr. Reginald Hawkins is a black dentist who has been involved in the civil-rights movement here for many years. He has helped to bring considerable change in North Carolina—and, all along, he has worked to involve black people in the political life of the state.

Last summer the state Board of Dental Examiners accused Dr. Hawkins of negligence. They "proved" 13 charges against him, and found him guilty of malpractice.

Dr. Hawkins has appealed the ruling and charged the dental board with discrimination and racism. If his appeal is not successful, he could lose his license.

This is not an isolated case. Across the South, people who work for social change have often lost their jobs; professional men (who cannot simply be fired) are likely to find themselves attacked by their professional associations. Civil-rights lawyers in Kentucky and Florida are presently fighting to keep from being disbarred.

Dr. Hawkins's case is a clear example of the use of this means of social control to silence a vocal, effective fighter. There have been previous attempts. Dr. Hawkins says:

"In 1964 I headed a voter-registration drive that added 15,000 Negroes to the voting lists. They said I had added the names of illiterates, and I was charged with four felonies and a misdemeanor. But they knew the charges wouldn't stand up, and the case wasn't brought to trial for four years.

"In 1965, I filed a school desegregation suit. That August, they fired 13 bullets into my home. In November, they bombed it.

"When I ran for the Democratic nomination for Governor last year, they revived those old charges about voter registration. But they didn't dare try it till after the primary, because they knew their witness was lying."

A jury threw out the charges. Then Dr. Hawkins announced that he would lead a challenge to the Democratic National Convention in August. It was at that point that charges of professional negligence were brought.

The dental board had been fighting Dr. Hawkins since 1960, when he challenged their refusal to admit black dentists. That case was not won in the courts until 1966—and the board has been failing black dentists ever since.

A more recent struggle was over the right of people on welfare to choose their own doctors and dentists—rather than being sent to the worst clinics. "We won that, too," Dr. Hawkins said. "That means that the state can't use the Federal funds any way they please—as they did in the past. It also means that black dentists and doctors have been getting most of the business."

The dental board brought charges against four dentists—three black, one white—who had done work on patients covered by the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA). Dr. Hawkins was charged with 38 "discrepancies."

"They brought in a panel to examine our work, and told them I had

(Continued on Page 2)

Whites Back 6 Louisville 'Conspirators'

(By Staff Correspondent)

LOUISVILLE, Ky.—Six black people were indicted here on charges of conspiracy to destroy private property in connection with the disorders in the city's West End ghetto last May.

There was an unusual response in the white community. More than 150 white citizens immediately formed the Ad Hoc Committee for Justice to demand that the charges be dropped and that the city begin to face its real problems instead of looking for scapegoats.

The indictments were part of the continuing effort of the white power structure in Louisville to convince the public that the spontaneous outbreak last May was the result of the work of a few "troublemakers."

Leaders Indicted

The six indicted included a widely respected civic leader in the black community, Mrs. Ruth Bryant. Another indicted was Manfred Reid, a real estate agent whose protest against a white policeman he said struck him last May started a chain of events that led to the present charges.

Protest spread through both the black and white communities. The West End Community Council, an interracial group led by black people, said: "Louisville must recognize that this is a vicious political frame-up. The real conspirators in this community are the people in the Courthouse and City Hall who insist on shifting the blame for the disorders last May to the victims of injustice in our community."

The Chief Scapegoat

The main scapegoat for the Louisville power structure is James Cortez, a volunteer worker for SNCC who came to Louisville from Washington last May to assist in the protest against the policeman whom Reid claimed struck him. Charge after charge has been placed against Cortez, and as of November 18, he remained in jail because his bond was still \$20,000.

The Ad Hoc Committee for Justice began a public campaign to free Cortez—to demand that his bond be lowered and to raise money to post it. The group set up two subcommittees—one to organize protests to public officials, the other to set up meetings and forums to inform other members of the white community of the facts of the cases. The committee said in a public statement:

"We want our community to face its real social problems and stop looking for scapegoats. We are convinced that the course of repression will only make matters worse—and furthermore leads to a violation of constitutional rights that endangers us all."

No Revelations

KUAC in Pike County

(By Staff Correspondent)

PIKEVILLE, Ky. — Reporters, students, legislators, and Pike County residents trooped into Pikeville October 15 for two days of hearings by the Kentucky Un-American Activities Committee (KUAC). The hearings were supposed to be to investigate "problems of Appalachia."

The committee subpoenaed people from Marrowbone Creek, Pikeville College students and professors, several Big Sandy Community Action Program (OEO) employees, county officials,

MASONITE

Where it all comes from...

(By Staff Correspondent)

LAUREL, Miss. — Masonite Corp, whose "labor troubles" here are sometimes mentioned in those Bibles of finance, Moody's and Standard & Poors, has just issued its latest revenue figures.

Moody's reports that Masonite had a net profit for the 12 months ending Aug. 31st of 8½ million dollars, compared with 3.8 million dollars for the same period ending Aug. 31 last year. Who benefits? Apparently the company through increased assets, and the stockholders.

There are a little over 6,000 of the later. It is hard to identify them all, and rather pointless, since what counts is the number of shares each stockholder controls. Since Masonite common stock is now selling for around \$28 a share it is unlikely that the workers in Masonite's Mississippi and Pennsylvania plants have been doing much stock buying. But much of it was done, of course, when the buying was cheaper.

Masonite's directors have their allotment of stock. There are twelve directors, and the return on their bloc of common stock will this year amount to a little over one million dollars.

John Coates, president and board chairman, who has been a director since 1940, will this year receive dividends on his holding of common stock amounting to \$140,000. At current prices, Coates's bloc of common stock in Masonite makes him a millionaire. He holds 3.3 million dollars worth.

Not all of this comes from domestic plants. The company has subsidiaries in six overseas countries, one of them South Africa. It has, in addition to its hardboard business, considerable holdings in timber and oil.

In stark contrast to this catalogue of wealth is the recollection of a man in Laurel who talked with this correspondent. He is a former Masonite employee, and he was in bed. He was retired two years ago after 28 years in the plant, his health more or less ruined. In comparison with the \$25,000 that Coates will receive annually when he retires, this man is getting a little less than \$2,000.

His plight is not unique. There are many others like him in Laurel. Unwillingly, they have helped to make Masonite a rich and profitable corporation. They have fought it, and of today they are still fighting it through union struggles (see recent *Patriots*).

and the man who signed the warrants for the sedition arrests of poverty workers in August, 1967.

The hearings produced no information previously unknown to the public. There was a moment of excitement at the last-minute arrival of national CBS News cameras on the final day—but otherwise the proceedings were routine.

Committee counsel Tim McCall and investigator Paul Durbin tried to demonstrate that the AVs had sabotaged a federally funded water project by masterminding a petition drive to lower rates (See October *Patriot*).

The Rev. James Hamilton, chief spokesman for the Pike County Citizens Association, defended activities of the organization, which included attempts to lower rates for the water system. He asserted that the role of Appalachian Volunteer field men was purely advisory.

Other testimony accused the AVs of failing to cooperate with the Big Sandy CAP, a program closely linked to the Pike County "establishment." A summer VISTA program involving Pikeville College was also criticized.

Testimony about the sedition arrests, in 1967, was given during the last session. Assistant Commonwealth's Attorney Herman Dotson recommended that the committee subpoena material taken in the arrests at its next hearing.

Chairman Scott Miller announced that the committee would return to Pikeville "after the elections." Three weeks later, Paul Durbin, KUAC investigator, said the committee would return in early December and subpoena

SCEF workers Alan and Margaret McSurely and Joseph and Karen Mulloy.

So far, no one who has announced his intention to refuse a subpoena has been called to testify. Two suits asking that KUAC be ruled unconstitutional are in the higher courts. An attempt to subpoena the McSurelys or Mulloys would probably prompt their attorneys to seek emergency relief.

McSurelys Get New Subpoenas

(By Staff Correspondent)

PIKEVILLE, Ky. — SCEF workers Alan and Margaret McSurely and Joseph Mulloy have recovered the material seized from them during the sedition raids in August, 1967. As the transfer took place November 8, U.S. Senate investigator John Brick handed the McSurelys subpoenas to appear in Washington on January 14.

The subpoenas direct them to testify before the subcommittee on government operations of the Senate Committee on Investigations. It also demands that they bring all materials in their possession relating to SCEF, SSOC, SDS, SNCC, the AVs and the United Planning Organization (a metropolitan Washington poverty agency).

The subcommittee is chaired by Sen. John McClellan of Arkansas. (It was once chaired by Sen. Joe McCarthy of Wisconsin). It has made headlines with its investigations of the Nashville uprising and Chicago's Blackstone Rangers.

Dentist Harassed

(Continued from Page 1)

admitted to the 38 discrepancies. The panel first said they could see only 25. Then, during a hearing we demanded, they reduced this to 13.

"This included two fillings that fell out—out of a total of more than 2,000. There were six errors of nomenclature: simple typing mistakes that a secretary made in typing down a long list. And there were a few cases which I had decided were complete—and they said were not. This is a question of the dentist's discretion; it's their judgment against mine."

The board found Dr. Hawkins guilty of malpractice, even though his experts had rebutted their charges. "They charged the other three so that it wouldn't look like they were after me alone," he said. "And they never intended for the white dentist to get caught. They have allowed him to correct his discrepancies—which were more serious than mine—without bringing charges against him."

Dr. Hawkins and the other black dentists have appealed the decision and charged the board with discrimination and racism because of its leniency with the white dentist.

Why are the people who run North Carolina so determined to get Reginald Hawkins?

"What they fear most about me is political power," Dr. Hawkins says. "They counted 130,000 votes for me in the primary—and we believe they lost at least 80,000 more. That vote is there, it's the balance of power, and from now on it will have to be reckoned with."

They also fear Dr. Hawkins's efforts to build links with other groups in the state and elsewhere in the South. He built his primary campaign around the issues of poverty and racism—and he went after poor-white votes as well as black. "I talked about doing away with those things that have kept poor blacks and whites fighting each other, and at the mercy of the power structure."

For the last few months he has been stumping the state, building a coalition of black people, students, intellectuals and labor—not for this election, but for the future. "We can take over the Democratic Party in this state and they know it," he says.

"They can't touch me by firing me—so they try to make it appear that I'm a bad dentist and a bad man. That's how the regulatory power of the state is used—to intimidate people."

"What they have never learned is that this sort of thing makes us stronger. It's a coalescing force, not a destructive force, in the black community."

"You see, they're dealing with unconventional warriors—we're not afraid. We're sort of like the Viet Cong over in Vietnam—people who understand power and know how to use it. We're not the old black Joe . . . It's really a battle to decide whether the people are going to participate in this democracy—or whether there's going to be a democracy at all."

Book Notes

Civil Liberties Case

A new edition of the Civil Liberties Docket is now available from National Lawyers Guild, Box 673, Berkeley, Calif. 94701. It is volume XIII, covering 1967-68. Price is \$10.

Judge Robert W. Kenny of Los Angeles County Superior Court says in a foreword: "The Docket provides summaries of opinions which may not be reported elsewhere. With the demise of the Race Relations Law Reporter after 12 years of useful service, the Docket has become the only method of keeping up with cases on civil rights. It has always been unique in describing civil liberties and due-process cases."

"It is good to note that the issue of the Docket give coverage to the law of the land. It is only within the last few years that the U.S. Supreme Court has begun to work consistently to achieve true equal protection for the indigents enmeshed in criminal proceedings."

Editor of the Docket, Fagan Ginger, who says: "I hoped that this Docket will help people to learn what other people are doing to defend their liberties and to demand their rights. It is hoped that constitutional law clients and constitutional law will discover each other and increasing numbers."

Books Received

Pioneers in Protest, by Lerone Bennett, Jr.; biographies of men and women, black and white, who pioneered in the movement for black liberation, from Crispus Attucks to W.E.B. Du Bois; 256 pages and index; Johnson Publishing Co., 1820 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago 60616; \$5.95.

The Pantarch: A Biography of Stephen Pearl Andrews (1812-1886), American reformer, civil-rights proponent, pioneer in sociology, advocate of reformed spelling, lawyer, and eccentric philosopher who lived in Texas; written by Madeleine B. Stern; University of Texas Press, Austin, Texas 78712; 197 pages and index; \$6.

Martin Luther King, Jr.: His Life, Martyrdom, and Meaning for the World; by William Robert Miller; Weybright and Talley, 3 East 54 St., New York 10022; 301 pages plus bibliography and index; \$7.95.

"I Have A Dream," quotations of Martin Luther King, Jr., compiled and edited by Lotte Hoskins; Grosset & Dunlap, 1107 Broadway, New York 10010; 154-page paperback; \$1.

Black Rage, by William H. Grier and Price M. Cobbs, foreword by U.S. Sen. Fred R. Harris; two black psychiatrists reveal the dimensions of the inner conflicts and the desperation of the black man's life in America; Basic Books, Inc., 404 Park Ave. South, New York 10016; 213 pages; \$5.95.

Up From Poverty, by Frank Riessman and Hermine I. Popper,

who explore the practice and potentials of new careers for the poor and the nonprofessional; Harper & Row, 49 East 33rd St., New York 10016; 322 pages and index; \$7.95.

Deep South, memory and observation by Erskine Calver; Part I is "In the Shadow of the Steeple"; Part II is "A Other End of Town"; Weybright & Talley, 3 East 54 St., New York 10022; 257 pages; \$6.

Protest and Prejudice: A Study of Belief in the Black Community, by Gary T. Marx; word by Bayard Rustin; analytic nationwide study of Negro attitudes toward themselves, their condition, and the people; Harper & Row, 49 East 33rd St., New York 10016; 213 pages plus index and appendix; illustrated with 124 tables; \$8.

Huberman Dies

Leo Huberman, friend of readers of *The Southern Patriot* and an associate of its editor, died of a heart attack in Paris, France, on Nov. 8. He was one of the founders and editors of the *Monthly Review* and *Monthly Review Press*.

Huberman, who was 65, spent his life writing and fighting on behalf of poor and working people. He had a deep interest in the problems of the South. His work included "We, the People," "Worldly Goods," "The About Unions," "The Truth About Socialism," "The ABC of Socialism" (with Sybil H. H. and "Introduction to Socialism" (with Paul M. Sweezy).

The Southern Patriot

Postmaster, send P.O.D. Form 3579 to:

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND (SCEF)
3210 West Broadway, Louisville, Ky. 40211

The Southern Patriot is published once a month except in July and August by Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF). Editorial and business offices, West Broadway, Louisville, Ky. 40211; office of publication, 150 Tenth Ave., Nashville, Tenn. 37203; Eastern offices, Suite 412, 799 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003. Back issues from 1942 to date are available on microfilm from Section, University Microfilms, 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48106. 1 cent a copy, \$3 a year. Second-class postage paid at Nashville, Tenn.

The Southern Conference was founded in 1938 and is dedicated to ending racial poverty, and other injustices in the South; it opposes war as an instrument of national policy.

Executive Committee: The Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, President; E. Charles F. Golden, Jack Peebles, and Modjeska M. Simkins, Vice-Presidents; Clarice Campbell, Secretary; Dorcas Ruthenburg, Treasurer; and Rosalyn L. Thal, Assistant Secretary.

Executive Staff: Carl Braden, Executive Director; Anne Braden, Assistant Executive Director; the Rev. William Howard Melish and Miriam Nichols, Assistant Directors.

Office Staff: Theresa Bridges, Mary Britting, Nessa Thompkins, Helen Greer, Virginia Guild, Joe Hoban, Keith Stickford and Barry Weinstock.

Field Staff: Robert Analavage, Ella J. Baker, Suzanne Crowell, James Dombrowski, Barbara Flynn, Michael Higson, George McAlister, Alan McSurely, Margaret McSurely, Jack Minnis, Karen Mulloy, Joseph Mulloy, Dorothy Zellner and Robert Zellner.

Eastern Representatives: Sandra Rosenblum and Carol Hanisch.

December, 1968

Vol. 26, No.

Alabama Strikers Battle Wallace Aide

By ROBERT ANALAVAGE

It was the day before the election, and we were driving west on U.S. 80 from Montgomery to Selma, to get a report on a strike there. U.S. 80, called the Jefferson Davis Highway, was the center of many events of the Wallace regime.

It was on this road that Martin Luther King, Jr. led 50,000 people in a march to demand the right to vote for Southern black people. On this road, Viola Liuzzo was murdered. Where the road enters Selma, on the Edmund Pettus Bridge, Wallace sent Al Lingo's state troopers smashing into 600 nonviolent marchers—an act which, more than any other, was responsible for the 1965 Voting Rights Act.

We stopped at a gas station bedecked with Wallace stickers to buy a pack of cigarettes, and paid the six per cent sales tax—highest in the nation.

Back on the road, the radio reminded people how to cast their votes for Wallace. He may have been running on the AIP ticket elsewhere, but in Alabama he was running under the Democratic Party label. This party could be identified, the announcer instructed, by a rooster, a white cock, at the top of the ballot.

Midway from Selma to Montgomery, in Lowndes County, we passed the site on which Tent City once rested. In 1966, about 65 people were evicted for attempting to register for the vote. SNCC secured a piece of land and the families were lodged in surplus Army tents.

Today a modern Gulf service station and a supermarket are being raised on that land. We wondered if they were owned by the Lowndes County movement.

We drove down a side road looking for some old friends, and after a short distance we found them. Embraces and handshakes. Good to see you. Yes, that service station and supermarket is our thing, they said.

While we were talking three intense young men wearing black berets and carrying sidearms appeared. They were Black Panthers from Oakland, Calif., who had come down to see that nothing happened to the local people on election day. Whites have a saying in this part of Alabama: "They some good niggers in Selma but they some baaaad niggers in Lowndes."

For an hour we exchanged ideas about how to build a movement across the country. One of the Panthers, a man named Frenchie, was very interested in our work and our attempts to reach white Southerners. He had been very impressed with Peggy Terry, Eldridge Cleaver's white running mate on the Peace and Freedom ticket, whom he had heard speak.

"This is rich against poor," he said, "it's not white against black. If we could get the poor blacks and you guys could get the poor whites, man, nothing would stop a movement like that. . . ."

But there are many forces and much power standing in the way of a movement like that.

* * *

One of those powers is Dan River Mills, which has a vast new plant on U.S. 80 just inside the Lowndes County line. Dan River boasts that this is the most automated textile mill in the world. It was built during the Wallace administration; in fact it is practically a gift from Wallace.

In an area where many homes lack running water, the mill has lawn sprinklers just to keep the grass green. In summer, its grass is greener than any other grass.

It pays little tax to the state; all cor-

porations in Alabama pay little tax to the state. (Corporation taxes can be raised only by a constitutional amendment!) Dan River Mills must recruit its work force from Selma, but it did not want to pay the school taxes for Dallas County, so was built in sparsely populated, rural Lowndes.

Although U.S. 80 is only a two-lane highway as it leaves Montgomery, it becomes, rather conveniently, a four-lane highway in front of Dan River Mills.

* * *

In Selma, U.S. 80 runs into Jeff Davis Ave. Turn right at the railroad track and soon you come to Bush Hog Inc., makers of various farm implements and brush-cutting equipment. The weather is cool, a mist hangs in the air, and the sky is threatening and overcast. Walking along the railroad tracks are two men wearing heavy coats, their collars turned up. You can see their breath.

One of the men is white, the other black, and they are carrying signs: "United Steel Workers on Strike."

We walked over and talked to the men. They were reluctant to give information on the strike and asked us to talk to the local president. Still, they told us a few things. The black striker, John T. Williams, was on the local's negotiating committee. Carl Jones, the white striker, said he was having a hard time making ends meet.

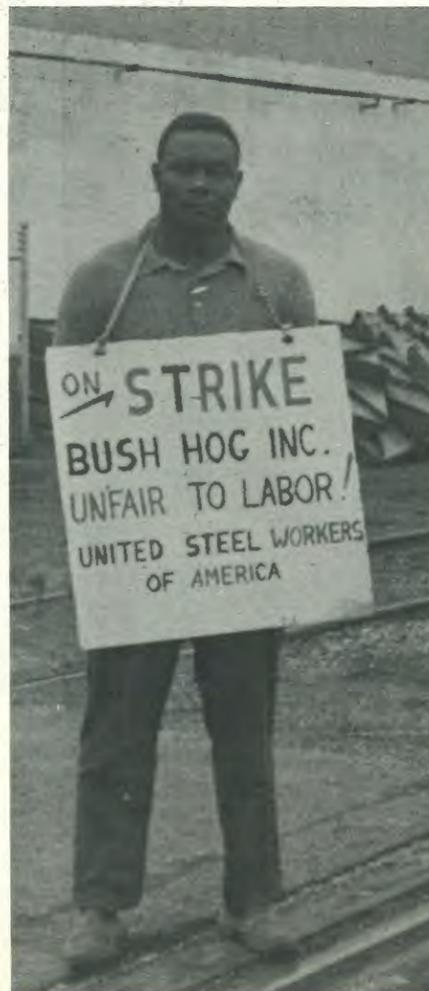
The vice-president of Bush Hog is Earl Goodwin and he is the ramrod, Jones said, that is trying to crush the strike.

"That bastard," Jones declared, "he's one of Wallace's top aides. He's co-chairman of Wallace's finance committee in the state. I'm voting Humphrey-Muskie and I don't care who knows it." This apparently takes courage, in Selma, Ala.

We learned from them that the plant employed a little over 200 men, about 35 of them black. Since the strike, seven black and eleven whites have gone back, and the rest of the present work force is made up of strikebreakers.

While we were talking, a '69 white Cadillac whizzed by, the driver snapping

Carl Jones



John T. Williams

his head back to look at us. Jones told us the driver was Leon Jones, the company's president. Just then another car drove up, this one a Ford. "There's our president," the black striker said.

We shook hands with Leroy Chance. Chance is a small, raw-boned white man; finely chiseled features, jut-jawed, middle-aged. You could look at this man anywhere in America and instinctively know he is a fighter.

"This is our third attempt to get a union in that plant," he said. "This time we won but you wouldn't know it. Everything is tied up in the courts. Hell, we can't wait for the courts to settle it. A man around here loses a pay day and he spends the rest of his life in making it up."

Chance gave us a short history of attempts to organize the plant. In 1966 the United Packinghouse Workers tried it. "We were beaten on the race issue," he said. "There weren't any niggers in the plant at the time.

"The company hung these posters all over that showed this nigger man with a big cigar with the words underneath that said 'Me and the union man gonna straighten things out around here.' Goodwin, the vice-president, gets up at meetings and says, 'Before we'll let niggers in the plant with you, we'll close the doors.' We lost the vote."

Chance uses the word 'nigger', one learns, not out of disrespect but out of habit. Some times it comes out as 'Nigra,' sometimes he switches to the soft, patronizing sounds of 'colored.'

He took the case to the National Labor Relations Board and charged the company with an unfair labor practice. "I had all the proof, pictures and everything. Nothing happened. I think Goodwin got his wrist slapped."

In 1967 Chance tried again, this time with the Teamsters' Union. Goodwin was more subtle this time. He used code words like his mentor Wallace, appealing to the real hatred the men had for the federal government.

"Every time I get a government order, I throw it in the waste basket," he cried. The men stomped and cheered and applauded.

He also held up a Teamster Union card and a statement that said (accurately) that the Teamsters had donated \$25,000 to King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). "When you sign this card, I don't have to tell you where your money's going, do I?" Goodwin told the men.

All the time, of course, Goodwin was raking in the profits, keeping out the union, and paying low wages. (Chance himself, after 9 years as a welder, was earning only \$2.15 an hour. Most of the workers earn between \$1.60 and \$1.90.)

Goodwin also promised the men that the company would pay them the full amount of their accumulated profit shares. They work under a system where a certain amount is taken out of their check each month and the company matches it; somewhere around age 65 the faithful worker collects all of this. If he quits in the meantime, he gets only what he has paid in. To get it all now, as Goodwin promised, would help a lot of families.

"I knew that was a bunch of lies," Chance said, "and one of the Teamster officials circulated a letter saying that. The company threatened a suit and the Teamsters backed down. They could've won that suit if they took it out of Selma, but I guess it was just too much money for them."

The Teamsters faded away, only a small portion of the profit shares was paid, as Chance had warned, and the company remained non-union.

Chance came back again in 1968, this time with help from the United Steel Workers. In the interim, there was one 'government order' that Goodwin did not throw in his basket. Under the Fair Employment Practices Act approximately 35 black men were hired. They are strong believers in unions.

"It surprised me when they brought the Nigras in," Chance recalled. "You know, everybody got along good. Never any complaints, everybody got along perfect. Everybody did his job."

In February of this year a secret ballot was held. The men voted for the union, 114-92, the black workers providing the difference. The United Steel Workers was recognized by the NLRB as the bargaining agent for the plant. Bush Hog Inc. appealed the order to NLRB in Washington, and it was upheld there. The company is now fighting a last-ditch battle in the courts.

"We couldn't wait, we decided to go on strike," Chance said. He himself was fired. He was the only one. The company has an injunction against the strikers, limiting them to two pickets at each entrance. There is no injunction limiting the company's production until the dispute is settled.

Before we left, we asked Chance how he was going to vote. "I don't like Humphrey or Nixon and how am I going to vote for Wallace when one of his aides is a union buster? He's liable to make Goodwin or somebody like him Secretary of Labor, and what's that gonna do to people like me?"

How about the others? we asked. "See that boy walking that picket line?" Chance said, pointing to Carl Jones, whom we had talked to earlier. He made a sign that said, 'Wallace is using union busters for his finance chairman.' The white men wouldn't carry it. They're ignorant; how do you tell the men about this? Wallace ain't for the little man."

Of course he isn't, but on November 5 almost 10 million Americans, most of them 'little people,' voted for him. Leroy Chance can't understand why.

Independent Politics in Virginia

(By Staff Correspondent)

RICHMOND, Va.— Virginia voters had a chance to cast their ballots for Dick Gregory for president when they went to the polls November 5. And in three of the state's ten congressional districts, black candidates ran independent campaigns.

This might not be surprising in other parts of the country—but Virginia has traditionally been one of the most tightly controlled states in the nation.

None of the independent campaigns made much of a dent in the power of the people who presently run the state. But they all showed that things are beginning to change—and they all contained the seeds of independent political movement in Virginia.

Peace & Freedom

Virginia's Peace and Freedom Party filed more than 1,500 signatures in September to place Dick Gregory's name on the ballot. The PFP was started last March by four professors at Hampton Institute. They wanted to open up a real discussion of racism and the Vietnam War during the campaign—and to provide a clear alternative to the two major parties.

They discovered that it is surprisingly easy to put a presidential candidate on the ballot in Virginia. All that is needed is a slate of electors, and 1,000 signatures on a petition. The electors were chosen at a series of meetings around the state; the signatures (mostly from black people) gathered at booths set up in shopping centers.

Gregory paid a flying visit to the state in late October, and large crowds turned out to hear him.

Howard Schonberger, chairman of the PFP, says: "I have my own intellectual doubts about the validity of the PFP—and the whole electoral process. It legitimizes the system that oppresses people. But in Virginia you can't start by manning the barricades, and this gave us a way of introducing a whole new perspective into state politics—of arousing interest and starting people moving. And it has given white radicals a chance to build working alliances with the black militants—which is something new for Virginia."

One of the most important aims of the PFP was to start independent political action at the local level, around local issues. This has happened in a number of places:

PFP members ended secret meetings of Norfolk City Council by picketing two meetings in July. They got sympathetic coverage in the news media, and the mayor finally announced that future meetings would be open;

Richmond members joined the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC) in a week-long picket outside Virginia State Prison after prisoners and guards staged strikes;

In Charlottesville, the PFP club worked to develop a program around the issue of low-income housing;

Militant black high-school students in Lynchburg campaigned



DICK GREGORY spoke at rallies in Norfolk and Newport News in October, about his presidential Campaign. Virginia was the third state to put him on the ballot.

actively for Gregory, and are now planning to open a Peace and Freedom House.

Organizing around issues to build power at the local level is the direction the PFP will probably follow, now that the election is over.

Congressional Races

The Rev. Cornelius J. Fauntelroy, independent candidate for Congress from the first district, lost his job when he asked for a leave of absence to campaign. He had worked for the Newport News Dry Dock and Shipbuilding Company for 30 years.

Mr. Fauntelroy has always been strongly pro-labor, "because there are so many working people, and so many of them are exploited. I find that's the best way for anyone who needs help to do—to get himself organized."

By running for Congress, he organized the first black political movement in the area.

"We tried integration first," he said. "That didn't work so hot. Then we tried equal employment, then the war on poverty. None of those really worked. Why? Because the white man was making the decisions—and he was choosing the status quo. Now we're trying politics—and, believe me,

we're going to be making the decisions."

Community control was one of the main planks in his platform. ("White people have it in their community. It's perfectly natural for us to have it, too.") Other planks dealt with the budget, the urban crisis, the Vietnam war (it should be settled by Asian nations).

The campaign involved many segments of the community. Mr. Fauntelroy is the local head of the NAACP, but members of the militant Black Unity Congress also campaigned for him. White members of the Peace & Freedom Party did some work in the white community.

Ruth Harvey's campaign headquarters in Danville were hung with huge signs that read: "Sock it to 'em, Ruth" and "Ruth Harvey—the NOW candidate." Miss Harvey is a black attorney who won more votes than either of her two white opponents in a race for the Democratic nomination for the House of Representatives last year. She lost the run-off.

This fall, she campaigned on a strongly anti-war platform for the Fifth District seat vacated by Rep. William Tuck, vice-chairman of HUAC.

Her platform attacked American foreign policy strongly. She

declared: "The costly, destructive war in Vietnam . . . is an integral part of a policy which in the underdeveloped world pits the resources of this country against the aspirations of the poor majorities . . . Those aspirations are thwarted by America's fear that the sweetheart relationship will be jeopardized between this nation's ever-expanding economic interests and the wealthy classes of Vietnam and other underdeveloped countries."

Miss Harvey advocated ceasing hostilities and beginning to withdraw U.S. troops from Vietnam; abolishing the draft; lowering the voting age to 18; and creation of "community corporations" to solve the problems of the cities.

The Rev. S. W. Tucker carried on an independent campaign for the Fourth District congressional seat.

* * *

These campaigns would have been impossible in Virginia before 1964. "Of all the American states, Virginia can lay claim to the most thorough control by an oligarchy," V. O. Key wrote in the late 1940's. "Political power has been closely held by a small group of leaders who . . . have subverted democratic institutions and deprived most Virgin-

ians of a voice in their government."

"By contrast," Key said, "Mississippi is a hotbed of democracy."

Virginia was controlled then—and it still is—by the Democratic machine of the Byrd family. This control has been possible because Virginia had one of the most restricted electorates in the nation—as the result of a poll tax provision adopted in 1902.

The situation didn't change much until 1964—the first year in which the result of abolishing the poll tax could be seen. That year, more than one million people went to the polls—an increase of 270,000 over 1960.

In 1966, defeat of two Byrd candidates showed that the machine could no longer count on automatic victories for all its candidates. In the last few years, black people have won offices in cities and counties across the state, and have been appointed to government agencies.

Virginia is still ruled by the machine—but, to some extent, that control is lessening. Why?

Prof. Stan Makielski of the University of Virginia suggests that "the organization is in disarray because it is in search of a leader right now; there was no immediate successor to Byrd."

Reporter Frank Trippett said the limits of Byrd's power were shown "at the conclusion of the experiment known as Massive Resistance, which Byrd had dictated." The tactic was beginning to hurt Virginia economically "to the extent that the commercial community wished to change the course of state policy . . . The state's business leaders expressed their urgent concern (to then-Governor J. Lindsay Almond). The result, shortly, was the end of Massive Resistance. Almond capitulated, so did the legislature, and Byrd's power began to fade precipitately."

Mr. Fauntelroy has another answer: "I wouldn't say the machine is crumbling. I would say that people who haven't been interested are beginning to stand up. They're tired of letting a few people make the decisions that shape their lives—because the shaping is bad."

Knoxville College Students Claim Victory

(By Staff Correspondent)

KNOXVILLE, Tenn.—The trial of three Knoxville College students ended in what the students and their lawyers termed "a political victory" on October 28.

Pete Tigner, Joseph Scott and Gary Keel were charged with possessing explosives and conspiring to blow up two college buildings, after a white cab driver was killed on the campus March 9. They pleaded guilty to two reduced charges October 28, after an agreement between their lawyers and the Attorney General.

They were sentenced to serve 11 months and 29 days on each charge, concurrently. The judge has allowed them to return to college—where two of the three are presently enrolled—and to begin serving their terms June 2, after the school year ends. He said he will consider suspending the remainder of their sentences

when it is time to return to college in September, 1969.

Settlement of the case came in the midst of rising protests in both the black and white communities here, and from across the country.

The students have already spent nine weeks in jail, under high bond. They were finally permitted to post bond after their first trial ended in a mistrial in May, when one of their lawyers suddenly fell ill.

No charges have ever been brought in the cab driver's death.

"This decision shows that the charges were completely frivolous to begin with," attorneys said after the trial. "The state

would never have backed down so thoroughly unless this were the case."

Atty. William M. Kunstler, New York, said: "The attorney general told me he was convinced that, even if he got a jury verdict, it would have been reversed on appeal.

"We chose a guilty plea to reduced charges rather than go through a lifetime of appeals which would have kept these men in jail, and off the streets—although we were confident that they would finally have been cleared."

The men pleaded guilty to attempting to possess explosives and to an obscure Tennessee statute which prohibits "travel-

ling on the highway for the purpose of prowling" or disturbing citizens or disturbing the peace.

There are still two charges pending against Tigner: arson and felonious assault. He is expected to be arraigned in late November or December.

In the meantime, he and Scott are back in school and students are working to help Keel raise money to return to Knoxville College at the beginning of the second semester.

Kunstler and Atty. Percy Julian, Madison, Wisc., joined Knoxville lawyers George McDade and John Lockridge, and Atty. Howard Moore of Atlanta, in defending the students. Kunstler, Julian and Moore are associated with the Law Center for Constitutional Rights, Newark, N.J.

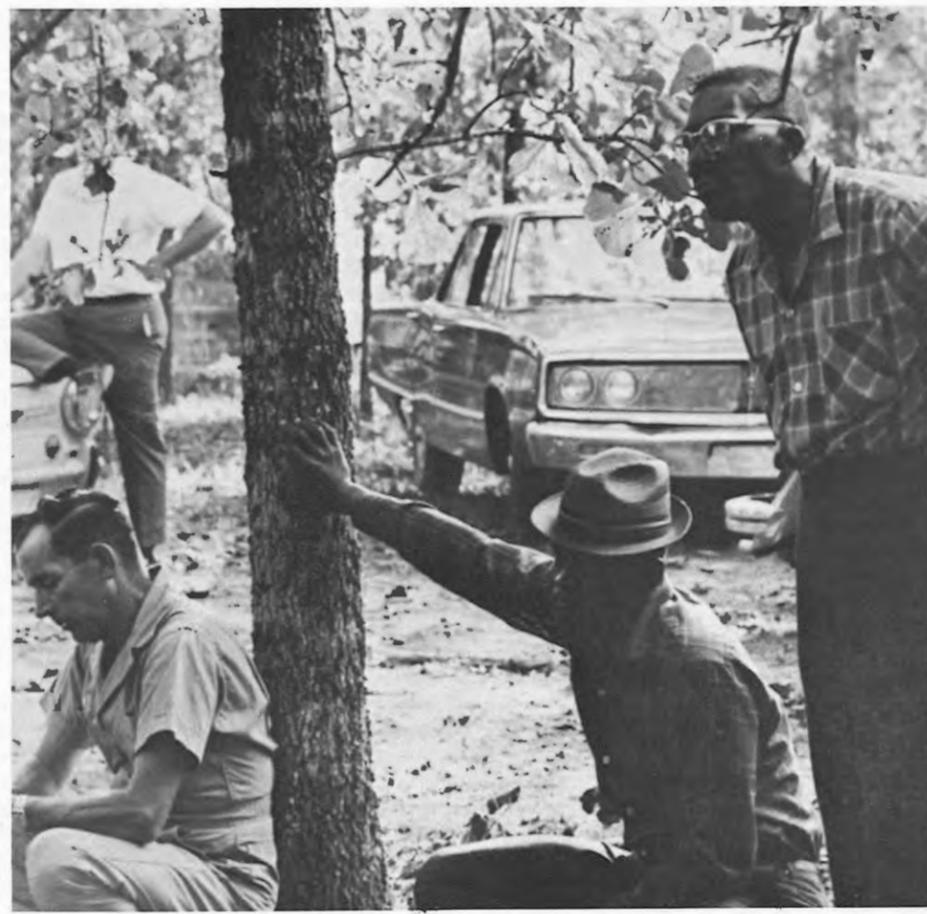


LAUREL STRIKE



Striking Masonite workers lost the use of their union hall when the local was put under trusteeship. Now they hold weekly strike meetings in the woods, across the county line.

photos by Robert Analavage



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

FREDERICK DOUGLAS

THE PEOPLES FORUM

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

ALBERT CAMUS

One Woman's Battle With Draft Boards

*I'm the Sherman who de-termines
Who's to die today*

*I can cancel a deferment
Just to pass your son away
I can smile as I'm shouting
"Go and kill the foe"
If in twenty years there's
doubting
I'll say "I didn't know."*

These are the words of a birthday telegram sent by the Philadelphia Resistance to Sidney Sherman, a Philadelphia, Pa. draft board member. The telegram, a sabotage manual from Canada, newspaper clippings about the bombings of draft boards and approximately 10 letters from local groups around the country to their draft boards asking them to resign (including one from New Orleans Women Strike for Peace to the Board members of Orleans Parish) are exhibits attached to a Motion to Dismiss my draft suit—Darlene Fife v. Major General Erbon W. Wise, in his capacity as state director of Selective Service, and v. General Lewis Hershey, in his capacity as national director of Selective Service. (Editor's note: Darlene Fife is the organizer of New Orleans' Draft Resistance Union.)

The exhibits supposedly show the dangers a draft board member will face if the personal information I request is granted. The suit requests the following information:

- 1) name, age, sex, address, occupation, length of service on the board, educational attainment, and previous military service of each and every member of the local boards and appeal boards of Louisiana.
- 2) operations bulletins issued from state headquarters to the local boards.
- 3) any other records containing public information that I might ask for.

Before instituting the suit, I and others had spent about a year off and on trying to get information on the local draft board members. All the Orleans Parish boards (14 of them) are on the fifth floor of the federal building in New Orleans, where each of the board clerks has a cubicle open on two sides.

The over-all secretary is the first one you encounter. Whenever I asked her for the names of board members or bulletins she said she would ask a Mr. Maloney. About half the time Mr. Maloney was not in and the other half, he referred me to the state headquarters.

Once I went out to the state headquarters and tried to see the state director. After hanging around for 2 hours, the secretary told me he (the state director) had suddenly realized he would be busy the rest of the afternoon and couldn't see me. "Do try again" she said.

I also wrote the state director letters. He responded by asking me questions about "my purpose" for wanting the information. My last attempt to get information before filing the suit was a letter I wrote to

Major-General Wise making the same requests as are in the suit. He didn't answer.

I phoned state headquarters and talked to Col. Davis, Wise's assistant. I asked if I could come out to state headquarters and copy the information. He asked What Was My Purpose. I said I was studying the draft boards but anyway under the Freedom of Information Act I didn't have to state any purpose. "Don't go quoting laws at me," he said, "and don't come out here." Then he hung up.

The next day, May 24, the suit was filed.

Presumably as a result of the suit being started, names of the draft board members are now posted on one side of the cubicle. Still, one has to get through the secretary and Mr. Maloney. The last time I was there, he was in and the secretary after consulting him told me I could copy the names but to be quick about it and not disturb the clerks at their work.

State bulletins are also posted and I was naturally looking at them as well as copying the board members' names. Mr. Maloney saw me and rushed out in a fury, "You're only to copy the names, Miss Fife, that's all I said you could do."

I don't know legal maneuverings and their phrases well enough to describe what has happened since May. In any case, only technicalities and postponements. The latest event was on Oct. 9, a hearing on a government motion to dismiss the suit.

The government lawyer argued that the case should be dismissed since I hadn't exhausted my legal remedies in seeking the information, and, she added toward the end, draft board members all over the country say they will resign if their addresses are given out.

The judge was not impressed by the argument. He said he thought I should have the information unless it could be proved that I intended to use it for illegal purposes. At this the other government lawyer agitatedly shook his head yes. The lawyer speaking said the documents (the telegram, etc.) spoke for themselves. The judge said he would read them and let us know of his decision. That is where it rests now.

I don't know what people thought of the draft in olden (pre-Vietnam) days. It never affected me personally and if I ever thought about it, which I doubt that I ever did, it would probably have seemed a natural event, like authoritarian parents and teachers.

Though the previous attitudes of others are unknown to me, the Selective Service System's attitude to itself is available in a series of pamphlets they published. You can see from the pamphlets that if the public attitude even remotely resembled the SSS's image of itself — times have indeed changed. The pamphlets were withdrawn from public distribution six months ago, soon

after people began quoting from them...

One pamphlet says that one reason for local boards is so the members will know their constituency personally. They, the pamphlet says, are "frequently consulted at their homes and places of business." My suit gives the lie to this. I don't know if it was ever true. The New York Free Press quotes a draft board member in New York City as saying he wouldn't want to draft anyone he knew.

It is stated in the draft law that the names of members must be posted. The government is fighting revealing the addresses. Given the names, the addresses can usually be found in a phone book or city directory. I expect next year that many of them will have unlisted numbers. They want to be faceless to their constituency. The only personal contact between the board members and the men they draft is at a personal appearance...

My lawsuit is, of course, what would be called a "liberal" enterprise. If successful, the suit will only unmask the board members and their workings; it cannot destroy the draft system. The latter won't come out of the law courts. I consider the knowledge acquired by the first task as a necessary prelude to the second.

DARLENE FIFE
New Orleans, La.

Repression in North Carolina

On Halloween night we went to a party dressed as guerrillas (vaguely Viet Cong style). At midnight the party broke up and about 20 people came over to the old SSOC (Southern Student Organizing Committee) House and sang freedom songs on the front porch.

This went on for 10 or 15 minutes, after which almost everybody left. There were four black guys still at the SSOC House—they'd been there all along.

Sometime shortly after this the cops came. Gregg Scott, a high school kid, was either still at the SSOC House or went over there when they came. At any rate, he was wearing a sheathed machete as part of his costume.

The police surrounded him and the black people, and Gregg started yelling for someone to come over there; I ran across the street.

It was at this point that the cops turned their attention to Gregg and asked him what he was doing with the machete. His reply was that he was "not cutting grass." Then the police decided to confiscate the machete, which they tried to do.

I asked them why they wanted it, since it is not illegal and it was part of a costume. The cop said he was going to take the knife anyway. I asked him what he meant by that. It was at this point they said I was under arrest. I asked them for what reason but they wouldn't say.

They started to pull and I resisted, demanding they tell me the charges. Three of them finally got me on the hood of the car, where they beat me till I quit struggling.

In the meantime, as I found out later, they had arrested Gregg. After they took us to jail, they arrested David Giddens (on charges of using profane language) and Grant Cooper (who was charged with obstructing an officer in the performance of his duties). The charges against Gregg and me are resisting an officer, assault and battery, and using profane language.

Even as I write this letter, the police have just left from their latest raid. This took place at 3 in the morning. It seems they are trying to put us under the jail. Yesterday, at our trial, the cops abused our lawyer for trying to get our case continued. (The only lawyer we can trust has asked for \$500 to \$700 to take our case. From this we can deduce that he doesn't want it.) This whole thing is part of a pattern of repression of the movement in Durham.

Right now, we are really hurting for money. If any of your readers could help, or suggest the names of N.C. lawyers who might be able to take the case, we'd be grateful.

JIM RUMELLY
1110 Chapel Hill St. West
Durham, N. C.

Mississippi's New Generation

(Continued from Page 1)
support me. Still, I think he was more comfortable when all I was doing was talking."

Mike Cassell, another *Kudzu* writer, was 14 years old in 1961 when SNCC came to McComb, his home town, to organize black people. He remembers the violence and the brutality. "I had an uncle, a cop," he recalls, "who was being charged by the NAACP for killing a Negro he didn't have to kill. They were right."

He met a white civil-rights worker then. "We got in a discussion and she tried to explain what they were trying to do. I didn't really care."

The family moved to Canton, and in 1964 COFO's Freedom Summer moved there also.

"I was working at a Railway Express station and I had to deliver a package to the COFO house. I met the people there and wow—they were playing Dylan records. I'd always grooved on Dylan. I got to talking with them and delivering more packages and more talking. I liked them."

Norman Mailer sees morality as a ladder that must be climbed one rung at a time and there is no going back. One Sunday Mike Cassell climbed the first of many rungs he would climb. "The board at our church heard that some blacks and some COFO workers were going to try and attend services at our church. The board met

and decided to keep them out"—he laughed—"by any means necessary."

"One of the deacons came up to me and handed me a pair of brass knuckles. 'Don't let them come in,' he said. And my minister, he was a home film buff, always making movies. He'd make movies of all the people who tried to register to vote, then turn them over to the police. They gave him a little blue hat with a badge. I left the church."

In another incident which gives an insight into life in the closed society, he says, "I had an English teacher who taught Birchism right in the classroom. She'd assign sections of *American Opinion* (the Birch magazine) and have us write themes on it."

He brought to class a copy of the magazine, *USSR*. He didn't know anything about it; "I just thought another point of view should be available." The teacher called him a communist, but when he threatened a lawsuit for slander, she recanted.

He graduated from high school as a National Merit Scholar and went to New College in Sarasota, Florida. A year and a half later he was expelled for participating with other students in efforts to revamp the college. He came back to Mississippi and entered Milsaps, where he met Doggett.

By his involvement, he has involved his parents. "They're socially ostracized in the com-

munity," he says. "But they'll stay." Already his younger brother has refused to participate in his high-school ROTC program.

If Dave Doggett and Mike Cassell still retain relationships with their parents, there are others on the *Kudzu* staff who don't. Everett Long, 19, from Marks, is completely cut off from his family, except for his younger brother. He worked a summer with the Freedom Information Service which publishes the *Mississippi Newsletter*. This is an excellent little journal that, until the *Kudzu* came along, was alone in getting out the truth. He attended the Democratic Party convention in Chicago and was arrested and jailed.

Cassell Carpenter, 20, is a girl who grew up in an ante-bellum mansion in Natchez. Her father is president of that city's largest bank. She, too, is cut off from her family. She didn't have time for an interview because the *Kudzu* and staff had been evicted from the place where they lived and she had to go out to look for another house.

A recent cover of the *Kudzu* proclaimed: A NEW SPIRIT IS RISING IN THE SOUTH—and these young folks should know, for they are a part of that spirit.

(Editor's note: You can subscribe to and help the *Kudzu* at Box 22502, Jackson, Mississippi, 39205. They also need money for legal expenses.)

THE ROAD AHEAD

Wallace and Hitler

By CARL BRADEN
(SCEF Executive Director)

In the middle of 1967 the Southern Conference Educational Fund issued a brochure entitled "There are 40 million white people in the South. Who will organize them? The Ku Klux? George Wallace? Or the Freedom Movement?"

We saw that Wallace and the forces he represents planned to build a new base for reaction in the South, and spread from there to the rest of the United States.

The questions we asked then are more urgent now. About 6 million Southerners voted for George Wallace for president. This gave him five states with an electoral vote of 45.

Efforts to divert votes from Wallace resulted in Nixon's carrying eight Southern states. Similar efforts outside the South drove voters into the Humphrey column.

In both North and South, people were told that Wallace poses a fascist threat. He was likened to Hitler, while his party was compared to the National Socialist German Workers Party (Nazis).

The fear created by this technique caused millions to change their minds at the last minute and vote for a "lesser evil." The "lesser evil" depended on whether you lived in the North or the South or the West.

After the election, Wallace said he looks forward to 1972. And well he might. He had built himself a base of five states in the South, where there was only one before—his native Alabama.

He had also begun to build outside the South, getting almost four million votes in the East, Midwest, and West. His headquarters in Montgomery, Ala., had carefully card-indexed the names of tens of thousands of people who sent money and letters of support to the American Independent Party (AIP). All Wallace needs now is somebody to organize him.

So the battle is already joined for 1972. The question is whether the left-liberal forces will play dead until the spring of 1972—or whether they will organize for political action for the next four years. Starting last month.

Certainly those 40 million white people in the South

need to be reached, especially the ones who voted for Wallace. They and the Wallace voters outside the South thought they saw in the AIP some hope of relief from the war and the draft, high prices and high taxes, lack of jobs and low wages, and a host of other problems. The Wallace followers had lost faith in the people in power in the Democratic and Republican parties and in the labor movement.

For 30 years the Southern Conference has built toward the day when it would be possible to get black and white people together around the issues that affect all of them.

In recent years we have brought more and more white people into contact and action with black people. We have increased our work among lower-income white people in an effort to show their common interest with the oppressed black people.

The aim is to help them get together to form political organizations which will bring about democratic control of this society. There has been some success, but not enough. We have just scratched the surface enough to give us hope.

* * *

It is easy to compare Wallace to Hitler and the AIP to the Nazis. Those who equate Wallace and Nazism may be right. A study made by Rudolph Heberle toward the end of World War II does show many parallels.

Heberle reveals the nature of the Nazis, their leaders, and their followers in a book published in 1945 by Louisiana State University Press. It is called "From Democracy to Nazism: A Regional Case Study on Political Parties in Germany."

Heberle says that Hitler "succeeded in concealing from the masses the counter-revolutionary nature of his policy; he was able to make the financiers of the party believe in its essentially conservative intentions." (Compare how Wallace gets money from poor people and Texas oil millionaires.)

"It should be noted," Heberle adds, "that the early support of the Hitler party came, in all social classes, from those who for some reason or other had failed to make a success in their business or occupation, and who had lost their social status or were in danger of losing it." (Compare the AIP appeal to white people's fear of black people's taking their jobs.)

Heberle finds that the early leaders of the Nazis "had only a very limited experience in political life . . . Having never held any office or leading position in one of the older parties, nor in a labor union or a professional organization, they thought of politics in terms of conflict and combat rather than in terms of debate, compromise, and social integration." (Such as solving social problems by running over dissenters with automobiles.)

Discussing the Nazi doctrine that the leader alone should determine the people's welfare, Heberle says: "This new doctrine of law inevitably leads to a practice of judicial decisions determined by political and administrative expediency rather than by the idea of justice or by the prescription of positive law. The ultimate result is complete abolition of the safeguards of life, liberty, and property." (Compare attacks by Wallace and other right-wingers on the U.S. Supreme Court.)

Heberle notes that the membership of the Nazi Party "became more and more rural; even in the cities a conspicuously large proportion of the members had a rural or small-town background. Consequently, if one wants to understand the reasons for its final success, one should study the Nazi movement in its rural strongholds." (Such as the five states Wallace carried.)

Heberle tells the familiar story of how the Nazis slipped up on their opponents and destroyed them one at a time: "They singled out the Communists, a measure by which they gained sympathy not only among the middle classes but even among the Social Democrats. Having dissolved the KPD (German Communist Party), they did not immediately abolish the trade-unions but waited until they had evidence that these would not fight back; this being accomplished, they proceeded to dissolve the SPD (Socialists)."

The author winds up by saying that firm and determined measures to stop Hitler in his early days would have found enthusiastic mass support in Germany.

Let us hope that nobody will write a post mortem like that about us. We welcome your support and your cooperation as we try to organize Wallace's base right out from under him. And as we take firm and determined measures to stop him.

"They are the victims, also . . ."

By JULIUS LESTER

We look at them, their fat, sagging bellies, hard faces, tight lips, and we despair. It is logical in our eyes that they should support Wallace, for they are ugly and Wallace is ugly and we are beautiful and gentle and want to do nothing more than love everyone in the rising of each sun. We look at them and the conclusion is quickly reached that they will never change. They will always be filled with resentments, fears and hates. And having so concluded, we end our examination and analysis of them and prepare to wait for more propitious times.

It is difficult to be a revolutionary, for to be a revolutionary means to believe in the innate goodness of man and it is to know that man in this environment has been programmed into non-man. Our job is to change the environment so that man can be man.

It is particularly difficult to be a revolutionary at a time when man's capacity for infinite evil is being unleashed. But the job yet remains to look into those faces and to remember that they do not have control of their lives, either. They are the victims, also, and must be made to realize it.

Perhaps that is not a task we can do. A well paid, well fed, well housed and clothed victim is quite willing to accept his state as long as he is well rewarded. But even if they are as yet unable to recognize their condition, we must not forget what it is. Even if we have to regard them as the enemy, we must not forget that they, too, are victims.

All too often, though, we confuse the

Challenge in the White Community

doer with the deed and think that they are one and the same. It is the deed we must hate, not the doer of the deed. The policeman acts like a beast, but to call him a beast, a "pig," is only to negate the potential of man that is within him. We must learn that attitude which is exemplified in Cuba and North Vietnam, where any person you meet will say, "We do not hate the American people. The people are our friends. We hate the American government."

The Vietnamese and Cuban people welcome Americans to their country, while the one country is fighting for its life against America and the other exists under the constant threat of annihilation. To yell "Fascist!" at a Wallace supporter is only to guarantee that that individual will be a fascist.

None of us were born revolutionaries. Therefore, if we have found within ourselves the capacity to change, we must acknowledge that everyone else has the capacity to change. Once we acknowledge this, we must then begin to live and act as if we believe it.

The Cuban rebel army would attend to the wounded enemy soldiers after each battle, for Fidel recognized that the man he had just shot could be a revolutionary. And imagine the shock of the wounded

soldier as he had his wounds bandaged by those whom he had just been trying to kill. What manner of men were these? They were revolutionaries. The new man.

People will be changed as much by our words as by our actions. Mao's Red Army converted many peasants to their side because this was an army that did not come into a village and steal the crops and rape the women. It paid the peasant for whatever food was taken and respected each and every peasant. The men in the Red Army were different from the men in the uniform of the Kuomintang and it was because they were different that the fears of the peasant were destroyed.

Because the style of our movement has been determined by our need to work out our own problems, we do not know how to reach those who are different from us. We have repudiated their life styles, but if we are going to reach them, it may be necessary for us to adopt that style which is so repugnant to us.

For us, male and female, profanity is the natural punctuation in a sentence. For them, profanity is used in certain social settings and never in front of women. For us a church is a building that people go to on Sunday because they haven't learned the value of sleeping late. For them church is an integral part of life and he who does not attend church is ostracized from the community. When SNCC was organizing in the South, there was never any doubt in the organizer's mind that he would go to church on Sunday morning. He had to if he expected the people in the community to listen to anything he had to say. Yet there were white kids who came South and wanted to argue the existence of God with the local people.

Perhaps it is time for some of us to go back home, to remind ourselves that

everything there was not bad. One of the basic problems which has faced many white activists is the fact that they hate the white community. Undoubtedly, the feeling is to some degree justified. Yet there is work to be done there. It won't be as easy as lying around somebody's apartment in a big city, smoking pot and thinking up slogans for the next demonstration. In fact, it's a lifetime job requiring total commitment. But if that revolution is going to be born, the work must begin.

Yes, they are ugly. Their faces are filled with spite and hate. But did they deliberately sit in front of the mirror and create those faces? Or were they forced to live lives which tightened the flesh of their faces into a perverted contortion of humanity?

"One must have faith in the best in men," Jose Marti wrote, "and distrust the worst. If not, the worst prevails." We must acquire that faith.

(Reprinted from the Guardian.)

Subscription Blank

The Patriot is sent to all persons who give \$3 or more annually to the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

I enclose _____, of which \$3 is for Patriot subscription.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

Zip Code _____

SCEF

3210 W. Broadway
Louisville, Ky. 40211