



THIS SCENE WAS REPEATED over and over in Louisville, as heavily-armed police and guardsmen prowled the streets during May outbreak (photo by Jay Thomas).

Poor People Begin Getting Together

By CAROL HANISCH
(Staff Correspondent)

**WE SHALL OVERCOME,
WE SHALL OVERCOME,
WE SHALL OVERCOME, SOMEDAY . . .
DEEP IN MY HEART
I DO BELIEVE . . .**

WASHINGTON, D.C.—It was the same old song, but it didn't mean "integration into the mainstream" when members of the Poor People's Campaign sang it here.

This time, black people, Hispanics, Indians, Puerto Ricans, and other white people were singing it because they had come together as poor people to fight a system that oppresses all of them.

It was the same old song, but it gave the feeling of entering a new stage of the struggle with the country's unrepresented people moving toward joint action to better their lives.

Developing the kind of trust that it takes to work together is not easy after centuries of separation by a system that gains from pitting poor people against each other. The coming together in Washington was a struggle in itself.

Black people made up a large majority of Resurrection City, and they were faced with how and whether to share their numerical power.

Various ethnic groups strove to maintain pride in their identity and still work together. "It's in to be Indian," read one slogan. Regional loyalties put up still another hurdle. The Western contingent included Indiana, Hispan-

nos, Anglos, and black people. A ripple of surprise ran through them all when the people from the Southern mountains, who everybody thought would be "poor whites," turned out to be 40 per cent black.

Living as a community in plywood huts or in crowded churches and schools is hard under any conditions. Torrents of rain and mud added to the frustrations. Some left the city, but those who stayed began to learn about each other. (More details Page 8.)

A Hispanic woman from the Southwest remarked, "I was just talking to a lady from West Virginia and I asked her about their demands and she said, 'WE ARE DEMANDING OUR LAND.' That's the same thing we're demanding." She continued to explain the strip mining in Appalachia.

The people from West Virginia were also demanding a fair shake at the polls. They went to the Justice Department to see about the voting-fraud charges they had brought in Mingo County (see story Page 8). The bus load of people—about half black and half white—were met in front of the building by an official who told them the case was under investigation and couldn't be discussed.

"We want to go in," the people kept insisting.

"Who do you want to see?" the official kept asking.

"We're citizens. We're taxpayers. We pay for that building and your services. We want to go in and see about our case," they replied.

"Don't you trust your local FBI?" the official asked.

"NO!" the people replied in unison.

It was finally agreed that a delegation of six would be allowed to go inside. "They sure are afraid of us," a young white woman remarked. "They can't stand the sight of more than six of us in one room because we're poor."

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Louisville, Ky:

Police Cause Outbreak

By ANNE BRADEN
(SCEF Associate Director)

LOUISVILLE, Ky.—This city's black ghetto erupted in a rebellion this last week in May. It lasted only two and a half days really, but before it was over 2,000 National Guardsmen had invaded the area, 400 black people and some whites had been arrested; at least 10 black people had been shot, two of them killed. There was considerable property damage—mostly broken windows and looted stores owned by white merchants scattered over an area of about 400 blocks.

As rebellions go, the one here was probably small-scale. But it occurred in an area where I have lived for 18 years. I saw the pressures building up through those years, and I witnessed with my own eyes the incident that touched it off on a street corner on the night of May 27. I recount it here—for whatever universality it may have.

The West End of Louisville has been a racially changing area for the past decade. Although many white people still live in some parts of it, efforts to keep it really interracial have failed because it has been the only large residential area open to black people in the Louisville metropolitan area.

Its ghettos have grown and conditions in them have worsened. These are the same conditions that plague ghettos everywhere:—overcrowding, jobless youth, poverty, rats, roaches, lack of community services and recreational facilities, etc. Although some influential people in Louisville have recognized these problems, Mayor Kenneth Schmied and the white power structure generally have insisted that "race relations" were good in Louisville and that the conditions of other ghetto cities do not exist here.

After demonstrations for open housing were broken by mass arrests last spring, there was much discontent but little organization in the black community. However, in late winter of this year, the

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Gainesville, Fla:

Black Militants Jailed

(By Staff Correspondent)

GAINESVILLE, Fla.—Jack Dawkins, militant leader of the black community, was released from jail under \$7,500 bond on June 2, 10 weeks after he was arrested.

A series of arrests have kept black leaders behind bars under high bond since January, as the local power structure tries to wipe out the movement. Officials have admitted publicly that some of those arrests were "preventive".

Dawkins has spent four months out of the last six in jail. Others have been held from six to eight weeks—before their cases even came to trial.

The authorities have shown how easy it is to repress a black community without brutality or adverse publicity. Their weapons are strictly "legal".

The repression has been most intense since December—but as long ago as early 1966 authorities were bringing trumped-up charges against anyone who tried to organize the poor.

Movement Begins

January, 1966, was the real beginning of a black people's movement in Gainesville. There had been civil-rights activity before, aimed at desegregating public accommodations, voter registration, the poverty program. None of this dealt with the problems of the black poor, and very few poor people were involved.

On Christmas Eve, 1965, four black youths were beaten for try-



Dawkins

ing to eat at the Waffle Shop restaurant, and young people from the ghetto took part in seven weeks of demonstrations that followed.

Police warned them that they would be arrested within six months—and they were, on a number of pretexts.

Mrs. Carol Thomas, the white wife of a physics professor at the University of Florida, was one of the leaders of the Waffle Shop protest. She was charged with contributing to the delinquency of a minor, who had violated the curfew by staying overnight at

her home. The boy's mother refused to bring charges, so the judge and a member of the city's bi-racial commission swore out the warrant. A jury acquitted her.

The demonstrations were a turning point for Mrs. Thomas, too. She had worked in all the successive stages of the movement—and discovered that none of them offered any solutions. She came to realize that the movement would be built by those people who have the least—the unemployed, the drop-outs, people on welfare, and people the power structure calls "criminal elements." So she began working with them.

Last June, Jack Dawkins, a former migrant worker and organizer for the AFL-CIO, went to work in the ghetto. He and Mrs. Thomas tried to organize the city's garbage workers; they set up a welfare recipients' union.

Dawkins became a folk hero for the ghetto youths. Many began to wear afro haircuts, and black consciousness and pride grew. Dawkins bolstered this by taking groups to City Commission meetings to press their demands. In these confrontations he showed the militance with which black people should address white offi-

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Knoxville, Tenn:

Tigner Charged in Murder

KNOXVILLE, Tenn. — Police have charged Pete Tigner with firing a pistol at a cab driver and setting fire to his cab. He will be tried in October.

Tigner was one of four black students who were arrested on a variety of charges and held in jail for seven weeks under high bond, as police sought a scapegoat. A. J. Boruff, the cab driver, was killed on Knoxville College campus in March. All four were freed under high bond after they got a mistrial in criminal court.

New Case against Strip Mining

(By Staff Correspondent)

FRANKFORT, Ky. — Strip-mining opponents took their case to the Kentucky Court of Appeals on May 17. In *Martin v. Kentucky River Coal Corp.*, lawyers for the landowners attacked the broad-form deed interpretation which has allowed strip mining, handed down by the same

court in 1957.

Harry Caudill of Whitesburg, Ky., an attorney for the Martins, said the company had no right to strip the land at all. The broad form deed gives the company the right to "mine" and "use" the land, but the company conceded that strip-mining "destroys" the land.



THIS LANDSLIDE AT LOT'S CREEK, Ky., was caused by strip-mining (photo by Mike Clark).

Caudill also contended that a strip mine was an "excavation" and not a "mine."

Most broad-form deeds were negotiated at the turn of the century. Mineral rights were obtained for a pittance by the companies. The Martins' deed was originally signed by an "X" by the farmer.

Friends of the court in support of the Martins were the National Council of Churches, the Sierra Club, the Appalachian Group to Save the Land and People, the Kentucky Civil Liberties Union, and the Commonwealth of Kentucky.

Lawyers for the coal companies raised technical objections, impugned the motives of Caudill and the other groups, and displayed a State publication praising reclamation efforts by the stripminers.

Strip mining continues to disrupt the lives of people in Eastern Kentucky. Last month there was a slide on Lot's Creek, in Knott County. School buses could not pass and for days children had to walk miles to reach the buses.

Florida Students Fight Repression

(By Staff Correspondent)

GAINESVILLE, Fla.—When Southern college administrators get together, they refer to the University of Florida as "the Berkeley of the South."

Judged in terms of numbers, UF is certainly not a hotbed of revolutionaries. But it has a core of activists who, during the last five years, have influenced the student body to become steadily more radical.

The administration has tried to stop the growing student movement by denying tenure to Dr. Marshall Jones, one of the faculty members who has been most involved in it. Jones was recommended by all his colleagues in the College of Medicine but the university considered this irrelevant. They charged him with "advocating rebellion," on the basis of an article he wrote for a learned journal on the role of the faculty in student rebellions.

The Tenure for Jones campaign swung into high gear last fall, and has been one of the main campus issues this year. It was



Dr. Marshall Jones

a radicalizing experience for the students who followed the hearings.

The administration tried to link more than 200 campus activists to Jones. But the political reasons behind these charges, and the lengths to which the Administration was prepared to go to stamp out dissent, were very clear. When the student paper tried to run a critical editorial, it was censored.

Defense of the black militants jailed by Gainesville's repressive power structure (see story page 1) was an equally important issue this year. But it was considerably more difficult for the average student to understand and support.

The activists had been discussing black power and the role of white radicals since 1966. When Jack Dawkins and Mrs. Carol Thomas were convicted in December for contempt of court, they saw an opportunity to support the black movement.

Together with members of the Afro-American Society (founded this year at UF) they have been the main source of publicity and bond money for the black leaders. Their support has taken many forms.

They set up an ad hoc Dawkins-Thomas Defense Committee; 18 people staged an eight-day hunger strike to draw attention to the case; and they published *White Ears*, a response to *Black Voices*. The newsletter tried to explain black power and the effects of poverty to whites who are not liberals. It was widely distributed.

At a memorial march for Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. on April 6, Dr. Jones disrupted an "orgy of hypocrisy" by local officials who were praising King's non-violent philosophy. He reminded them that King stood for non-violent resistance, not collaboration, and led a sit-in. Twenty-one people were arrested.

Students were arrested for civil disobedience in anti-war protests during the year. Three people blocked a bus when Alan Levin, SSOC's Florida traveller, was to be inducted, and 12 served terms ranging from three to ten days for blocking a Dow recruiter. A wide range of other activities have taken place.

By the end of this year, the movement had created enough freedom to move — and enough dissent to move — and enough activists' action with things as they are — that groups of students have begun to move politically on their own.

Gainesville Jails Black Leaders

(Continued from Page 1)

cials, in an attempt to break the fear that kept people from moving.

Soon the police were stopping Dawkins every time he turned around. He was charged on a number of pretexts.

In November two young black women told Dawkins and Mrs. Thomas that white officers at the city jail had made sexual advances toward them—a frequent complaint by black women arrested in Gainesville and elsewhere in the South. Dawkins and Mrs. Thomas helped the women bring charges. The local newspaper called for a grand-jury investigation.

Shortly before the hearings, Dawkins wrote an article for their newsletter, *Black Voices*, in which he said:

Racist Jury

"They have called for a grand jury to investigate charges made by black people against that racist, klan-infested police department. Well, gather round, let me tell you this; that grand jury is just as racist and klan-infested as the police department is. I told you before that when they got through lying, fixing, framing and denying nothing was going to be done."

A few copies of *Black Voices* found their way into the jury room, and soon after they finished testifying Dawkins and Mrs. Thomas were arrested for contempt of court.

On December 27 they were tried by Alachua County Judge James C. Adkins and sentenced to six- and four-month terms (the usual sentence is 10 to 30 days). Because of their civil-rights activities, the judge refused to set bond while they appealed, and he has bragged about this constantly ever since, in his successful campaign for the Florida Supreme Court.

(The grand jury stopped its hearings as soon as Dawkins and Mrs. Thomas were arrested. Soon, as Dawkins had predicted, the jurors announced that there was no basis for the charges against the police.)

Meanwhile, people began to react to the authorities' actions. Inside the jail, prisoners tore up

their cells for three days, after Mrs. Thomas was put in solitary confinement and sprayed repeatedly with MACE.

Fire-Bombings

On January 1, a rash of fire-bombings broke out. Two were aimed at the Judge's home; one at the home of the state's attorney who prosecuted Dawkins and Mrs. Thomas. Other bombs were directed at white-owned ghetto businesses.

Six weeks after their convictions, the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court set appeal bonds for Dawkins and Mrs. Thomas and they were released. But the bombings continued. By mid-March, there had been 16. The *Gainesville Sun*, a "liberal" paper, called for some action—and the police responded.

At 4 a.m. on March 17, Dawkins was arrested by 25 police carrying machine guns. Soon after, four youths were picked up, and a fifth was arrested three days later. All had been active in the movement. They were charged with bombing a neighborhood grocery and bonds were set at \$10,000 for Dawkins, \$7,500 for the others. With these arrests, most of the black leaders were behind bars—but the bombings continued.

Joe Waller of St. Petersburg and Levy Wilcox of Jacksonville gave militant black-power speeches at a protest rally April 6. After the speeches, 75 people marched to the jail where Dawkins and the others were being held. Then Waller and Wilcox sent them home.

It was the first black-power rally in Gainesville—the first time that any sizeable group of black people had got together in

a militant way. When the authorities saw it, they decided they had to put the leaders away.

Gainesville was quiet that night, but police went to the Thomas's home to arrest Waller for inciting a riot—a riot which had never occurred.

Mrs. Thomas insisted on riding down to the station with him to investigate the charges. The police then charged her with resisting a police officer with violence. And so three of the remaining leaders were in jail, with bond set at \$25,000 for Waller, \$7,500 for the other two.

The assistant state's attorney later said, in a radio interview, that the arrests were "preventive measures." He admitted there had been no riot.

Authorities were afraid Mrs. Thomas would disrupt the jail, so her bond was soon lowered to \$2,500 and she was bailed out. But the other leaders—those arrested for arson March 18, and Waller and Wilcox, arrested April 6—stayed in jail till the end of May, when their bonds were lowered somewhat (Dawkins' to \$7,500, Waller's to \$5,000, the rest to \$2,500). Gradually their supporters bailed them out. Dawkins was the last to be freed.

They would probably still be in jail if it were not for the support of radical students at the University of Florida, who have given most of their resources to defending the black militants since January. Now there are rumors that some of them will soon be arrested for conspiracy.

It would be inaccurate to say the police have not used brutality. They sprayed so much MACE at Mrs. Thomas and other

The Gainesville militants were scheduled to go on trial at the end of June. Funds are badly needed for appeal bonds and legal defense. You may wish to send contributions to:

Carol Thomas, 902 NW Ninth Avenue, Gainesville, Fla.

Letters and telegrams protesting the use of the prosecutions to harass and intimidate the black community may be sent to the following local officials:

Mayor T. E. (Ted) Williams, State's Attorney Ted Duncan, Circuit Court Judge James C. Adkins, Sheriff Joseph Crevasse—All in Gainesville, Fla.

You may also wish to write the Rev. T. A. Wright, head of the local NAACP, asking the NAACP to take a strong stand in defense of the militants. His address is 503 NW Fourth Avenue, Gainesville, Fla.

inmates during the prison outbreak last January that it ran down the walls and lay in pools on the floor. More recently, police sprayed MACE at two women and 10 small children while searching a house for moonshine.

But their main weapons have been arrests, high bonds, and the threat of long sentences. The maximum sentence for second-degree arson is 10 years; Waller, Wilcox, and Mrs. Thomas face two-year terms.

Ghetto residents charge that the police are using the prosecutions to keep them from fighting for black freedom. More than 100 individuals and 10 organizations asked Atty. William Kunstler of the Law Center for Constitutional Rights to bring suit in federal court to stop the harassment. The suit is based on the U.S. Supreme Court decision in the case of James Dombrowski and SCEF against the Louisiana Un-American Activities Committee. The suit charges that Gainesville officials' actions have a "chilling effect" on First Amendment freedoms.

In a sociological survey taken last month, the surveyors found that middle-class black people consider Dawkins to be the leader who speaks for them. The survey showed that the majority of them resent the more moderate head of the NAACP, traditionally considered their spokesman.

Support for Dawkins is even stronger among the poor. "Every time they put me in jail, it does some good," he said recently.

"Agitators" Blamed
Yet the power structure seems to think that if a handful of agitators would go away, things would return to normal. Mrs. Thomas, one of their main targets, has heard the same rumor from four people—that police will not look very hard for a culprit if she is killed.

Judge Adkins said publicly that he thought the fire-bombings were the work of university activists and black-power advocates. The implication was that "it can't be our Negroes."

One black woman reacted against this recently by sending in a false fire alarm, then waiting for the police to arrive. "I just wanted you to know, you bastards, who's been turning in these alarms," she said, and walked away.

Louisville: Study of an Uprising

(Continued from Page 1)

Black Unity League of Kentucky (BULK) emerged and began to attract black youth.

On the evening of May 27, BULK called a street-corner meeting at 28th and Greenwood (the heart of the ghetto). The purpose of the meeting was to demand that the city fire Patrolman Michael Clifford, who had struck a black real-estate man, Manfred Reid.

The Police Department had fired him once, but the Civil Service Commission recommended his reinstatement; Mayor Schmied, with whom final decision lay, was refusing to say what he would do. The black community was angry and the Clifford case was the focus of long-standing grievances against the police.

About 500 black people (and a few whites) gathered at the street meeting. Main speakers were Sam Hawkins and Bob Kuyu, young BULK leaders, and James Cortez, a volunteer with Washington SNCC.

The speeches were militant, stressing "black power." They did not call for violence; rather they called for black people to unite and organize, and thus stop things like the case of Patrolman Clifford.

Finally, the speakers told everyone to go home. People began leaving peacefully.

Then several things happened simultaneously. A city bus plowed through the dispersing crowds—as if the driver intended to hit someone. A bottle came from where teen-agers were gathered on a rooftop and hit the top of the bus. Another landed in the street.

Police Arrive

Older people began to move toward the teen-agers. I heard someone near me say, "Someone stop them — don't throw things." I am convinced that someone would have stopped them—but at that very same moment (it could not have been in response to those bottles—it was practically simultaneous) a police car roared into the crowd, red lights flashing and sirens wailing. Almost immediately, two more police cars roared into the crowd. (There had been no police in sight during the meeting; we learned later they had been parked in alleys surrounding the area.)

One bottle hit the windshield of a police car. Two policemen jumped out with their pistols drawn.

From that moment, rocks and bottles flew. Almost immediately about 10 more police cars were on the scene. Police began firing over the heads of the crowd. More rocks and bottles. From then on, it was chaos.

If the police had not arrived on the scene in that manner, there would have been no uprising at 28th and Greenwood. If they had withdrawn within the first four or five minutes, I am convinced the crowd would have dispersed. After that, it was too late.

From that corner, the crowd began to fan out to surrounding blocks; stores were broken into. An announcement came over the radio that the Governor had ordered the National Guard to come in. That angered people more. The mayor announced an immediate curfew. That night over 100 black people were arrested and four were shot.

The next day, the National Guard was patrolling West End streets in force. But trouble broke out again — most notably in the very areas where the Guard was heaviest. More arrests and shootings that night. People charged with looting were held under \$20,000 bond, those with curfew violation, \$2,000 bond.

White Support

Meantime, militant black leaders were urging the city to withdraw the Guard and let young blacks patrol their own streets. Meantime, too, some of us who are white organized a delegation of more than 50 whites to go to City Hall to demand withdrawal of the Guard, lifting of the curfew, release of prisoners from jail, firing of Patrolman Clifford,

and a program to deal with the real problems.

The next day (May 29) the city de-escalated. The Guard was partially withdrawn, the curfew lifted, some people released from jail. The de-escalation worked, in terms of quieting things down. By Thursday, Memorial Day, the streets were quiet.

However, during the night police had killed a 14-year-old boy and a liquor store owner had killed a youth, 19. About 70 white people met that day and formed the White Emergency Support Team (WEST). They adopted a policy statement saying the responsibility for what had happened lay with the white community. Many people were beginning to see that.

On May 31, the City-County Crime Commission met. It ignored the problems in the West End and called on authorities to investigate (1) why Cortez was in Louisville; (2) the role of anti-poverty workers in the disturbances; (3) the role of Carl and Anne Braden, "if any," in starting the disorders. (They threw us in out of habit, I think, since we have been convenient and perennial scapegoats in Louisville ever since we were charged with sedition for selling a home in a white neighborhood to a black couple 14 years ago.)

The Conspiracy

That night police arrested Cortez and held him incommunicado until late the next morning. The Police Court judge hastily convened a court of inquiry on Saturday afternoon; there police charged that Cortez, Hawkins and Kuyu (the three who had spoken at the May 27 meeting) were plotting to dynamite oil refineries in the West End. No scrap of evidence has been produced to support

this charge—except that police say Cortez told them that. He firmly denies it.

The judge ordered the three placed under a security warrant with bonds totalling \$175,000.

Meantime, Manfred Reid (the black real-estate man who had been struck by Patrolman Clifford) was himself indicted by the Grand Jury on a charge of assault and battery.

Louisville seemed well on its way to a typical community hysteria in which the real causes of unrest are forgotten, the white community's conscience is salved by talk of dynamite and violence from blacks, and the victims are blamed for the crime.

But some of us who had seen this pattern before were determined that it would not go unchallenged. People from WEST and BULK met and planned a counterattack.

We prepared a leaflet over night and distributed tens of thousands in the next few days. Its heading said: "Louisville Shifts the Blame; Frames Black Leaders." The leaflet said in part:

"On June 1 in Louisville all of the court machinery and official apparatus sprang into action. Why? Because police said they had heard a rumor that black people planned to dynamite oil refineries.

"Just four days before, police had shot into the homes of black people. Just three days before, two black people had been shot dead. This was no rumor; it was real. But no court of inquiry was convened, no official machinery sprang into action.

"White Louisville must face the fact that this set of circumstances says one thing very clearly—that when white



LOCKED OUT of Louisville City Hall are white people protesting actions of officials during uprising (photo by Suzanne Crowell)

University of Georgia Strikes Back

Two Student Leaders Suspended

(By Staff Correspondent)

ATHENS, Ga.—The University of Georgia has suspended two of the students involved in the widely-publicized Movement for Co-ed Equality. Three others were placed on probation.

Students began a new sit-in in the administration building after the decision was announced May 31. Campus officials called the sheriff in, to tell them they would be arrested for trespass unless they dispersed.

Unrest has grown since 500 students marched through the rain April 10, demanding that women students be treated on an equal basis with men.

When the administration refused to negotiate, they decided to occupy the building. Some 112 women broke the curfew regulations to remain overnight and 175 men signed complicity statements making themselves liable for the same punishment.

Co-ed Flinn Dallas explained the issue: "We are not protesting because we want

to 'drink and stay out late.' We are protesting because we believe that education and compulsion are incompatible. We believe that the legitimate authority of the university is over academic matters. The control of our personal lives, we feel, should be left to us."

They ended the demonstration after two nights as a gesture of good will, expressing the hope that the university would respond in kind. Instead, president Fred C. Davidson got a restraining order to limit campus demonstrations.

When Dave Simpson, founder of the campus SDS group, and two other students appeared at the president's inauguration carrying a huge banner which read, "The emperor has no clothes," the university brought charges.

They were charged with attempting to "detract from the solemnity of a university function," and they and two others were charged with "actions against the best interest of the university," for their part in the sit-in.

No women students were among those disciplined.

property appears to be threatened, we do something about it, but when black lives are taken we do not.

"We have been hearing much about white racism. This is what white racism is. This is what the black rebellion is all about.

"What we must realize is that the grievances of black people are very real. Until these grievances are met, black rebellions cannot be stopped—unless we are prepared to crush them with force of arms, cordon off our ghettos and allow passage in and out only by pass, put those who don't bow to the white power structure in jail or concentration camps or kill them. Does any white person really think that he will be free in such a police state?

"Other countries have learned through great suffering that you can wait too long to try to stop a police state. You stop a police state by defending and freeing its first victims. . . ."

Community Rallies

Around this rallying cry, black and white people in Louisville began to organize to free Kuyu, Hawkins, and Cortez and to return the community to sanity.

The next weekend, June 8, a protest rally in the black community drew about 350 militant black people and about 100 white activists. Speakers included spokesmen for BULK, SNCC, the Muslims, and other black organizations, and for SCEF and WEST and predominantly white groups.

Whether we can successfully beat back the police state in Louisville remains to be seen. But in the effort, we are creating a level of black-white unity we have not had before.

A few years ago some of us who are white had dreams of creating in the West End of Louisville a sort of model community — where black and white would work together to the mutual benefit of all. We formed an organization, the West End Community Council, to try to bring this about.

Today, as I ride through the area and see burned buildings, boarded store windows, and glass-littered streets—silent documentation of the recent disorders—I see how miserably we have failed.

It is easy to see now that we were naive to think we could build a model interracial community surrounded by a racist city and racist society. Certainly we know now what we perhaps sensed all along—that before we can build the kind of neighborhoods we want to live in, we must make some very basic changes in our society.

Meantime—if we are to have the time and freedom to do that—there is the immediate task: the holding off of a police state. That is where the battle-lines are drawn in Louisville right now—and perhaps throughout the country.

LOUISVILLE TRAGEDY

A Louisville photographer risked his life and got his camera smashed while taking these pictures during the rebellion in that city at the end of May. At right is speaker and crowd at street-corner rally the night the uprising began. Below, young men raise the flag of the black-power movement. Center photo is of one of score of black people who were shot, including two who died. The photographer says photo at center right is of National Guardsman climbing into bushes to snipe at people. Other photos tell their own story.



photos by
JAY THOMAS



The Continuing Struggle

Effects of Kennedy's Death

By JACK MINNIS
(SCEF Research Director)

Bobby Kennedy is dead. And with his death dies too, probably, the last clear chance for the U.S. system of capitalism to prolong its existence with a minimum of turmoil. Bobby was following in the footsteps of his brother John F. who, in turn, was following in the footsteps of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Their mission was to prolong the life of western capitalism. FDR's patchwork of reform, aided immeasurably by the economic stimulus of World War II, has run its course.

If a coalition of the same type that backed FDR cannot now be put together behind a similar type of politician, those who rule the U.S. will have to resort to ever more oppressive means to maintain themselves in power. Bobby was that type.

He had the style, the wit, the personality—in short, the "front"—to captivate and make a coalition of the majority of those elements in the U.S. who constitute the principal impetus for basic change.

His attractiveness for young people was clear. The Kennedy name is much revered in the black communities. A large segment of organized labor was behind him—the most militant segment of a largely non-militant group. And he had support among those elements of the governing class who realized the necessity for some surface changes in order to preserve the basic system.

There is not now visible another politician who can fill the bill. Eugene McCarthy is a tired cynic who cannot possibly be nominated. Humphrey has all the style, wit, and personality of a damp cigar butt. He inspires none but the venal. The only possible replacement for Bobby is John Lindsay. He probably could do the job, but the Republican nabobs are too blind to their own best interest to give him the chance.

So we can expect that no coalition will develop behind a romantic figure. In other words, the system has reached a point where it is incapable of resolving its political contradictions for another brief respite.

The political and economic ignorance which the system has, institutionally, had to inculcate in the people is coming home to roost. The contradiction between what the U.S. said, through its institutions, that it was, and what it really has been and is, has required that there be an ever-widening gap between the political reality of the U.S. and the political myths the people are taught.

The gap has now reached a width which puts severe strain on the credibility of the myths, for some elements of the society. For other elements, the gap simply means that they react to problematical circumstances in ways that bear no relation whatever to the reality of the problems.

Politically, they are living in a world of myths. They think they see a reality which does not actually exist. Consequently,

Instead of writing their regular column this month, the Bradens have contributed an analysis of the Louisville outbreak. It appears on pages 1 and 4.

when they act politically they are like the man dying of thirst in the desert who tries to drink the mirage. Political action only produces increased frustration for them, because it bears no relation to, and thus cannot be effective on, the real problems which beset them.

Unfortunately for all of us, this latter element makes up the vast majority of people in the country. And it includes a majority of those who govern, as well as those who are governed.

Those of us who think we see the political reality of the U.S. and the world today, and who think we see what needs to be done, share a considerable historical responsibility. And it comes upon us sooner than we might have expected. Had Bobby lived and performed his political function, we'd have had more time to prepare. But now we haven't.

We must now build our political base. We must build it of those who question the political myths, all of those among the governed whose experience can teach them the unreality of the reality they think they see.

The task is monumental. The time is short and we are ill-prepared. We have two choices. We can try. Or we can secede from history and from humanity and crawl away to lick the wounds we'd have received if we had had the guts to fight.

New Orleans, La:

Brown's 'Crime' and Punishment

By MIKE HIGSON
(Staff Correspondent)

NEW ORLEANS, La.—The trial of H. Rap Brown, resulting in his conviction on one of two gun-carrying charges, was a Government set-piece in which the Government and press tried to hide the fact that it was a political trial.

The charges were not significant in themselves. Carrying a gun is not an offense. However, carrying a gun across state lines while under indictment for a felony, violates a 1938 Federal law. This was Brown's "crime".

One charge is equally as good as another if the intention is to harass an organization to the point where it can longer function. If it can be done legally, through the courts, so much the better.

Brown, who succeeded Stokely Carmichael as chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in May, 1967, became a celebrity after the Cambridge, Md. insurrection last July. He has spent the last 11 months in jail, under house arrest (confined by court order to certain areas of New York), or under constant surveillance.

Since last summer the police and courts, acting either independently or in concert with the Government, have searched SNCC offices in several cities, and jailed a good many members of SNCC's



By JOE MULLOY

(Joe Mulloy has been organizing in Eastern Kentucky for the last three years—first as a field supervisor for the Appalachian Volunteers, now on SCEF's staff.)

One of the recurring problems in training and working with organizers is the question of honesty. For some reason, many organizers — particularly those in the white community — feel that the only issues they can talk about are those rising directly out of the local community.

They think that no matter how the organizer feels personally about the war in Vietnam or the insurrections in our cities, he will be violating some sacred principle of organizing if he initiates discussion or action on one of these issues.

The organizer may justify his silence by statements like these: "The folks aren't ready for that yet," "the war is not an issue here," or "these people are extremely patriotic and racist so they won't understand."

The organizer, in short, is being dishonest with people by hiding his own opinions (this denies his own humanity) and, even worse, making decisions for the people by claiming they aren't ready yet. This shows a very low opinion of the maturity of the people.

A basic principle of organizing

Organizers' Forum

Honesty in Organizing

Challenge in the White Community

is trust. There must be trust between one who seeks to organize and the people to be organized. The only way to build this trust is to be honest. If an organizer is unable or unwilling to take the same risk that he is trying to organize the people to take, his efforts will fail completely. When the people sense that unwillingness — and they will — they will turn away from that organizer. And rightly so.

Let me give you an example. Organizing against strip mining in Eastern Kentucky can be a deadly struggle, as the events of the last year have shown. People have been killed and people have gone to jail.

Last summer, during a confrontation between the people and the bulldozers, the sheriff came up the hill to arrest us for violating a court injunction. But one of the organizers of our struggle—who had been effective up until then—was unwilling to risk arrest. When he heard the sheriff coming he disappeared into the trees and hid, coming out only after the sheriff had left.

It didn't make any difference

that the sheriff only threatened us and didn't make any arrests. The fact was established that this organizer wanted us to do something he was unwilling to do himself. His credibility was destroyed and he was never again effective with that group of people.

A situation arose last summer when a group of people from the small black community wanted to use a swimming pool previously used only by whites. One of the white organizers felt that this attempt would alienate poor whites he was working with. So he cooled out the black group and transferred the young black organizer to another county.

Thus, in an attempt to secure a base for himself the whites were held secure in their racist attitude, if indeed they had one, and the blacks continued to swim in the river.

The point is, if the poor are going to improve their condition it's going to have to be by black, red, brown and white people working together to defeat the Man. Anytime whites are kept from getting together with their black brothers, or aren't even allowed the chance to decide for themselves if they want to get together, it is ten steps backward for the movement and cement for the cracking walls of the power structure.

Organizers must remember that they are people, too, and that to be accepted they must be themselves. It is a valuable thing for the organizer to express himself and to be open about his feelings and opinions to the people he is working with. This does not mean that he forces or manipulates people to his point of view, but that he merely shares with others the fact that he is a human being.

It is an undisputed fact now, of course, that the war is an issue in the Appalachian mountains. The area has one of the highest draft quotas in the country. The poverty-war workers who have occupational deferments and are against the war but who refuse to make information—just plain information—on the draft available to the people they're working with, are the most hypocritical of the dishonest organizers.

I feel that one reason why this dishonest situation exists is that many of the organizers are unsure of their own ideas and beliefs. Until they are sure, they have no business trying to organize.

Organizers must face themselves primarily with the question of honesty, both to themselves and to the people they work with.



Photos by Bill Price

tors were building their case less than a day after he flew to New Orleans on August 16.

The jury finally chosen was made up of nine women and three men. There were nine white people and three black people.

In his final summation, Kunstler clearly spoke to the white jurors when he said they should judge Brown "like any other person, regardless of whether you like him or not. If you don't give him the same treatment as you would a White man, then Black people are going to have to assume that there's no justice for them in the courts. Your decision will have an effect on the history of this country".

The Jury took eight hours to digest this and other material before finding Brown innocent on one indictment, and guilty on the other.

Other Charges

Brown was freed under \$15,000 bond while his sentence is appealed. It may be a long time before he gets out of the courts. The government, if it chooses, can try him on a charge of intimidating an FBI agent. There are the Maryland indictments, and if a politically ambitious Louisiana sheriff has his way, an indictment from that state.

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

Report from Resurrection City

(Editor's note: SCEF staff members Joe and Karen Mulloy travelled to Resurrection City with a contingent of poor people from Eastern Kentucky, where they work. Here are their impressions—some written by Joe, some by Karen.)

About 175 Appalachians, 40 per cent of them black, boarded four buses and eight cars to make the all-night drive to Washington. I left a day earlier, to act as an advance man . . . I spent the first night at the Highlander tent, talking to some of the people from JOIN and Highlander Center. We discussed the charges of black racism and agreed that such talk was to be expected in this situation, and was working itself out. The poor of this country had never really got together before, much less tried to live together. So naturally there was some friction. While there were a few incidents, the press overplayed them all . . .

The night the Appalachian group arrived, we had a joint meeting and rally with Hispanics from the Southwest. It started off with an extremely militant speech by a young black guy from D.C., which scared everyone stiff. Then I thought, well, that's why we're up here—for exposure. But at the end of his talk he held out his hand and said he'd try to understand us if we tried to understand him, and that we both needed to work together.

By the end of Father Groppi's very moving speech everyone was amening and yelling "soul power," including the Appalachians. There was lots of good singing afterwards. Jim Overdorf of Mercer County, W. Va., introduced me and my arrest record. Reies Tijerina, Hispano leader from New Mexico, perked up when he heard "sedition."



Maudlin in The Chicago Sun-Times

One of the most impressive and memorable events occurred when a Hispano woman got up and told a long story in Spanish. None of us Appalachians could understand the language, but her message was coming through perfectly. From the expressions on her face, the movements of her hands and the swaying of her body we all shared in the universal language of brotherhood . . .

Women from the mountains who had left their children at home and were lonesome for them would play with the Indian children—and talk to their mothers while they were doing that. They got to know the Indian women as mothers and individuals and part of an ethnic group.

There were many problems in Resurrection City—but one of the beautiful things was the effort by most people to really make it a city of love. In crowds, people didn't shove. They said, "Excuse me, sister," and really meant it . . .

Saturday morning our group broke into six smaller groups to write up demands to present to Sen. Robert Byrd of West Virginia. The discussions were good and lively and some of the demands were most militant.

While we were discussing what demands to make on Senator Byrd one white woman started talking about her problems and then she started to cry. She is a widow on welfare, with eight kids. They had just cut her check by \$100, and if she takes a part-time job they will cut it still further, by whatever she makes. She was sick, and by the last day her problems were so great that she just broke down and cried.

The people in her group offered consolation and they made their demands on Byrd very strong, for they would not let her down. It was one of the few times I have seen a group of whites and blacks want to protect somebody as much as they wanted to protect her. The lesson—that they could not really help that woman until they changed the system—came across very clearly.

We boarded buses for North Arlington, Va., where Byrd lives. Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, Hispano leader in Colorado, and 20 of his people went with us. The demonstration went perfectly. It was meant to show the country that the people of the mountains are not racists like Senator Byrd. About 150 of us chanted and marched and said things like "Put Byrd in a Cage," "We want to live in a house like Byrd's," and "House for Rent!" A neighboring family set up a stand of ice water for us, with a sign saying "Welcome."

When the Appalachians finished giving their cheers and chants, the Hispanics would shout: "Viva Zapata," and everyone—I mean everyone—would answer in a loud chorus, "Viva Zapata." Then "Viva Juarez," then just "Viva." We were learning a new culture, a similar oppression, and we were one. It was grand.

We talked to people on the buses on the way home and most were very fired up. They had the feeling of belonging to something larger, and being supported by other poor people.



POOR WHITE AND BLACK people from across Appalachia attended Charleston meeting to protest racism and poverty (Patriot photo by Suzanne Crowell).

Appalachian Meeting Attracts 600 Poor

(By Staff Correspondent)

CHARLESTON, W. Va.—A historic meeting of 600 black and white Appalachians was held here May 25 to talk about local problems and the Poor People's Campaign in Washington.

The meeting was organized by the Community Action Federation, aided by SCEF and the Appalachian Volunteers (AVs). Those taking part attacked racism and urged all poor people to unite to win control over their own lives.

They heard a stirring speech by the Rev. Andrew Young on the aims of the Poor People's Campaign. Young is executive vice-president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), main sponsor of the Washington march.

Two hundred Appalachians, 40 per cent of them black, signed up to go to Washington over Memorial Day, which they did. (Details of the trip on pages 1 and 8.)

Welfare Protest

A highlight of the meeting was the appearance of three welfare recipients who were then camping on the lawn of the State Capitol.

The campers, two white and one black, were protesting allotments they are getting from the welfare system. The Welfare Department decides what a poor person needs to live on, and then allots him 65 per cent of that.

One of the campers, Clifford Atcheley, Whitman, W. Va., told the meeting: "We poor got to stick together. We need poor power."

Another camper, Billy Ray Fleming, laid much of the blame for West Virginia's "stolen resources and starvation" on the "great companies which control this state." He called for welfare benefits equal to 100 per cent of need and for a minimum income for all unable to work.

Later, about 300 of the poor people marched two miles to the Capitol, blocking traffic on Kanawha Boulevard on the way, to show their support for the campers. They watched as Atcheley tacked a sign on a tree on the governor's lawn. It read: "Do-Nothing Hill."

(The three men ended their vigil June 2, when Gov. Hulett Smith promised them he would call a special session of the legislature to consider their demands. Since then, one man has been thrown off welfare, and attempts are being made to cut another. The special session has not been called.)

Young's Speech

The talk by Young was greeted with great enthusiasm. At the end he received a standing ovation. He told the crowd:

"Some of our staff people said there were people down here interested in the same things we were. Well, I scratched my head and listened, but didn't believe it. And this is the tragedy of the South—that we are so long in getting together.

"The rich go to Washington to get welfare; they call it subsidies, parity, oil-depletion allowances . . . We have socialism for the rich and free enterprise for the poor.

"They've got my money there (in Washington) and I don't like what they are doing with it. Know what they are doing with it? They're blowing it up. There is something wrong with a country that spends one half of what it makes on death and destruction and so little on life and development."

A recurring theme was that the Poor People's Campaign was the last nonviolent effort that these people would make in their efforts to get their rights.

Not that they were about to pick up guns, but if the campaign failed they had little hope of success by using nonviolent direct action.

Many would do more in politics, many were doing much already, but further appeals to the conscience of America would be out of the question if the P.P.C. failed.

Robert Fulcher of Bluefield, W. Va., who presided, said: "The leaders of this country want us to riot so they can shoot us down." He noted demands that the National Guard patrol Washington during the P.P.C.

Cliston "Click" Johnson of Partridge, Ky., leader of the delegation from his state, said: "If we don't get what we want in Washington, we will have some community action that will make the Communist Party look like a Headstart program."

Crooked Election in Mingo County

Poll Watchers Attacked

By SUZANNE CROWELL
(Staff Correspondent)

WILLIAMSBURG, W. Va.—Primary elections were held here on May 14 under the watchful eye of the Mingo County Fair Elections Committee (FEC). Intimidation and threats of violence against observers began as soon as the polls opened.

The FEC says it has evidence of massive illegality, ranging from leafletting inside the 60-foot limit to buying and selling votes.

At Sprigg precinct, a constable ripped a camera from an observer who was photographing illegal activity within the 60-foot limit. Another observer with camera was threatened and struck by a law officer at the Courthouse polls.

When the polls were closed, 50 people were left in line at Devon precinct. They claimed that many of them had been in line all afternoon, and that bought votes were placed in a line ahead of them.

At Varney precinct, the totals were held up several hours while unauthorized persons were in the polling place. All the votes are cast by machine, and FEC chairman James Washington suspected officials of adding votes after the polls closed.

West Virginia's Secretary of State subpoenaed the primary election records the day after the election took place. He was reacting to pressure from the FEC and the Charleston Gazette during the last six months.

The customary canvass began after the subpoena was received by the county clerk. One reform candidate for sheriff picked up at least 900 votes in the recount. Books for one precinct were missing and later found in the back of a car.

The FEC began a massive campaign to gather evidence in affidavits after the election ended. They had asked for FBI agents to be on hand to investigate complaints, but the Justice Depart-

ment said it was unable to supply them. Instead, the Department asked the people to gather their own evidence—and said it would prosecute if a case could be made.

County Court Clerk Thomas Chafin faces ouster proceedings because he refused to allow FEC members to inspect the voting rolls, preventing them from exercising their legal rights. His mother, reportedly long dead, is still registered to vote. (See April Patriot).

Citizens of Mingo County have also brought ouster proceedings against four other officials.

Sheriff Steve Adkins and county court commissioners W. A. Meyers, Sr., C. J. Hamilton and Harry Artis were charged with "official misconduct, malfeasance, incompetence, neglect of duty and gross immorality." Specifically, the charges involve frauds and kickbacks with federal funds.

Chafin and Meyers are seeking reelection and Artis is running for sheriff.