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Black Students Head Boycott At New Orleans High School

By MIKE HIGSON
(Staff Correspondent)

NEW ORLEANS, La.—There is only one reference to black students in the triennial report (1965-1968) published this month by the Orleans Parish School Board. It reads as follows: "The 1967-68 school year saw the final stages of desegregation of the school system (emphasis) which had its beginnings in 1960. With that difficult task accomplished, everyone can now devote more intensified attention to the basic goal of educational excellence for everyone."

That claim appears over the signature of Dr. Carl J. Dolci, Superintendent of Schools. Dolci has been very much in the news recently for his handling of a student rebellion, largely black and led by blacks, at a formerly all-white school in uptown New Orleans.

The school is Fortier High. Black students there rebelled against discrimination and lack of desegregation within the school's institutions. In so doing they raised, possibly for the first time in an 'integrated' high school in the Deep South, the paramount issues which black students and other minority students have been projecting on a national scale.

The Fortier students are aided by some white groups, including the members of SDS (which is banned by the school administration). They demanded recognition of a Black Student Union, inclusion of African and Afro-American history in history courses, elimination of classroom discrimination, and more black administration and faculty.

Official reaction to these demands helped, more than anything else, to publicize them in a city whose student population



FORTIER STUDENTS MARCH outside the school in support of black demands (photos by Mike Higson).

Militant Black Organization Emerges in St. Petersburg

By SUZANNE CHOWELL

(Staff Correspondent)
ST. PETERSBURG, Fla.—In May of 1968, over 200 black garbagemen in St. Petersburg stopped work. Three weeks later, the city had resumed normal garbage collection. By Labor Day, the strike was "settled"; there was a wage increase, but the garbagemen were rehired without seniority, as vacancies occurred.

The summer between the walkout and the settlement saw the failure of the city government, the business community and the liberals to come to grips with the situation.

It also saw a stockpile of anti-riot equipment put into use during four nights of violence in the ghetto, and the rise of a new black group—JOMO, the Junta of Militant Organizations.

While JOMO might have gained prominence in any case, the failure of the strike gave it a context in which to work. Its insistence that traditional methods could not work gained considerable credence in the wake of the strike.

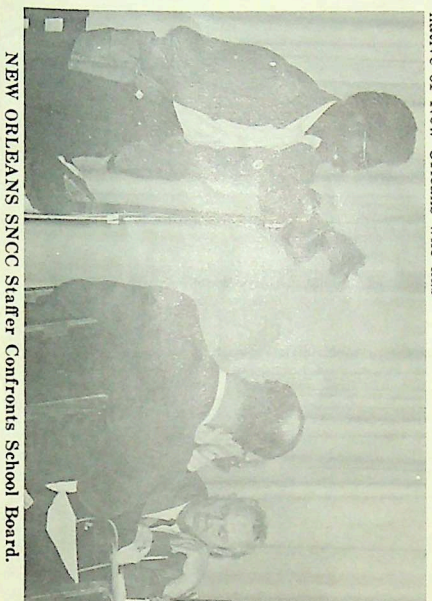
The black militants who make up JOMO stress unity. Their program is uncomplicated. For example, Zeke Kevyata, the current prime minister, said "JOMO has no position on violence. Our position is on freedom, by any means necessary."

Black history and other classes are held in a neighborhood Catholic school at night.

JOMO also runs a community blood bank in a St. Petersburg hospital. The blood bank eliminates red tape, since the patient does not have to pay for blood or guarantee its replacement before getting a transfusion. And it helps to build unity, since without community support it could not exist.

The police have stepped up harassment of the black community in general and JOMO in particular since the garbage strike. JOMO members are arrested constantly for such things as disorderly conduct, vagrancy, night prowling (in broad daylight) and verbal abuse of a police officer (calling one a "pig").

Younger blacks are questioned about what JOMO leaders think and where they get their money. Joe Waller has been singled out for special treatment.



NEW ORLEANS SNCC Staffer Confronts School Board.

been in the teaching business for 30 years. Schwartz declared there was no discrimination at his school. With that on public record, T.V. viewers later heard a Fortier teacher say that he knew of "five overt racists on the faculty." He proceeded to name one of them.

Schwartz refused to even read a petition signed by about two-thirds of the 400 black students at Fortier.

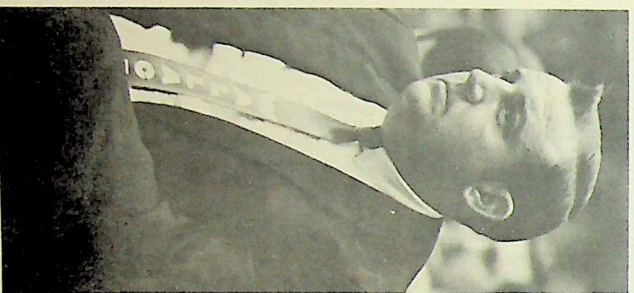
Wallace Forces Seek to Rebuild

DALLAS, Tex. — Approximately 250 delegates and big-named people, calling themselves the Association of Wallace Voters, met here to chart the future course of the fledgling American Independent Party.

Two things emerged from the meeting that may have importance. (1) The Wallace people do not intend to allow their efforts to be buried with the 1968 elections but vow to continue. (2) In 1968 Wallace had an organization, rather than a political party and it was built at the top. This meeting, which included representatives from 45 states, announced plans to build a "grass roots movement" which they hope to develop into a confederacy of independent state parties.

Wallace himself did not attend but two of his principal advisers, Tom Tunniheed and Bill Jones, both of Montgomery, Ala., did. A list of names for an advisory committee included some of the top right-wingers in the country, notably Jim Johnson of Arkansas and Kent Courtney of New Orleans, chairman of the Conservative Society of America.

Bob Walters, head of the Group, said that three U.S. con-



(photo by T. N. DeBall)

gressmen will soon join the crusade. "Three congressmen have given us definite commitments and we are working on 16 more," he said.

"You're going to find increasing number of politicians who will bolt their parties after we show increasing strength," he said.

The Association of Wallace Voters said it would encourage states to field a full slate of candidates in 1970 in preparation for the 1972 presidential race.

Dan Smoot, a former FBI man, urged the party to dedicate itself "to the restoration of constitutional government."

Some of the things that must be done to accomplish this, Smoot said is to work for the abolition of most federal welfare programs, including Social Security, aid to schools, and welfare to the elderly.

A snake doesn't die; it hibernates, gathers strength, and crawls again another day.

17-Year-Old Girl

Sentenced to Die In North Carolina

ROCKY MOUNT, N.C.—Marie Hill, a 17-year-old black girl, is under sentence of death on charges of murdering a white merchant during a robbery last October.

Her execution was scheduled for January 3, but she has been granted a 75-day stay of execution.

The all-male jury, which included four Negroes, was out for less than an hour. They failed to recommend mercy, which would have automatically made the sentence life imprisonment.

The United Church of Christ Committee for Racial Justice is organizing a defense committee for Miss Hill and three other girls charged in the case. A spokesman said: "We look on that as being awful swift justice. Most states which still have capital punishment tend to allow at least one year in case further evidence comes up."

The entire student body of Shaw University in Raleigh has pledged to help fight the case.

Donations may be sent to the Defense Committee for the Charles W. Mount Four, c/o the Rev. Charles W. Samuels, P.O. Box 167, Monroe, N.C. 27559. A more complete story on the case will be in the next issue of the Patriot.

Police in Kentucky Town Harass Students, Ignore Vice

(By Staff Correspondent)

BOWLING GREEN, Ky. — Bowling Green is notorious across Kentucky for prostitution and gambling. But police here are concentrating their efforts on harassing students at Western State University.

Last February, right after the Kentucky Conference on the War and the Draft, police took students in for questioning in the middle of the night. They did the same thing in October, before the elections.

The questions are about the activities, ideas and social life of other students and some teachers. Many students are not aware that they do not have to go with the police (who wait for them in apartments and dormitories). The university apparently goes along with these tactics.

Students know that they are being followed, and that their apartments are watched. They also suspect that their phones are tapped. The police say they are looking for drugs; but the students think it's what they think, and how they dress, that has caused the harassment.

One girl's experience is typical. She came home to find police in her living room. They

threatened to tell her parents she took LSD. They said they knew all about her—and recited where she had been recently, and what she had worn.

They offered to leave her alone if she would cooperate. She refused. Later, she told her father herself, and he complained to the police. The harassment stopped.

A more common result, however, is that students are afraid to do anything, and sometimes suspect each other of being informers. Yet, in spite of the fear, there are signs of movement in Bowling Green.

Black students have won some changes by merely hinting at their complaints. People who were active in the campaign to nominate a Democratic peace candidate won one-third of the seats on the Warren County Democratic Committee in December. Black and white students are starting a new newspaper, to open the campus up to new ideas. One student says it will "be a nucleus for getting people together."

Still, scars of the recent police campaign remain, and there is no assurance that it won't be revived.

The Month in Review

LOUISVILLE, Ky. — State and federal officials have worked together for nine months to keep James R. Cortez in jail without trial and under high bond. At times his bail was as high as \$75,000.

At the end of January he finally got a trial on two charges of cashing worthless money orders, for \$35 and \$85. The judge stopped the trial and fled away the charges after hearing a part of the evidence. He said there were defects in the checks.

However, Cortez was returned to jail because he is unable to post bail on two federal charges. He also faces trial as one of six black leaders accused of conspiring to destroy property during a ghetto uprising in Louisville last May and June.

It also plans to replace John F. O'Leary, who was the key government official supporting the new regulations, during the four months he was in office. O'Leary particularly irritated the coal industry by ordering unannounced mine inspections, in accordance with existing law.

He reminded his department that 42 miners have died in accidents since the Farmington, W. Va. disaster. In the month of December, O'Leary closed more than 200 mines temporarily as unsafe. In the previous 10 months, only 129 mines were closed.

SWAN QUARTER, N.C. — Hyde County parents are protesting that the county's segregated schools be reopened "for the sake of the children," until a plan for integration can be worked out.

About 800 black children have not been to school since last summer. They are boycotting Matamoraskeet, the centrally located all-white school to which they were transferred when the school board closed two black schools in compliance with desegregation rulings (see January *Patriot*).

More than 100 children were arrested in November, when demonstrations in Hyde County reached their peak. Some 21 mothers were arrested for contempt in January for staging demonstrations in the courtroom as those cases came to trial, and for refusing to stand as the judge entered and left. A march from Swan Quarter to Raleigh, the state capital, took place in mid-February.

Seventeen elementary school children in Martinsville, Va. staged a sleep-in at their school to protest their transfer to a predominantly white school six miles away. They ranged from seven to 13 years old.

Their parents said: "The children integrated this school three years ago, and they shouldn't have to integrate another."

WASHINGTON, D.C. — The United States Court of Military Appeals has denied army Capt. Howard B. Levy's appeal of his conviction for refusing to train Vietnam-bound soldiers. Levy, 30, has been in jail since he was

sentenced in June of 1967 to three years at hard labor. His next appeal would be to the U.S. Supreme Court.

HATTIESBURG, Miss. — A third man has been convicted of murder and sentenced to life imprisonment in the 1966 fire-bombing death of Vernon Dahmer, a black leader here. Charles Wilson, 36, had been chosen as the Junior Chamber of Commerce's Man of the Year in Laurel, Miss., a few days before the attack on Mr. Dahmer's home.

WASHINGTON, D.C. — The U.S. Supreme Court has agreed to hear the case of Raymond Duvernay, who was sentenced to five years in prison for refusing the draft. Duvernay, a black man, charged that his draft board was discriminatory. His attorneys revealed that the chairman of his New Orleans draft board was a King Kliegel of the United Klans of America.

Duvernay is represented by Atty. Ben Smith of New Orleans, a SCEF board member.

SYLVESTER, Ga. — Dorothy Young, a 14-year-old black girl, has been held since early December in a juvenile detention center. A state court denied her plea for release and gave her an indefinite sentence on February 4.

She and her sister Yvonne, 11, were arrested after a scuffle on a school bus, and held in custody for four days before their parents were able to see them. (Their parents are leaders in the school desegregation drive in Worth County.)

Formal charges are that she is "in a stage of delinquency" because she is alleged to have used profanity during the school bus incident.

The case touched off a storm of protest in Worth County. A number of students and townspeople have been jailed in continuing demonstrations.

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — Alabama Klan leader Robert Shelton is serving a one-year sentence for contempt of Congress. He was convicted in 1966 after refusing to turn over Klan records to the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAAC).

JACKSON, Miss. — A three-judge federal court has ruled that Mississippi's program of financial aid to private school pupils is unconstitutional because it encourages segregation. The court held that the five-year program has "fostered the creation of private segregated schools . . . as an alternative for white students seeking to avoid desegregated public schools." Similar tuition programs in other Southern states have already been ruled out by other courts.

DURHAM, N.C. — Police used tear gas to disperse hundreds of student demonstrators after 30 black students occupied Duke University's administration building. They were pressing for adoption of 13 demands, including the establishment of a black-studies department. A week of demonstrations was followed by an announcement from Duke officials that the dispute was settled—although an official said the protesters "didn't win any concessions."

Two Books About Slavery

One of the most effective ways to write a story is to have the participants tell it in their own words. This provides the strength and beauty of two recent books, one of them a re-issue.

"To Be A Slave," by Julius Lester, is a collection of memories of former slaves, ranging from capture in Africa to plantation life in the South. Lester went through thousands of pages of manuscripts gathered under the Federal Writers' Project in the 1930's, and culled material from other archives in England and the U.S.A.

Publisher Dial Press, 750 Third Ave., New York 10017; 156 pages and bibliography; \$3.95. The book is illustrated by Tom Pelings.

"The Long Black Schooner," by Emma Gelders Sterne, was first published in 1953. The new edition was illustrated by Paul Giovanopoulos. The book is subtitled "The Voyage of the Amistad," a ship which was seized by a boatload of Africans destined for slavery. The fugitives landed the ship in Connecticut in 1839 and eventually gained their freedom through a historic decision of the U.S. Supreme Court.

Mrs. Sterne uses newspapers and court records of that period to re-create the struggle of the captives, often in their own words. The book provides a lesson in how unity of black and white people can bring freedom.

Issued by Follett Publishing Co., Chicago, Ill.; 192 pages; \$3.95. The book is listed as being for "ages 10 and up," but older people often miss a lot of good reading by passing up books supposed to be just for young people.—OB

Books Received
Anatomy of Anti-Communism, a report prepared for the Peace Education Division of the American Friends Service Committee,

by James E. Bristol, Holland Hunter, James H. Laird, Sidney Lens, Milton Mayer, Robert E. Reunan, Athan Theoharis, and Bryant Wedge. Published by Hill & Wang, New York; 133 pages and bibliography; hard cover, \$4.50; paperback, \$1.50.

The American Serfs, a report on poverty in the rural South, by Paul Good. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, 200 Madison Ave., New York 10016; 186 pages and a bibliography; \$4.95.

Poverty: America's Enduring Paradox, a history of the richest nation's unwon war, from 1607 to the present, by Sidney Lens, author of Radicalism in America. Published by Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 201 Park Ave. South, New York, 10003; 320 pages plus selected bibliography and index; \$8.95.

Guide to the Draft, by Arlo Tatum and Joseph R. Tuchinsky. A comprehensive work on the Selective Service System, a young man's rights under it, and how to use them. Beacon Press, 25 Beacon St., Boston; 267 pages and appendix; hard cover, \$5.95; paperback, \$1.95.

Oscola, Seminole War Chief, by Wyatt Bissingham, illustrated by Al Fiorentino. The story of a brave and intelligent man who led the longest Indian fight against the United States—a battle which still goes on in Florida. Grades 2 to 5, Garrard Publishing Co., 1607 N. Market, Champaign, Ill.; 80 pages; \$2.19 paperback.

Harriet Tubman, Guide to Freedom, by Sam and Beryl Epstein, illustrated by Paul Frame.

A colorful biography of the famous abolitionist for grades 3 to 6. Garrard Publishing Co., 1607 N. Market, Champaign, Ill.; 96 pages; \$2.39.

William C. Handy, Father of the Blues, by Elizabeth Rider Montgomery, illustrated by David Hodges. About a black man who made an important contribution to American culture. For grades 3 to 6. Garrard Publishing Co., 1607 N. Market, Champaign, Ill.; 96 pages, \$2.39.

"The Invention of the Negro," an excellent work on how myths and lies are planted in the human mind, will appear in paperback next month. Earl Conrad shows how the white rulers invented second-class citizenship as a means of making more money from the slave trade, slavery, and the wage system which replaced it. Published by Hill & Wang, 72 Fifth Ave., New York 10011; \$1.95.

The Southern Patriot

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

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Eastern Representatives: Jane McClahan and Sandra Rosenblum.

March, 1969

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Durham's ACT—A Voice of the Southern Poor

By ANNE BRADEN

DURHAM, N.C.—The street on which Mrs. Basie Hicks lives is a dirt one. It is very narrow and, in wet weather, very muddy.

But at each end of the short one-block street there are now signs. The signs make the street one-way.

"We've been trying to get the city to one-way this street for a long time," Mrs. Hicks recalls. "But a few years ago when we went to City Hall, they didn't pay us any mind. This time we had lots of people with us; that's what made the difference."

Those street signs, which might seem like small things to the outside observer, are very important in the lives of Mrs. Hicks and her family. The signs mark, for them, the beginning of something they never had before: organization and power.

Mrs. Hicks is white. Her husband, Doug, works in a cotton mill and moon-

(The playground is known as Patlock Park, named for Matlock and a neighborhood girl who helped build it, Pat Harrington.)

"People in the neighborhood have begun to do what I call come out of their shells and reunite with each other," Matlock says.

Another ACT organizer is Mrs. Shirley Sherron. She grew up in a cotton-mill community, has five children ranging from 15 years to two months, has worked in laundries, stores, and hospitals, and has often had to go on welfare.

A few years ago, Mrs. Sherron and her father co-signed a note on a loan for a man who later went to prison. When the loan company was threatening to take all their worldly goods, someone told her about ACT. The ACT people helped get the loan company off her back, and she began to find out about organization.

"Always before I had thought I was the only one who had problems and that something was wrong with me," she says. "But then I began going to meetings and finding out that many people have the same problems. If we work together maybe we can do something about them."

The sparkplugs of ACT have been two young men who are products of the civil rights and student movements, Harry C. Boyte, and Dick Landerman. Both were formerly students at Duke; Landerman worked for a while with SNCC in Mississippi; Boyte was chairman of CORE at Duke and a founder of the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC).

As with many other white people who joined the black liberation movement, the upsurge of black Southerners led Boyte and Landerman to examine the core structure of the society. Like many others, they soon saw that poor white people as well as poor black people had no power and needed to organize. They began going into Durham's poor white neighborhoods to try to organize in 1966.

It was federal poverty money that made ACT immediately possible. Durham has a highly developed poverty program called Operation Breakthrough. Until a few years ago, it operated almost entirely in black neighborhoods.

Boyte and Landerman persuaded some of the poverty officials that they should also be organizing in poor white neighborhoods. Lawrence Kelly, a white man on the Breakthrough staff, became especially interested. He and Boyte and Landerman set up a project, known technically as Experiment in Parallel

Organization (EPO). In 1968, EPO got a \$90,000 federal grant and was able to hire full-time organizers; it now has 13. ACT grew out of EPO, but has its own independent identity and is run, its leaders say, by the people in the neighborhoods.

The federal money, ACT people agree, is a mixed blessing. It has made possible quicker organization because some of the people formerly working as volunteers—like Mrs. Hicks, Mr. Matlock, Mrs. Sherron—can now work as full-time organizers.

But there are limits to how independent any federally financed project can be, and with the uncertain future of the poverty program, no one is sure how long it will last. However, Boyte, Landerman and Kelly all believe that ACT is now such a going thing that it will continue and grow—with or without federal money.

Basic to the ACT theory of organization is the belief that poor and working white Southerners have remained unorganized mainly because of a feeling of hopelessness and lack of power. Hence, ACT's emphasis on beginning with small issues—street signs, neighborhood recreation, getting a polluted sewer cleaned up, etc.—things in which victory and a new sense of strength are possible.

From there, the idea is that ACT will move on to bigger city-wide issues: schools, recreation programs controlled by the people, housing, tax structures, etc.

Durham is a city owned by absentee cotton and tobacco interests and by Duke University. It is controlled locally, people say, by merchants and real estate interests. Its population is about 100,000, somewhere between 30 and 40 per cent black. More than one-fourth of the families in Durham have incomes of less than \$3,000 a year; it is estimated that close to 50 per cent of these families are white.

It is obvious that any real attack on basic problems will have to involve a coalition of black and white. Is this possible?

ACT organizers don't start out by talking about coalition; some people organizing in white communities elsewhere think they should. But the ACT people feel that white people need to have their own sense of organization and power first. What they do stress always is that they are fighting the power structure—and not any other movement of powerless people, black, student, or whatever. Actually what seems to be happening is that some moves toward coal-



Basie Hicks
"Some day . . . when everybody sees there's something in it for him, I think the colored and white will stand together"

tion come more quickly than is expected. For example, in the Edgemont neighborhood where Mrs. Hicks lives and works, there has been a high degree of black-white tension in recent years. This was originally an all-white area; it is now 40 per cent black and whites have felt threatened.

But since the organization of the ACT neighborhood councils, white children have started attending the previously all-black pre-school program at the community center (not because anyone talked about integration but because the parents decided their children needed the program); and both whites and blacks are now using a neighborhood clinic formerly visited only by blacks.

"You see," explains Mrs. Hicks, "the colored people already had something to stand up for them. Now with ACT the white people have something too. People around here didn't like Breakthrough because they see it as just for the colored. But whether our people want to admit it or not, we're taking a lesson from Breakthrough. Someday—I don't know when—when everybody sees there's something in it for him, I think the colored and white will stand together."

But if white people reach that point, will black people also see the need for coalition? No one knows for sure. Howard Fuller, militant black leader who directed the organization of neighborhood councils in Durham's poor black community under the poverty program, approves of ACT in theory. In fact he helped it get started, and he has confidence in Boyte and Landerman. ("They're not like the young white liberals," he says. "They don't talk about integration.") But, like many militant black people, he is reluctantly skeptical about organization of poor white people.

"Sure we should be able to organize around common issues, common needs," he says. "But this is such a racist country—there is so much propaganda the other way—regardless of what their real needs are, I'm afraid most white people think their main need is to keep black people down. How fast can this change—or can it?"

Interestingly enough, the people who really see what might happen if black and white poor got together are in the Durham power structure. Last year, white tenants in a public housing project began demanding back porch lights; black tenants in public housing had been making this demand for over a year. It seemed logical for them to get together.

"And do you know what happened?" comments Mrs. Sara Boyte, who works in ACT with her husband. "The housing officials immediately agreed to provide the lights for the white people—which of course made the black people furious. They just didn't want us to get together."



Cuba Matlock
"The city wouldn't do anything for us, but we just did it ourselves . . ."

lights on various other jobs to help keep his family going.

Both Mr. and Mrs. Hicks and a teenage daughter are now a part of ACT, a new organization in Durham which states on its membership card that it is "an organization of working and poor people who have built this city and helped build the South."

Durham's ACT is one of several organizing efforts that have sprung up among poor and working white people in recent years. All of them, either directly or indirectly, have been stimulated by the black liberation movement.

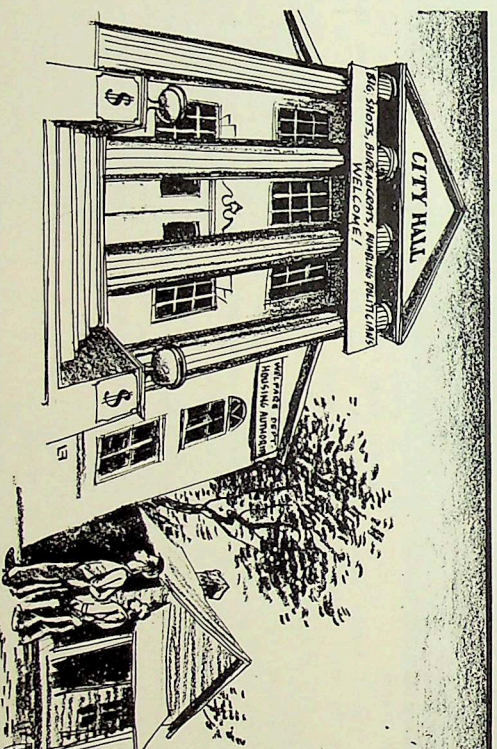
As Mrs. Hicks put it, "We've seen how colored people get things by standing together, and we're finding we can do it too. This is the first time poor and working white people in Durham have an organization to stand up for them."

Both Mrs. Hicks and her husband have been part of unions in the cotton mills. But when they speak of the union, they say "they"; when they speak of ACT, it is "we."

ACT is organizing along neighborhood lines. There are seven neighborhood councils in Durham now; recently they came together to form a city-wide council.

One neighborhood organizer is a man named Cuba Matlock, who was concerned about the lack of facilities for young people.

"So when the people from ACT came around, some of us began to get together," he says. "The city wouldn't do anything for us, but we just did it ourselves. We built a playground."



"WE BETTER GET TOGETHER AND GET ORGANIZED, TOO!"

This cartoon appeared in a recent issue of the newspaper published by ACT.

Mississippi Belle Says 'Goodbye to All That'

By ROBERT ANLAVAGE
(Assistant Editor)

JACKSON, Miss.—Cassell Carpenter, 21 is under indictment here for obscenity. The charges were brought against her and several others for writing and distributing the *Kudzu* (see December *Patriot*), a radical, youth-oriented paper that aims, quite successfully, to reach white Mississippians.

Miss Carpenter finds herself in a strange position. Where she is at, now, is perhaps less important than where she came from.

Childhood

She was born and reared in Natchez in an ante bellum mansion. A photo of her home is on the cover of the Texaco road-maps for Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana. In the photo, the mansion (called Dunleith) rests on a hill overlooking 40 acres of rolling, close-cropped lawn. In the corner of the photo, a placid Negro is grooming three sleek chestnut thoroughbreds. It is the Southern myth, a myth that "Little Miss Cassell", as she has been called since birth, lived.

Her childhood was peaceful and she never knew want. "I can say with relative certainty," she said, "that I could have anything I could ever want or need."

Her grandfather owned the City Bank and Trust Company. Natchez' largest bank, and her father became its president, a post he holds today. Dunleith always had at least seven servants and Cassell and her six brothers and sisters were well taken care of. When she went to school, she attended one named after her family. (There are three schools in Natchez named after her family.)

Between 1962 and 1965 she attended an exclusive girls' school in Dobbs Ferry, New York. In 1966 she was selected Queen of the Natchez Pilgrimage, an annual event sponsored by the city's First Families, in which the public is invited to tour the ante-bellum mansions and dip into the nostalgia that invokes the Grand Old South.

"I was a real bad racist," she says. "My parents raised me as a racist and they have a severe class outlook—they look down on *everyone* who is not in their economic bracket.

"In New York, when I was attending boarding school, we were made to go to church and one day there was a black girl at the services. I was infuriated!

"When James Meredith was admitted to Ole Miss, I cried. I thought it just signified the end of everything. And in 1964 I was a staunch Goldwater supporter."

SCEF often receives inquiries from friends as to how they can make bequests to the organization in their wills. Our attorneys advise that the following is probably the best way to word your bequest: "I hereby give and bequeath \$_____ to the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., 3210 W. Broadway, Louisville, Ky. 40211."

If you have further questions, please contact the Louisville Office or SCF's offices at Room 412, 799 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003, or at 5889 W. Pico Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif. 90019.

Sometime around 1964 Cassell, who had a lively interest in religion and philosophy, attended a conference in Pennsylvania sponsored by a religious group.

"There was a boy there who had been with the SNCC Summer Project in Mississippi and he told me things that happened, things I was totally unaware of or disbelieved. I argued violently with him, but he left me confused."

In 1965 she returned to Natchez, interested in the SNCC projects. "I sent a friend over to the freedom house to see what he could find out. Somehow the Klan found out about it, called his mother, and threatened that if it happened again, they'd blow up his car. I was quite frightened by this."

That year an official of the NAACP stepped into his car and turned on the ignition. The car exploded, maiming and permanently crippling him. Black Natchez was enraged and took to the streets. White Natchez was petrified and called in the National Guard to restore order.

"My father was stockpiling guns and ammunition. He said our house would be one of the targets. I was confused. I didn't want to be on his side, but I couldn't be on the other side. I didn't know what to do."

College

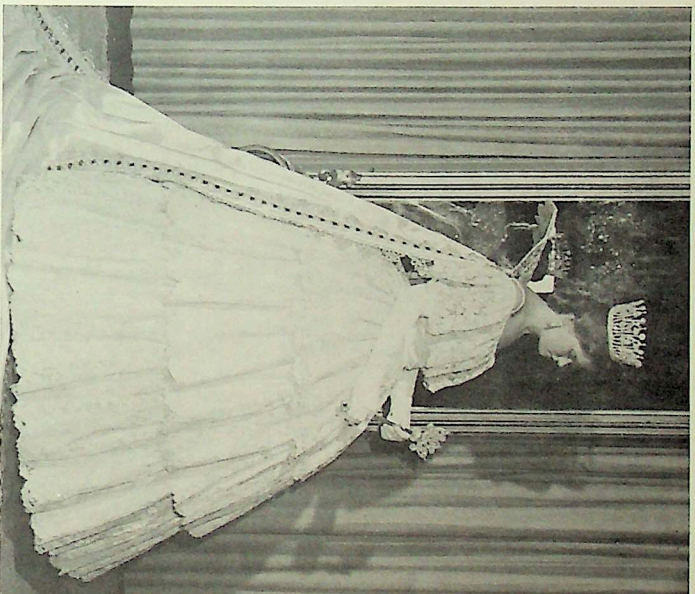
She was enrolled at Ole Miss and soon joined a small Young Democrats Club. Then a friend introduced her to two Howard students who were working at something called Strike City in Greenville.

Strike City was made up of rural blacks who had been driven off the land after striking for more wages. They had been earning between 3 and 6 dollars for a 12-hour day in the cotton fields of the Mississippi Delta. Homeless, the people staged an 'invasion' of an abandoned Air Force base and were promptly driven out by U.S. paratroopers flown in especially for the action. A farmer let the refugees settle on a little piece of his land and they were trying to make it livable.

Cassell visited Strike City. "This was the most beautiful experience I ever had. I played with children and talked to a lot of people. This was my first real experience with black people other than our servants. Later some friends found out about it in Natchez and gave me a stern lecture saying it was unfitting for a lady to be doing such things."

When she returned home that summer there was a lot of friction with her parents. In countless arguments and discussions she tried to find out where she was at. She left Ole Miss and entered Millsaps College, a Methodist school in Jackson.

Soon she dropped out and went to work at University Hos-



From Natchez Pilgrimage (1966)

pital as a nurse's aide, taking blood samples. Most of her patients were black and her parents objected to her work. After three months she returned to school and majored in psychology.

She conceived of a project whereby students could work at Whitfield, a state mental hospital, and help with therapy.

SSOC

Last spring she attended a SSOC conference in Athens, Ga. She came into contact with many young white Southerners and with new ideas and life styles. Soon she was working with the peace movement in Jackson and marching in anti-war demonstrations.

She met Dave Doggett at Millsaps and discussed the idea of putting out a radical newspaper directed at young, white Mississippians. Together she and Doggett put out the first edition from her apartment. It condemned the war in Vietnam, spoke on the side of black liberation and came down hard on the system.

Soon, the Jackson police were harassing them and others who joined the staff. Arrests were made on a variety of charges; but all charges were eventually dropped. A group of Jackson women's clubs visited the mayor (who is up for reelection) and complained about the 'obscene' *Kudzu*. Several of the paper's reporters were arrested for distributing obscene material, including Cassell.

"I went to visit some of our people in the jail and I had some papers under my arm. This detective came up to me and asked to buy one. I said, 'No, you'll arrest me.'" He said, 'no, I won't. I gave him one free and he offered me a dollar. 'No, that's O.K.," I said. He got change and offered me the price of the paper. I refused and he kept insisting. Finally, he walked away and consulted with some other cops. 'Arrest her anyway,' I heard one of them say, so I was arrested."

Today there is bitterness between Cassell and her family. Her father, who is now on the governor's staff as an honorary colonel, took back her car and she receives no allowance from them. Occasionally, they tempt her with a trip to Rome or something similar. But she insists she will not go back to the life from which she came.

She's come a long way from Queen of the Pilgrimage festival, from championing Barry Goldwater, from crying because James Meredith entered Ole Miss. In a way she was right when she thought Meredith's entry signified the end of everything. It did for her—but not in the way she feared.

"I think that boy, more than anyone else, helped me," she said, referring to the student volunteer who worked in the SNCC summer project, and with whom she argued so bitterly. "He cracked some of my illusions — and once you begin cracking illusions, all the things that are tied to and dependent upon them begin to crumble also."



. . . . to Women's Liberation Conference (1969)

Wentworth Strike Won

(By Staff Correspondent)

LAKE CITY, S.C. — Workers in two small South Carolina towns have won a bitter, four-month strike against the Wentworth Manufacturing Company. The strike was marked by unusual solidarity between black and white workers (see December *Patriot*).

The strike began in August, after the company refused to sign a contract it had already negotiated with workers at the Lake City plant, represented by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (AFL-CIO).

Only a third of the workers—evenly divided between black and white—walked out. Things looked bleak until workers at another Wentworth plant, in Florence, walked out in a gesture of solidarity—and closed the plant down.

Company officials and police tried to divide the workers on race lines—but they were unsuccessful. One of the white strikers, Mrs. Sallie Nettles, said: "We'll have to get together with them (black workers) sooner or later. If we can work with them, we can strike with them. They stick together better than white people. That's why they've been getting ahead."

The strike attracted nationwide attention. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) announced a nationwide boycott of Wentworth dresses after police had jailed a total of 16 strikers and sent at least three others to the hospital.

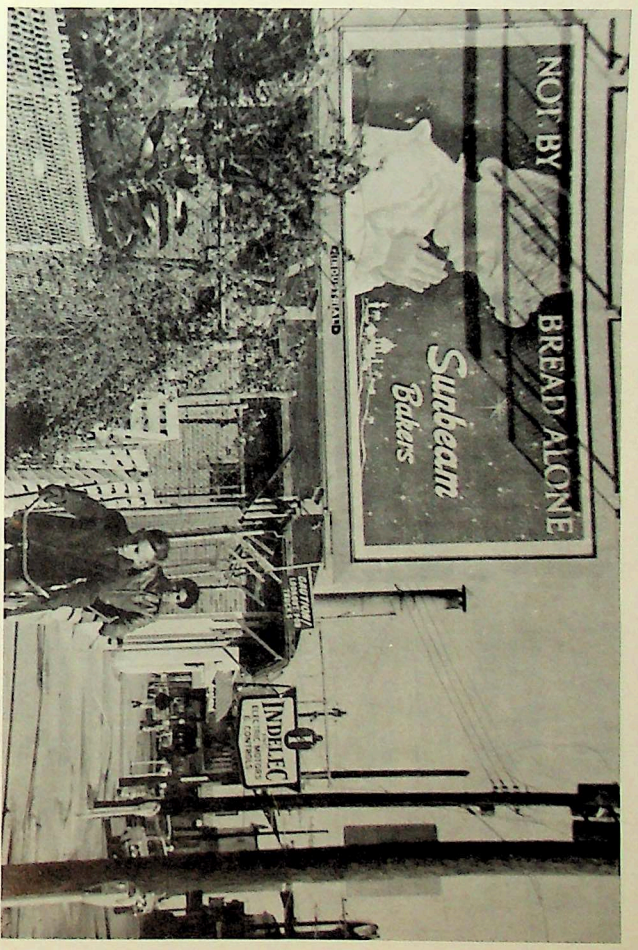
Many of the jailed strikers refused to post bond. After nine days, county officials were begging them to leave. The Florence jail was integrated after a white striker insisted on sharing a cell with the black workers.

The strike was finally settled after the National Labor Relations Board ruled that Wentworth had committed an unfair labor practice by refusing to sign the contract.

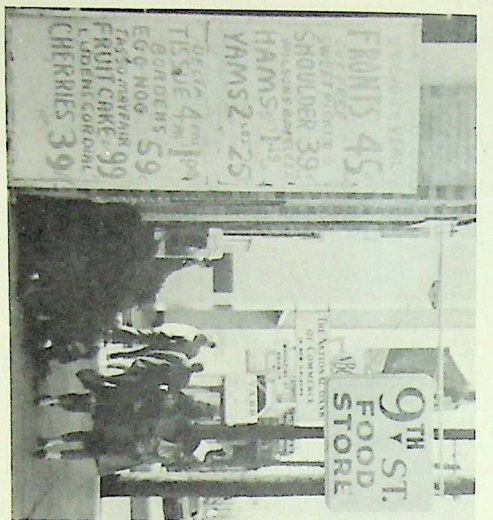
The settlement provides for immediate reinstatement of all strikers with full job and vacation rights, sharply expanded medical and hospital insurance benefits, and work guarantees. Pay increases are still being negotiated.



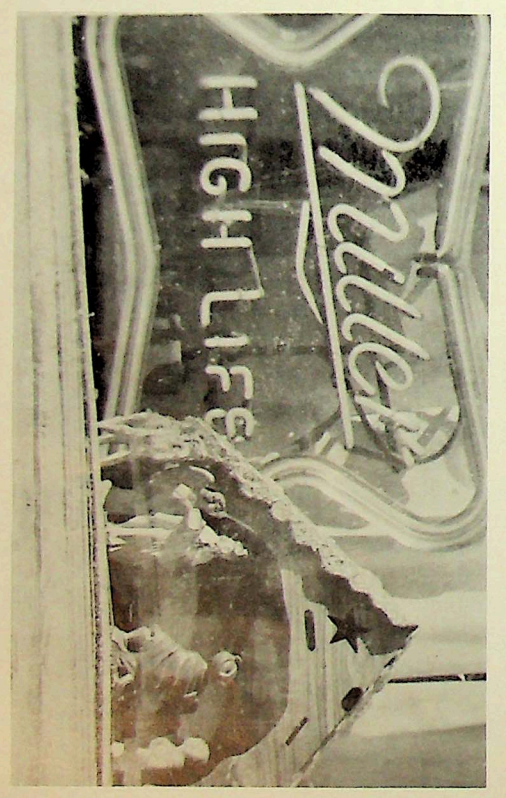
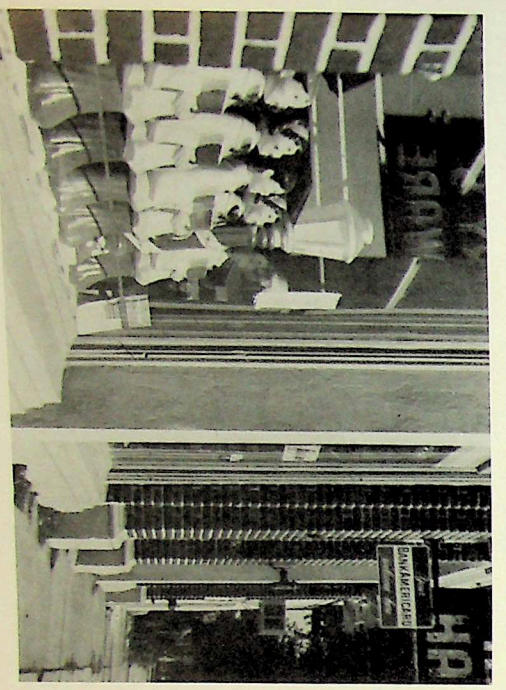
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Christmas Comes to the Irish Channel



These photos were taken by GROW Staffer Mike Higson, as Christmas came to the Irish Channel—the poor and working-class white neighborhood in New Orleans where the GROW Center is located. GROW is SCEP's Deep South organizing project.



"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 DOUGLASS

MORE ABOUT WOMEN . . .

I am glad to see that the *Southern Patriot* is developing into a forum on the woman question. In most "radical" circles, this issue is still taboo; any suggestion that the American woman is a victim rather than the cause of the injustice of a male-dominated society is met with ridicule and attack.

I don't think it is an accident that the radical paper which works with poor whites rather than talks about them, and which supports working people of all ages and races is also the one which is not "up tight" on women's liberation.

A thought of mine along these lines: the cultural indoctrination of women for passive, powerless roles goes on unabated in the face of almost total legal and political emancipation; this shows acutely the need for a social revolution as well as a political one for oppressed groups, since total social subordination can continue even in the face of legal equality.

Incidentally, Margaret McSurely's article *On The Drug Question* in the Feb. *Patriot* opened my eyes. I wonder when HEW will start opening its own "pot dens."

JOSEPH EDMONDS
Champaign, Ill.

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THE PEOPLES FORUM

"Either poverty will use democracy to win the struggle against property, or property, in fear of poverty, will destroy democracy. . . . Poverty, Great wealth and democracy are ultimately incompatible elements in any society."

ANEURIN BEVAN

Three Forces for Change

By RICHARD G. HATCHER

(Mayor of Gary, Ind.)

I would like to analyze with you briefly this evening three broad groupings which profess an interest in change. For ease of reference, they are black and white liberals; the black-power advocates; and the white radicals.

By black and white liberals, I mean all those who believe that it is possible, by some modification of the existing social system, to achieve an end to racism and poverty. The advocates of black power are those who believe that only by a drastic change in present black-white power relationships can blacks be liberated. . . .

In the third category of progressives are the white radicals. Who are they, and what, if anything, distinguishes them from the liberals?

Although in practice the distinctions between liberals and radicals are often blurred, the philosophical differences are striking and can be stated with some precision.

The liberal has been described as one who exhibits a decent concern for those he deems to be oppressed. However, and this is crucial—he does not see himself as one of the oppressed. Life and the times have been good to him, he thinks: And all he really asks is that others less fortunate than he, have the same opportunity to share in the good life with him.

Since the philosophical source of liberalism is humanist, the liberal view is not meant to be condescending—not at all.

But by definition, and in theory and practice, that is just what it is: a form of condescension. For the underlying assumptions of the liberal doctrine—that all is well with me but unfortunately not with you—lead almost inevitably, in both strategy and tactics, to the extension of the helping hand.

But the white radical views himself not as one of the liberated, but as one of the oppressed. The thesis is that most of us, irrespective of our station in life, are oppressed. . . .

In summation, then, the distinction between liberal and radical is that the liberal wishes to preserve the present system, while attempting to humanize it at home. The radical thinks the present system cannot be humanized and must therefore be transformed. . . .

Black people in America, by themselves, may be able to muster the means to defend themselves against absolute repression; a kind of survival action. But alone they cannot liberate the total society. For such a function they may act as a catalyst or leading force; but the completion of the revolution will require an alliance with broad and diverse sectors of American life. To bring about that consummation, the logic of numbers necessarily comes into play.

From the black and white liberals we need the organizational skills and the knowledge of how to use existing institutions.

Women's Liberation

(Continued from page 7)

parts of the world, especially in socialist countries. One entire workshop dealt with women in the Soviet Union, China, Sweden, North Vietnam, and Cuba.

Two women present had recently visited Cuba. By popular demand a special session was scheduled so that people attending other workshops could hear their report. About 75 percent of the conference came.

The general consensus seemed to be that while socialist societies provide no magic answers for women, there is much that can be learned from them.

And even as they talked about what they could do to change their society, the women wrestled with the problem of what they could do right now in their own lives.

There was much talk about "new life styles" and experiments with different living arrangements such as communes; how to work things out with

the number nine mine was sealed today seventy-eight men sealed away seventy-eight men left behind when they closed mine number nine

seventy-eight men buried alive and hardly a whimper was heard seventy-eight men buried alive till the fire goes out and they open the mine again

In Spain last week 8,000 miners went out on strike because three men died in a mine land slide

seventy-eight men buried alive seventy-eight men till the fire goes out and they open the mine again

and seventy-eight more back to work again

CHRISTINE EABY

Drug Question Confused

The point attempted in the article "The Drug Question" was critically needed and, I feel, correct. The use, however, of generalizations without documentation and the resulting distortions to prove that point indicates neither adequate journalism nor thorough research. SPECIFICALLY:

1) The transition from "marijuana" in the beginning of the article to opiates (fourth paragraph) leads the reader to believe both are equal in effect and addictiveness. A number of articles and several studies indicate that marijuana is neither addictive nor serious (readers are referred to the La Guardia report as basic). The argument that movement workers should not use "drugs" (this term is beginning to take on connotations similar to "communism") is, I feel, correct but it must be on grounds more pragmatic.

2) The charge that pushers turn out to be government agents (fifth paragraph) critically needs documentation. Without it, the charge has no educational value and is simply another all too frequent example of "left wing" rhetoric. I feel, further, that no publication should present statements as truth unless it can be documented.

3) The attribution of slavery in Appalachia (fourth paragraph) to drugs strikes me as incredible. Being an Appalachian, I feel it presents a dangerously oversimplified analysis which I know is not held by the writer. Worse, it leads the reader to an inadequate understanding of the nature of colonization in Appalachia—something I am sure pleases the colonizers.

It is my conclusion that confusion by the masses concerning "drugs" is necessary in order for movement workers to be arrested on these charges. Though I both appreciate and thank the writer for taking this somewhat unpopular stand, I am intensely disappointed that the article and the *Patriot* aided in this confusion.

BARRY GREEVER
Louisville, Ky.

the individual men in their lives, etc.

"You can either shuffle to get by—like women and black people have traditionally done," said one young woman, "or you can break up with your man—or you can try to teach him."

"The myths about women keep men in a boxed-in place too," said another workshop participant. "The man who becomes sensitized to our struggle begins to realize the boxes he's been put in too."

There seemed to be agreement that the woman who tries to find her own role as an individual and as a part of social struggle may have a harder life—on the surface.

"But the psychological rewards of struggle for freedom are so great that it's worth it," said one workshop leader. The few of us present from an older generation could say amen to that.

The weakness of the confer-

ence was that it was almost entirely middle-class and all white. The women were aware of the danger of isolation from working class women. They watched the film "Salt of the Earth" and talked about their identity with all women—and how to bridge class differences.

There was less talk about their whiteness, although everyone was aware of it. SSOCC had considered trying to make the conference interracial. They decided against it after talking with some radical black women. The feeling was that radical black women would not come—and that the experiences and situation of black and white women are, at this point, very different.

That may be true for now. But I have always found that the experiences black and white women share as women are more powerful than the ones that divide them. I doubt we'll ever build a movement strong enough to free us all until this truth is recognized—on both sides of the barrier.

WORKING-CLASS ALLIES NEEDED

As an elected committeeman of my local trade union, I'm especially pleased with the vitally important and really the decisive work you are doing amongst trade-union men and women and unorganized workers.

There can be no fundamental change in our nation without winning the working class. The brave struggles of the youth and the black people, however heroic, cannot do the job alone. As a trade-union man, you can use my name in any way that will help organize the unorganized workers or aid our common struggle.

JURINS MARGOLIN
Stadio Mechanics Union,
Local #52
New York, N.Y.

The Continuing Struggle

By JACK MINNIS
(SCEF Research Director)

Uncle Sam has bought some coal. He bought it from himself. He was the highest bidder. The Tennessee Valley Authority requires coal for the operation of its steam-electric generation plants. Camp Breckinridge in Kentucky sits up on 31 thousand acres of coal. TVA, bidding against the privately-owned coal industry, won the rights to mine the coal on this 31 thousand acres.

Breckinridge is owned by the U.S. Army, the sale was conducted by the General Services Administration and TVA was the buyer. It is not now my purpose, nor will it be in the future, to design a counter-society. However, one may look at the incredible shenanigans that go on in this society and devise, one feels, better ways of doing things.

There were three government agencies involved: the U.S. Army which owns the land, the G.S.A. whose responsibility it is to buy and sell property of the people of the United States, and TVA, whose responsibility it is to generate the power which makes industry run.

One might have thought that the heads of these three agencies could have sat down around a table and decided how the coal which resides under Camp Breckinridge might be mined and fed into the stream generating plants of the TVA. Not so.

Everyone knows that there is only one way to keep a politician honest when he's selling the things of the people. Competitive bidding. So TVA submitted a bid in competition with Peabody Coal Co., Consolidation Coal, and various other purveyors of this marketable commodity. TVA won.

But TVA, by design of Congress, is not a coal-mining operation. In order to get the coal out of the ground and into the stream generating plants, TVA executed a contract with Peabody Coal to take the coal out of the ground and put it into the steam generators. The amount of the contract was some four hundred million dollars.

Then TVA made another contract. This one was with Island Creek Coal Company, which owns some coal in Eastern Kentucky. The price for the TVA coal from Island Creek was a mere 95 million.

Those of us who think the present system requires some changes are often exhorted to specify the changes. Here is a concrete and specific example.

There is an agency of "our" government calling itself the Bureau of Mines. Its "responsibility" is to see to it that the working condition of miners are as safe as they may be, considering the inherent hazards of that occupation. What one wants to know is this: 1.) did TVA assure itself that there would not be a repetition of the recent incident which took the lives of 78 miners working for the Consolidation Coal Co.? 2.) was there a chance—chance, mind you—that this entire coal-buying operation could have been conducted within and between agencies of "our" government?

There was not.

Because, you see, coal mining is conducted as a profit making enterprise. All the people want is electric power.

To suppose that these two objectives are compatible is to suppose that the profit taking of coal companies is compatible with the life a miner must lead.

There is another agency of "our" government which assures us that working conditions in the mines are as safe as modern technology can make them. Some months ago Consolidation Coal Co., in its Mannington, W. Va. mine upset that notion.

But we will now pay you and me as participants in "our" government five hundred million dollars so that coal may be mined in the same way and under the same safety conditions which killed 78 men.

Bureau of Mines, where art thou, now? TVA, where art thou now? U.S. Army, where art thou now?

Are we our brother's keepers? You're damn right we are. And we intend to keep him.

(Ed. note: The following article was circulated by seven members of the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC) who are beginning to feel that a point has been reached where mass national demonstrations "are not only of no positive value, but actually hurt our efforts to build a broadly based radical movement in this country.")

(They suggested that the inauguration demonstration in Washington "really should be the last of the national mobilizations . . . at least until it's time for the Big One." And they emphasized that this is not a policy statement by SSOC—simply the feelings and misgivings of some individuals within the group.)

It is clear that, beginning with Dr. King's march on Washington, one of the major functions of going to Washington, New York or Chicago has been to confront the nation with the issues (civil rights, the war, or the meaninglessness of the elections) and demonstrate the

Southern Women Talk Freedom

By ANNE BRADEN

Recently I attended a weekend conference of Southern women in Atlanta. There were over 100 women there, from 11 states. They were talking about freedom for women and the new women's liberation movement.

The conference was called by the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC), which stimulates radical organizing among Southern white students, so most of the women were young—students or recent students—and all of them were white.

They came because they were rejecting the traditional roles that Southern society has assigned to white women. They were saying they did not intend to have their lives defined for them—to be simply "somebody's daughter, somebody's wife, somebody's mother and somebody's widow"—but were determined to find their own identity and their own lives and, if necessary, build a new society to do it.

At 44, I was one of the few representatives of an "older generation" present. The thing that struck me was how similar the discussion was to the things my own contemporaries talked about when I was in college 25 years ago. We too thought we were a part of a "New South" and did not intend to be forced into the traditional roles of Southern white women.

Is it really true, I thought, that the more things change,

the more they stay the same? People in my generation were these girls' mothers. What happened to them—that their daughters now had to fight the same battles over again?

The question answers itself. Most of them, after a period of youthful rebellion, faded back into the scenery of Southern life. If they were affluent, maybe they exchanged an old-fashioned Southern mansion for a home in the suburbs and lady-bountiful charity work for modern so-called "civic" activity. But the content—an empty, meaningless, subservient role—remained the same.

Will the young women of 1969 fade back into the scenery too? Some will—but I think they have a much better chance.

For one thing, they have today a growing organized movement to relate to. My own generation ran smack into the period of reaction after World War II, when along with a general atmosphere of repression women were deluged with "back-to-the-kitchen" propaganda.

Today, there are women's liberation groups in at least 50 cities over the country; organized groups from four



ABOUT 120 WOMEN from across the South came to Atlanta for Women's Liberation Conference (photo by Karen Mulloy).

work of underground and movement media, and with the growth of regional and statewide organizations and communications channels, this need has been met.

Perhaps another reason is education through confrontation. Fine, but we are ready to do that on a local level. Who needs to go to Chicago to get his head busted?

A fourth goal (a combination of the preceding two) is to find new people and get them involved. It would appear from Chicago that this stage of the movement has passed. New people are much more easily involved on the local level—if we are not doing it, then we ought to be. Almost all of SSOC's people over the last four years have become involved through local organizing, not national mobilizations.

A new goal of recent mobilizations has been to lay the groundwork for a movement

Southern communities reported at the Atlanta meeting; there will be more as a result of this conference.

Another important difference is that they are examining the total society much more carefully than my generation did. Many of the women in Atlanta stressed that the causes of oppression of women are social and economic and cannot be solved on a personal basis by one woman alone.

"Just taking women out of the home and into the labor force is not what we want at all," said one young woman, speaking from the floor. "There is a whole hierarchy of work that degrades some people in this society; we want to change that."

Or, as one of the speakers, Marilyn Webb of Washington, put it: "We don't want equality with men in the society as it is now; we want an entirely new society, based on new values." This echoes what the black movement is saying today, and indeed the similarity is more than coincidence. Many of the women who started today's women's movement came out of or were influenced by, the black movement.

I think this is because the questions the black movement has raised about our society are so basic that they have caused many other groups and people to examine their own condition—and to realize that they too are not free. The new women's movement is only part of the resulting ferment.

The women who met in Atlanta looked into their own Southern past for historic perspective. One conference session, tied together by SSOC organizer Lynn Wells, was devoted to reports on women who were rebels in the past—in the Abolitionist, Populist, and early labor movements, and more recently in the civil rights movement.

They were interested too in what women are doing in other (Continued on page 6)

'The Time for Mobilizations Has Passed'

(Ed. note: The following article was circulated by seven members of the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC) who are beginning to feel that a point has been reached where mass national demonstrations "are not only of no positive value, but actually hurt our efforts to build a broadly based radical movement in this country.")

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It is clear that, beginning with Dr. King's march on Washington, one of the major functions of going to Washington, New York or Chicago has been to confront the nation with the issues (civil rights, the war, or the meaninglessness of the elections) and demonstrate the

"analysis" or ideology. There are two reasons why this cannot and will not work: most groups have not done their homework, and mass demonstrations cannot provide for exchange of ideas except on a superficial and emotional basis. There might be some top down communication from the people in New York or Chicago, but that can just as easily take place through movement publications.

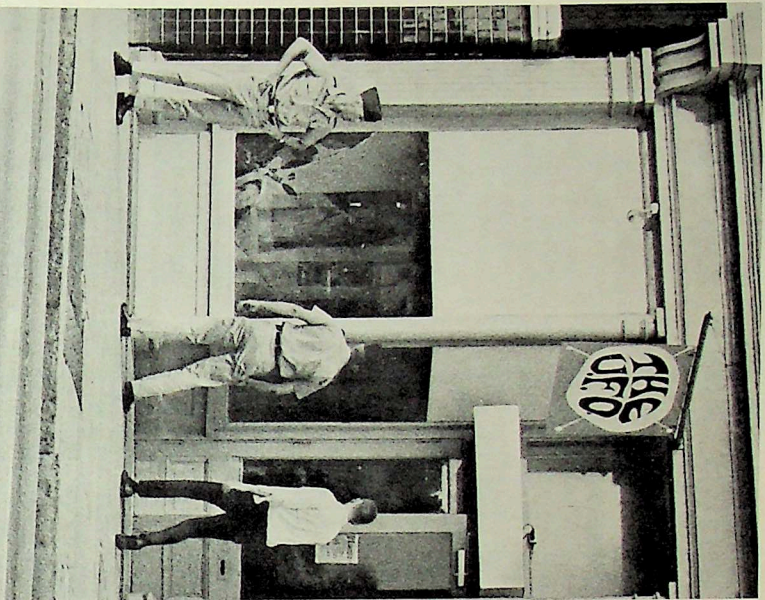
The last major reason for mobilizations has been to raise the level of conflict (from protest to resistance). The only side which can really raise the level, now, is the other side, and they can do it by themselves.

The costs of mobilization are many. Time of organizers and money for publicity are valuable resources to the movement. So is the time and money spent on legal defense (as in Chicago). But more important is the negative image ("You don't

have any constructive programs; you're just against everything") presented and the alienating of an important potential constituency—poor and working-class whites. Thus local organizing is both neglected (in terms of resources allocated) and hindered by turning off potential recruits and constituents.

The movement has reached a turning point, both ideologically and practically. Our purpose is not to raise issues which will arouse the public conscience nor to find already sympathetic individuals; it is to educate and to organize power bases among students, professional people, and working-class whites.

Our strategy is not to congregate where we can be herded, beaten or thrown in jail at the will of the people who oppress us. It is now time for us to "go to the hills" (the colleges, communities, unions, slums) and build the movement.



GIS STATIONED AT NEARBY FT. JACKSON enter UFO Coffeehouse in Columbia, S.C.

Southern GI Movement

By SUZANNE CROWELL

COLUMBIA, S. C.—On army bases across the South, GIS are organizing. Some put out underground papers. Some recruit for a servicemen's union. Some organize actions to protest the war and the system that started it. Some do all three.

At nearby Fort Jackson, soldiers have been protesting the arrests of three GIS—Priv. Albert Madison, Johnny Davis and Alfred Toomer. They were involved in GI meetings to discuss the war, racism and GI rights.

At first, the group consisted entirely of black GIS, but soon Puerto Ricans and whites began to attend their meetings. When the arrests were made, with no charges given, 50 soldiers went to the company, the battalion and finally the brigade level to ask what the charges were.

They were told only that an "order of confinement" had been issued. Then they learned that the charges were "inciting to riot." This was later changed to assault (in connection with an unrelated incident).

The GIS are now circulating a petition asking for an open meeting of all soldiers to discuss "whether the constitutional rights of GIS have been infringed by the authorities at Fort Jackson" during this incident.

GIS who are attempting to organize at Fort Jackson have also been harassed by an order prohibiting gatherings in the barracks for health reasons. Officials say that if they meet during the "Upper Respiratory Infection Season" they will all catch the flu.

The soldiers suspect that their company has been infiltrated by military intelligence. They also believe their company is now being handled at the post level—and not by their company commander—as a result of their activities. * * *

GIS at Fort Jackson have a coffeehouse in Columbia run especially for them. The UFO has existed for almost a year as a center for discussion, relaxation, and as a distinctly "un-

Whites Aid Black Protests At New Orleans High School

(Continued from page 1)

professional personnel within the school system are developing material related to the role of the Negro in history and literature for inclusion as an integral part of the regular school curriculum".

Schwartz did not say when the incorporation would take place. The answer was in Dolci's files and the date given there was 1970.

Integration at Fortier began three years ago. Last year Schwartz promised that a Black student could belong to any school club or society—if he or she wanted to. The result?

None of the school institutions have more than one Black student, and that goes for the football team, too.

In the aftermath of the boycott and pickets, Dolci appointed a blue-ribbon committee to study what had happened at Fortier. It contained no parents, no students, no faculty, and its average age was well

above 35. Its powers are negligible; it may recommend.

There was also an article in the Sam Newhouse-controlled *States-Jem*, which contained a warning for the city's school bureaucracy: "The boycott will be remembered by principals and students at other schools in the city. They know if it could happen at uptown, largely middle-class Fortier, it can happen anywhere . . ."

But Fortier, in fact, is no longer a "largely middle-class" school. It ceased to be that when a new high school opened in the same general area but one which (geographically) contains few, if any, black people. In this city black students go to the school nearest them. Whites have "freedom of choice"—that's to say, the right to perpetuate de facto segregation.

Once the boycott began it followed what is by now a common pattern. The school administration sent letters to all students who stayed away from school threatening punitive action. The second day of the boycott the police were present. At first there were only members of the intelligence squad, or the "red" squad as it is known, one of whom had allegedly taken a temporary job at Fortier.

When the picket line became a little noisier than passing traffic, uniformed police moved in and arrested about 54 students. They were taken to jail in buses used during the summer to take poor white and black children to Pontchartrain beach. They were suspended indefinitely.

The next day Tulane University SDS and the Spartacist League joined the picket line in support of the students.

The liberal community, or at least a part of it, was evidently shocked at the arrests and statements by Dolci and Schwartz. The Committee on Social Responsibility of the First Unitarian Church, invited representatives of civic and religious organizations, students and school administration to two meetings.

The issue which caused the sharpest debate was the demand for a black student union. The ACLU and the City's Human Relations Council also attempted to mediate. There was general agreement on pressing for readmittance of the students as a group. The result of this pressure

was practically nil.

Students were readmitted, but on an individual basis and under conditions reminiscent of a trade union forced to capitulate to management. Students had to sign agreements saying they would not demonstrate or boycott the school. They were asked who their leaders were and about outside organizations, particularly the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), which worked with the students.

The press failed to mention the response of the white students to the boycott (generally cooperative). They did not report that, of the eight students who were expelled, one was white, and that there had been a black student union in existence at Fortier for a year. What the students wanted was official recognition.

This is the second instance of insurgency at Fortier in the past year. Last summer a group of white students organized themselves into an SDS chapter and put out several issues of a newsletter. Schwartz refused recognition, and ordered the principal instigator of the group to have a haircut or be suspended. The student was subsequently transferred and suspended from that school for political reasons.

It is ironic that Schwartz now permits whites to wear long hair, but bans blacks from growing "afros". Yet he claims there is no discrimination.

Protest has gone "underground" at Fortier. The present situation there can be gauged from a pamphlet written and distributed to parents and press by Schwartz. In no way does it acknowledge that problems at Fortier might have been caused by his administration.

Schwartz uses the familiar tactic of blaming the rebellion on outside forces—SDS, SNCC and, in part, on an SDS pamphlet: "High School Reform: A Student Movement." He quotes from it; the emphasis is his own: "I have been studying my HIGH SCHOOL REFORM manual as diligently as they (the students) have and I have gained one terrific bit of insight from it. May I quote. . .: 'Where we win control of any offices, we force this administration to either give in on major points or continually override our actions, which makes the administration look silly to the students, our parents and our principal's bosses downtown.'"

Copies can be had from Dr. Schwartz, Fortier High School, Freret Street, New Orleans La. (25c. a copy, 10c. for over 100 copies).

JOMO Builds Wide Support in St. Petersburg

(Continued from page 1)

eral minor charges, Waller has been convicted of grand larceny.

In 1966, he wrote letters to the city protesting a mural in city hall. It showed two black minstrels, grotesquely drawn.

During a protest march about the mural, Waller and several others forcibly removed it. Waller was arrested by the city for destroying public property and he served, in the end, more than the 180-day sentence.

Later the state charged him with grand larceny of the mural. He was convicted and sentenced

to five years in the state penitentiary. He is appealing to the U.S. Supreme Court claiming the second trial was double jeopardy, and that he was denied access to his presentence investigation.

JOMO hopes to become a state-wide organization. It has contacts in Cocoa Beach, Jacksonville and Miami.

In Gainesville, a JOMO organization was recently started. Both local people and St. Petersburg organizers are involved. Carol Thomas, a white woman who has been active in the Gainesville movement for years,

is a staunch supporter. (See June and September *Patriots*.) The JOMO program in Gainesville is similar to the one in St. Petersburg. Charles Fullwood, 19, is the prime minister. Street patrols are being organized to protect the ghetto from the police and eliminate dope peddlers. Discipline and responsibility are important parts of the group's code.

A typical case protested by Gainesville JOMO was the murder of Walter Spann by police during an arrest for breaking and entering. He was unarmed.

Another man, George Baker, who was with Spann, has been charged with murder. Under Florida law, he can be held responsible for the death of an accomplice at the hands of police, since he was allegedly involved in a felony.

An observer in St. Petersburg commented, "In another year, JOMO may be the black organization here.

"St. Petersburg is the city that ran the Job Corps out of town. The business community has refused help to the jobless. There's nowhere else for people to go."