

## North Carolina's bitterly contested 1984 U.S. Senate race between



Jesse Helms and  
Jim Hunt will easily  
go down in history

as one of the meanest, ugliest, and  
most divisive campaigns ever.



North Carolinians  
could not read a  
newspaper, watch

T.V., or open their mail without  
being bombarded by political



rhetoric, mudsling-  
ing, and pleas  
for money.

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**Page 14: SPECIAL REPORT ON CAMPAIGN FINANCE**

## JESSE HELMS

THE MEANING OF HIS MONEY

Southwestern University's Jesse Helms...  
by The Campaign Finance Project

**Page 32: PEOPLE'S THEATER**

## THE HINTON PLAY



by Marcel Lee

When I first talked to the Hinton...  
by Marcel Lee

**Page 36: HOPE FOR CENTRAL AMERICAN REFUGEES**

## The Year of Jubilee

BY THE EDITORS

And you shall hallow the 50th year, and proclaim liberty throughout the land to all its inhabitants: it shall be Jubilee for you, when each of you shall return to his family...  
— Leviticus 25:10

**Page 42: NEW FOUNDATION MAKES A DIFFERENCE**

## \$\$\$ FOR CHANGE

BY JIM GARDNER

There's a new foundation...  
BY JIM GARDNER

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## FEATURES

---

- 14 CAMPAIGN FINANCE PROJECT**  
**Institute for Southern Studies Special Report**  
Jesse Helms: The Meaning of His Money, *by Campaign Finance Project*  
Who's Playing Right Field, *by Ruth Ziegler*  
Researching the Contributors, *by Marcie Pachino*
- 26 ECOTHEATER** Indigenous theater in West Virginia, *by William W. French*
- 32 THE HINTON PLAY** A selection from the EcoTheater repertory, *by Maryat Lee*
- 36 THE YEAR OF JUBILEE** The new underground railroad, *by Melissa Greene*
- 42 \$\$ FOR CHANGE** The Fund for Southern Communities, *by Jim Overton*
- 45 FAIRFIELD UNITED ACTION** FSC funds rural activism, *by Dave Moniz*
- 51 GANE** Georgians Against Nuclear Energy, *by Beth Damon Coonan*
- 53 FBI'S COINTELPRO REVISITED** Government surveillance stifles dissent, *by Alex Charns*
- 

## DEPARTMENTS

---

- 2 A LETTER FROM US TO YOU**
- 3 READERS CORNER** Reaganism, 1930-85, *by Anne Burlak Timpson*
- 4 SOUTHERN NEWS ROUNDUP** Saving jobs, Bhopal in West Virginia, IBM workers, Textile jobs threatened
- 10 FACING SOUTH** The demise of the front porch, *by Don Parker*
- 11 VOICES OF OUR NEIGHBORS** Fast food job blues, Action on Central America
- 13 RESOURCES** Beyond Pocahontas, women's economics, mountain children
- 58 REVIEWS** Louisiana literati, Texas politics
- 63 BULLETIN BOARD OF THE SOUTH**
- 64 VOICES FROM THE PAST** Why a married woman should work, *by Bessie Edens*

# Bob Hall Steps Aside as Institute Director

When I applied to work for the Institute for Southern Studies as a typesetter in 1976, I was asked to meet with the staff for an interview. The interview took place at Bob Hall's house, which the Institute was more or less using as its office. The scene was chaotic. Boxes of *Southern Exposure* were stacked about; manila envelopes, mailing labels, and post office bags strewn about the living room and hallways. But there was a harmony and energy there as staff and volunteers worked together to get the most recently printed issue of *Southern Exposure* ready for mailing. Bob was sorting envelopes, giving directions to volunteers, and talking long distance to a writer in Tennessee. It was my first glance at the workings of the Institute that Bob Hall was holding together with hours of dedicated work, learning and teaching as he went.

For nearly 15 years Bob has tended to the Business of the Institute. He has laughed and cried with it, stayed up all night with the magazine to get it to press in the old red panel truck. He has gone to bat for it; traveled around the South to convince writers to write; gone into the teeth of corporations to get research for groups the Institute was working with; gone north to convince funders to fund; and worked long hours on appeals to get readers to read it.

He has seen the "good times and growing pains" — the long meetings with debate and arguments, the receiving of the Polk Award for Regional Journalism. He has seen our staff grow from three to the current size of 11. He has seen *Southern Exposure* go from the hand stuffing and labeling parties that I first witnessed to computerized circulation; from running back and forth across town with last minute corrections to having our own modern typesetter which we use for our own work and to help other progressive organizations. And all the while through growth and turmoil he has been a kind of glue to hold us all together and keep us on track.

But now Bob is "kicking himself upstairs." He resigns as director of the Institute as of February 15 and will be devoting himself full-time to the Institute's special projects: to the study of land ownership and power structures in North Carolina and to our Campaign Finance Project. He will also be spending time with his and Jennifer Miller's daughter Cecelia Jane, born in October.

Our first thought at Bob's resignation was "oh no, you can't do this to us!" Then we wondered what 12 people we could get to take his place. But, in fact, we had already been preparing ourselves for this transition. Many of Bob's chores have been parceled out to other staff, and we have set up standing committees to take on the ongoing problems in program, finance, fundraising, and personnel. We are moving toward a more stable collective organization, with everyone on staff having more input into our maintenance and direction.



CECELIA JANE AND BOB HALL

In the past two years, the Institute staff and board have made a number of significant organizational changes, which bring us to this exciting point in our history. We have:

- expanded the frequency of *Southern Exposure*, our chief educational project, from a quarterly to bimonthly, and redesigned its format to include a series of regular sections, such as Southern News Roundup, Resources, and Voices from Our Neighbors;
- successfully tested a series of direct-mail appeals to increase the circulation of *Southern Exposure*;
- modernized our typesetting and darkroom equipment and paid for their cost through fee-for-service work for customers;
- launched a program to recruit individual donors, called the Sustainers Program.

In the next two years, we will build on the momentum of these organizational changes by giving major attention to our revenue-generating capacity, outreach potential, and supportive intern and networking program, including the creation of an Investigative Journalism Fund.

And we are looking for a new director who will have a role as publisher of *Southern Exposure*, overseeing fundraising, publicity, and administration of the Institute's programs.

We look forward with renewed dedication and enthusiasm to working with a new director to focus our energies on increasing the readership of *Southern Exposure* and expanding the network of writers, organizations, and friends who have continued to supply us with the information and energy we need to keep our vitality.

We will miss Bob's guiding influence, but we are ready for new challenges and we are glad that he is only being "kicked upstairs."

*J. J. J. J.*  
Jo J. J.  
for the Institute staff

# READERS CORNER

## Reaganism: 1930-85

— by Anne Burlak Timpson

The struggle against the evils of Reaganomics is not a new phenomenon. Let me tell you of a personal experience which took place in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1930. Our country was in the midst of a major economic crisis. Millions of Americans were out of work. There was no unemployment insurance or social security. It was almost impossible to get on local relief. People were being evicted from their homes or farms. Thousands of young boys and girls and older folk wandered from city to city looking for work, or at least for something to eat. President Hoover said that the government owed nothing to the people.

That year I worked as a union organizer for the National Textile Workers Union in South Carolina. In May I was invited to speak at a public meeting in Atlanta on the need for a federal unemployment insurance law. That meeting also called for a federal anti-lynch law. Incidentally, Georgia had the largest number of lynchings in the country.

About 100 workers, both black and white, came to the meeting. We ignored the prevailing Jim Crow custom and had the people sit wherever they wished. Four of us were on the platform — Herbert Newton, representing the National Negro Congress; Mary Dalton and I, representing the National Textile Workers Union; and Henry Storey, a local black man as chair. While Storey was making his opening remarks, a half dozen police with sawed off shotguns burst into the hall and ordered all to stay in their seats. The police then arrested all of us on the platform. We were taken to Fulton Towers, the county jail, and held overnight.

The next morning the county prosecutor, John Hudson, who was a Baptist minister on Sundays, argued before a judge that we should be charged with violating the Georgia "Insurrection Law," and should be held without bail, for jury trial, because the law provided for the death penalty if found guilty. The judge agreed to this procedure, and also joined our case to that of two young Communists

arrested several weeks earlier for distributing flyers. Our cause became known as the "Atlanta Six Case."

The Insurrection Law had been passed prior to the Civil War, and was originally directed against slaves who rebelled against brutal masters. After the Civil War, the words "slave" and "master" were taken out of the law, and it was directed against any person who took part in any "insurrectionary activity" against the state. The courts were to determine what constituted insurrectionary activity.

We were held incommunicado, which meant no visitors, except our attorney, no letters, no reading material. We were completely cut off from the outside world. It took five weeks of intensive national campaigning by our friends before we won the right to bail. I was bailed out first and went on a national speaking tour to popularize the issues in our case and to raise bail for the others.

Apparently the Georgia authorities were not agreed on how to proceed in our case, for it was postponed again and again over the next two years. Then in 1932 a young black man, Angelo Herndon, was organizing the unemployed in Georgia. He issued a leaflet which stated that thousands of people were jobless and starving in Georgia. The mayor heatedly stated that this was "Communist propaganda," but if any individuals were really hungry, they could come to the welfare office and get fed. Herndon issued another leaflet immediately. He called on all the people who were hungry to come to the welfare office and ask to be fed. Over 1,000 black and white poor people showed up. Angelo Herndon spoke to them, and that was the beginning of a mass Unemployed Council in Atlanta. However, the next day Herndon was arrested and charged with violating the Insurrection Law.

He was brought to trial in a few weeks. It seems that the authorities figured it would be easier to convict one black man than the earlier six defendants, four of whom were white. Angelo Herndon was found guilty. The jury recommended "mercy," so he was not sentenced to death, but to 18 to 20 years on the chain gang. He would never have survived such a harsh sentence. During the next three years the Angelo Herndon case was ap-

pealed through all the state courts, and the guilty verdict was upheld. In 1935 the U.S. Supreme Court refused to hear the case, but sent it back to the Georgia courts. Two more years went by, and it reached the Supreme Court again in 1937.

By this time the political situation in the country had changed. President Roosevelt had called for the re-organization of the Supreme Court. The CIO drive to organize the unorganized was in full swing. Such labor laws as the Wagner Act, Unemployment Insurance, and Social Security laws had been passed. Over a million signatures were collected throughout the United States and abroad calling for justice for Angelo Herndon. A broad defense committee handled the case, and several prominent constitutional lawyers were retained to argue the case before the Supreme Court. In April 1937 the Supreme Court threw out Herndon's conviction and ruled that the Georgia Insurrection Law violated the U.S. Constitution. While Herndon declared that this court action was a "decisive victory for all progressive forces," the State of Georgia kept the Insurrection Law on the books.

Georgia made one last effort to use this law in 1960 against civil rights workers. After a number of arrests, Georgia was forced to release these workers when they threatened to sue for false arrest.

Two years ago, the Reagan administration attempted to pass the "Comprehensive Crime Control Act of 1983." That bill would have established concentration camps for some 200,000 people, all on U.S. military bases. The crime package would have made it possible for the government to use these barbaric laws against workers struggling for their democratic rights and for their human needs. This is what Hitler did in Nazi Germany.

We can expect that similar legislation will be introduced in 1985. We must learn from our past history that only unity and struggle by labor and all progressive people can effectively defend our basic human rights. □

*Anne Timpson is now retired. She continues to be active in the fight for peace and against anti-labor legislation.*

## Textile industry faces struggle for survival

**D**uring December, in more than 50 cities in textile centers throughout the nation, members of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) staged protests against foreign imports which they claim are the major factor in the loss of jobs in the industry. At a meeting of the Southern Regional Joint Board of ACTWU, Senator James Sasser (D-TN) urged union members to work for a policy that "rewards companies that invest in America and creates decent jobs here." Sasser claims that the textile industry is declining in the South as "the direct result of a policy that permits great multinationals to put their own greed above any loyalty to their workers or to this country." And he continued, "In Jefferson County Tennessee there used to be 600 garment shops, today there is one."

The Jefferson County story is being repeated throughout the South. The Bureau of Labor Statistics in Atlanta reported the loss of 9,100 jobs in the textile trade between June and July of 1984 alone. According to the bureau, North Carolina lost 3,600 workers, Georgia, 2,900; Alabama 1,300; South Carolina, 800; and Tennessee, 400 in those two months. At rallies in Tennessee, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama, Georgia, and Florida protesting workers carried the same message, "More Imports—More Unemployment," and "Buy Union, Not the Cheap Imports."

In an effort to save the apparel-textile industry — the nation's single largest industrial employer — ACTWU has joined the American Fiber, Textile and Apparel Coalition, a federation of 21 clothing companies, labor unions, and cotton, fiber, and fabric producers in a campaign to urge consumers to buy American-produced goods. Their efforts will be bolstered by a regulation which went into effect on December 24 requiring *Made in America* labels in American-produced apparel. Prior to the passage of the bill, only

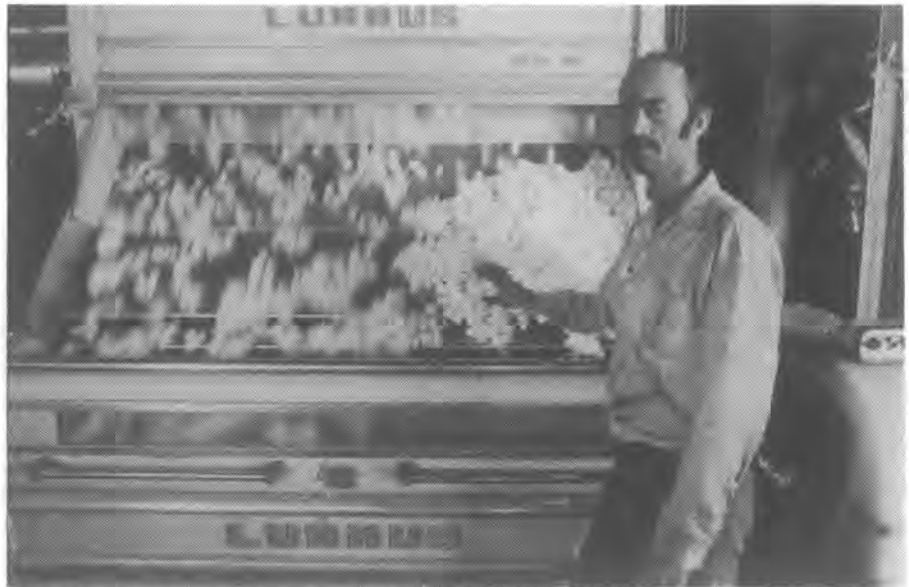


photo by Scott Van Osdal

DECLINING TEXTILE-RELATED JOBS PROMPT UNION-INDUSTRY ACTION

imports had to be labeled. The full impact of the labelling requirement won't be felt for at least a year, but with imports cornering some 45 percent of market sales and textile employment in some states at the lowest point in more than 30 years, the "Buy American" campaign may just be too little, too late.

Charles Dunn, Executive Vice-President of the North Carolina Textile Manufacturers Association warns, "If the dollar value doesn't come down, we won't be helped." Dunn notes that the industry was running a \$16 billion trade deficit last year.

Even more jobs are expected to be lost this year as manufacturers are unable to compete with the cheaply produced foreign imports. Just as factories once moved South in search of cheap non-unionized labor, so they are now fleeing to countries where low wages prevail. The International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) reports that wages in the apparel industry vary from 16 cents an hour in China, to 57 cents an hour in Taiwan, over \$1 an hour in Hong Kong, and an average industry wage of about \$5 an hour in the United States. Even this average wage is substantially higher in such apparel centers as New York. State Representative William Jones of Mississippi, where 5,400 jobs have been lost in the last three years, called the competi-

tion with low paid foreign employees "an abuse of the free enterprise system."

Writing in the paper *Economic Notes*, ILGWU staff member Michael O'Leary disagrees with the protectionist policies being supported by manufacturers and many labor leaders. "Cutting imports a few more percentage points will not bring security to the garment industry," O'Leary argues. "Protectionism will not bring long-term gains for garment workers. Instead, it aligns workers with employers and fosters racist and nationalist prejudices." He goes on to urge unions to fight for "trade policies based on strict social controls on overseas investments and protections against plant shutdowns and runaway shops."

The domestic industry is hoping to benefit from the passage of another hard-fought bill which will help reduce imports. Apparel is often made piece-meal in several countries with fabric production, weaving, cutting, and final assembly all done in different countries. Previously the Custom Service's "country-of-origin" rule has applied only to clothing made completely, or changed substantially, in the exporting country. Since October 31st, 1984, the country-of-origin is defined as the one where the fabric originated. This is important because of U.S. import quotas. While the change applies to each of the 36 countries

with which the U.S. has bilateral trade agreements, it is expected to have the greatest impact on the Far East. Nearly 60 percent of the textiles and apparel imported by the United States are supplied by Taiwan, Korea, Japan, China, and the Colony of Hong Kong.

Passage of the bill was delayed from September 7 to October 31, and critics claimed that the proposal was a reelection ploy by President Reagan and his allies, Senators Jesse Helms (R-NC) and Strom Thurmond (R-SC), whose home states are among the top three in textile related employment. The Textile and Apparel Group of the American Association of Exporters and Importers initially protested the effective date on the grounds that it would force them to break contracts made under the old regulations.

## Can U.S. eliminate its illiteracy by 1989?

The United States plans to celebrate the bicentennial of its Constitution in 1989, and the Library of Congress (LC) announced in December that an appropriate commemorative would be the national elimination of illiteracy. The LC report says that more than 23 million adults, about one-eighth of the population, cannot read, and about half the population does not bother to read "some books" each year. And, while no one knows any exact numbers, everyone agrees that they are bigger in the South, where the illiterate portion of the population may be as much as twice the national average.

A national study of functional illiteracy by the University of Texas tested adults on their ability to read, write, use other informational skills, and solve problems in everyday life. Completed in 1974, it has been the basis for other research since then, according to Jim Cates, director of the Adult Performance Level Project which conducted it. Says Cates, "The South's incidence of functional illiteracy is higher, as a region, than any other area. Twenty-five percent of Southern adults are functionally illiterate." And 1980 census figures bear him out. In the 13-state South, illiteracy ranged from Florida's 17.6 percent to Kentucky's 31.3 percent;

the regional average was 25 percent.

Other tests which may have a bearing on the subject also show the South to have problems of striking proportions. A ranking of states by percentage of adults over 25 who have not finished high school puts 10 Southern states in the top slots. The top 10 are, in order, Kentucky, South Carolina, North Carolina, Mississippi, Arkansas, West Virginia, Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, and Louisiana.

A list of states ranked on the percentage of adults who have less than five years of elementary school education is different, but similarly Southern. Here the top 10 are Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Texas, Alabama, Georgia, Arkansas, Kentucky, Tennessee, and North Carolina.

Eliminating illiteracy by the 1989 target date envisioned by the LC report is clearly an idealistic goal, and it comes at a time when the Reagan administration proposes heavy cuts in relevant federal programs. It appeals to the administration to step up, rather than cut back, on federal programs in adult literacy, support for public libraries, education statistics, student work-study programs, and encouragement of reading in families and communities. As the preface to the LC report says, "There could be no more appropriate effort to fulfill the hopes of our nation's founders, nor any more appropriate celebration of the bicentennial of our Constitution, than to aim to abolish illiteracy by 1989."

— by Ingrid Canright

## IBM workers sue over psychological tests

Four North Carolina clerical workers who were hired for temporary keypunch jobs in IBM's Charlotte offices are suing the corporation for \$7.6 million, claiming that the company used them as unwitting subjects in a psychological stress experiment without their consent.

The lawsuit says that the conditions under which IBM made the four work were designed "to cause severe emotional distress and to make a record of it." The four say that IBM kept changing the lighting, the size and position of computer screens, and other environmental factors

to see how much stress they could tolerate. The results included headaches, eye damage, memory loss, depression, nervousness, fainting, insomnia, and hallucinations, the lawsuit claims.

According to a story by the Associated Press, Maxine Yee, a spokesperson for IBM, said the four plaintiffs apparently worked in one of the company's Human Factors Centers for what is now IBM's Information Products Division in Charlotte. The centers "study how to adapt equipment to the user to create the best possible working relationship between the user and the equipment," according to Yee. She said there are about 20 Human Factors labs around the world, including 10 in the U.S.

The issue yet to be resolved is if IBM's push to become number one in the office of the future will mean "total disregard for the people involved in it," according to one IBM worker.

## Conservatives move against South Africa

The daily drama of demonstrations and civil disobedience at the South African embassy in Washington, begun in November to protest that nation's apartheid policy, has attracted innumerable celebrities along with hundreds of ordinary people. It has also spawned sympathetic events in many cities across the nation. But even the protests' organizers, the Free South Africa Movement (FSAM), must have been surprised when a letter of protest against South African racial separatism, signed by 35 members of Congress, was delivered to the South African ambassador on December 4.

The surprise is not that there are concerned people in Congress — at least 15 members, for example, have joined the civil disobedience at the embassy, risking arrest. No, the surprise is who these signers were. All are Republicans who describe themselves in the letter as "political conservatives" who "recognize all too well the importance and strategic value of South Africa." The Southerners among them are Newt Gingrich of Georgia, Frank Wolf and Tom Bliley of Virginia, Bob Livingston of Louisiana, and

Connie Mack, Bill McCollum, and Tom Lewis of Florida.

The letter offers some evidence that the American posture toward the Pretoria government is becoming a nonpartisan issue. Referring to the recent violence in the country, the letter says, "We want you to know that we are prepared to pursue policy changes relative to South Africa's relationships with the United States if the situation does not improve." With regard to the Reagan administration policy of "constructive engagement" — which Nobel Peace Prize winner Bishop Desmond Tutu has called "an unmitigated disaster" — the letter warns that "if [it] becomes in your view an excuse for maintaining the unacceptable status quo, it will quickly become an approach that can engender no meaningful support among American policy-makers."

Calling for "an immediate end to the violence in South Africa accompanied by a demonstrated sense of urgency about ending apartheid," the conservatives threaten to recommend curtailment of new American investments in South Africa and the imposition of international diplomatic and economic sanctions against South Africa.

The Southerners among the signers range across the conservative spectrum — from New Right Young Turks like Gingrich to more traditional economic conservatives who steer clear of the Moral Majority's cultural issues. All, however, have generally supported the Reagan administration. Their official reasons for signing the letter vary as well. Mack's press secretary simply posits that the congressman has "long been a supporter of the self-determination of peoples, from the *contras* in Nicaragua to the Afghans." Wolf's press aide says simply that he hopes the views expressed in the letter will encourage the South African government to alter its policy.

A spokesperson for Bliley acknowledges a growing depth of concern across the country. "This really is a letter of warning," he says, adding that Bliley thinks the letter comes out of an effort to find "practical ways of achieving real results." He says, "There is a coming together in Congress of people from all sides of the issue, looking for something that has real teeth in it to say 'we mean it this time.'" What began in November as a "quickly exploding emotional issue" has accumulated the support of "every-

one, or at least pragmatic people." And Gingrich, explaining the letter on an ABC News show, insisted that "the only alternative to a systematic transition to an integrated society . . . is absolute bloody violence on an unimaginable scale."

Signing the letter has not meant, however, that these lawmakers have gotten involved in the anti-apartheid movement in any practical way. FSAM has

"SOUTH AFRICA IS OUT OF STEP WITH THE REST OF AFRICA!"



reached the South, in the form of demonstrations in Mobile, Birmingham, New Orleans, Houston, and elsewhere. Solidarity coalitions and South African study groups have sprung up on college campuses throughout the region, and the American Committee on Africa held a conference of such organizations in Atlanta recently. Yet spokespersons for the Southern signatories professed not to be aware of such activities among their constituents.

These House members are not among those with specific plans for anti-apartheid legislation either, although most say they will support a bill that is in accord with the views expressed in the letter. In the past such legislation has passed the House but failed to clear the Senate. Among the measures that have been considered before are bans on new American investments in South Africa, U.S. sales of krugerrands, and bank loans. Other measures have called for restrictions on the export of American technical equipment. This year, a measure calling for divestment of current American investments is expected to be introduced for the first time. Where the conservative Southerners who recently discovered the injustice of apartheid will stand when it comes time to vote remains to be seen.

— by Robin Epstein

## Right wing drives to control state houses

If you're upset by Jeremiah Denton, Jesse Helms, and Phil Gramm in the U.S. Senate, consider the prospect of their allies taking over a few state houses.

"When we're talking about control of legislatures," says Michael Steinmetz, "we're looking to 1986 and 1988, to redistricting after the 1990 census and eventually to the turn of the century — to reapportionment in the year 2000." Steinmetz is the director of the American Legislative Exchange Council's Political Action Committee (ALEC-PAC), recently created by the right-wing think tank to lead the assault on state government.

From the other side, Lee Webb, executive director of the Conference on Alternative State and Local Policies, reads the warning signs. "Liberals are in big trouble in the legislatures. The Democrats have the numbers in a lot of states, but the New Right is increasingly in a position to craft the agenda and shape the parameters," Webb says.

*Southern Political Report*, an outstanding bi-weekly source of inside information, recently detailed the 1984 gains by Republicans in Southern legislatures — one indication of the New Right's local swing. According to the *Report*, Republicans now hold 21 percent of the seats in Southern legislatures, the largest number since the end of Reconstruction. The rise has been steady, up from 15 percent in 1978, reflecting the trend in the South towards a two-party system. And conservative strength is probably much higher, since groups like ALEC support candidates of both parties.

In the '84 elections, Republicans gained 51 state house seats and 13 state senate seats (see chart). GOP gains were highest in North Carolina — Helms territory — and Texas — Gramm country. In four states, Florida, Texas, Tennessee, and Virginia, Republicans hold a third of the legislative seats.

The *Report* points out that some Republican gains hit closer to home than the state capitals. For example, Republicans won every court office in Dallas County and took over county governments in a number of the fast-growing suburbs of Atlanta.



# SOUTHERN NEWS ROUNDUP

## SOUTHERN LEGISLATURES AFTER '84 ELECTION

	House				Senate			
	Dem.	Rep.	Ind.	Change	Dem.	Rep.	Ind.	Change
Alabama	89	11	5	No. election	28	4	3	No election
Arkansas	91	9	0	+2 Repub.	31	4	0	+1 Repub.
Florida	77	43	0	+7 Repub.	32	8	0	0
Georgia	154	26	0	+2 Repub.	47	9	0	+2 Repub.
Kentucky	74	26	0	+3 Repub.	28	10	0	No election
Louisiana	89	16	0	No election	38	1	0	No election
Mississippi	115	5	1	No election	49	3	0	No election
North Carolina	80	36	0	+18 Repub.	38	12	0	+6 Repub.
South Carolina	97	27	0	+5 Repub.	36	10	0	+4 Repub.
Tennessee	62	37	0	+2 Democ.	23	10	0	+1 Democ.
Texas	97	53	0	+16 Repub.	25	6	0	+1 Repub.
Virginia	65	34	1	No election	32	8	0	No election
<b>Total</b>	<b>1090</b>	<b>323</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>+51 Repub.</b>	<b>407</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>+13 Repub.</b>

Source: Southern Political Report

Nonetheless, Republicans still remain weakest in the lower offices. While Reagan took all the South's electoral votes and 46 percent of Southern U.S. Senators are Republican, only 36 percent of the Congressional representatives and 21 percent of the state legislators are GOP. Only a measly 5 percent of the local, county, and municipal offices — the grassroots of politics — are held by Republicans.

Neal Peirce has reported on ALEC and other New Right moves on the state level for a number of publications. He says that conservatives have adopted their new focus for several reasons. First among them, he writes, is, "Reagan's New Federalism has transferred more power over federal programs to the states." Decisions on how to spend block grant money are now made on the state and local level.

Kathleen Teague, executive director of ALEC, explains another important reason. "You've got 50 shots" to win on the state level, Teague says. "In Congress, you've got only one legislative body and they will either pass or kill your bill. In the states, if you're trying to get banking deregulation passed and you've lost in Kansas, Nebraska, and Texas, it's not a total failure. You may well win in Arizona, California, and New York that year."

Then there are the constitutional amendments which must be ratified in 38 states. Despite its popularity, the right succeeded in blocking ERA in the states.

Richard Viguerie, the right's premier direct-mail fundraiser, takes the long view: "If we'd had a state and local effort 10 years ago, we'd be much stronger in Congress now," since candidates for Congress often get their start in the state legislatures.

Maybe more important than all the above reasons given for taking control of

state legislators is reapportionment. Key decisions are made in state legislatures on how to draw Congressional districts after each Census. How those lines are set — gerrymandered — makes a big difference in who gets elected to Congress.

Richard Viguerie, with a fundraiser's flair for the dramatic, framed the debate for Peirce: "We're seeing a titanic and historic battle shaping up between the Left and the Right. You can just see the small squads, platoons and companies coming toward each other's positions for a historic Gettysburg-type battle. In the next four to six years one side will be dominant and probably prevail into the 21st century."

## SC workers have plan to stop plant closing

General Electric plans to close its steam generator equipment plant in Ludson, South Carolina, on June 1, 1985, but the workers have a better idea. Establishing an Alternate Use Committee (AUC) through their union, Local 1202 of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America (UE), workers are proposing a number of new product lines that could keep the plant open and profitable and save at least 450 jobs. While keeping the plant just north of Charleston open will be an uphill fight, Local 1202 President Carnell Gathers isn't job-hunting.

At its peak in 1972, the plant employed 1,200 people, but only about 120 now remain to close up shop. "Some of these guys in this shop are in their mid-'30s and they may have a pretty good chance of

finding another job," says Gathers. "But you look at those people who are in their mid-40s and early '50s, those people are going to have problems."

The immediate cause for GE's plans to shutdown the Charleston facility — and four others around the country — is the declining market for steam turbines, used by both nuclear and non-nuclear generators. GE has received no orders for steam generator parts since 1981.

While no one disputes that the market for the plant's current product is limited, the UE points out that the plant is modern — it opened in 1969 — and could be converted to other uses.

As a result of the research done by the AUC, UE Local 1202 proposes converting the plant into an "Alternative Energy and Environmental Systems Center." The center would produce such items as: municipal power generating systems running on solid waste; renewable energy systems; flue gas desulfurization scrubbers to prevent acid rain emissions; and specialized tanks and containers for hazardous waste and nuclear waste cleanup, treatment, and renewal.

So far GE is not supporting the UE plan, and workers are now looking for a buyer for the plant who will. With help from the highly-respected management consulting firm of Arthur D. Little, Inc. and from the Harvard Business School, the union is now seeking about \$50,000 from federal agencies to prepare a feasibility study for its proposals. The South Carolina Development Board turned down a request to fund the study, with board Deputy Director Hank Hankinson, saying, "We have no access to monies of that magnitude. We've had a lot of companies to close. We feel we'd have to do it for other companies, too."

Despite the obstacles, the Charleston workers are keeping up their struggle. "We're not naive to think we couldn't lose the fight for our jobs. But as long as I'm there, I'm going to fight," says Gathers, who has been at the plant since it opened.

Ironically, while GE is closing its turbine plants in the U.S., it has built new plants in Taiwan and other countries to take advantage of foreign tax credits and the deferral of taxes on foreign profits. As a result, according to a UE statement, "GE has paid no federal income taxes for the past three years — in fact GE got a \$38 million refund for 1983."

— thanks to Steve Hoffius

## West Virginians fear Bhopal-like tragedy

“We’ve known of the dangers for years,” says David Grubb, executive director of the public interest organization West Virginia Citizen Action Group (WV-CAG), when referring to the possibility of a Bhopal-like disaster occurring at Union Carbide’s Institute, West Virginia, plant. Following the tragedy in Bhopal, India, where the release of methyl isocyanate (MIC) killed over 2,000 people early in December, Union Carbide halted production of the deadly gas at the West Virginia facility.

In the past five years, there have been 28 unreported leaks of MIC from the Institute plant, according to an Environmental Protection Agency report released January 23. Meanwhile, Du Pont has announced it will manufacture MIC at its La Porte, Texas, plant using a “closed loop” process. Du Pont claims the process will cut down the risk of a catastrophe by enabling the chemical to be used in the manufacture of Lannate pesticide just moments after MIC is produced.

In testimony to the Subcommittee on Health and the Environment of the U.S. House of Representatives two weeks after Bhopal, Perry Bryant, environmental coordinator of WV-CAG, charged that, “Union Carbide officials have been unable to provide assurances that the Bhopal facility, which was obviously unsafe, and the Institute plant differ substantially in terms of safety. Until we know what killed the people of Bhopal, and until there is corrective action, if necessary, at the Institute plant, I do not know how anyone can say with certainty that it can’t happen here.”

Bryant’s testimony focused on the danger to residents of the area known locally as “Chemical Valley” and dubbed by *Mother Jones* in 1978 as “Cancer Valley.” Eight chemical plants line the Kanawha River along the 30-mile stretch near the state capital of Charleston. In the section of North Charleston directly across the river from another Union Carbide plant, the cancer rate is twice the national average.

“Whether it be through sudden uncontrolled release of a lethal substance or

whether it be the legal routine discharge of known carcinogens, every day we in the Kanawha Valley face the possibility of death from chemical toxins,” Bryant explained.

“This is not a case of ‘Can it happen here?’” Bryant charged. Presenting a petition signed by 12,000 West Virginians before the accident in India, Bryant said that “exclusive concentration on MIC obscures the larger problem,” since many other extremely hazardous substances are produced and regularly discharged in the valley. He concluded that legislation is needed “which would guarantee [West Virginians] the right to know what hazardous substances are present in their community or workplace and the right to know that storage, disposal, and treatment of these substances is safely regulated.” Bryant pointed out, “It is often said that the citizens of this valley have chosen to live with these dangers, but I submit that people can’t choose to live with dangers until they know what they are.”

In a recent article, *The Wall Street Journal* noted a few of the accidents that have occurred in the Kanawha valley. According to the article, “In the past four years alone, there have been leaks and spills of chemicals at local facilities owned by Union Carbide, FMC Corp. and Diamond Shamrock Corp.”

In his testimony, Bryant called for a number of changes and additions to federal law, among them: the strengthening of the Toxic Substances Control Act (TSCA) which currently leaves superhazardous substances virtually unregulated until they become waste material, at which point they come under the stricter Resource Conservation and Recovery Act.

Additional danger from MIC and other hazardous substances occurs during transportation, and this has become an issue

### SEEN ANY GOOD NEWS?

There’s no reason to let us be the ones who sift through the press to choose the material to include in the Southern News Roundup. If you see a feature article in your local newspaper or a magazine that sheds light on what progressive Southerners are doing — or are up against — send it to us. Send the complete article, date and name of publication (with its address if possible) along with your name and address, and whatever additional comments or interpretations you care to include, to: Southern News Roundup, P.O. Box 531, Durham, NC 27702.

in several Southern states in getting rid of the stored MIC from Institute. Before Bhopal, tank cars regularly carried MIC from Institute to La Porte, Texas, where DuPont used it in manufacturing Lannate, and American Cyanamid bought lots of 30,000 to 60,000 pounds for shipment overland to be loaded onto freighters bound for Brazil.

Bryant further called on Congress to strengthen the Clean Air Act, which controls regular emissions of toxics into the atmosphere, and to regulate wastewater treatment facilities, which also discharge a significant amount of hazardous substances into the air. Both areas fall under the jurisdiction of EPA and, Bryant charged, “As this subcommittee knows, the EPA has a dismal track record re. effective action against toxic air emissions” and that “waste water treatment facilities . . . are presently exempt from regulation” under EPA’s own rules.

*Highlander Center has available an hour-long videotape, “No Promise for Tomorrow: Communities React to the Bhopal Tragedy.” Contact: Highlander, Rt. 3, Box 370, New Market, TN 37820.*

## Houston voters reject gay rights measures

On January 19, Houston voters rejected by a four-to-one margin two measures designed to alter existing city hiring practices which would have extended Title VII protections to gays seeking employment (see *SE* Sept./Oct., 1983).

The unofficial turnout was only 30 percent and the count was 44,706 in favor of proposition A and 198,563 against. Proposition A would have added an anti-discrimination provision to the civil service statutes. Proposition B, a provision to add sexual orientation to the city’s affirmative action program drew 43,303 in favor and 197,763 against. The only area of the city which came out solidly in favor of the proposals was Montrose — the heart of Houston’s gay community.

Just two days before the vote the *Houston Post* called the divisive battle, “A ridiculous, embarrassing time for Houston,” and added the battle over the propositions was “dragging out the worst in human nature on both sides.”

The campaign was marked by the emergence of the business community, particularly the chamber of commerce, as a leading anti-gay force in Houston. Arguing it would be "detrimental" to the economic future of the city, the chamber's executive committee unanimously voted to fight passage of the ordinances. At a meeting of the chamber in December, Mayor Kathy Whitmire accused the business leaders of joining with "bigots" such as the Ku Klux Klan in opposing the measures. The Klan, for its part held a "death to the homosexuals" rally at city hall just days before polling began.

Meanwhile, according to the *Wall Street Journal*, several bankers and Fortune 500 companies pooled their money with groups of doctors and lawyers to take out advertisements and hold news conferences to oppose Houston's becoming a "homosexual mecca" that would be "infested" with acquired immune deficiency syndrome.

Gay activists say they will monitor city employment practices to ensure gays are not discriminated against and the Houston Gay Political Caucus will continue to screen candidates and work for those it endorses.

— Ken Kahn

## Harassing of political groups on upswing

On November 9, the building which houses the Institute for Southern Studies and six other politically active organizations was broken into under suspicious circumstances. While little more damage was done than the busting in of doors and the rifling of files and desk drawers, in the building next door a women's music distributor, Ladyslipper Records, lost hundreds of dollars in stamps and audio equipment.

Two weeks later, on November 23, a building housing the Center for Community Self-Help and several other organizations was also broken into under similar circumstances. While the motives and culprits of these break-ins remain hidden, they have demonstrated the vulnerability of Durham's political groups to such harassment.

Subsequent to the break-ins, the Insti-

tute staff received word of FBI visits to individual members of several local groups. It appears that the agents were in search of information on fugitives and organizations under investigation by grand juries in the Northeast.

Similar break-ins and visits are taking place in a number of locales throughout the country. In response to the "increased investigation and harassment of solidarity and sanctuary workers, black political activists, anti-nuclear demonstrators, and other movement groups and individuals," the Center for Constitutional Rights in cooperation with the National Lawyers Guild has established the Movement Support Network. The new project will provide a wide-range of services including the publication of pamphlets and brochures with information on the rights of political activists.

According to the network's first newsletter, "Incidents of surveillance, grand jury subpoenas, and COINTELPRO-type break-ins [see page 53] were agured by legislation and executive orders developed by the Reagan Administration." The newsletter reports on political harassment and the use of political grand juries, and provides an overview of the new legal basis for repression provided by the Reagan administration's redefinition of the scope of "intelligence" and "security" operations for the FBI and CIA.

For more information write: *The Movement Support Network, c/o The Center for Constitutional Rights, 853 Broadway, N.Y., NY 10003, or call: (212)477-5652.*

## Alabama grand jury subpoenas 28 people

Three federal grand juries, one in each federal district in Alabama, have been empaneled to investigate voter fraud with regard to absentee voting procedures during the September primaries there. At least 28 people have been subpoenaed by the grand juries, most of them members of the Greene County Alabama Democratic Conference (ADC), a local chapter of the state-wide organization formed to foster black political power.

FBI agents swept into Greene County in October, visiting over 200 people. The

agents knew which people had voted absentee and for whom the ballots were cast. Those questioned were asked if they had voted their choice, if their ballot reflected this choice, and if they had been coerced in any way. ADC's records and voting materials were confiscated under a search warrant from the office of Book-



er Cook, director of the Planning and Development Office. Most of those subpoenaed were asked for fingerprints, photographs, and handwriting samples.

Activists in the area view the FBI and grand jury harassment as part of the continuing activity to inhibit efforts to increase black political power. "What we are really being accused of is being organized," said John Zippert of the ADC and the Federation of Southern Cooperatives. This year, for the first time, 5,000 of Greene County's 9,000 eligible voters participated in the election. Many ADC members were also participants in the Jackson campaign and are continuing the work of building the Rainbow Coalition.

ADC has sought national and regional support from civil rights groups and others to assist them in fighting back the current harassment. In 1979, two black women from nearby Pickens County were convicted of voter fraud after a state trial. The two, Maggie Bozeman and Julia Wilder, like those under current investigation were involved in helping the old, infirm, or persons unavoidably out of the county on election day, to utilize the absentee vote process. Ongoing work is focussing on putting pressure on the Justice Department to dismantle the grand juries.

Reprinted from the Movement Support Network News.

GONZALEZ, FLORIDA

## The Demise of the Front Porch

— by Don Barker

Whatever happened to the great old institution, the front porch? When I was a boy, that was the best thing since ice cream cones. Nowadays, if your house has a front porch at all it's just to keep your welcome mat from getting wet. I remember when a man was judged by the kind of porch he had. His wife took a lot of pride in her porch. Some were real showplaces. I remember one that would have made the Botanical Gardens look like a burned-out hot house.

There were several kinds of front porches, but the best remembered probably was the Southern, around-the-house kind. You could have chased a cat for days on those.

Porches began to change shortly after the Civil War. First they came off the side of the house, leaving two porches — front and back — thus, the age of the portico. Then the porches actually began to shrink. After they were modified and re-modified, the old houses themselves were gone. By the time I came along, porches were hardly a memory of what they had been.

The porches in the country differed from those in town for they had to serve different needs. Country porches had long porch planks of rough-cut lumber laid with cracks between the planks. As a rule, these porches had no banister — one reason being that it was handy to pile cotton on the end of the porch so if you lacked just a little bit having a load on the wagon, you could stop by the porch and pull a little more on. The absence of banisters was also handy for the farmer who at this time was still using outdoor plumbing. I can recall times when if I had had to go to the middle of the porch and down the steps to the outhouse, I would never have made it.

Country house porches were the scene of one accomplishment I have never seen

anywhere else: across-the-plank rocking. Now anybody can sit in a rocking chair on a smooth surface and rock very comfortably, but to do it on uneven planks with cracks between them is something else again. If you rocked with the cracks, you would rock yourself out into the yard. A good cross-plank rocker could rock the baby to sleep and bounce enough to burp him without ever missing a rock. This has become one of your lost arts.

The porch I grew up with was a town porch. It was a long affair stretching across the front of the house and serving two families. There were five steps rising to the level of the porch proper. Atop the banister was room for potted plants and other ornaments — which gave the paper boy something to toss the daily paper at.

Porches back in those days had personality. They were extensions of the people who lived inside the house. It seemed to me that the house belonged to the porch rather than the porch belonging to the house. Porches were serious business. If there was an argument, it was usually settled on the porch. If you could not settle it the porch was a good place to throw someone off of. Most proposals of marriage were made on the front porch in the swing. Lovers considered it their Shangri-La. Yard dogs considered the front porch their personal property. On rainy days you could go out on the front porch with a rolled-up newspaper and kill flies while waiting for the rain to stop. At night you could sit on the porch and listen to ghost stories. And the old folks would always talk about when they were young so you would know how good you had it. After supper everyone would go to the front porch and the men would prop their feet up on the banister, the women would rock, and the kids would

sit on the floor and hang their feet between the banister rails.

Now tell me, if you can, what happened to all this? The blame can't all be placed on television. I think I know what happened and I may be able to answer some nagging questions that may have crossed a few minds other than mine. For example:

The reason there is a hanging pot craze



illustration by Frank Holyfield

is because there is no bannister to put pots on. Kids never bring their dates home because there's no porch to sit on. Neighbors can't settle arguments because there is no porch to yell across. We all had to buy paper boxes to put next to the mail box because there is no porch for the paper boy to throw at. The world is becoming infested with flies because there's no porch to sit on in the rain with a rolled-up newspaper in hand. Television became so popular because there's no porch.

There it is, then, my own observation. Now I ask you, was it worth it? □

*Don Barker is a freelance writer living in Gonzalez, Florida.*

*FACING SOUTH welcomes readers' comments and writers' contributions. Write P.O. Box 531, Durham, NC 27702.*

# VOICES OF OUR NEIGHBORS

DETROIT

## Finding a fast-food job harder than flipping burgers

— Louis Freedberg

*The rapidly growing fast-food industry is generally thought to hold job opportunities for unskilled minority youths. The reality, writes Pacific New Service editor Louis Freedberg, is that getting these jobs now requires knowing somebody on the inside. Freedberg interviewed workers at one of the country's few unionized fast-food outlets.*

**“Y**ou have to know someone,” says 16-year-old Rodney Clark, who got his job at a Detroit MacDonald’s because a friend knew the manager. “They usually don’t even distribute applications.” Instead, when a position opens up, he and his co-workers put their friends’ names on a sign-up sheet.

With a uniformity rivaling that of the Big Mac itself, teenagers tell the same story. At prestigious Renaissance High, a largely black college prep school, Victoria Nicholson, 17, laments, “You have to have connections to get a fast-food job. So many teenagers want the job.” Nicholson now works six hours a week at a dental clinic.

“I stopped applying,” says Darius Ward, 17, a student at Cass Tech, who spends his afternoons working up a sweat running at a track.

The situation is most extreme in areas where youth unemployment has reached crisis proportions. Here in Detroit nearly half of those aged 16 to 19 who are seeking work are unable to find it. For blacks the official figure is half again as high — a staggering 73.7 percent — and the actual rate is probably even higher.

While it is true that the fast-food industry is the leading employer of teenagers and will account for 800,000 jobs over the next decade, finding a place behind the counter will not necessarily get any easier. In some places, food chains are hiring



photo by Alma Blount

FAST-FOOD WORK IN NORTH CAROLINA . . . OR DETROIT . . . OR ARIZONA . . .

immigrant workers in increasing numbers, and in areas with high unemployment, like nearby Flint, older workers are squeezing out inexperienced teens.

As a result, black teenagers are simply dropping out of the labor market, and in record numbers. By January 1984 the national percentage of all blacks in this age group who were actually working or looking for work — the “participation rate” — had dropped to an all-time low of 36.4 percent. Their white counterparts were participating at a rate of 57.2 percent last year.

One place where black teenagers haven’t given up is the giant Burger King adjoining Detroit’s downtown bus station. The 47 workers, most of them young and all of them black, have formed the Detroit Fast Food Association, one of the country’s few fast-food unions. They have jobs and they want to hang on to them.

For most people, fast-food work is “like a revolving door — in and out, in and out,” says Rhoda Johnson, 18, referring to the average industry-wide 200-300 percent annual turnover rate. Johnson, a high school senior, was on the bargaining team that hammered out a contract with Greyhound, owner of the Burger King franchise, in 1983. The detailed agreement, which covers four newspaper-size pages, took over three years of legal wrangling and a ruling by the National Labor Relations Board forcing the com-

pany to negotiate. It covers every aspect of work, including promotion policies, meal breaks, vacation pay, funeral leave, and salary increases.

The union won no major concessions on pay, which still begins at the minimum wage, but workers are now guaranteed a 10 cents per hour increase once a year. After two years on the job, and promotion to “production leader,” Johnson was making only 25 cents above the \$3.35 minimum until she got a recent raise to \$4 an hour.

She and other workers, however, feel the contract’s most important section is the one admonishing management and employees to “treat each other with dignity and respect at all times.” As Johnson puts it, “They can’t treat you like a dog anymore.”

Johnson and her co-workers are now employment brokers of sorts, often asked to help their friends get jobs at the Burger King. The important thing, she says, is to introduce people to the manager: “You have to bring your friend down to get some action; otherwise you’re just a face in the crowd.” Johnson got *her* job through a connection — her cousin works for Greyhound, and knew the manager of this Burger King. She says the manager hired her as a favor to her cousin.

Despite the low wages, these Burger King workers have one of Detroit’s most valued commodities — a regular

paycheck. "We're competing with anyone who doesn't have a job," says Johnson. "There was a time when people looked down on fast-food work. Now they're grateful."

— copyright © 1984 by PNS

## CENTRAL AMERICA

### Labor stands up; Vermonters sit in

A year-long campaign by American unions in the National Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador centered on the release of 10 jailed Salvadoran union leaders. The campaign ended in victory on October 15. *Labor Unity* reports that nine of the 10 left jail and flew with family members to safety in the Netherlands. A tenth prisoner had left jail earlier and chose to remain in El Salvador; his present whereabouts is unknown.

The imprisoned unionists, all members of the electrical workers union, STECEL, had taken part in a 1981 general strike protesting government repression against labor. One of the released unionists is Hector Recinos, recognized as a leading trade unionist in Central America and the head of STECEL. Following the strike, which shut down a major power plant, the workers were arrested and held in prison for more than four years without formal charges or trial. They were frequently beaten and tortured. Many family members were murdered, "disappeared," or forced to flee El Salvador. And the union was placed under the control of the Salvadoran army and then dissolved within a week.

"The real credit for freeing these men," said Jack Sheinkman, secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU), "should go to union members and church people across America who wrote letters and sent telegrams to the political leaders of the U.S. and El Salvador." American union members, working with churches, lawyers, and community groups, wrote letters and telegrams and attended educational meetings about Central America. The committee issued a special report, "El Salvador: Labor, Terror and Peace," which describes the repression union

members face there.

"Whenever we had a chance, we always mentioned the prisoners and asked people to join us in writing letters," explained ACTWU Local 169 representative Ernesto Jofre, New York City coordinator for the committee. "This issue affects us because money that could go for jobs here is being used to buy weapons to oppress people in Central America."

The committee, made up of unions representing a third of the membership of the AFL-CIO, will continue to push for the release of others still jailed in El Salvador and for progress in the case of two AFL-CIO representatives who were murdered in 1981. "We have to keep on doing our job," said Jofre. "This is only one step in the whole process of bringing democracy to El Salvador."

On a different front, a trial in Burlington, Vermont, involving the "Winooski 44" may have established a valuable precedent for movement activists, reports *The Guardian*.

On November 16, 26 of 44 people arrested in March 1984 for occupying Senator Robert Stafford's (R-VT) local office were acquitted of "unlawful trespass" by a jury of nine women and three men. The defendants were part of a group of more than 100 people who converged on Stafford's Winooski office to protest his support for U.S. policy in Central America. After spending the weekend in the office, the group confronted an aide and requested that Stafford attend a public

HECTOR RECINOS, AT LEFT



photo by Dave Dyson

meeting to hear his constituents' concerns. When the meeting proposal was rebuffed, 44 protesters declined to leave the office and were arrested.

In an unusual step, Vermont District Court Judge Frank Mahady allowed the eight-lawyer defense team to present "necessity defense" arguments, which were backed by a wide range of prominent and key witnesses. This type of defense — which holds that it is necessary to commit a crime (in this case trespassing) to prevent a greater crime (U.S. intervention in Central America) — is rarely approved by judges for jury presentation.

*The Winooski 44 are still raising money to pay for the transportation of witnesses. Make checks payable to the Burlington Peace Coalition and send to: Peacework Network, P.O. Box 303, Burlington, VT 05402.*

## PHILADELPHIA

### Buy a supermarket

The Philadelphia Association for Cooperative Enterprise (PACE), working with a number of church groups and the local Food Retail Union, is developing an innovative method of creating neighborhood-based, employee-owned supermarkets in low-income areas. The Interfaith Revolving Loan Fund will provide loans at below-market interest rates to worker cooperative members and to worker-owned enterprises. Membership equity loans and other types of debt financing will also be made available.

Part of Project FEED (Food and Employment for Economic Democracy), the program is intended to meet the twin problems of hunger and unemployment by increasing access to low-cost nutritious food and by developing pools of people with business and organizational skills.

PACE was instrumental in developing the nation's first two employee-owned supermarkets, the O&O Supermarkets of Philadelphia. It provides technical assistance to established and emerging worker-owned businesses in the Philadelphia area.

*For more information, contact: Andrew Lamas, PACE, 133 South 18th Street, Philadelphia, PA 19103.*

— thanks to Neighborhood Works

## Beyond Pocohantas

Since the arrival of Europeans on the North American continent, Indian women have been described, studied, and firmly stereotyped in both history and fiction. But Rayna Green treats us to a fresh perspective in *Native American Women: A Contextual Bibliography*. Green's one-line descriptions of almost 700 works by and about Indian women are sometimes humorous, sometimes caustic, and in spite of their brevity, always informative. Entries span 400 years, ranging from observational accounts by white men — who had no frame of reference for evaluating the social, economic, political, or cultural lives of Indian women — to more recent works by Indian women coming of age during the last two decades of women's rights advocacy.

The bulk of literature available attests that historians, social scientists, novelists, and anthropologists have paid a lot of attention to Indian women. But Green's introduction challenges the quality and the usefulness of much of it, commenting on the persistence of the Pocohantas Perplex: "Indian women have to be exotic, wild, collaborationist, crazy, or white to qualify for white attention."

The introduction though, is much more than a scathing rebuttal of stereotypes; it emphasizes the traditional and contemporary activism of Indian women. Green, a Native American, consistently evaluates both the content of and trends in fiction and scholarly work for how accurately they reflect Native women's lives and their own vision of themselves. She writes, for example, that "for Indian feminists, every woman's issue is framed in the larger context of issues pertinent to Native peoples . . . the land, natural resources, water rights, and treaty guarantees."

We're challenged to examine writing by Native women whose "critique of the scholarship about them, of social action and policy affecting them, and their interpretation of their own experiences are there to examine by scholars and the public." Noting the paucity of theoretical works by Native women, she explains, "They do not document change; they

make change."

This recent release is part of the Newberry Library Center for the History of the American Indian Bibliographical Series published by Indiana University Press. If your local library or bookstore hasn't got it, have them order it. Cost is \$19.50.

## Women's Economics

The last United Nations Decade for Women Conference will take place in Nairobi, Kenya this summer. In spite of the struggle by women to be included in economic planning, such policy making, with its inherently Western male bias still tends to marginalize and misinterpret women's economic roles and needs. ISIS, a women's international information and communication service has put together



an impressive organization and action resource guide called "Women in Development" that attempts to correct this bias by examining development issues from a feminist perspective. The five chapters discuss multinationals; rural development; health, education, and communication; and migration and tourism; and their specific impact on women. Each of the chapters includes annotated listings of books, pamphlets, audio-visuals, articles, periodicals, resource centers, and organizations for follow-up action and in-depth information.

Refreshingly, the essays refine Western feminist logic to reflect lessons learned from working with Third World women

and on Third World issues. "We have often ignored issues of international politics and economics," the ISIS collective admits. But they claim, "This is beginning to change. Women are addressing issues of food, water and economic exploitation from the feminist perspective." This guide is an example of the fine work such a change can inspire. The overview essays are clear, concise, and readable by folks outside the mainstream of either development or feminist theory. Illustrated with photographs, charts, cartoons and other drawings, ISIS presents us a true picture of the economic lives of women whether as major food producers in the rural areas of the world or as prostitutes in the tourist centers — as victims of forced migration or "beneficiaries" of development schemes. To order a copy send check or money order to New Society Publishers, 4722 Baltimore Avenue, Philadelphia, PA 19143. Hardcover copies sell for \$39.95; paperback: \$14.95 (add \$1.50 postage for the first copy, 40 cents for each additional).

## Mountain Children

You'll be convinced after viewing *Portraits and Dreams* that photography is a sure-fire way to coax artistry out of young people. The video from Appalshop features the words and photos of schoolchildren in southeastern Kentucky who participated in classes taught by Wendy Ewald over a period of five years. "The world they present is small and intimate, but their perception of it is detailed, accepting, and complex." The children talk about and photograph their family members, their mountain home, their pets — even their fantasies. One particularly artsy youth treats us to a dream about death complete with costumes and Eisenstein-like sets. If you've been looking for a way to inspire a youngster or group of youngsters, you might find it with this gem. An exhibit of the photographs is now available from the Smithsonian Institution's Traveling Exhibition Service; and in video and book form from Appalshop, Inc., P.O. Box 743, Whitesburg, KY 41858, or Community Media Productions, 215 Superior Ave., Dayton, Ohio 45406.

# JESSE HELMS

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## THE MEANING OF HIS MONEY

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North Carolina's bitterly contested 1984 Senate race between Republican Jesse Helms and Democratic Governor Jim Hunt will go down in history as one of the meanest, ugliest, and most divisive campaigns ever. For months, North Carolinians could not read a newspaper, watch television, or open their mail without being bombarded by political rhetoric, mud-slinging, and pleas for money.

In the end, the money made the difference. It transformed traditional back-slapping politics into a war of 30-second television commercials. And it elevated name-calling from an occasional verbal

punch below the belt to a shrill pitch broadcast with such frequency that voters were either dulled into submission or provoked into action.

The dollars spent in the race literally boggle the mind. Helms raised \$15.9 million, or about \$14 for each of the 1,156,768 votes he ultimately received. Hunt took in \$9.7 million, nine dollars apiece for his 1,070,488 votes. The \$25.6 million total\* sets an all-time high for a statewide political contest. In its closest rival — California's 1982 Senate race — 17 candidates slugged it out through three elections (primary, run-off, and general election) for the support of four

times as many voters as live in North Carolina. They still only spent \$22 million.

With only token opposition in their respective primaries, Helms and Hunt knew they faced a one-on-one confrontation from the beginning. Each side started building its financial war chest two years before the election, largely through direct-mail appeals, and by the spring of 1983 Helms was already spending hundreds of thousands of dollars on his now-famous "negative" advertising. Consistent throughout the campaign, the ads attacked Hunt's personal credibility and exposed his "liber-

by The Campaign Finance Project



alism" by characterizing him as (1) "wishy-washy" and inconsistent, especially on issues like school prayer; and (2) closely tied to "union bosses," "homosexuals and militant feminists," and "out-of-state radical leaders" like Edward Kennedy and Jesse Jackson. By contrast, Hunt's television ads lacked a central theme and didn't begin until a year after Helms's; hard-hitting attacks on the senator's preoccupation with "right-wing extremists" worldwide gave way to a mish-mash of commercials defending Hunt's credibility, reflecting the overall cautious approach of his campaign.

In September 1984, the *Charlotte Observer* reported that Helms was spending 45 percent of his millions on political advertising and another 27 percent on fundraising mailings. By election day, the *Raleigh News & Observer* estimated that Helms had paid for 15,000 television ads, while Hunt had aired 7,000 — but the final numbers may be three times these figures. In a 12-week period in early 1983, Helms blitzed the state with 12,000 anti-Hunt ads in 150 small-town newspapers and 80 radio stations. "Independent" groups not directly tied to the candidates paid for hundreds of additional commercials; in June 1984, for example, the Fund for a Conservative Majority kicked off a \$1 million pro-Helms campaign by airing a 30-second spot 99 times in 10 days in the state's five major TV markets.

One more statistic underscores the power of this costly barrage of television advertising: the majority of adults in 62 of North Carolina's 100 counties never finished high school. Many are functionally illiterate; most get their news wholly from the airwaves. Is it any wonder that the image dominating the TV screen decided the outcome of the Senate race?

Still, the margin of victory was relatively slim — only 86,000 votes out of 2,200,000 cast — and other factors, beyond the millions of dollars, surely influenced the final results on November 6. For example:

- The coat-tail effect of Reagan's landslide (62 percent of the state's vote) imitated Nixon's 69 percent victory over McGovern in 1972 when Helms first won his Senate seat.

- A united state Republican party, helped by a clean-cut gubernatorial candidate who promised a repeal of the food

sales tax, produced more than 800,000 straight party votes, even for unknowns like the Republican candidate for agricultural commissioner.

- Well-publicized voter registration drives by Jesse Jackson and the Moral Majority symbolized aggressive work at the grass roots — and deep-seated racial polarization, which Helms used to his advantage: "Jim Hunt needs an enormous black vote to put him across, but if enough of our people go to the polls it will be OK," he told reporters. New white voters added between November 1982 and '84 outnumbered new black voters 420,000 to 170,000.

- Hunt held his own in the TV debates, and in campaign speeches he effectively contrasted his record of delivering more jobs, better schools, and good roads with Helms's fascination with fringe issues. But a poorly planned media campaign allowed Helms to take control of the race and left Hunt with a \$700,000-plus surplus.

- Hard-fought Democratic primaries burned out campaign workers, fractured the party, and left many voters "without a candidate." Eddie Knox, the choice of most liberal and black groups in the gubernatorial run-off, wound up endorsing Reagan and denouncing Hunt for not helping him.

Such fortuitous circumstances certainly played into the hands of Jesse Helms. But for a comical, knee-jerk reactionary to defeat the darling of Southern Democrats took more than luck and pluck. It required considerable foresight, planning, and organization, proving the aptness of Elizabeth Drew's analysis in the July 20, 1981, *New Yorker*: "He [Helms] is not just another senator, he is a force — and he represents a new political phenomenon. He and his extensive network of aides and allies have figured out how to tap some very old strains in American politics through a cool use of some of the most modern, sophisticated and original political techniques."

At the heart of this new "phenomenon" and of Helms's success is a well-oiled money-raising machine that gives him and his associates the power to overwhelm rational political discourse with a hot-tempered morality play which they can manipulate for mass appeal — and for more money. Or as Helms himself explained it three weeks after his victory: "We raised the money to break through the journalism curtain, and we took the story directly to the people."

## WHO'S PLAYING RIGHT FIELD?

BY RUTH ZIEGLER

The conservative organizations listed below are a sample of those backing Jesse Helms's re-election bid in 1984. They include both "Old Right" organizations, which were fed by the anti-communist paranoia of the 1940s and '50s, as well as examples from the "New Right" network.

### Accuracy In Media (AIM)

AIM is a media monitoring organization, established in 1969 by Reed Irvine to expose the "liberal bias" of the press. Findings are published in Irvine's syndicated column, in a bimonthly AIM report, and in publications of Sun Myung Moon's Unification Church with which Irvine works closely. Another *modus operandi* of AIM is to purchase stock in publicly owned media like the *Washington Post* and confront executives at annual meetings. Many of AIM's advisory board members are large contributors to Helms, including Karl Bendetsen, Shelby Cullom Davis, Robert Kreible, and Henry Salvatori.

### American Security Council (ASC)

The Council was set up by former FBI agent William F. Carroll in 1955 to monitor "Communists" and screen employees for subscribers. At its peak the council served more than 1,500 firms as the private equivalent of the FBI with six million personnel file cards and a special subversive activities library. In 1966, the library was closed and ASC moved to Boston, Virginia; by 1983, it had become the most influential pro-Pentagon lobby. In 1982, ASC boasted some 30,000 members and a budget of \$5 million for television advertising alone. In September 1984, its Coalition for Peace Through Strength program (of which Helms is a member) staged a pro-defense rally in Raleigh organized by Milton H. Croom, a \$2,000 donor to Helms. ASC's PAC contributed \$10,000 to Helms's 1984 campaign.

### Christian Anti-Communist Crusade

This Old Right organization, under the leadership of Dr. Fred C. Schwarz, an Australian physician, held anti-communist "schools" in various cities. Schwarz specialized in the theory that Communists are Satanic and masters of intrigue. Today its newsletter is militantly anti-gay, anti-busing, anti-abortion, anti-sex education; it urges anti-communists to adopt New Right causes by linking "declining morality in the USA to increasing Soviet military strength." Major backers in the '60s included J. Howard Pew, the Eli Lilly family, and the Allen Bradley Company. John J. Pew gave \$2,000 to Helms's campaign and the PAC of the family's Sun Oil Co. gave another \$2,000.

### Christian Crusade

This is the popular name for Christian Echo National Ministry, founded by the Rev. Billy James Hargis, first of the "electronic" preachers. Starting in 1951, Hargis combined

\* As of November 26, 1984, the candidates had reported these figures; later reports filed by January 31, 1985 may put the total at \$30 million.

## THE SELLING STORY

The "story" Jesse Helms broadcast over the airwaves and through his fundraising mailings boils down to a fantasy — one that many people (especially white males) share, because it connects them to a glorious world where "a man's home is his castle" and "my country 'tis of Thee." Jim Lucier, a top Helms aide, describes the secret of his boss's appeal:

"The problem in our country is there is a tremendous gap between the people as a whole and the leadership groups that run the country — not just the media but also politicians, corporate executives, financial officers of major banks, and so forth. They have been trained in an intellectual tradition that is not only at variance with the way the ordinary person thinks but is contradictory to it. Helms is not right-wing. He's not even political. The issues he's involved in are pre-political.

"What I mean is," Lucier continues, "the intellectual training of those groups I referred to is highly rationalistic. . . . The principles that we're espousing are ones that have been around for thousands of years: The family as the basis of social organization, Faith in the transcendent world — that God is the creator of this world that we live in, and there is a higher meaning than materialism. Property as a fundamental human right — the idea that your home is your castle and the government can't come in and take it away from you. . . .

"Another fundamental principle is loyalty to the country that you live in. Feelings that have been long suppressed," Lucier concludes, "are coming back to the surface, because politicians have distorted society — whether it's busing that breaks up the family or deficit financing that redistributes income. A society can absorb a little at first, but eventually these things distort the basic structure so much that it flies apart."

A lesser demagogue might fail to capitalize on these insights about the selfish underside of the American psyche. But for a dozen years the Helms organization has raised, and spent, millions of dollars by repeating these pre-rational themes over and over in fundraising letters to a national constituency frightened by the liberal assault on God, family, property, and American pride.

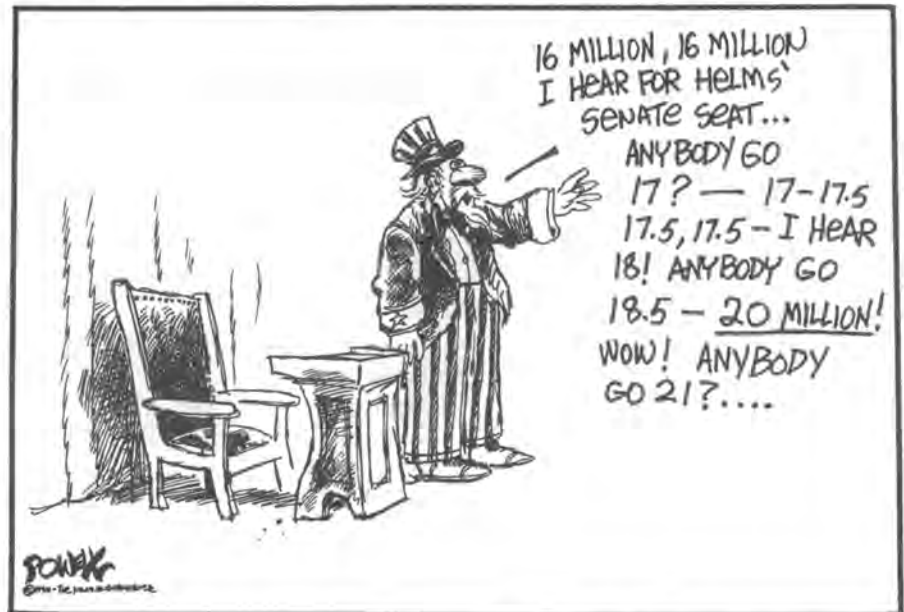
"Helms can go out and pick up seven or eight million dollars and doesn't need the leadership groups," says Lucier.

"Direct mail short-circuits the media and goes right into people's mailboxes." Or as Richard Viguerie, godfather of right-wing fundraisers, says, "Without direct mail, there would be no effective counterforce to liberalism, and certainly there would be no New Right."

By carefully testing the response each appeal generates from different types of people (i.e., computerized lists), Helms's direct-mail fundraisers have learned which "story" works most effectively — and which new slant to take in their next mailing. The huge sums raised *every month* through this technique meant Helms's strategists could afford to

ment of money and people between these groups illegally subsidized Helms's campaign, but the courts have yet to rule on the issue. The extent of the profits JMI earns from work done for Helms, which its officers manage in the first place, also remains unanswered.

Meanwhile, the creative minds behind the Helms morality play kept cranking out a story line that capitalized on people's anxieties, made effective use of scapegoats, and polarized the campaign into a holy crusade against the enemies of God and America. The most extreme versions went directly to targeted markets of potential supporters.



use a torrent of 30-second commercials to implement a campaign plan based on the same basic principles as their direct-mail program:

(1) make direct contact with people, bypassing media interpreters, party officials, and other intermediaries;

(2) keep on the offensive, start early, and constantly throw in new issues and charges which earn your supporters' continued attention (and dollars) and keep your opponent off balance;

(3) polarize the battle into an ideological crusade between the demonic forces of liberalism and the senator who is not afraid to stand up for what's right;

(4) personalize and tailor the message to targeted audiences, and continually test and refine it to improve its effectiveness in generating the desired response.

Both the ads and the direct-mail appeals are coordinated by the overlapping personnel at the National Congressional Club, Helms for Senate Committee, and Jefferson Marketing, Inc. (JMI). Hunt scored points by alleging that the move-

For example, a fundraising letter sent out by JMI to a list of Southerners for Reagan said \$217,855 was desperately needed to recruit 250,000 new voters in North Carolina to offset the voter registration efforts of "radical black civil rights leader Jesse Jackson." The letter called Jackson a "carpetbagger" and condemned "out-of-state northern liberals who have come south to destroy our heritage and way of life. I know you understand what I'm talking about," explained the letter's signer, the great-great nephew of Robert E. Lee.

A 30-second ad aired in urban television markets during a Monday night football game featured Dallas Cowboy coach Tom Landry: "We can count on Senator Helms to fight the tough ones. America needs its champions now more than ever." Ads, flyers, and even a comic book appearing in the rural, eastern part of the state blasted Hunt for taking money from "radical blacks," "union bosses," and "homosexuals out of the closet."

Singer Pat Boone signed an appeal to a list of fundamentalists asking for \$42,500 to counter "the un-Godly lies the liberals are spreading about Jesse." Boone praised Helms's efforts to ban abortion, stop forced busing, and strengthen U.S. defenses against the Soviets. And he ended with a postscript: "You and I need Jesse in Washington. America needs him. God needs him."

Another letter sent nationally asked for money to organize "Christians" inside North Carolina because "dangerous liberals like Jesse Jackson are roaming the back streets" to register Mondale-Hunt supporters.

Virtually every letter Helms signed labeled the campaign a contest between the "patriotic," the "dedicated," and the "religious" against "ruthless union bosses, abortionists, pornographers, homosexuals, and biased news commentators [who] are out for my political hide."

The statewide television commercials paid for by these letters portrayed the contrast in less strident terms. Because they were seen by North Carolina voters, rather than a national constituency of true believers, the ads focused more specifically on Hunt, playing on his reputation as an ambitious politician who talked out of both sides of his mouth on sensitive issues, unlike the unequivocal Helms. Once Mondale received the nomination, the ads presented a simple choice between flag-waving Republicans led by Ronald Reagan and high-taxing liberals serving the "special interests." Or, as stated in its 10-second version which a viewer might see six times an evening: "President Reagan and Senator Helms oppose tax increases. Walter Mondale and Jim Hunt have promised to raise taxes."

Even though Hunt rebuked Mondale's tax plan, Helms's ads showed him saying he supported Fritz Mondale for president and raising his hand in favor of a federal tax hike at a national governors' conference. And even though Hunt is far from a liberal on domestic and foreign policy issues, nearly every anti-tax ad concluded with the announcer intoning, "Jim Hunt, a Mondale liberal." This phrase came as the subtle answer to the tag line which closed the first wave of ads on the "flip-flopping" Hunt: "Where do you stand, Jim?" The answer: "Jim Hunt, a Mondale liberal."

Claude Allen, press aide for Helms, called this type of advertising "political education." After his victory, the senator praised the discerning wisdom of North

Carolina voters: "They went to the polls and made clear they understood." Independent observers disagree. "Liberal is a dirty word in North Carolina," said Richard Slatta of N.C. State University. "People didn't vote on the issues, they voted on the label of liberalism."

Ferrell Guillory, associate editor of the *Raleigh News & Observer*, also criticized the Helms letters and ads for imposing "an artificial liberal-versus-conservative dichotomy on the Senate race and on the political system as a whole." To Claude Allen, this dichotomy properly described the essence of the entire campaign. "In a senate race, voters want to elect a person with an ideology," he said. "Since a senator votes on so many issues, we need a person who puts forth a philosophy. Hunt was running a governor's campaign, not a senate race, [with his] talk about education, social security, etc."

By getting its ads out early, often, and with forceful images, the Helms machine made the campaign the ideological fight it knew it could win. It was an expensive experiment in "political education." But Helms's money meant he could make it work.

#### WHO GAVE THE MONEY

Independent polls before and after the election provide reams of data on who voted for which candidate. Helms's strongest support came from white males, from the western counties of the state which have a Republican heritage, and from voters who didn't finish high school. On the other hand, Hunt's huge lead among black voters (20 percent of the state's electorate) helped him carry most of the larger urban areas and the eastern counties and a narrow majority of all women voters.

Far less is generally known about who gave Helms (or Hunt) the money to get his "story directly to the people."

Post-Watergate reforms limit the amount of money an individual can contribute directly to a candidate to \$2,000 — \$1,000 for the primary and another \$1,000 for the general election. "The fat cats are dead," proclaimed campaign finance expert Herbert Alexander in 1976. "The real effect of the Watergate campaign reforms has been to vastly increase the power of one man — Richard Viguerie. Once you have limited the amount of money the big contributors can kick in, it becomes necessary to reach thousands of small contributors. And Viguerie, more than anyone else, is the proven master of this."

#### WHO'S PLAYING RIGHT FIELD?

conservative political principles and fundamentalist Protestantism with attacks on a Communist conspiracy threatening American society. His *Christian Crusade* had a circulation of over 100,000 in the early '60s and his sermons were broadcast on over 400 radio stations. In the wake of the Goldwater campaign, the Crusade drew in close to \$1 million a year from appearances and appeals on radio and in direct mail. The family of advisory committee member Gano Chance and major backer Richard Shoff are among Helms's leading contributors.

#### Christian Nationalist Crusade

Since 1941 Gerald L. K. Smith has led this crusade, now headquartered in Los Angeles. An ally of William Dudley Pelley, head of the neo-fascist Silver Shirt Movement, and of Charles E. Coughlin, the Jew-baiting "radio priest," Smith published *The Cross and The Flag* from 1942 to 1978. It was one of America's most virulent race-hate publications. In the 1950s the Crusade spawned the Christian Nationalist Party. By 1974 Smith was earning \$300,000, and his magazine had a circulation of nearly 30,000. Thousands visit Smith's seven-story "Christ of the Ozarks" statue and view his anti-Semitic Passion play in Arkansas each year. His Citizen's Congressional Committee, organized in the 1950s, focuses on lobbying against Israel. A number of the Crusade's donors gave \$1,000 or more to Helms's 1984 campaign.

#### Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress (CSFC)

Formed in 1974 by key New Right strategist Paul Weyrich with funds from beer magnate Joseph Coors and Richard Viguerie, CSFC is one of the largest PACs on the right. It not only provides funds to aspiring New Right candidates, but also does cadre training and specializes in organizing at the precinct level. CSFC reported receipts totaling just under \$1 million in 1983-84; \$750 went to Helms, who is on CSFC's board of advisors. Dozens of its donors, like those to Reagan's Citizens for the Republic and Helms's Congressional Club, also gave directly to Helms.

#### The Conservative Caucus (CC)

Howard Phillips, the Nixon appointee brought in to dismantle the Office of Economic Opportunity, launched CC in 1975 with the use of Viguerie's mailing lists and the Helms Senate office as a base. Organized to pressure Congress to support the conservative agenda, it operates in over 250 of the nation's 435 congressional districts. Phillips's method is to pick a district coordinator who then organizes a steering committee composed of 30 or so leading activists from already existing groups; influence expands by bringing along such constituencies as the VFW, Chambers of Commerce, and anti-abortionists. In 1984, \$10,000 went to Helms's campaign.

If interviewed today, Alexander might add Jesse Helms's in-house direct-mail experts to the list, and perhaps Jim Hunt's consultant, Roger Craver of Craver & Mathews. Alexander might also retract his dismissal of the role of "fat cats," as we'll see shortly. But his observation about the strategic importance of a broad-based fundraising effort is still accurate.

Nearly 65 percent of Helms's money, or \$10 million, came from individuals who contributed less than \$200, mostly in response to his appeal letters. By contrast, Hunt received half as much — \$5.2 million — from donors of less than \$200, and a large share of this amount came from dozens of fundraising events held in and out of the state, or collected by his army of 2,300 county leaders.

The typical direct-mail giver, says Elizabeth Drew in *Politics and Money*, is over 50, lives in a suburb or rural area, often alone, feels frustrated by world affairs, and lacks an outlet for his or her political beliefs. According to former Senator Thomas J. McIntyre's study, *The Fear Brokers*, "the encapsulated evangelical, devoid as he or she is of a cohesive political philosophy or party allegiance, is particularly vulnerable to the highly personal single-issue politics practiced so assiduously by the New Right."

Helms's letters invoking paranoia perfectly target this direct-mail responsive market. And his frequent use of personalized letters to the members of single-issue groups — gun clubs, Christian academies, conservative business leaders, anti-abortion groups, etc. — enhances his return rate of contributions. But these mailings are costly, and it takes donors of over \$200 to provide the flood of surplus cash needed to pay for new mailings while also underwriting an expensive media campaign.

The identities of Helms's smallest contributors will never be publicly known (the Federal Election Commission requires candidates to report only the names and addresses of those who give more than \$200). But a glance through the print-out of Helms's largest financial supporters reads like a roster of the most notable figures in twentieth-century conservatism.

After hundreds of hours of research (see page 24), the Institute for Southern Studies's Campaign Finance Project identified the economic interests of 93 percent of the 1,800 largest individual donors to the Hunt and Helms campaigns, as of June 30, 1984. We also

questioned these contributors about why they gave \$1,000 or more to the candidates of their choice.

The results of our study show a dramatic difference between the financial constituencies of Hunt and Helms — a polarity that even exceeds the political gulf separating the two men.

Nearly two-thirds — 64 percent — of Hunt's largest supporters are white-collar professionals in real estate, law, finance, trade, communications, and service industries. Their businesses prosper under government-stimulated economic growth, when more cash flows through the pockets of an expanding

said they were less attracted by the governor's eclectic positions on issues (pro-"right-to-work" laws, pro-ERA, anti-Freeze, anti-labor law reform) than they were adamantly opposed to Jesse Helms. Two of the senator's staunchest, richest enemies — pro-Israel groups and labor unions — gave Hunt 62 percent of the money he received from political action committees (PACs). (Despite the national attention on PACs, they provided less than 10 percent of the money raised by either Helms or Hunt — see chart below).

In sharp contrast to Hunt's supporters, 52 percent of Helms's biggest money

CONTRIBUTION TOTALS		
For Jesse Helms, January 1, 1983 to November 26, 1984		
Type of Contribution	Amount	Percent of total Contributions to the Helms for Senate Committee
Total contributions from individuals	\$15,089,331	94.7%
( Total contributions less than \$200 )	\$10,026,763	62.9%
Total contributions from political action committees	\$820,471.99	5.2%
Total contributions from political parties	\$20,249.66	.1%
<b>Total contributions</b>	<b>\$15,930,052</b>	<b>100%</b>
For Jim Hunt, July 1, 1983 to November 26, 1984		
Type of Contribution	Amount	Percent of total Contributions to the Jim Hunt Committee
Total contributions from individuals	\$8,843,385	90.8%
( Total contributions less than \$200 )	\$5,240,760	53.8%
Total contributions from political action committees	\$858,735.10	8.8%
Total contributions from political parties	\$42,153.75	.4%
<b>Total contributions</b>	<b>\$9,744,273.80</b>	<b>100%</b>

middle class. They are moderates and liberals, disproportionately Jewish, and often pro-labor.

Instead of championing a pure free-enterprise system as the source of efficient production and moral discipline, Hunt's donors are the prime beneficiaries of a managed economy which true right-wingers abhor. Writes historian Richard Hofstadter: "The modern economy, based on advertising, lavish consumption, installment buying, safeguards to social security, relief to the indigent, government fiscal manipulation, and unbalanced budgets, seems reckless and immoral — even when it happens to work — [to] conservatism."

Most Hunt contributors interviewed

givers are retired or active manufacturers (especially in low-wage industries), agribusiness operators (from Texas cattle ranchers to California fruit growers), independent oil producers, building contractors, printers, and publishers. Rather than being in the middle between producer and consumer, owner and worker, most of Helms's biggest givers are risk-taking entrepreneurs, owners of medium-sized, often family-dominated businesses, producers of hard goods rather than services.

These donors are ideologically opposed to unions, welfare, and government regulation. Helms won their favor by voting correctly on labor law reform, corporate tax breaks, environmental re-

strictions, crop price supports, and the windfall oil tax. He got a rating of 98 out of 100 from the Independent Petroleum Association and a 97 from the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. Impressed by more than a voting record, however, most of these contributors say they sent money to Helms because they cherish his ideology, or as Hugh Palmer of Montana's Palmer Oil & Gas said, "We need a . . . lot more Jesse Helmses. His political philosophy balances with mine."

A large proportion of the big Helms supporters we interviewed said they were over 65 and had given to conservative causes for decades. As a group, they

TOP TEN State Breakdown of Contributions from Individuals*	
<b>JESSE HELMS</b>	
State	Percent of ISS Study
North Carolina	33.2%
Texas	12.4%
California	9.1%
Florida	4.1%
Pennsylvania	3.6%
Virginia	3.3%
New York	3.2%
Illinois	2.3%
Maryland	2.2%
Louisiana	1.8%
<b>JIM HUNT</b>	
North Carolina	63.8%
New York	10.2%
California	5.5%
Florida	4.7%
Illinois	2.4%
Texas	1.5%
Virginia	1.4%
Massachusetts	1.3%
Ohio	1%
District of Columbia	1%

\* The above figures are based on contributions only from those individuals who contributed \$1,000 or more between January 1, 1983 and September 30, 1984.

fit the classic profile of the Old Rightist: passionate defenders of "free enterprise" against the triple threats of international communism, organized labor, and government interference with the prerogatives of private property. Typical responses to our question of why they support Helms reflect an ultraconservative love affair with economic individualism that breeds anti-communism and racism:

- "To retain the free enterprise system."
- "To maintain my freedom; to halt the headlong rush of Federal Government toward state socialism."

• "To halt the illegal immigration of Hispanics, Mexicans."

• "To try to prevent my country from going completely communistic."

An exhaustive search through the files of Group Research, a Washington-based organization that monitors the Right, turned up links between scores of Helms's largest contributors and the network of Old Right groups that flourished in the 1950s and '60s, in an era of Cold War, labor organizing, and civil rights agitation. The more research we conducted, the more it became evident that the key contributors to Jesse Helms are *not* the stereotypical New Right activists who belong to single-issue groups devoted to moral or social causes like abortion and school prayer. Instead, they are longstanding financial backers of groups that follow the pattern of the Old Right, as described by Richard Slatta and others: their first allegiance is to "self-centered economic interests," often magnified by a paranoid or conspiratorial view of the enemies threatening these interests. Consider these examples:

• Roger Milliken, 69, heads the Spartanburg, South Carolina, family owning the world's largest privately-held textile company, Deering-Milliken; and he typifies many Helms donors from low-wage businesses who have long supported Old Right union-busting groups like the U.S. Industrial Council (Charles Reynolds of Spindale Mills and James Edgar Broyhill of Broyhill Furniture are two more examples). One of several Helms contributors on the 1961 Draft Goldwater Committee, Milliken has given tens of thousands to such Old Right groups as the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade, Manion Forum, and National Right to Work Committee (see descriptions in sidebars). On the day before unrecorded contributions became illegal, he gave Nixon's campaign \$363,122. He now gives thousands to New Right PACs, like NCPAC and Helms's Congressional Club. His family gave Helms \$4,000. Milliken is best known in union circles for flouting the National Labor Relations Board by abruptly closing a mill to block his employees' pro-union vote.

• Glen O. Young, 90, calls Helms the "greatest statesman of our time" and Martin Luther King, Jr., "that communist rabble-rouser." He blames "liberals" for the demise of Joe McCarthy, and at the 1973 convention of the Liberty Lobby he circulated a petition demanding that Golda Meir be imprisoned "as was Adolf Eichmann." An

## WHO'S PLAYING RIGHT FIELD?

### Crusade for Christ

With a consortium of conservative executives led by Nelson Bunker Hunt and Holiday Inn founder Wallace Johnson, the Crusade and its organizer, Bill Bright, are working to "save" every man, woman, and child on earth. An indication of the amount of money conservative Christians are investing in their organizations is the \$30 million garnered by the Crusade by mid-1983; \$15.5 million came from staunch Helms supporter N. B. Hunt. The family of now deceased Arthur DeMoss, a member of the board of directors and a chief contributor to the affiliated Campus Crusade for Christ, contributed \$6,000 to Helms. His daughter is Helms's Latin American aide, and the Arthur DeMoss Foundation paid for full-page ads in N.C. newspapers in the week before the election advocating mixing religion and politics.

### Eagle Forum

This 50,000-member organization, established by Phyllis Schlafly as "an alternative to women's lib," supports a wide range of "pro-family" crusades against abortion, the ERA, gay rights, and sex education in public schools. Schlafly, a long-time conservative and premier opponent of the ERA, tightly controls the Forum but its operation is based on the volunteer labor of thousands of women nationwide. In 1984 the Eagle Forum PAC donated \$2,650 directly to Helms and another \$700 in independent expenditures.

### Gun Owners of America

Former John Birch Society organizer and California state representative H. L. Richardson began this anti-gun control lobbying group in 1975. By 1983, with Viguerie as its fundraiser, Gun Owners claimed over 200,000 members; by 1976 its PAC was raising over \$2 million annually. In 1984 the Gun Owners PAC contributed \$2,750 to Helms's campaign and spent over \$3,000 in independent expenditures.

### The Heritage Foundation

This most prominent think tank of the New Right has played the role of overseer — as a "shadow government" — the Reagan administration. Formed by Joseph Coors and Paul Weyrich in 1973 (with a \$250,000 gift from Coors and a large donation from Richard Scaife), the Heritage Foundation now has a \$10 million budget, produces hundreds of research reports, maintains a full-time staff of 90, and runs the Resource Bank, a network of some 450 research groups and 1,600 scholars. A majority of its trustees helped fund Helms's campaign, either directly or through their corporate PACs.

### John Birch Society (JBS)

Established in 1958 by former candy manufacturer Robert Welch (who died in January 1985), the John Birch Society is the

Oklahoma attorney, he gave Helms \$2,765 — \$765 more than the legal limit. Like dozens of other contributors, he has been an officer, advisor, or donor to a nest of Old Right groups which typically include words like "liberty," "freedom," or "Christian" in their names. In his case, these include: the Christian Crusade, John Birch Society, the Freedom School, Committee to Repeal the Great Society, Congress of Freedom, and We, the People.

- Mrs. N.C. Pentecost, of Robert Lee, Texas, was the Christian Crusade's 1964 Woman of the Year, and she typifies supporters who use loopholes to get a candidate more than the \$2,000 limit. Members of her family gave \$8,000 directly to the Helms for Senate Committee, but they also gave more than \$10,000 to his National Congressional Club. This practice is widespread among both notorious "fat cats" (brewery magnate Joseph Coors and family gave \$15,000 to Helms and the Congressional Club, plus an equal amount to other PACs which supported Helms), as well as the less known (Julie Lauer-Leonardi, who once owned part of the Birch Society's weekly magazine, gave \$2,000 to the Helms committee, \$2,000 to the Congressional Club, \$2,500 to the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress, and \$1,000 to the Conservative Caucus' PAC).

- Nelson Bunker Hunt, 58, son of H.L. Hunt and one of the ten richest people in the U.S., heads the list of Texas oil money men giving to Helms. He's given millions to right-wingers ranging from the Birch Society to Moral Majority. And he's figured out another way to get around the limits on how much he can give a candidate. While his family gave \$4,000 to Helms, he also dropped \$90,000 into the Helms-related Institute for American Relations. "We're not as smart as other people, so we need every advantage," he explains. Another Dallas oilman, Roy Guffey, shares Bunker Hunt's contempt for the democratic process: "A majority of voters are a bunch of damn thieves." He gave Helms and the Congressional Club \$13,600.

- Racists and anti-Semites on the contributors list are exemplified by J. Evetts Haley, 83, who ran for governor of Texas in 1956 on a platform condemning integration as a Soviet plot to destroy the white race in America (his family gave \$6,700); and Bernadine Bailey, 83, of Mattoon, Illinois, who says, "The Jews plan to take over the world. They already own our banks, they run our media. . . .

They plan a complete world takeover by the year 2000." She gave Helms \$1,140 because she likes his votes against aid for Israel.

### OLD RIGHT TACTICS AND IDEOLOGY

The significance of the dollars that come from people like these is not lost on Jesse Helms: he needs their money to finance his direct-mail enterprise and new efforts like his Fairness in Media campaign against CBS; and they need him as a national spokesman to rally their racist and free-enterprise cause at home and abroad, and to give it a broad-

calls "one of the most knock-down, drag-out campaigns of Southern politics." In that contest the Ellis-Helms opponent, Frank Porter Graham, lost after a smear campaign that included the distribution of handbills with a doctored photograph of his wife dancing with a black man, repeated allegations about Graham's communist ties, and newspaper ads denouncing his "race-mixing" practices.

While Helms went to the Senate as the administrative assistant of the winning candidate, Tom Ellis continued in the Old Right tradition — leading a propaganda campaign to undermine the state's

GRAPHIC FROM A PRO-HELMS FLYER



THE SPECIAL INTEREST CANDIDATE

er base within the New Right. But the mutual interest of Helms and the Old Right has become a matter of money and power today only because the senior senator from North Carolina has a 35-year-long commitment to the tactical approaches and ideological beliefs of right-wing extremism. That's the deeper meaning of this money.

First, on tactics, the chief method that Helms, like the Old Right, has used to promote any cause is the tearing down of his enemies through racism and guilt by association (especially red-baiting, or in current phraseology, liberal-baiting). Both Helms (age 63) and his top political advisor, Tom Ellis (age 64), got their start in partisan politics in the state's 1950 Senate race, which Wayne Greenhaw in *Elephants in the Cottonfields*

school desegregation plan in the late 1950s; joining the board of the Pioneer Fund, which tried to prove the genetic inferiority of blacks; and becoming a partner in a union-busting law firm in Raleigh. Helms returned to Raleigh in 1953 as chief public relations flak for the N.C. Bankers Association. In 1960, as editorialist for WRAL-TV, he began 12 years of railing against deadbeats, socialized medicine, the UN, "shiftless Negroes," and the "moral degenerates" led by Martin Luther King, Jr.

Ellis managed Helms's first Senate campaign in 1972 against a Greek-surnamed supporter of George McGovern whom they tagged as soft on communism and not "one of us." In 1976 Ellis coordinated Reagan's campaign in the North Carolina primary and was

caught distributing handbills accusing Gerald Ford of wanting a black man as his running mate. By 1978 Ellis had founded the Congressional Club and Jefferson Marketing, and the second campaign for Helms raised \$8.1 million to spread innuendos about his Democratic challenger's morality and ties to labor unions.

Today, an insider in the Helms complex of organizations says that Tom Ellis is "the brains behind all the things that we do." No one who knows the background of the Ellis-Helms team should be surprised at their tactics, including their latest favorite weapon — gay-

made himself chief ally and spokesman for extremist leaders in Latin America and elsewhere. He frequently praises military dictators on the Senate floor; on the campaign trail he called Roberto d'Aubuisson, an alleged leader of El Salvador's death squads, "a deeply religious man" and compared him to "the free-enterprise folk in the city of Charlotte."

Helms has even criticized the New Right conservatives in Congress who recently condemned South Africa's policy of apartheid, because, he says, "it is better to reason with anti-communist governments than to overthrow them." The typical Old Right linkage between

## WHO'S PLAYING RIGHT FIELD?

largest and most active membership organization of the Old Right. Its original tenet was that the Soviet Union controlled 50 to 70 percent of the US government. Welch's denunciation of Eisenhower as a Communist agent brought the society notoriety and nearly 600,000 members. The conspiratorial specter has gone through some revision; today's secret rulers are said to be an "inner circle" of Eastern Establishment bankers, including David Rockefeller, using communism as a means to world domination. No other group on the extreme right has printed as many books and pamphlets or sponsored as many lectures. The society's yearly budget of over \$10 million also supports bookstores, a speakers bureau, and even summer camps for youth. Birch leaders have been active in electoral politics for years, from the Goldwater and Wallace campaigns to the election of JBS chair Larry McDonald to Congress. Helms has allied himself with many Birchers including Clarence Manion, a JBS national council member and now deceased host of the radio show, Manion Forum. Helms has granted the Birch magazine, *American Opinion*, exclusive interviews as recently as October 1983. Dozens of Birchers appear on his list of large donors.

### The Liberty Lobby

In 1955 Willis Carto began the Joint Council for Repatriation to deport blacks to Africa and stop what he called "the inevitable niggerification of America." Five years later Carto founded the Liberty Lobby which has since served as the base for his involvements in "various racist and anti-Semitic enterprises punctuated by political relationships with avowed Nazis," according to a report by the National Anti-Klan Network and *Klanwatch*. The report, entitled "It's Not Populism," analyzes Carto's latest attempt to inject extremism into mainstream politics: The Populist Party. With Bob Richards of Wheaties fame as its 1984 Presidential candidate and Robert Weems, an avowed Klan leader from Mississippi as its first chairman, the party fielded candidates in 16 states under the names of various parties; all received less than 1 percent of the vote. An earlier Carto creation, the Institute for Historical Review, aims to prove that Hitler's Holocaust was a propaganda myth of the Jews. The Liberty Lobby's weekly newspaper, *The Spotlight*, claims a circulation of 300,000. A sample of Helms's largest supporters showed that up to a quarter of them read the paper or donate funds to the Liberty Lobby.

### Moral Majority, Inc. (MM)

Largest of the new groups on the Religious Right today, the Moral Majority is led by Jerry Falwell, whose "Old Time Gospel Hour" broadcasts out of Lynchburg, Virginia, are heard by millions. Fueled by almost \$1 million a week, Falwell already ran a formidable operation before his contacts with Paul Wey-



baiting. For them, it is a proven method of throwing their enemy off-guard, mobilizing their supporters to action, and, as we have seen, reaping millions from a network of far-right enthusiasts.

Beyond tactics, the significance of the Old Right's money involves ideology. Unlike Jerry Falwell and many New Right leaders who think first of the moral decay of America at the hands of liberals, Helms (and Ellis) share the Old Right's primary allegiance to free enterprise and the sanctity of private property. According to Helms, "The right to own, manage, and secure property is not merely the most sacred of 'human rights' — it is the very basis of civilization."

Helms's missionary zeal in spreading this vision of civilization worldwide helps explain his preoccupation with U.S. foreign policy. Through his own network of foundations and research centers and as chair of the Western Hemisphere subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, he has

black self-determination and communist rule runs throughout Helms's TV editorials of the '60s, his virulent opposition to civil rights legislation, and his one-man campaign against a holiday honoring Martin Luther King, who he says "welcomed collaboration with Communists."

As chairman of the Agriculture Committee, Helms's anti-government ideology runs counter to farm support programs; so while he pokes holes in the food stamp and school nutrition programs, his Senate colleagues from both parties worry about how to keep the farm program in business. On the campaign trail, however, Helms told farmers he "saved" the tobacco program. And he says his promise to them to stay as Agriculture chair is the only reason he didn't become the new head of the Foreign Relations Committee. U.S. farmers will regret this promise; soon after the election, Helms admitted he was "working on a farm bill that will establish the

principles of free enterprise in farm programs." His "market-oriented policy" will likely hasten the consolidation of farming under the control of large producers, who are among his most generous financial supporters.

### LEGITIMACY AND SELF-INTEREST

Old Right money, tactics, and ideology thoroughly permeate the Ellis-Helms machine, even more than his critics suspect. But so do the moralistic rhetoric and computerized sophistication of the New Right. Indeed, the Old and New merge together in Helms more than in any other national politician. He consciously tied the traditions together by calling his Senate campaign "the conservative cause, the free-enterprise cause, but most of all, the cause of decency and honor and spiritual moral cleanliness in America today." And on the Senate floor he consistently promotes the most extreme causes of the Old and the New Right, from tax breaks for segregationist Christian academies to foreign aid for Bolivia's military dictators.

One of the most remarkable aspects of Jesse Helms is his capacity to embrace the entire spectrum of right-wing organizations and their causes. Jerry Falwell has said he is "troubled" by the senator's refusal to support foreign aid for Israel; but Helms's anti-Israel votes and leadership against the Genocide Treaty have earned him the admiration — and financial backing — of the anti-Semitic Liberty Lobby. Similarly, while other conservatives (including the Birch Society and Unification Church) have spurned the Nazi-affiliated World Anti-Communist League, Helms remains a steadfast friend, co-hosting the League's U.S. conference in 1974 and heading the U.S. delegation to its 1983 conference in Korea (the destination of the ill-fated Flight 007).

When Jim Hunt aired ads linking Helms to "a nationwide network of right-wing extremists," the senator responded with a characteristic shrug — "He is attacking the good Christian people on my side" — and a counter-charge — "We ought to talk about the 'wrong-wing' extremists [who] have a *quid pro quo* for every nickle they give" Jim Hunt.

As the self-proclaimed "point man" for right-wing America, Helms repudiates none of his followers — and consequently he can turn to all of them for money. He champions all their special causes and offers a shield behind which

they can fight as legitimate actors on the stage of national politics, even if only from the right wing. Twenty years ago, Barry Goldwater bankrolled his rise to prominence by giving legitimacy to the issues and world-view of a network of groups that ranged from the John Birch Society to the Christian Crusade. Goldwater's loss in 1964 did not diminish the Right's search for a means to turn its self-centered ideology into national policy. As William Rusher, publisher of the *National Review*, explains: "Goldwater's landslide defeat by Lyndon Johnson was of course a bone-crushing disappointment, but it did not alter the fact that, in

plan to build "an anti-communist, anti-socialist *political* movement" in the Goldwater tradition by promoting a ticket of Ezra Taft Benson and Strom Thurmond.

Such efforts have repeatedly been doomed by what former Senator Thomas McIntyre calls the Right's "amateurism and rampant, highly exposed overzealotry," and by what conservative Richard J. Whalen calls its inability to build a popular base and thereby transcend its internal weakness of being "long on self-appointed leaders who [are] egotists, dogmatists, hucksters, and eccentrics."

#### PARTIAL BREAKDOWN BY NATURE OF BUSINESS FOR JESSE HELMS\*

Nature of Business	Rank	Number of Big Contributors	\$\$\$	Percent	% from N.C. Contributors
Agribusiness/lumber	1	115	\$157,736	13.9%	36.9%
Manufacturing	2				
Total		105	\$137,243	12.1%	63.1%
Textiles & Apparel		49	\$61,061	5.4%	
Energy (includes oil, gas, coal, nuclear)	3	68	\$85,639	7.5%	11.1%
Construction	4	46	\$66,394	5.8%	44.1%
Real Estate	5	45	\$62,182	5.5%	47.5%
Law	6	47	\$61,860	5.4%	45.3%
Health professions	7	47	\$59,021	5.2%	63.8%

\* The above figures are based on individual contributions of \$1,000 or more between January 1, 1983 and June 30, 1984.

#### PARTIAL BREAKDOWN BY NATURE OF BUSINESS FOR JIM HUNT\*

Nature of Business	Rank	Number of Big Contributors	\$\$\$	Percent	% from N.C. Contributors
Real Estate	1	107	\$134,615	11.9%	64.7%
Law	2	82	\$103,210	9.1%	65.4%
Manufacturing	3				
Total		72	\$93,800	8.3%	59.5%
Textiles & Apparel		40	\$53,600	4.7%	
Retail	4	66	\$89,395	7.9%	78.2%
Finance	5	58	\$73,785	6.5%	28.2%
Gov't Employees	6	54	\$67,951	6%	92.6%
Construction	7	49	\$62,350	5.5%	80.8%

\* The above figures are based on individual contributions of \$1,000 or more between July 1, 1983 and June 30, 1984.

the process of drafting Barry Goldwater, conservatives all over America had gotten to know each other. The mailing lists accumulated during the Goldwater campaign were the foundation of all subsequent organized political activity on the part of American conservatives."

Richard Viguerie used Goldwater's lists to begin his direct-mail empire; and in 1976, disillusioned with the Republican Party, he vainly offered to raise millions for George Wallace's American Independent Party if it would nominate him as president or vice president. A decade earlier, in 1966, a front group for the John Birch Society calling itself "The 1976 Committee" announced its

Senator Helms pleads guilty to the charge that he is an uncompromising zealot: "If you are not willing to stand up for what you believe," he likes to say, "then your beliefs are not strong enough." And he doesn't seem to mind his dismal record in getting his ideological causes enacted by Congress. Instead of changing the public character of right-wing leadership, as President Reagan has done, Jesse has managed to turn his "weakness" into his most bankable asset. And this, too, is the meaning of his money.

For him the goal is not winning any particular skirmish; it is the ongoing war that counts. Through his adroit use of



parliamentary procedure, he repeatedly succeeds in drawing attention to his causes — and to himself as their prime champion. He succeeds in polarizing the Senate on recorded votes which he and his allies can use in later campaigns against those who are “wasting taxpayers’ money” or “supporting communist regimes” (the line Tom Ellis used to replace Robert Morgan with Senator John East). And, most importantly, even in defeat he can go to his supporters and raise more money with a story-line about his valiant efforts against “the entire liberal establishment.”

It is a devious but lucrative business.

ency not only brought (or bought) him his re-election; it establishes a place at the highest levels of national politics for a right-wing extremist to shape public policy and debate.

How far he and his allies can go is the battle for the future. But don't expect Helms to ease up and rest on his laurels. He is, after all, a free-enterprise politician in the business of taking big risks for high stakes. His national crusade against CBS and his “Operation Switch” campaign to re-register North Carolina's Democrats as Republicans illustrate his ambitious agenda. Both efforts are the focus of major new direct-mail solici-



Gene Payne/The Charlotte Observer

Even those Republicans and right-wing leaders who might be inclined to repudiate Helms's grandstanding as an ineffective vehicle for conservative political power are slow to criticize him. Again, money makes the difference. Because if Helms pauses from his pet projects to join them in the fight against the Panama Canal treaty or the maintenance of a Republican-controlled Senate in 1986 or the election of a President Jack Kemp in 1988, it means the addition of millions of new dollars and the Ellis-Helms propaganda machine to their cause. As an “independent” PAC, the National Congressional Club poured \$4.5 million into Ronald Reagan's 1980 presidential bid. The ability to move around that kind of money obviously gives a person considerable clout.

Jesse Helms is not yet chair of the Foreign Relations Committee, nor does he control the Republican Party. But his ability to raise unprecedented amounts of money from a nationwide constitu-

tions by the Ellis-Helms fundraising machine. And that machine, too, is propelled by a commitment to the logic of free enterprise. The Congressional Club-Jefferson Marketing complex of groups has nearly 200 employees, and it must constantly market new causes with saleable stories to keep millions coming in month after month.

This total, highly successful merger of politics and business, of ultra-right extremism and an ever-expanding mass-market enterprise, is the final meaning, the power, and the horror of Jesse Helms's money. □

*This article is part of a series by the Institute for Southern Studies' Campaign Finance Project, produced in conjunction with the N.C. Independent with research partially funded by the Project for Investigative Reporting on Money in Politics and the Mary Reynolds Babcock Foundation. It was written by Bob Hall with the assistance of project director Marcie Pachino. Chief researchers were Ruth Ziegler and Chris Nichols.*

## WHO'S PLAYING RIGHT FIELD?

rich and Howard Phillips led to MM, Inc., in 1979. Now organized into state and local chapters headed by local pastors, MM supports candidates and has helped register thousands of new voters. Its numerous petition and letter writing campaigns against gay rights, the ERA, school busing, and a nuclear weapons freeze make up a determined effort, as Falwell put it, to “turn this into a Christian nation.” Falwell calls Helms “the point man” for Moral Majority's political causes. The MM PAC, I Love America, donated \$5,000 to Helms in 1984.

### National Right to Work Committee (NRTWC)

This leading anti-union organization in the conservative labyrinth was founded in 1955 by former congressman Fred Hartley, co-sponsor of the Taft-Hartley Act, and Edwin S. Dillard, an early supporter of the John Birch Society. It now claims a coalition “1,750,000 strong,” operates on a budget of \$9 million, and generates 25 million computerized letters per year — enough to warrant its own zip code. NRTWC has spun off a number of interconnected anti-labor organizations, including the Public Service Research Council (PSRC) and Americans Against Union Control of Government. Many of Helms's big donors and Helms himself serve on their various advisory boards. NRTWC's PAC gave \$5,000 to Helms in 1984; PSRC added another \$10,000.

### RAVCO (Richard A. Viguerie Company)

RAVCO is a direct-mail marketing company and hub of New Right activity. Starting with the names of 12,500 contributors to the 1964 Goldwater campaign, Richard Viguerie built a computer data bank of over 20 million names. In 1980 he raised an estimated \$40 million. His past and present clients include the National Conservative PAC, Gun Owners of America, Young Americans for Freedom, the Korean Cultural Freedom Foundation (Rev. Sun Myung Moon), and numerous election campaigns, including those of Jesse Helms. Largely as a result of Viguerie's expertise, six of the ten largest independent PACs are of the New Right, including Terry Dolan's NCPAC, which Helms set up with aide Charles Black. RAVCO also trains scores of young conservatives in direct mail and other organizational skills, feeding them into staff positions in Congress, the Republican Party, and other conservative organizations. Viguerie and his wife each gave Helms \$1,000.

*The best single source on the Right is the Group Research, which assisted with the information provided here. Its monthly newsletter is available, with index, for a \$40 annual fee from Group Research, 1341 G Street, NW, #313, Washington, DC 20005.*

## RESEARCHING THE CONTRIBUTORS

by Marcie Pachino

Since May 1984, researchers at the Institute for Southern Studies' Campaign Finance Project have spent hundreds of hours trying to identify occupations, verify addresses, and make sense of the contributions individuals gave to candidates in three statewide campaigns in North Carolina, including the Helms-Hunt race for the U.S. Senate.

The fruits of this labor can be surprising. For example, after tracking down the economic interests of virtually every contributor of \$500 or more in the Democratic primary for lieutenant governor, we discovered that one contender got an astonishing 30 percent of his money from people affiliated with nursing homes and chiropractors, two businesses operating in a maze of government regulation they wanted changed. It was a rich but thin vein of support, and the candidate lost to the man who tapped the deeper, broader revenue sources of the state's leading banks, chambers of commerce, and manufacturers. We'll be ready when the winner recommends legislation favoring some of his biggest financial backers.

We now have computerized profiles of 3,000 campaign contributors.

No study of this kind has been conducted before in North Carolina, and a similar project exists in only one other Southern state — Florida. Three daily newspapers there have joined forces to computerize the state's campaign disclosure reports and research the business affiliations of contributors. As a bill representing particular economic interests winds its way through the state legislature, the papers can now correlate contributions from these interests to the behavior of individual lawmakers.

Although reports disclosing campaign finances are public documents, most people see their contents only — if at all — in microscopic print in those public-spirited newspapers which publish contributor lists following the state and federal election commission reporting deadlines. An accompanying story may summarize the candidate's total contributions and expenses, make a few comparisons with previous years, and highlight the names of a few prominent

business people and entertainers who donated money to so-and-so's campaign.

Without money, hundreds of research hours, and a computer, that's about the best the public can expect because of the incomplete and chaotic rules governing disclosure of campaign contributions. Obstacles to researching the economic and political interests of individual givers include inconsistent reporting formats, a monstrous number of pages to cope with, inaccurate information on reports, inadequate enforcement of existing regulations, and the lack of a rule requiring candidates to supply occupational data on individuals.

Some candidates turn in handwritten reports; others produce computerized print-outs. Lists of contributors may be in alphabetical order, or zip code order, or chronological order by date of contribution, or no order whatsoever. Under the "contribution" column, candidates are often required to list the amount given by each contributor on a specific date, as well as that person's cumulative total. Too often, the cumulative total reflects an unstated period of time — is it a total for the year or for the entire campaign? And in many cases, numerous contributions from the same person are not added correctly to give the cumulative total.

By far the greatest inconsistency we discovered occurs in the column marked "occupation." In federal elections, such as the Helms-Hunt race, candidates are only required to "request" the individual to disclose his or her occupation and place of employment. In most cases, the column remains empty. And if filled in, it often gives vague answers like "executive," "businessman," or "housewife." Like many states, North Carolina does not even require the candidate to ask for occupational data, so the amount of information the researcher begins with is minimal — a name and address.

To determine the economic and political interests of individual campaign contributors, a squadron of volunteers, interns, and staff at the Institute's Campaign Finance Project used the following sources available at various libraries:

1. City directories (published by R.L. Polk & Co. or Hill Directory Co.); some cities like Los Angeles, Chicago, and Dallas have another series called *Contacts Influential*. Both sets of books list names with their employers, occupation, addresses and phone numbers. A section of the city directory also allows you to start with an address and identify the oc-

NAME OF COMMITTEE IN FULL  
HELMS FOR SENATE COMMITTEE

-----  
NAME, MAILING ADDRESS

=====

00771495  
MR JOSEPH COORS  
100 CASTLE ROCK DR  
GOLDEN

CO 80

=====

02789933  
MR PETER H COORS  
13400 N 16TH DR  
GOLDEN

CO 80

=====

cupant, spouse, and occupation; this method is especially useful since many businessmen give donations in the names of their wives.

2. Use the multi-volume *Biography and Genealogy Master Index*, produced in 1979, to identify quickly which of dozens of reference books monitored by the *Index* included data on your person.

3. Annual business directories most useful to find corporate positions and board directorships are *Standard & Poor's Register of Executives and Directors*, *Dun & Bradstreet's Book of Corporate Management*, and *Million Dollar Directory*. The first two include sections indexed by the executive's name.

4. *Who's Who* directories exist for the U.S., regions, many vocations, and ethnic and racial groupings. They offer biographical, employment, political, and organizational data. *Who's Who in Finance and Industry* is very useful.

5. Checking specialized directories can be time consuming unless you have a hunch about a person's occupation; for example, individuals listed as "Dr." might be found in the *American Medical Association Directory* or the *National Faculty Directory*. Attorneys are listed in *Martindale-Hubbell*. See the *Index* (item 2. above) for a list of directories covering every field, from authors to zoologist.

6. To find occupational information on less prominent contributors, ask a reference librarian, newspaper reporter or editor, or historical society in the person's hometown for newsclip files on individuals or state biographical dictionaries. Also contact state and local chambers of commerce; they may provide directories of their members and

NAME OF EMPLOYER OCCUPATION CAMPAIGN TO	AGGREGATE YTD	DATE	AMT. OF RCPT. THIS PERIOD
COORS BREWERY	General	04/06/84	\$1,000.00
-----			
\$2,000.00	\$1,000.00		
-----			
ADCLPH COORS CO SALES MANAGEMENT		04/10/84	\$250.00
-----			
\$250.00	\$250.00		

refer you to useful guides, such as the roster of realtors and directories of companies and their management.

7. Government sources vary widely from state to state. The secretary of state's office might have a computerized index that can print out all the in-state corporate affiliations of a person, as in Florida, or simply a card file of incorporators of businesses. This office may also have two other useful lists: lobbyists and elected officials. Check with the state commerce department, too. County property tax records are public documents, available at the courthouse, and besides financial information, they may have a place on the form for the person's occupation and/or employer.

8. Political party officials, fundraisers,

and candidates may help identify contributors; they may be more willing to share background on their opponent's contributors. Reconfirm information they offer, however, because they often don't know details about their own backers.

9. As a last step — sometimes a costly one — call the contributors and, using a questionnaire, ask them why they give to political candidates, what issues are important to them in government, their occupation, etc. If you have a business phone number, you can call there, tell the secretary you want to send so-and-so a letter, and ask for his/her correct address and title or position with the company.

This laborious routine to identify a

Campaign disclosure reports may be obtained from your state elections board or, for federal candidates, from the Federal Election Commission (FEC), 1325 K Street, NW, Washington, DC 20463; (800)424-9530. The FEC also has a brochure listing helpful publications.

contributor's primary economic interests points up the inadequacy of campaign disclosure reporting requirements. But before Watergate, even less information was reported by politicians on the money they took in during a campaign. Following that "crisis of trust," Congress changed federal campaign laws and nearly all states (except Alabama, South Carolina, Nevada, and Utah) enacted procedures that required periodic reporting before election day of the campaign's expenses, income, and a list of all contributions above a certain level (\$100 in North Carolina).

Half of the states put limits on the amount of money one person could give directly to a candidate; nearly one-third provided some level of public financing of elections. Despite the outpouring of rules at the federal and state level, contributors have easily found ways to bypass laws limiting individual contributions by making donations in the names of other family members and/or by giving money to political action committees (PACs) which in turn fund the candidate.

Reformers recommend a host of changes in campaign finance laws: abolish PACs or at least PACs affiliated with corporations; establish a residency rule, prohibiting a candidate from receiving out-of-state contributions; finance elections entirely with public money; put stricter requirements on disclosure of the contributor's economic interests; regulate how money can be spent — for example, limit television advertising to five-minute candidate profiles and ban the 30-second spot ads that prove so effective in negative campaigns.

Given the Supreme Court's view of campaign contributions as a form of free speech and the reluctance of legislators to restrict their primary source of campaign income, it's unlikely substantial reforms will soon come in the laws governing the disclosure or limiting of campaign financing. It could take another Watergate-type scandal to move another step forward.

For background on campaign finance reform and research, read Elizabeth Drew's *Politics and Money: The New Road to Corruption* (Macmillan, 1984) and Herbert Alexander's *Financing Politics: Money, Elections & Political Reform* (CQ Press, 1984); and contact state affiliates or the national office of Common Cause, 2030 M Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20036; (202)833-1200.

For an Authorized Committee (Surreptitious Page)

Name of Committee to File: State for Senate Committee

1. FEC Identification Number: 000145134

2. 4-Digit Number of Amendment: 01

3. 4-Digit Number of Report: 01

4. Name and ZIP Code: Raleigh, North Carolina 27619

5. Check if active in different than primary election

6. TYPE OF REPORT

April 15 Quarterly Report

July 15 Quarterly Report

October 15 Quarterly Report

January 31 Year End Report

July 31 New Year Report (Renewal Year Only)

Termination Report

7. This report contains activity for:  Primary Election  General Election  Special Election  Recall Election

8. Covering Period: 7-1-83 Through 12-31-83

	Column A This Period	Column B Calendar Year-to-Date
9. Net Contributions (after net loans)		
(a) Total Contributions (after net loans) (From Line 11a)	\$ 2,672,725.63	\$ 4,376,534.20
(b) Total Contributions (From Line 20a)	\$ 3,720.00	\$ 3,720.00
(c) Net Contributions (after net loans) (Subtract Line 9b from 9a)	\$ 2,669,005.63	\$ 4,372,814.20
10. Net Operating Expenditures:		
(a) Total Operating Expenditures (From Line 17)	\$ 2,841,088.88	\$ 4,217,184.88
(b) Total Office or Operating Expenditures (From Line 18)	\$ 10,157.67	\$ 22,647.67
(c) Net Operating Expenditures (Subtract Line 10b from 10a)	\$ 2,850,936.21	\$ 4,239,832.55
11. Cash on Hand at Close of Reporting Period (From Line 27)	\$ 151,000.31	\$ -
12. Debits and Obligations (owed by the Committee) (From Line 28) (Subtract 11c from 11a)	\$ -	\$ 7.84
13. Debits and Obligations (owed by the Committee) (From Line 28) (Subtract 11c from 11a)	\$ 149,035.34	\$ -

14. Name of Candidate or Party: State for Senate Committee

15. RECEIPTS

	From 7-1-83	To 12-31-83
16. CONTRIBUTIONS (after net loans) FROM:		
(a) Individuals (From Line 16a)	2,592,297.64	4,177,108.71
(b) Political Party Committees:		
(1) State Political Committee:	34,397.16	4,043.86
(2) Other Political Committee:	52,930.85	395,381.65
(c) The Candidate:	-	-
(d) TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS (after net loans) (Sum of 16a, 16b, 16c and 16d)	2,679,625.65	4,576,534.22
17. TRANSFERS FROM OTHER AUTHORIZED COMMITTEES:	-	-
18. LOANS:		
(a) Made or Guaranteed by the Candidate:	-	-
(b) All Other Loans:	-	4,000.00
(c) TOTAL LOANS (Sum 18a and 18b)	-	4,000.00
19. OFFSETS TO OPERATING EXPENDITURES (Debits, Credits, net):		
(a) 19a OTHER RECEIPTS (Debits, Credits, net):	10,157.67	22,647.67
(b) 19b TOTAL RECEIPTS (Sum 19a, 19b, 19c and 19d)	2,679,625.65	4,411,459.18
20. DISBURSEMENTS	2,841,088.88	4,217,184.88
21. TRANSFERS TO OTHER AUTHORIZED COMMITTEES:	-	-
22. LOAN REPAYMENTS:		
(a) Of Loans Made or Guaranteed by the Candidate:	-	-
(b) Of All Other Loans:	-	4,000.00
(c) TOTAL LOAN REPAYMENTS (Sum 22a and 22b)	-	4,000.00
23. REFUNDS OF CONTRIBUTIONS TO:		
(a) Individuals (From Line 16a)	3,720.00	3,720.00
(b) Political Party Committees:	-	-
(c) Other Political Committee:	3,720.00	3,720.00
(d) TOTAL CONTRIBUTION REFUNDS (Sum 23a, 23b and 23c)	7,440.00	7,440.00
24. OTHER DISBURSEMENTS:	16,135.66	33,496.03
25. TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS (Sum 20, 21, 22, 23 and 24)	2,860,949.54	4,260,400.94
26. CASH ON HAND AT CLOSE OF THE REPORTING PERIOD:		
(a) CASH ON HAND AT BEGINNING OF THE REPORTING PERIOD:	\$ -	\$ 346,882.87
(b) TOTAL RECEIPTS THIS PERIOD (From Line 19b):	\$ 2,679,625.65	\$ 4,411,459.18
(c) NET TOTAL (Sum Line 26a and Line 26b)	\$ 2,679,625.65	\$ 4,758,342.05
(d) TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS THIS PERIOD (From Line 25):	\$ 2,860,949.54	\$ 4,260,400.94
(e) CASH ON HAND AT END OF THE REPORTING PERIOD (Sum Line 26c and 26d)	\$ -	\$ 497,941.11

27. I certify that I have examined this Report and to the best of my knowledge and belief, it is true, correct and complete.

28. Name of Authorized Officer: Mark L. Stroup

29. Title: Director of the Office

30. Signature: [Signature]

31. Date: 1-31-84

32. I certify that I have examined this Report and to the best of my knowledge and belief, it is true, correct and complete.

33. Name of Authorized Officer: [Signature]

34. Title: [Signature]

35. Signature: [Signature]

36. Date: [Signature]

# ECOTHEAT



photo by Fran Belin

*The prosecuting attorney swung about in his huge rotating oak desk chair. "Well, you're right about that, Miz Lee. Powley's Creek is about as far from professional theater as anyone could get."*

I had accompanied "Miz" Lee into the nineteenth-century Summers County, West Virginia, courthouse to try to persuade Harold Eagle to take a role in EcoTheater's latest play, *A Double-Threaded Life: The Hinton Play*. Hinton is the county seat of West Virginia's most rural and mountainous county, a rugged, isolated place of extraordinary beauty. Only 100 years ago Charles Nordhoff, author of *Mutiny on the Bounty*, wrote back to his New York newspaper editor, calling Summers County a "howling wilderness." Nordhoff had come to report on the hazardous conditions attending construction of the Big Bend railroad tunnel.

A century later, "Miz" Maryat Lee, a sometime New York playwright, came to this "howling wilderness" (she is fond of quoting those words, some irony intended), far from the lights of Broadway. Lee operates a grassroots or indigenous theater here, a theater for people who usually don't go to plays, a theater that returns, as she once said, "to the people as the *source* for drama," a move "which alone can restore vitality to drama."

An EcoTheater actor can be anyone who doesn't want to act but can be persuaded. Recruits include school children, farmers, preachers, housewives, salesmen, nurses, and many retired folks. Friends help out by making costumes, while scenery, lights, sound, props — all the expensive technical paraphernalia of modern theater — are kept to a minimum.

Grassroots theaters have been working quietly all over the United States for years. Something of the sort was popular during the Depression years, when political radicals appropriated the form as *agitprop*, a type of propaganda. Fueled by the Vietnam peace movement, street theater enjoyed a boom of feverish activity during the late 1960s and early '70s. To Maryat Lee, however, these

# EATER

By William W. French

forms are not “grassroots” or “indigenous”; she holds that a true grassroots theater has no overt political agenda.

Defining indigenous theater, though, taxes even Lee, a native Kentuckian who moved to New York City and became famous overnight for her 1951 production of a play called *Dope!*\* That play was unusual in numerous ways. Produced in a vacant lot in East Harlem on a crude wooden platform stage, the play’s actors, for the most part, were amateurs. The audience milled, hooted, talked back to the actors, clambered up on stage, and roared when the leading actor, portraying an addict, shot-up on stage. Reviewers were electrified and called the performance “shocking” and “hard-hitting.” *Life* magazine gave it an ample photo spread.

Lee herself was inspired by the event and 30-odd years later wrote:

I had scratched the surface — the skin of a sleeping animal so vast and powerful that I alternatively was thrilled and alarmed when its skin rippled under my touch and its eyes cracked open briefly. It held me with its mystery and power.

The repertory for this kind of theater — some call it “street theater,” others say “indigenous” or “grassroots” theater — originates, according to Lee, solely from those who practice it — directors, actors, and writers who create their own material largely for audiences that do not ordinarily attend theater, and particularly those who are economically or socially disadvantaged. A scattering of grassroots theaters operates all over the United States, especially in large cities. Some are located in the South: Whitesburg, Kentucky’s Roadside

\* *Dope!* was published in an acting version in 1957 and is now available in several editions.



photo by Fran Belin

MARYAT LEE, AT LEFT, TALKING TO MYRTLE HOSEY, ONE OF THE PEOPLE LEE USED AS THE BASIS FOR THE CHARACTER OLE MIZ DACEY

Theater, and the Road Company in Johnson City, Tennessee, are two examples.

After her success with *Dope!*, Lee earned a master’s degree in religious study from Union Theological Seminary and Columbia University and went on to work in New York’s professional theater. Later, in 1968 Lee founded the Soul and Latin Theater (SALT) in East Harlem. Having worked in professional theater long enough to feel it was fixated on profits and trivial

entertainment, she sought to create a theater that portrayed the real lives of people.

SALT was pure city street theater. The plays Lee wrote for SALT — *Day to Day* (published by Samuel French, 1970), *After the Fashion-show*, *The Classroom*, and *Luba* — centered on themes like drug addiction, family tensions, poor schools, fear of crime, and violence. The plays were written in the language of her Harlem actors, who were not professionals.

Wanting to live and work closer to her Kentucky roots, and interested in discovering whether street theater could be

transplanted to a rural area, Lee moved to Powley's Creek, Summers County, West Virginia in 1970. She had considered returning to her native Kentucky, but thought at the time that her family might inhibit her with too many preconceived notions about theater. While driving across southern West Virginia, she and a friend — Fran Belin, a professional photographer and piano teacher — discovered in the remoteness of Summers County a region that enchanted them. They wandered into a real estate office in town, where an agent “just happened” to have a small, upland farm for

photo by Peter Stackpole



PERFORMANCE OF *DOPE!* IN EAST HARLEM EMPTY LOT, 1951

sale. It was love at first sight.

Lee took several years to establish herself in the community and to gather material for some new plays. What preserves the integrity of EcoTheater as indigenous theater, Lee believes, is her long-term commitment to Summers County. In 1975 she started EcoTheater, and has written and produced four plays for it: *Four Men and a Monster* (Samuel French, 1965), a play she actually wrote while still in New York; *Ole Miz Dacey*; *John Henry*; and *A Double-Threaded Life: The Hinton Play*.

For a few years she worked with government and foundation support, es-

pecially through generous funding from the West Virginia Humanities Foundation, the West Virginia Department of Culture and History, and the Governor's Summer Youth Program. The funding paid 15 to 18 local high school students during the summers to be in the arts program. These youngsters learned to act, cut cloth and sew costumes, hammer together a stage set, and paint canvas and wood. Funding for students has slimmed to a trickle in recent years, and Lee has turned to the adults of Summers County to be her actors.

During its first year EcoTheater was outdoor summer theater, and the plays were performed in a very primitive way. Lee simply marked off a performing area in a pasture or town park with a few banners made from household fabrics hung from poles. The small audiences — never more than 50 — stood or sat on the ground in a semi-circle. People learned to bring their own lawn chairs for a bit of comfort.

Most of the actors wore jeans and other everyday dress; important, however, were costumes made by a friend, Eileen Cramer, who became “costume designer.” Eileen made the costumes with scraps of fabric and a lot of imagination. The actors' voices were the only sound equipment and the sun the only lighting. Lee loved this rudimentary theater; to her this was the essence of drama: theater from the ground up. “You can't believe what this theater meant to everybody,” says Lucinda Ayres, a homemaker who has never lived outside Summers County. She was enthralled to see the young people proud and expert in what they were doing and learning.

The early years of EcoTheater were not easy. The chronic shortage of funds always proved inhibiting, and for a long time many Summers County citizens maintained a casual but distinct aloofness. Lee had to exert a great deal of patience in nurturing her first small, tentative audiences. Over time, people began to trust her and the little theater, and a small but enthusiastic audience grew. The townspeople of Hinton, though, were slower to ignite. Never hostile, they just didn't seem to care much. Lee gradually enlisted the help of the local media and a few civic-minded merchants. The radio station gave her spot announcements, the newspaper ran generous reviews with photos, and the merchants displayed her posters. And today the local Chamber of Commerce sponsors an EcoTheater production each

year for the Hinton Whitewater Festival.

Lee is the first to say, “It hasn't been easy. There were times I just thought I'd quit. If it hadn't been for Lucinda Ayres coming to me one day when I had given up and saying, ‘Maryat, you just *have* to keep EcoTheater alive, for Summers County, for *me*,’ I might have thrown in the towel for good. But look at us now! We have a theater from the bottom up, a theater free of stereotypes, a theater with an audience that doesn't generally attend ‘theater’ in the decadent art or commercial sense, a theater with an audience for whom I feel a genuine affection.”

In 1977 EcoTheater added a flatbed farm wagon that the players could convert into a stage in about 20 minutes, setting up canvas backdrops on two-by-four frames set into brackets. Drawn by an old jeep, the stage could be used almost anywhere for a performance: pasture, town square, parking lot, restaurant yard, or state park. The wagon allowed EcoTheater to move about the hollows of Summers County. Over the years the group performed in the Hinton town square, at Pence Springs, the Riverside Inn, the Raleigh County Courthouse Square, and many other places. The stage was fitted with a rudimentary sound and lighting system, permitting evening performances and shows in noisy, congested places. During the last two years, however, EcoTheater has settled down and performs primarily at the Pipestem State Park Amphitheatre.

Lee's first play for EcoTheater, *Four Men and a Monster*, tells the story of three Appalachian drifters who have holed up in a rundown hotel room in a Midwestern city. Moved by desperate financial need, Hal, the leader of this expatriate trio, has persuaded Tot and Upjohn, a mentally-retarded man, to join him in a murder. In this bizarre plot, Upjohn is appointed to marry a woman who they believe stands to inherit a small fortune. Whether the money actually exists is a question. The woman — whom we never see — is grotesquely fat. The “monster” of the title is, according to Tot's exaggerated description, “six-headed, 12-busted, 20-cheeked.” Hal has colluded with her brother, a decadent city-type named Buena, to murder her as soon as the marriage is made and her inheritance safely bestowed upon Upjohn. The murder plot is foiled but the play ends

with a different, unanticipated slaying.

*Four Men and a Monster* was originally produced professionally in 1967 at Cincinnati's Playhouse in the Park, but to Lee the play didn't really come alive until a 1980 EcoTheater production. The performances turned in by Charlie Haywood and Mike Buckland, both of whom live on Powley's Creek, Robert Anderson of Rainelle, and John Gulley of Winston-Salem, North Carolina, were electrifying. Charlie Haywood's performance is still talked about by Powley's Creek people as especially powerful.

"Folks don't have to assume any airs to play these parts," says one of Haywood's neighbors. "They don't have to speak in any accent but their own. Don't have to pretend to be somebody else or to put on a mask. Rather," she says, "Maryat got them somehow to reach inside themselves, to take their masks off, as she puts it, to find those parts of themselves that they had hidden from others."

*John Henry* is perhaps Lee's best known Appalachian play. Here is a group of people from the 1870s — gypsies, freed black slaves, tinkers, peddlers, itinerants, landladies, a doctor, a midwife, workers, and John Henry himself — united, depending on each other in the hostile wilderness that Summers County was in those years. Lee's play vividly shows the difficulties and the terrors of tunneling through Big Bend Mountain, the mingled excitement and sense of victory, outrage, and pain of life in the rude workers' camp that sprouted up at the East Portal.

It is astonishing how the imagined life of a play, any play, infects the actors who bring it to life and through them the audience. In the case of *John Henry* it worked a near miracle, especially when the EcoTheater company rehearsed and performed at the East Portal of the old tunnel itself. During the 1981 season they performed at night, and a freight train would come roaring out of the night right through the middle of the performance. The audience and cast were stirred by the passage of that train: a vital and visible fruit of the labor, suffering, and deaths of the characters in the play — ancestors of the audience.

It might be said that EcoTheater gives back the audience's past, lets them, along with their neighbors, understand and celebrate their history. It helps them probe who they are and what they might want to do with their lives. "What a good thing for West Virginia," says a neighbor of Lee.

A large part of Lee's inspiration to write *John Henry* was the mountains. The legend interested her, of course. She thought that as a Summers County playwright she *ought* to write a play about the hero of Summers County, but as a woman and a feminist she was at first put off by the image of the muscle-bound hero. She did some research, reading, and talking with old-timers, and she concluded that there was more to John Henry than muscle. She found a spiritual quality that, she believed, inspired the people around him.

What inspired *her*, she says, was

audience, since there is as little separation, that is, as there is between actor and role. The audience is therefore pleased to regard the play somehow as part of them, or themselves as part of the play."

*John Henry* consists of a series of scenes of the rough frontier life of the railroad community during the 1870s, with an eye on how that community anticipates the one of today. The contest between John Henry and the steam drill concludes the play; John Henry wins, but he dies with his hammer in his hand. Lee gives the legend some interesting twists, though. Not everyone may agree



photo by Fran Belin

ECOTHEATER'S FIRST SUMMER, 1975: PERFORMING *OLE MIZ DACEY* ON THE GRASS AT THE ANDERSON STOCK MARKET

Summers County itself: the white water running free and fast through gorges between close, looming mountains. *John Henry* was the result, the drama of the struggle for survival in this beautiful but hard place. She came to see that the place made tough but wonderful people, that the ancestors of her mountain neighbors needed to master the place in order to survive in it, and that it became an essential part of the spirit of those who survived. Lee has said that the setting of a grassroots play "should not be distinct from its audience." The settings of the street plays she wrote in New York City, for example, "almost include the au-

with her John Henry. He's not a muscle man. He's not a big hero. He's not even the focal point of the plot: the place and the people occupy center stage. Furthermore, Lee cast young women to play the part of John Henry several times.

Lee's John Henry has stoic courage and tall doses of integrity and self-reliance. And John Henry shares his humanity; he's not some alienated, brooding loner. The forces of nature and human greed and intensifying industrialization combine to destroy him, but he meets his fate with naivete and grace — he "ain't nothin'" but a man," as the song says, but what a man he is, as Lee is fond

of saying. Many of the youths who took parts in *John Henry* — whether as actors or stage hands, boys and girls alike — developed a new pride in themselves because of the play.

EcoTheater people say that EcoTheater allows them to live out and explore a part of themselves that doesn't come out much in daily life. "Like Miz Dacey of me," says Lucinda Ayres. Miz Dacey is the title character of Lee's gentle comedy about a humorous and eccentric but independent old woman. Lee picked up a lot of gossip once she got established up on Powley's Creek, and she

Jimmy loved it. So "Miz Dacey" called Jimmy's friend, Lee, continuing the gag. She thought the caller was some old woman who had reached the wrong number, but she listened until Jimmy burst out laughing, giving away the gag. Lee also loved it because a number of things came together for her through Costa's phone call. She sat down almost right away and wrote the play for Costa as Miz Dacey. He loved it even more and thoroughly enjoyed himself playing old Miz Dacey.

Lucinda Ayres has played Miz Dacey for three years now, and to her the role

only when she is playing this role on stage. Lee built the character around two of her neighbors on Powley's Creek. One of them was 79 years old when Lee wrote the play, while her husband was in his forties. They were married when he was 19, but no one in the hollow thought the union peculiar. This couple gave Lee the idea for the romance that develops in the play between Miz Dacey and young Orfin Furlow. The scenes between them explore how such a relationship might happen quite naturally.

Another old woman provided some of the dialogue of the play through oral history. This widow carried a revolver. Her dress was worn where the weight of the revolver had stressed the cloth. She was a good shot at snakes and could, she said, "shoot the head off a copperhead from here to the barn." She would shoot if anyone failed to knock, and asserted, "If anyone steps in, he won't step out."

Lee says that writing grassroots plays is "largely listening and building. The writer's 'self' gets, not lost, but put into a corner as you become not a writer but a 'wright.' It is not a matter of your own language and ideas and feelings but what is happening all around you." Writing from what was around her, Lee created her most recent EcoTheater play, *A Double-Threaded Life: The Hinton Play*, a play that embodies all of her ideas about grassroots theater.



BENNY ALLEN AND ESTELLE AKERS IN *OLE MIZ DACEY*

put the play together from a little talk here and a little chatter there.

Actually, as Lee tells it, the play originated when an old woman called the TV store in Hinton to complain about her set. The man she reached was Jimmy Costa, whose father runs the store. Jimmy Costa is something of a practical joker, and the next day he telephoned the store and started a long conversation mimicking the old woman. "She" had the store in an uproar of laughter. "Little green men's adrippin' outa my TV, Mr. Costa, and them things — them little critters — is abouncin' all over my floor. Now you better git your truck up here right now and fix this here thing."

means something different than it did to Costa. The role has changed as well.

Lee always changes a script to fit each actor's special talents and needs. Costa as Miz Dacey wanted to play the fiddle. Ayres needs to express the old woman's underlying good sense, human warmth, and sturdy self-reliance. Lee explores each actor, seeks out his or her special needs and talents, tries to locate that unique quality that defines him or her and rebuilds the part to bring those elements out.

Miz Dacey is Ayres's favorite role. She feels that Miz Dacey, with her old-fashioned country ways, is an important part of herself that she can fully express

**T**he *Hinton Play* is built almost exclusively on oral history — people talking about themselves. A retired railroader pays tribute to the old steam engine days. A retired nurse wants to figure out who she is and how she wants to spend the rest of her life. A fisherman evokes the pleasures of his favorite activity. Miz Dacey returns, arguing with a roofer about repairing her house during the wrong sign of the moon. Ethel Hinton explains how the county seat of Summers County got its name and how ownership of the land on which the town sits was acquired.

Lee has written over 30 scenes for the play. On any night of performance, however, fewer than a dozen or so will be played, depending on which actors are available. Occasionally, for example, Sims Wicker, a former mayor of Hinton, will be on a fishing trip; Mitch Scott, an insurance executive from Lewisburg, will be on a business trip; Joe and Jewel Bigony of Hinton will be occupied by business; someone else may have to



## More Theater from *Southern Exposure*

*Southern Exposure* is pleased to announce that we are preparing a special issue devoted entirely to theater in the South. This issue will appear early in 1986, and we welcome your articles, art, ideas, and assistance. Write "Theater in the South," P.O. Box 531, Durham, NC 27702.

nurse a sick child or be stranded by a dead battery. EcoTheater actors are not professionals; for them the show does not have to go on, but their lives do. So the cast changes from time to time, and as Lee gathers more stories and dialogue from her neighbors the play grows. Each time you see it, it's a little different.

Lee started this play after talking with Jinx Johnson, a now-deceased friend from Hinton. Johnson asked Lee when she was going to write a play about the day Hinton died, referring to the time that the C&O Railroad replaced the old steam engine with diesels. Since the 1870s, when Big Bend was built and the railroad was rammed through these mountains, the roundhouse in Hinton had employed hundreds of men to service the steam locomotives that pulled all the east-west traffic across the mountains. Diesels don't need all that service, nor all those workers. Only a fragment of the roundhouse now remains, and since the 1950s the population of Hinton has declined over 50 percent to its present 4,000.

Inspired, Lee went to work. She wanted to embody in drama the spirit of Hinton people over the last half-century, centering on this overshadowing technological event. She began stringing together a series of monologues and dialogues based on the oral history, threaded together by the voice of a narrator, a sort of stage manager. He begins by telling some of the early history of the place, then how in the railroad days it became a boom town with 700 men working in the roundhouse, 14 passenger trains a day, an opera house, and an elegant hotel. Each character, based on an historical Hinton personage, gets up and speaks his or her piece. Some typify the town, while others are a separate breed. The narrator introduces each character and provides a transition between them. There is no explicit plot, but by the end of the play a portrait of Hinton and Summers County has been drawn.

The play demonstrates that Hinton

didn't die with the coming of the diesel, but merely changed the way it lived and entered a new phase of history.

The performance gives the actors their usual reward: the thrill of the contact with the audience, the applause, the inner payoff for all those hours of rehearsal. But there's more. For one thing, most of that audience shares the daily lives of the actors. And *after* the applause, that's different, too: an EcoTheater actor doesn't just drive away. Being an EcoTheater actor means being a part of a process which involves the slow, sometimes painful revelation (or reinforcement) of self and community — or self *in* community. As Lee says:

The real object of *EcoTheater* is not an artful performance, though we strive to make that happen; nor is it an aesthetically sound text, though I always do my best to fulfill my art because only through art are we led to truth; no, the object, I guess, is the process of theater itself, because that process sheds a new light on everyday reality, making each person's life more meaningful, more important, more real, if you will. It's therapeutic, though not in the usual sense. We have to somehow find ourselves underneath our social roles and yet remain part of our community.

Many in the audience find unforgettable the experience of an EcoTheater play. One person said recently: "From Maryat Lee's plays I get a new sense of what people are like here, a sense of the roots and pride. It's something I miss in my life. . . . The sense of heritage is so strong."

That's why the discussion following the play is an important part of every EcoTheater performance. The actors and crew come out and sit on the stage. Lee comes down front, and a dialogue with the audience begins. People ask questions: "Where did you get the idea for that scene about the railroad inquest?" "My daddy taught me some things about planting according to the signs of the moon, and I believe in it." "Is there a political message in the scene about the Vietnam vet?" The question-answer session often goes on for over an hour, and many of the audience stop by to say thanks to Lee and the actors. Some offer suggestions and advice about the play — adding a scene, giving details about a local character or relative, telling a story. Often these tidbits find their way into the play. A few people volunteer to act or write a scene or work on a crew, and become part of EcoTheater.

Lee said not long ago, "The theater company begins to share my joy at seeing themselves rise up and hearing themselves utter mysteriously authoritative sounds that are sweet and powerful."

All the participants — whether they come from the cow pasture or the courthouse — leave feeling a little more certain that the mountain heritage they share is one of the great treasures of their lives. □

*William French is an associate professor of English at West Virginia University in Morgantown.*



KATHY JACKSON PLAYING THE TITLE ROLE IN *JOHN HENRY* IN 1978.

photo by Fran Berlin

# THE HINTON PLAY



photo by Fran Belin

LUCINDA AYRES AS WAITING WOMAN IN *THE HINTON PLAY*

by Maryat Lee

*Scene 3: I was talking to Jinx Johnson who died two years ago, and she asked me why I didn't write a play about the day Hinton died. Since I was already moving in the direction of writing about Hinton, I was struck by the title and used it for the first year — with a lot of complaints from local folks, especially since that very year dozens of businesses folded in town. Jinx told me about her uncle Patsy who was responsible for some of the preparation to bring the diesel engines in to replace the steam engines, and what a hard time he had with friends here when he tried to warn them what was happening.*

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**“Potsy”**

**Potsy:** *(In railroad clothes of 1950s. To audience:)*

You ever been the bearer of good news and then find out it's bad news?

You ever been on a special job, a job created to put your friends outta work? Put your friends, your kin, your town, into a tail spin?

Well, I am the ghost of one of them people. I designed and installed all the places along the C&O tracks between Newport News and Cincinnati. These were places where the diesel engine would stop.

*(Enter Jim)*

Jim —? Hey Jim. What's the matter?

Can't talk to me?

*(Jim turns and listens coldly.)*

I didn't need to tell you yesterday about that, in fact I shouldn't have told you the changes that are coming up. But I thought I owed you and Lisabeth a tip — just for your own good.

*(Pause)*

Now you don't need to be short with me. I don't mean no harm. If you know what's ahead, you can be ahead too. I been thinkin'. You were telling me you're about to put a down payment for a new house. I don't wanta boss your business, but if it was me, I'd wait. Wait to see what's gonna happen.

**Jim:** Potsy, you and all the yard knows them dinky engines can't make the grade. Not between here and Clifton Forge. And I know you wouldn't be doin' this, if you believed it wouldn't work. Least I don't think you would. So — I've worked since I was 15, and I've heard lotta stories, gonna move the terminal away from Hinton, gonna be a ghost town, gonna roll up the streets.

**Potsy:** *(interrupting)* Jim — I think it's goina work. I'm sure, as a matter of fact. This time it's true. They're gonna move lots of terminals and shops.

**Jim:** We're friends, Potsy. You gotta do your job, that's all. It didn't hurt my feelings one little bit. I don't mind tellin' ya, some of the men are a little put out. But it didn't hurt me, like I said. You gotta do your job. That's what I tell 'em.

**Potsy:** It ain't just my job. I've seen 'em work. I've seen the figures. I'm in a place over in Richmond where I know what's going on, an' you're ridin' for a fall. All of ya. There won't be hardly one percent of the force left to run things.

**Jim:** Pss. One percent! Then tell me who's gonna supply the trains, inspect them, repair them, who's gonna lubricate them, who's gonna stoke them, sand 'em.

**Potsy:** They don't need anyone to do it. They don't need 'em. They don't need 600 men in the roundhouse. They need just a handful. This won't be the shops anymore. Ya don't have to nurse, feed, build a head of steam, oil, water, etc. The diesel is somethin' else.

**Jim:** *(Interrupting here and there)* Don't need anyone? Just wait till you see it crawling up the Allegheny grade, comin' to a stop and rollin' all way back where it come from?

**Potsy:** The steam engine, man, is a dinosaur. It's a thing of the past. If you don't believe it already, do some readin', man. Or at least wait and see before you tie yourself up for life to house payments.

**Jim:** Well, *(friendly)* I guess I'll manage — don't worry, Pots. If diesels come, well — coal'll still have to move coal. Oil can't move all that coal. You know that. Oh, it might move a few passengers out there in flat country. But — nuthin' can get through these mountains but steam. Well, the ole woman'll be lookin' for me. C'mon with me. But I don't wanna hear any *(exit)* more of this gloomy talk. Okay?

*(Both exit together)*

**Potsy:** Well, don't say I didn't give you warning.

*Scene 12: Lucinda Ayres, mother of four children, has been with EcoTheatre since 1979, starting at the very bottom in production and in the office — learning skills and applying her brilliant mind in advising me. One day three or four years ago, she said she was tired of her parts and really wanted something to challenge her. That's all I was waiting for. This scene is difficult to do well — and she is awesome at it. The scene is spoken by a woman upwards of 35.*

### "Waiting Woman"

*(Woman enters dressed in housecoat. Gets her mail out of box or from Narrator. Looks through it, mumbles about bills, contests, various common mail items. Stops short at last letter.)* Flossie Freeman. Miz Flossie Freeman. Why does her mail keep coming to my box. Miz — As if she was single. It really gets to me the way these women want it both ways. Burns me up. Not a lick of pride, not a smidgeon of respect for their men. And old Sam Lotawill just lets her do it. And loves her. He loves her, brings her store flowers or candy at least once a month. Why as far as he knows, she could be gettin' love notes from men she

meets on her job. How would they know she's married. All she need do is slip her ring off.

*(Surreptitiously tries to peer through envelope with light behind it.)*

He's gettin' the runaround and it don't bother him a bit. And — he won't take comfort in a little innocent flirtation on the side. I know. I tried him out — gave him a little squeeze when I handed him the wrench that day I had the leak. Not that I'd let him do anything. *(I don't think.)*

And here I am — waiting. All my life, piddling around doin' the wash, the

They'll be playin' out in the yard, quiet, and then we hear two longs, a short, and two longs, and they jump up and run down the street.

*(Pause)*

Well, most of the time they do.

*(Pause)*

If they could hear me now they'd say, "Oh Mom, we ain't done that for years."

Wonder when he's gettin' in this time. I never know now when to get supper on. He just arrives and nothin's cooked and he'll get all cross. Or if I do cook and have it ready, he runs late, and it just curls up in the oven and he says, "What's



photo by Margaret Lee

**SIMS WICKER, RETIRED RAILROADER AND EX-MAYOR WHO WROTE HIS OWN SCENE FOR THE HINTON PLAY**

dishes while I wait. I waited to get married — well, no, I had a few ideas then. Then I waited till the children came, then waited till they grew up, and waited till they got married. Once in a while I talk to myself. Well, what are you waiting for! *(pause)* I wait to hear the train whistle. When he hits the East Yard, or CW Cabin, he starts blowin' a certain way and I know he's comin' in. He's been an engineer for 11 years. Always blows when he comes home — it takes just 14 minutes. I pop biscuits in the oven have a nice hot meal ready when he comes slammin' through the door, his arms all open. Oh, the kids listen for it too.

this — dried-up shoe, and hard potato." *(Talks to him as if he is there)*

"Listen, buddy, if you want to come in here just anytime it suits you, you just have to take your chances. Anymore, I don't know what you do. I hear your train come in, and I guess you're on it, and I listen and there's nothing or some other man's whistle. And then you walk in hours later and say 'Just stopped off for a beer with the boys.'" Miz Flossie Freeman don't have any dinner waiting for her husband. And he treats her like a queen. She goes where she wants. She has her own car, she has her own bank account. She has HER OWN NAME.

SEE!

*(Rumples up the letter and throws it at his feet. Then, horrified, picks it up, and flattens it out on her leg and looks at it, stunned.)*

This is mail. It's her mail. Oh my. *(Folds hands over letter almost as if in prayer. Closes her eyes.)*

When I was a little girl, my dream was to be a missionary in a strange country. And if I wasn't worthy I wanted at least to gather all the unhappy children into my home, give 'em room to grow and learn and play. I'd have lots of books and I'd talk and listen to them. I'd let ambi-

put you in their house and give you children and have you all occupied, they'll go and find someone else they can't live without. . . someone else. . .

*(Shock)*

That's what he's done. Found — someone else — You've found somebody else. You've been cheatin' on me — ! For a long time! . . . What? I can leave — I can leave — I can leave if I don't like it? I can leave? This — ?

My house — my things? Uh! Ah! Oh! *(Little outraged grunts, as if being struck. Then rage)*

Oh Buster, I don't have to leave. I AL-

*Scene 16: Hal is the name of a character in Four Men and a Monster, which I wrote while living in New York years ago. We produced Four Men in 1980 with three local mountain men. Charlie Haywood, a troubled Vietnam vet who lives on the holler across the road, played Hal. He and others asked me what happens to Hal after that play. So I wrote this sequel to Hal for him — for the Hinton play. Sorry to say he's not in the EcoTheater company at present — nor has this scene been performed for three years.*

photo by Fran Belin



1983 ECOTHEATER CAST FOR *THE HINTON PLAY*: MITCH SCOTT, LUCINDA AYRES, KATHY JACHSON, JEWEL BIGONY, JOE BIGONY (MISSING FROM PICTURE IS SIMS WICKER)

tion come alive to take care of themselves, make decisions, find out what they could do. . . .

*(Pause.)*

And then you came along, these big arms around me. "Honey, baby, I need you. You don't need to take care of other people's children. I'll give you some of your own. You'll be my sweetheart. Oh Honey," you said, "I can't live without you." And I was HOOKED — just like a fish on the end of a line.

*(To audience:)*

Oh, you young girls, don't you ever marry someone who says I can't live without you, because once they get you and they

READY LEFT.

*(Turns to march off. Stops suddenly)*

I? — left?

*(Pause)*

I left?

I — left.

*(Pause)*

I left you — when we were very very young. I left.

I left you — the day that you put your ring on my finger and they called me — Mrs.

I left. I left!

*(Exit)*

I left.

"Hal"

*(Hal is sitting on his front porch watching birds.)*

One, two — three — four. Four. I saw a fifth one, I know I seen it. Comin' and goin'. Goin' and comin'. Migration. Like 'em tides. Think you got a whole beach big as two football fields — and then all of a sudden like, you got a place narrow as an old dirt road. Sneaks up on ya. And it don't mean no harm. Just like Tot. I told 'm once, Tot, you're like one of them beaches. You're there, and then you're not.

Hey. Git out of that garden, Mongrels. C'mere. I got your food out on the

porch. Go on. Go git your food. Big bowl of Gravy Train. Now, that fits the ticket, don't it?

Say, what time is it? Aw, it's done past time. Me watchin' them birds, just clean forgot my story.

*(He crouches.)*

There's a new one. What in the world is that? Checkers cross the breast, little ole white edges. Look at her strut. No, you stay right there. Don't get on this side or the dogs'll get you. Like that food, don't you? Yeh, costs me more'n that other stuff, I'll tell you. I saw you — I saw you while ago, lope up and off over there.

That woman don't know how to feed birds. Don't know nothin' at all. Then I saw you come back, in three swags you done it. Now where you goin'? What? Well, dag — there they go, two — three of them, goin' back over.

*(Sits.)*

Here I am. Here I been four — five years since, since I come back. Tot would've liked it here. Upjohn too. Sit by the creek when it's up, make a little dam, then watch the water roll it down. Tot would've worn out the bottom of a chair by now — settin' out here on the porch, watchin' the sun go behind that ridge. — See it? I call it the lady. That's my lady, Tot. Ain't she a honey?

Tot? Sometimes I'm just sure as I can be that you're there where I can talk to you. Sometimes I think that's why I talk about so much, 'cause I think somebody's listening. You're there, ain't ya? Come on, give me a little sign. Won't hurt nothin'. I'll stop talkin' if you don't. Come on. Nobody ain't lookin' or watchin' you up there. They won't know if you give me a sign. Hey Tot — 'member when you and me found Upjohn? We was fishin' — and we saw this little old piece of hat, then we saw a boot, and Lord, it wasn't no empty boot, nor a boot with water in it. Tot, I says, that boot's got a foot in it, I swear it does. And then we paddled little closer, remember, and saw his jacket almost on the surface, and grabbed it — and buddy it wasn't no empty jacket neither. Quick, Tot, I says, this is a body and it ain't no old body, it ain't been in here long. Row us over. I kep' holt on him. And while you was paddlin' I got holt of first his jacket, then worked my way up to his shoulders and found his head, and put my hands around the bottom of his head and lifted — tried to lift him a little out of the water so's his nose was above. Didn't do no good. We reached shore and I jumped out and so did you — we nearly lost the boat downstream. And remember how

we pulled him over and how long we worked on him? When I'd get wore out, you'd take over and I'd set there watchin' his face. — Tot, give me a sign? You was always good at signs and that stuff. Give me a sign. Go on — make a little breeze. Make them ornery birds come back from over there.

You know where Upjohn is now? I wish you'd make Upjohn walk up the road, Tot. Is he happy? I tried my best to keep up with him. But since he don't read or write, and if he was in trouble, how in the world could he find me. Well, I don't let myself think about it much.

You know, Tot, I think sometimes about gettin' married. I'd like me a — a — and I won't really care if she was plain and homely. Yeh, I used to think of a real beauty. I was pretty durn good lookin' myself. But — ever since — you know, about Upjohn and that woman — and she was the worst, the worst lookin' ugliest there ever was — I got over that, wantin', you know, a fox. I'd like me a good — a woman you could trust and one who could understand a fellow the way he was. Like he really is. Wouldn't have to put on no airs. Shoot. I might as well pass it by. I ain't much of a catch. It just frazzles me if I begin to think about it.

When I look up, in the evenin', with just one star come out and I see, not just the mountains, but a woman lyin' there quiet and peaceful, her hip goin' up nice and then dippin' down to her waist and then on up to her shoulders, her head hidden in her arms, sleepin' and I can hear her breathe, I whisper to her, she's so close I can whisper little things, and she stirs just a little. You know something, Tot? You wouldn't believe it, but you probably seen me do it. Sometimes I git down on my knees, so help me, almost like I'm prayin'. Here I am — some people would call me — a murderer. Out here where I won't do nothin' bad. Nothin' worse than gettin' drunk once in a while. But what's a man to do if you stay away from folks to keep from doin' harm.

Tot, you never killed no one. Hard for you to understand. Never talked about them years much. But that's why — when you and me saved a man, saved Upjohn, I began right then, to feel like I sort of cancelled out — replaced some of 'em, some of the ones over there. Yeh, you know you wasn't the first one I killed, don't you.

Tot? Did you ever ask? Can you find out why you died and I didn't? If there was one thing I wish you could tell me, it's that. Why am I still livin'? That's

what comes in my mind when I get on my knees sometimes in the evenin' when she's there — stretched out against the sky. And one night I hollered — didn't whisper — I hollered out — What do you want? Tell me what you want me to do.

*(A noise behind him. He whirls about, pulling out his knife in a flash.)*

What's that? Who's there?

*(In silence, he stops, sees the knife in his hand, drops it, sits down, his head in his hands. In despair.)*

How long — Lord — how long, how

LONG —

*(Sees knife on the floor, picks it up. — A cheerfulness takes over as he brings out from his pocket a pipe he is carving and begins to whittle on it.)*

do we limp through this vale of tears.

How long?

*(To audience.)*

Sometimes I make me an angel. Sometimes it looks like Tot. I got a whole bunch of little old wooden knickknacks. Tot?

*(Continues to carve.)*

Ask 'em how long. How long before the great day when the sun goes out and the stars rip across and tear that lid off so we hear the tick of all time. When are we gonna hear the great heartbeat of love that's supposed to rule the universe, where the dark glass is gone, oncet for all, and we see, Tot, we see, face to face? Tot, it's got to be there. Yeh.

*(Looks at his handiwork and finds it good.)*

Well, evenin' is here again. Fallin' quiet and peaceful. And there's the lady. Always there,

*(Holds up his handiwork to show the lady. Gets up, takes his chair, looks up at the lady.)*

Watch over me.

*(He exits.)* □

*Special credit for The Hinton Play is due to the people of Hinton, and in particular Lucinda Ayres, Sims Wicker (who wrote one scene of the play), Kathy Jackson who was in the Youth Company and in now in the Adult Company, and Joe Bigony in his second year. EcoTheater would not have existed without the Expansion Arts Program of the National Endowment of the Arts, the Humanities Fund of West Virginia, many donors, and the moral support of local people and the Summers County Chamber of Commerce and the Summers County Commission.*

# The Year of Jubilee

BY MELISSA GREENE

*"I was someone in my country. I was a doctor in my country. I have seven years post-doc. I have a house with eight rooms and three baths and a beautiful garden. But I was not safe. The soldiers were watching my house. One time when I came home, a lady ran to stop me and said men wait at my house with guns, with their license plates covered with scraps of cloth. I drove past my house in my friend's car huddled on the floor."*

Now the doctor and his family share a dormitory in the Georgia woods with another family of refugees. The dormitories are part of a 260-acre settlement called Jubilee Partners. The group chose the name to honor the Biblical law which calls for the release from bondage every 50th year of all debtors and others held in slavery. Jubilee Partners is the American organization responsible for the largest number of Central American refugees safely and legally resettled in Canada. In the last 21 months, 220 Guatemalans and Salvadorans have found homes in Canada through the agency of Jubilee.

The dining hall at Jubilee Partners is the central meeting place for the residents. It has a rustic, hand-built look. A cross made of two branches bound with rope hangs in a high corner — the room serves as a chapel as well. The meals are simple: salad, fruit, cheese, and bread, served on bright plastic summer-camp plates. After the meal, the residents join hands and say grace; a committee cleans up; someone hands out hymnals and the "partners" pull their seats into a circle and sing church songs. The adults are in their thirties and early forties; the atmosphere is that of both a 1960s commune and a weekend

church retreat.

Eleven adults and eight children are permanent residents of the Jubilee Partners community. All volunteers, the adult members perform assigned jobs in exchange for room and board, including childcare, food preparation, gardening, machine-repair, carpentry, and teaching English to classrooms of refugees. They receive contributions from churches all over the United States, publish a newsletter, welcome temporary volunteers on sabbaticals from work or study elsewhere, and drive a bus to south Texas twice a year to pick up refugees from detention centers there. They now host up

made them especially responsive to the reports and photographs of fleeing Southeast Asians that filled the press that year. Touched by the refugees' desperation, they contacted refugee agencies and English-teaching programs to learn whether an additional facility was needed. They learned that the need was staggering. An estimated 15 to 20 million refugees were adrift in the world. Aided by a work crew from Koinonia Partners, they began building a shelter and laying the foundation for their ministry. By the time the Jubilee dormitories were finished, 120,000 Cubans were landing in Florida. Forty Cuban men who were imprisoned at the Krome Detention Center in Miami made up the first group of refugees to live at the settlement.

"I was exhilarated when the people came," Ron Karis declared. "I'd been working toward it for a year and a half." Jubilee Partners was able to help the Cubans find jobs and sponsors in the Atlanta area after providing medical assistance, English instruction, and cultural orientation. Subsequent groups of Cubans, as well as Laotians, Cambodians, Thais, and Vietnamese, many of whom could not have entered this country without Jubilee as a sponsor, have benefitted from the assistance and training program at Jubilee. But these days

the guests are all from Guatemala and El Salvador.

El Salvador is green and mountainous, filled with palm trees and wild sugarcane. Exotic birds like the Toucan, the Turquoise-browed Motmot, and the Common Potoo sing in its forests. The mountains descend to white beaches, and painted wooden saints adorn the chapels. But the Salvadorans are fleeing

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*"And you shall hallow the 50th year, and proclaim liberty throughout the land to all its inhabitants; it shall be Jubilee for you, when each of you shall return to his family."*

— Leviticus 25:10

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to 45 refugees at a time.

Don and Carolyn Mosely, Karen and Ryan Karis, and Ed and Mary Ruth Weir established Jubilee Partners in 1979. Formerly members of Koinonia Partners (see *SE* vol. VIII, no.1), the newly founded community lived in tents that summer while deciding what course their ministry would take. Their experiences in Malaysia, Korea, and Zaire as Peace Corps teachers and surveyors

their beautiful "Land of Volcanoes and Lakes" by the hundreds of thousands.

There are body dumps at the foot of the volcanoes, and dead bodies sink through the lakes. According to the Archdiocese of San Salvador, Amnesty International, and other monitoring organizations, 40,000 civilians have been murdered in the last four years, the vast majority at the hands of the military or army-affiliated death squads. The International Red Cross claims that 150,000 to 200,000 people are displaced within El Salvador, and up to 700,000 have fled to other countries. A fourth of the country is adrift.

Walking across their lovely mountains, carrying children and sacks of tortillas, lines of civilians attempting to escape the violence are strafed and napalmed from the air, by planes and weapons that rebels say are imported mainly from the United States. An estimated 18,000 Salvadorans are living in camps established by the U.N. in Honduras. Those with bus fare may ride into Mexico, where a thousand-mile gauntlet of police awaits them. Both Salvadorans and Guatemalans, identifiable to the Mexicans by their accents, are subject to arrest and detention, rape, strip searches, extortion, and forced repatriation to their home countries.

Yet despite the grim welcome they are receiving outside their countries they persist in fleeing for their lives across every border. Only a remnant reaches our borders but even that remnant represents half a million Central Americans living illegally in the United States.

"In my country, you cannot wear any boots or any green clothing or green shirt — if you wear them, you will be dead. They will kill you as a guerilla," says one Salvadoran college student sheltered by Jubilee. "My friend was shot to death because the soldiers saw her talking to another student they thought was a guerilla. She was 13 when they shot her. At the university, the guerillas come one day to recruit and the army comes the next day. When the army drafts you, you must go or they will kill you as a guerilla. In my country, there is no middle.

"I did not want to go. The soldiers came to me and said, 'We know you are one of them.' I decide to get out of my country and live in the United States be-

cause I believe United States keep the human right."

"Salvadorans and Guatemalans believe in American democracy like few other people in the world," Eric Drewry claims. A resident of Jubilee partners and an immigration lawyer, Drewry believes the testimonies of the men and women arriving at our borders penniless who profess that they seek — not prosperity — but safety and freedom. The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and the State Department are among those who are not so readily persuaded. The Salvadoran college student was denied asylum because INS determined that he was an "economic migrant" rather than a "political refugee."

There is a tacit assumption at Immigration and Naturalization Service that Central Americans emigrate simply to seek more prosperous lives. There is a strong tendency not to grant them asylum as fugitives from political terror. Historically, our laws have favored and welcomed refugees from Communist Eastern Europe or from a socialist state in Asia, Africa, or South America. And, "as a more or less logical corollary,"

photo courtesy Jubilee Partners



wrote Gary MacEoin and Nivita Riley in their report, *No Promised Land*, "it was determined administratively that Free World countries do not persecute their citizens for political activities."

The refugees must live secretive lives on the periphery of our economy, working as domestics, farm laborers, and piece workers, at the loading docks of warehouses and in the kitchens of Mexican restaurants — ready to drop every-

thing at a moment's notice. Their fear of detection and capture is great for it almost always leads to deportation. The immigration lawyers — both publicly funded and those employed by private firms — do not counsel their Central American clients to give up their underground lives. Most of the refugees request political asylum only after they have been caught. It is their one hope of gaining legal status.

"You can confidently assume that most cases will be denied and you'll find yourself in deportation proceedings," says a Washington D.C. attorney. "Polish diplomats, Russian dancers, and Chinese tennis players make asylum look easy," confides Myron Kramer, an immigration attorney in Atlanta. "In fact, the probability of a Central American winning asylum is extremely remote, and the definition of 'refugee' has become a battleground in the courts and the legislature."

Nearly 30,000 Salvadorans have applied for refugee status, and concurrent withholding of deportation, in the last three years — about one in 90 of those living in this country. In an 18-month period between October 1, 1982 and

March, 1984, 3.02 percent of the Salvadorans applying for asylum were successful. In the same period 17.8 percent of the applications from Nicaraguans and 68.4 percent of those from Iranians were approved. In May 1981, the U.N. High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) passed a resolution declaring that all Salvadorans who fled their country after January 1980 should be considered *bona fide* refugees. In October, 1981, a UNHCR investigative commission found the United States had a "systematic practice" of returning Salvadorans to El Salvador regardless of the merits of their claim for asylum. The UNHCR concluded the U.S. was failing to adhere to the U.N. code,

which recommends shelter for people whom the U.N. defines as refugees. Since 1980, over 35,000 Salvadorans have been deported. They are currently deported at a rate of about 400 a month.

The Jubilee Partners were aware of this crisis in Central American immigration, and wanted very much to help the refugees. But two problems confronted



**THIS MAY DAY PROTEST TOOK THE PLACE OF A PLANNED CELEBRATION WHEN 13 HEALTH WORKERS WERE AMBUSHED AND SHOT BY U.S.-BACKED CONTRA FORCES IN NORTHERN NICARAGUA.**

them: first, the Central Americans were in the country illegally; and second, they weren't going to be allowed to stay, as the Cubans and Vietnamese had been, so there was no point in orienting them to life in America. Jubilee's supporters across the country were people who might look askance at sending money to a program whose purpose was to shelter illegal aliens. At Jubilee, the members themselves were torn between Biblical admonishments to help the needy and homeless, and American laws which classified these particular needy and homeless as "economic migrants." They studied and prayed, leaning towards the verse, "But Lord, when did we see you a stranger and not take you in?"

Then Jubilee discovered Canada. In 1981, Canada's quota for Latin American immigrants stood at 1,000 and only 200 had been admitted. According to INS figures, the United States accepted two Salvadorans that year. In 1982, the year Jubilee investigated the problem, the United States accepted 69 Salvadorans while Canada's unfilled quota rose to 2,000. In 1983, when the United States accepted 71 Salvadorans, Canada had room for 2,200. The Jubilee volunteers

thought they might take in Central American refugees facing deportation and help them apply to Canada for asylum with the aid of a hospitable Canadian consulate in Atlanta. Canada accepts political refugees and assists them financially for a year or until their English and job skills are established.

Jubilee negotiated with INS to suspend pursuit of those Central Americans who agreed to leave the U.S. voluntarily within six months by heading north to Canada. They spoke with the INS director in south Texas who said, in essence: "What you're doing sounds fine. We're deporting them south, you're deporting them north." Jubilee now co-sponsors volunteers in south Texas, chiefly a couple named Richard and Ruth Ann Friesen in Alamo, who visit the detention centers where illegal aliens are held and who are in constant contact with local refugee agencies. They advise everyone of Canada's criteria for admission and the availability of Jubilee Partners in far-away Georgia as a sort of halfway house for those Central Americans willing to relocate to Canada. When the Friesens find someone who is interested, they send the individual's name and history to

Jubilee. The volunteers attempt to determine whose need is most urgent and who might be most likely accepted as a political refugee by the Canadian government.

Once a refugee is accepted by Jubilee, his or her bond is paid — usually between \$1,000 and \$2,000 per person — out of a revolving bond fund created by Jubilee with contributions received for that purpose. If the refugee, upon release from detention, disappears, the bond is forfeited, diminishing the fund and the capacity to rescue others. A high premium is set on finding illegal aliens who, once accepted for the program, will continue with it into Canada. At the border, immigration officials record the names of those departing the country and close their cases, allowing their bonds to be refunded.

Jubilee also acquired a bus and began sending it on long trips to Texas to bring back as many Salvadorans and Guatemalans as it could carry. "The people are scared of us when they first meet us," says Drewry, who frequently makes the run to Texas. "There's no reason they should trust us. Many of them have been in jail since they crossed the border. But they realize they've run out of options.





**AT THE MAY DAY PROTEST, WIDELY REPORTED IN THE U.S. AS "ANTI-AMERICAN," A FATHER GAZES AT THE REMAINS OF HIS CHILD, ONE OF THE MURDERED HEALTH WORKERS.**

At the last minute, they choose us over deportation. They're nervous and quiet when they first get on the bus. By the time they get off the bus in Comer, [Georgia], they're calling it the Freedom Bus.

"I remember a misty night when I was driving — we were still inside Texas and approaching the border check-point 50 miles north of the international border. We started driving out of the dark into bright floodlights and searchlights and notices to stop. And suddenly it was as if there was no one behind me. I turned around and everyone in the bus, except the one or two other Americans, had, without a word, pulled their hats over their faces and slumped so low in the seats that they were invisible from the windows. One minute I was aware of 40 people behind me, and the next minute, as we approached the guards, the bus was empty. It was a strange feeling, driving out of the mist like that. Of course, we had papers for everyone and were permitted to cross."

The bus traveled nearly 50,000 miles in 1983, ferrying refugees from Texas to Comer and from Comer to Canada. At the first all-important meeting with the

Canadian consul, who traveled to Comer from Atlanta to meet the refugees, each person was given the opportunity to establish his or her need for sanctuary in Canada as a political refugee.

Drewry, who had listened to their stories on the long ride from Texas, was amazed when some student leaders, union organizers, members of farmworker cooperatives — all with histories of threats, and murdered friends and family members — were denied political refugee status by the benign Canadian consul. Drewry decided to attend some of the interviews himself and was startled to see how their stories were transformed. Face-to-face with a government official the refugees resorted to a survival technique practiced by oppressed people all over: they knew nothing.

"Did you ever have trouble with the military?"

"No, sir."

"Were you involved in the trade union movement?"

"No."

"Do you have any reason to fear for your life if you return to your country?"

"No, sir."

Angry with himself for not having

foreseen the problem, Drewry told the refugees, "Look, you may never tell your story again but you're going to tell it today." He took them back to the consulate and upon second hearing all were accepted as political refugees. Jubilee-sponsored refugees' acceptance rate by Canada has been 100 percent.

After that experience, Jubilee began offering classes on new kinds of survival skills. Every group of refugees is now taken on a field trip to the Athens, Georgia, police station. Some of the refugees are so frightened, they get physically sick on the day of the trip. Classes in nutrition, map-reading, and Canadian history are now given in addition to the basic English classes. And when reports came back of Central Americans ill-prepared for the Canadian winter, a class called "Dressing in Winter" was added.

"The character of this place changes with each bus-load of refugees," Drewry says. "The Southeast Asians found our housing to be extremely luxurious: the walls kept out the cold, each family had its own room, it was possible to cook indoors. But some of the Central Americans may have had modern homes and cars back home. For them,



A SALVADORAN WOMAN IN A NICARAGUAN REFUGEE CAMP SITS BESIDE A PORTRAIT OF BISHOP ROMERO, WHO WAS SHOT TO DEATH BY A RIGHT-WING DEATH SQUAD IN SAN SALVADOR.

these are modest quarters."

Guillermo, awake late at night in the dining hall, had always wanted to be a doctor to work among the poor. He became director of a rural health administration in Guatemala with seven outlying clinics under his jurisdiction before he was run out of the country. One of his goals was to bring clean water and a sanitary sewage disposal system to the villages. "I would walk seven miles at night to treat a sick person," he recalls. "One time guerillas come to a village. They took me and told me they were happy I treat the Indians. They were happy with my work. I was happy too."

But the army was not happy. The doctor was familiar with the surrounding area as he often walked the forest paths at night. Tacked up all over his office walls were maps of the region which the army wanted. They pressured him for information on suspected "subversive activities" in the Indian villages where he vaccinated children and provided medical care.

"One night I am walking to a patient," he recounts. "The army ambushed me and threatened to kill me if I do not treat the wounded soldiers. I told them 'I am not political man. I am doctor.' I treated the soldiers. Then the army came to my office for the maps." When he refused to surrender his maps and other data, a scuffle ensued and the doctor's assistant was shot by one of the soldiers. The

young man died in the doctor's arms. Shortly afterward, the doctor continues, "a friend came running to me and said, 'Doctor, they have just killed my father, they are asking for you.'"

The doctor resigned his rural post and returned to the city, but the harassment continued. The army abducted his three-year-old son and held him for a day. The family's house was watched. And then came the day when trucks and jeeps with armed soldiers parked up and down his street waiting for him to come home from work. Evading the troops he and his family moved secretly to his parents' home. After a period of hiding, Guillermo, his wife, and their three children — four years, two years, and seven months old — escaped into Mexico. By the end of the trip Mexican border guards had stripped the family of their remaining money and possessions in exchange for being allowed to cross illegally into the United States. "They took the diapers and the bottle from the baby. We had literally nothing left," says the doctor.

He took his family to a garage in Los Angeles where they slept on flattened cardboard cartons. There was no water, light, or toilet, and they were expected to leave during the day. In spite of these hardships, the doctor co-founded a medical clinic for Central American refugees in California who were made fugitives by their status as illegal aliens. But he too was an "illegal" and could not find paid work even as an orderly. He applied

repeatedly for asylum, hoping to legalize his status so that he and his family would be safe and he would be free to practice medicine. But his petitions were denied. His former status, skills, experience, and credentials were meaningless.

"I was a doctor, you see," he says, moving his hand angrily back and forth over the table. "No, I *am* a doctor. It was a shock for me when I come here. I thought I will have progress when I come here, a place to live and grow. Some dignity. When I still live in the garage I teach my kids to love this country, to respect his flag and his symbols, no? I was

thinking that maybe some day we stay here."

Guillermo finally found work in California picking lemons; his wife worked a public job for the first time, doing piece work in a sewing factory. "They told her she can work faster. They promise her seven cents to make a collar, then they pay her four cents. Sometimes she work for 12 hours. When the lemons finish, I work for a furniture store, to unpack the trucks. In California, I know if INS catch me, they will deport me. I am denied three times political asylum. I meet a woman lawyer, but I tell her I don't want to live no more here. I was thinking of Mexico or any other place. She arranges for us to come to Jubilee. When we come here, we find something that look like family. Something we don't have for a long time, we have here. We have been treated — it look like — like human beings. We are coming from hard life. We don't find support. We are treated like animals, we act like animals escaping, we are hunted."

The doctor wears a schoolgirl's coat. It is turquoise with big round buttons and a fuzzy collar. It was donated to Jubilee by an Atlanta church. Guillermo's long arms hang out of it. He acts chastened every time he looks at his bare wrist still expecting to see his watch. His look brightens only when he is talking about his former life and work in the villages of Guatemala. The doctor has become a melancholy man but during his

long narrative, he cries only when speaking of leaving Jubilee and the friends he's made there. "We love one to each other. It is very hard for us, the leaving. It is hard for them, too. This place for me and this time for me I am not going to forget."

The refugees at Jubilee are well-fed, well-rested, and very grateful to the Americans who rescued them. Most look forward to Canada, and pronounce

the strange words like "Vancouver" and "Montreal" shyly and happily. Still, most hope to return to their countries, and see this Canadian adventure as an interlude until they are reunited with their friends and colleagues back home. And most, in the privacy of their lamp-lit dormitories in the woods, make phone calls and write letters to the last known numbers and addresses of parents, sisters, brothers, friends, children — letters

to which no responses come, telephone calls which ring and ring in the night. □

*Melissa Greene is a free-lance writer who has published in several magazines. She lives in Atlanta.*

## THE NEW UNDERGROUND RAILROAD

*From the Revolutionary War era to the demise of legalized slavery in this country, there have been people of conscience who defied the law to assist the enslaved in their quest for freedom. A support network, known as the Underground Railroad, assisted runaways from slave-holding states to free states in the North. Often, however, even in the North legal proscriptions proved hostile and local communities proved unable — or unwilling — to provide protection for the fugitives. In 1830 the National Negro Convention spoke favorably of a colony of 1,000 former slaves who established Wilberforce Settlement near London, Ontario:*

*We view it as an asylum from oppression, and a generous invitation for our people to dwell in a land where they can breathe the pure air of liberty, and where every opportunity is held out for us to occupy that space, and enjoy those rights in the moral world, which God, in his wisdom has destined us to fill as rational beings.*

*As the Fugitive Slave Act of 1840 made it more and more dangerous for escaped slaves and free people of color alike, many of them continued the dangerous and arduous journey further north to Canada. A similar movement is now underway to aid Central American refugees.*

Salvadorans and Guatemalans are finding few havens along their route away from their homelands. There is simply nothing similar to a neutral Switzerland nestled between Nicaragua and Honduras. With Central America and the Caribbean in upheaval, we find ourselves — since desperate Haitians landed on our shores in hand-crafted boats — to be a country of first asylum, a country across whose borders terrified people are collapsing. We were not prepared for this. Most of our doors are closed to

them.

The refugees' presence among us, their lack of legal status, and their desperate fear of deportation are leading increasing numbers of citizens to take steps to shelter them, even though those steps have brought them to the brink of civil disobedience and sometimes beyond.

"We didn't really make a decision until we were asked: 'Will you aid this family?'" a woman in Atlanta admits. She and her husband have sheltered a Salvadoran couple in their basement for five months. "We weren't terribly well-informed on the particulars. They came to us so suddenly we weren't ready for them. We barely had a bed set up or a table. . . ."

"The decision to make the commitment was a large one," her husband says. "The minister of our church called us and said the church was helping Jorge and Rosa make application to Canada and that could take six months. What he didn't say was what we should do if Canada denies them. I mean, are we going to tell them, 'Look, it's been nice, but is six months really long enough?'"

The couple lives in an old working class neighborhood in a big, half-restored house full of old rugs, worn-out record albums, herbal teas, and hanging plants. They are involved in neighborhood organizing, Atlanta politics, the nuclear freeze movement.

"It's exciting, enlarging, expanding," says the wife. "But it's also very intense. We've had no relief from the pressure."

"We're much more conscious of the extreme experiences people have," adds the husband. "Jorge said the children in El Salvador are used to seeing dead bodies. He said that if you get on the wrong side of an argument with a soldier, even a personal argument, the soldier will kill you. And once you're dead, you were a Communist."

An acquaintance of theirs, another

American who shelters illegals, took a Salvadoran family with her to a Fourth of July picnic. "When the fireworks went off, the whole family jumped up, ran, and hit the dirt. All around us were people eating potato salad and dill pickles and here were these people running for their lives," the husband explains.

Rosa is the child of a poor Indian family, but Jorge's family was wealthy and powerful. His grandfather is a colonel. He grew up in a house with polished floors and military guards at every entrance. When Jorge joined the labor movement, he was arrested but his family connections prevented his murder. The army tied him up, drove him to the border in a jeep and threw him over.

"Will democracy come without revolution?" said Jorge at the kitchen table of his hosts on a winter morning. "Will it be dark in an hour? Will leaves spring out of the trees? The little kids go to school at 7:00 a.m. The bodies are lying about for them to see. Soldiers come and remove the limbs with electric saws. Reagan has conceptualized the battle wrong. He sees it as a battle against Communism."

Rosa says little. She stays close to Jorge. They both try to stay out of the way of the family upstairs. Rosa silently cleans the house and washes the dishes. Jorge does carpentry work for church members and coaches the family's 11-year-old son in soccer. The American family upstairs include them in everything they do: every church meeting, every holiday celebration, every party. But the Salvadoran couple are without a country or a future at the moment. Their own children have been scattered among different relatives in El Salvador, and they have not heard from the Canadian Embassy. They are profoundly depressed much of the time. At Christmas time, Jorge would not eat nor leave the basement. The family upstairs grieves with them.



# FOR CHANGE

BY JIM OVERTON

North Carolina; the Harambee Singers of Atlanta, civil-rights veterans who tap the rich oral tradition of Africa to relate black culture and history through songs; and the South Carolina Committee Against Hunger in Columbia, which organizes local anti-hunger groups, helps communities establish food production and distribution systems, and conducts its own public hearings on abuses in public food programs.

But defining the Fund merely as a grant-making foundation misses much of the life and vitality of the organization. For the Fund for Southern Communities is in itself a community — an amalgamation of grassroots activists, young professionals, and more affluent donors. Fund members from each of these different constituencies put in countless hours holding public relations and fund-raising events, assisting grantee groups, evaluating potential grantees, and making the difficult choices of who gets the money. Annual meetings shift quickly from an announcement of a new endowment for the Fund to an impassioned tale by a Fund grantee working to overcome racial discrimination in southwest Georgia.

To understand how this community has emerged, and its significance for the future, a little history is in order.

The story of the Fund begins with Atlanta native Alan McGregor, who started a politically active career through extensive involvement in anti-Vietnam War activities. In 1980 McGregor was working for the Southern Coalition on Jails and Prisons — and was often beset with the Herculean task of raising operating money for the coalition. He recalls, "We were heading to New York two or three times a year to raise money; almost all the money was coming out of New York foundations."

Of course, there was nothing new about this state of affairs; Southern progressive organizations have been raiding the New York foundation world for many years. Much of the early funding for Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference came from New York foundations,

One cold September night in 1981, I sat huddled as deeply into three thick blankets as I could get, shivering and watching the excellent documentary *Fundi* in the unlikely setting of an open-air cabin (screens for windows) at a religious camp outside Hendersonville, North Carolina. At some point during the film I looked around and marveled at the 15 to 20 people suffering along with me. I figured any organization that could attract people that dedicated — or insane — had a good chance of surviving.

That organization was the Fund for Southern Communities, and it has survived — and succeeded — beyond my wildest expectations. From its origin as a gleam in the eye of a few fundraisers tired of trudging off to the Big Apple to extract a few dollars for Southern progressive causes, the Fund has grown into a formidable and highly respected foundation that goes far beyond the traditional foundation role of disbursing grants; it brings people together from every stratum of Southern society, and perhaps above all else it offers many people a wellspring of hope — hope to overcome political, social and economic injustices; hope to keep working towards the concept of a just community; hope to keep going amid the myriad of obstacles

confronting anyone engaged in grassroots community organizing.

The Fund for Southern Communities is a public charity that receives tax-deductible contributions "to provide financial support, technical assistance and human resources to grassroots organizations working for social and economic justice" in North and South Carolina and Georgia. The Fund started in 1980, and annually has made grants to organizations:

- working against discrimination based on race, sex, age, religion, economic status, sexual preference, ethnic background, or physical or mental disabilities;
- struggling for the rights of workers;
- promoting self-determination in low-income and disenfranchised communities;
- protecting the environment and developing "appropriate" technologies like low-cost solar-energy uses;
- creating alternative arts and media; or
- promoting peace and responsible U.S. foreign policy.

In 1984, the Fund made 32 grants totaling \$55,000 to groups as varied as Busy Needle Inc., a worker-owned sewing cooperative in Hendersonville,

as did funds for the Southern Regional Council and the Voter Education Project. Organizations like the Institute for Southern Studies (publisher of *Southern Exposure*) and many others have received large chunks of their budgets from Northern foundations.

These organizations jumped on the Northern foundation bandwagon largely because there was no money available in their backyards. Though progressive philanthropy is not very prominent anywhere in the U.S., there is at least some tradition of politically liberal giving in the North. No such tradition exists in the South. There are foundations that have contributed significant amounts of money to progressive causes; North Carolina's Z. Smith Reynolds and Mary Reynolds Babcock foundations spring to mind. But these are exceptions to a very real rule, and consequently organizations in need of large donations have had to look north for assistance.

McGregor started discussing how to change this state of affairs with fundraiser colleagues like Bob Hall (of the Institute for Southern Studies) and Tony Dunbar (then of Amnesty International). They unanimously agreed that a local source of funds for Southern political work was needed. They focused their concern on the needs of grassroots organizations. As McGregor recalls, "The smaller grassroots organizations really had no access to money in the South because there were very few funders they could go to. They couldn't afford to go to New York to raise money. So the idea began to germinate about starting a fund that would primarily be controlled by activists but would be a collection point for individual donors' money, and grants would be made to smaller grassroots groups that had no access to funding from other places."

McGregor soon looked up an old high school buddy, Ray Weeks, who had worked with him previously on fundraising for the Vietnamese Children's Fund and who had recently taken over a prosperous family business. Weeks' imagination was headed in a similar direction as he was looking for a way to use his wealth to promote positive social

### GET IN TOUCH

To find out how you can get involved in the Fund for Southern Communities, contact the main office: Fund for Southern Communities, P.O. Box 927, 1603 Healey Bldg., Atlanta, GA 30301; (404) 577-3178.

WARREN COUNTY CONCERNED CITIZENS PROTEST PCB DUMP



photo by Jennifer R. Labalme

change. Weeks quickly became enthusiastic about the project and helped McGregor organize a small nucleus of friends who set about investigating how to set up a new vehicle to fund social change.

Not long thereafter, during his next foray into the New York funding world, McGregor found the lead he had been looking for: *Robin Hood Was Right*, a book published by an organization called the Funding Exchange.

The Funding Exchange is an umbrella organization for a handful of newly developed foundations across the country. Beginning in the early '70s, younger members of several affluent American families — many of whom were politicized during the civil rights, antiwar, and women's movement days — started to put their wealth to use in creating social change. Soon they formed new organizations like the Haymarket People's Fund of Boston and the Vanguard Public Foundation of San Francisco — highly innovative foundations in that they had members of grassroots organizations sit on their grantmaking boards and decide how to divvy up the bucks. By 1980,

there were six such foundations, each located in a major metropolitan area, each funding progressive and radical causes that the more traditional funding community refused to support.

The Funding Exchange extended a friendly greeting to McGregor and company, but were cautious about the chances for success, primarily because of the dearth of progressive funding then existing in the South. Each of the Funding Exchange outfits can tap the resources of a large supply of affluent would-be donors, many from families with a history of giving to progressive causes. Finding even moderately liberal heirs of affluent families in the South was an arduous chore.

With these thoughts in mind, a small group of community activists, interested middle-income people, and potential donors gathered in South Carolina in January 1981 to decide what to do next. They quickly reached agreement to set up their own fund, and to a large extent followed the precedent established by the members of the Funding Exchange, adopting operating guidelines to assure that members of grassroots organiza-



photo by Milton Tripp

tions and significant numbers of women and blacks would be represented on the board of the new organization. They set two primary criteria for awarding grants: (1) they wanted to support projects that were devoted to empowering oppressed people; and (2) they wanted to fund groups that did not have access to funding from more traditional sources.

The new organization differed from the Funding Exchange model in two important respects. First, the group decided the new foundation should be regional in nature, awarding grants in the Carolinas and Georgia. The other similar foundations had generally limited themselves to working in specific metropolitan areas. Because there was no strong concentration of donors for the Fund to tap into, this decision made it possible to support work in a wide territory, especially in many of the hard-pressed rural areas of these three states — and to approach a wider variety of potential donors.

Second, the new fund incorporated a membership association into its operations. For the most part the other community funds involved two constituencies: the donors themselves and the

would-be grant recipients. The association concept gave young middle-class people — many of whom had curtailed their political activism somewhat as they started their careers — a stake in the new fund. The concept was that these members would promote the fund, recruit new donors, solicit grant applications, offer their skills to grantees, and run many of the events like annual meetings necessary to the life of the new organization.

McGregor remembers: "We felt one of the things the Fund should do was break down the barriers between people; if we could get together an organization that included low-income people, workers and middle-class folks, and wealthy people interested in social change and get them working on a common agenda, that process alone would be as valuable as the money we raised. We also wanted a mechanism for bringing our members — who at first were primarily white, well-educated people — back into grassroots politics. A lot of our friends had gone into professions or were going into careers. They thought about politics, but political action wasn't really part of their agenda anymore. We wanted to create

the Fund to get politics back on their agenda.

"The difference between our Fund and the others is that we would have that middle-range person. We wanted the Fund to be controlled by a very diverse membership, and we've worked hard over the years to make that a reality."

In testimony to how seriously this organizing group took the task at hand, they decided that members of the foundation should pledge two percent of their time or income (or a combination of the two) to work that supported the fund. Many of them joined up on the spot.

From this nucleus of members sprang the Fund for Southern Communities. Ray Weeks contributed seed money for McGregor to establish an office and begin setting up the Fund. McGregor devoted months to visiting other funds, contacting donors, building an organization. And the early members worked tirelessly to spread the word and create a viable association. Their efforts culminated in the chilly weekend described earlier; at this first annual meeting of the Fund the original board was elected, a set of working principles was adopted, and the newly recruited members from the three states got to know each other better.

That first year the Fund raised enough money to award 22 grants totaling \$24,297. The process was not easy, for the need for funds was great and the available money meager. One board member emerged from the grantmaking meeting to say, "I lost a year of my life this weekend." But the Fund had officially arrived, and had established a solid base on which it could grow.

In fact, it has grown fast enough that the Fund hopes to award \$85,000 to \$100,000 in the first few months of 1985. More and more donors have started supporting the Fund; McGregor encouragingly notes that some are even seeking him out now. The foundation is now part of the Funding Exchange network. And the number of grant applications has increased steadily over the years as more groups have become aware of the Fund.

Much of this growth is attributable to the Fund's excellent staff. Alan McGregor has served as the executive director since the organization's inception. He has spent long hours visiting potential donors, raising money from other foundations, and working with the

*continued on page 48*

# FAIRFIELD UNITED ACTION

By Dave Moniz

Kathy Rogers lives in Lebanon, a small town in Fairfield County, South Carolina. The land is pretty, but the people are uneasy — they are poor, 58 percent of them are black, and they are mostly ignored in local decision-making. Rogers has belonged to a group called Fairfield United Action for nearly four years, and speaking of it brings tears to the corners of her eyes. Before she joined this local activist organization, she says, part of her life was empty. "It has taught me how to deal with people, how to stand up for my rights. It's a good feeling, doing what you know is right."

Rogers and dozens of her neighbors have banded together over the past four years in unprecedented numbers, and Fairfield United Action (FUA) was one of the first projects supported by the Fund for Southern Communities. Fighting policies of South Carolina Electric and Gas Company (SCE&G) — especially its Summer nuclear station in Jenkinsville — was what brought FUA together in the first place, but lately it has grown to mean much more to county residents. Besides waging war with SCE&G, they have worked to register and educate voters, to abolish racially unbalanced grand juries, and to get a jobs program for county youths.

Members cite the abolition of Fairfield County's white-majority grand jury system as their most tangible victory. Grand juries in South Carolina wield a great deal of power, with the duty of reporting on and investigating county facilities and operations, as well as the duty to recommend who should be tried for criminal offenses. And in this black-majority county, no more than four blacks had served on its 18-member grand jury since 1975. FUA staffer John Ruoff testified as to the inequity of the grand jury selection process at 1983 hearings, saying the probability of randomly selecting juries with Fairfield's racial compositions was one in two trillion. Soon, the selection policies were changed and a

new grand jury was chosen, comprised of 12 blacks and six whites.

Fairfield United Action was born in 1980, when a number of the county's working-class residents were worried about the construction of the V.C. Summer Nuclear Power Plant, and their concern came to the attention of Bebe Verdery, an activist who had moved to South Carolina two years before. "I looked around to see what was there," says Verdery. "I had been doing some anti-nuclear work with Palmetto Alliance, and I saw how things affected low-income people. Palmetto Alliance was doing good work, but it mainly affected young, white, middle-class people."

Verdery went door-knocking at houses close to the nuclear plant site in Jenkinsville, talking to people about the plant, which eventually opened in 1982. "There was concern, anger, among people who lived around the plant," she says. "This encouraged me to work with the community. The plant was far along in construction."

Much of the anger focused on the company's land acquisition practices. In 1979 SCE&G had bought up the land for the plant's cooling lake, forcing many residents to sell. "My family owned 148 acres and they took practically all of it," says Bob Hollins, now chair of FUA's board of directors and a member since 1980. He lives on the shore of the Summer plant's artificial lake, and he did not want to sell his family's land. "We got more money than most people," he says, "but we didn't get what the land was worth." According to Verdery, "There was a lot of residual anger over the way the land deals had been handled. A lot of less-educated people were approached first. They sold at low prices; there was a lot of anger."

Soon after meeting Hollins and others like him, Verdery began to work as an organizer, forming a planning committee, writing a proposal, and securing a \$35,000 grant from the Catholic Church's Campaign for Human Development. Later, the Fund for Southern Communities and other groups pitched in with funds.

Verdery became staff director and was soon spending much of her time exploring with FUA members what a community action organization could achieve. Soon, groups of the mostly black residents were marching off to

nuclear licensing meetings and asking questions about the safety of the V.C. Summer plant. "We went to Summer's office, and he wouldn't meet with us in 1980. Here are a group of black people talking about nuclear power, asking him: if it is all so safe, would he cover damage to their property? It showed a broad amount of support in the community." As Verdery says, "If you contrast it with the nuclear movement in general, you'll see that we had a lot of black involvement and we organized lots of regular, local people." Verdery says that the idea that young professionals and the middle class are the only ones likely to protest against nuclear power is a "stereotype that doesn't hold water any more."

FUA member Maryam Shareef is one of those who joined because of concern about the Summer plant. "I've been to Three Mile Island," she says, "and it is not a pretty sight. The nuclear thing here — I did not like the idea of it being so close. FUA has been doing good, positive things in our community. It got SCE&G to do a lot of things it had no intention of doing." One of those things members cite is significant changes in the plans for emergency evacuation of the area, including two predominantly black schools that had been neglected in earlier planning.

Verdery left the staff about two years ago, leaving John Ruoff, by then a two-year veteran, in her place as staff director. Both stress, however, that FUA is "people, not staff." Says Ruoff, "I tell people all the time: if I could do this by myself, I wouldn't spend 40 hours a week chasing people down."

Ruoff has spent many hours driving around the county talking to people about FUA, and he was perplexed at first. "Country folk kinda wonder what white folks are doing in the community asking questions. But they saw who we were, and it was clear there was a lot of concern, unfocused concern." When he became staff director, he says he realized there was potential for strong community involvement, but he and Robert Lewis, the other paid staff member, let other group members lead the way. "We do our best to organize staff, but organizations like FUA are about folks coming together, realizing they have power over their communities. Real change has to come from folks."

*continued on next page*



photo by Frank Blechman

How big is Fairfield United Action? Ruoff says it's difficult to measure its current size, since it fluctuates depending on who can find time to attend meetings or distribute petitions. "It's hard to gauge support; we've done petition campaigns where we've had 1,600 signatures." Bob Hollins says FUA has about 40 full-time members. Often members of the seven-person board of directors, or other members who have been with the group for a good while, will act as spokespersons for a community concern. In the past several years, Ruoff says, FUA has let the Fairfield County power brokers know that the citizens want a say in how the county is run.

One of the ways FUA has asserted itself is by registering and mobilizing new voters. "The folks in Fairfield County are pretty cagey. You can't exclude blacks, so let's have token representation. But blacks have never been a majority on county council or on the school board," says Ruoff. But last spring his group helped pull together a coalition to push voter registration. "We registered 600 new voters," he says, and black candidates were nominated. According to Ruoff, "If one of our nominees hadn't died, we would have had the first majority-black county council in history."

FUA's activities are not met with universal approval, of course. Ann

Pope, who sits on the county council, says she's not impressed. She describes one council meeting attended by FUA members: "Their sole purpose was to try to create havoc and embarrass the council. We do not censor people in any way. Unfortunately, in my opinion, it was not a constructive meeting. There was nothing constructive about that group."

Faye Johnson, the editor of the *Winnboro Herald Independent*, the newspaper in the county seat, shares this view, characterizing FUA as an "anti-group." Says Johnson, "They are not a popular organization here. The only people involved with them are the very poor, very illiterate."

FUA members such as Bob Hollins, who is a former county treasurer, would no doubt disagree with that assessment, but he does think the group has had a profound effect on the poor and underrepresented in the county: "They call this part of the country the black belt. We've been neglected; we don't get to participate in the decision-making process. But the people here have confidence that Fairfield United Action can get the desired response."

Or, as member Ernest Owens says, "I lived in Fairfield County all my life. Before I joined Fairfield United Action, I didn't see that I could do nothing about things. But you get to know how. I ain't no educated man, but I'll do any-

thing I can to help people. I will, really."

FUA's current activities reflect a recognition that registering new voters is good, but not enough. As Ruoff says, the real war is going to be fought on the economic front: "The merchant-lawyer clique has kept development out, wages low. They've chased plants out of here."

Ruoff admits that Fairfield County is not among South Carolina's most impoverished, but is nonetheless not what it should be to its residents. "We're not as poor as places like Jasper County, but it shouldn't be what it is. It has opportunities to improve. Economic opportunities could be seized on. Nuclear plant tax money could be used to make improvements; part of what we're talking about is the idea that we need to look at our own resources."

FUA has recently been formulating job strategies to counter unemployment among local teenagers. Says Ruoff, "We need to develop small businesses. Everything leaves the county. There's no place for people to shop. There ain't much to do in the county. People tend to drink, fornicate, and smoke dope." He says, "I know a whole bunch of college graduates who've been schlepping groceries down at the Winn-Dixie," and that many young people leave the county because they can't find work: "There's no future for them here."

Council member Ann Pope says the group is being pushy in requesting a county-wide jobs program. But Ruoff envisions the economic development fight as the next battle for FUA, to build on its minor victories on utility and grand jury issues.

"It will bring people together. Out there in nowhere South Carolina, our people are involved in major struggles. We're building a model for other communities," says Ruoff. "South Carolina is probably the most backward state in the country, but I'm absolutely convinced that when a fundamental change comes about in this country, it's gonna come out of the South. It ain't gonna come out of a D.C. or a New York. It's gonna come out of a Fairfield County." □

*Dave Moniz is a reporter for The State in Columbia, South Carolina.*



## PROFILES OF A FEW FSC GRANTEES

### EBONY CITY PLAYERS

The Ebony City Players is a two-year-old black theater group in Charleston, South Carolina. Local artists collaborate to produce the work of black playwrights and hope to engender appreciation for, and participation in, the legacy of black drama. The Players' 1984 FSC grant underwrites the staging of a contemporary work and the holding of community workshops that offer both direct theatrical experience and information about historical issues surrounding the black theater.



### LAND LOSS FUND

Hundreds of acres in minority-owned farmland are sold each year in Halifax County, North Carolina, due to rising production costs, inadequate financing, under-utilization, and pressure from land developers. The Committee to Save Minority Owned Land, based in Tillery, is an interracial group of farmers, educators, social workers, business people, and others working to combat such land loss. The Land Loss Fund, a project of the committee, was established to offer educational and technical assistance to minority farmers threatened with foreclosure by traditional lending agencies. Long-term goals include the creation of an alternative financing program for area farmers, help for farmers to develop alternative crops and income-producing activities, and development of a purchasing and marketing cooperative. The committee's FSC grant helps conduct organizing and educational programs for area farmers.



### COMMUNICATION NETWORK OF CHARLESTON

The Communication Network of Charleston provides communication and public relations assistance to non-profit groups in the area, producing brochures, newsletters, flyers, and public service announcements at minimal or no cost. The network also offers writing assistance to a variety of organizations. And its journal disseminates news and information on the activities of local groups and publicizes upcoming events. FSC's grant supports the continuation of its low-cost services to community groups.

### LESBIAN AND GAY HEALTH PROJECT

Discrimination takes its toll in many ways: lesbians and gay men often pay a price in terms of quality health care, due to insensitive, hostile, or uninformed medical professionals. The Lesbian and Gay Health Project in Durham, North Carolina, is documenting the problem as a basis for improving health care services for its constituents. The group has surveyed the state's gay/lesbian population to document their experiences with health care providers and to outline health needs and gather recommendations offered by respondents. It also works to expand the network of gay and lesbian health professionals across North Carolina — providing peer support, direct services, and information concerning AIDS and other health issues. The FSC grant helped the Health Project continue its monitoring of health care discrimination and its advocacy for improved service from the medical profession.

### CONCERNED CITIZENS IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION

As black community leaders and citizens in rural Midville, Georgia, began successfully tackling problems in housing, transportation, and nutrition for the poor and elderly, they found access to public facilities increasingly cut off. Their situation led to a simple, potent response: with help from FSC, the association established an independent base of operations — a true community center — for organizing black residents around a number of community concerns, including issues of economic development, local government performance, and voter participation.



### NATIONAL ANTI-KLAN NETWORK

Representing more than 65 organizations, the National Anti-Klan Network was formed in 1979 with the goal of curtailing the growth and violent acts of the Ku Klux Klan and other race-hate organizations. Education, legal strategies, community organizing, and nonviolent direct action are the Network's tools. The network offers direct assistance to victims of the Klan, and Klan Watch, its monitoring arm, serves as a central source of information on Klan activity throughout the nation. Georgia is one of four Southern states — along with Alabama, Texas, and North Carolina — where Klan activity has risen dramatically in the past few years. FSC's grant is for a model statewide program in Georgia, with a particular focus on the Klan's impact on youth. Georgia staff plan a statewide coalition to address Klan recruitment in public schools and to mount an educational program for young people.



photo courtesy FSC

*continued from page 44*

membership to produce the events that keep the organization growing.

He was soon joined by Midge Taylor, a forceful organizer with long experience in nonprofit groups. Taylor says she was attracted to the Fund because "it was providing money to groups that I had already learned did not have access to traditional funding sources. . . . It was supporting the kinds of causes I believed in." Her approach to the job reveals her determined spirit: "I saw the job announcement, came over and told Alan that this was my job, I wanted it, and he should give it to me. So he wound up giving it to me." Taylor has proved invaluable in streamlining the difficult process of grantmaking and providing excellent services to the Fund's grantees.

Recently Claudia Combs joined the staff as an administrative assistant; she had previously worked with the Federation of Southern Co-ops, and has already set about organizing the Fund's massive paper flow.

The Fund has also benefited from the excellent board members it has recruited over the years. The variety of experiences and interests they bring has allowed the Fund to look for unusual grantees, to take chances on projects other foundations would view more skeptically, and to develop an appealing and broad-ranging vision that has attracted widespread attention.

A few capsule profiles suggest this diversity: Polly Penland of Waynesville, North Carolina, is one of the founding

members of the Fund; she works as a clinical social worker and also works on preventing rape and domestic violence. Legal Services attorney Sandra Jones of Beaufort, South Carolina, specializes in voting rights issues and is active in the South Carolina Black Voting Rights Campaign. Montezuma, Georgia, community activist Geneva Reese was a founder of the Concerned Citizens of Macon County, an early Fund grant recipient, and has put in countless hours working on issues from electricity and telephone shutoffs to simply trying to get the right to meet in town-owned buildings.

Recently the board has added new members like Atlanta's Robin Hanes Kent, an art therapist, artist and philanthropist; Chapel Hill's Joe Herzenberg, an historian and long-time activist around gay-rights issues; and Augusta's Addie Scott Powell, who serves as project director for the Allied Services Cooperative, an innovative Fund grantee project which has brought community members together into a series of guilds of workers in household services, clerical work, and the like.

Still, much of the credit for the Fund's success has to go to its membership. This devoted cadre — including folks like Tony Clarke-Sayer of Asheville, Elana Freedom of Durham, and Alison Spitz-Garbe, Beth Brandes, and Judith Blamey of Atlanta — has put in countless hours setting up fundraising parties, planning annual meetings, encouraging potential grantees to apply for grants,

and recruiting new donors and members for the Fund — often with little reward or recognition.

With this compilation of talents, what has the Fund actually accomplished? First, of course, the Fund has been able to assist an extremely diverse set of organizations across its three-state region. Says Midge Taylor, "We've become a resource to the community because the community has a direct influence on how the organization will develop. . . . People understand we are willing to take risks, that we do want to support new projects, that we want to support small-budgeted projects."

McGregor adds that the Fund is accomplishing its goal of funding groups in dire need of help: "I think our grants are often inspiring to groups that are really struggling about whether they're going to make it or not, particularly in low-income communities where the pressures against organizing are so tremendous. Our grants, as small as they sometimes are, allow groups to say, 'We're something real and tangible, and we can go forward with this.' That helps them get together, go find some more money, and get their work done."

Many Fund grantees praise the support they've received. Bonnie Wright (now a Fund board member) directs Durham's Self-Help Credit Union, a creative financial institution that makes loans to worker-owned businesses and sees as its mission promoting locally based economic development. Wright comments, "The Fund made a grant for our very early development when no other foundation would even look at us. I thought it was pretty innovative that the Fund was willing to take that kind of risk." Now the Credit Union has received support from a set of other foundations, church groups, and the like, but Wright says that initial seed money paved the way for the credit union's development.

In fact, one of the Fund's major accomplishments has been its ability to gain further support for many of its grantees. Says Taylor, "We have not overlooked that important carry-over process. We help groups get started and then also assist them with raising additional funds from other foundations because we know that our grantees will still need further help beyond the limits of our grants."

The relationship between the Fund and its grantees has evolved far beyond mere grantmaking. Besides involving its grantees in its membership and on its

board, the Fund provides an array of technical assistance to would-be grantees. Taylor says, "People call us up and ask us about fundraising strategies, they ask us about other foundations, they ask us about general organizational development like board composition and training, they ask us accounting questions — some of which we can't answer because we're still looking for the answers ourselves. But it's rewarding to see that the community is looking upon us as a valuable resource."

The Fund is also looking to expand its range of services to donors and other members. Holding annual retreats devoted to helping "donors deal responsibly with the opportunities provided by wealth" is one way. Recently several Fund donors conducted a workshop providing advice to women with inherited or earned wealth.

In April 1984, the Fund sponsored the first "Southeastern Seminar on Socially Responsible Investing." Held in Atlanta, the event was devoted to providing its 100 participants with information on how to invest their money in ways consistent with their political and social values — investment avenues such as money-market funds that invest only in socially responsible corporations, and innovative new outfits like the Self-Help Credit Union. The seminar was a huge success, and another is now planned for Chapel Hill in early 1985.

By combining these services with its highly professional grantmaking structures, the Fund has won deep-seated loyalty from many of its donors. Says one, "I think the Fund is the perfect place to make my donations. I don't just give money; I get to meet the people I'm supporting and get a feel for what's happening around the issues I'm interested in."

The Fund has also earned a great deal of respect and support from other members of the foundation world. George Penick, assistant director of North Carolina's Mary Reynolds Babcock Foundation, which has made a grant to help the Fund cover its administrative costs, says, "There is very little money in the South to help emerging groups go through that painful time of organizing and development; a lot of times that issue is either not well-known or not popular, and it's difficult to get any funding for it."

"Even foundations like us that like to fund grassroots community-based organizations don't always know about these groups because they either don't

know about us or don't feel they're developed enough to come to us for support. So we feel the Fund can be our eyes and ears for many of these new groups." Penick cites the case of the Self-Help Credit Union, to which the Babcock Foundation recently gave a grant and which it also supported with a large non-interest-bearing deposit. "It's very rare for us to make a commitment of that size. But there aren't many groups around with the skill and creativity of the credit union, and it wouldn't have gotten started without the Fund."

Penick also feels the Fund has increased the amount of progressive philanthropy existing in the South. "The Fund gives donors in the South an opportunity to give their money to issues they believe in in an organized way. I think it's actually encouraging money to be given to these issues that wouldn't be given otherwise. People wouldn't know about the issues or wouldn't know about the groups working on them, and therefore they wouldn't contribute anything."

"So it's meeting both needs. It's helping the donors to give to the groups they want to support in the South, and it's giving emerging groups access to funds that they wouldn't otherwise know about. It's a perfect matching of the two interests."

Given this level of accomplishment, where should the Fund be heading in the next five years? Says McGregor, "I think the Fund should step back and say, 'This is a great idea. It's working and it has a lot of potential. We need to think big about this.' I think we can see some rapid growth. So my vision is that in a few years we could be giving out around \$200,000 instead of \$60,000. I'd also hope we could start doing more technical assistance work with our grantees."

Taylor echoes this latter concern: "I'd like to see us operating a very sound technical assistance program to respond to questions about organizational development and the like and to do workshops about issues that are most important to grantees, like tax exemption and better fundraising for groups." She also would like to see enough growth in grantmaking funds to allow for emergency grants to groups in dire need and for larger grants to those organizations which need support beyond the usual \$2,000 grant size.

As a combination grantee and board member, Bonnie Wright is intent on keeping the Fund growing: "What the Fund does is great, but it's a small dent in what needs to be done, and more

#### 1984 FSC ANNUAL MEETING



photo courtesy FSC

money can help." She also emphasizes the need to develop the membership base: "I think one thing that's really special about the Fund is the support of people from all over the three states, everything from fundraising to grant evaluation to administrative help. I think that's really important."

In one way or another, everyone emphasizes maintaining the Fund's unique sense of community. Concludes McGregor: "The trick is to grow while holding onto the beauty of being a democratic organization — which I think is the most unique part of the Fund — to maintain the diversity of the organization, and to use that quality of the group to keep the Fund real special."

Having dutifully omitted myself from this narrative since the opening paragraph, I feel it's necessary to offer a more personal perspective on why the Fund has so much appeal for its members and supporters.

By now you've probably guessed that I do not qualify as the most objective reporter on the Fund and its activities. I have been involved in the Fund since its inception, first as a member and now as the chairperson of the Fund's board.

At first the Fund appealed to me mostly as a funding vehicle, a mechanism to get more money to groups working on issues I was involved with or concerned about, one more addition to the set of foundations I looked to for a few thousand dollars for utility organizing or anti-nuclear work.

Over time I've come to view the Fund from a far more mystical standpoint.

Without really realizing the transition, I've found myself on a regular basis climbing onto a soap box and sermonizing on behalf of the Fund, preaching the gospel to as many of the unconverted as I can find.

Like many of the Fund's members, I no longer have the time to be involved in the farflung grassroots efforts I used to dabble in constantly. Publishing a newspaper leaves me time to read about them, but precious little time to participate.

Working with the Fund keeps me in touch with the people still struggling across the Carolinas and Georgia. In recent years I've interviewed would-be grantees trying to increase black voter registration in eastern North Carolina, fighting a hazardous waste facility in the middle of a heavily populated neighborhood in Greensboro, and working to end the persistent discrimination gays and lesbians face in receiving adequate medical care. I've served on the board with a solid group of Fund members, donors and grantees and other community activists — all dedicated to making hard decisions about where to spend the Fund's still scant resources and eager to see that the Fund grow as large as possible.

Election day was particularly painful here in North Carolina this year, and the staff of *The North Carolina Independent* (where I work) straggled into the office looking as enthusiastic as the survivors of a hurricane. I was surprised to find myself feeling much less depressed than my colleagues; soon I realized it was because I had Fund parties to plan, board business to attend to, potential donors to contact. I knew that the same folks who had applied for money the previous year were still out there working away despite the re-election of Helms and Reagan, and that they still needed money and support from the Fund.

For most everyone involved in the Fund, some version of that enthusiasm and commitment seems to serve as the primary motivation. The Fund provides a lot more than just financial resources for grantees; it ties together a disparate group of politically active Southerners into a community attempting soberly and deliberately to create social change.

My sketch of the Fund's history and current operations perhaps skims over some of the very real challenges that the organization faces: working to keep its people-oriented democratic feel as it expands, figuring out how to keep growing and bringing in more money, making

sure that the members have a strong enough role in the decision-making of an organization that by its bylaws has a majority of community activists on its board. But the organization has regularly struggled to overcome these tensions and difficulties, and despite a few pains and woes along the way grows stronger with each passing year.

Part of the reason that the Fund can survive such tensions is that it offers people so much in return for their work. Alan McGregor concludes, "I think at heart the Fund is educational. People who are directly involved — who come to the annual meeting or are on the board or work on membership activities — learn a tremendous amount about different people. When we have a fundraising meeting in northwest Atlanta, we attract people who rarely hear about grassroots organizing in southwest Georgia. The Fund has a unique ability to bridge that gap, to get over to million-dollar houses in northwest Atlanta and talk about grassroots politics.

"It was really exciting to me to have a grassroots organizer from a small Georgia town stand up at the annual meeting and talk about how the black community was being harassed by the mayor because they were becoming a political threat, and needed a few thousand dollars to keep their project going — then an hour later have someone stand up and say we're having a conference for women with inherited wealth to talk about the problems of having money. To have those two conversations in the same meeting an hour apart is very significant — to have people understanding each other on those levels.

"That's no solution to all the world's problems, but it's certainly a unique way to expand people's vision of the world. Our newsletter goes to thousands of people who learn about grassroots politics. We raise the credibility of these groups in the public's eye. That's part of bridging the gap between the various cultures of the South."

Addie Scott Powell told the annual meeting when she was nominated to the board of directors: "I believe that people can learn to solve their own problems themselves." The Fund is committed to helping people from all walks of life become involved in those solutions — and it's working. □

*Jim Overton is associate publisher of The North Carolina Independent, a progressive statewide newspaper — and a veteran of six-and-a-half years with Southern Exposure.*

## GEORGIANS AGAINST NUCLEAR ENERGY

By Beth Damon Coonan

Energy activist organizations throughout the country have shared a common rite of passage in recent years, moving from a street activism consciously patterned on the civil rights and anti-war movements of the 1960s, through a time of retrenchment and refocus on public education, to today's hard-bitten efforts to beat the utilities at their own games. Demonstrators evolved into watchdogs. The political environment that tolerated assaults on the security fences of nuclear plants seems a generation removed from the lawsuits and utility commission interventions that take place today.

Georgians Against Nuclear Energy (GANE) is an apt example of this passage from the 1970s to the '80s, and there was a critical juncture in GANE's evolution when the Fund for Southern Communities recognized its work with a small grant that helped GANE try out its new role as watchdog of the regulatory process. The grant supported the production of educational materials documenting impending financial disaster caused by the Georgia Power Company's nuclear Plant Vogtle and the dangerous repercussions thereby facing Georgia's economy.

But that came after five years of work by GANE on various other issues involving nuclear energy. In the spring of 1978 a prime target of anti-nuclear activists was the nuclear facility at Barnwell, South Carolina, where spent fuel from nuclear power plants was to be reprocessed for future use. Among the products of reprocessing is plutonium, the stuff of which nuclear weapons are made. (See *S.E.*, Winter 1979.) A number of Georgians participated in a protest rally at Barnwell that year, and GANE grew out of their involvement.

The Barnwell activities inspired efforts to seek local bans or controls on the shipment of nuclear waste. In Atlanta GANE did the legwork to support passage of an ordinance requiring that such shipments skirt the city or meet

stringent regulations, and that work was part of GANE's growing up — its transition from demonstrations and street actions to less showy but longer-term educational and political work.

"We recognized that it was essential to have a statewide anti-nuclear organization," says Dennis Hoffarth, one of the group's founding members. "It gave people all around Georgia a chance to be involved. And people that came into GANE have been a big part of what's kept us going. We've had some of the most dedicated, hard-working people I've ever come in contact with."

Attorney John Sweet, who was the Atlanta city council member who introduced the ordinance regulating waste shipments, says that "GANE people have always been an intellectual group." The work done to support his ordinance required that they "engage in a change-oriented, complicated, educational process" because, he says, "response to nuclear power is a learned response."

April 1979 brought increased importance to GANE, as it did to other anti-nuclear groups nationwide. As Atlanta artist and one-time GANE coordinator Carol Stangler puts it, "Prior to that we were a small organization. After the Three Mile Island accident, dozens got involved."

Hoffarth says that GANE played a crucial part at the time of Three Mile Island. "Because of our continuous efforts through our newsletter and forums, the public was alerted to some of the dangers of nuclear energy. Without that consciousness, the accident might have been swept under the rug. We helped raise the consciousness of the news media; because of us and others they recognized the *need* to react."

After that incident, GANE sponsored additional educational programs and also worked in the political realm, intervening in Georgia Power's rate-setting cases. "One great victory," says Stangler, "was against CWIP" — the charging of consumers for "construction work in progress." In 1980 Georgia Power was pushing legislation that would have drastically restricted the Public Service Commission, which regulates utility rates in Georgia, putting CWIP charges in the rate base so the company could earn profits on plants not yet operating and implementing several other provisions

that would have been costly to the state's ratepayers.

"Dozens of citizens, most of them turned out by Georgians Against Nuclear Energy, lobbied furiously against the bill," says Tim Johnson, an Atlanta writer and organizer. The result: "Although versions of it squeaked through both houses of the legislature, it failed to pass both House and Senate." By opposing such rate increases, particularly by objecting to the inclusion of CWIP as part of the rate base, GANE helped to take the profit out of building nuclear power plants.

GANE was soon in the forefront of lobbying efforts in the legislature and raising citizen awareness of the Public Service Commission (PSC). "After all, that's where the money gets decided," says Danny Feig, a 1982 candidate for the State Senate opposing an employee of Georgia Power. Now GANE's media coordinator, Feig says, "Whenever there are problems at Plant Hatch [an operating nuclear plant in Baxley, Georgia] GANE has made these known to the PSC. Our role is to keep the problems in the public view."

"After GANE pressed for it," interjects Stangler, "the PSC had week-long nuclear power hearings, open to the public, initiated by Public Service Commissioner Billy Lovett. This was an unprecedented action by the PSC, especially since the hearings were held at night to facilitate citizens' involvement. The impact on Atlanta was fantastic: the room was packed every night."

In the 1980s GANE has increasingly concerned itself with the economic problems facing electricity consumers in Georgia resulting from Georgia Power's construction program. In January 1983 GANE, along with the Southern Regional Council and the Washington-based Environmental Action Foundation, organized an "Energy Strategy Conference" at a camp near Covington, Georgia. At that time, Neill Herring, an Atlanta carpenter and writer who has worked with groups opposing rate increases since 1971, said that "Georgia Power's construction program is so out of hand that they have a choice between admitting they were wrong and cancelling some of their plants, or intimidating the state legislature into giving them more of the ratepayers' money. And they *won't* admit they made a mistake."

The 1983 conference drew representatives of business, government, and citizens' groups to examine six areas: the economics of power plant construction, alternatives to construction, organizing cooperatively owned and city-owned power companies, intervening in rate cases, the politics of electric utilities in Georgia, and organizing around utility issues in the black community.

G.A.N.E. 

## Rate Hike Update

1981

**Q. Why Does Georgia Power Want to Raise Our Rates?**

**A. Vogtle Nuclear Plant**

Particularly responsible for higher electric bills in the '70s was the construction of nuclear power plants. By the end of that decade, electricity produced by new nuclear power plants exceeded the cost of electricity produced by burning oil. Or, as Danny Feig puts it, "It's cheaper to burn money to produce electricity than to use nuclear power."

According to Stangler, GANE soon began to focus particular attention on Plant Vogtle — "because it is in our state and since it has such potential for affecting Georgia citizens on many levels." Alvin Burrell, editor of GANE's

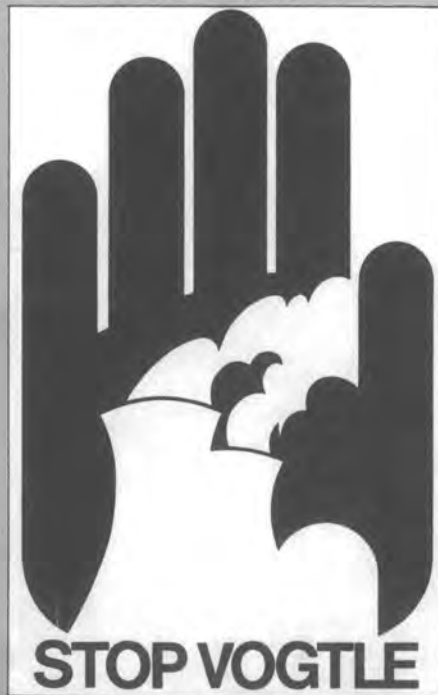
newsletter and one of its founders, says, "Plant Vogtle is an albatross. We agreed to focus on the economic aspects of Plant Vogtle, which holds much promise for stopping the plant. The cost of Vogtle's electricity will be borne by virtually all electricity consumers in Georgia."

Burrell notes, though, that some of the vast numbers of GANE members have lost interest over the years, one consequence of the group's turn to legislation, public hearings, and legal interventions. As John Sweet says, those who have continued their involvement are the committed, responsible, hard workers who are able to devote time and energy to an important cause without immediate gratification. "Not only that," he adds, "GANE workers are regional patriots. In learning about GANE's issues of concern, you learn about Georgia. And GANE's work is crucial to our state."

A seven-page fact sheet and a question-and-answer brochure produced with support from the Fund for Southern Communities demonstrate the skills and technical knowledge acquired by GANE workers — and "together mark the most solid informational piece that's come out of GANE," according to Jim Kulstad, an Atlanta carpenter who has been active since the Three Mile Island accident.

GANE volunteers mailed about 10,000 copies of the fact sheet on Plant Vogtle — "A Call for Cancellation: Saving Georgia's Economy" — and brochure — "The Power Company Is Pushing Georgians Ten Billion Dollars Too Far." These went to public officials, businesspeople, and others. But Kulstad would like to see another 200,000 or more copies distributed.

Meanwhile, 1984 marked another turning point for GANE, its first venture into advocacy at the federal level. GANE and the year-old Campaign for a Prosperous Georgia (CPG), which grew out of the conference on Georgia's energy future co-sponsored by GANE, filed formal interventions with the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) in January of last year. The NRC had announced the previous month Georgia Power's formal application for an operating license for Plant Vogtle. GANE and CPG opposed the licensing, citing the discovery of an earthquake fault by the U.S. Geologic Survey, drug abuse by construction workers which may have affected qual-



ity and safety, dramatically diminished growth in electricity consumption, unresolved waste disposal problems, and economic questions.

The Legal Environmental Assistance Foundation (LEAF), a nonprofit law firm, recently began providing legal help with the case. GANE members Stangler and Doug Teper, a long-time GANE activist and recent candidate for the U.S. Congress, coordinate their group's intervention efforts. Says Teper, "The interventions come in the wake of numerous incidents around the nation which raise increasing doubts about the economic and technical viability of nuclear power."

In January the NRC ruled on the case of the Byron nuclear plant in Illinois, refusing for the first time in history to grant an operating license on account of safety concerns. Shortly thereafter, the Marble Hill nuclear plant in Indiana was abandoned after \$2.5 billion had been spent on construction; the facility, like Plant Vogtle, was simply not needed to meet demand. And the utility building the Zimmer nuclear station in Ohio announced it would convert the 97-percent completed plant to coal — to save money.

A hundred U.S. nuclear power plants have now been cancelled in less than 10 years. GANE and other consumer and environmental groups in Georgia urge Georgia Power to follow this trend, pointing to the Tennessee Valley Authority, which lowered rates by 5 percent and put more money into

conservation and renewable energy sources after cancelling several nuclear facilities it had planned.

"The nuclear industry is facing setback after setback around the country," says newsletter editor Alvin Burrell. "Georgia Power's Plant Hatch has been down for repairs on its cooling system most of this year, and there are intimations that the expense will be passed on to ratepayers."

Despite the trends in the rest of the country, the Southern Company, Georgia Power's parent, has announced it will spend about \$6.5 billion a year on construction, the majority of it in Georgia. A congressional study concluded that Georgia Power is the most overbuilt electric company in the United States in total dollar impact on consumers, and that spending \$75 per second to build power plants we don't need is foolish. "Sometimes you feel like you're beating your head against the wall," says Kulstad, comparing the Georgia Power increase in construction to what's going on elsewhere. It is obvious that the need for GANE's work is great.

"It is hard to pinpoint actual accomplishments in work of this nature," muses Dennis Hoffarth. "It's not something that you can measure directly. But you can see that we have stayed active for nearly seven years as an all-volunteer organization and been involved in one of the most important things there is. And we've been found worthy enough by the NRC to raise contentions about Vogtle. That is a fight we've just begun and it'll take years."

The Georgia Power Company recognizes the threat posed by GANE's work, paying a consultant \$20,000 to refute GANE's "Call for Cancellation" fact sheet on Plant Vogtle. Not a single inaccuracy was to be found, however, perhaps because GANE volunteers used public documents from Georgia Power itself. A price must be paid for such success, however: being watchdogs over Plant Vogtle is an all-consuming task. As Kulstad notes ruefully, "You know, Vogtle is a huge undertaking. For Georgia Power and for GANE." □

*Beth Damon Coonan is an editor of Atlanta's Great Speckled Bird, a board member of the city's largest food cooperative (Sevananda), active in New Jewish Agenda, and a 1981 Citizen's Party candidate for the Georgia House of Representatives.*

# FBI's COINTELPRO REVISITED

by Alex Charns

Like hundreds of other Southerners in the late 1960s, activist Muhammed Kenyatta was a target of a vigilante operation that often employed illegal methods designed to prevent the exercise of First Amendment rights. The perpetrators were not private citizens taking the law into their own hands; but Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation carrying out a sanctioned counterintelligence program named COINTELPRO.

Today, represented by the American Civil Liberties Union, Kenyatta is suing three FBI agents for violating his constitutional rights in the course of their COINTELPRO activities. Filed in 1977, the lawsuit has survived two pre-trial appeals by the U.S. Justice Department. The government's arguments in the case reveal that it does not completely disavow the bureau's COINTELPRO techniques of the past.

Eleven years after the fall of President Richard Nixon, and 13 years after the death of FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, the use of overt and covert domestic surveillance operations are on the rise. Activists struggling for the liberation of African Americans, Native Americans, and Puerto Ricans in this country; those doing support work for the people of Central America, South Africa, and the Philippines; and people working for progressive change in general are being met with increased resistance from U.S. law enforcement agencies.

We at *Southern Exposure* think this is an opportune time to take another look at COINTELPRO, the precursor of today's domestic intelligence operations, and to

speak to some of the victims of that program.

Much of the information contained in this story was gathered from an FBI reading room in Washington which contains, among other documents, 52,000 pages of COINTELPRO files. Our investigation examined the files of selected field offices in the South, looking for COINTELPRO targets with enough background data to be identified. Under the Freedom of Information Act, we also requested files not previously released concerning the University of North Carolina campus. After a two-and-a-half-year delay, the FBI released over 700 pages of files about black and anti-war groups; it withheld another 700 pages to protect informants or for national security reasons. Finally, three COINTELPRO targets were identified from the FBI files by their friends and associates.

The Kenyatta case is a good example of the use of COINTELPRO in intimidating and bullying targets. Kenyatta moved South in the '60s from his home in Philadelphia in order to work with the Child Development Group of Mississippi. He enrolled at Tougaloo College and worked with various civil rights and political organizations including the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party and the Jackson Human Rights Project. A well-known civil rights activist, Ken-

yatta's endeavors included voter registration drives, organizing and speaking at demonstrations, tutoring black children, and supporting black candidates for office.

In 1969 Kenyatta received an ominous letter concerning his political activities at Tougaloo College. The letter, forged by FBI agents in Jackson, Mississippi, read in part:

(It has been determined by . . . representative elements of the Tougaloo College Student Body that you are directed to remain away from this campus until such time as your conduct and general demeanor reach the desired level. (S)hould you feel that this is a hollow directive and not heed our diplomatic and well thought out warning we shall consider contacting local authorities regarding some of your activities or take other measures available to us which would have a more direct effect and which would not be as cordial as this note.

— Tougaloo College Defense Committee

The FBI's files left no doubt about the intended result: "It is hoped that this letter . . . will give him the impression that he has been discredited at the Tougaloo College campus, . . . It may possibly also cause him to decide to leave Mississippi."

"When I got the letter," Kenyatta remembers, "I took it for what it appeared to be — a letter from some group that was unhappy about what I was doing and was threatening to do something violent." Since the letter arrived soon after an attack during which "someone shot

up the car in which I was driving, and came close to blowing my head off," Kenyatta did choose to leave Mississippi, but not the civil rights movement.

Kenyatta was targeted by the bureau primarily for his association with black "extremists" and for his "anti-FBI, anti-white, anti-establishment speeches," according to the Justice Department brief. Justice Department lawyers contend the forged letter received the approval of FBI headquarters in the wake of "several incidents of crime and violence in which [Kenyatta] and his associates were involved."

According to the Justice Department's arguments in defense of the three FBI agents being sued, in 1969 "sending a fictitious letter in the context of law enforcement operations . . . had not been recognized as an impermissible infringement on constitutional rights" — an argument for government immunity. When asked specifically whether they would, if their current defense fails, rely on the argument that the FBI's actions against Kenyatta were justified for national security reasons, a defense attorney said their position was best described in the legal defense brief. There Justice Department attorneys state that most COINTELPRO activities were legitimate and though the Reagan administration "does not condone all the past acts done under the ambit of the FBI's Counterintelligence Programs . . . it is unrealistic and improper to hold the programs in their entirety unconstitutional *per se*."

According to David Rudofsky, one of Kenyatta's lawyers, "It is possible that some COINTELPRO actions may have been constitutional, but I haven't seen any." He says that the government has argued that the law does not prevent similar counterintelligence actions today.

Asked if he thought today's FBI had changed the way it operates against political activists, Kenyatta answered, "Not only has the FBI not changed its tactics, what's more frightening is that the Reagan administration is more supportive of illegal tactics. The current argument of the government [in my lawsuit] is: if the FBI feels there is a security question, the FBI then has the right and the responsibility to violate the law to protect security. The Nixon administration didn't argue that. The Ford and Carter administrations didn't argue that. Not only is the FBI up to its old tricks, but the federal government is more flagrant in support of that philosophy than ever in our lifetime."

DURING THE LATE 1960S AND EARLY 1970S THE FBI infiltrated most major anti-war, black nationalist, and civil rights groups throughout the South using undercover agents and informants for COINTELPRO activities.

According to the Final Report of the Senate Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities (also known as the Church Committee report) released in 1976, COINTELPRO was "a sophisticated vigilante operation aimed squarely at preventing the exercise of First Amendment rights of speech and association." Actions taken against "black nationalists," the report continued, "utilized dangerous

and unsavory techniques which gave rise to the risk of death and often disregarded the personal rights and dignity of the victims." The Church Committee report concluded, among other things, that many of the techniques used by the FBI "would be intolerable in a democratic society even if all of the targets had been involved in violent activity," which they were not.

COINTELPRO actions against "black nationalists" began in 1967. They were designed "to expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit, or otherwise neutralize" the "leadership, spokesmen, members, and supporters" of the Black Panther Party, the Nation of Islam, and other black militant groups. Its broader objectives were to "counter" their "propensity for violence" and to "frustrate" the groups' efforts to "consolidate their forces" or to "recruit new or youthful adherents."

The following year, a COINTELPRO campaign was initiated against the New Left. According to then-FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover's subordinates, this was justified by the "era of disruption and violence" led by New Leftists. Other reasons given for the program were that

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT  
**Memorandum**  
DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698) DATE: 5/28/69  
SAC, JACKSON (100-1166) (P)  
SUBJECT: COINTELPRO -  
NEW LEFT

Confidential informants of the Jackson Division advised that [redacted] white female (JN 157- [redacted]) has been very active in the New Left Movement in Jackson, Miss., since 1/67. [redacted] name is Hatcher, Mississippi, her family has considerable wealth and her family home has been advertised nationally as one of the pilgrim homes in Hatcher, Mississippi. [redacted] as always bonded of her background and has had an effect on the youth in Mississippi in that they have a tendency to idolize her due to her wealth.

[redacted] has been instrumental in getting college women interested in the Women's Liberation Movement in Mississippi and also has been the chief catalyst in the [redacted] (100-1166).

[redacted] currently resides [redacted] members of the New Left Movement, and Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC) members.

This residence in which [redacted] resides is in a middle income area and is frequented by "hippies".

2 - Bureau (RM)  
1 - Jackson  
JBR/jdh  
(4)

REC 12/ [redacted]  
16  
10 JUN 2 1969  
1166

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

MEMO FROM A JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI, AGENT REPORTING ON A NEW LEFT TARGET.

"activists" were urging "revolution" and calling for "the defeat of the United States in Vietnam," and also had "scurilously attacked the Director and the Bureau," attempted to "hamper" FBI investigations, and tried to "drive us [FBI] off college campuses."

According to the Church Committee report, the lack of any clear definition of New Left meant that nonviolent anti-war groups were targeted because they were lending aid to more disruptive groups.

But COINTELPRO was not a creation of the '60s. Its roots go back before 1956, the year it was formally employed against the Communist Party, U.S.A. Subsequent targets were "White Hate Groups" and the Socialist Workers Party. In 1971, J. Edgar Hoover suspended all formal COINTELPRO activities in an attempt to avoid the negative press and controversy that the FBI was later to receive when details of the program were made public. Looking back, some bureau officials insist that their actions were justified by the "tenor of the times" — urban uprisings, student rebellions, and attacks on police. Yet propensity for violence was not a prerequisite for inclu-



sion on the bureau's COINTELPRO hit lists. Even after the formal disbanding of COINTELPRO, similar operations were allowed to continue "in exceptional instances where counterintelligence action is warranted" and prior approval from headquarters was received.

Examples of COINTELPRO techniques proposed in the late '60s by the Charlotte, North Carolina, field office for disrupting the political activities of "Black Nationalists" included "the use of anonymous or fictitious letters showing connections of the leaders with Communist groups and individuals . . . distributing counterfeit literature showing support of Communist programs and . . . that the group advocates violence . . . anonymous bomb threats . . . anonymous calls to the subject's wife alleging infidelity," according to FBI files. These COINTELPRO actions were sometimes made possible by the bureau's "intimate knowledge of the individual's daily activities [using] mail [openings], trash and telephone covers as well as fisurs [physical surveillance]."

**KENYATTA'S POLITICAL GROWTH AND HIS EXPERIENCE WITH FBI TACTICS IS SIMILAR TO THAT OF many other activists in the South.** "I was motivated in the '60s by a couple of things," he explains. "I grew up in a religious family. My folks are Southern. My siblings and I are first-generation Northern born, but raised in the Southern Baptist tradition. I started preaching when I was 14 and the notion of human quality, the preciousness of every person in the sight of God, flies in the face of racism and apartheid as they existed in this country. That was one motivation.

"What you might call nationalism, a sense of identification with black people in this country and around the world was another ideological motivation."

How did Kenyatta learn that the FBI had sent the forged letter during his Tougaloo years? He says that a lawsuit was filed by the ACLU in his behalf under the Freedom of Information Act for the release of FBI files after an unidentified group "liberated" documents in a raid of the Media, Pennsylvania, FBI office in 1971. These pilfered documents revealed the scope of surveillance in Mississippi. As a result of this suit the bureau released the forged letter in 1974. Kenyatta was "very surprised to find out that the letter had come from the FBI." But, he continued, the FBI was not al-

ways so reticent about making its presence known. "During one period of time," he recalled, "agents would pull up across the street in front of our house at 7:00 a.m. And then they would follow my car up to Tougaloo College campus when I went to school or follow my wife to the store. It seemed to be a pretty open effort at intimidation.

"Self-identified FBI agents went around the community in Tougaloo talking to people, particularly parents of young people with whom I was working," Kenyatta remembers. "Spreading lies to parents saying that we . . . civil rights people were really dope pushers trying to get their kids hooked on dope. I was very aware of the FBI presence."

Government lawyers deny that this occurred in Kenyatta's case, and say instead that the FBI merely directed inquiring citizens to other sources of derogatory information about Kenyatta. Yet one of the stated goals of this COINTELPRO campaign was preventing black leaders from gaining respectability by discrediting their image within the "responsible" black community.

"When we finally got the FBI files," says Kenyatta, "it was some feeling of relief; my God, we were not paranoid after all. I remember . . . going through files for a two-year period and there were 367 entries on the average of one every day; detailed accounts of meetings, information about goings on in various organizations. Evidence of people, compatriots, co-workers who were plants. That was angering, a little scary, but more than anything, heartbreaking."

**FIFTEEN YEARS AFTER THE FACT, THERE ARE VARYING REFLECTIONS OF HOW THE BUREAU'S tactics affected political organizing and**

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT  
**Memorandum**

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698) DATE: 4/9/70

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (100-10483)(P)

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
INTERNAL SECURITY  
DISTRIBUTION OF NEW LEFT

Re Charlotte letter to Director 1/5/70.

1. Potential Counterintelligence Action

[redacted] Duke University, Durham, N. C., has expressed interest in knowing identities of New Leftists who obtain employment at Duke University and Duke University Hospital, indicating he could make arrangements to have them discharged. This possibility will be considered in future investigations.

2. Pending Counterintelligence Action

The Bureau presently has under consideration authorizing furnishing information regarding new left activities of [redacted] SI Subject, to the Board of Education of Northampton County, N. C., which employs [redacted] a teacher. The Charlotte Office is forwarding to the Bureau additional information concerning a course at the Board of Education and availability of public source material so that a decision can be made as to whether the information should be furnished through the source or through an anonymous communication.

3. Tangible Results

An reported in referenced letter, New Leftist [redacted] has been employed at the University of North Carolina (UNC), Chapel Hill, N. C., and been receiving \$2,520 (tax exempt) per year, while in graduate school, which has been paid with Federal funds received from the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA). An LHM was submitted for dissemination to NASA.

3-Bureau (RM)  
3-Charlotte  
(2-100-10483)  
(1-100-10397)(CRM)

REC-35 44-9698-933

APR 27 1970

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**SIX DAYS AFTER GEORGE VLASITS LOST HIS JOB, AN FBI AGENT WRITES HOOVER TAKING CREDIT.**

the lives of those who came under attack.

"For the core of activists, it [COINTELPRO] did more to radicalize people than anything else," said Lyn Wells after she was shown her once-secret FBI files which track her activities in the South with the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC). "This is where we learned . . . that you couldn't just think what you wanted to think unless it was just another drop in the melting pot of American ideas. You learned that if you disagreed with your government you were the target of political spying and worse."

Wells travelled the state of North Carolina, campus-hopping from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill to Duke University and Davidson College and to many small four-year colleges across the state. And the files show that the FBI followed her footsteps as she organized students to protest the war in Vietnam, support labor struggles in the textile mills, and work in the civil rights battles of the day. Her FBI files are over a foot high.

How did the government's campaign



**NATIONAL ANTI-KLAN NETWORK COORDINATOR LYN WELLS.**

affect the average student? "There were a lot of students at this time that were the first generation to go to college and their parents were not necessarily well-off people. They were concerned whether this [political activity] was going to hurt their parents. So, I'm sure it took a toll on free speech," Wells recalls. "One of their [the FBI's] main points was to separate activists, the leadership, who are more committed and more clear about what they think [from those] who are scared and wavering. It is hard to ask people to risk their jobs and careers for a cause. And that is what I think the FBI was successful at.

"I remember countless conversations . . . with people who asked: 'If I join SSOC will this mean I will get kicked out of school?' It was a common question. People agonized over the simple question of joining a political organization," says Wells, because they were afraid it would be used against them at a later date. The FBI described SSOC in those days as a group formed to "stimulate activity of Southern student groups in the areas of civil rights, peace, academic freedom, civil liberties, capital punishment and unemployment," according to their files. The SSOC was seen as a "fraternal affiliate" of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). Bureau informants described SSOC's publications as "pro-Communist and anti-United States" on domestic and foreign policy.

Wells's files, obtained under the Privacy Act, show that the FBI was planning to send anonymous letters to her parents about her political activities. When they found out who her parents were, says Wells, "it was a startling revelation."

Her parents were former labor organizers who generally agreed with her activities. The letters were never sent.

Not everyone was so fortunate. University of North Carolina graduate student, and SSOC and SDS member George Vlasits's activities were followed through FBI informants and sources in a bureau effort to have his employment at the university terminated. In the summer of 1970 the Charlotte FBI office was conducting an investigation of two "New Leftists," one being Vlasits, to determine if they had, in their words, "a loan, scholarship or grant at UNC . . . being paid from U.S. Government funds." If so, the appropriate government agency was to be contacted in order to have the funds cut.

Vlasits was receiving \$2,500 a year for a federally funded job, and a bureau agent sent a letter describing his political activities to Washington. The letter, says FBI files, "got results in as much as on 4/3/70 [a source in the UNC Personnel Department], advised that . . . his employment with NASA funds was terminated." A self-satisfied FBI agent concluded in the "Tangible Results" section of a memo to FBI Director Hoover that "this action has not only placed financial pressures on this New Leftist, but has resulted in savings to the Federal Government."

All this attention was directed toward Vlasits despite the fact that the bureau described him as having "shown no propensity for violence but has consistently participated in antidraft and anti-Vietnam war activities and demonstrations."

The FBI often worked with friends in campus administrative positions. At North Carolina State University in 1962, the FBI had a source in the personnel office who advised them of associate professor Allard Lowenstein's travel plans and other personal data. Lowenstein, who was later elected to Congress in New York, was under investigation for his anti-Franco activism in Spain as well as for his work in the civil rights movement. Similarly, in an effort to eliminate the voice of the New Left in the Mobile, Alabama, area, the FBI used a confidential source at the University of South Alabama. This person was to "warn" administrators that if they did not take action against two instructors who were supporting the underground paper *Rear-guard* these professors would be "exposed."

William Friday, president of the consolidated University of North Carolina



**ARTHUR GUTMAN CONTINUES TO BE ACTIVE IN POLITICS IN VERMONT**

system, was on the FBI's "special correspondent" list, according to bureau files released in 1983. The term "special correspondent" has been described variously as a "friend" of the agency by a former FBI agent and as a "cooperative source" by Connecticut lawyer Frank Donner, author of *The Age of Surveillance*. Friday denies that he had a clandestine relationship with the FBI.

According to other files a dean of Norfolk, Virginia's Old Dominion College, E. Vernon Peele, told the FBI when a group of faculty members who had been aligning themselves with the SDS resigned from the college in 1968. The files say that these resignations pleased the dean as well as the FBI.

**DR. ARTHUR GUTMAN, NOW PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH AT THE UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT, REMEMBERS HIS DIFFICULTY IN FINDING A JOB AFTER RECEIVING HIS DOCTORATE FROM DUKE IN 1971 AND LEAVING AN INSTRUCTOR'S POSITION THERE. SUSPICIOUS, GUTMAN WENT TO THE CHAIR OF THE ENGLISH DEPARTMENT AND WAS SHOWN A COPY OF HIS "RECOMMENDATION" WHICH SAID: "PROFESSOR GUTMAN HAS A FINE CAPACITY FOR SCHOLARSHIP BUT HE HAS BEEN MORE ACTIVE IN RADICAL POLITICS ON CAMPUS AND OFF."**

In a 1968 FBI memo from Charlotte, North Carolina, to J. Edgar Hoover, Gutman is described as "a leading activist in SSOC during the past school year and, on 10/2/68, he participated in a SSOC sponsored demonstration at Duke University wherein about 10 students picketed recruiters of the U.S. Marine Corps on campus.

"Bureau authority will be requested in the immediate future to mail anonymous

letters to appropriate University officials regarding the New Left activities of Art Gutman."

The following year the FBI backed off when it was learned that Gutman's activism was well known to officials at Duke. After an agent unsuccessfully attempted to interview him, according to the files, Gutman told an informant that he thought the FBI was trying to scare him. The Charlotte field office wrote in a memo to director Hoover: "Consequently, it was felt that Gutman would associate an anonymous letter with the Agent who tried to interview him."

The Norfolk, Virginia, field office had a similar plan for leftist faculty: that "anonymous letters be forwarded to the Governor of Virginia describing the activities of faculty members known to be close to the New Left Movements in Old Dominion College and College of William and Mary. . . . On 9/26/69, an anonymous letter authorized by the Bureau was mailed to the Superintendent of Public Instruction for Virginia, pointing out the communist background of XXXXXX, a faculty member in the predominantly Negro Norfolk State College." At the College of William and Mary, as on many other campuses, the FBI was not alone in keeping watch over student activists. According to CIA documents released to the campus paper *Flat Hat*, the agency's project code-named RESISTANCE had a number of informants at the college during 1970. Project RESISTANCE, in existence from 1967 to 1973, was originally established to protect CIA recruiters on campus but broadened its scope to obtain background information on radical campus groups across the country. The Church Committee reported that this project did not as a habit use CIA informants. Rather, the CIA relied on FBI and local police sources.

The Williamsburg, Virginia, files show that reports were sent to the CIA listing the names of dissident students and faculty as well as detailed information about campus political activity. One six-page report discussed the agency's concern that the dean of students, Carson H. Barnes, Jr., "the center of resistance to the radical left," not be ousted by rebellious students. The CIA report states that during Barnes's tenure as dean "(t)here has been no further significant harrassment of the college ROTC. Most activist energy has for some time been diverted toward obtaining greater student representation, expanding black enrollment, and obtaining

open dormitory visitation privileges." These purely campus concerns were reported to the CIA by the informant.

The Church Committee report questioned the CIA's authority to engage in domestic infiltration of political groups under its vaguely stated responsibility under the National Security Act of 1947 for "protecting intelligence sources and methods from unauthorized disclosure." In December 1981 President Reagan put in force Executive Order 12333, which permits the CIA to operate domestically so long as the pretext is for "international intelligence."

In 1984, 16 years after the FBI had him in their sights, Arthur Gutman said he was "rather shocked" when told of the government's interest in him. In a letter written after viewing the files, Gutman described his reaction: "I had a couple of rough days and nights. The notion that the government is out to get you surreptitiously is not comforting. It makes one go back over his life, wondering about those junctures where unexplained hostility or prejudice surfaced in institutional settings. Is that paranoid? Or do I have the right to be suspicious, now that I discover that they once were out to get me?"

Gutman describes his activities at Duke as the basic '60s-era fare of "protesting the war in Vietnam at draft boards, or on the Duke campus or UNC campuses, or standing in vigils outside the Durham Post Office; getting arrested at a Dow Chemical demonstration at UNC to call attention to the horror of dropping jellied gasoline (napalm) on infants and children; . . . marching in civil rights demonstrations. My activities scared the hell out of my parents, who grew up in Nazi Germany during World War II and knew what governments were capable of doing."

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT  
**Memorandum**

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-107100) DATE: 6/18/64  
SAC, CHARLOTTE (105-1534) ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 7-21-82 BY SP8RTE/PLC  
Per Prior Release No. 450645

SUBJECT: ALLARD KENNETH LOWENSTEIN, aka  
IS - SPAIN; RA

RE: [REDACTED] 57  
For the information of the Bureau, [REDACTED] 57  
has, for [REDACTED] been volunteering  
information to SA [REDACTED] re ALLARD KENNETH LOWENSTEIN,  
an assistant professor of social sciences at N.C. State College,  
Raleigh, N.C., whom [REDACTED] suspects of possible communist  
sympathies.

[REDACTED] 57  
[REDACTED] 57  
[REDACTED] 57

② - Bureau (RM)  
1 - New York (CP, USA - YOUTH) (INFO) (RM)  
1 - Philadelphia (100-21926) (COMINFIL USA) (INFO) (RM)  
3 - Charlotte (2 - 105-1534) (1 - 100-5991) 105-10316P-62  
mk  
(7) REC-60 12 JUN 22 1964  
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**FUTURE CONGRESSPERSON ALLARD LOWENSTEIN  
WAS INVESTIGATED UNDER AN FBI COINTELPRO PROGRAM.**

What can we expect from the U.S. intelligence community today, with escalating U.S. military involvement in Central America and increasing numbers of political and religious solidarity groups supporting non-intervention? One of the Church Committee report conclusions offers a clue. "The crescendo of improper intelligence activity in the latter part of the 1960s and the early 1970s shows what we must watch out for: In time of crisis, the Government will exercise its power to conduct domestic intelligence activities to the fullest extent. The distinction between legal dissent and criminal conduct is easily forgotten." □

*Alex Charis is an attorney, journalist, and board member of the North Carolina Civil Liberties Union. He is currently working on an article about the Supreme Court and the FBI with a grant from the Fund for Investigative Journalism.*

## From Saharan sand to literary leader

**Parnassus on the Mississippi: The Southern Review and the Baton Rouge Literary Community**, by Thomas W. Cutrer. Louisiana State University Press, 1984. 290 pp. \$27.50.

**A Southern Renaissance Man: Views of Robert Penn Warren**, edited by Walter B. Edgar. Louisiana State University Press, 1984. 116 pp. \$14.95.  
— by Bob Brinkmeyer

Not long after his inauguration as governor of Louisiana in 1928, Huey Long began a massive expansion of Louisiana State University (LSU), then a fledgling and undistinguished institution. Long pumped enormous amounts of money into the campus — “If there’s any title I’m proud of,” Long later said, “it’s Chief Thief for LSU” — and made sure that his pick for university president, James Monroe Smith, was elected by the board of supervisors. In very short order, Long was in complete control of the university.

Almost overnight, Long molded LSU into one of the South’s leading universities. “He led the brass band at State, meddled with the football team, and invented the Sugar Bowl,” observed Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., “but at the same time he was building a first-class university.” Central to LSU’s new-found prominence was the influx of a number of distinguished faculty and the publication of the *Southern Review*, a journal begun in 1935 that, like its sponsoring university, attained almost instantaneous success.

In *Parnassus on the Mississippi*, Thomas W. Cutrer examines LSU during those days of hectic growth and success, paying particular attention, as the title of his book indicates, to the flowering of the *Southern Review* and the literary community that thrived around its offices and those of LSU’s English department. While Charles Pipkin, dean of the graduate school, was instrumental in getting the journal started and in establishing its editorial vision and policy, two English professors hired by Pipkin quickly became the *Review*’s lifeblood. These were

Cleanth Brooks and Robert Penn Warren. With Albert Erskine, the *Review*’s business manager (and in effect its managing editor), Brooks and Warren speedily shaped the *Southern Review* into a major literary force. C. Vann Woodward observed that “with the establishment of *The Southern Review* in 1935 the center of the avant garde of American literary criticism shifted temporarily to the banks of the Mississippi at Baton Rouge. Gradually the pundits and critical moguls on the Hudson began to alter their tone about the ‘Sahara of the Bozart.’”

Cutrer does an admirable job of following the *Southern Review*’s short history (its last issue, until it was revived in 1965, appeared in 1942; the journal was a victim of stringent cutbacks following the discovery of a huge embezzlement of university funds by President Smith). Aside from his informative and well-written narrative of significant events, Cutrer focuses most closely on the participants — not only Pipkin, Brooks, Warren, and Erskine, but also the numerous others who either worked for or contributed to the journal. John Crowe Ransom, Donald Davidson, Allen Tate, Katherine Anne Porter, and Eudora Welty, among many others, receive considerable attention. So, too, do a number of faculty and students in LSU’s English department, particularly those who were in some way connected with Brooks and Warren.

In general, Cutrer tells his story with grace and ease. At times his narrative is a bit repetitive because it flows not in a straight chronology but in a pattern that alternates from one person to the next, showing how each shaped — and was shaped by — the unfolding events. Thus we frequently return to already familiar happenings, though seen from slightly different angles. It’s a minor flaw, however, and the breadth of Cutrer’s study far overshadows any awkwardness in his approach.

One aspect I particularly appreciated was Cutrer’s acknowledgment of Brooks’s and Warren’s teaching achievements. As Cutrer makes abundantly clear, Brooks and Warren never let their work on the journal or their own writing — both of which were major undertakings — cut

themselves off from their teaching. Both were dedicated and popular professors around whom a number of students congregated. Brooks, more so than Warren, was also deeply involved in university politics and governance, particularly during the crisis when President Smith’s criminal activity was discovered.

In 1942, the year of the *Southern Review*’s last issue before its revival, Warren left LSU to teach elsewhere, and a few years later so did Brooks. Both men, who became colleagues again later at Yale, have gone on to distinguished careers as teachers and writers — Brooks becoming best known for his literary criticism and Warren for his fiction and poetry.

The stunning breadth of Warren’s achievement is evident in a collection of essays edited by Walter B. Edgar, *A Southern Renaissance Man: Views of Robert Penn Warren*. Here five eminent observers — Thomas L. Connelly, Louis D. Rubin, Jr., Madison Jones, Harold Bloom, and James Dickey — explore different areas of Warren’s work. In a convincing and penetrating essay, Connelly examines Warren’s complex ideas on history and the historical process. Asserting that history is the thematic core of Warren’s writing, Connelly goes so far as to say that Warren can rightly be viewed as an historian, “if this means that he employs a philosophy of history and uses past experience as a central theme.”

Equally convincing and stimulating are Rubin’s and Jones’s essays, the former on Warren’s achievement as a literary critic, the latter on his success as a novelist. Particularly intriguing are Rubin’s defense of



ROBERT PENN WARREN

Warren — and the New Critics in general — against the structuralist movement and Jones's interpretation of *The Cave*, a novel which most Warren critics disregard but which Jones sees as one of Warren's best.

Warren's poetry is examined by Harold Bloom and James Dickey. Dickey's essay is mainly a statement of appreciation, while Bloom's is a full-fledged attempt both to place Warren as an American poet and to reveal what he sees as Warren's career-long search for poetic truth. The book closes with an interview of Warren by Connelly. Here, despite the fact that the conversation itself never really takes off, Warren makes some interesting observations, particularly about his upbringing and his association, during his college days at Vanderbilt and later, with his fellow Southern writers John Crowe Ransom, Donald Davidson, and Allen Tate. All in all, *A Southern Renaissance Man* is an informative and valuable overview of one of the South's best and most prolific writers. □

Bob Brinkmeyer, a frequent contributor to *Southern Exposure*, is the author of *Three Catholic Writers of the Modern South*, a study of Allen Tate, Caroline Gordon, and Walker Percy that will be published in May 1985 by the University Press of Mississippi.

## Why Bobby Ewing was a Texas state senator

**The Establishment in Texas Politics: The Primitive Years, 1938-1957**, by George Norris Green. University of Oklahoma Press, 1984. 306 pp. \$9.95.

— by Linda Rocawich

In 1971, when the Texas Legislature was divvying up the state following the 1970 census, the *Texas Observer* ran a map on its cover showing the state neatly divided up into little regions drawn to represent the likes of agribusiness, liquor, highways, lumber, loan sharks, utilities, and — need I say it? — oil and gas. The caption read, "The *Observer* suggests that Texas cut the cant about legislators representing people and redistrict the Senate according to special interests. That way the oil industry, for example, will have only one senator, rather than a piece of 15 or 20 senators."

In 1984, when Neal Pierce and Jerry Hagstrom published *The Book of America*, which aspires to replace John Gunther's *Inside U.S.A.*, they subtitled one



section "Politics, Texas Style: Establishment Power Unparalleled."

One popular view concentrates on state politics as *mondo bizarro*; there are certain bars and living rooms in Austin I could take you to, where we would be regaled for hours with funny stories about the wild and crazy things that Texas politicians do and say. What all the funny goings-on accomplish, though, is to obscure from view the faces of those who are really in charge: Big Business. Anyone who wants to understand how it got to be that way ought to start with George Norris Green's book *The Establishment in Texas Politics*. Originally published in 1979 by Greenwood Press, which did practically no promotion and sold it at the then-hair-raising price of \$22.50, it never got the readers it deserved. Now the University of Oklahoma Press has reissued it in paperback, and I hope Green's new publisher does better by it.

The author is an historian at the University of Texas at Arlington, and he has given us a blow-by-blow description of the corporate elite and right-wing crazies who dominated politics for this period. They went to amazing lengths to avoid paying any taxes and to destroy the Texas labor movement. Both efforts, but especially the latter, get special attention here.

Green's subtitle characterizes the years 1938 to '57 as the Establishment's "primitive years," and the word is apt in several senses. Many special interests were entrenched before 1938 — cotton, ranching, railroads, lumber, for example — but things see-sawed back and forth between populist or progressive Democrats and the conservatives who supervised the colonialization of the Texas economy in the early years of this century. Secondly, it was not until the 1930s that the oil industry became the classic superpower it still is. Finally, 1938 was a turning point,

the final year in office of Jimmie Allred, the last progressive governor the state has enjoyed. (The jury is still out on incumbent Mark White.) So these are the Establishment's primitive years in the sense that they are its early stage of control.

"Primitive" also means "characterized by simplicity or crudity," and the methods by which the Establishment took root and exercised its power during this period are nothing if not simple and crude.

It may be well, at this point, to describe what Green means by the "Establishment." To begin with, he says, "there is no particular Establishment organization," heeding the words of Howard Zinn, who observed that those "who postulate 'power elites' are right for the most part, I think, but they often overestimate self-consciousness and confidence as characteristics of those elites." In his ruling elite of Texas politics he counts the business and corporate upper class, the governors themselves, and — to a much lesser extent — the community aristocracies.

Prime among the business interests, beginning in the '30s, is of course the oil industry — "More than any other single lobby," says Green, "it has kept the conservatives and their philosophy in power." When the great east Texas field was discovered in 1930, the oil companies got seriously interested in state politics, and they managed to put a friendly governor in office in 1931: "A deluge of oil glutted the world market; hundreds of independent operators forced the price down from a dollar to as low as ten cents a barrel. The major companies, already pushing for production limitation, redoubled their efforts. A Humble Oil [now Exxon] executive noted, 'We had to let a president of Humble quit to become governor to establish proration [production control].' It was Governor Ross Sterling who sent in the National Guard to stop all that wasteful free enterprise. The guard was headed by General Jake Wolters, lobbyist and chief counsel for the Texas Oil Company (Texaco); one of his aides was a Gulf official." The increased efficiency of proration, which amounts to deliberate price-fixing by the state government, added a half billion dollars a year to the industry's income.

A last gasp for non-Establishment politicians intervened in 1932, with the election of Miriam "Ma" Ferguson to her second and final term as governor. There followed two terms for Jimmie Allred, who cooperated as best he could with the

## REVIEWS

New Deal and attempted with limited success to implement a series of progressive, people-oriented tax levies and social programs.

Which brings us to what Green calls "the incredible Texas election of 1938," which launched the political career of W. Lee ("Pass the Biscuits, Pappy") O'Daniel. Pappy was a flour salesman who emceed a radio show featuring a Western band called "Bob Wills and the Lightcrust Doughboys." It aired each day at noon over Texas's three most powerful stations and probably had more listeners than any other show in the history of Texas radio. Supposedly on the advice of 54,000 of his listeners, Pappy announced for governor on May 1, 1938.

He campaigned as a country boy, berated "professional politicians," made sales pitches for his Hillbilly Flour, and drew crowds to events that were more like camp meetings than political rallies. Green quotes a Baptist minister who compared O'Daniel to Moses and thought that he might lead the nation back to the fundamentals of God and home.

But the whole country-boy get-up was merely a pose. As Green describes it: "He was, in fact, a business college graduate worth half a million dollars. It was not generally known that he acted under the shrewd, professional direction of public relations expert Phil Fox of Dallas, who thought up some of the candidate's folksy, 'spontaneous' statements . . . The public did not know that some of the richest corporate leaders in the state were the people who persuaded him to enter the race." O'Daniel won the 13-candidate race without a run-off and soon began proposing programs worked out at the governor's mansion with the corporate upper crust. He added red-baiting to his bag of tricks and easily won re-election in 1940. Soon an organized anti-labor campaign was underway, for which he needed a national platform.

When Senator Morris Sheppard died in April 1941, O'Daniel saw his chance. To fill the seat he appointed the invalid 87-year-old son of Sam Houston and announced his own candidacy in a special election. It was another wild campaign — also joined in by Martin Dies (who had chaired the House Un-American Activities Committee since its founding in 1938) and Lyndon Johnson (who was supported by President Roosevelt). O'Daniel won a disputed election and went on to serve until 1948 as the Senate's premier right-

wing demagogue.

Meanwhile, the governorship went to Coke Stevenson, a man whose regime was of a more classical Establishment style. He had been a rancher, banker, lawyer, and open supporter of the sulfur and oil industries. His tenure served better to consolidate the Establishment than O'Daniel's unpredictability ever could have.

Green goes on to recount the battles fought out between the Establishment and Texas liberals, nearly all of which the Establishment won. Some of the fascinating stories to be found here include:

- The long history of the Texas Establishment's desertion of the national Democrats, beginning with the 1940 election in which neither Governor O'Daniel nor Vice President John Nance Garner, a Texan, endorsed Roosevelt's re-election.

- The Martin Dies story, who found more "communists" in a year than Joe McCarthy did in a lifetime and developed the techniques that McCarthy borrowed a decade later. His red-baiting of the CIO was effectively used to kill pro-labor legislation.

- Texas's right-wing fringe, especially the Christian Americans who combated communism, atheism, blacks, Jews, and unions. Its founder, Vance Muse, is the man who popularized "right-to-work" as a slogan and propagandized tirelessly on its behalf. Green does not exaggerate the effectiveness of a fringe however, wisely quoting a Texas CIO official who described Muse as "a one-man goon squad for some ideas the real union-busting forces are trying to put across."

- The bitter election campaign of 1946 between former University of Texas president Homer Rainey (who had recently been fired by right-wingers on the board of regents) and the Establishment. Academic freedom shared center stage with labor union rights (it was a year of numerous strikes and organizing successes by the CIO) and civil rights (in the year when blacks were first eligible to vote in the Democratic primary). Rainey lost.

- The most disputed race in Texas history, in which LBJ went to the Senate and earned his nickname "Landslide Lyndon," by defeating Coke Stevenson by 87 votes.

- The classic Establishment administration of Allan Shivers — including a whole chapter on the 1954 governor's race between Shivers and liberal champion Ralph Yarborough, possibly the dirtiest

in Texas history. The first primary featured race-baiting, and the run-off focused on a protracted strike by CIO retail workers against stores in Port Arthur, which was alleged to be part of a communist conspiracy to take over the entire Texas coast. Most damaging was a television film that accused the CIO of "personally supervising the death of a city" and showed a ghost town of deserted streets. But, Green tells us, "It was later admitted by a Shivers staff man, that the film was taken at 5:00 a.m. He also confessed . . . 'I had to take 30 minutes of film to get a few seconds when there was no smoke coming out of the smokestack at one plant.'"

Yarborough ran another losing but heart-breakingly close race for governor in 1956, and Green's story ends with his 1957 election to the U.S. Senate, handing the Establishment its first significant defeat in decades. Establishment power lived on, however, with its leaders refining their techniques into less primitive ones. By the 1970s, Texas was raising 70 percent of its revenues through sales taxes, probably the most regressive tax of all, and the one least likely to bother the corporations.

Green closed his discussion with some hopeful assumptions about the progress to be expected under John Hill's governorship, presumed by Green and every other observer of the day to be a shoo-in in 1978. But Hill lost, the victim of a slick \$7 million campaign by a previously unknown Dallas Republican oil millionaire named Bill Clements. Green's 1979 publisher allowed what reads like a last-minute tack-on of two paragraphs that appropriately bemoan "the dangers of the historian treading into the swamp of contemporary politics" and are as pessimistic as the earlier conclusion is hopeful.

It's a pity that Green's new publisher allowed this curious ending to stand, especially since Clements did more in his four years than John Tower did in 23 to establish the Republican Party as an electoral force in Texas and since Clements was swept out of office on a tide of populist/liberal/progressive victories by a new wave of Democratic politicians who — even if they did lose the state to the GOP in 1984 — threaten to steal the Democratic Party from the Establishment. □

*Linda Rocawich, an editor of Southern Exposure, watched Texas politics for the Texas Observer from 1977 to '80.*

## Books on the South

This list consists of books published through Spring 1985. All books were published in 1984 unless otherwise noted. Dissertations appeared in Dissertation Abstracts in August, September, and October, 1984. All dissertations are dated 1984 unless otherwise noted.

The entries are grouped under several broad categories for your convenience. Mention of a book here does not preclude its being reviewed in a future issue. Unsolicited reviews of publications of general Southern interest are welcome, recent works being preferred.

Copies of the dissertations are available from: University Microfilms International, Dissertation Copies, P.O. Box 1764, Ann Arbor, MI 48106; (800) 521-3042.

### HISTORY, POLITICS, AND ECONOMICS — BEFORE 1865

**Cannoneers in Gray: The Field Artillery of the Army of Tennessee, 1861-1865**, by Larry J. Daniel. Univ. of Alabama Press. \$19.95.

**The Civil War in the Western Territories: Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, and Utah**, by Ray C. Colton. Univ. of Oklahoma Press. \$8.95.

**Civil War on the Western Border, 1854-1865**, by Jay Monaghan. Univ. of Nebraska Press. \$26.95/9.95.

**Civil War Recollections of Jo Lemuel Clark**, by L.D. Clark. Texas A&M Univ. Press. \$12.50.

**Criminal Proceedings in Colonial Virginia: Richmond County, 1710-1754**, edited by Peter C. Hoffer and William B. Scott. Univ. of Georgia Press. \$35.00.

**The Evolution of the Southern Backcountry: A Case Study of Lunenburg County, Virginia, 1746-1832**, by Richard R. Beeman. Univ. of Pennsylvania Press. \$25.00.

**First Blood: The Story of Fort Sumter**, by W.A. Swanberg. Scribner's. \$12.95.

"French Colonial Policy in America and the Establishment of the Louisiana Colony," by Mathe Alain. Univ. of Southwestern Louisiana.

**Kingsmill Plantations, 1620-1800: An Archaeology of Rural Colonial Virginia**, by William M. Kelso. Academic Press. Price not set.

**Last Train South: The Flight of the Confederate Cabinet from Richmond**, by James C. Clark. McFarland & Co. \$17.95.

"A Long Shadow: Jefferson Davis and the Final Days of the Confederacy," by Michael Burron Ballard. Mississippi State Univ., 1983.

"The Orange County and Mecklenburg County Instructions: The Development of Political Individualism in Backcountry North Carolina, 1740-1776," by Daniel Frederick Blower. Univ. of Michigan.

**The Rebel Yell and the Yankee Hurrah: The Civil War Journal of a Maine Volunteer**, by John Haley. Down East Books. \$22.95.

**Rebels on the Rio Grande: The Civil War Journals of A.B. Petcolas**, by Don E. Alberts. Univ. of New Mexico Press. \$19.95/9.95.

"The Rhetoric of John Randolph of Roanoke: A New Evaluation," by David Henry Wendelken. Ohio Univ.

"A Southern Editor Views the Civil War: A Collection of Editorials by Henry Timrod and Other Editorial Material Published in the *Daily South Carolinian*, Jan. 14, 1864, to Feb. 17, 1865," by Wil-

liam Francis West, Jr. Florida State Univ. 1983.

"The Southern Royal Governors and the Coming of the American Revolution, 1763-1776," by Carol Ruth Cunningham. SUNY-Buffalo.

"The Spanish Conspiracy, 1783-1792: A Quest for Equality," by Judith O'Hare Smith. UC-San Diego.

**Three Months in the Southern States**, by Arthur J. Freeman. Silver Burdett Co. \$26.00.

**Uncle Tom's Cabin and Mid-Nineteenth Century U.S.**, by Moira D. Reynolds. McFarland & Co. \$16.95.

"Union Soldiers and Their Attitudes on Sherman's Savannah and Carolinas Campaigns," by Joseph Thomas Glatthaar. Univ. of Wisconsin, 1983.

**A Woman Doctor's Civil War: Esther Hill Hawks' Diary**, edited by Gerald Schwartz. Univ. of South Carolina Press. \$17.95.

**Your True Marcus: The Civil War Letters of a Jewish Colonel**, by Jacob Marcus. Kent State Univ. Press. \$19.95.

### HISTORY, POLITICS, AND ECONOMICS — 1865-1985

**Alabama's State and Local Governments**, by David L. Martin. 2nd ed. Univ. of Alabama Press. Date not set. Price not set.

"Analysis of Economic and Social Factors Leading to the 1980 Miami Riot: Contradiction Within Economic Prosperity," by Ahmad D.A. Hojabri-Houtky. Univ. of Miami.

**Arkansas: People and Their Reputation**, by David M. Tucker. Memphis State Univ. Press. \$14.95.

"Creed of Caste: Journalism and the Race Question during the Progressive Era, 1900-1914," by Doris Marguerite Will Meadows. New York Univ., 1984.

**The Crucible of Race: Black-White Relations in the American South Since Emancipation**, by Joel Williamson. Oxford Univ. Press. \$25.00.

"Economics of Size in the Providing of Community Services in Rural Mississippi," by Ali Efrekhar. Mississippi State Univ. 1983.

**Farmers in Rebellion: The Rise and Fall of the Southern Farmers Alliance and People's Party in Texas**, by Donna A. Barnes. Univ. of Texas Press. \$20.00.

"The Fernwood, Columbia, and Gulf: A Railroad in the Piney Woods of South Mississippi," by Sammy Orren Cranford. Mississippi State Univ. 1983.

"An Historical Geography of Economic Development in Appalachian Kentucky, 1800-1930," by Tyrel Gilce Moore. Univ. of Tennessee, 1984.

**In Red and Black: Marxian Explorations in Southern and Afro-American History**, by Eugene Genovese. New ed. Univ. of Tennessee Press, 1985. \$24.95/12.50.

**Look Away, Dixie Land: The Lynching of Mack Charles Parker, 1959**, by Howard Smead. Beacon Press. \$19.00.

"Lynch Street: The Story of Mississippi's Kent State — The May 1970 Slayings at Jackson State College," by Timothy J. Spofford. SUNY-Albany.

**Neither Dies Nor Surrenders: A History of the Republican Party in Florida, 1867-1970**, by Peter D. Klingman. Univ. Press of Florida \$12.00.

**The New Deal and the South**, ed. by James C. Cobb and Michael V. Namorato. Univ. Press of Mississippi. \$15.00/8.95.

**The North Carolina Experience: An Interpretive and Documentary Approach**, by Lindley S. Butler and Alan D. Watson. Univ. of North Carolina

Press. \$29.95/9.95.

"The Reforms of Beauford Halbert Jester's Administration, 1947-1949 [in Texas]," by Billie Lynne Low. North Texas State Univ.

"Southern Political Culture: A North-South Comparison of Localism, Conservatism, Racism, and Violence, 1952-1976," by Earl W. Hawkey. Univ. of Missouri, 1983.

**Texas Politics: Economics, Power, and Policy**, by James W. Lamare. West Publ. Co. \$12.95.

"Twisted Threads: H. Kempner and the Cotton Spinners Litigations, 1919-1956," by Barbara F. Guidry. Rice Univ.

**The Two-Party South**, by Alexander P. Lamis. Oxford Univ. Press. \$25.00.

**When the War Was Over: The Failure of Self-Reconstruction in the South, 1865-1867**, by Dan T. Carter. LSU Press, 1985. \$27.50/12.95.

**Wildcatters: Texas Independent Oilmen**, by Roger M. Olien and Diana D. Olien. Texas Monthly Press. \$16.95.

### LITERATURE

**American Silences: The Realism of James Agee, Walker Evans, and Edward Hopper**, by J.A. Ward. Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1985. \$20.00.

"Charles Waddell Chesnut: The Published Fiction," by R.V. Burnette. Rutgers Univ., 1984.

**Dust Tracks on a Road: An Autobiography of Zora Neale Hurston**, new edition with previously expurgated material, by Zora Neale Hurston. Univ. of Illinois Press, 1985. \$22.95/8.95.



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# REVIEWS

"An Edition of the Major Writings of H.E. Taliaferro," by Raymond Corcoran Craig. Univ. of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

"Ellen Glasgow: The Shape of Her Early Career," by Phillip Douglas Atteberry. Washington Univ. 1983.

"Fathers and Sons in Mark Twain's Fiction," by Timothy J. Lulofs. UC-Davis.

"Feminism: Southern Style in Ellen Glasgow's Novels," by Lydia R. Daniel. Univ. of South Florida, 1983.

**Genius of Place: William Faulkner's Triumphant Beginnings**, by Max Putzel. Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1985. \$32.50/14.95.

"The Historical Slave Revolt and the Literary Imagination," by Mary Kemp Davis. UNC-Chapel Hill.

"In Another Country: Afro-American Expatriate Novelists in France, 1946-1974," by Mae Gwendolyn Henderson. Yale Univ. 1983.

"The Ironic Vision in the Fiction of Gabriel Garcia Marquez and William Faulkner," by Barbara June Craig. Univ. of Oklahoma.

"The Lovable Heathen of Happy Valley: Mark Twain's Assault on the Christian Religion in *Huckleberry Finn*," by Richard G. Thompson. Middle Tennessee State Univ.

"Mark Twain's Impostures of Identity," by Susan Kay Gillman. UC-Berkeley, 1983.

"Mark Twain's Women: A Biographical and Critical Study," by Resa Ann Holsapple Willis. Univ. of Tulsa.

"The North Carolina Mountaineer in Native Fiction," by Laura Leslie Banner. UNC-Chapel Hill.

"Ritual, Community, and Alienation: Studies in Lytle, Tate, and Faulkner," by Linda Lussier Rowlett. Rice Univ.

"Robert Penn Warren and His Reader," by Peter M. Ryder. Rice Univ.

"This Peculiar Kind of Hell: The Role of Power in

the Novels of Richard Wright," by Jane Maria Davis. Stanford Univ.

**Walker Percy and the Old Modern Age**, by Patricia Lewis Poteat. LSU Press, 1985. \$20.00.

"'With My Sword in My Hand': The Politics of Race and Sex in the Fiction of Zora Neale Hurston," by Rita Terezinha Schmidt. Univ. of Pittsburgh. 1983.

## BIOGRAPHY

**Falfurrias: Ed C. Lasater and the Development of South Texas**, by Dale Lasater. Texas A&M Univ. Press, 1985.

"God and Man in the Life of Louisa Maxwell Holmes Cocke: A Search for Piety and Place in the Old South," by Jon Leonard Urbach. Florida State Univ., 1983.

**A Good Southerner: The Life of Henry A. Wise of Virginia**, by Craig Simpson. Univ. of North Carolina Press. Date not set. Price not set.

**Governor Leroy Collins of Florida: Spokesman of the New South**, by Thomas R. Wagy. Univ. of Alabama Press. Date not set. Price not set.

"Herman Clarence Nixon: A Biography," by Sarah Newman Shouse. Auburn Univ., 1984.

"The Invention of George Washington," by Paul K. Longmore. Claremont Graduate Schools.

"Keen Johnson: Newspaperman and Governor," by Elizabeth Michele Fraas. Univ. of Kentucky, 1984.

**The Mind of Frederick Douglass**, by Waldo E. Martin, Jr. UNC Press, 1985. \$27.50.

**Recorder of the Black Experience: A Biography of Monroe Nathan Work**, by Linda McMurry. LSU Press, 1985. \$20.00.

"Samuel A'Court Ashe: North Carolina Redeemer and Historian, 1840-1938," by Ronnie Wayne Faulkner. Univ. of South Carolina, 1983.

## EDUCATION

**A Pictorial History of the University of Georgia**, by F.N. Boney. Univ. of Georgia Press, \$27.50.

"A Study of Values and Attitudes in a Textbook Controversy in Kanawha County, West Virginia: An Overt Act of Opposition to Schools," by Don J. Goode. Michigan State Univ.

## CULTURAL PERSPECTIVES

**Catholicism in South Florida, 1868-1968**, by Michael J. McNally. Univ. Press of Florida. \$13.95.

"A History of the Greater Miami Opera: 1941-1983," by Michael Lee Braz. Florida State Univ.

"Oppression and Adaptation: The Social Organization and Expressive Culture of an Afro-American Community in New Orleans, Louisiana," by Andrew Jonathan Kaslow. Columbia Univ., 1981.

**A Southern Tradition in Theology and Social Criticism, 1830-1930: The Religious Liberalism and Social Conservatism of James Warley Mills, William Porcher Dubose, and Edgar Gardner Murphy**, by Ralph Luker. E. Mellen Press. \$59.95.

"Sticks and Stones: A Profile of North Carolina Gravemarkers Through Three Centuries," by Margaret R. Little. UNC-Chapel Hill.

**Texas Graveyards: A Cultural Legacy**, by Terry G. Jordan. Univ. of Texas Press. \$9.95.

**Texas Quilts, Texas Women**, by Suzanne Yabsley. Texas A&M Univ. Press. \$19.95.

"The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880-1920," by Evelyn Brooks. Univ. of Rochester.

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## Events

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Featured speakers: Michael Harrington, president, Democratic Socialists of America; Ray Marshall, former secretary of labor; political scientists, trade unionists, economists from Sweden, West Germany, Britain, U.S.

For information about attendance and accommodations, contact: Center for European Studies, Box 6314-B, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, TN 37235, (615)322-2527.

## Jobs

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Amnesty International, USA seeks Southern Regional Director. Overall responsibility will be to develop international human rights programs in 13 Southern states, including: mobilizing public pressure throughout region on campaign to stop human rights abuses world wide, work to abolish the death penalty in the US and abroad, organizing and servicing 75 local volunteer chapters, media work and fundraising. The Regional Director manages the regional office in Atlanta (staff of 3), is responsible for the planning and budget and reports directly to the Executive Director. Training or experience in international affairs desired. Salary \$22,500-\$30,000, depending on experience. EOE. Send resume and self-addressed envelope to: Personnel/AIUSA, 304 W. 58th Street, New York, NY 10019. Deadline February 15. No phone calls please.

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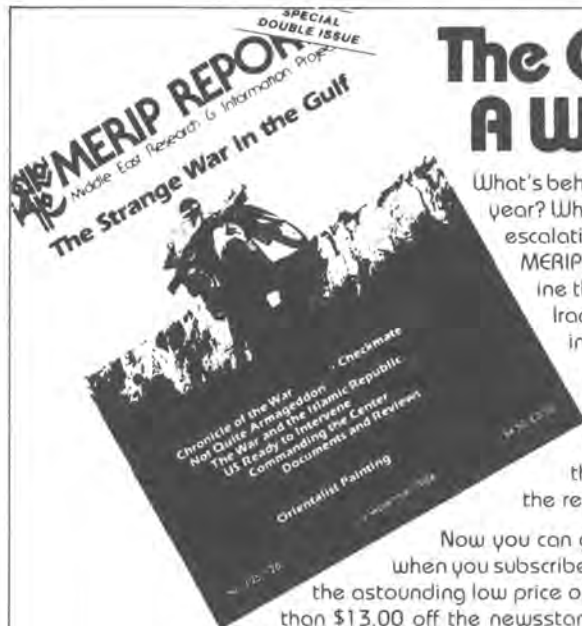
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## Why a married woman should work

— by Bessie Edens

*Bessie Edens wrote this short essay while she was a student at the 1929 Southern Summer School for Women Workers in Industry. At that time she worked in a Hampton, Tennessee, silk factory, and had just been a leader in a major strike at Elizabethton, Tennessee. Mary Frederickson, the author of A Place to Speak Our Minds: The Southern Summer School for Women Workers (Indiana University Press, forthcoming), wrote that "Each summer from 1927 to World War II, the staff of the school sought to provide young workers from textile, garment, and tobacco factories with the analytical tools for understanding the social context of their lives, the opportunity to develop solidarity with each other, and the confidence for full participation in the emerging Southern labor movement."*

It is nothing new for a married woman to work. They have always worked. Before the machine age, the women had to spin and weave cloth for all the garments used by the entire family. After the cloth was woven, they had to cut and make suits, dresses, and all the necessary articles. They knit stockings and socks and made all the bed clothing. Women have always worked harder than men, and always had to look up to the man and feel that they were weaker and inferior. Nearly all men want us to feel that way.

Now that there are many machines in the world to make all kinds of clothing and everything we need, what is the married woman expected to do? Her husband does not make enough to support the family if they have a large one. Or sometimes a husband does not want to support them (there are plenty of men like that), then is a woman supposed to stay in the home and do without things she really needs because she is married? I say, no. If a married woman has a chance to work and wants to, I say she has a perfect right to do so.

Or sometimes a woman that is married does not have to work, but she has a feeling she would like to earn some money and be independent, would like to know that she could spend her money as she wished, and not feel like her husband has worked for the money and she ought not to spend it so freely. Many women do not like to ask their husbands for money even though they are willing to give to them. I have heard married women say they would much rather do without things than to ask their husbands for the money to get them.

Why should not a married woman work, if a single one does? What would men think if they were told that a married man should not work? And if a married man does work, why should not a married woman work if she wants to?

If we women would not be so submissive and take everything for granted, if we would awake and stand up for our



BESSIE EDENS AT SOUTHERN SUMMER SCHOOL, 1929.

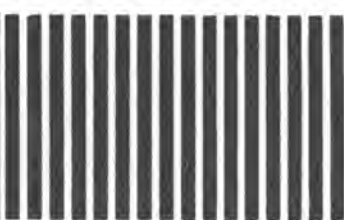
rights, this world would be a better place to live in, at least it would be better for the women. . . .

Most single girls think that they will work just a year or so and get married and then all will be roses for them. They do not realize that their work has just started in earnest then. If a girl should be so unlucky as to get a husband who liked his whiskey (as a great many of them do) and the husband would like to take his money and spend it all for drinks, and there would not be any money to buy food and perhaps they had children, would it be all right to let the children go without food and clothes? Or would it be better for the poor mother to do washings for different people and earn a dollar a day for the hardest day's work a woman has ever done? And if there was a factory in that place where a woman could get work that would not be so hard as washing, and the pay would be three or four dollars a day or some times more, would it be all right for that woman to say, "Well, it ought to be this way, I am married and a married woman has no right to work where she can earn more. That is for single girls." Well, if the world was like that, I think every girl would show good sense to remain single. Or suppose a woman had been married several years, and had four or five children, and the husband should desert them and leave town with a good looking flapper, and the mother and children had no money to buy food or clothes, how would they live if the mother had to wait until she could get a divorce before she could go to a factory to work? Or where would she ever get any money for a divorce, *poor married woman*?

Some girls think that as long as a mother takes in washings, keeps 10 or 12 boarders, or perhaps takes in sewing, she isn't working. But I say that either one of the three is as hard work as women could do. So if they do that at home and don't get any wages for it, why would it not be all right for them to go to a factory and receive pay for what they do? □

*At Southern Exposure we listen to the voices of many people for guidance and inspiration. We want to recapture the indomitable spirit of those in the past who have spoken for human dignity, for egalitarianism, and for collective social action. We want to celebrate those ideals. We welcome submissions from our readers for this feature. Send ideas to: Voices From the Past, Southern Exposure, P.O. Box 531, Durham, NC 27702.*

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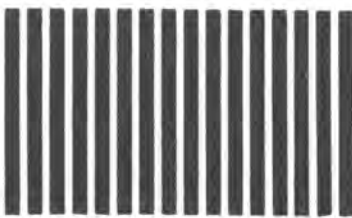


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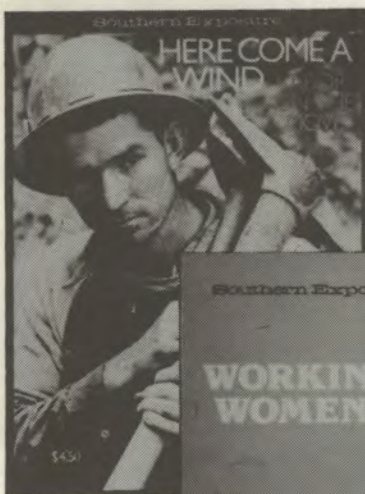
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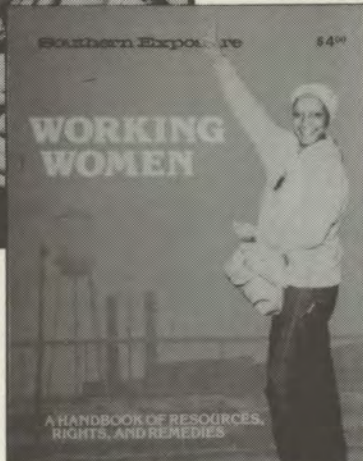
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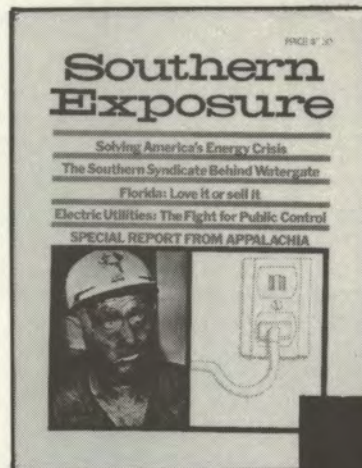
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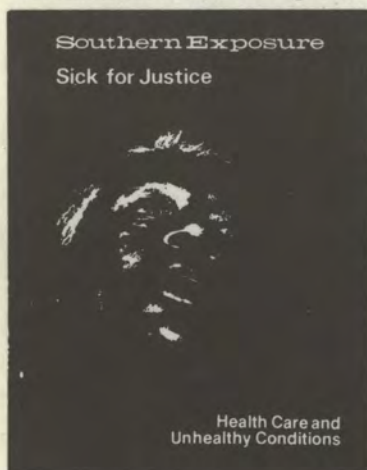


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