

Two Dead-- 'It's All Water Over the Dam'

BY JOE MURPHY
FLORENCE, Ala. -- Mrs. Maglean Wright, a 27-year-old white woman, and Joe Johnson, a 27-year-old black man, died of gunshot wounds late the night of Aug. 17.

The Florence police department and the Lauderdale County sheriff's office dismissed the deaths of the two Florence residents as "an apparent murder-suicide."

And two days later, on the morning of Aug. 19, the county coroner's office closed the case. "There's only one thing I have to say," said Lauderdale County Sheriff M. M. "Hoot" Gibson, whose home is not far from the scene of the shootings. "There's a dead white woman and a dead nigger, and it's all water over the dam." But according to Andrew Oakes, head of a group of concerned citizens, the incident is not "water over the dam." "People have a right to pick their friends, regardless of race," said

Oakes, "and we are not afraid of the KKK or their methods. There is an under-current of tension in this community, and people will not rest until we get some facts." No official records could be obtained from the police department, the sheriff, or the coroner's office. But Noah Danley, Florence's chief of police, offered his own account, based on what he said he was told by the dead woman's sister. The two shooting victims had known each other for some time, the chief said, but in August, Mrs. Wright was trying

to get rid of Johnson. Danley said Mrs. Wright's sister heard some noise and a shot Aug. 17 outside her trailer home on Roberts Lane in Florence. A second later, he said, she heard Mrs. Wright scream, "I am shot! Let me inside!" The sister let Mrs. Wright in and locked the door, according to Danley. Then, he said, Johnson started shooting through the window, and finally broke the door down. The chief said Johnson shot Mrs. Wright two more times with a .25-cal-

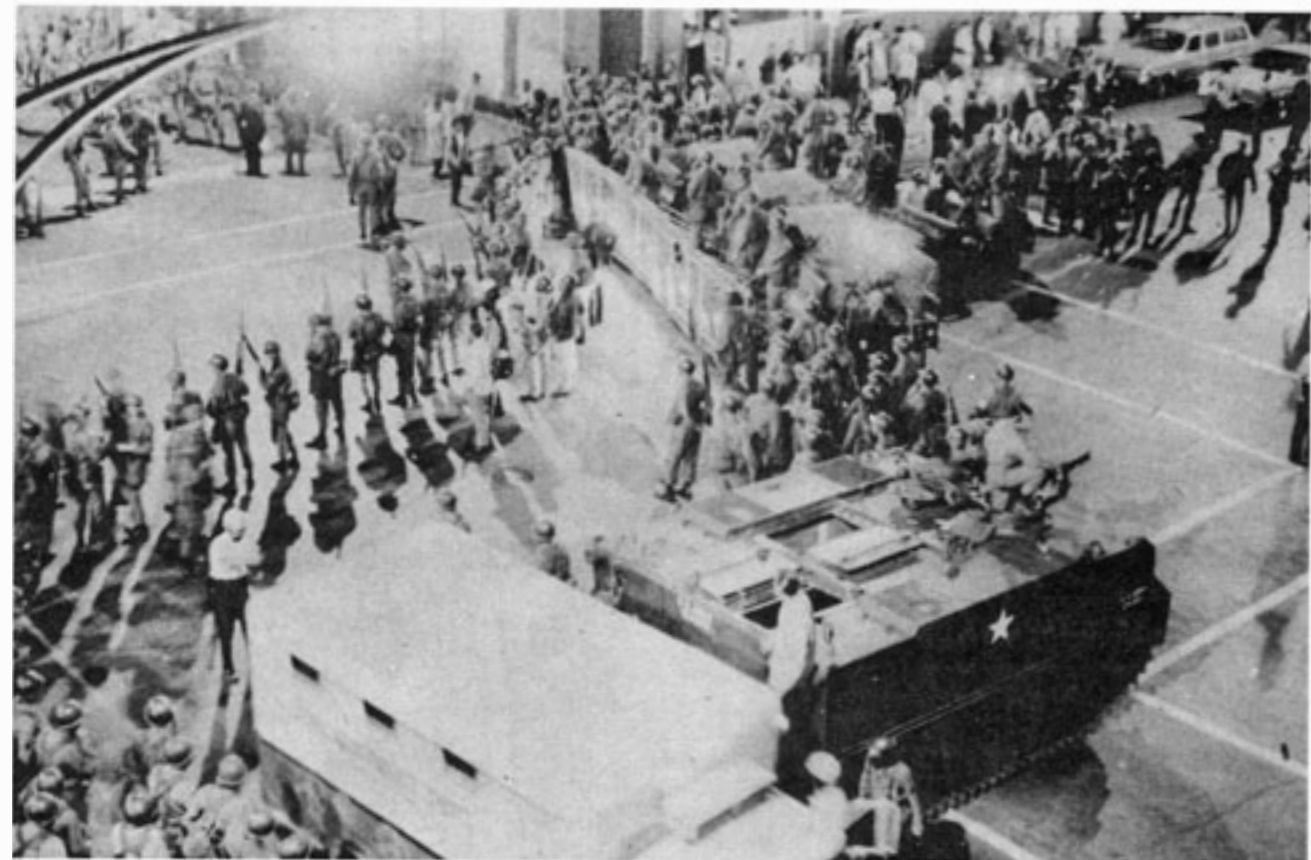
iber pistol. Then, said Danley, Johnson --in full view of the sister--touched the dead woman, said "Goodbye, dear," and shot himself in the head. This account of the incident is in conflict with a story that appeared in the Florence Times on Aug. 19. Oakes said these conflicts have raised serious doubts in the minds of some people in the community. There has been speculation that Johnson and Mrs. Wright were murdered, by people who did not approve of their relationship.

Oakes said the officers assigned to investigate the incident "have reputations as white supremacists." He has published a list of questions his group would like to have answered, including:

1. "Who were the six men the Florence Times reported seen running from the trailer?"
2. "Who was the man seen racing across a field behind the trailer, that the newspaper mentioned?"
3. "Who fired through the windshield of Johnson's car on the driver's side, and why is there blood on the seat?"
4. "Why has the trailer since disappeared?"
5. "Who fired the shotgun blast which ripped open the front of the trailer?"

THE SOUTHERN COURIER

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What's Going On Here?

Would you believe the Democratic National Convention in Chicago, Illinois? See Page Four for details. (Photo by John C. Diamante)

Two Different Stories Of Incident in B'ham

BY BOB LABAREE
BIRMINGHAM, Ala. -- Recorder's Court Judge T. M. Smallwood sat up until nearly midnight Sept. 6, listening to two accounts of what happened a few weeks ago when police answered a "routine" call in a Negro neighborhood. According to officer W. R. Taylor, when he and his partner George Clark arrived at the Palmore home in North Birmingham early on Aug. 17, they found 18-year-old Terry Lee Palmore down on the floor of the front porch, beating his father. As the two officers approached the house, Taylor said, young Palmore got up. "He said, 'I'm gonna kill you,' and then he came charging at me," Taylor testified. "That's when I struck him on the head to defend myself. . . . He had an extremely strong odor of alcohol about him."

called the police after her son came home early in the morning and began arguing about a money matter. When the police arrived a few minutes later, father and son were arguing on the front porch, she said. "When he saw the officers coming up--which he didn't know they had been called--Terry took his father and threw him down against the screen door," said Mrs. Palmore. "But that was all. He never struck him one time." She denied that her son was drunk, and that he charged at Taylor with a flower-pot. "He (Taylor) come up on the porch like a fireman, and puts a choke-hold on Terry, while the other officer put the handcuffs on him," she said. Then, she said, the police took her son away. According to Palmore, the beating that put him in the hospital for nearly a week didn't occur at his home--it happened after he left the house in the po-

lice car. Instead of going right to the police station, Palmore said, Clark stopped the car in the yard of MacDonald Elementary School, not far from the Palmore home. Palmore said the officers got out of the car at the school-yard, and then ordered him to get out. "But as I got out," he said, "I tripped, and I fell down kind of on my side, 'cause my hands were behind me. While I was down, they started to beat on me. . . I distinctly remember four blows. Then I went unconscious." When it was all over, Judge Smallwood went along with Newton's request that the drunkenness and resisting-arrest charges be dropped. Palmore was fined \$35 for disorderly conduct, and \$100 (with a suspended jail sentence) for assaulting an officer. The Palmores said they are going to appeal.

Teen-Ager Dies After Gunfight in Metcalfe

BY J. SMITH
METCALFE, Miss. -- A smoke-bomb went off here one day last month, causing an argument that turned into a gunfight. The incident ended with the death of a teen-age Negro boy. Glen Milburn, a white grocery-store operator, was arrested here last Friday, and charged with the slaying of 15-year-old Sammy Lee Malone. Earl Fisher, chief deputy sheriff of Washington County, said Milburn is being held without bond pending a preliminary hearing on the charge. The arrest of Milburn came less than 24 hours after his son, John B. Milburn, 26, was released from the county jail. Young Milburn had been held for four days, while authorities investigated the killing. After someone threw a smoke-bomb, witnesses said, Glen Milburn and Malone fired at each other in front of the grocery store. After the elder Milburn was wounded in the chest and hand, witnesses said, John Milburn grabbed the pistol his father was holding, and chased Malone into a nearby cotton field. Malone died of his wounds in the field. Last Friday, a spokesman for a special investigating committee appointed

by the Washington County NAACP criticized law-enforcement officers for releasing young Milburn. The spokesman, Robert Martin of Greenville, questioned the "sincerity" of the police investigation. "If this case had been just the reverse--white man dead, Negro alive--all the evidence would have been available by now," Martin said. "If this is as far as this case goes, there should be a law passed that X number of Negroes could be killed each year under X conditions, and nothing would be done about it." However, officials promised a full presentation of the facts of the case in the preliminary hearing later this week. The hearing will determine whether there is sufficient evidence to hold Glen Milburn for action by the grand jury, which meets here in December. Deputy Fisher said the accused man is apparently in good physical condition, although the bullet that entered his chest has not been removed. The gun that allegedly killed Malone, an automatic pistol, is in the custody of the sheriff's department. The pistol that witnesses said was fired by the victim has not been found.



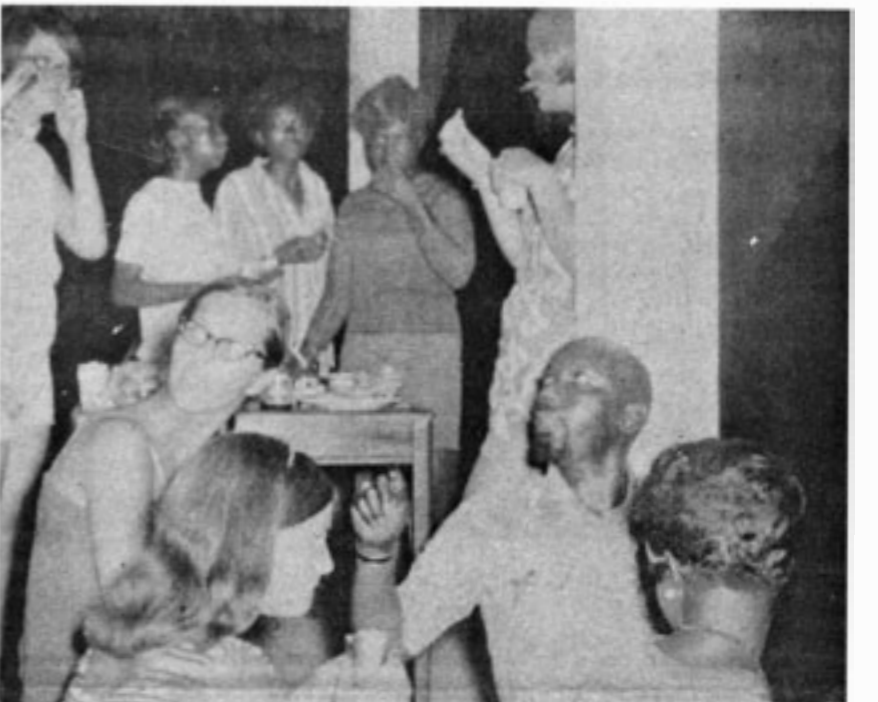
DEMETRIUS NEWTON

Negro Wins Post In Uniontown

BY MICHAEL S. LOTTMAN
MONTGOMERY, Ala. -- A. M. Hayden of Uniontown has managed to escape the fate that befalls most Negro candidates in run-off elections. Usually, Negroes in run-offs find that the white people who split their votes among several candidates in the first election will unite against the black contender when it counts. But Hayden, one of the first Negroes to run for office in Uniontown (Perry County), made his first-round lead stand up in last Tuesday's run-off. He won a City Council seat by defeating Darrel F. Tubbs, 431 to 407. Clarence G. Williams and H. O. McFadden--who, along with Hayden, ran an energetic and carefully-planned campaign--barely missed out in the run-off. Williams lost by ten votes and McFadden trailed by 23, as they tried to join Hayden on the council.

Jr. in Marion (Perry County), and James Poe in Union Springs (Bullock County). In Demopolis, George Spence Sr.--a white candidate for mayor who had openly sought Negro support--was buried by incumbent Edward Bailey, 1,137 to 548.

At least two other Negro victories were reported in Tuesday's election. In Homewood (Jefferson County), Afton Lee became the city's first Negro councilman by swamping Ralph R. Robinson, 276 to 170. And Theodore Fox outpolled Horace C. Curry, 709 to 633, for a seat on the Jacksonville (Calhoun County) City Council. Otherwise, black candidates took their lumps. Some of the biggest lumps were absorbed in Prichard (Mobile County), where Fred L. Harris lost his City Council race to Alford W. Turner, 3,782 to 1,767. All but one of the present councilmen, however, were beaten by white opponents. In Fairfield (Jefferson County), where Negroes won half of the 12 City Council seats last month, Vernard Thomas fell short in his bid to become president of the council. Though Thomas led incumbent Lawrence G. Sides by 800 votes in the first round, he lost, 2,669 to 2,420, in Tuesday's run-off. Other unsuccessful Negro council candidates included Mrs. Frankie King in Auburn (Lee County), Spencer Hogue



SEMINAR AT MT. BEULAH (TOP); MRS. EMMA SINGLETON (BOTTOM)

Drive Ends In Shelby

BY MILBURN J. CROWE
SHELBY, Miss. -- The four-month-old boycott of downtown merchants has been lifted in Shelby, under a compromise worked out by the city, the merchants, and two protest groups. On Aug. 30, the city agreed to meet demands that had been made by the Shelby Educational Committee and the King Memorial Black Student Organization. The city agreed to remove a Negro police officer who was objected to by the Negro community, to invite black people to serve in the volunteer fire department, and to render municipal services equally to all neighborhoods. Furthermore, the city agreed to ask one alderman to resign, so that his seat can be declared vacant and a special election held. This will give Negroes a chance to run for the office. The white merchants, for their part, issued a statement saying they will end all discrimination based on race, religion, social status, or economic condition. This policy is to remain in effect as long as there is no boycott. The long campaign of boycotting and demonstrations began May 3, when a small group of students walked out of Broadstreet School, to protest the firing of two teachers, Eddie Lucas and Joseph Delaney. Three days later, the school was empty. A threatened boycott of the all-Negro school this fall was called off, when the SEC promised KMSO members that it will step up its fight for quality education.

'Miss. Problems Aren't Bad--They Are Worse'

BY J. SMITH
EDWARD, Miss. -- "People from the South told me that Mississippi's problems were not as bad as I had heard," said the Rev. Jim Pomeroy, a Methodist minister from North Dakota. "Those people were right. The problems are much worse." Pomeroy was telling his reaction to a five-day human relations seminar held earlier this month at the Mt. Beulah Conference Center. In the inter-racial seminar, white ministers and youths from the North Dakota Conference of the United Methodist Church joined black teens from Edwards and the Delta area of Mississippi. Their host was the Rev. Roger Smith, a minister working with the Delta Ministry.

der the director of Dan Smith, the Delta Ministry's youth director, they visited people like Mrs. Emma Singleton of Flora, Miss., who told them she tries to support her family of nine on \$20 a week. At Mrs. Singleton's home, the visitors could see that there were no screens on the doors and windows, and that the kitchen shelves were nearly bare. Afterwards, some of the North Dakotans told how the experience affected them. "My beautiful, cozy little world was suddenly torn down," said Ardie Sand of Napoleon, N. D. "I finally realized that this land of the free held more people in bondage than the average American knew or cared to know about. I saw for the first time how desperately poor a family can get and yet survive. My heart aches for the little children who had no food to eat or shoes to wear." Miss Linda Osborne of Wimbledon, N. D., added, "I can't understand how any person can expect another person to live in the conditions that people do here, no matter what color their skin is. How a person can live on \$8-a-month welfare is beyond me."

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In Talladega

City Improves Street After People Protest



SIGNS OF CHANGE

BY FRANCES STUBBS
TALLADEGA, Ala.--In the month since a six-year-old child was struck and killed by a car at the end of West Battle Street, several steps have been taken to make the street safe for children and pedestrians.

The police said the motorist whose car struck the child was not at fault. But nevertheless, the incident brought the long-held grievances of local people to a head. Immediately after the fatal accident, residents of West Battle Street organized a picket line, with signs urging drivers to slow down. The next night, the residents met in the home of Mrs. Williman Cokely, and formed the Citizens Committee for Progressive Action.

At a later meeting, Mrs. Florietta Taylor was chosen as president of the new organization.

In mid-August, the CCPA presented a petition to the City Commission, asking for traffic-safety improvements such as street lights, an end to truck traffic, and extension of the sidewalks.

"We're pleased with the progress they're making," Mrs. Taylor said last week. "Most of the street has been striped, and today I noticed the man installing the box to control the traffic lights. The wires are already up." She added that the commissioners have also decided to put down several thousand square feet of sidewalks on the west side of the street, as an extension of the present sidewalk.

This isn't all the CCPA asked for, Mrs. Taylor said, but "they (the city) were low on funds. Of course, this is better than nothing. Later, we can go back for more."

Mrs. Taylor said the CCPA has invited residents of other neighborhoods to come to its meetings. "We want them to watch and see what improvements can be made," she said. "This is a city-wide project."

RUBBER TALKING BUSINESS **NECK SUE FOLKS AND HERS TOO**



Troy, Ala.

On July 28, 1968 11-year-old Arthur D. McGuire was hit by an automobile driven by a white youth. McGuire was rushed to Beard Hospital, where he stayed 11 days. Then he was sent to St. Jude Hospital in Montgomery. His mother rode with him in the city ambulance. She had one dime in her pocket,



MRS. MCGUIRE IN SLEEPERS

and no food in her house for her six children. (She is a widow, and draws \$106 a month from the welfare.) The next day, the community action office in Troy received a call from St. Jude Hospital. The hospital said someone should come get Mrs. McGuire, because she was sick. A field counselor went to St. Jude, and got Mrs. McGuire. In all, she had been standing by her son's bedside for 12 days. Back in Troy, a doctor ordered her to bed. Then the community action people called the food stamp office, and told officials there that Mrs. McGuire was sick and her son was still in critical condition. The community action people asked if a field counselor could pick up Mrs. McGuire's food stamps, because she didn't have any food at all. The answer was no. So with only 45 minutes left before the stamp office closed, a counselor rushed out to Mrs. McGuire's home, got her out of bed, and carried her to the food stamp office in her sleepers to get her stamps.

Sunday in the Elks home here, State Representative Robert G. Clark, the only black man in the Mississippi Legislature, is chairman of the all-black group. He explained that the purpose of the group, organized last November in Holmes County, is "to ensure all of the black elected officials--and blacks who run, or will run, for public office in the state of Mississippi--an umbrella of communication." The conference, he said, is made up of the people who have run for office since the early 1960's. Its present membership, he said, is "217-plus." Clark said the group will focus attention in 1969 on the many municipal elections to be held in Mississippi.

Alexander City, Ala.

The Alabama Independent Funeral Directors held a meeting Sept. 2 in the Armour Funeral Home here. The directors discussed ways of explaining burial-insurance policies to the people of Alabama. They reviewed a national group's statement that "your burial policy is only worth 40% or less of the face value. Your funeral director is being paid as little as \$55 to service a \$300 funeral policy." Representatives from Alexander City, Anniston, Gadsden, Sylacauga, Mobile, Wetumpka, Phenix City, Birmingham, Talladega, Montgomery, Clanton, and Lafayette attended the meeting.

Hobson City, Ala.

Most boys would choose a good swim on a hot summer day, instead of pulling weeds and digging dirt in the back



WORKING ON GARDEN

Mobile, Ala.

The Alabama Directors of Community Action Programs elected their new slate of officers Aug. 23, at a meeting in the Mobile Municipal Auditorium. The officers elected for 1968-69 are C. C. Segraves of the Marion County community action agency, president; Charles L. Ray Jr. of the Huntsville-Madison County CAA, first vice-president; Charles L. Weston of the Barbour-Dale-Henry County CAA, second vice-president; and Selton S. Boyd of the Walker-Winston County CAA, secretary-treasurer. Mrs. Irene Butler of the Butler-Covington-Crenshaw County CAA and Freddie Washington of the Macon County CAA were selected to attend the Southeast regional meeting in Atlanta, Ga.

Tuscaloosa, Ala.

People stood in windows and on the street in downtown Tuscaloosa Sept. 2, watching the Labor Day parade with its Negro and white bands. One teen-ager remarked, "You see, Druid's (the all-Negro high school's) band is not in the back any more, because the band director said, 'If they put us in the back, we won't march.'" And for the first time ever in Tuscaloosa, a Negro girl ran for--and won--the title of Miss Labor Day. The beautiful floats paraded through town and then back to the Jaycee park pavilion, where Miss Brenda Taylor was crowned. Miss Taylor, who was the candidate of Local 602 of the Pulp and Sulphite union, defeated six white candidates--Miss Cathy Watkins, Miss Deborah Hoggie, Miss Sue Howard, Miss Mary Jones, Miss Jean Palmer, and Miss Carolyn Collins. Governor Albert P. Brewer was the Labor Day speaker.

Greenville, Miss.

The Mississippi Leadership Conference held its first annual banquet last



CLARK AT BANQUET

Memphis, Tenn.

Six members of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights were among the more than 2,000 delegates at the SCLC convention last month in



AT LORRAINE MOTEL

Memphis. They took time off from convention activities to visit the balcony of the Lorraine Motel, where the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. was shot last April 4. In the back row in the picture are the Rev. Charles Brown, Carter Saffold, and R. E. Harper. In the front row are Mrs. Gertrude Hill, Miss N.B. Andrews, and Andrew Palm.

Atlanta, Ga.

Fifty concerned citizens from Georgia's 76th House of Representatives District met Aug. 25 to form a new political party. The group, the Party of Christian Democracy, drafted civil rights leader Hosea L. Williams as its first nominee for the Georgia House. John Evans, chairman of the new party, said, "We evaluated both (major) parties' candidates for our 76th House District seat, and found none of them truly qualified and experienced enough to effectively represent the citizens of the 76th District and protect our homes and the future of our children. After finding none of the parties' candidates suitable, and knowing that both the Democratic and Republican parties are sensitive to the white power structure's demands and not the needs of the poor and black people, we decided to form our own party."

Trussville Folks Wait For City's Water Plans

BY BOB LABAREE

TRUSSVILLE, Ala.--If the people in the Negro settlement outside Trussville need water, they have to catch it in rain-barrels, scoop it out of holes they dig themselves, or haul it up the mountain in a truck.

"Now I know a family bought four drums of water last week (at \$1.25 a drum)," said Mrs. Mary Heard, who has helped lead the community's drive for water service for several years. "That's \$5 just for washing for one week."

Almost no Negroes live inside the Trussville city limits, the people say,

even though a city map would show that Negroes live very close to the city in several places.

Many families in the settlement say they can stand in their back yard and see white people's homes a few hundred feet away--inside the city limits--with faucets and showers and inside toilets.

In the past, the Trussville Utilities Board has said it can't provide the same services to the people in the settlement that it does to city residents.

But people like Mrs. Heard feel that even though they don't pay city taxes, the city owes them something, because many of them work in Trussville and nearly everyone shops down there.

Now, the settlement's water committee has decided to seek help elsewhere.

Through G. David Singleton, acting director of the Jefferson County Committee for Economic Opportunity (JCCEO), the committee learned that the U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) has money available for just what the settlement people have in mind.

"Of course, they (HUD) wouldn't give the money directly to you," Singleton explained at a meeting in the settlement this month. Some agency--like the Trussville Utilities Board--would receive the federal money, and use it to put the water in, he said.

But the settlement people decided they wanted someone besides the Trussville board to get the money. They chose Bobbie Phillips of the Chalkville-Clay Water Authority, a small private water company nearby. In the past, they said, Phillips has been more willing than Trussville to bring water into the settlement if the people could pay for it.

But this month, Phillips returned from a meeting with Trussville representatives and HUD officials in Atlanta, Ga., and reported that Trussville had been chosen to apply for the money.

Trussville spokesmen refused to discuss their plans.

But Mrs. Heard and others said they are still doubtful that the settlement will benefit fully from whatever the city does. They charged that the city has

been dragging its heels about putting in water because it wants to make the Negroes move out.

"All these years, they been unwilling to help our condition," said Mrs. Heard. "And as soon as it looks like the government's coming in with some money, they just come running up here."

"I don't know," she said. "Our people just don't have no confidence in Trussville."



A Marine from Alabama

(Private First Class Henry Clay Moorer, a native of Greenville, Ala., was a reporter for The Southern Courier from July, 1965, to June, 1967. He attended Alabama A&M College, and is now in Viet Nam with a company of U. S. Marines. The Southern Courier is publishing his letters--some written months ago--telling what life is like for a Marine from Alabama.)

BY HENRY CLAY MOORER
ON THE USS TRIPOLI, EN ROUTE TO VIET NAM--The Marine Corps today is still known for its deeds in the days of Iwo Jima and Tarawa. But the question that keeps coming up is: Will the corps survive?

Will the Marine Corps survive Viet

THE SOUTHERN COURIER welcomes letters from anyone on any subject. Letters must be signed, but your name will be withheld upon request.

Heine-Sight





Robert Van Horn Is Never Quite Sure

How Many in the House?

MOUNDEVILLE, Ala.--Robert Van Horn is never quite sure how many people live in his house. Usually there are about 21 people around--including 16 or 17 children. The three-room house can't hold them all during the day, and at night everyone has to look for a while to find a place to sleep.

The Van Horns are poor. In one recent week, Robert Van Horn was able to make \$16 doing day labor, but not all weeks are as good as that one. "Most weeks I can make \$10, maybe \$11," Van Horn said. "It's not easy to keep 21 people goin' on that."

Things weren't always so bad. Van Horn was born here in Hale County, and for a long time he had a good cotton and corn farm near his house. In 1955--the best cotton year anyone around here

can remember--the family made \$900 on the crop.

But that \$900 crop was as unusual as the recent \$16 week, and farming began to get harder after 1955. Three years ago, Van Horn's landlord used the farm's entire cotton allotment himself, leaving Van Horn with no crops to plant or sell.

"The man took all the cotton acres

hissself," Van Horn recalled, "and there just wasn't any place for us to grow a crop. So all that was left was day labor, and that ain't too steady."

Van Horn said he once went to the welfare office to see about getting some help for his family. "But," he said, "they asked me so many questions and talked so bad, I left and never went back." And when the family's deaf son turned 18, the welfare office stopped helping him, too.

Police cruise through the area now and then, and sometimes search houses for home-brew whiskey. But, the fam-

ily says, welfare workers never come out to see if anyone needs help. One person who does come out is the Rev. L. A. Lee (upper right), who is trying to find a way for Van Horn to earn more money. Lee is the local representative of SWAFCA (the Southwest Alabama Farmers Co-operative Association).

To get enough food for everyone, Van Horn has turned to the county's food stamp program. But he usually has to borrow money each month to pay the \$46 cost of the stamps, and the coupons usually run out five or six days after the family gets them. Most of the Van Horn children have skinny arms, and they sit quietly around the house a lot of the time.

Few of the children have ever seen a doctor. One little boy is losing his teeth one by one--"they sort of turn black and fall out," he said. As soon as Mrs. Van

Horn turns her back, the babies' faces are covered with flies. Rats can be a problem, too.

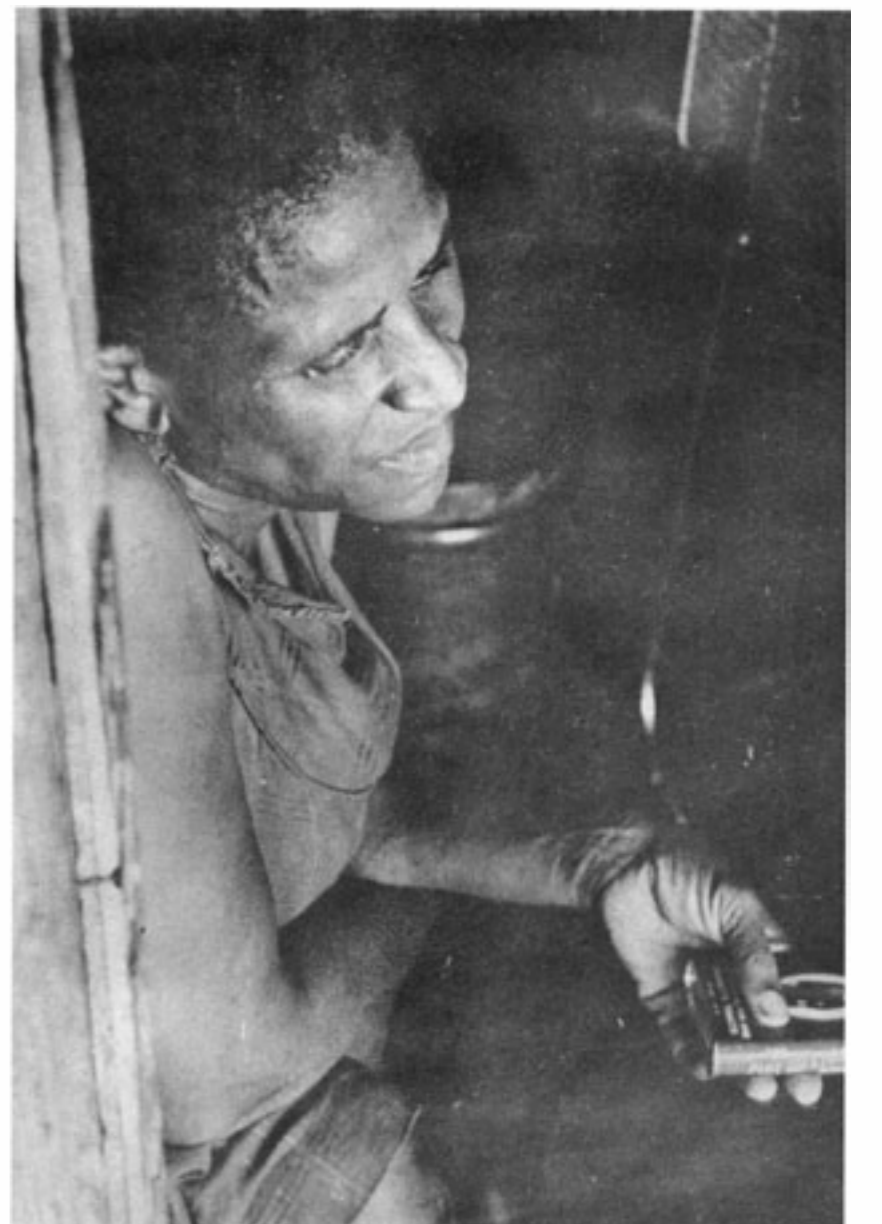
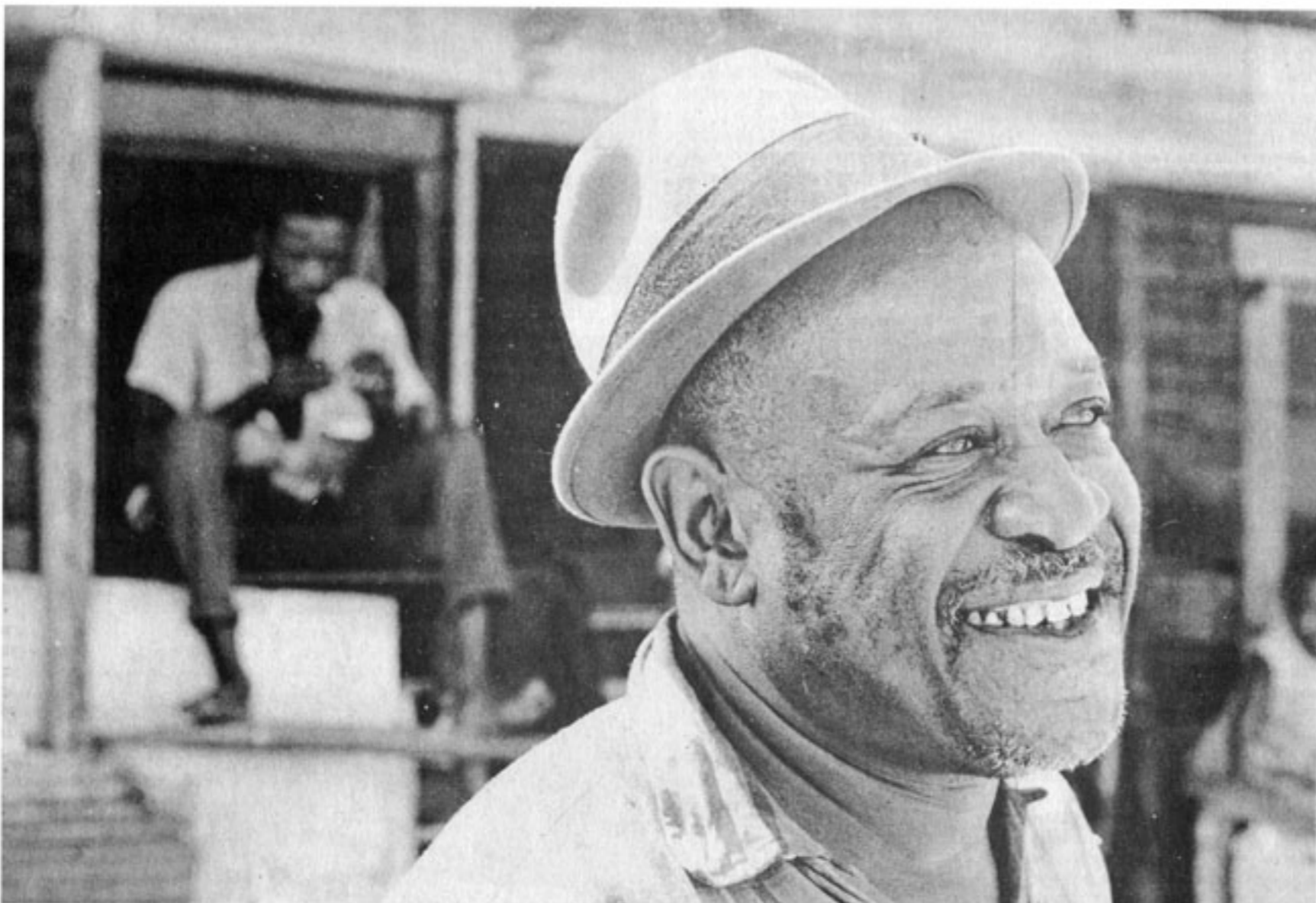
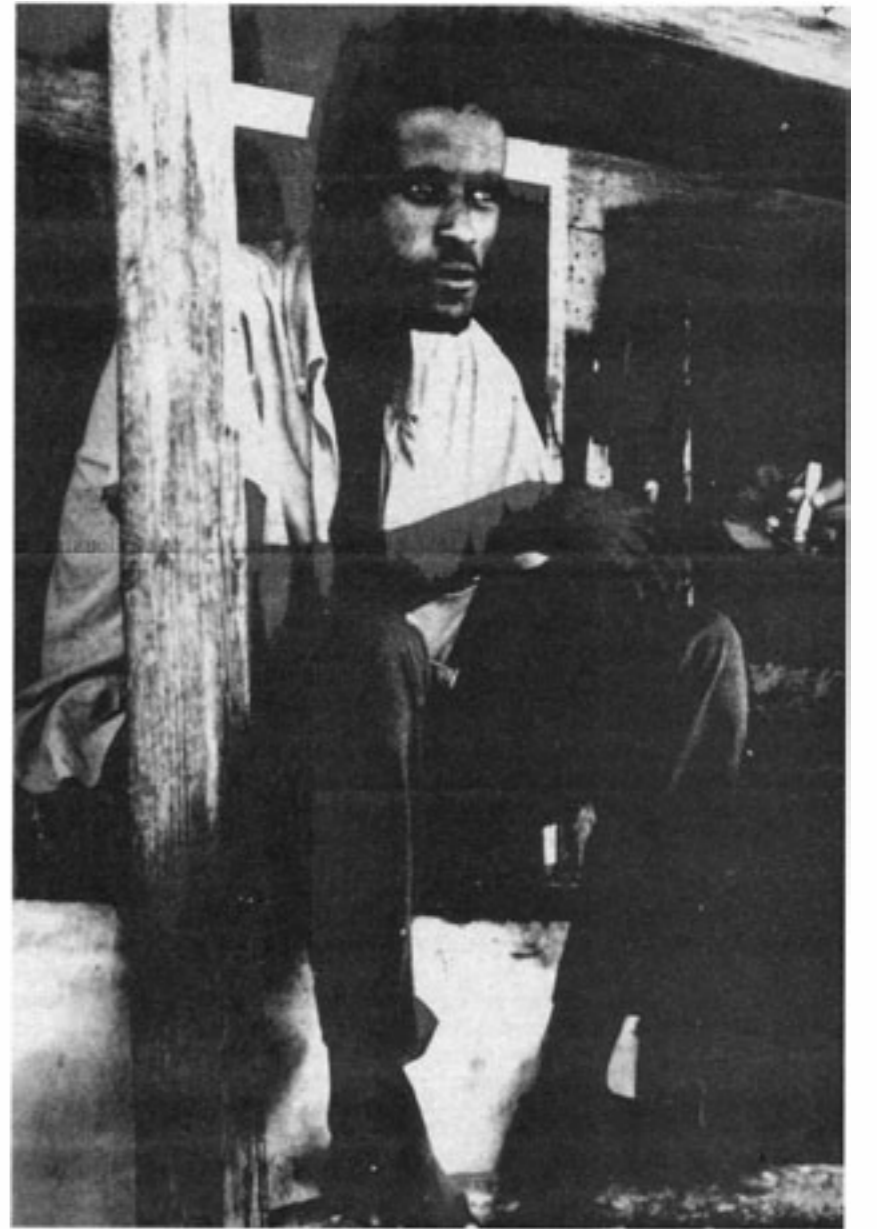
When school time comes, most of the children still stay around the house. "They usually goes two or three days every week," said Mrs. Van Horn. "But other days, there just aren't no clothes for them to wear."

Black children in Hale County are supposed to be able to go to white schools under the freedom-of-choice plan, but all the Little Van Horns go to the Negro school. "It's dangerous for a person to walk out if he sends his kids to white schools," a neighbor explained. "There's too many folks missin' around here to fool with the schools."

Robert Van Horn and his family can smile and laugh sometimes. But even so, said Van Horn, "It sure would be nice if we could find a way out,"



Text & Photos by James M. Fallows



Convention Clamp-Down in Chicago

Arrests, Beatings In Daley's 'Prague East'

BY JOHN C. DIAMANTE

CHICAGO, Illinois--Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley got 3 1/2 votes for Vice-President during the Democratic National Convention here last month. Some people thought it was appropriate that one of the votes came from Eugene "Bull" Connor, who ran black demonstrators off the streets of Birmingham, Ala., back in 1963.

For during the convention, the "great dumping of the North"--as Daley is known to many in this decaying jungle of a city--forever lost his image as a liberal big-city mayor, a progressive builder, and an efficient administrator of power.

Out in the open for all to see was the pig-headed, fiercely proud, vulgar, and out-of-date boss of a political machine built on ignorance, greed, fear, and, most of all, illusion.

The illusion is that by attracting enough money to keep the sky-scrapers going up, by handing out enough jobs to keep white ethnic groups happy, and by making enough glamorous short-term improvements to keep his beloved city barely functioning, Daley is serving all the people.

This is the illusion--shared by many Southern officials--that as long as you can document economic growth, you don't have to worry about the niggers in the ghettos, the white trash in the slums, the obsolete schools, the pollution of the air, and the modern city's utter unfitnes for human habitation and happiness.

Only Mayor Daley could have demanded that the Democrats hold their convention in Chicago. And fittingly, only the emotions and forces focused on that convention could have revealed Daley and the kind of old politics he stands for.

After McCormick Place--Chicago's gleaming convention center--burned down last winter, it didn't make much sense for the Democrats to keep their proceedings in Chicago.

But no, said Daley, we'll just spruce up the old International Amphitheatre, install enough air-conditioning to kill the stench from the stockyards, and direct traffic through the mayor's 11th-ward neighborhood--so the visiting Democrats will be able to see lots of "Daley welcomes you" signs, but no black faces.

Then along came the telephone strike against "Mother Bell" (the Illinois Bell telephone system)--the kind of giant corporation that Daley has made teflon so much at home in Chicago.

The strike guaranteed that there wouldn't be any extra telephones for convention business--let alone the special equipment that radio and television need to cover a convention thoroughly.

When two-thirds of the cab drivers also went out on strike, it made more sense than ever to move the convention somewhere else--like Miami Beach, which was all set up for it, having just been host to the Republicans.

But Daley hung on, with the help of President Johnson, and he convinced local businesses to help foot the bill for chartered buses to haul the delegates around.

But the big question was Chicago's black population, which had rioted in April after the assassination of the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.

After the April riots, the mayor's popularity with black people had reached a new low, as a result of his order to "shoot to kill" anyone caught in the act of arson.

So a lot of people kept wondering out



SPECTATORS KEPT OUT BY BARBED WIRE (Dennis Brack--Black Star)

loud what Daley was going to do about the people whose tenements surround the Amphitheatre.

Well, said Daley, we'll just seal off a mile-square area around the convention site with barbed wire and street barricades--and that's just what he did. He also put the city's "finest" on 12-hour duty, called up 5,500 National Guardsmen, and let the President send in 6,000 Army troops.

The line-up was beginning to sound like the welcoming committees that greeted marches in Selma, Jackson, and Montgomery. But Daley and the officials of the Democratic National Committee are no small-time operators.

Just in case an outsider should get through the outer defenses, somebody came up with the idea of protecting the entrances to the Amphitheatre with special machines, that would signal with a

green light if you were wearing the proper little identification tag around your neck. Very sophisticated machines, the officials thought.

But then some convention delegates found out that credit cards, college ID cards--almost anything--would also trigger the green light. Of course, you could be arrested, like the chairman of the New Hampshire delegation, for showing your discovery to your friends.

But then everyone who was anyone was destined to be arrested in "Stalag '68" or "Prague East," as Daley's beloved Chicago came to be nick-named.

For people just weren't staying in their place--not even the city's black bus drivers, who threw a wildcat strike as the convention opened, in protest against the fact that all their union officials are white.

(The drivers stayed on strike during the convention--laughing off the specially-created posts such as "assistant recording secretary" that the union offered them, and disregarding a court order issued by one of Daley's friends on the bench.)

The big problem, though, for Chicago was: How to take care of all the dissenters? There were the liberals and McCarthy backers in the Coalition for an Open Convention (COC), who wanted to use Soldiers Field for a one-day rally against the Viet Nam war and the old politics.

And there was the Youth International Party (Yippies), who had devised a "Festival of Life," which would mock the convention by cornering delegates in hotel lobbies, holding workshops and concerts in the parks, and nominating a pig for President (and then eating him).

And there were the radicals and militants.

Now all this country's police and military intelligence agents put together probably have only a few hundred names of white radicals who can really be counted on to talk like Rap Brown, throw bottles, or let the air out of people's tires.

And the agents, along with everyone else, must have known that many of the Blackstone Rangers and other black militants were leaving Chicago temporarily, for two reasons--they felt the convention was "irrelevant" to black people, and they feared the Chicago police would seize on any disturbance as an excuse to arrest them in a general round-up.

Even the newspapers got the message after a while--that no more than a tenth of the anticipated 100,000 demonstrators would actually be coming to Chicago. But the mayor insisted that "an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure," and he kept the public and the police on edge with gestures like assigning guards to every water reservoir.

Why guard the reservoirs? Because



TEAR GAS BILLOWS ON MICHIGAN AVE. (John C. Diamante)

hotels in the Loop, chanting refrains such as "One-two-three-four, we don't want your dirty war," and "Hey, hey, Richard J.! How many kids did you Mace today?"

But Mobilization leader Rennie Davis spoke too soon when he said, "We proved that it was possible to hold peaceful demonstrations and marches in Chicago despite the provocative presence of thousands of armed police, National Guard, and federal troops."

For on Sunday night, the police got rougher in clearing the park. And 2,000 youths took to the streets, running and dodging over a two-mile course toward the downtown area before being turned back by a small police force at a bridge over the Chicago River.

Only a handful of the kids and newsmen were beaten and Maced that night, as police motorcycles drove people up against the locked doors of night clubs and bars in the Old Town district near Lincoln Park.

But the next afternoon, after police came to the park to arrest radical leader Tom Hayden for no visible reason, a grimmer protest march flowed downtown to the police station, and then over to Grant Park in front of the Conrad Hilton Hotel--headquarters for the convention.

Yelling "Pigs! Pigs!" and "The streets belong to the people!" the demonstrators battled with police for control of a hill and its statue of Civil War hero Major General John A. Logan. Then they hung around the Hilton, waving their red, black, and Viet Cong flags and chanting "Dump the Hump (Humphrey)!" to delegates boarding buses for the convention hall.

That night, in driving people out of Lincoln Park again with clubs, tear gas and the chemical Mace, the police laid into a number of news reporters and photographers who made the mistake of covering the prolonged beatings of

young girls and bystanders.

Despite renewed attempts at negotiation over use of the parks, police again used gas--which blew back in their faces--on Tuesday night, Aug. 27. And with their motorcycles, they dispersed a group of ministers and others who were kneeling around a 12-foot wooden cross. Volunteer doctors and nurses, rather than the press, got special attention from police with night-sticks.

When demonstrators again fled to the Hilton area, they were met by National Guardsmen, who had replaced the police. The commander of the Guard, General John R. Phipps, was not one of Daley's men. Stating that "I regard these people just as if they were my own kids," Phipps deployed his troops in a manner that calmed everyone down.

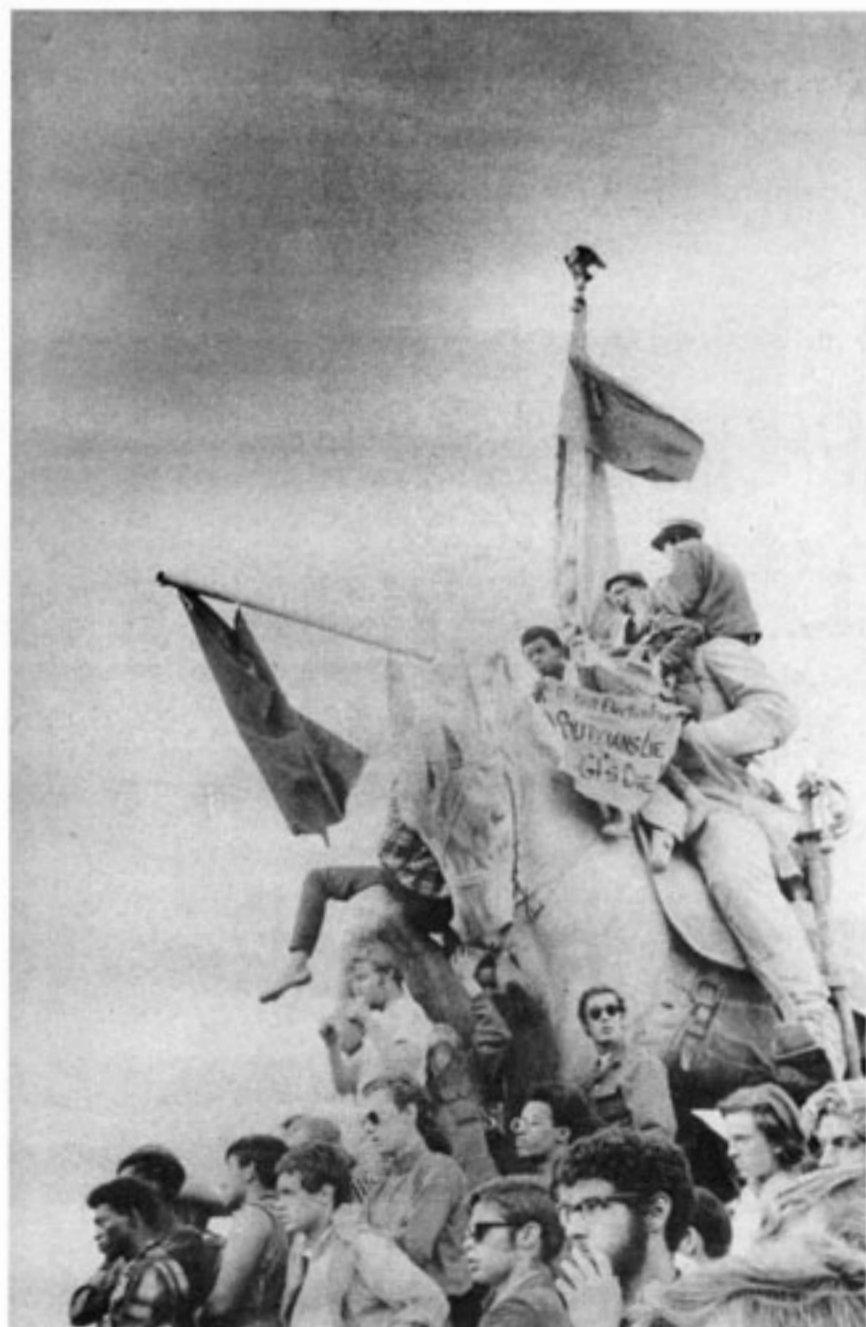
On Wednesday, Aug. 28, however, the police were back in the saddle. They blew the situation wide open when several thousand demonstrators--preparing to defy Daley's order against marches to the Amphitheatre--gathered in Grant Park for a rally.

When three hippies (including police undercover agent Robert L. Pierson) hauled down an American flag and replaced it with a red flag, the police moved in. Soon it was the by-now-familiar story of gas and clubs, and the protesters were sent sprawling over park benches as they vomited from the gas.

The demonstrators made their way back to the Hilton, which had again been sealed off by the National Guard. Here the marchers got mixed up for a while with three wagons from the Poor People's Campaign mule train.

Reacting to the press of the milling crowd, a small number of thrown bottles and glass ash-trays, and a brief foray by several Yippies into the Blackstone Hotel next door, the police blew

(CONTINUED ON PAGE FIVE, Col. 1.)



DEMONSTRATORS CLIMB CIVIL WAR STATUE (John C. Diamante)



GRANT PARK CAMPFIRE (John C. Diamante)



PRO-DALEY DEMONSTRATION (Fred Ward--Black Star)

Daley Loses His Cool

'The World Is Watching!'

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE FOUR)

their tops and went for everybody. Club-waving police in flying wedges charged into the crowd. At one point, they sent youths and elderly pedestrians up against plate-glass windows. Then the people were pushed through the huge windows, as they tried to escape the nightsticks and kicks.

Yelling "Kill, kill!" the police drove kids, newsmen, and bystanders back into the downtown streets, where bewildered shoppers and movie-goers were caught for two hours in the melee of clubs and Mace.

Yipple spokesman Jerry Rubin--who came upon the fracas as he departed from a restaurant--was arrested and swept away in a special police car, as his girl-friend cried, "What did he do? What did he do?"

Presidential candidate George S. McGovern looked down at the scene from his hotel room, and felt sick to his stomach. Eugene J. McCarthy, another candidate, visited a makeshift hospital in his headquarters, and comforted the wounded. Vice-President Humphrey, his eyes smarting from the tear gas that had drifted into his 25th-floor quarters, did not look down at the streets, but instead settled down to watch himself nominated on television.

One particular officer--who had worn a green plaid nylon poncho as he haunted the kids all week--laughingly showed his buddies some refinements in night-stick use:

For hippies and the scruffy, several cracks across the back of the head; for cleaner kids and reporters, a kick that sent them flying against the paddy-wagon's steel steps; for people wearing glasses, an elbow to the bridge of the nose; for girls, a snap of the billy-club across the chest; for the middle-aged (and one cripple who got caught in the confusion and tried desperately to hop away), vicious blows with the butt-end of a club in the groin and kidneys; and always, for those arrested and already bleeding, a jab with the club-handle or slap with the sap against the ears. But, as Mayor Daley said, you can't blame all the police for the actions of a few who lost their tempers under provocation.

For example, there were a lot of officers who merely ordered sheepish white teen-agers to place overturned trash cans back on the sidewalks.

It would have been hard to confuse these men with the officers who grabbed a black youth in a suit and tie, threw him into the middle of an intersection, and then clubbed him and ground his face against the pavement until his fingers had stopped twitching.

The only thing that irritates Mayor Daley more than being accused of rigging something like the convention is having blood, shoes, purses, broken night-sticks, and torn clothing littering up his streets. On Wednesday night, he



AT THE HILTON (John C. Diamante)



DICK GREGORY CONFERS ON MARCH PLANS (John C. Diamante)

was faced with both.

An old friend, Senator Abraham Ribicoff, was one of many who turned on the mayor. In his speech nominating McGovern for President, Ribicoff declared that "if we had McGovern, we wouldn't



DALEY (Ted Rozumalski--Black Star)

have the Gestapo in the streets of Chicago."

Daley leaped to his feet for the world to see, shook his fist at Ribicoff, and yelled, along with his cronies, "Go home if you don't like it."

"How hard it is to accept the truth," Ribicoff replied, staring down at the pudgy mayor, whose Illinois delegation was seated directly in front of the podium.

Why had they been seated there? The mayor wasn't telling. But he was making curious gestures to officials on the rostrum from time to time, just the way he does in his City Council meetings.

One kind of gesture seemed to cut off a certain delegation's microphone--as when the Colorado chairman, Robert Maytag, rose on a point of order task, "Is there any rule under which Mayor Daley can be compelled to suspend the police-state terror being perpetrated at this minute on kids in front of the Conrad Hilton?"

Another sort of gesture seemed to launch demonstrations from the gallery--where, even though the Democrats had prohibited demonstrations and no one was allowed in without proper credentials, several hundred of Daley's city employees managed to find seats.

On cue from Daley, these ward-healers and sanitation workers would wave placards for Humphrey or Daley, or sing merry songs to drown out the choruses of "We Shall Overcome" that followed emotional moments like the defeat of the stop-the-bombing platform plank.

"The world is watching!" the bleeding youths back on Michigan Avenue

were cheering victoriously to the television cameras.

And the world was. Especially when Daley, in his most obscene moment, cut short a 20-minute demonstration of hand-clapping and singing after a film on the life of Robert F. Kennedy.

He did it by signalling to the galleries--where his followers, waving plastic American flags and chanting "We love Daley," drowned out the memory of Robert Kennedy and its anti-war implications.

As a result, when the roll was called for names to be put in nomination for the Presidency, Daley heard the name of Illinois receive thunderous boos and jeers.

And he blew his cool. Mistaking the roll-call for the actual balloting, he rose with beet-red face to announce that 112 of his state's 118 votes were going to Humphrey. And then he stalked out of the hall--something that the blacks and the anti-war forces had not yet done, despite their many set-backs.

And the beat rolled on: a candle-light procession of 300 delegates to join the surviving demonstrators; speeches to the kids by delegates, ex-Kennedy aides, a deported Episcopal bishop from South Africa, and Eugene McCarthy; plans hatched for a fourth political party; a Thursday night march to Dick Gregory's house, resulting in symbolic arrests of Gregory and several delegates; and the clearing of the streets by massive use of gas and the National Guard's barbed-wire-covered jeeps.

And on: more than 600 arrests for

the week; hundreds of injuries, including 41 newsmen and more than 150 police; a pre-dawn raid on McCarthy headquarters, because of allegations that the senator's staff was throwing things out the windows; and even a threat of court action by McCarthy himself.

And so, in the end, consider Richard J. Daley: A big-city boss, with 60,000 patronage jobs at his disposal and absolute political control of a major city.

Mayor Daley, who has delivered his state for Democratic nominees time after time--whose power over Illinois votes is so great that the late Robert Kennedy, fighting for this year's nomination, once remarked that "Daley is the ball game."

Reveled by the American and foreign press, and by one-third of the convention's 2,600 delegates, he chortled. Bitterly accused of manipulation on the convention floor, he surrounded himself with body-guards to keep critics and the press away. Accused of running a police state, he babbled about rumors of assassination.

Now that the all-time political pro, Lyndon B. Johnson, has been forced out of office, Richard J. Daley--along with a few men like Texas Governor John Connally, who applauded him--represents the power of the old politics in America.

The youth had repeatedly asked him for the right to dissent. But he played on fear, and tried to smother them, as he has smothered black protest in his ghettos.

President Johnson sat on his ranch in Texas--while his 60th birthday cake grew stale in Chicago--and talked to the mayor on the telephone. No one will ever know what they said, or whether they realized that the people Daley tried to suppress--the dissenters, the marchers, the angry blacks, the hippies, and the McCarthy children's brigade--are the same people who have ended the President's political career.

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WEUP has served as host to Project Discovery, a part of the Huntsville, Ala., anti-poverty program. Project Discovery contributes to the lives of the children by introducing them to industrial and educational environments not normally part of their lives.



The group pictured here is from the Council Training School and Lincoln School communities, and was accompanied by Mrs. Nina Scott and Mrs. Beatrice Neal of Huntsville.

WEUP, as host, served the group Double Cola, which has been an advertiser on WEUP since the station began. During this time, Double Cola has grown and is still growing--and is a must in the refrigerator of the average family home.

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FOR A BETTER ALABAMA--The Alabama Council on Human Relations has active chapters in Birmingham, Mobile, Montgomery, Huntsville, Florence-Tusculumbia-Sheffield, Auburn-Opelika-Tuskegee, Talladega, and Tuscaloosa. It has a staff that works throughout the state. The Alabama Council is integrated at all levels: its staff officers, staff, and local chapters all have people of both races working side by side. The Alabama Council wishes to establish local chapters in every county in the state. If you wish to join the Council's crusade for equal opportunity and human brotherhood, write The Alabama Council, P. O. Box 1310, Auburn, Ala. 36830.

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CHRISTIAN SCIENTISTS--Congregations in Christian Science churches throughout the world will hear a Lesson-Sermon titled "Substance" this Sunday, Sept. 15. Its Golden Text is from John: "Labour not for the meat which perisheth, but for that meat which endureth unto everlasting life, which the Son of man shall give unto you." Related passages will also be read from the Christian Science textbook, "Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures" by the denomination's founder, Mary Baker Eddy.

DISABLED VETERANS--Veterans with service-connected disabilities that qualify them for vocational rehabilitation through the Veterans Administration are now eligible for a part-time training allowance. Before a new law was passed last month, only veterans taking full-time rehabilitation training were entitled to a training allowance. Now, for part-time trainees, the V. A. will pay tuition, fees, and all other training costs, plus part-time allowances of as much as \$130 a month. Details can be obtained from the Montgomery, Ala., regional V. A. office, or any other V. A. office.

HELP WANTED--Applications for the following positions are being accepted by the Coosa-Elmore (Ala.) Community Action Committee: **CLERK-TYPIST--**must be able to type 60 words per minute, and be accurate, neat, and dependable. Interested persons should contact A. J. Bouler, Coosa-Elmore Community Action Committee, telephone 567-4361 in Wetumpka, Ala. **SUMMER HEAD START DIRECTOR--**responsible for formulation, co-ordination, and implementation of total program. Qualifications should include a degree in early-childhood education and relevant experience with pre-school children and poverty situations. Three years of teaching experience--or of formal training in education or child-development--is the minimum acceptable. Interested persons should send a written resume of their training and experience to the committee at P. O. Drawer H, Wetumpka, Ala. 36092. We are an equal-opportunity employer.

EDUCATION BENEFITS--The Veterans Administration will pay up to \$130 a month to help educate each son and daughter of a deceased veteran, or of a veteran who has been totally and permanently disabled as a result of honorable service. These payments are usually provided for children 18 to 26 years of age, for education beyond the high school level, but there are exceptions. Veterans' children who are of legal age may file their own applications for the payments, but parents or guardians must file for minors. Filing can be done at any V. A. office.


POWER PLANT JOBS--Applications are being accepted for the position of hydro-electric power plant trainee I, \$2.83 per hour. The positions to be filled are located at hydro-electric power plants in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, and Virginia. For further information, and for application forms or information as to where such forms may be obtained, apply at any Post Office (except the Atlanta, Ga., Post Office). Information and application forms are also available at the Federal Job Information Center, 275 Peachtree St. NE, Atlanta, Ga. 30303. Application forms are to be mailed to the Executive Office, Interagency Board of U.S. Civil Service Examiners, Federal Office Building, 275 Peachtree St. NE, Atlanta, Ga. 30303. For early consideration, apply by Monday, Sept. 16. Applications will be accepted until Oct. 15.

ANNIVERSARY RALLY--The West Macon County Improvement Association will observe its first anniversary with a rally at 3 p.m. Sunday, Sept. 15, at the proposed site of the new Culture Center, near the Mt. Olive Church in Shorter, Ala. The Rev. Richard Boone will be the guest speaker.

FEDERAL JOBS--The Interagency Board of U. S. Civil Service Examiners is holding examinations for the job of office aide. This examination provides applicants with career employment opportunities in the federal service. The positions are located in the Montgomery area and throughout South Alabama and Northwest Florida. Interested applicants may obtain additional information and application forms by contacting Alex Culver, Examiner in Charge, 406 Post Office Building, Montgomery, Ala. 36104.

HELPING THE POOR--The Neighborhood Organized Workers (NOW) are trying to help deprived people obtain needed income, jobs, and medical treatment. We assist citizens by writing up and filing job complaints and racial-discrimination complaints with the federal government. Equipment, office supplies, and volunteers are desperately needed to aid the poor. To get help, to volunteer, or to make contributions, contact NOW Inc., 1100 Davis Ave., Mobile, Ala. 36603, phone 432-3252.


LOWNDES COUNTY RESIDENTS--Job applications will be taken on Monday, Sept. 16, through Monday, Sept. 30, for 20 neighborhood health workers (nurse's aide-type jobs) in the OEO-sponsored Lowndes County Board of Health Community Health Project (P. O. Box 236, Hayneville, Ala. 36040). Selections for these jobs will be made as early as possible in the month of October. Job descriptions and application forms are available at the project office, located in the brick building across from the Post Office in Hayneville. Applicants must apply in person, and only residents of Lowndes County will be considered. Preference for these positions will be given to untrained, unemployed, low-income applicants.



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Hudson's Victory Formula in Opener

Just Throw It to Acoff

BY MICHAEL S. LOTTMAN
 SELMA, Ala.--Hudson High School's Emerson Acoff can score touchdowns faster than the U. S. Jones defensive line can block punts, and that was the story of last Friday night's football game.

Acoff--a short, stumpy bundle of energy seeking to repeat as an all-stater--scored four times on passes from Hudson quarterback Jake Irby. U. S. Jones of Demopolis managed to turn two blocked punts into touchdowns. Other than that, it was a typical opening game, as the Selma team took an easy 28-13 victory.

On a warm, rainy night in Memorial Stadium, both teams suffered from the usual opening-game butter-fingers. Fumbles, penalties, and interceptions broke up numerous touchdown drives, and early-season mix-ups caused several busted plays.

But the 3,500 fans who braved the rain didn't seem to care. Even more than on other weekends, the fans at opening night were more interested in what their friends were wearing than in what was going on in the game. As the players frantically pummeled each other on the field, one girl in the stands would turn to another and ask, "Who do you have for phys ed?"

Acoff started off the scoring for Hudson in the first quarter, by taking a pass from Irby and rambling 70 yards. A few minutes later, a safety boosted Hudson's lead to 8 to 0.

Late in the opening period, Hudson recovered a fumble inside the U. S. Jones 20. Three plays went nowhere in particular, and the Tigers were faced with a fourth-and-five situation. But Irby calmly flipped a 13-yard scoring pass to Acoff, making it 14 to 0.

Demopolis quarterback Wesley Scott fought heroically to mount an offensive drive, but his blockers kept letting him down. A short U. S. Jones punt put the

Laurel Sees Ups & Downs

BY CHARLEY THOMAS
 ALEXANDER CITY, Ala.--The Laurel High Hornets of Coach Richard Corbin look upon their football schedule as one with big ups and downs.

For example, one week Laurel plays W. B. Doby of Wetumpka, a team the Hornets feel sure they can beat. But the next week, they play state power and arch-rival East Highland of Sylacauga.

Actually, the Hornets don't think any of these teams will beat them. "They'll have to beat us before I'll believe they can," said one Hornet, Elliot Moon. This great pride is Laurel's strongest point.

But along with pride, the Hornets have a fullback, L. M. Hunter, and a tackle, Willie "Woop" Martin. These two are established stars, and are two good reasons why Laurel lost only five games last year, after dropping nine the year before.

But every team has its weaknesses, and the Laurel team is no exception. At early practices, one problem was plain to see--a lack of depth.

The Hornets have an experienced starting backfield and line--with the exception of converted basketball star A. J. Jones. The lanky (6'7") Jones is running on the first team, but it remains to be seen whether the roundball ace can take the pressures of the gridiron.

Beyond the starting line-up, the outlook is dreary. The entire Hornetsquad numbers less than 30, and the reserves are mostly unproven sophomores and freshmen.

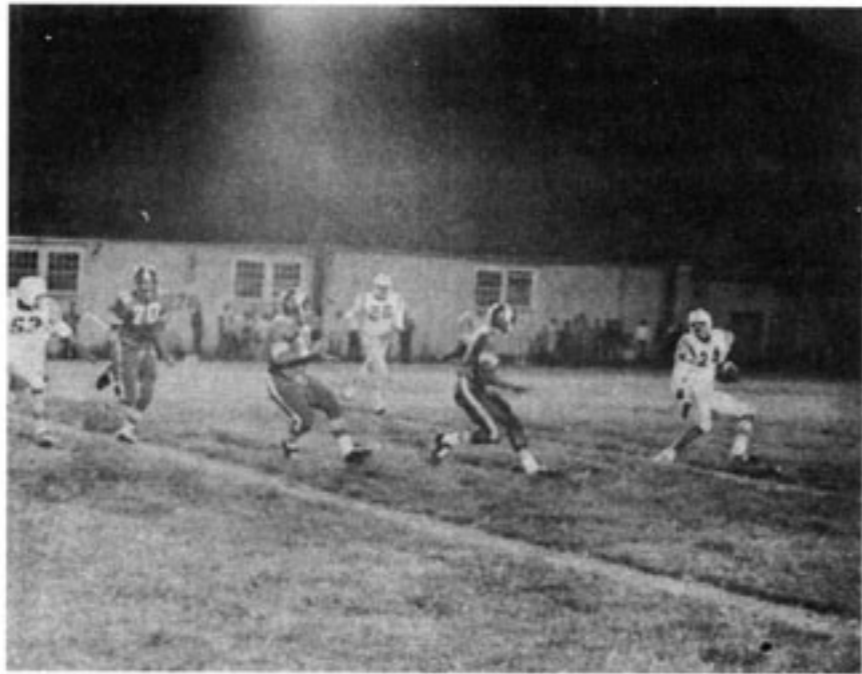
Laurel had probably its sternest test of the season in its opener last Saturday night against Carver High of Montgomery. The Hornets were seeking to avenge last year's 25-0 loss, but they were beaten 26 to 0 instead.

Mrs. Lena Frost of Demopolis, Ala., sells 600-1,000 Southern Couriers every week in Marengo and south Greene counties.

If you want to sell The Southern Courier in your community, write to 1012 Frank Leu Bldg., Montgomery, Ala. 36104, or call 262-3572.

FOR A BETTER TOMORROW

In Alabama all our yesterdays are marred by hate, discrimination, injustice, and violence. Among the organizations working for a better tomorrow on the principle of human brotherhood is the Alabama Council on Human Relations, Membership in the Council is open to all who wish to work for a better tomorrow on this principle. For further information, write the Alabama Council, P.O. Box 1310, Auburn, Alabama.



ACTION IN MONTGOMERY
 As Booker T. Washington Tops Parker of Birmingham, 32 to 7

Blue Devils in trouble again as the second quarter began.

In U. S. Jones territory, Irby blooped a short pass to Acoff, and the 5'6", 146-pound speedster took it from there. Zigging almost from sideline to sideline, Acoff ran through the entire Blue Devil defense for a 43-yard touchdown play. The extra point made it 21 to 0.

But Demopolis still wouldn't quit. Scott and halfback Charles Harris led a long drive all the way down to the Hudson 12. On fourth-and-seven, however, Harris was stacked up after only three yards, and the ball went over.

But the Tigers couldn't move the ball, either, and were forced to punt. The Blue Devil defensive line swarmed in and blocked the kick, and Freddie Mitchell fell on the ball in the endzone for U. S. Jones' first six points.

The third quarter was scoreless, but on the second play of the final period, the Blue Devils recovered a fumble on the Hudson 37. It looked like U. S. Jones would get back into contention, but instead, Hudson put the game on ice in the next few minutes.

Right after the Blue Devils' break, Don Smiley of Hudson intercepted a pass to kill the threat. Then the home-town Tigers began a long, time-killing TD drive of their own.

The big gainer was a 22-yard pass from Irby to--who else?--Acoff, who

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fired, and it was fourth down and 27 yards to go. Irby, calm as ever, threw his best pass of the night, hitting Acoff in the corner of the end zone for a 28-6 lead.

After that, Hudson was able to watch with more interest than concern when U. S. Jones defensive end Sam Williams picked up another blocked punt and huffed 60 yards for the final score of the game.

U. S. Jones may have been due for a shellacking, since the Blue Devils punted Hudson, 32 to 0, in last year's opener. Now "everybody's graduated," lamented Demopolis Coach James H. Washington after Friday's game. "They caught us off balance this time."

"This time," incidentally, was the last time that these traditional rivals will meet on the football field. Under a recent federal-court order, both Hudson High and U. S. Jones will be shut down next year.

Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights

The second annual Men's Night will be held at 6:30 p.m. Monday, Sept. 16, in the Thirgood CME Church, 517 Center St. N., the Rev. Jesse Douglas, pastor. The guest speaker will be the Rev. C.T. Vivian.

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