

No testimony for caucus.

*Dedication C. L. Hall Center
Galvan candidates night
Americana
Stannville
cheeks*

*How up are unions -
I want to travel with
him in district to see
what makes up the Black
community.
- Could caucus during L.S. off-
sight? What is his independence?
- Carl Dellums, Aggs,
Clay etc
win in this
district?
No emergency
is a trial
J.M.*

LOUIS STOKES

October 28 - 31, 1970

Sheraton - 36th & Euclid

Owen Heggs, Mike Davis, Jewell Gilbert, Becky Kisner, Clarence Fitch,
Sam Brooks, Ed Matt and Art Nukes. *Jim Rogers*

21st Congressional District Caucus, Citizens and officeholders--did endorsing of their own. Have own headquarters.

4:00 - Cleveland State University - University Hall

113-12 Buckeye Avenue; 6:30 - Ward 29 - took cab out; no meeting; took cab back. L. S. has such a small part of Ward 29, he decided not to go anyway.

Story of 21st District Caucus. In Primary last spring, Carl and Louis Stokes supported and worked hard for 2 candidates--Metzenbaum for Senate and Gorman for County Commissioner--both won, and with this show of strength, they and Black political leaders went to the Cuyahoga County Democratic Committee and, prior to their meeting, asked for representation on the selection committee picking officers. (Mike Davis) "A little group of White politicians met in a back room someplace, and made the decisions and selected their slate--all White, without so much as a phone call to the mayor or the congressman!" Blacks make up 1/4 of county and had no representation. So they asked for a representative on the Board of Election Commissioners-- there had been intimidation via police presence in east side polling places at last election--and county committee said no--then they asked for another office--county commissioner, I think and the county committee said no. So Black leaders decided to form own

*Local
leader*

caucus to show muscle (Mike and Owen disagree a little as to whether they'll stay in business after November 4--Mike not sure, Owen, yes). The caucus screened all candidates and decided to back 15 Democrats and 10 Republicans for office. Biggest turnabout was supporting Taft, the Republican, for county commissioner over the man Gorman they elected in the primary. They view this as an acid test of their power. And if they can do this, then they'll have to be noticed. Other 3 key endorsements are of a ^{probate} ~~private~~ court judge (Rep) Bartunek and a Black Republican for State Republican (Sara Harper) against a White Democrat. Mike has been here 2 weeks "spending 10% of my time on the Stokes Campaign and 90% of my time on the caucus. Of course, Mr. Stokes' name is on all the caucus literature so the two are connected."

*9/22/65
10/2/65*

They are getting out one mailing for Stokes to the 2 White wards in Cleveland and to Garfield Heights talking about crime, pollution, unemployment and issues of that sort. Mike smiled when he said that, the implication being that they didn't have to talk about issues in the Black community. (This is what I later helped on.)

Owen re. Garfield Heights. "The Congressman is very sensitive to the idea that he is congressman of all the people. And he's made it clear to the Staff in no uncertain terms that just because a man's name is Polish doesn't mean he gets different kind of service. ^{had no appointment} In the primary, his vote went up in the White community as people learned that Black men didn't have tails. They also learned that a Congressman can help them. A few appointments to the service academies and a few social security checks unravelled can have a very beneficial effect. Of course, not everything can be done and they may have to wait; that's what Black people have been doing for 100 years, so that doesn't bother me. But

*maybe
but this
was 65
must*

*benjamin
pts.*

the congressman gives service to all."

He campaigned in Garfield Heights this morning in the high school. I missed this. Owen said, "It's too bad you couldn't see how people reacted to him there as opposed to the Black community. But he doesn't talk out of both sides of his mouth."

He did talk at some length about fact that it was encouraging and exhilarating to him to see Black people's response to Stokes--they have been politicized--and people who 10 years ago would have dropped out of process "To quote George Wallace, they felt there wasn't a dime's worth of difference between the two parties. The Democrats gave the Black man a few jobs when they won; when the Republicans won, they didn't get any jobs. But ~~now~~ people who 10 years ago had dropped out of the political process are now politicized and not completely turned off any more. That's encouraging and exhilarating."

Owen - Howard University, Case--Western Law School--Law firm--Viet Nam--Stokes.

Mike, when I met him, "I hear you've been with Rosenthal. He has a cake-walk--too."

Re the Stokes Campaign. "No TV, no radio--well, I think he's going to cut a couple of radio tapes today--no comments on our opponent. But he's visiting lots of social functions and church meetings, being seen and getting around."

Both Owen and Mike agreed that I had made good choice of a working congressman. "A lot of them have too many interests and some don't have any interests at all." Re. Black congressmen.

"He's getting wonderful publicity with the Negro Press. He's plastered all over the papers--they are very friendly to him. The Call and Post is worth

a lot more than the Plain Dealer and the Press put together."

L. S. said that he wasn't even going to speak at the two luncheon engagements, indicating that I, of course, wouldn't want to go along. I'd have loved it, but he seemed reluctant, so I'll wait.

There seems to me to be a considerable distance between L. S. and his staff. They, on their own, cannot get him to do what they want re. my scheduling. No one calls him Lou--just "Congressman".

Carl S. at Afro-American Cultural Center. "During my college days, we were always inaugurating the Bnai Brith ^{or} ~~at~~ the Newman House. Today, we are inaugurating the folks's place." Talked about pluralism of country and how this was one more of the groups that came to America, made it its home and contributed to it and made it strong. Spoke of how Negroes have their own Negro National Anthem (sung by East High chorus) just as the Hungarians and Poles have their national anthem.

history
of the
district.

This theme which Carl S. struck and Mike Davis struck this morning ("Are you just studying ethnic politics?") when he assumed that anyone studying Rosenthal and Stokes was studying "ethnic politics" is interesting. Though the literature says that's not the way to look at Black politics, that it's different, these particular politicians look at it just that way. Owen Heggs re the 21st district caucus. "We're building a political machine, like Tammany Hall or like Daley did in Chicago. It won't be just like theirs, but it will be ruthless."

of the Cuyahoga River--which splits city.

West side vs. East side. [^] "That's another world over there. Neither Mike nor I have set foot in that part of the city since we've been here. It's where people move to when they want to escape the Black people. It's a rough area, I

carried mail there one summer and I took my lumps. All the culture is over here, too. There's just no reason to go to the West side. As far as we're concerned, it just doesn't exist."

Marshall and Feighan are over on that side; Stokes and Vanik are on the East side--not much to do with each other. "There isn't much Cleveland civic spirit among them." Each one is trying to do the best he can for his own district." Vanik and Stokes don't have the best of relations--Caucus didn't endorse Vanik and that may hurt L. S. when the appropriations slot comes up. He thinks Whalen may want it and Whalen is a "working congressman."

"Mt. Pleasant is going to the dogs. Hough is already there. Mt. Pleasant is the closest thing to a middle class Black area there is in the district." He spoke of Hough as "the ~~care~~ of the district."

Re the district office - two secretaries (Becky and Jewell), Clarence Fitch--A. A. for the district was a school principal, Sam Brooks "legman". "He's a valuable man to have around. He knows everyone in the district; and those he doesn't know, know him." Also a military man--a retired military officer, a Pole, from Garfield Heights--their man in Garfield Heights, Ed Matt.

Re Carl Stokes--good politician if his "ego" doesn't get in the way.

L. S. a local political leader which makes him different from B. R. and B. C.

District is 3/4 Black, 1/4 White.

As I sit here, office is calling local federal office of some sort, for man who wants food stamps--he's making \$47 a week unemployment compensation (for himself and wife)--he has no savings and he's been laid off by G. M. strike--answer was that whoever told him he couldn't have them didn't know what

he was talking about. They called the welfare agency again and the answer was that for a family of two, he was making two dollars too much to receive food stamps--\$45 is the limit. So the other Secretary calls her husband to get number of Eddie Robinson to see if he can help. Turns out he has to apply for some special kind of assistance if they make out budget for him.

Arnold Pinckney is the key political operator for both C. S. and L. S.

Stokes' Speech at Calvary Presbyterian Church was most revealing public address so far. Bill Mack, his opponent was there and this was first joint appearance since a City Club debate which revealed Mack to be a very poor candidate.

Stokes started by pinning Mack's ears back. (1) "No person in Cuyahoga County can say that I ever said anything personal about my opponent. I have campaigned in accordance with a tradition I have always followed. I have never ever attacked anybody in the community on a personal basis. And I will not do it now." (2) "It is being said that I never made a speech on the floor of the House or introduced a bill. Let me ask you right now, how many in the audience have received a copy of a speech of mine delivered on the House floor--please hold up your hands. (Half the audience held up their hands.) Now, how many of you have written me a letter about something and had me send you a copy of my own bill on the subject? (Half the hands go up again.) Truth like the earth ground to dust will rise again." Whereupon Mack from audience said, "You're stealing." Stokes fixed him a withering glare; "What did you say?" "You're stealing!" Contempt from L. S.

*He must
have felt
he was
among friends
to do this.*

Then he went on to the theme that "there are great problems facing this community and this nation" and we should be talking about these things. Here

he had two themes: (1) Hough Development Corporation and how they've replaced "délapidated, rundown houses" with inhabitable, livable ones. "I've taken some criticism. But anytime I can bring 3 million dollars into the 21st district, I'll be happy to take the criticism." (2) The need to reorder priorities. A mother on welfare gets \$5 per child per year for a school clothing allowance and we spend \$75 billion on armaments, defense etc. The contrast was staggering; and different from B. R.'s point comparing crime and defense expenditures.

Then he talked about the caucus. "The Democratic party has had the Black vote in its pocket for years. And what have they given us in return? Nothing. Why should they. They had our vote. Of course, they handed out a few menial jobs. You ^{used} ~~need~~ to pride yourself on voting the straight Democratic ticket. And it got you nothing but a few menial jobs. This year the Democratic County Committee said to us, 'we've got a chairman, a vice chairman, a secretary and a treasurer but not one of them can be Black. And we've got the election board over here and none of them can be black.' We presented the name of George Forbes and they said he's not acceptable to us White folks. We have 25% of the vote in Cuyahoga County and the Democratic County Committee wouldn't put one Black man among the regular slate of officers. Well, we told them they can take their party and put it some place else! They can still make their decisions in the back rooms, but we ^{want} ~~ant~~ no more of it. In the papers this morning, President Nixon said we should abandon party labels. There isn't much we can agree with Nixon on, but this is one thing. Party labels are taboo. That's what the 21st District Caucus is all about. We screened all the candidates, Black and White, Democrat and Republican and endorsed those candidates we felt would be most responsive to the needs of this community. And we picked some Black men and

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White men, some Democrats and some Republicans. When a Virgil Brown (Republican) can sit down with a Carrie Cain (Democrat) and decided, regardless of ~~the~~ party, what's best for this community, that's beauty. We're asking you to vote that way--some here, some there--~~cross~~ the street. If you cross the street, that will teach the Democratic party respect. As Congressman William Clay who spoke at my fund raising dinner said, "No one ever gives up power. You have to seize power. (Right on, Right on). That's why we ask you to support the caucus and what we're trying to do. We've got to stand tall. With the caucus you can stand tall, not as Flip Wilson says, crawl small. This^{is} not Lou Stokes' Caucus or the Mayor's Caucus or anyone's caucus. It's bigger than anyone of us, because it's all of us. The caucus is you. It's the unity of the whole Black community."

He also noted somewhere in here how inspiring it was to travel around the country and see the politicization developing among Black candidates. He noted the rise in the number of Black congressmen. And he noted that Cleveland was ahead of the rest--leading the way with Black mayor of 8th largest city. Cleveland a beacon light. Great pride. Yet when he went to the integrated cocktail party he said that Clay said St. Louis accomplished this 10 years ago and Diggs said Detroit accomplished Black representation in party councils 20 years ago. Hence Cleveland is behind in this sense--played on pride before Black audience and sense of fairness before Whites.

Mack's performance turned into a farce. He is as close to an idiot as I've ever seen running for public office. He was ridiculed, laughed and scorned throughout his presentation and finally the moderator stopped the massacre out of pity and respect for the office for which he was running. Stokes had left and Owen was ready to answer questions; but none came as the audience turned a

withering blast on Mack. "You don't have any qualification for office. I could do a better job as a congressman than you could. My 3 year old granddaughter is better qualified and could do a better job than you. I've lived in Glenville all my life and I never heard of you before. How much did they pay you to run?" This outburst summed it up! One lady stalked out saying, "Why should I waste my time." As she went, Mack said, "I'm glad she only votes once." Whereupon the lady's husband stood up and said, "And I vote too" and he walked out. Paul Cheek later said that this man had been 5 years the head of the Hough Opportunities Corporation and was very respected there and Mack hadn't the slightest idea that he was offending a leading man in the community.

Paul and Owen had a conversation about whether these people at the church were Stokes "strongest supporters." Paul said 'no', that several of them had wanted things Stokes couldn't get for them and were disappointed in Stokes. Also, that these people were not particularly pro-caucus. Indeed, if they supported the caucus, there would be no need for this candidate meeting. Owen thought they were among his strongest supporters. When I asked Paul to compare them with the Americana Cocktail party crowd, he thought the Cocktail crowd were the really strong supporters. They represented money, caucus support and middle class, and political consciousness.

At the Americana, Louis gave his pro-caucus speech again--how they were breaking the power of the bosses and how important it was. Then Arnold Pinckney's insurance partner started raising money. They had raised something short of 500 when the mayor came in and asked for \$10 contributions to get to 500--8 in all. As various women came up with their \$10 bills, he'd kiss them all. They were well-dressed; well coiffed, handsome middle-class Black women. Carl and

Issue wanted
supporters vs
status oriented
supporters

Something of some
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between Ben R's
community leaders
and activists.
No church group was
active in 1960 - oriented
Americana group was
symbolic - status
oriented.

Lou stood on stage together, (the money was for Lou) showing great fellowship and esprit--family and politics. High hilarity. Carl the charismatic campaigner, showman, warm and outgoing. Lou less outgoing but doubling up with laughter at his brother's sallies. Carl calls him his "little brother." They are an extraordinary twosome. The boys in the back emphasized Carl the consummate campaigner and Lou the brainy "reasoner."

Carl
dismissive
Carl &
Lou
That's really
why L.S. is
not leader.
I might not be
if it weren't
for Carl.

This afternoon I worked in the Caucus office talking with Jim Rogers and addressing campaign literature being sent to White neighborhoods. I did Ward 15 precinct C, mostly Polish and Hungarian with some Irish and Italian and Greek--in Newburgh.

Jim Rogers worked for Gus Hawkins, then for Bob Kennedy in L. A. and is the executive director (second under Arnold Pinkney) of the campaign effort. He described a fantastically complex operation in which they combine manpower (1000 kids on election day and day before to handstuff or doorbells; 400 ^{ministers} ~~minutes~~ _(with collars on) to preach pro-caucus on Sunday and to walk their districts on election day) and computer technology (sample precincts voting turnout by hour of the day for past two elections; "pockets of resistance" in previous elections (mayorality mostly). Kids and grown-ups were pouring like water through the office. Tremendous activity--like nothing I've seen before--50 at a time working in the little basement room.

This was most
campaign
activity I saw

Clay and Stokes are close. Clay spoke at his dinner. Mike McPherson helped Owen a lot when he first went on the job.

Paul Cheek heads an architectural consulting firm that gives free work to non-profit enterprises. When Paul told L. S. that he heard one lady exclaim,

in disgust re Mack "Shit." Lou turned to me, laughed and said, "Professor, you can't put that in your book."

Mike had them call me to the stage at the Americana, but as they ^{were} asking for "the Professor"--"Where's the professor?" "Is the Professor here?" Mayor Stokes was making his way down the aisle and I stayed where I was--Owen and Bill sat and cheered, however. If I had gone to the front I'd have arrived dead-heat with the mayor.

Jim Rogers told me again and in greater detail than ever before the start of the caucus. But the essence was the same. One wrinkle was that County Committee decided to institute 3 vice chairmanships instead of one and give one to the Blacks. And the man they chose was Dr. Ken Clements who had at one time worked closely with the Mayor, but left him after a "falling out" and ran against Metzenbaum and Glenn in the primary--almost screwing up Metzenbaum, who was being supported by the caucus people. (At that time the Caucus called them selves The 21st District Democratic Caucus--at the time of the primary.) Anyway the Caucus opposed the whole idea of the 3 vice chairmanships and Clements.

- (1) They wanted a regular constitutional office not a specially created ones.
- (2) They wanted to be able to name their own man and not take someone picked by the County Committee. So the Caucus supporters boycotted the County Convention at which the 3 Vice Chairmen were selected.

An emotional item at the church that prompted a lot of "right ones" was the moderator's bitter comments re White candidates who sent Black representatives to speak for them. They wouldn't let them speak, but did allow Gorman's representative to stand up and told him to go back and tell Gorman to come himself and not send Black people looking for votes for him.

The Americana "cocktail party" was run by a group of 12-15 women called "the unusual set" who had their pictures taken with Carl and Louis against the background of the huge semi-circular sign over the stage, "Night of the Pumpkin, Louis Stokes Rides Again" in the colors of the caucus--orange and black. The cocktail party ended up as a swinging affair with some real fine dancing--groovy.

The panel at the church that quizzed the candidates was made up of 3 women and 2 men who the moderator (Morey Thornton ?) said had been "on the front lines for many years"--one woman Louise Watson ? had been on the housing authority of the County(?) and had testified in Washington, another had been obviously a fighter for equality locally. The two men had been head of the Hough Opportunities Corporation and one was a minister. The moderator was a leader in the local program Hope. (And when Stokes spoke he noted how he had worked with these people when they come to Washington). Their questions were indicative of their concerns--welfare, dope, "qualified candidates" . (Owen says Black community is very concerned about "qualified candidates" now) help for the district, unemployment. The substantive questions were directed at Seth Taft who spoke first and who later won Louis Stokes' warm endorsement. ("You can sit down and talk with Seth Taft. He understands that maybe there are some insurance men in this community who are entitled to some of the County business".) Taft was not wholly at home, but his credentials were good in field of human relations. "Most of you know me because ~~for~~ 3 years ago ~~for~~ five weeks, I ran against Carl Stokes for Mayor. That was an accident. I ran for mayor against Ralph Locher and I woke up one day and found I was running against Carl Stokes. We stood for the same things--in a little different way perhaps--but the same things."

Another problem that occurred was a lady on welfare who wanted a stove allowance. She had a stove, which she got on an allowance and when she got it home, it leaked gas and gas company said it was unsafe. She wanted a new stove and when Becky called welfare, they said funds were tight.

"He's on the campaign trail." Secretaries said when referring to Congressman and he used statement too--that he was going "on the campaign trail."

Primary Vote - May 7, 1968 - Democrat

45	Louis Stokes	29,787	
23	Leo Jackson	15,322	(14,522) - see wd. total. wd 24
15	Edward Katalinas th	10,079	wd 5
5	George Forbes	3,370	wd 27
6	Jack Russell	3,711	wd 76
	Frank Kniola	1,951	
2	George White	1,719	Cumulative wd 13
	Gerald Martin	1,093	
	Michael Crosser	990	
	Frank Evans	931	
	James Boyd	782	
	Robert Annable	360	

70095 5% = 3500
100000 - 3500 = 96500

Regular Election - November 5, 1968

Louis Stokes	85,509
Charles Lucas	28,931
Plurality	56,578 (74%)

114,440 total vote

1970	
Stokes	73,973
Maack	21,666
Plu.	52,307 (77%)

105,639 total vote

Glenville Neighborhood Area Council

"For a long time I had very little interest in politics. I was a lawyer and I loved my law practice. Carl was the politician in the family and I left politics to him. I had done a little work for a friend of mine _____ Day, who ran for Congress; but his liberality was a little ahead of his time and he was defeated. He and I had many of the same beliefs, but the community changed and so by the time I ran, liberality wasn't a problem. He's a judge now which is probably what suits him best--with the books. And I worked in a couple of judge races--then in Carl's campaigns. But I was not interested in running for office. Then I led the team that contested the Ohio redistricting of 196 ? --especially the 21st district; we won the case in the Supreme Court. After that, people in the community came and said they felt that since I had played such a large part in getting the new district created that I should run for the seat. Actually, we drew the seat for Carl. He's the one who wanted to go to Congress and that had always been his ambition. But he was then mayor and didn't want to leave the job. So, after a great deal of praying and thinking and lots of family confabs, I decided to run. And here I am. I'm in it and I like it; but I would have been perfectly happy as a lawyer."

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Re the first primary - 14 Democrats and 7 Republicans--5 of Democrats were city councilmen. "Each one thought he had a base to start from. He thought, I have 3,100 votes and Stokes has none." Main opponent was Leo Jackson--"He was a Black man who was very popular with the White community. And the reason was that he was always criticizing the Black community. He would tell them just what they wanted to hear--that the Black people were hoodlums and bums and all that sort of thing. They thought he was a wonderful person

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Carroll, Jackson
beat Stokes

and he was very popular with the Whites. He ran with the endorsement of the Democratic party, the AFL-CIO, the Cleveland Press and one Black church group. I had the endorsement of every other Black church group and all the organizations there were in the Black community. I beat him 2 - 1."

Forbes was in the race as ^Ncandidate of Black nationalists--(he's not in the totals, but he is in the ward breakdown). "I had strength with the nationalist groups, too. I had been head of the Redress Committee of the NAACP, I had prosecuted a great many civil rights cases and had defended Harlley Jones, the leader of the Black nationalists. So I had strength there."

A Polish fellow with an ethnic name ran and did well in Polish section. "I didn't even campaign in the White area except for one tea held by a fella I used to work with years ago."

Someone fired by Carl Stokes--a close advisor had support and I think she ran--she was caught running a "cheatspot." Williams

Mentioned another Black who had light skin as one characteristic. Russell-wd. 116

He stressed his organization in the primary. "We set up our own organization. We went into every ward and every precinct and we organized it."

He had nothing but praise for his opponent in the general election--Lucas. "He was a very fine, respected gentleman in the community with a wonderful record of service. He was executive secretary of the NAACP and did the finest job ever done by anyone in that position. His position and mine on civil rights and things of importance to the Black community were the same, ~~as mine~~. We had very similar credentials. But I had a good organization, I was a Democrat in a Democratic area and I had the name Stokes. Those things all helped. But it was a very different campaign from this one. Not one cross word ever passed between us. I hold him in the highest respect."

Katalina

Image. "People in the Black community read avidly about Carl and myself. Everyday there's something about us in the paper. They read it and they feel proud. Almost anything we do makes them feel proud. They know that I'm a Black man standing up for the Black man. Even when I stand up for the Black Panthers, the sophisticated people in the district understand why I'm doing it and they are proud." *Symbolic image*

This goes with the AFL-CIO picture
Any issue that would kill you? "I can't think of any situation like that. When a vote comes up on the Philadelphia plan, and the AFL-CIO is opposed to it, they send me the same letter they send everyone else. But they know I'm going to vote for it to help Black people get construction jobs. They don't do anything about it."

~~Symbolic image.~~ "If I voted against civil rights legislation, my people would probably ask me why I did that. But I would never do it." They are getting service they never got before. They are getting agricultural bulletins. "That pleases them!" "I don't have any trouble voting. When I vote, my conscience as a Black man I vote right for the district."

Long time
When I asked him whether being a local leader affected his House behavior, he said, "The fact is that I have the freedom to do most anything I want to do in Congress and it won't affect me a bit at home. My constituents don't know how I vote on any issue, but they know me and they trust me. The more active I am working for them in the caucus, the more popular I become. And the more they trust me and are proud of me. Some of my colleagues talk about their public opinion polls. My people didn't send me to Washington to check back every time there is a vote to see what public opinion in my district says. They sent me down there to use my judgment and to provide some leadership." *no conflict with home! build up credit*
~~ship.~~

When I come home, every week, I go to the church groups and tell them what's been going on in Washington, and I explain to them why I voted as I did. For instance, I explain to them that I voted against the Voting Rights Act because it was a fraud--Nixon wanted to get the 57 registrars working in the southern states out of there. That's much more effective than anything else. And after they've heard me on Voting Rights, they go home mad. I don't need public opinion polls. On most pieces of legislation I have a certain attitude toward it as soon as I know what it's about, and I vote that way. On some controversial matters, I may ask the staff what correspondence we have had. But even if the mail is in favor of the D.C. crime bill, I'm not going to sacrifice my fundamental beliefs about "no-knock" and "preventive detention" and vote for the bill. ^{And} But I know my people will agree with me on that. When I vote ^{my conscience} as a Black man, I necessarily represent the Black community. I don't have any trouble knowing what the Black community thinks or wants. ~~And~~ I don't think any Black congressman has ~~any~~ difficulty voting in the interest of his district."

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"My brother and I have always been very fortunate in having the support of the churches. The other day we had a meeting of 80 ministers. In the Black community, ministers are very influential. Their members will do what the ministers tell them to. And if the minister stands up on Sunday and says, "You've got to support Lou Stokes;" they say, "yes, sir," "yes, Reverend" and then go out and do it. And if the minister speaks for you, why that's better than being there yourself. Some of these ministers have congregations of 3,000 people. Eighty ministers ~~with 3,000 people each is~~ ^{are} a powerful force in the community. My brother and I have always had strong support from them."

"I come home more often than a lot of the guys. Not like the Philadelphia people who go home every night; but I'm home on the average once every week. I meet with church groups and other groups. And I let people see me, let them know that I have't lost touch with them. Just riding around, as happened twice tonight, people recognize the car and they want to pull along side and say hello. It makes them feel proud and you can see the smile break over their faces. They feel important, too, to see and talk to the Congressman. This is all part of campaigning really and I keep it up all year long."

Same as
BR
BC
JF

✶ A short ^{plane} ride (1 hour) and his family is up here too--but he's thinking of bringing them to Washington. ^P On his toughest vote: "I had a little trouble with a military bill last year. I made a promise that I would vote against every single military spending bill that came before the House until I saw some reordering of priorities. But this bill had in it money for arms for Israel, which I favored. I don't have any Jewish constituents, but I do have a lot of Jewish friends outside the district--people I know and who have helped me. I visited Israel last year and I favor helping them. So I seized on the fact that in the bill money for the deployment of 2 ABM sites had been taken out, that this was a concession to our side, that we had won something and therefore I could vote for the bill in spite of my promise."

When I asked re his hard core support, he said, "the whole Black community," and didn't really make any distinctions. Maybe that's when he talked about churches, I think it was. But I then asked about the Calvary Church vs. Americana people and he saw them as very different. The Calvary church group was lower economic class from Hough area, civic leaders--and he singled out the lady who finished off Mack--Louise Watson--member of U. S. Civil Rights Commission, Metropolitan Housing Authority, an ADP mother, very active in area--

"Hough is a tough area and she's a tough lady. She handles a man like a man would handle a man." Americana crowd was "a much more well to do group--doctors, lawyers, people who work for the city, businessmen." ^P Then, tonight I asked him about the group at the Glenville Neighborhood Area Council--Councilman Virgil Brown's group--and he classed them as "middle class, civic oriented Glenville people. People have moved out of Hough into Glenville and now they have overcrowded Glenville." It was a good crowd--300 or so--and the Congressman talked about the 21st district caucus as he also did earlier this evening at Paul Cheek's small cocktail party. (He asked 200 and 25 showed up.) At the latter party, he talked in restrained tones and at Glenville rally, he talked as he did in the church--"standing tall". "On November 4, your elected officials are going to have to walk downtown. Are you going to let them walk tall, with their heads high or are you going to make Virgil Brown and Senator Jackson walk with their heads down, ashamed and defeated. If you get out and vote on November 3rd, you'll send your public officials downtown with their heads high to look those other people in the eye and say 'I told you so.'" "We're going to take politics out of the back rooms and give it to the people." "We're going to have Senator Jackson sit down with Virgil Brown, and Carrie Carrⁱⁿ with Paul Haggard, thinking about what's good for this community, regardless of party. That's a beautiful thing." Crossing the street, etc. ~~At~~ Paul Cheek's cocktail party (integrated, liberal) the whole thing sounded like cerebral new politics. In the Glenville meeting, ~~it~~ had power, "The Caucus is You!" And you get the feeling listening to the two meetings that the Blacks must "do their own thing." They'll accept White help, but what the McCarthy type Whites are talking about and what the Blacks are talking about are two different things. They can unite

in an anti-party posture--but the 21st district caucus wants Black power and liberals are not so gutsy. Gilligan is a hero to the liberals and not to the caucus. Call and Post supports Cloud. L. S. said at meeting, and here, too, he quoted Clay that caucus wants its own people to contribute the money-- so they won't be beholden to anyone outside the community. If Liberals want to contribute, fine--but they can't run it or have a voice in it.

"When I was elected, the reaction in the White community was that they would be completely left out. They felt that a Black congressman would have no interest in them or their problems. We have tried to overcome that, and we are making some headway. Once they came to us for help, they found that they were getting the same service as anyone else. They started saying, 'Not only did he answer my letter; but he answered it quickly.' That has helped. Maybe they don't feel like they did with Charlie Vanik, but we're making progress. Ed Matt, my military specialist is from the White area. He said that at first when they came to him for help with Viet Nam cases, they began 'I know Mr. Stokes isn't interested in us, but...' He would take 10 minutes to explain to them that the staff had been instructed to treat everyone alike-- and after that they accepted our help and appreciate it. I visited the mayor in Garfield Heights the other day and he said, 'All I hear about you is good.'"

I asked re Appropriations--says he has spoken to Vanik and that no other Ohio man wants it. "There are only two committees in the House, Appropriations and Ways and Means. Those are the ones that have all the power. It looks like I'm going to be able to get longevity in the House. So I thought I'd rather endure the seniority system on a Committee where the power is. It would also be another first--first Black man to sit on Appropriations since reconstruction."

*Whites complained that
Banturek had reactionary
record + how could
blacks support
an impure fellow
Not clear what
answer was - L.S.
evaded -- but blacks
had their own reasons.*

*in sin
area
for him
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he needs
it, but
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it.*

with FS

E & L. "It's a very liberal committee and so it's real friendly--not like that other one,--Internal Security." He talked about good people. Said Perkins was liberal and had been nice to Clay and himself.

Sam Brooks told me on the way home from Virgil Brown's party that last nights moderator Morey Thornton was Stokes' line into the Black nationalist groups. Thornton's project is HOPE, Hough Opportunities _____, and that he is respected among the nationalists as community leader. I noticed he gave Owen the clenched fist salute when we left the church last night. Anyway HOPE buys homes, renovates them and sells them back to people. And this year Nixon cut the program back so they have no money. It used to be straight grant, according to Sam and now is matching grant. With economy as it is, no matching money is available. that explains the statement the other night that Morey was unhappy with L. S. a little. He lost ~~his~~ this money and wanted L. S. to help--he couldn't.

Issue
ment
nothing

I'll always remember Sam and Art. "How's it going, Professor?" "You learning anything, Professor?" "You havin' a good time, Professor?"

At the two places tonight, I was introduced as evidence that outside world was interested in 21st District Caucus. I got a big hand at the Glenville meeting. Bill S. said I was being exploited. That, I don't mind; coopted is what bothers me. If I don't write this book, my name will be mud in Cleveland.

On Friday afternoon, the Mack incident took place. Mack put out a spot preceded by Spiro Agnew saying we need men like Bill Mack in Congress. Then Mack came on (see copy) and used every fear word in the book in a short spot. Stokes was incensed and decided to go to Court to have thing taken off the air. We found that one Black station was going to play it 48 times, 12 times a day--

Mack this
to pin the
extremist
label on
Stokes -
feeling that
that's his
weakness I
guess.

Friday to Monday. Also, a nationality station in Garfield Heights was going to do it. Lots of conversation about what to do--Owen, Mike, Sam (and I) thought he should cool it. He talked with his law partner Carl Character (?) who seemed to think the same, but who later thought it was too much. Bill Silverman, a PR man also thought it was too severe. Stokes called it "gutter politics" and was really angry. So Owen and Mike were left to draw up a statement to release to the papers and I went off with the Congressman-- who sloughed it off and was very ~~good~~ for the rest of the evening. Arnold Pinkney, too, was very mad and apparently convinced the Congressman to proceed with an injunction and go into court.

"The folks in the community look forward to campaigning every year for one or the other of the Stokeses. It keeps up their interest in politics and their enthusiasm to have a campaign. If we didn't have one, the organization would fall apart. Now we can keep the caucus as an ongoing thing and not dismantle it after every election as we did after Carl's election. Having a campaign regularly is very important." At this point, I said laughingly, "now we know who paid Bill Mack to run." He laughed that very hearty, knee slapping, rocking back and forth, doubling up, nasally Ki-ki-ki-ki-ki--contagious laugh of his and said, "If he was running on my money, I sure wouldn't let him be so wild with it."

On Saturday I went to the Caucus Headquarters on 10300 Carnegie. Sat around a good deal while preparations for the afternoon parade went on--a beehive. Learned that last night L. S. decided not to go ahead with the lawsuit. Apparently he was still ready to go ahead and could not be persuaded by anyone. They did persuade him to call the Mayor and that did it. Mayor said, "I've been through it all--in spades. Forget it." And he did. Interesting

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that only person who could reach him on the issue was his brother. Then he took Mike, Owen and their wives out to dinner and they stayed till 3:00. Owen and Mike and Carl had spent whole evening getting the lawsuit ready and L. S. "felt guilty."

Quite by accident as I was hanging around downstairs, Sam Brooks opened up a little. "I used to be a schoolteacher. Does that surprise you? Don't I look like a school teacher? I taught right in the place where the riots started in Hough. We had all the problems--when nobody else couldn't help them, they sent the kids to us. But I knew how to handle them. I talk their language. I'd say to them if you want to settle it in the street that's all right with me, brother. And they respected me. I believe you have to teach people respect. I taught shop, but I also patrolled the corridors keeping discipline, helping the administration. The people here are lot like children--grown up, but still children. They got problems and you help with their problems. Then they vote for you. That's what politics is about. That's why I understand the militants. I know them and they know me. They trust me; when I say that's it, they ^{know} that's it. My only problem is getting to the Congressman before they do, so he'll tell them the same thing. The militants don't lay so thick around here. They are more lip than they are performance. And to my way of thinking, everyone must prove himself by his performance. But they know the Congressman defended them when they were in trouble; he took a lot of cases and he did it for nothing. So they know they owe him--a lot of bucks."

*LS informed
w/ the club
community
in my
way*

Coming into Cleveland the first sign you see is Ford Motor Company water tower--for its vast Engine Plant No. 2--a plant that assembles engines. Chevrolet plant is off to the east, and on the way into town you pass the giant Republic and Bethlehem steel plants and their smokestacks--haze is in the air. It looks like an industrial city *blue collar.*

Sam Brooks began our conversation by saying that when you're in office you get free what other people have to pay for--campaign staff. Soon he was talking about how the people working for the caucus were doing it voluntarily, making a sacrifice, getting in the movement, etc. Jim Rogers and one girl are paid on salary, rest are volunteers. Arnold Pinckney has come over from the Mayor's office for 4 months. "He isn't in the Mayor's Cabinet, but he calls the shots."

A talk with Nora Fitch, Clarence's wife, about first primary revealed that Forbes, Jackson, Russell and Kalines were councilmen. Stokes beat Jackson in his own precinct and ward. Jackson didn't come around to try again this year in the primary. Beaten badly by Stokes and is no longer a challenger. Nora said that all the potential challengers were those in the race last time and, hence, L. S. didn't face a primary challenger this time because he beat them all before. Also she said that Clarence (she calls him "^{Larry}~~Levy~~") had been principal of a Jr. High in Glenville and that Bill Mack had run for PTA president and lost!

To Art and Sam and Clarence, I was known as "Professor." Sam especially: "Hey Professor, you learnin' anything?" "Hey Professor, you havin' a good time?" "What do you say, Professor?"

Sam got me a ride from Caucus Headquarters to my motel with an old guy in a pickup truck who was hanging around looking for a job. He'd just been laid off. And I rode through the city in a pick-up truck, listening to this man talk about the wedding he was about to go to--he wanted to go home, take a bath and sleep till the reception! But his wife wanted him to go to the wedding, too, and if she insisted he would go.

There may be a generalization in politics that is of importance. People want to be on the winning side and will not undertake hopeless or devisive causes. ^{Or, better maybe, they will avoid being on the losing side -} I derive this from fact that once an incumbent becomes very strong, his reputation for strength keeps people from opposing him. I derive it also from reluctance to back Gilligan. If 21st Caucus backed Gilligan, it would have split the Black community, given the strong preference, say, of Call and Post for Roger Cloud. Why should 21st Caucus put itself in jeopardy when it's clear from the beginning they cannot "win" unity behind Gilligan in the Black Community. If it is clear prior to the point of decision that one position is clearly a winning position or that one position is clearly the losing position, people will go to winning and/or avoid losing position. Problem becomes one of identifying prior to the fight which is winning and losing side. This behavior will only apply to people in the elite, who have some information. Voters will not behave this way, necessarily.