

SECTIONS OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE YOUNG DEMOCRATIC CLUBS OF AMERICA of special interest.

ARTICLE II - MEMBERSHIP Section 3. (a) Affiliation of State Units shall be by Charter to be granted by the National Committee of the Young Democratic Clubs of America upon proper application for Charter by the State Organization, with the verification signature and authorization of the State Organization President and two of the three State Senior Party signatures, to-wit, the State Chairman, National Committeeman and/or National Committee-woman provided such application shall be delivered to the President of the Young Democratic Clubs of America on or before thirty days prior to the National Convention; and provided, further, that said application shall contain a statement to the effect that the applicant is an active state organization of Young Democratic Clubs which has held a state convention since the last National Convention. And provided further that a charter shall be granted only to those states and units whose officers shall have been elected at said state convention by delegates representing local organizations within the State or elected by the direct vote of such members of said organization and which state grants county and college clubs representation and opportunity at said convention provided that such clubs meet requirements set forth by the state constitution.

(b) No state organization or counterpart thereof shall be accredited by the Credentials Committee for seating at the National Convention without compliance with the provisions of Article II, Section 3(a) except that, if a delegation does not have the required two out of three state senior Party signatures, or if a dispute arises and one or more of such signatures is lacking, the committee may recommend and the convention may seat such a delegation, if any of such senior Party officers of said States failed to support the Democratic Presidential nominee in the last preceding election.

(c) Any dispute in regard to the validity of the State Organization or its charter may be appealed to the National Committee no later than 30 days before convention, who shall act on the presentation of both or more factions according to the official Constitution and By-Laws.

Section 5. State units and each local organization affiliated therewith shall permit membership without regards to race, religion, or national origin and said state units and all local member units affiliated therewith shall not segregate their members on the basis of race, religion, or national origin.

BY-LAWS 6. (b) State Organizations shall be chartered by the Young Democratic Clubs of America upon receipt of a written application for charter submitted biennially with a \$100.00 charter fee, a copy of the State Constitution which is compatible with the National Constitution, a list of State Officers and officers of affiliated groups such as county, city, or college clubs.

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#### SENIOR PARTY OFFICIALS WERE DISLOYAL

The Mississippi Democratic Party and its officials have over and over again declared in public speeches and printed matter that they are not a part of the National Democratic Party. All recent Governors bear this out, such as former Governor J. P. Coleman who said "This party has always been separate and distinct from the national party." (BILOXI-GULFPORT DAILY HERALD, May 10, 1963) And Bidwell Adam, State Democratic Chairman, has publicly announced that he was "through with the National Democratic Party. The National Democratic Party will have to get somebody else to carry their banner." (MONTGOMERY ADVERTISER, September 29, 1962) Previously Adam indicated his loyalties by commenting thusly after Ross Barnett's election as Mississippi Governor: "I want to say I'm thankful to God that Ross Barnett has saved Mississippi." (TIME, September 7, 1959) And since, Mr. Adam has made it clear that he did not support the Democratic Presidential nominee in our last election. In criticism of Wirt Yerger, state Republican Chairman, Adam said "Not one word of praise or tribute for Gov. Wallace and his heroic battles fought against South-haters has been uttered by Parry Howard's successor....Would you, Mr. Yerger, go into the booth on election day, next November and vote for Gov. Wallace if his name appears on the ballot as a Presidential candidate or would you put your political dagger into the back of this champion of states' rights from Alabama?" (JACKSON CLARION LEDGER, 5/18/64) Bidwell Adam supported Goldwater, not LBJ. The JACKSON DAILY NEWS of August 8, 1964 headlined an article "Bidwell Leans to Barry But Not The GOP....He said laws provide 'any elector can vote in the presidential election for any person of his choice for president or vice president of the United States without regard to party lines and without any penalty for so doing.' The next day the DAILY NEWS said "Earlier Wednesday, State Democratic Chairman Bidwell Adam urged state voters to cross party lines in the Nov. 3 general election." It is clear enough, but Adam wanted to make sure that people knew he was for Goldwater, so September 11, 1964 JACKSON DAILY NEWS reports he said "State Democratic Chairman Bidwell Adam discounts any reprisals against Mississippi Democrats who support Barry Goldwater. "Lyndon Johnson is bidding for eight years in the White House, not four," he said. Adam said Johnson "has already cut the Kennedy apron strings. He wants it to become the Johnson cable." He said Johnson is a very astute man in the field of politics...and I apprehend no reprisals from the national Democratic organization or administration in the future." Adam said Thursday he sees "no sign" of any further support in Mississippi for the Johnson-Humphrey ticket. No doubt one good reason was Mr. Adam's disloyalty. In October the McCOMB ENTERPRISE JOURNAL said "Mississippi's Democratic chairman says he will not lift a finger for the Democratic ticket of President Lyndon B. Johnson and Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey. Adam said



Saturday he will neither support nor campaign on the behalf of the national party candidates." (this story was also on the Associated Press wires). Everybody in Mississippi knew that Adam and the regular Democratic Party supported Goldwater. As the November 11 CLARION LEDGER put it, "Goldwater was favored almost from the start since he had the indirect backing of Gov. Paul Johnson and the state Democratic Party machinery, plus the support of former Gov. Hugh White and former Gov. Ross Barnett." (Additional proof can be found in the BRIEF SUBMITTED BY THE MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY to the Atlantic City National Democratic Party Convention, prepared by Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., assisted by Eleanor K. Holmes and H. Miles Jaffe)

STATEMENT GIVEN BY ROBERT OSWALD, FORMER PRESIDENT OF THE MISSISSIPPI YOUNG DEMOCRATS TO SPENCER OLIVER, CHAIRMAN OF THE MEMBERSHIP PRACTICES COMMITTEE OF THE YOUNG DEMOCRATIC CLUBS OF AMERICA. THIS STATEMENT WAS GIVEN TUESDAY, MARCH 23, 1965 IN THE OFFICE OF SPENCER OLIVER. WITNESS PRESENT WAS MISS GERT STORM, NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN FROM SOUTH DAKOTA.

OSWALD: My name is Robert Oswald and I am a past president of the Mississippi Young Democrats, and a past secretary of the Mississippi Young Democrats. At the present time I am serving as Chairman of the Jackson County Democratic Executive Committee -- a post which I have held for the past ten years. In my capacity as President and Secretary for the Young Democrats, at no time was I approached by any group of Negroes in Mississippi who sought to obtain a charter as a club under the Mississippi Y.D. organization. In the ten years that I have served as county chairman, I have never had any Negro group come to me with a request for any information concerning matters political or party matters with the singular exceptions of the Kennedy campaign in 1960, and the Johnson campaign in 1964 when several Negroes came to my office and asked for campaign material and received it from me, and worked with those of us in my county who were what we called down there "loyal democrats." I have never known of any of the so-called Freedom Democrats, who are actually functioning in, with and around the SNCC group and the COFO group, to have meetings for party political purposes. We have had these groups active in my county and my views in my county have been quite well known to the extent that recriminations have been made against me personally, and against my family and against my children; and yet none of these Negro people have contacted me at any time with a request to participate in any manner within the framework of the regular Democratic Party or within the framework of the Young Democrats. Last year, I did receive several letters from individual Negroes around the state asking how to go about chartering a local Y.D. organization. At that time I was no longer the President nor official of any type in the Mississippi Y.D.'s and I referred them to the gentleman who was my successor, and who happened to be not a Democrat, but in fact, a Dixiecrat or a Republican. The Dixiecrats had made an effort at the time I was elected, to take over the Mississippi Y.D.s, we were fortunate, however, in being able to defeat that effort. Future events caused many of the staunch Y.D. members in Mississippi to have to drop out due to economic recrimination against them in their home towns, and the organization became for all practical purposes an organization in name only. Notwithstanding this, we continued to identify ourselves with the national party and with the ideals and aspirations and programs of the national party.

OLIVER: Bob, did you ever know of any instances in any of the other clubs in the state, where Negroes were kept out or discriminated against any place in your organization outside of your home county or any other place?

OSWALD: I would have to answer that by saying no, because I never learned of any effort being made by any Negro group or any individual for that matter, to participate within the party, with the Senior Party of the Y.D.'s

OLIVER: When you were an officer of the Young Democrats, in Mississippi, how many clubs did you have in the state?

OSWALD: We had about seven or eight clubs that were widely scattered throughout the state from Oxford, that's the University chapter up at Ole Miss, down to Gulfport and Pascagoula on the Gulf Coast. The organization -- that was the largest number that the organization ever had for that matter, and due to the peculiar political climate that existed in Mississippi, it was very difficult to foster clubs in the various towns of the state. I might make this further observation you. Contrary to what some of the Press would have you believe, not all of the counties of Mississippi followed the so-called Mississippi pattern of voter discrimination and like. In my own county, for example, to my certain knowledge, Negroes have been registering without any difficulty since 1895, and not withstanding all of the various upheavals that have occurred, they have had no trouble whatsoever in going down to register. In fact, the only time that there was any sort of a restraint or limitation was back during the tense racial situation a year or so ago when it became necessary to limit the number that might be in the courthouse at any particular time. This was due, however, to certain local circumstances that existed that were unrelated to the racial problem. And it became a question of how many -- whether you wanted to pack the corridors of the courthouse, or whether you were going to have an orderly procession of people going into the Registrar's office. The Judge and the Sheriff determined that the orderly procession was far better than just jamming the people up in the corridors and so that system was followed. But other than that, and I personally observed these things, there was never any instances of anyone being abused and every Negro who chose to register was registered. It's true they were required to take this literacy test, but in my county, the thing is very generously interpreted in favor of the right to vote. And, in instances where white people have failed to pass the test, they have been turned down on the same basis that Negroes have been turned down. And yet, we have observed that there has been no wholesale



effort made by the Negroes to come in and register. It follows a pattern that exists in large areas of the nation, in that while they have the right to come in, like a lot of white people, they just don't bother to come in and register.

OLIVER: Let me ask you about what happened to the Young Democratic organization of which you were a part. Does it still function? Is it still in existence, or are remains evident?

OSWALD: What happened to the Y.D.'s after I ceased to be President -- a gentleman by the name of Al Necaise, who is an attorney in Gulfport, who was a very close political friend of Ross Barnett and of Governor Paul Johnson, took over the reins, and they have for all practical purposes buried the Mississippi Y.D. movement. Many of the people who originally participated in the formation of the Y.D.'s there, are still loyal to the concept, they are faithful to the national Democratic party, and they want to see the thing revitalized. But, they recognize, as do I, that we are confronted with one hell of a situation at the present. It has no immediate answer to it, and we recognize that at this time, any direct deliberate participation in the state of Mississippi by the National Democratic Party is going to have the effect of creating an all-Negro Democratic Party within the State of Mississippi. Some, at this time, they think that that's desirable, or may feel that such course is justified because of a century of abuse and so on, but at the same time there are thousands of white Mississippians who want to participate in the Democratic Party, who do not feel that color is any barrier, who are willing to participate in an integrated organization, who are loyal to the National Party as evidenced by the fact that 52,000 did, in fact, go out and vote for the Johnson-Humphrey ticket the last time around -- and there aren't that many Negro voters, there are only about 25,000 registered Negro voters in Mississippi. So you can see that there is support to the ticket although this last time around, it was very insignificant in the total picture. But we don't want to see the white support driven into a totally segregated white political organization that could only become Republican oriented. And, while it may be, that temporarily the Republican Party will come out with an overall liberal goal of attracting the Negro voters, in the final analysis I don't think that anyone in a position of responsibility wants to see Mississippi or any other state driven out of the National Democratic Party while there is a reasonable basis to believe that in time to come, the Party can be rebuilt along a line that is more consistent with the national purposes of the Democratic Party. And many of us, thousands of us, in the state recognize this can be done, it simply cannot be done at this present time with the tension that's in the air there.

OLIVER: Are there any present plans or any present prospects for the Young Democratic Clubs in Mississippi to attempt to be chartered by the National organization at the next national convention?

OSWALD: No. The Y.D. organization has been effectively buried by Mr. Necaise. I think that the Charter, in fact, has expired by virtue of the terms of the Constitution. And, there will be no effort that I know of to revitalize it. Although, there is some interest in a couple of the colleges in the state, particularly on an integrated basis, but the point is not to prove that we can make integration a fact in Mississippi and the Y.D. organization. I think that the long range view that we have to consider is the overall benefit to the Party, of a total Democratic Party, in the state of Mississippi that will be on an integrated basis, that will be worthwhile to the national party in future elections.

OLIVER: What do you think would be the effect, both long range and presently, of the YDCA granting a charter to the group of Young Democrats that appeared in Atlantic City, and are expected to appear again in Kansas City seeking a charter?

OSWALD: The ultimate result of such a step would be to make the Democratic Party in Mississippi a totally Negro organization. The tension there is too great at this time. I know that people around the nation are tired of hearing the words "let's have a little patience on this thing", but right now we're on the verge of the greatest thing that ever happened to the South taking place -- that's this Voting Bill, and when the Negroes are given the right to vote, in all elections, throughout Mississippi. END OF FIRST TAPE.

OLIVER: Bob, we were talking about the effects of seating the Young Democratic Organization that appeared in Atlantic City, and which we expect to appear in Kansas City or in New York to obtain the charter as a Young Democratic Clubs of Mississippi, and would you tell us, or can you tell us, what you know of this organization, and its existence and how does it function, and what do you think would be the effect of the YDCA granting such a charter to them?

OSWALD: Well, I think that we have to relate the entire Negro movement politically in Mississippi in order properly to answer that question. Last year, we had a precinct convention which leads to the county convention, and so on up to the district and state convention and ultimately to the national convention. I know that in some sections of Mississippi the Negroes were deprived of the right to participate in those conventions by one way or another. I know, also however, of no instance in Mississippi where a majority of Negroes appeared to participate in any precinct convention. It's true that they did go to a number of the precincts in some of the parts of the state, and they were not successful in getting their people selected as precinct delegates to the county democratic convention. But I know in my county where we have a Negro population of probably 12 to 15 thousand, that not at a single precinct did one Negro appear, although the fact of the holding of the precinct convention was well publicized in the local newspapers, and in spite of the fact that at the request of one of the local newspapers, I had written a detailed article that spelled out exactly how the party machinery functioned from the precinct election on up to the state convention, and I had no inquiry from any Negro as to how, or what they could do or should do, what they wanted to do -- although my position as county chairman was well known to all of them, and I have worked with numerous Negroes in past political campaigns for the national party. None showed up in my county. Yet, we have had the SNCC



group and the COFO group which are promoters of the FDP program or at least allies in any event, active within the county, and none of those people have made any effort whatsoever to contact me. I don't feel that I have any particular responsibility to go out and search them up. They know my office is located right by the Courthouse, they have no difficulty in finding out where I am located and coming down there to my office if they choose to. And, I don't think that they have made a legitimate effort to participate in party affairs in many of the sections of the State. It was obvious to me when I looked at the pattern of their action in 1964 that they had selected the worst spots of the state for their activity which amounted to nothing more than actually demonstrations. And yet, even in those areas, they did not take down a majority of people to participate in the precinct convention. In my county, for example, we had some delegates from some precincts elected with no more than five people present at the particular precinct. It would have been no job for the Negroes, had they chosen, to go down with ten people and they would have elected the delegate to the county convention. The same thing is true in the neighboring counties to the west of me which is Harrison County, where Gulfport and Biloxi, Mississippi are located. I have talked to the people in the party over there, and they said that a similar situation existed there. And yet, in a number of precincts, just on a per head county, the Negroes outnumber the white people in the precincts. So they could have taken over if they had wanted sincerely to participate in the Party matters, and not just try to get headlines.

**GERI STORM:** Where are your precinct conventions held?

**OSWALD:** In Mississippi, they are held at the actual voting place. In most counties, it may be a school, it may be a church, it may be the courthouse, it may be the city hall, some public building as a general rule. In a few areas, there is a building that is used for that exclusive purpose. And, they are well identified, they are centrally located as a general rule, ample parking, the public knows where they are. They have been, in a general rule, in the same location for many, many years.

**OLIVER:** Bob, let me ask -- did you have any knowledge of the group of Young Democrats that went to Atlantic City before they went? Were you in contact with them in any way, or did you know any participants? What I want to know, what the Committee wants to know is what knowledge you have of this organization, how it was organized, who organized it, who participates in it, how extensive it is, and this sort of thing for our particular information. If you would tell us what you know about that.

**OSWALD:** I was not personally contacted by any of them, as I think I mentioned earlier. I did receive several letters addressed to me asking for information on how to organize a Y.D. club in Mississippi. And those I replied to and advised of the name and address of the party whom they should contact for that purpose. And this I did, because I had no official status with the Y.D.'s. As far as the activity that they have had political wise, principally they have worked with, and as a part of the SNCC and COFO operation in Mississippi. And as far as having a political organization or being politically oriented in what they are doing, I have seen none of it, and I have learned of no such action on their party within the state. The basic thing they have been doing has been to work along, and bring about demonstrations, and they have not sought to get down to the grassroots and work with the old line established political organization in the counties and in the districts. Now, I might make this observation to you. They may disagree with what is done, as I frequently disagree with what is done in my state, but at the same time, I recognize that just because I don't like who the county chairman may be a county or two away, I can't go in and say "Well, look the hell with him, let's just organize a new political party. Let's organize a new democratic party there." Sometimes I think that would be highly appropriate on the state level, and yet there is a way to go about this. If we start tearing up all of the rules and saying "O.K. we have a special reason here to cast aside all the rules, then who can say but what some other group five years or ten years from now can come along and say "O.K. the rules don't work to suit us anymore, so let's tear them up, and let's set on a new course." You will make new rules every time you get a dissatisfied group. What I say is this. I think these people have a right to participate in everything that does on, politically, within Mississippi, but I think that they are obliged first to make a sincere effort to participate in the various counties of the state. If they would come into a number of the counties, they would not be turned aside, they would be permitted to participate in many of the areas, they would be welcome to participate, and they haven't done this. I think that they have some obligation in the matter.

**OLIVER:** Let me ask you, Bob. Did this organization ever carry on any of the activities that a Young Democratic Club usually does. Did they ever conduct registration drives, or hold meetings, or have guest speakers, or have membership drives, or function in any way like a Young Democratic Club, or did they use themselves principally as a civil rights advocates, and also, how extensive do you know their Young Democratic organization to be. Not SNCC or COFO, but what they contend to be the Young Democratic organization in Mississippi.

**OSWALD:** Well, the whole point is -- that there is no separate Young Democrat movement. It's all a part of the SNCC-COFO operation down there. As far as what they have done as proposed or prospective Y.D.'s in Mississippi is concerned, Voter Registration and the like, I know I think you can separate it out, because it's a part of an overall movement. In my county and I keep referring to my county because naturally I am more familiar with what happened precisely there, but they came in and pretended to have precinct elections. They did not meet at the precincts. They designated where these were to take place by an ad that they placed in the newspaper, and they held the meetings in total disregard of any of the statutes of the state. Their meetings were not in the morning, as the law prescribed, but were at night. They were at a Negro Masonic Temple in one instance, they were at a Negro church in another instance, they were always at night. And, now this despite the fact



that they had made no effort in the county to participate in the precinct conventions that had already been held, and although the responsible Negro leadership in the county well know the party leaders in the county; they well know that they could get cooperation any time they asked for it, they knew that they had had the full assistance of the majority of the county Democratic Committee whenever they called upon it for help. And, they simply have never in that county, been denied any participation. The truth of the matter is, they simply have never sought to participate.

OLIVER: Bob, we have had a number of inquiries. We did during the campaign, the Democratic National Committee and the national office of the YDCA has had inquiries from some people in Mississippi. Some young people at Universities and other places who want to participate in the Young Democrats; who want to organize clubs, and I received a phone call just the other day from an English professor at the University of Mississippi named E. V. Truss who wanted to organize a Young Democratic club there, and they asked us how to go about it, how their young people can participate in Young Democratic organizations as affiliated and supported by the national YDCA. What should we tell these people? Where can they participate and how should we deal with this problem if we don't have a chartered organization down there?

OSWALD: Those people who are by inclination, Democrats, are going to continue to be such regardless of particular or peculiar affiliation they may have through an organization.

END OF TAPE TWO

oliver: We were discussing how young people could participate in the Young Democratic party in Mississippi if there is no YDCA organization.

OSWALD: You must bear in mind that we have no state senior party organization in the state where adults and older people can participate as far as an affiliation with the national party is concerned. The state democratic machinery is in the hands of people who are not national democrats. They call themselves Mississippi Democrats, you can call them a Dixiecrat or a Republican, and either one of those shoes would fit. And what we are in the process of doing now, is putting together, in various cities of the state, a very small little group of people who are national democrats. We're not meeting with publicity or a great deal of fanfare, we are not concerned with publicity at the moment, we are concerned with trying to lay the groundwork for doing the job that must be done. And these younger people will have an opportunity to participate in such organizations as that. We've got to regain control of the state political machinery as far as the Democratic Party in Mississippi is concerned. That's what we're trying to do. We're including in this group that we are working with, all segments of Mississippi Society, without regard to race, color, or anything else. It includes labor, includes the professions, people from all walks of life. And we can see that we've got to fight the battle out within the framework of what exists down there now, but if we go about engaging in wishful thinking, the job will never be done. So we're trying to lay the groundwork now, and these younger people can work with us. We have people around Oxford and other parts of the state who will work with them, and help channel their enthusiasm along the line that will be very helpful in the long-run to the party. But at this stage of the game, to create an all-Negro Young Democratic movement in Mississippi, is going to spell the death of the Young Democrat movement on a long range basis as far as the state of Mississippi is concerned. And I think it would be a loss to the Y.D.'s nationally for this to occur.

OLIVER: You said before that this Young Democratic group of which we have been speaking was affiliated with SNCC and COFO, do you know any of these people? Do you know Melvin Whitfield, or how do you know that these people are affiliated with these groups; and aren't just young Negroes who want to participate in the Young Democrats? Do you have any evidence that they might be financed, or that they participate completely in the other groups? Or are they just off-shoots, or what?

OSWALD: All of this is related time-wise and otherwise to the SNCC-COFO effort that began in Mississippi. No effort, as I described earlier, was made by any Negro groups to participate in my county or in any of the other counties of which I have knowledge, in the political structure there. Even though they know they would have been welcomed. The only thing that did happen, was the several letters that I received asking how they went about organizing. Now, it is impossible for me to conceive that a group of interested, sincere young Negroes who wanted to participate in the Young Democrat movement in Mississippi would not have made themselves known to the people who have conspicuously identified themselves with the national Democratic Party in Mississippi for years, and years and years and years and who have heretofore, over a period of years, worked with, and cooperated with the Negro leadership in Mississippi. There has been none of that displayed by the so-called movement, this present movement, to get the charter for this Negro group in Mississippi.

OLIVER: Bob, having been President of the Mississippi Young Democrats and having attended a national convention, you are familiar with the procedure for chartering in the YDCA. And under the present circumstances, it seems that the Young Democratic group, the extensible Young Democratic group that appeared at Atlantic City, would comply with all -- substantially -- comply with all the requirements other than those of receiving the signatures of the National Committeeman and Committeewoman and State Senior Party Chairman. And those particular provisions, the latter provisions can be waived if they can show evidence that these people did not support the Democratic Party nominees in the last general election. And it is our understanding at this time, that they are gathering such information and we expect them to come to Kansas City and to seek to be chartered by our organization, and we feel that our organization is emotionally, and very sympathetic with their general purposes, and certainly with the Civil Rights movement in the South. Under the circumstances what recommendations would you make, what do you think we should do under these particular circumstances if these people seek a charter. We really don't see any legal grounds that we could deny them on, especially since there is no other group in Mississippi; that is



seeking a charter or is functioning as a Young Democratic organization. Perhaps you see our dilemma and what the situation is, and what would you suggest that we do?

**OSWALD:** Well, first I think that the Voting Bill that is now pending is going to have such a profound effect and create such tensions on a temporary basis in Mississippi and other Southern states, that there would be nothing to be gained by further stirring of an already bad situation down there. I think that if any chartering were simply delayed until after the Voting Bill is passed, and some effort is begun to subside, and frankly, I think that many of the basic motivating forces behind these people will begin to disappear, as they begin to enjoy the right to vote in Mississippi. I can appreciate the problem that the Committee is confronted with; I think that the Committee could well ask itself a question. What effort has been made by this group to welcome others to participate with them in a Young Democrat movement in Mississippi. Especially in view of the fact that they have apparently little effort to contact any of the people who have been sympathetic for decades with their cause. And, where they would get a friendly ear, where they would get such cooperation as might be possible from that particular individual. But above all, I think that the tension that exists in the South cannot be understood by people who do not live there, or people who go down and stay for a brief period of time. You've seen what can happen at Selma, you've seen what can happen up at Oxford, you've seen what happened down at Philadelphia. We're dealing with a question not of just Negro rights and voting, you're dealing with a situation of massive ignorance on the part of a large segment of the white population down there, and to throw a lighted match into a can of gasoline is not the better course of wisdom, I don't think. And, the matter is beginning to resolve itself. I don't think that we are talking about a delay of any long period of time, but I think that it would serve the overall Y.D. program, it would serve the nation, if, at the moment, there are no further episodes to kick off more hatred in Mississippi or any other state. And the net result of this, of chartering such a group at this particular time is all I'm talking about, at this particular time it would be like lighting the fuse. And what would it gain? What would it gain the Y.D.'s? It's true that there's a great deal of emotion and feeling on this matter, but I feel compelled to look at it in the long range history and what we can do not just this year, but next year, and the next election and the election after that. And I think in that context, a delay for a short period of time until the Voting Rights Bill can be begun to be implemented is not saying never, it's saying let things calm down a little bit, and the let's all work together.

**OLIVER:** Bob, of course, many people will argue that that's what many of the Southern Leaders have been saying for along time. And that the only thing that has precipitated swift action on the part of the Congress and the Justice Department is the demonstrations, and is the violence that has occurred throughout the South and the demonstrations that are occurring today in Selma, and Montgomery Alabama. And, many people in our organization, I'm sure, feel that by having the Young Democratic Clubs of America go on record by chartering such a group as will be in Kansas City, that we will show the world and the Party and perhaps our elders that we, the youth of the Party, the leaders of the future are in sympathy with the Civil Rights movement in the South, and that we think that the degradation and the discrimination has gone to such an extent that the time for waiting has passed. Would you comment on what you think the effect in this regard, our chartering such an organization might have.

**OSWALD:** I don't know that it would prove any particular point in the long run which is what I'm trying to point out here. It might be of some temporary significance, but when you measure it against what you would have done over the long haul, you would have created the very thing that you dispise. You would have created a totally, segregated politically, structure of the Y.D.'s in Mississippi. On such a basis, that would almost preclude the thing every from becoming integrated. On the other hand, there is the real prospect that within a fairly short period of time after the Voting Rights Bill has been enacted, that there will begin a greater degree of integrating political life in Mississippi, and when I say in a short period of time, I'm talking about assuming that this Voting Rights Bill will be law within 60 or 90 days, and that the implementation of it -----

(END OF THIRD TAPE -- Transcribed by Janico Petto, March 24, 1965)

(( editor's note: Mr. Oswald told me June 4, '65 that he though it would take ten years for the Voting Rights Bill to have achieved substantial registration))

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MEMBERSHIP PRACTICES COMMITTEE, MINORITY REPORT, April 10, 1965, by Jack Sexton

The issue before the National Committee is whether the Young Democratic Clubs of Mississippi have met the constitutional requirements for chartering by the YDCA, e.g. do they represent YD clubs in Mississippi, have they had a state convention, etc., in short, do they have a real, active organization?

I. August 1964 to February 20, 1965 (6 months) In August at the YDCA National Committee meeting in Atlantic City the Young Democratic Clubs of Mississippi submitted to the YDCA an Application for Charter, a copy of their Constitution, minutes of their State Convention, and a list of officers. (see Official Minutes of Atlantic City meeting). Opponents pointed out that the applicants did not have signatures by any of the three state senior party officials, i.e. State Chairman, National Committeeman, National Committeewoman. The Mississippi Young Democrats contended that the senior party people had not supported the National ticket in the prior election and that therefore, under the YDCA Constitution,



the signatures were not required. Opponents contended that this had not been adequately proven in the meeting. By a vote of 69-57 the National Committee voted not to seat the Mississippi Young Democrats. President Al Huse told them that he hoped that they would go back to Mississippi, continue to organize, and come back to the next YDCA meeting with proof of their contention about the position of the senior party people. During the 6 months from August 1964 until February 20, 1965, no effort was made by the National YDCA to assist or even to contact the Mississippi Young Democrats, notwithstanding the fact that a list of their officers had been submitted to the YDCA and notwithstanding the fact that staff members and elected officials of the YDCA travelled extensively during the election campaign. Finally, six months after the Atlantic City meeting, on February 20, 1965, a letter was written by YDCA Executive Secretary Fred Ricci to Melvin Whitfield, State President of the Mississippi Young Democrats. In March, Spencer Oliver was appointed Chairman of the Membership Practices Committee. He established telephone contact with State President Melvin Whitfield and National Committeewoman Thelma Eubanks. No contact was made with any other officers of the Mississippi Young Democrats.

II The Jackson Meeting (April 4, 1965) Chairman Oliver arranged a meeting in Jackson, Mississippi on Sunday, April 4 attended by a number of persons interesting in the Young Democrats. Chairman Oliver and Committee member Jack Sexton attended the meeting.

A. Senior Party Signatures The meeting in Jackson, Mississippi, on April 4, conclusively established that the Present state Chairman, Bidwell Adam, did not support the National ticket in the last presidential election. Melvin Whitfield (State President, Mississippi Young Democrats) read a newspaper article in which Bidwell Adam stated prior to the November 1964 election that he would "not lift a finger" to help the Johnson-Humphrey ticket. A letter which was sent to Bidwell Adam prior to the November election was read, criticizing Adam for supporting Goldwater in the November election. The proof that was allegedly lacking in Atlantic City has now been provided.

B. The Mississippi Young Democrats Organization. The sole issue to be decided by the National Committee Meeting is whether the Mississippi Young Democrats come within the requirements of the YDCA Constitution for grant of a charter. This in turn revolves itself primarily into the question of whether or not the Young Democrats of Mississippi have a real organization, really have clubs, really have meetings, really have members, really had a state convention. In Atlantic City in August of 1964, ten members of the Mississippi Young Democrats came to Atlantic City and were extensively questioned individually by various members of the National Committee. At the meeting in Jackson on April 4, six members of the Mississippi Young Democrats were present and at various times in the meeting in response to questions, described the activities of their organization. They said that a group of 65 people had a meeting in Jackson in July to plan the Young Democrats State Convention which was held in August at which officers were elected and that there are 15 clubs with approximately 300 members. They gave to the committee the names of 15 towns in which they had clubs, and in six of those towns, the names of the president of the local club. They agreed to furnish a complete list of their clubs and officers (As noted above they had already furnished a list of officers and minutes of their state convention to the YDCA in August 1964.) The evidence before the committee indicates that they do have an organization, that they do have clubs, that they have had meetings, and that they have had a state convention. The YDCA has had over 7 months since Atlantic City to investigate and has produced no evidence to the contrary. The foregoing conclusion rests not simply on the statements of the State President Melvin Whitfield, but on the statements made by the ten people who came to Atlantic City, the statements made by the six people including Melvin Whitfield, who attended the April 4 meeting in Jackson and the information submitted to the YDCA in Atlantic City.

C/ Tactics All of those at the Jackson meeting expressed willingness to work together, to organize integrated Young Democratic Clubs in Mississippi, looking toward a State Convention in the summer. Melvin Whitfield proposed that a state convention be held in the summer at which new officers could be elected, to be voted upon by all those clubs represented at the Convention. Melvin Whitfield invited those present to send representatives to the Kansas City National Committee meeting and to participate in a State Convention. The sole point of disagreement between the Young Democratic Clubs of Mississippi and the others at the Jackson meeting was whether it would be tactically desirable for the Young Democratic Clubs of Mississippi to apply for a charter in Kansas City at this time. The others at the meeting stated that it would be tactically wiser to wait until the fall. The representatives of the Young Democratic Clubs of Mississippi disagreed. The question of what would be ideal tactics in Mississippi is not an issue before the Membership Practices Committee, nor is it an issue before the National Committee. Assuming that the Young Democratic Clubs of Mississippi renew their request for charter, the sole issue to be decided by the National Committee is whether the application comes within the YDCA Constitution. By analogy, over the past several years, some persons have stated that some of the actions that were brought in court by Negroes on civil rights issues should not have been brought at that time, but rather that it would have been better tactics to wait until the situation improved to bring these action. However, once the actions were brought, the courts had no alternative but to consider them on the merits. Similarly, because there is a disagreement among various Democrats in Mississippi about timing is not a reason for the National Committee to avoid passing on the merits of the charter application.

D. Where was Melvin Whitfield on April 1? On the telephone on Thursday, April 1, Chairman Oliver asked Melvin Whitfield where he was. The answer was that he was in Mississippi. Undersigned concludes from the evidence that he was actually in California. However, this is not material to the issue: 1. The issue is whether the Mississippi Young Democrats



comply with the YDCA Constitution and not whether Whitfield was in Mississippi, California, or somewhere else on that particular day. 2. The following circumstances should be kept in mind: Melvin Whitfield is an 18 year old Negro from Mississippi. He led a group to Atlantic City which sought a YDCA charter. This group was rejected on the ground that they had failed to prove that any of the state senior party officials had failed to support the National ticket last election. Some proof was presented in Atlantic City. The Mississippi Young Democrats knew that the state senior party officials had not supported the Kennedy ticket in 1960. Melvin Whitfield could legitimately have concluded that his group was turned down in Atlantic City on the basis of a phony issue. He was then encouraged by the national President to get back to Mississippi and continue organizing and come back to the next meeting, which he and his group have now done. The National YDCA made no effort to help this group until a letter was sent on February 20, 1965. Next, Whitfield received a telephone call from a person whom he did not know, who identified himself as Spencer Oliver, Chairman of the Membership Practices Committee of the Young Democratic Clubs of America, and who showed a rather extraordinary interest in exactly where Whitfield was telephoning from. Given the present atmosphere in Mississippi, Mississippi Negroes do not lightly give out their own names and addresses or the names and addresses of other persons, particularly to strangers. We all know that there is an atmosphere of fear in Mississippi and that reprisals have been taken against many Negroes. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that Melvin Whitfield did not repose complete trust and confidence <sup>1/</sup> in telephone calls from a person he did not know, representing an organization which Melvin Whitfield had every reason to believe was hostile to his organization.

III. The Constitutional Issue Article II of the YDCA Constitution deals with membership. Section 3(a) provides that "Affiliation of State Units shall be by Charter to be granted by the National Committee of the Young Democratic Clubs of America upon proper application for Charter by the State Organization, with the verification signature and authorization of the State Organization President and two of the three State Senior Party signatures, to-wit, the State Chairman, National Committeeman and/or National Committeewoman...." Section 3(b) authorizes waiver of the Senior Party signatures requirement under particular specified circumstances. Opponents of the Mississippi Young Democrats argue that section 3(b) applies only at a National Convention and not at a National Committee meeting. One can as well argue that if the provisions of section 3(b) are the rule for seating at a National Convention the same rules should be applied at a National Committee meeting since there is no policy reason for having two different rules. However, if it is concluded that section 3(b) does not apply to a National Committee Meeting then section 3(b) is irrelevant to our consideration at this National Committee meeting and we are left with section 3(a). The requirement of senior party signatures contained in section 3(a) should not be insisted upon here when no one seriously contends that these Mississippi Young Democrats could obtain the senior party signatures from the Ross Barnett State Democratic party. There is no legitimate Democratic Party in Mississippi. The law does not require a useless act. Neither should the YDCA Constitution.

Respectfully submitted, JOHN J. SEXTON (1000 Federal Bar Building, Wash.)

(1/ It now appears that prior to the April 1 telephone call Oliver had asked Frank Rozak, YDCA College Director, to check on where Whitfield was and learned that Whitfield was attending school in California. Thus the questions to Whitfield on the telephone on April 1 about where he was were not for the purpose of obtaining information but for the purpose of entrapping Whitfield on an immaterial issue. A good deal of time, effort and money has been spent by the YDCA in proving that Whitfield was in California and not in Mississippi on a particular day which could have been much more fruitfully devoted to helping organize Young Democratic Clubs in Mississippi.)

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The MISSISSIPPI AND MEMBERSHIP PRACTICES REPORT OF GERI STORM, NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN, SOUTH DAKOTA YOUNG DEMOCRATS on the Kansas City Meeting, April 9, 10, 1965.

I have been pleased and gratified by the expressions of support you have given my service on the national Membership Practices Committee and the committee's efforts to build a Young Democratic Club in Mississippi. Particular thanks goes to Michael Swanton for his consistent words of encouragement and help. So that you South Dakota Y.D.s as well as others who are receiving this newsletter, will fully understand my position and the problems the committee faced, I will have to relate the background, beginning at the Atlantic City U.D. National Committee meeting, when 57 committee members, including the 3 of us from South Dakota, voted to seat a delegation of young people from Mississippi whom we supposed to be affiliated with the Freedom Democratic Party. 69 Y.D.s many of them under considerable pressure and many with an eye on the impending battle at the Democratic National Convention, voted against seating the delegation. Those of us who voted for the "Freedom" delegation were of the opinion -- at least I was -- that this was the position we must take, not just because the applicant club had apparently made an effort to comply with the constitutional requirements and had substantially done so -- but because the time had come to stand up and be counted for freedom and equality in the South -- the time had come to show our deep commitment to the civil rights movement -- the time had come for some kind of action -- and this was our chance -- and 57 of us took it. There was little doubt in anyone's mind that those young Mississippians would be back in the Spring and that they would be seated. I, for one, was determined to make it a personal crusade. That was in Atlantic City -- two weeks ago we were in Kansas City and a lot of things happened in between. Between August and February no one heard from or about the Mississippi Young Democrats. Letters from the YDCA office went unanswered. Then, in February, a newsletter appeared from their President. Another letter was sent from Y.D. Executive Secretary Fred Ricci requesting information.



None was forthcoming and some people began to be suspicious and question the existence of Y.D. activity in Mississippi. In the meantime, Y.D. President Al Huse was trying to put together a Membership Practices Committee that would have the duty of looking into the Mississippi situation as well as allegations that Alabama Young Democrats had refused a charter to Tuskegee Institute. To get anyone to take on such a politically dangerous assignment, much less to get an objective, open-minded committee, was not easy. Spencer Oliver, former Texas Y.D. leader (who now commutes between Maryland and Arizona) took on the task of Chairman against the advice of almost all his friends. Appointed to serve with him were Ed Rosewell, YDCA V.P. from Illinois; Don Hamilton, YDCA General Counsel from Oklahoma; Don Bonker, national Committeeman from Washington; Franklin Haney, Tennessee President; Pat Clary of Nevada; Jack Sexton, former D.C. President, who had been especially vocal on behalf of seating the Mississippi group in Atlantic City, and myself. Ed Rosewell turned down the assignment, due to the press of business backhome, and was replaced by Jan Fettee, former national committeewoman from Michigan. All six conferences were represented, plus an at-large chairman and the general counsel. The committee consisted of three persons (Sexton, Fettee and Storm) whose clubs had voted to seat Mississippi in Atlantic City, two (Hamilton and Haney) whose clubs had voted not to seat and three (Oliver, Bonker, and Clary) who had not been at that meeting. With less than five weeks to Kansas City, the Committee began an energetic schedule of meetings in Chairman Oliver's Capital Hill offices and at the Democratic National Committee. All meetings except the final gathering before Kansas City were open to anyone who wished to attend and participate. At the final meeting, tape recordings made in Mississippi by Chairman Oliver and Mr. Sexton on behalf of the Committee were played for over 5 hours (till 2:30a.m.!) and, because of the nature of the tapes, only the committee was permitted to hear them. In view of the fact that the national senior party is attempting to join together the dissident national Democratic groups within Mississippi, the committee felt a special obligation to all those -- white as well as Negro -- who had been loyal to the Johnson-Humphrey ticket in its deliberations. We also felt we had a unique opportunity to help in building something meaningful within the State and to lay the groundwork for something more than an organization whose primary aim seemed to be the fostering of racial tensions within a political framework rather than alleviation of tensions through cooperative political endeavors. Evidence on the tapes, as well as our earlier contact with the President of the applicant Mississippi groups, Melvin Whitfield, (who had finally consented to talk with us), proved to the satisfaction of 7 of 8 committee members that the applicant group showed an alarming reluctance to work with other Democratically inclined groups with the state -- the NAACP, AFL-CIO, loyalist Y.D. of former years and an integrated Y.D. club at Old Miss (whose advisor, incidentally, is a former USD English prof). In addition, we could find no evidence of Y.D. activity in Mississippi other than the Old Miss club, either during the 1964 campaign or since, except for the applicant President's February newsletter. I personally checked many sources, both in Washington and in Mississippi, in a futile attempt to find information on an organization when Mr. Whitfield had not responded to the repeated inquiries of the Committee. Statements were made by senior party leaders, Johnson-Humphrey campaign coordinators, labor leaders, Young Citizens for Johnson leaders, Y.D.s NAACP and persons at the Civil Rights Commission that they had never heard of or seen any activity on the part of the applicant group and did not believe it existed. If it did, the consensus was that it was a very small, secret, unrepresentative groups, probably aligned with persons whose primary interests were other than the future of the Democratic Party in Mississippi. Mr. Whitfield cast further doubts on the credence of his organization when he did talk to the committee. He claimed to be a student at Mississippi Valley State College (which he had never attended -- he is and has been a college student in San Jose, California since last September). He gave contradictory testimony on the place, time and attendance of a "state convention" and refused to submit a list of clubs and officers in his organization to the committee. It was clear that anything Mr. Whitfield told us about his organization had to be taken with a grain of salt. The applicant group was apparently nothing more than a "paper" transposition of an all-Negro youth organization, the Mississippi Student Union -- a fragmentary, loose-knit unit whose functions are not quite clear. Therefore 7 committee members reached what we believed would be an unpopular decision, no Mississippi club should be chartered in Kansas City. We would instead suggest that interested parties, within the State get together, hold a bona-fide convention and form a working, broad-based organization willing to cooperate with national Democratic forces working to rebuild the party in Mississippi. The majority of the committee had underestimated its allies. When Charles Evers, Field Secretary of the NAACP in Mississippi appeared in Kansas City to speak on behalf of our committee's recommendation -- along with the State President of the AFL-CIO, three very persuasive young Democrats from the integrated club at Old Miss and Robert Oswald, former President of the Mississippi Young Democrats (and one of the few Mississippi Democratic County Chairmen to publicly support the Johnson-Humphrey ticket), there was no doubt about the outcome. Supporters of the Whitfield group, through their principal spokesman, Joe Beeman of California, managed to keep the floor situation pretty confused as to the intent of the committee when a "compromise", in the form of an amendment to the committee report (earlier rejected by all groups appearing from Mississippi and, in another form, by the Membership Practices Committee) was introduced. Chairman Oliver finally took the floor, with a unanimous consent agreement, to "clear the air" on the matter. He declared in no uncertain terms that he was opposed to the amendment and asked for unqualified support of the committee report. That did it -- the amendment was defeated, 90-39 (representatives from 33 states voting against it, from 14 voting for the amendment), and the committee report was then adopted by an overwhelming voice vote. The Membership Practices Committee also reported that steps have been taken to correct any discriminatory practices in the Alabama Young Democrats and a final report on this matter is expected in 60 days.



Undoubtedly the key issue before the meeting was what action or recognition should be taken on the "Freedom Young Democrats" group seeking a charter, as they previously had done at the Atlantic City meeting. In the interim period, the Membership Practices Committee had been reactivated, with Spencer Oliver of Texas as Chairman. During the six months from August 1964 until February 20, 1965, no effort was made by the National YDCA to assist or even to contact the Mississippi Young Democrats, notwithstanding the fact that a list of their officers had been submitted to the YDCA and not withstanding the fact that staff members and elected officials of the YDCA travelled extensively during the election campaign. Finally, six months after the Atlantic City meeting, on February 20, 1965, after a communication from Secretary Ed Kruse, a letter was written by YDCA Executive Secretary Fred Ricci to Melvin Whitfield, State President of the Mississippi Young Democrats. The chairman of the Membership Practices Committee presented an oral report for the committee and its activities during the preceding six weeks. The committee had contacted both Melvin Whitfield, President of the Mississippi Young Democratic group seeking a charter; Robert Oswald, a president of the former (now defunct) all-white Mississippi Young Democrats; a group of Young Democrats from the University of Mississippi; and other persons. Two presentations on this matter were made: the first by the group seeking a charter; the second by a group urging delay in chartering until a "truly integrated" club could be formed. Both presentations were made by integrated groups. An amendment to the motion to accept the report of the Membership Practices Committee (which recommended no charter granting until after a possible presentation at the YDCA convention in October) was duly moved and seconded. The intent and test of the amendment were designed to have the National YDCA aid in the formation of a truly integrated Mississippi Young Dem Club, representing all factions, by setting up planning meetings for the purpose of obtaining maximum participation in a projected Mississippi Y.D. state convention to be held in July. The YDCA would set up a special committee to supervise the fulfillment of the conditions of the amendment, including attempts to obtain necessary Senior Party authorization signatures and submission, 60 days before the YDCA October convention. The special committee would be composed of John F. Geaney, Jack R. Beaupre, and Leo Krulitz, respective State Y.D. Presidents of New Jersey, Illinois, and Idaho. The amendment was defeated, 40 to 89. The national officers's votes (and proxies held by them) were the hard-core of the no votes: J. Albert House (North Carolina), President, and V.P. Alice McMahon (Florida) between them cast 17 no votes; the other officers, 3 no votes. The southern states members cast an additional 35 no votes. These 52 votes did the job! In the convention where the "one-man-one-vote" criterion is more closely approximated, the influence of the southern states is much less than in this committee (equal votes for all states, regardless of size), and the national officers, per se, haven't any votes, or proxies.

Of course there were some yes votes. New Jersey's three were proudly among them! And so were those of Ed Kruse, National Secretary from New Jersey, Ed Rosewell, 1st Vice President from Illinois, and Dale Wagner, College Vice President from Iowa. Those who voted yes thought that compliance with the amendment would put an end to the charter procrastination, insure the establishment of a state-wide, integrated club, and put an end to the run-around from the Mississippi senior party officials. The Committee's report, as adopted without the amendment, in effect said "not this time, but try again (and again, and again,...)". After all, 100 years have passed until a voter's right bill is being given a chance of passage in Congress, whereas the YDCA is only 33 years old.

(Resolutions passed by the National Committee included) advocacy of the right to vote for young Americans between the ages of 18 and 21 (Ill.), support for the 'one man, one vote' principle, and opposition to any attempts to overturn the meaningfulness of the ruling (Md. & Ore.).

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LETTER OF RANSOM JONES, PRES. YOUNG DEMOCRATS CLUB OF OL' MISS., TO REV. ED KING, TOUGALOO

This letter should and is going to begin with an apology for the incident which took place on this campus last Thursday night. Please express to the students who were the victims of that uncivilized act our sincere apologies and the shame and disgust some of us have for the students here who participated.

The purpose of this letter is to request that the YOUNG DEMOCRATS CLUB of the University of Mississippi be allowed to hold a meeting on the campus of your college. The date and time we would like to hold the meeting is May 2, 1965 at one o'clock in any building or facilities available at that time. The purpose of the meeting will be to promote the establishment of a biracial Democratic Party in Mississippi. Your immediate attention to this request will be very much appreciated. Thanking you in advance I am,

/s/ Ransom Jones

P. S. Cleveland Donald just called me and informed me that noone from Tougaloo had been invited to the meeting. Would you invite some of your students, especially Hunter Morey?

(Letter dated April 26, 1965) Mr. Jones knew that I was not a student of Rev. King's (I am a Field Secretary for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee), and he also knew that I was then functioning as Executive Secretary of the Whitfield group (which no longer exists independantly from the other groups now making up the Young Democratic Clubs of Mississippi) but he refused to either answer any of my letters to him or to notify any of the Whitfield group of this meeting. Luckily Rev. King told me about it. We then turned in into a state planning meeting where over 150 people from 26 counties came.



APRIL 20, 1965 GORE NEWS "NATIONAL YOUNG DEMOCRATS REFUSE TO CHARTER STATE YOUTH GROUP  
YOUNG DEMOCRATIC CLUBS OF MISSISSIPPI TO CONTINUE ORGANIZING"

If you are between the ages of 18 (sic 16) and 40 and are a supporter of the Democratic Party, you can form a Young Democrats organization. If you elect officers, ratify a constitution, support the party platform and have some reasonable support around the state, then all you need is the certification of "senior party officials" to become chartered as a member of the National Young Democratic Clubs of America. Certification is usually automatic. But this is not the case in Mississippi. Last August 9, a group of 300 young Negro Mississippians tried to get such certification. They held a state convention, elected officers to the Young Democrats' convention in Atlantic City. They wrote to the "senior party officials" but were ignored by them. They were not recognized by the convention because they lacked certification by the racist Democrats of Mississippi, even though membership regulations state that such certification can be waived if the party officials did not support the presidential ticket of the national party. The group returned to the state to continue organizing and prepare to fight for a charter from the National Young Democrats at their next convention April 10. Then, last April 4, just one week before the convention, a sudden meeting of Mississippi labor and 'Ole Miss Young Democrat officials was announced in Jackson. The President of the unofficial Young Democratic Clubs of Mississippi, Melvin Whitfield, an 18 year old Negro from Columbus, Mississippi, is interviewed below for a more detailed account of how the Young Democratic Clubs of America, like its parent group, has frustrated the efforts of young Mississippi Negroes to channel their energies into legitimate political activity.

What was the purpose of the meeting in Jackson on April 4? "The meeting, called by Spencer Oliver, chairman of the membership practices board of the Young Democratic Clubs of America and Claude Ramsey of the state AFL-CIO, was ostensibly to combine the three groups of Young Democrat Clubs, the 'Ole Miss group, Mr. Robert Oswald, a Pascagoula attorney currently chairman of the Jackson County Democrats and past chairman of the Mississippi Young Democrats, and the group represented by me, which includes clubs throughout the state organized in the main by local Negro civil rights activists and committed to an anti-racist program."

What proposals were put forward to unify the groups? "Actually none. All those present at the meeting, which included Charles Evers of the NAACP, attacked our group for planning to seek a charter from the National Young Democratic Clubs of America at its coming Kansas City convention recognizing us as the official Young Democratic Club in Mississippi. Evers lined up with the 'Ole Miss Young Democrats, arguing that we should wait until the next national gathering of the Y.D.s in October before seeking recognition. I pointed out that we have been organizing clubs since last summer, and, having fulfilled the organizational requirements for obtaining a charter, traveled over 1000 miles to the Young Democrats' convention in Atlantic City (held three days prior to the Party convention) to seek a charter. We were refused because we had not obtained certification from the adult party in the state. We told the convention that we had repeatedly tried to get certification from state party officials but that they had ignored most of our requests. Also, we demonstrated that the state party officials had refused to support the candidates and platform of the national Democratic Party and in fact that our group and the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party -- later rejected by the national Party, were among the few groups in the state calling themselves democrats that supported the presidential ticket. I proposed a meeting of our group with the 'Ole Miss Young Democrats, to be held before the Kansas City convention, to analyze our problems and try to come to some kind of agreement to take to the convention. Evers denounced my proposal and accused us of "moving too fast."

What was accomplished by the meeting? Nothing. Mr. Oliver stated that he would fight to prevent our group being chartered. Mr. Evers and 'Ole Miss YDs stated that they would not attend the convention. This, however, turned out not to be true. They were present at the convention, actively fighting against chartering our group. At its national convention (sic - committee meeting) on April 10-11 in Kansas City, the Young Democratic Clubs of America again refused to grant a charter to the civil rights oriented Young Democratic Clubs of Mississippi, represented by its chairman, Melvin Whitfield, and its executive secretary, Hunter Morey, a white SNCC worker long active in the Mississippi civil rights movement. Below, Mr. Whitfield tells of the convention proceedings. "On April 10 we met with the membership practices committee of the Young Democrats and were asked why we had not written the state party officials asking for a charter. We replied that in the past we had a hard time getting a response and felt that we would receive the same treatment. Besides, we pointed out that under the membership provisions in the National Young Democrats' constitution, such certification can be waived if we can demonstrate that one of the three senior party officials failed to support the previous presidential ticket. We showed them an article from the McComb Enterprise Journal IN WHICH Mr. Bidwell Adam, state Party Chairman, stated he would not 'lift a finger' to support the Johnson-Humphrey ticket and denounced the Democratic Party convention as a 'sad and unholy spectacle'. Spencer Oliver, chairman of the committee, read a telegram from Adam denying any knowledge of our group. I took the floor and read a carbon copy of a registered letter from me to Mr. Adam requesting that our group be certified as a Young Democrats Club, giving the time and location of our state wide convention and the names of our officers. I also read a letter to me from Mr. Adam refusing to certify our group. During the general session Oliver read the report of the membership practices committee, which was mainly a series of personal attacks against me for having gone to school in California. He was asked to discontinue the report because it was too long and was boring the audience. Speaking time was then granted to us and to the 'Ole Miss Young Democrats, accompanied by Charles Evers. Evers



made an emotional speech stating that here are whites who once acted like demagogues and now are acting like human beings. He continued his attack on our group's drive for recognition with the chorus of the white liberal anthem: 'why can't you wait.' 'We have long waited for the opportunity and the privilege of being able to work with southern whites and now they're trying to rush things,' Evers said. Telegrams supporting our fight for recognition as the official Young Democrats of Mississippi were sent to the convention from James Farmer of the Congress of Racial Equality and Lawrence Guyot of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. A compromise proposal, which was later rejected, was put forward by Jack Sexton, also of the membership practices committee, calling for us to go back to Mississippi and after 30 days notice to all democrats in the state, have a state-wide convention and after 15 days the charter would be granted. I stated that we came to Kansas City for a straight charter and that no compromise would be accepted by our group. We feel that for too long Negroes have had token rights and not full equality. By accepting a compromise we would be selling out the Negroes of Mississippi who are members of the Young Democratic Clubs. We want the charter and we want it now. We intend to put forth a great effort in the state of Mississippi. We will establish a state headquarters in Jackson. We will continue to try to work with the group of 'Ole Miss and all other whites and Negroes of the state who are willing to accept and abide by the rules and principles found in the official constitution and by-laws of the Young Democratic Clubs of America."

Hunter Morey, executive secretary of the Mississippi Young Democratic Clubs is interviewed below on the convention.

What was the role of other civil rights groups towards the chartering of the Whitfield group? "James Farmer of the Congress of Racial Equality and Lawrence Guyot of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, supported our demand for a charter. The NAACP, represented by Charles Evers, opposed us, stating that it was such a wonderful thing that southern white people were willing to work with Negroes that we should allow them a chance to organize and develop and that therefore the predominately Negro and civil rights oriented group headed by Whitfield should not be given a charter. The assumption is that these white people would refuse to join an organization led by Negroes and oriented towards civil rights. It's my opinion that if you want to deal seriously with the state of Mississippi you've got to be strongly against racism or you're going to be preserving the status quo. Cleveland Donald, an active member of the NAACP and one of only two Negro students at 'Ole Miss, took the same position as Evers. It's interesting to note that none of the white members of the 'Ole Miss Young Democratic Club will even sit down and eat lunch with him. He admit that. And yet he went up there supporting Ransom Jones (white president of the 'Ole Miss YD's). Jones wasn't even elected to office -- he just assumed it. That Evers and Donald, both with the NAACP and therefore supposedly civil rights oriented, opposed the elected representatives of Negro civil rights activists and supported the Mississippi whites is not only shocking but revolting."

What other forces worked to defeat the Whitfield group? "Claude Ramsey, head of the Mississippi AFL-CIO, was there to lobby against the Whitfield group. Spencer Oliver, chairman of the membership practices committee, indicated that the National Committee of the Democratic Party did not want Whitfield's group chartered. I think these organizational positions are indicative of a program sponsored by the national Democratic Party, the NAACP, the AFL-CIO and those few white southerners who wish to opportunistically take advantage of the civil rights movement. This coalition realizes that Negroes will be voting in large numbers and want to control that vote to maintain the status quo."

Isn't this the same coalition that claims credit for the voting bill? "Yes, however the truth of the matter is that the voting bill, just as the civil rights bill of 1964, results primarily from the direct action movement and the development of local people's organizations like the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the Council Of Federated Organizations, and the Freedom Democratic Party. The coalition is like the camp followers who scavenge behind the lines and then try to take all the credit for the war."

How is this coalition a danger in Mississippi? "These forces seek to accommodate the civil rights movement to the racist status quo. The direct action of local people's organizations in the state has forced the necessity for many accommodations. But instead of dealing with the groups that local people create and work through, such as SNCC, COFO, and the FDP, the power structure tries to negotiate through non-representative groups such as the Mississippi Council on Human Relations, the NAACP, the AFL-CIO, biracial committees, conservative Negro leaders, and white segregationists whose opportunism is even stronger than their racism."

Why is there a need for a Young Democratic Club since there are already channels for political action, such as the FDP and the Mississippi Student Union? "Young people have proven themselves to be in the vanguard of needed social change in this country. They need a political organization of their own so they won't be watered down by more weary and vulnerable adults. A political organization expresses this need because most of the problems to be attacked find their roots in the political structure. There is additional value in organizing the YD's in that we have a very good chance of controlling the Mississippi segment of one of the most influential young people's organization in the whole country. Controlling this group is must as useful as controlling any other part of the power structure."

What concrete advantages can Negro and white progressives get from the Young Democrats? "We would gain an explicitly political forum and vehicle for political education and influence in local communities and throughout the state. Whites will feel freer to join an organization that is a chapter of the national power structure. As the official Young Democratic Club of Mississippi our resolutions and actions will carry more weight both locally and nationally, given the 'power structure orientation of America'."



WASHINGTON COLUMNISTS ROWLAND EVANS AND ROBERT NOVAK ATTACK OUR GROUP (they had previously called for the isolation of SNCC unless they "cleans out the ultra-Leftists")

INSIDE REPORT: Courage in Kansas City, Sun. April 18, 1965. By an unpublicized act of political courage, the seed for a moderate, racially integrated Democratic party in Mississippi may now have been planted. The Young Democrats, like their Republican counterparts, are not particularly known for responsibility. But the Y.D. national executive committee demonstrated real responsibility - and courage - last week end. At issue was an attempt by militants of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (Snick) to commandeer the Mississippi YD with an all-Negro organization - increasing racial polarization in state politics. Considering the fervor for civil rights among American youth, it is to the credit of the committee that it rejected the Snick power play by a 3 to 1 margin. The fight began early this year. As part of the general disintegration of the Democratic party in Mississippi, the state's YD charter ended up homeless. Four separate organizations put in for it, (sic: that is not true, only one did, the YDCM, - ed.) one of which had enthusiastic backing from liberals across the country. Spencer Oliver, a leader in the Maryland Young Democrats and chairman of the national YD membership practices committee, was dispatched to Mississippi to investigate. He found an all-Snick operation. The YD group with the strong national backing turned out to be a paper organization whose president is a college freshman in San Jose, Calif. Its essentially all-Negro membership paralleled the membership of the Leftist Mississippi Student Union (a Snick front). At Kansas City last week end, foes of giving the charter to the Snick group were upbraided as bogots and segregationists. But moderate whites and Negroes from Mississippi pleaded with YD national leaders not to recognize Snick. The clinching argument against Snick was made by Charles Evers, NAACP leader from Jackson and brother of the martyred Medgar Evers. As a result of the vote, Mississippi moderates will attempt to form a racially integrated YD organization. It could produce a new Democratic party in the state.

- and our reply - MALICIOUS ATTACK ON YOUNG DEMOCRATS EXPOSED Washington columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak grossly distorted and misrepresented the truth about the YOUNG DEMOCRATIC CLUBS OF MISSISSIPPI in their article "Inside Report, Y-D Group Rejects SNICK Power Play" which appeared in the April 28 CLARION-LEDGER on page 13. Contrary to the implications that we are an all Negro organization, we have many white people as members. However, it is true that most white people reject the politics of the National Democratic Party as indicated by the landslide Mississippi vote for Goldwater, and that most white Mississippians reject participation in integrated groups such as the Young Democrats. In addition, some of our white members have been forced to resign due to pressure from other whites. Such tactics have been used against us in McComb, Mississippi, for example. The YOUNG DEMOCRATIC CLUB OF HINDS COUNTY has an integrated board of officers, as we hope will be the pattern for other newly organizing groups. Secondly, it implied that we are a "front" for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. Let the fact be known that we have not, are not, and will not be a "front" for anybody or anygroup whatsoever. While we welcome support from all groups working for a democratic society, it is interesting to note that only the Congress of Racial Equality and the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party sent telegrams urging the YDCA National Committee to grant us our charter. Thirdly, it is implied that we are in opposition to the NAACP. That is absolutely false. The Vice-President of our Hinds County chapter is Mr. Johnny Frazier, a National Board member of the NAACP and the Hinds County chapter Secretary is Miss Shirley Bailey, daughter of the Jackson NAACP branch President. The YOUNG DEMOCRATIC CLUBS OF MISSISSIPPI invites white moderates to join a racially integrated organization dedicated to building national Democratic Party politics in Mississippi. Come to Tougaloo College Student Center this Sunday, May 2nd, at 1pm where our YOUNG DEMOCRATIC CLUB OF HINDS COUNTY is hosting a meeting of Young Democrats from the University of Mississippi, Mississippi Southern, Delta State, Millsaps, Tougaloo, Jackson State, and other interested people. - Mrs. Carolyn Stevens, Publicity Secretary

- and another attack - INSIDE REPORT: Black-White Politics, Fri. May 7, 1965. Just at the moment when white moderates here were seeing new hope for racial peace, Mississippi politics may well be heading for a tragic racial polarization. There is real danger that the Democratic party here recognized by national Democrats will be predominantly Negro, dominated by civil rights radicals. Even if the new voter registration law is more effective than anybody dreams, such a black man's party would be consistently outpolled by a lily white Mississippi (as contrasted to national) Democratic party sticking to bitter-end segregation. And this, paradoxically, is the situation desired by most civil rights radicals and by white supremacists trying desperately to cling to lily white politics. In fact, a racial polarization of politics here could negate the impact of Federal voting registrars. White liberals and moderates are particularly heartsick about this because racial tension in Mississippi has eased measurably thanks in large part to the cautious courage of Gov. Paul Johnson. Abandoning the rednecks and white Citizens Councils who elected him, Johnson has joined with the business community in demanding law and order. He has all but emasculated the State Sovereignty Commission, defiant citadel of segregation. Partly because of the Governor and partly because of the slight stirrings of realism all over the South, forecasts of the long, hot - and bloody - Mississippi summer that stirred the air a year ago are now absent. Consider McComb in South, Mississippi which last summer was close to a race riot. The Ku Klux Klan is now infiltrated by the FBI and actually seems under control. There are no signs of another mass invasion of northern civil rights workers. McComb's white leaders have finally consented to bi-racial consultations. But there is no such progress in the vital political sphere. For this, much blame must be placed on the Freedom Democratic



party (FDP) - Mississippi arm of the most radical of civil rights groups the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). The FDP is simply not interested in a racially mixed party. The FDP headquarters, a second floor walk-up in a Negro section of Jackson, has the feel of a revolutionary command post. Before we were summarily ordered out, FDP members told us they had no faith in voter registration and were concentrating on "the challenge" - a quixotic scheme to replace Mississippi's five white Congressmen with three FDP Negroes. The real culprits, of course, are not FDP radicals but Mississippi whites who for a century refused to allow Negroes into the white man's politics. Even today, loyalist Democrats whine that they would be destroyed politically if they were caught talking to reasonable NAACP leader Charles Evers, no friend of the FDP. This atmosphere is made to order for the FDP radicals. For instance, the FDP is within a hair of capturing the national charter of the Mississippi Young Democrats. As we reported from Washington, the national YD organization refused to grant the charter to an FDP-sponsored group a few weeks ago. But since then, white moderates have not formed a racially integrated organization to counter the FDP group. This was seen last Sunday in a YD meeting at predominately Negro Tougaloo college (a FDP hotbed) near Jackson. Some 200 Negroes, but only about 10 Mississippi whites turned up. The meeting was controlled by FDP leaders. While declaring themselves to the Left of LBJ's Great Society and denouncing U.S. "colonial" policy in Viet Nam and Santo Domingo, they upbraided the few Mississippi whites who dared come. What is happening at the Young Democrat level today may be in store for the senior party tomorrow. While loyalist Democratic politicians talk grandly of sending a racially mixed Mississippi delegation to the next national convention (as required by the 1964 convention), they do nothing about it. Thus, it is entirely possible that the FDP will seat a Negro-dominated delegation at the next national convention. Such a racial polarization not only would please old-time segregationists. It also would make a reasonable racial relationship here more distant than ever.

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CLEVELAND DONALD's RESIGNATION LETTER FROM THE '01 Miss Group (three days later he told the YD state planning meeting that Spencer Oliver had talked him back into rejoining, but he has not written any letters stating that in writing, to my knowledge)

Cleveland Donald, Jr.  
Box 4269  
University of Mississippi  
University, Mississippi

Mr. Ransom R. Jones, III  
President, Young Democratic Club  
University of Mississippi  
Box 2378  
University, Mississippi

April 29, 1965

Dear Mr. Jones:

I hereby respectfully submit my resignation as a member of the University of Mississippi Young Democratic Club. I joined in the formation of the Young Democratic Club because I felt that a nondiscriminatory organization was needed to provide an opportunity for student expression on campus. More importantly, I felt a need for a nondiscriminatory group of young people dedicated to the betterment of the State of Mississippi and particularly to the achievement of full equality for all Mississippians. It was requested that I attend the National Young Democrats meeting in Kansas City earlier this month. I attended in the belief that the University of Mississippi organization had a sincere desire to create a group which would be nondiscriminatory in practice as well as in theory. We effectively prevented the chartering of a predominately Negro group from Jackson (sic: the state-wide YDCM) because it was felt that this group could not be nondiscriminatory in practice as well as in theory i.e. Caucasian Young Democrats would likely have reservations about cooperating with a group which was assumed to be orientated toward the Council Of Federated Organizations. Since the Kansas City meeting I have learned that the assumed orientation of the Jackson (sic: the state-wide YDCM) group is erroneous. To deliberately block another Democratic group in intrapolitical maneuvering is perhaps politics par excellence, but it seems not to reflect a sincere interest in the end objective, i.e. voter registration, a nondiscriminatory party in Mississippi, etc. Since the University of Mississippi group could not associate itself with the Jackson group before the meeting in Kansas City (editors note: Melvin Whitfield had invited them and anyone else interested) it is my belief that it presently has little hope of creating a truly nondiscriminatory Young Democrats Organization in the State of Mississippi. My continued association with the University of Mississippi Young Democratic Club will only continue to create a false illusion and an appearance of an organization which genuinely reflects the end objectives. Furthermore, such association could continue to be a basis for intrapolitical strife which in fact helps to prevent more sincere groups (like the Jackson group) /sic: YDCM/ from receiving a charter. Therefore, my resignation is regrettably submitted. Sincerely /s/ Cleveland Donald, Jr.  
cc: Mr. Spencer Oliver, Roy Wilkins, Charles Evers, R. Hunter Morey, Tom J. Truss, Jr., Dolmas Henderson, Raoul Cunningham, Melvin Whitfield, and others."

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HUNTER MOREY's LETTER OF 3 May 65 to CLAUDE RAMSEY, PRESIDENT, MISSISSIPPI AFL-CIO

It was good to see you and Mr. Knight at our very successful planning meeting yesterday at Tougaloo College. That the state AFL-CIO is pledged to supporting and working with us Young Democrats insures us of significant success. We had more people come than expected, over 150, from at least 24 counties, and from all five congressional districts. 101 officially registered. In that regard, and since as of yet our organization has not received any contributions, could you help things by carrying out the mandate of the body which was to send a copy of the registration list to everyone on the list. I enclose a copy of the list for that purpose.

Participation seemed to be quite broad and well balanced. The program consisted of 5 Negro speakers and 5 white speakers: Mr. Emmett K. Morris, President, YDC of Hinds County; Rev. Kenneth L. Dean, Executive Secretary, Mississippi Council on Human Relations; Rev. Edwin King, Dean of Students, Tougaloo College; Mr. Lawrence Guyot, Chairman, Freedom Democratic Party; myself; Mr. Ransom P. Jones, III, President YDC of 'Ol Miss; Mr. Roscoe Jones, President, YDC of Meridian; Mr. Roy Doberry, President, YDC of Holly Springs; yourself; and R v. R. L. T. Smith.

I am looking forward to working with you on our next planning meeting, which the body decided to have June 4, 1p.m., at Tougaloo College. You will be kept right up to date by the Planning Committee they elected, which consist of the chapter Presidents, Rev. Edwin King, and myself.

Yours for Democrats loyal to the national party in Mississippi. /s/  
cc: Mr. Ransom P. Jones III, Mr. Robert Oswald, National Officers of the Young Democratic Clubs of America, Mr. Bidwell Adam, Mrs. Burnette Y. Hemmington, Mr. E. K. Collins, Mr. Lawrence Guyot, Mrs. Victoria J. Gray, Rev. Edwin King, and Mr. Joseph Rauh.

CLAUDE RAMSAY's REPLY, May 6, 1965

Receipt of your letter of May 3, under your signature as Executive Secretary of the "Young Democratic Clubs of Mississippi", is acknowledged.

Frankly I'm slightly puzzled after receiving your letter. This puzzlement centers around the letterhead of your stationery (sic) as well as the number of people who you sent copies of the letter to. You and I both know that the "Young Democratic Clubs of Mississippi" has no official status. In the face of this, you apparently want to convey an impression to the contrary. (editors note: in the interest of broadening the Young Democrats, the Whitfield group has given up using its stationery and acting separately. We are all now one group, the current "authority" now being the YDCM Convention Committee)

As I have stated before, the Mississippi AFL-CIO is interested in working with other groups toward the establishment of a bonafide Democratic Party in this state. This applies to you and your associates when you convince us that this is likewise your objective.

I expect to convene our Executive Committee in the near future and will present your request that we do the mailing to those in attendance at the May 2nd meeting.

/s/ Claude Ramsay. cc: Mr. Clifton Carter, National Democratic Party, Mr. Al House, Young Democrats of America, Mr. Joseph Rauh, Mr. E. K. Collins, Mr. Bidwell Adam, Mr. Robert Aswald, Mr. Ransom Jones, Rev. Edwin King, Mr. Charles Evers, Mr. Emmett Morris.

LETTER OF HUNTER MOREY TO FRED RICCI, NATIONAL YDCA EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, 19 MAY 65  
Mr. Frederick A. Ricci, YDCA, 1730 K St., N.W., Washington, D.C.

With its extreme white supremacy, the state of Mississippi does not make organizing for loyalty to politics of the national Democratic Party easy, especially at this time of action for citizenship rights such as voting. We hope that you will help us therefore in recruiting members and clubs for the Young Democratic Clubs of America. We need organizing materials and assistance. This is the 5th time we (YDCM) have requested aid. Could you please send us assistance, 100 YDCA Organizing Manuals, Constitutions, Directories, and similar batches of YDCA and Democratic Party materials. We wish all our state-wide work to be in full conformity with the Constitution and requirements of the organization. And, as YDCA Secretary Mr. Kruse requested February 15 and as I again requested April 14th, could you please indicate in what manner should the senior party officials be contacted in regard to chartering a Young Democratic Club. Mr. Kruse referred to the "approved forms" which you apparently have. Could you please send us several sets of them since as Mr. Kruse said "possibly some will get lost by the intended recipients." In addition, we have been told by Mr. Dale Wagner that there will be a national college YDCA convention in New York City October 12-16. We have not received one word concerning any national YDCA convention. Will it be the same time and place as the college one? Please send all details.

Our records indicate the following contacts between the YDCA and the YDCM:  
(ed. note, this is as of 19 MAY 65) August 21-23, '64 YDCM applied for a charter at the YDCA Atlantic City meeting. Sept. 2, '64 J. Albert House wrote Melvin Whitfield, YDCM President, returning our charter application and referring us to you for information. February 15, '65 Edwin Kruse send Whitfield a copy of his letter to you requesting that you put Whitfield on the YDCA mailing list and send him organizing materials. February 20, '65 You wrote Whitfield including a Constitution and senior party officials addresses. April 9, 10, '65 Whitfield presented the YDCM charter application again, including list of chapter towns and presidents, Constitution, and proof that senior party Chairman Bidwell Adam did not



support the national party Presidential nominee and therefore waived the certification requirement. April 14, '65, YDCM sent YDCA our April Newsletter. April 21, '65, House sent YDCM back their charter application and stated that Ricci and Rosak would send us materials. April 27, '65 YDCM sent YDCA another request for organizational materials including a list of the 41 Hinds County members, and addresses. May 3, '65, YDCM sent copy of summary of the May 2nd state planning meeting at Tougaloo to YDCA, including addresses of the 101 registrants. May 13, '65, Dale Wagner sent YDCM applications for college chapters and notification of the Oct. 12-16 college convention. May 10, '65, House sent YDCM a letter stating that Frank D. Rosak couldn't attend our May 2nd meeting due to an automobile accident, and again referred our requests for help to the proper YDCA offices. Mr. House neglected to mention that the self-avowed foe of YDCM, Spencer Oliver, also came down, and both Oliver and Rozak contacted Claude Ramsay and the 'Ol Miss group (who had both argued against us) but not a single YDCM person.

We trust that this fifth request for materials will produce results. Cordially, R. Hunter Morey [ed. note: we still have not received our materials from the national]

#### SENIOR PARTY OFFICIALS AND YDCM

As indicated above, certification must be obtained from the state party officials (2 out of the Chairman, National Committeeman, National Committeewoman) unless any one of such "senior Party officers ... failed to support the Democratic Presidential nominee in the last preceding election." Bidwell Adam has been the Chairman for years, First Supreme Court Justice Tom Brady and now Senator E. K. Collins is the National Committeeman; and first Mrs. J. A. Phillips and now Mrs. Burnette Y. Hemmington is the National Committeewoman. The former officers failed to respond favorably to our requests for suggestions and certification. The current set have either been very hostile, such as Bidwell Adam who sent the Kansas City meeting a telegram stating he knew nothing about us and refused to certify us while I have in my possession the letter of August 7, 1964 in which Mr. Adam refers our state secretary's (Mr. Henderson) request for certification to Mr. Mauldin, Secretary of the party executive committee; or in the case of the national committee people, they wrote very friendly letters to be read in Kansas City, but have refused to answer (along with Mr. Adam) ANY of the more than five letters each I have sent them since the Kansas City meeting. I have sent them all information about the clubs, notices and invitations to meetings, etc., and requests for suggestions and any criterion or standards they might have for certification. They have totally refused to cooperate at all and have completely ignored our requests for certification or even just communication. I feel that we should not be required to obtain signatures from officials who refuse to even reply to letters, and when the Chairman did not support the LBJ HHH ticket and so waived the requirement. In addition, I personally agree with the legal brief prepared by attorney Joseph Rauh which proves that the Freedom Democratic Party is the only loyal state party in Mississippi, and that therefore we should be allowed to use the FDP officials for certification. (I have certified receipts for all correspondence indicated above.)

#### WHAT YOU CAN DO TO HELP

1. Research on Bidwell Adam (also Collins and Hemmington) to prove that he did not support the Presidential nominee of the national Democratic Party. Mississippi newspapers such as the CLARION LEDGER, JACKSON DAILY NEWS, McCOMB ENTERPRISE, DELTA DEMOCRAT TIMES, and others such as from Gulfport; and the Memphis Commercial Appeal, the New Orleans Times Pycianune, the New York Times, Washington Post, etc., should be carefully examined for the period between June, especially the August and November periods and later for post election coverage.
2. Legal Briefs in support of granting a charter to the Young Democratic Clubs of Mississippi - for presentation to the Credentials Committee, the National Committee and the National Convention of the YDCA (with copies to all the state delegations).
3. Letters of support both from the grass roots and from big shots: send to the YDCA officers, the National Membership Committee, the National Committee of the YDCA. We need letters from individuals, YD members, church, labor, civic groups, public officials, congressmen, national figures, etc.
4. Lobbying with YDCA National Officers, National Membership Committee members, and the state delegations and the National Committee to support our charter application at the YDCA National Convention in New York City this October 12-16.
5. Fund raising - mimeo paper, ink, postage, envelopes, rent, filing cabinets, transportation in the state and to New York in October. We would like to buy some school buses (new ones so we won't be stopped by frequent repairs) so that we won't just spend a lot of bus rental money and have nothing to show for it back in the state afterwards. They cost about \$6,500 each. We have the time to raise this type of money. The YDCM and the Movement back in Mississippi NEED these buses).



6. Letters to the Editor and Articles about the YDCM (based on this book) for newspapers and magazines and newsletters. Get groups to put out special mailings and reports on us. Get this book duplicated and distributed widely.
7. Prepare demonstrations and posters for the New York convention October 12-16 (picketing, freedom singing, sit-ins, etc.) around the theme CHARTER THE YOUNG DEMOCRATIC CLUB OF MISSISSIPPI. Use signs such as HOW LONG, HOW LONG TO WAIT? YOUNG DEMOCRATS OR YOUNG DIXICRATS? RECOGNIZE MISSISSIPPI. A VOTE FOR MISSISSIPPI IS A VOTE FOR FREEDOM. etc.
8. Get other organizations and chapters of groups to make support of us their program. Student groups, peace groups, civil rights groups, political groups, all can play a part.
9. Come down and work with us in Mississippi. Get a supporting letter from your nearest office which has recruited workers for Mississippi before (such as SNCC, CORE, FDP, etc.). You should either be an experienced organizer, or CR worker, a YD official or Democratic Party official, or have something unusual to offer our work AND at least \$500 in bail bond money ready with a person who can wire it right down when we call him collect AND at least \$25 a week living money since ALL expenses must be paid by the volunteers since we have no money, AND a willingness to live in crowded, poor conditions, which are sometimes dangerous.

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#### NATIONAL OFFICERS OF THE YOUNG DEMOCRATIC CLUBS OF AMERICA

NATIONAL PRESIDENT  
J. Albert House, Jr.  
245 Roanoke Avenue  
Roanoke Rapids, N.C.

FIRST VICE PRESIDENT  
Ed Rosewell  
3321 W. Gladys Ave.  
Chicago 24, Ill.

VICE PRESIDENT  
Oliver Ocasek  
7665 Garnett Road  
Northfield, Ohio

VICE PRESIDENT  
Alice McMahon  
Route 1, Box 195  
Maitland, Florida

COLLEGE VICE PRESIDENT  
Dale Wagner  
1730 K St., N.W.  
Washington, D.C.

SECRETARY  
Edwin Kruse  
107 Center Ave.  
Chatham, N.J.

TREASURER  
Mary Kennedy  
583 Prospect Ave.  
West Hartford, Conn.

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R. Spencer Oliver  
133 Old Senate Office Bldg.  
Washington 25, D.C.

GENERAL COUNSEL  
Don Hamilton  
412 Commerce Exchange Bldg.  
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY  
Frederick A. Ricci  
1730 K St., N.W.  
Washington, D.C.

COLLEGE DIRECTOR  
Franklin D. Rozak  
1730 K St., N.W.  
Washington, D.C.

#### NATIONAL MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE of the YOUNG DEMOCRATIC CLUBS OF AMERICA

CHAIRMAN  
Patrick C. Clary  
Young Democratic Clubs  
1730 K St., N.W.  
Washington 6, D.C.

CHAIRMAN, SUBCOMMITTEE ON  
ALABAMA & MISSISSIPPI  
R. Spencer Oliver  
133 Old Senate Office Bldg.  
Washington 25, D.C.

Donald L. Bonker  
c/o Senator Maurine Neuberger  
431 Senate Office Building  
Washington 25, D.C.

Geri Storm  
c/o Senator Joseph Clark  
United States Senate  
Washington 25, D.C.

Jan Pettee  
1527 Corcoran St., N.W.  
Washington, D.C.

Franklin Haney  
Apt. 106, 215 Constitution Ave.  
Washington, D.C.

Don Hamilton  
412 Commerce Exchange Bldg.  
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Bradley G. McDonald, Esquire  
1012 14th St., N.W.  
Washington 5, D.C.

John J. Sexton, Esquire  
1000 Federal Bar Building  
1815 H St., N.W.  
Washington 6, D.C.

#### YDCA SOUTHEASTERN CONFERENCE OFFICIALS

CHAIRMAN  
Carl Barrett  
Box 25  
Holly Springs, Ga.

GULF (Region VI) DIRECTOR  
Dan Ellis  
2222 General Pershing St.  
New Orleans, La.

GULF DEPUTY DIRECTOR  
John Mahart, Esquire  
1112 Georgia Drive  
New Orleans, La.

SOUTHEASTERN CONFERENCE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Dave Reid, Esquire, Box 375, Greenville, N.C.



# YDCA STATE GROUPS POSSIBLY HELPFUL (the President or other top person)

Jack D. Files  
215 Goshen  
North Little Rock, Ark

Joe Beeman  
1622 House Office Building  
Washington, D.C.

Howard Schumann  
11047 Hawthorne Blvd.  
Lemoor, California

Gordon Graham  
903 Quackenbos St., N.W.  
Washington, D.C.

Raoul Cunningham  
5327 4th St., N.W.  
Washington, D.C.

Leo Krulitz  
1st Security Bank Building  
Boise, Idaho

Jack R. Beaupre  
Kankakee County Courthouse  
Kankakee, Illinois

William E. Gluba  
1012 Farnam  
Davenport, Iowa

John Ivan  
11220 West 70th  
Shawnee Mission, Kansas

Wally Orlinsky  
1316 Bolton St.  
Baltimore, Maryland

Thomas Sullivan  
166 North Main St.  
Randolph, Mass.

Bob Owens  
Carlton College  
Northfield, Minn.

Del Swigart  
3328 North 58th  
Omaha, Nebraska

John F. Geaney, Jr.  
151 Cornell Ave.  
Hawthorne, N.J.

John D. Kearney  
387 N. Burgher Ave.  
Staten Island, New York

Cathy Lawlaw  
Valley City  
North Dakota

John McDonald  
388 6th Ave. W.  
Eugene, Oregon

Paul T. Hicks  
72 Callan St.  
Providence, Rhode Island

Dickie Lee Sheppard  
Gamma Phi Beta H use  
University of Wyoming  
Laramie, Wyoming

On these next two pages is the Constitution of the Mississippi Democratic Conference which was obtained from the Sunday, May 23 Meridian meeting from which I was excluded and from which at least two local registered Negro citizens were excluded merely because they were acting FDP County Chairman and local COFO Project Director. I think that this group is part of the "Liberal Establishment" plan to organize counter to the FDP to attempt to destroy it (and to provide "safe" and "responsible" Negroes to integrate the racist Mississippi regular Democratic Party. This "Democratic Conference" may well be the most significant threat to progress on the scene.

At this conclusion of my personal report (AND THIS REPORT DOES NOT REPRESENT THE YOUNG DEMOCRATIC CLUBS OF MISSISSIPPI BUT IS MERELY MY OWN OPINION) I want to make sure that the limitations and opportunities of the Young Democrats are clear. All organizations and institutions are mere tools for people to use to get their needs fulfilled. Mississippi now needs a New Reconstruction complete with the political and social revolutionary implications. Instead of minority of wealthy whites totally controlling the community, the majority which is made up of Negroes and poor whites must rule democratically. Not only voter registration and mass direct action (both of which remain essential) but political groups must grow in which Negroes and poor whites can focus their voting power to make the needed drastic changes come about. They must not be hampered by either the old line white racists and uncle Toms, nor the new type of enemy, the Negro and white "moderates" who are merely opportunistically motivated to fulfill their own selfish ambitions. Last night, for example, Charles Evers of the NAACP (a participant in the Democratic Conference) who has publically criticized both FDP and who was the main reason why we Young Democrats still do not have a charter, came to the FDP rally after the Capitol March arrests claiming that "when the chips are down, we are all together."

I have never seen such a blatant case of a man desperately trying to get public credit for something he not only has done nothing for, but which he has attacked. When you are successful then even some of your enemies claim to have been for you. The fact is that in Mississippi Charles Evers has been unable to come up with any program. COFO and FDP have all of the imaginative leadership and the mass support. Mr. Evers just has his wish to be a big shot. So when FDP starts something which is obviously excellent, and when the local people start supporting it in a big way, (over 600 people are now in jail in Jackson in the current FDP campaign) all "Negro leaders" feel that they must either support it or be publically left aside as the irrelevant old thing some really are. We must not underestimate the power of such Negro and white opportunists. Remember how Evers took over the Madison County COFO and FDP situation, how the NAACP tried to take over the McComb development, etc. One problem has been our reluctance to define the difference between the various groups and what they stand for. It is true that there is room for everyone here, but there are such genuine and important differences between the groups, that glossing over them becomes irresponsible and allows things like the Democratic Conference and the "Liberal Establishment" to take us over. Let me make it clear that I do not object of having the "Liberal Establishment" in the Young Democrats, but I do object to their attempts to kill us or failing that, to take us over. The People's Movement Shall Reach Victory Some Day.



# CONSTITUTION OF THE MISSISSIPPI DEMOCRATIC CONFERENCE

**ARTICLE I - Name** This organization shall be known by, and do business under the name of "The Mississippi Democratic Conference, Incorporated".

**ARTICLE II - Purpose** The purpose of this organization shall be to bring together in one organization, through duly elected representatives, members of city and county Democratic organizations within the state, to stimulate and facilitate the organization of such groups where none exists, and to advocate and advance the principles and goals of the National Democratic Party.

**ARTICLE III - Membership** The Mississippi Democratic Conference shall be composed of a specified number of bona fide Democrats elected to represent the Congressional Districts within the state. Each Congressional District shall have the number of votes equivalent to the number of representatives in the lower house of the Mississippi Legislature.

**ARTICLE IV - Meetings** The Mississippi Democratic Conference shall meet annually on the second Sunday in April. Special sessions may be called by the chairman upon approval of a majority of the members of the Board of Directors. A quorum of the Conference shall consist of at least 27 members, representing at least five Congressional Districts.

**ARTICLE V - Officers** Section 1. The elected officers of the Conference shall consist of a chairman, a secretary, an assistant secretary, a treasurer, a parliamentarian, and a chaplain. An officer shall hold office for one year, or until a successor has been elected. Officers may succeed themselves in office. Section 2. All officers shall be elected annually by ballot at the annual meeting, and shall be installed immediately. Section 3. The Board of Directors shall consist of the elected officers, the chairman of standing committees, and the District Representatives. Representatives-at-large may serve on the Board of Directors as alternates to the District Representatives. Section 4. The executive committee of the Board of Directors shall consist of the elected officers. Section 5. An executive committee quorum shall consist of at least four (4) elected officers.

**ARTICLE VI - Vacancies** In the event of death, physical or mental disability, or other disqualifications of the chairman, the vice chairman shall take over the duties of the Chairman's office, and shall conduct such office until the next regular election. In the event of the death or disqualification of any other elected officer, the executive committee shall, by majority vote, appoint a successor to serve until the next regular election.

**ARTICLE VII - Dues and Assessments** Each County and each City Democratic Conference shall be assessed ten cents annually for each registered Democrat in the County or City Conference, payable in two installments. Contributions to the National Democratic Party may be made in the form of membership dues or donations through the State Conference.

**ARTICLE VIII - Amendments and Revisions** Any proposal to amend must come from at least ten members from at least three Congressional Districts 90 days before the annual meeting in April. The proposal must include the signatures of the members, and must be sent to the chairman, and a copy to the secretary. Any amendment may be changed at the time of the annual meeting as long as the modification is germane to the original proposal, and is voted favorably by 2/3 of the members present and voting.

## BY-LAWS

**Article I - Memberships** Section 1. The Mississippi Democratic Conference shall be composed of a specified number of representatives of County and City Democratic Conferences or Clubs from each Congressional District in Mississippi. Section 2. Each county within a Congressional District which has at least 100 qualified Democrats shall be entitled to a representative. Section 3. The names of the representatives and their alternates must be certified to the Secretary of the Mississippi Democratic Conference by the president or chairman and secretary of the County or City Conference immediately after they are elected or appointed.

**Article II - Meetings** The regular annual meeting shall be held on the second Sunday in April at a place designated by the Conference or the Board of Directors. Special sessions of the Conference may be called by the chairman upon approval of a majority of the Board of Directors. Special sessions may be held only after members have had twenty days notice. Board meetings may be called by the chairman, or by one-third of the members of the Board.

**Article III - Officers** The officers of the Mississippi Democratic Conference shall be (1) a chairman, (2) a vice chairman, (3) a secretary, (4) an assistant secretary, (5) a treasurer, (6) a parliamentarian and (7) a chaplain.

**Article IV - Duties of the Officers** It shall be the duty of the chairman to preside at all meetings of the Conference and of the executive committee, and to see that the Constitution and policies of the Conference are carried out. The chairman shall appoint all standing committees, and any other committees considered necessary to carry out the program of the Conference. The vice chairman shall preside at all meetings in the absence of the chairman,



and shall perform such other duties as may be assigned by the chairman. The secretary shall keep all records of the Conference, record the minutes of each meeting of the Conference and of the executive committee, receive all monies of the Conference and issue vouchers for checks against the account of the Conference. The assistant secretary shall act as secretary in the absence of the secretary, and at the direction of the chairman. The treasurer shall receive all monies given to him by the secretary, deposit same in a commercial bank, and issue checks upon vouchers received from the secretary. The parliamentarian shall see that the meetings are conducted according to parliamentary procedure. The chaplain shall open and close each meeting with prayer.

**Article V - Revenue** The revenue of this Conference shall come from membership dues and assessments, and from such other activities which are deemed appropriate. In order for a member to be eligible to vote in the annual meeting and to be eligible for election to office or appointment to committees, the assessment of the County or City Conference or Club which he represents must be fully paid by March 15.

**Article VI - Election of Officers** At each annual meeting there shall be elected a nominating committee of five whose duty it will be to prepare a slate of candidates for presentation at the next annual meeting. Each member of the committee shall be from a different Congressional District. Candidates may be nominated from the floor. Voting may be secret or open ballot. Candidates receiving a majority of votes shall be declared elected. The Chairman of the Conference shall be an ex-officio member of all committees.

**Article VII - Committees** The standing committees of the Conference shall be: 1. Budget, 2. Finance, 3. Legislation, 4. Membership, 5. Organizing, 6. Program, 7. Public Relations and Research, 8. Voting and Registration, 9. Women's Activities. The chairman of the committees shall be appointed by the Chairman of the Conference. Other members of the committees shall be appointed by the District Representatives, or by the Chairman of the Conference.

**Article VIII - Duties of Committees** 1. Budget. This committee shall prepare the annual budget and present it to the Conference at its annual meeting. 2. Finance. The Finance Committee shall propose and plan special fund-raising projects when needed, be responsible for receiving financial contributions at the public meetings, at the annual meetings, and on other special occasions, and shall perform such other duties as the executive committee may authorize in order to provide the Conference with adequate funds. 3. Legislation. It shall be the duty of this committee to analyze and evaluate proposed or pending legislation; to recommend support of legislation conducive to the general welfare and opposition to, and repeal of, legislation not in the public interest; to recommend needed legislation. 4. Membership. This committee shall consist in part of the chairmen of the membership committees in the Congressional Districts, and shall have the responsibility of identifying and certifying the County Democratic Clubs which are bona fide financial members of the Conference. (The Membership Committee is the Credentials Committee). 5. Organizing. The primary function of this committee shall be that of stimulating and facilitating the organization of county-wide Democratic Clubs in those counties in which they do not exist, and that of facilitating their financial affiliation with the Conference. 6. Program. This committee shall develop for the Conference program proposals which shall be submitted to the executive committee, and shall execute such program activities as the executive committee may assign. 7. Public Relations and Research. It shall be the duty of this committee to interpret the Conference to the public and to advise the officers and members of the Conference as to decisions and activities most appropriate for creating and maintaining the most effective public image. It shall, also, be the duty of this committee to assemble through inquiry, investigation and formal research such data as would be of value to the Conference, and to present such to the Conference in an effective manner. 8. Voting and Registration. This committee shall assemble and disseminate through the most appropriate channels such information as might promote the most effective voting on the part of the electorate, and facilitate the registration of the unregistered. 9. Women's Activities. The duty of this committee shall be that of formulating and recommending to the executive committee programs designed to facilitate the effective participation of women in the Party, and to execute the approved programs.

**Article IX - Roberts Rules of Order** The Conference shall be governed by Roberts Rules of Order.

**Article X - Amendment** The By-Laws of the Conference may be amended at any annual meeting by a two-thirds majority vote of the members present and voting.