

Negroes Mount Massive Protest

243 From State Make D. C. Trip

JFK, Congressmen
Hear 200,000 Voices
Ask Jobs, Freedom

Throughout the country Tuesday thousands of citizens got into Freedom buses, trains, planes, and cars and set out for the nation's capital to participate in Wednesday's March on Washington.

More than 100,000 people were estimated to have joined the massive demonstration which came as a climax to months of protest. Focusing the drive for equality on the nation's lawmakers, the marchers demanded Jobs and Freedom—NOW.

Mississippi sent a delegation of 243 which left for Washington early Tuesday morning in six buses. In Jackson it was still dark when 164 people gathered at the Masonic Temple.

The marchers, including residents from Gulfport and Biloxi, carried signs reading "We Want Freedom" as they boarded the four buses. Charles Evers, who flew to Washington Tuesday night, said simply that the marchers were "conscientious citizens" setting out to dramatize their feelings.

In addition to Jackson's four buses, Clarksdale and Greenwood each sent one bus with 38 and 41 riders, respectively.

Mississippians joined 200,000 other Americans at the Washington Monument for the opening program Wednesday morning. At noon the entire force began the solemn March to the Lincoln Memorial. The procession (Continued on Page 8)



A native of Noxubee County and 30 year resident of Jackson casts her Vote for Freedom ballot at the Blair St. Church polling place in Jackson.

New Voters Find "Way To Freedom"

The woman pictured above is enacting a scene which occurred 27,689 times throughout the state last weekend. She is casting her ballot in the Vote for Freedom election.

This picture was taken at Blair St. Church in Jackson, but the setting was the same at polling places in Clarksdale, Greenwood, Canton, and many other localities. People who had been afraid to go to the courthouse and register, people who could not pay their poll tax, and people who had been turned down outright by the registrar got a chance to express their choice for governor.

Although the ballots were not counted in the official election results, the special election had great value, especially for the people who voted. One woman said the Vote for Freedom was "good practice" for official elections. Echoing her views, (Continued On Page 8)

27,689 Cast Ballots Miss. Didn't Want

More than 27,000 Negro citizens of Mississippi stood up last weekend and said they were not satisfied with second-class citizenship. Expressing themselves through the Vote for Freedom ballot.

27,689 individuals cast their votes for governor in a special election to protest discrimination against Negroes attempting to vote.

Unregistered Negroes over 21 and voters who had not paid their poll tax went to Vote for Freedom polling places set up in churches and other community centers throughout the state. In casting their votes, they falsified the claim of white Mississippians that Negroes do not vote because they do not want to.

Charles Evers commented, "The fine turn-out in the Vote for Freedom shows that the Negro in Mississippi is ready to go out and get the official ballot."

In the state-wide breakdown of the vote-total, J. P. Coleman came out far ahead of his opponent Paul B. Johnson. Coleman polled 26,721 votes to Johnson's 949, a 30 to 1 margin.

The largest number of local voters turned out in Jackson where approximate figures show Coleman taking Johnson, 9,000 to 500. The second largest total came in Clarksdale with Coleman winning 5,226 to 95.

Mahalia And Others Top Jackson Movement Show

Some of the nation's most talented performers will come to Jackson for the Labor Day holiday to give a benefit program. Headlining the list of celebrities is Mahalia Jackson, the best-known spiritual singer in the country.

The program represents the high-point of a fund-raising campaign to raise money for the voter registration

drive. It will be held Sunday and Monday at the Masonic Temple.

Several spiritual groups are slated to appear, along with ministers from all over the nation. Included in Monday's program will be a rock and roll show featuring Ruth Brown, "Billy the Kid" Emerson, and possibly Earl Grant.

Cade Chapel Thanks Church Youth

The young people at Cade Chapel gave a talent program last Sunday before an audience that included Mr. Cleaveland Donald, Jr., and other representatives of the National Baptist Convention which will take place in Cleveland, Ohio. Mr. Donald will be convention representative for Mississippi. The church wishes to thank all the young people who participated in the program, Miss Billy Jean Wedlock, and the program's chairman, Mrs. O. D. Johnson.

Columbus School Is Closed To Air Force Dependents

Two Negro Air Force Sergeants have written requests to have their children transferred from Negro to white schools in Columbus. Columbus city schools, however, could be closed this year to all Air Force personnel.

The Columbus School Board voted to bar most children living outside the Columbus school district from attending their schools, and has closed down one elementary school completely.

The school board reached their decision only hours before the requests were delivered to

them. Sergeant Robert Bagly, one of the men requesting change wrote, "The schools my children are now assigned to are segregated, below standard in the curriculum offered, and are not nationally accredited or accredited by the Southern Association."

The board voted to close Brandon Elementary School which had had a regular enrollment of 600. All but 25 to 50 of its pupils were air base children, and the school was constructed largely with federal funds.

Citywide Action Begins In Delta

A community organization project now underway in Greenwood could provide a method for entire Negro communities to act together as a unit. This would mean a large increase in power in the fight for civil rights.

Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee field workers are trying to find a person in each block in the city's Negro neighborhoods who will be able to act as a connection between the people in the neighborhoods and the Greenwood leadership.

Up to now one of the biggest problems of movements in various parts of the state has been poor organization. Citizens have not acted together because they did not know what the local leadership was planning, or because they were afraid that they were alone. Also leaders have often been unable to reach

the people in their neighborhoods.

Change

As a result many planned protests and demonstrations have not been as successful as was hoped. But if the Greenwood plan succeeds in the field as it is designed on paper, all this would change.

Everyone in the community will know what the leaders are planning, and the leaders will have closer contact with the citizens. When a demonstration or campaign is called, Greenwood residents will be able to act together to win their goal.

Results Appear

So far workers have started to interview people in nearly half of the city's neighborhoods. Even though the program is only three weeks old, it is beginning to show results. Several (Continued On Page 8)

14 In One Cell, Short Rations

Parchman: Tough Place

Greenwood voter registration workers were forced to put up with needlessly harsh living conditions and brutal punishment as prison authorities attempted to break their spirit during their recent 60 day stay in the State Penitentiary at Parchman, they have claimed.

But the 14 young people refused to believe that the activity for which they had been jailed—trying to register prospective voters—was the same as any common crime.

Despite a warning by their sergeant that they "were no more than dirt to him," and threats of beating, their morale remained good. Most of them have returned to their work in the voter registration campaign in Leflore County.

The prisoners, all but two of whom were student Non-violent Coordinating Committee field workers, were arrested on charges of disorderly conduct after they went to the Leflore County courthouse to register

prospective voters. From this point on, they were given unfair treatment, bullied, threatened, and mistreated until their release on an appeal bond last week, it was charged.

No Lawyer Present

Within four hours of their arrest the 14 had been sentenced to \$200 fines and four months in the county penal farm. Their conviction was so swift that there was no possibility of a lawyer entering the case to defend them. (Continued On Page 8)

Editorial Page

WE STAND FOR . . .

GOOD GOVERNMENT
HIGHER LIVING STANDARDS
BETTER EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES
SOCIAL JUSTICE . . . IN MISSISSIPPI

Getting Up And Talking

"Some people are getting up and talking about things." This report from a voter registration worker in the Delta, illustrates the hazy but definite activity which has characterized the area for over a year. Voter registration work heads a list of political and educational projects which include citizenship schools, leadership workshops, and block organization conducted through the Mississippi Voter Registration Project.

This activity has been taking place at a time when conditions in the Delta are particularly severe. As the story on page five indicates, Delta farm laborers are working for low wages and fewer hours as a result of automation. They are trapped in the cotton economy because they lack the skills and education necessary to aspire to non-agricultural jobs. Opportunities to acquire these skills are limited by years of immobility, and by a political system whose attitude is, with certain exceptions, "hands off."

People are starving in the Delta. Relief roles are bulging. Yet the State is content merely to let things alone; with the result that the situation deteriorates as automation continues to steal jobs. Planters and businessmen undoubtedly do not want to impoverish the area further, because their economy depends somewhat on Negro spending power. Yet they cannot afford to help the Negro cotton worker find new jobs, because they still require his hands for picking and chopping during a few weeks in the year.

The present activity in the Delta was initiated largely because no one else would act, or had acted, to secure the fundamental political and educational rights of Mississippi Negroes. In the face of continued economic neglect, it is no less important that Negroes move to secure their economic rights as well.

A State of Public Inconvenience

The protest vote which took place last Sunday under the supervision of church groups and civil rights organizations, brings to light an incredible irony. The vote was supervised, and there were checks making it illegal for a Negro to vote twice, where in reality he cannot vote at all.

It means that only men and women over twenty-one who were not registered, or who did not pay their poll tax, were permitted to ballot—to collect a majority opinion in the most orderly manner possible—in a state where the present powers seek no majority opinions, and maintain only the most crippling order.

Any democratic state should be viewed, in part, as a public convenience. If we wish to make a law, or to choose a government, we must first arrive at a measure of public opinion swiftly and surely, and with as little cost in time and money as we can.

In an official vote, we should select the day of that vote carefully. We should find a day when people are available, when they won't lose money by having to leave their jobs to vote—a holiday, or any Sunday will do.

And we should select the places where people vote just as carefully. We will want places familiar to the people and easy to find.

That, at least, is the kind of convenience we should have. Meanwhile, all that can be seen in Mississippi, on the whole, is a state of public inconvenience.

But Mississippi is engaged in a very costly job—a job that has helped to make this state the poorest in the nation. It is a job the present powers will not be able to afford forever.

In this protest vote we see an unofficial ballot pledged to follow a guiding order far more reasonable than Mississippi's own. We see an order which, in fact, comes far closer to the meaning of what a state should be.

Perhaps it would be wise to remember, then, that this vote is not merely a protest, but also a rehearsal for a better government. It is a rehearsal for the state as a public convenience. And its single irony rests in its superiority to the official vote.

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Dr. A. B. Britton, Treasurer

Tougaloo Plays Role In Fight For Rights

Beittel Says Education Key

Ole Miss and Tougaloo Southern Christian College share a common distinction—they are the only two integrated institutions of higher learning in the state.

Integration came more easily for the first school than for the second, however. Founded in 1869 by the American Missionary Association on a 500-acre plantation in Jackson, the predominantly Negro school has always included the children of white professors among its co-ed student body.

In the last few years, Tougaloo has actively encouraged the admission of white students. This policy was begun because it was felt that "church colleges should not be the most segregated in the state," explained Dr. A. D. Beittel, president of the college, in an interview this week.

Students Active

Individuals at Tougaloo College have been active in the civil rights struggle, and they have a court injunction to prove it. On June 8, the college received an injunction issued by the Chancery Court of the First Judiciary District of Hinds County (Jackson).

It ordered Dr. Beittel, anyone associated with the college, CORE, the NAACP, Dick Gregory, John Salter, the late

Medgar Evers, and others not to participate or plan what it called unlawful demonstrations of any kind.

But Dr. Beittel insists that it is the educational aspects of Tougaloo which should be stressed. The Tougaloo work-study program and a projected project in the field of literacy research are related to the interests of the broad Negro community. But they are also, Dr. Beittel pointed out, "primarily educational."

Education First

The college's attitude toward faculty and student participation in "direct action" is one of positive neutrality. It considers such activity the affair of the individual, Dr. Beittel indicated, but it insists that students cannot get credit for courses if they spend class time in jail. By the same token, faculty members must be primarily responsible for teaching their classes.

The Tougaloo campus perhaps enjoys greater freedom than any other institution in the state. The white state and private universities remain subject to the biases of state politicians.

The policies of other Negro institutions are also subject to the approval of the politicians or the conservatism of their in-state financial supporters.

However, since Tougaloo is supported by out-of-state funds and sympathetic sponsoring organizations, it is not subject to these pressures.

College Tries New Project

Ten students from Tougaloo Southern Christian College will participate this fall in a work-study program designed to develop leaders of the civil rights movement. At the same time they will work actively in current civil rights projects.

The students will assist voter registration projects in the Delta while receiving instruction in subjects related to problems of the area, such as automation, Mississippi politics, and Negro history.

The project is designed to attack the long-range problems of the struggle for equality by training future leaders in the peculiar problems of the Delta.

According to Jane Stembridge, program coordinator, the project is "part of a whole trend of trying to solve the problems that will still be here after civil rights have been attained."

Operating under a \$15,000 Field Foundation grant, the pilot project is designed for students who want both to participate in the civil rights movement and to complete their college education.

It is intended to solve the dual problem of field workers who feel alienated from the academic environment and colleges which consider the civil rights movement to be working at cross purposes with them.

Students will not be given college credit, nor will receive scholarships for the following year.

A second pilot project is being considered in association with Miles College, Birmingham, Ala., but no definite plans have been made. Financing for continuation and expansion of the program will be forthcoming if the Tougaloo pilot program is judged successful, project officials report.

The program was conceived and planned by Dr. A. D. Beittel, president of Tougaloo, and Robert Moses, Director of the Council of Federated Organizations and the Mississippi Voter Education Program in the Delta.

The conference arrived at this figure after a guided tour of the Experiment Station in Stoneville. As guests of the Stoneville personnel, they were treated first to a box lunch on the grounds. Following lunch, everyone sauntered off for a "look-see" at the largest agricultural equipment, the Mississippi Cotton Bulletin said.

With out-door appetites well satisfied, the Annual Fall Planning Conference went home to conclude that, in spite of the figures, conditions throughout the Delta were good.

Farm Planning Group Predicts Smaller Crop

The Annual Farm Planning Conference has estimated that two districts including twelve Delta counties will produce 38,700 fewer bales of cotton than in 1962.

Further estimates revealed: (1) that the labor force at the season's peak in the Delta and part-Delta counties would be 1400 less than in 1962.

(2) that the pre-season farm commitments numbering 21,610 will leave 780 workers without jobs, due to insufficient demand. That means 780 workers who were already hired.

Constitutional Government Clinton Collins

Ed. Notes

The writer of this article was a candidate for Justice of the Peace in Laurel in the Aug. 6 primary.

Constitutional Government

The present governor and the two candidates aspiring to become governor continuously speak of States Rights and Constitutional Government—they are for both. All of them have the ideal but have missed the point! The point is this; by virtue of an Act of Congress 1885 the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendment to the Federal constitution became a reality. And until this date Mississippi officials have overlooked the fact that the entire fifty states support the philosophy of constitutional government.

If the Governor and other duly elected officials of Mississippi actually believed in constitutional government there would be no need for federal intervention in our affairs.

I draw this conclusion, either the Governor and other elected officials don't understand or don't know the fundamentals of the Constitution, or they are afraid to let an enslaved forty-two percent of the total population exercise citizenship under a Constitutional Government.

It is a tragedy when men supposedly of high integrity and esteem can only talk about constitutional rights in reference to a lost cause decided over a hundred years ago at Appomattox.

Such men are too asinine and ignorant to distinguish an individual's privilege to exercise his constitutional rights as he may see fit, as long as he doesn't infringe on the rights of

others. This is the question: How can we secure these constitutional rights? And how can we protect these rights.

We can secure these rights by notifying the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department, Washington 25, D. C. of violations of our civil rights. And once these rights are secured, we should constantly safeguard these rights by voting for the best qualified candidate and encourage others to vote like-wise.

I have never seen a half wheel, a half car; neither have I seen a half man that lived. I am merely saying this: It takes all of us to get the maximum result out of the rest of us. And until a governor of Mississippi can represent and speak for all of the people and all of the people can be represented in all segments of our politico-socio-economic life we don't have constitutional government.

There are reasons for the followers to be blind to the fact because the supposed-to-be leaders are blind, ignorant and prejudiced in their conception of Constitutional Government and to the application thereof.

I suggest political maturity. Our Governor and other officials can be politically mature by marching up right into the twentieth century, and by accepting reality.

What are they afraid of? If they have greater brain capacity for learning, why is it necessary to have laws to maintain white supremacy? I challenge them to repeal these vicious laws; then you will see the end results.

Education: Separate And Unequal

Negro Teachers' Attitudes Do Not Help Fight System

"There is no real talent — white or black—in Mississippi. What is here is potential, which will remain just that, potential, as long as it stays in Mississippi . . . This state's educational system is devised to rob the student of means to think about and to change the conditions of his life. . . ."

This assessment of the Mississippi education came from a Mississippi born, raised, but Northern educated Negro who teaches in Jackson. Like other Negroes of his profession, he is becoming increasingly critical of the educational system which denies approximately 70% of the Mississippi Negroes a passing score on the selective service examination.

Inadequate Facilities

In attempting an analysis of Mississippi education, most teachers with whom the FREE PRESS talked were at a loss as to where to begin. Unanimous, however, was their description of the inadequate facilities and lack of equipment in the Negro school system.

Some cited evidence of used equipment—discarded by white schools—being "handed down" to newly opened Negro schools. Others pointed out the complete lack of equipment such as textbooks, library equipment, and maps. One teacher felt confident that he could count on one hand, the total number of microscopes in the Negro schools of Jackson.

Poor Teachers

Though conditions such as the lack of facilities and poor salaries are a direct reflection of the white Mississippian's assumption that the Negro deserves nothing more than the least, many teachers blamed themselves for the lack of education among Negroes.

They pointed to the large number of incompetent teachers who graduate from Negro colleges and cited the desire of many teachers to get along with as little effort as possible. When teachers take state-required refresher courses, they are often satisfied with merely passing grades rather than with increasing their ability to educate their students.

But more than this, one teacher observed, it appears that Negro teachers have learned too well the lessons taught them by the white society: "Think, talk and act like Negroes are supposed to." This means that in the eyes of the white society the "Negro teacher better re-

member that he is a nigger."

Unfortunately, as many teachers readily admitted, some Negro principles and white superintendents attempt to take advantage of the prospective female teacher's subservience to obtain favors. The really tragic element of this situation is that often the teacher, if she is in need of a job, sees no alternative but to submit. The threat to job opportunities goes even to the teacher's political views, which often count more in the

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Many Schools Lack Accreditation

In recent years nearly two-thirds of the graduates of Mississippi's teacher's colleges received degrees from unaccredited institutions.

This means that the quality of these teachers' education was not good enough for their schools to be OK'd by the National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education.

As a result, each year more and more Mississippians are being taught by teachers whose training does not meet national standards.

Delta Rights Movement Functions As Schoolhouse

The Freedom Vote conducted last Sunday dramatized the political inequality of Mississippi Negroes.

But behind the extensive voter registration effort of the past year has been an educational drive. Voter registration workers have learned that a subtle process of education must precede the trip to the courthouse.

"People have to be educated to the whole concept of government," observed Martha Prescod, a staff member of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee in Greenwood. "They have to be shown why it is that their vote counts."

Delta Schoolhouse

The Delta counties, where much of the registration campaign is focused, have become an informal secret schoolhouse. Vote workers and local organizational leaders have become teachers of ideas which have been excluded for too long from the public schools and forums of the area.

In the Delta voter registration work is conducted by a coalition of organizations under the banner of the Mississippi Voter Registration Project. To meet varying needs, the educational process takes several forms. The Project is conducting house-to-house canvassing, workshops, and mass meetings, and Southern Christian Leadership conference has established several citizenship training schools.

Many Reached

The number of people who have been reached in one way or another is impressive. In Leflore County, where the most

active voter registration work has been conducted, 1500 to 2300 of the approximately 13,000 potential Negro voters have attempted to register.

This is only part of the story. Hundreds of others have been approached in house-to-house canvassing. Three to four hundred people regularly attend mass meetings in the country, and many more have attended at least one meeting.

Citizenship training schools have been started in Ruleville, Shaw, Clarksdale, and other communities. Fifty to seventy-five Leflore County residents have taken active positions of responsibility within the Project, and over 200 have attended Project workshops.

House Canvass

Adults are reached in a number of ways. Each day in Greenwood, the project staff of twelve to twenty members determines which neighborhood to canvass and then speaks with people on a house-to-house basis.

Workers have been going into homes and trying to answer the difficult question of why a Leflore County Negro should attempt to vote. For most Delta Negroes, "politics is a foreign concept," Miss Prescod stated. "People have no comprehension that they could change things."

Mass meetings provide an opportunity to educate people on a broad basis. Robert Moses, director of the Voter Registration Project, uses meetings to discuss and clarify current issues.

Introduction To Civics

For example, last month,

State's Statistics Remove All Doubts

White Mississippians like to say that the state's school facilities are separate but equal. But a check of the statistics compiled by the State Department of Education shows that Mississippi's segregated facilities provide anything but equal opportunities.

In areas ranging from school construction to teacher training, the state's Negroes are put at an unfair disadvantage. The results of inequality show up all along the line, and lead to poor jobs, poor homes, and bleak lives.

The biggest factor working against equal education is segregation. The Supreme Court decided in 1954 that segregated facilities were inherently unequal, and Mississippi's schools prove that point.

Segregation Hurts

"It's the worst thing in the world," one Negro teacher said.

"It means that the best things are kept for the whites." For one thing, Negro teachers, trained in inadequate Negro schools, cannot be expected to do the same kind of job as their white counterparts.

The system also works in more ways. Negro teachers, many of whom fear loss of jobs, stay out of politics. They frequently do not make a real attempt to view their profession as an opportunity to make a contribution to the progress of the state, but rather as just another job.

Principals Use Students

They see their schools as a place to make money, to do their jobs quietly. Some do not even take this view. School principals have been known to oppose Federal school lunch programs because they get a percentage of the amount taken in from sales in the school cafeterias.

Inequality also results from the facilities provided for Negro schools. Generally there is not enough classroom space. In the state there are 639 white schools for 283,502 pupils, and 302 Negro schools for 271,761 students.

Facilities Vary

Inside the schools the differences become even plainer. White schools are usually more attractive, most of the time of masonry and brick construction. Frequently Negro schools are built of cinderblock. It is the rare Negro school that has a separate gymnasium and

(Continued on Page 4)

when U. S. District Judge Claude Clayton dismissed the Justice Department's suit demanding the release of 45 imprisoned Itta Bena Negroes, the Itta Bena community was shocked that the Federal officials lost the suit, according to a Project staff member.

Moses used the incident to explain the nature of the Justice Department, the relationship between local and Federal law agencies, and the working of the Federal court system. And he suggested reasons that might account for Judge Clayton's dismissal of the suit.

Delta Problems

Other examples of the educational aspects of mass meetings, often cited by voter registration workers, are Moses' outline of the effects of automation on the Delta economy, and his explanation of the nature of the affidavit by which 733 Negroes attempted to vote in the August 6 primary.

SCLC citizenship schools and project workshops attempt to teach within small groups. During the Spring, about 160 Delta teen-agers attended workshops of one to three days which covered the significance and techniques of voter canvassing.

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State's Schooling Suffers; Negro Gets Short Changed

The high cost of segregation can still be seen draining our state college of initiative, and placing the whole of higher education here in Mississippi years behind other states.

Even the most dedicated Negro professor can not change this.

His field, let us suppose, is mathematics. Because he is dedicated to the students he teaches, much of the time he spends preparing for each class will be used simply to keep ahead of new discoveries.

If newly discovered information changes the way a course can best be taught, it might be easier for the professor to pretend it does not exist. But then the professor knows his students will be left unprepared.

Worse yet, for this professor, is the discovery which demands that a whole new course be opened. That may mean new equipment. It will probably mean a larger department. For the Negro college in Mississippi, where does the money come from? The answer is that too often it does not come from anywhere.

If our professor forgets about the new discoveries he cannot teach and looks for a moment at his college—looks at his "separate but equal facilities"

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One-Half Don't Graduate

Mississippi educators are slowly becoming aware of one of the crucial problems facing anyone trying to raise the level of public education: how to keep students in school.

A few years of school may be better than none, but it takes at least an eighth grade education to qualify for most jobs which require any schooling at all. And many firms demand that their workers have high school diplomas.

The dropout rate in Mississippi, however, indicates that many citizens do not get this training, even though they do attend school at some point. Since 1951, 240,000 Negroes

and 45,000 whites have left school before they reached the sixth grade.

Half Quit School

Even more shocking are figures which tell what percentage of first grade students are still in school when their class graduates from high school. Of the class which entered school in 1950 and graduated in 1962, only 25 per cent of the Negroes and 54 per cent of the whites were on hand to get their high school diplomas.

For Negroes, the largest number of dropouts comes after the first grade and during high school. By the end of the first eight years fifty per cent

of the Negro students have withdrawn and another 50 per cent of those who remain disappear during high school.

Need To Find Work

Educators point out that the high rate after the first grade results from the departure of students who have stayed back for several years, and presumably keep re-entering the first year. In high school, many students leave school because they must find jobs to support themselves and their families.

Officials are becoming concerned over the problem, but as yet no statewide program has been initiated to correct the situation. Right now drop-

out cases are handled by the local schools. Many are not contacted and urged to go back to school, but merely left to make out as best they can.

Present plans call for a thorough study of the situation under the leadership of the State Department of Education. The department hopes to be able to propose some action to cut the dropout rate after analyzing the study's findings.

Until the time that a suitable plan is proposed, thousands of Mississippians will continue to leave the public schools before their education is completed. The loss will be their own, and the state's.

Poor Teacher Training Means Unequal Schools

On the surface, teacher training for Negroes and whites in Mississippi seems to be nearly equal. The state's Negro teachers have had just about as much training as whites, and so could be expected to do just as good a job.

But behind this seeming quality lies a picture which shows that white teachers working in white schools are better prepared, have better facilities, and so make superior teachers. The fault lies not with the Negro teachers, but with the training they are given in the state's public and private Negro colleges.

The majority of Mississippi's Negro teachers may be doing the best they can under present conditions. But it is impossible to ask a man to teach something he has never been taught himself.

It will take state action, in addition to continued hard work by the teachers themselves, if Mississippi Negroes are to have equal educational opportunities.

One of the key stumbling blocks to well-educated Negro teachers is racial prejudice. Poverty and lack of education brought on by discrimination means that Negro High School students are not as well prepared for college as their white counterparts.

Work Level Is Low

As a result, the level of work at the colleges is low and poorly qualified teachers are graduated. Further, students are kept from local cultural activities such as concerts and plays because Negroes are not admitted. The effect is that colleges turn out poor teachers, who turn out poor students, and the cycle of inadequate education begins again.

Mississippi has no schools at which prospective Negro teachers can get a master's degree—the equivalent of five years of training. To get one they must go to a school outside the state.

Scholarships are available from the state for Negroes who want to take graduate, professional, or technical courses not available in Mississippi. But the requirements make it difficult for many students to qualify.

Must Have Money

Before he can be considered for a scholarship, a student must be accepted at an out-of-

state school. That means he must apply to the school, find money to pay the application fees, and perhaps put down a deposit on his other bills, before he even knows whether he will be able to attend the school.

And there are still other problems which result from the way the amount of each scholarship is figured. The state will pay for a student's entrance fees, but it will only pay for room and board costs which are above what the student would have to pay at a state school. And it will only give the student money when he presents receipts for money already spent.

Only 250 Get Aid

This means that students must have money to begin with in order to pay the bills, and in turn get repaid by the state. This system continues despite

the fact that the purpose of the scholarships is to give money to those who ought to go to school but cannot afford it. As a result, only about 250 students a year are able to take advantage of the money offered to get a fifth year of training.

Prospective teachers who stay to study at one of the state's Negro colleges are also at a disadvantage. For instance, student teachers are not permitted to visit white schools and watch the latest teaching methods, and so are often not up to date.

The Negro colleges are also hampered by a high rate of turnover among the faculty members and students, which makes it difficult for classes to run smoothly throughout the year. Also, poor libraries and inadequate science facilities cut the quality of education.

Salaries, Facilities Show Inequality

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auditorium. Usually they are combined in one room, which makes it extremely difficult to put on plays, concerts, or even orderly assemblies.

The laboratory is also a sore spot. Science equipment is hard to find, and there are not enough trained Negro teachers. In the library it is the same story. Those schools which have them, frequently have collections of books which are far too elementary for the students' need. Science and history books of all kinds are in short supply.

Libraries Are Poor

There are 224 white librarians in the state, while there are only 84 librarians in the Negro system. In the rest of the Negro schools makeshift facilities are used, or the students do without a library.

Nor are Negro schools staffed as well as the white institutions. Because of poor pay it is difficult to get teachers to stay in the profession. Negro teachers with five years training are paid an average of \$300 less than equally trained whites. Those with four years training also receive \$300 less, and those with three years training can expect \$500 less pay.

Negro principals receive an

astronomical \$1200 less each year, on the average, than whites.

Hundreds Less

The inequality in teachers' pay results from the decisions of local school boards. The state guarantees an equal minimum salary, and then the local districts add to it as they wish. Last year 49 of the state's 150 school districts did not use any money from local funds to pay teachers, a fact which helped to put the average pay of Mississippi's teachers last on the list of Southern states.

Guidance personnel are also lacking in most Negro schools. There are only 16 in the entire Negro system, as compared with 97 for the whites. As a result there is almost no college or vocational guidance for Negro youngsters.

More Short Terms

Even the length of the school term is shorter in the Negro schools. In the state some schools are in session for nine months and some for eight. Of

State's Education Suffers From Segregation Expenses

(Continued from Page 3)

—he will probably find that it all adds up to the fact that no state, let alone the poorest in the union, can afford for its own good to maintain such a system.

If our professor teaches at Jackson State College, his school has only 22 buildings. If he would check the figures from the University of Mississippi he would find: there are 40 buildings and 30 residence halls, 21 fraternity and sorority houses, 51 faculty residence buildings, and 6 faculty apartments containing 66 apartments.

Any college, of course, is a little like a business. If you can tell the public what the school is doing for them, chances are you will stand to make some money. But publicity is expensive, and while the University of Mississippi can afford at least eight separate publications each year,

Jackson State can afford one catalogue every two years.

So our professor of mathematics is thrown against the machinery of this state, and when he comes back, he is missing half the courses that should be taught in his department.

Who will teach nuclear physics? Or relativity? Or, looking at other departments, what happens to the students who want to major in German, Russian, Italian, or Greek? All of these courses are available to white students here in Mississippi.

For our future English teachers, Jackson State will offer 10 courses in English literature, the University of Mississippi will offer 50. For our future architects, Jackson State offers 2 courses, the University of Southern Mississippi offers 10. Five times as many, and the list could go on and on.

The line that has drawn the people of Mississippi apart, will finally force our most talented students out of this state. Our colleges simply cannot compete, for in the last analysis, they not only fail to provide an adequate education, but they also fail to attract our finest scholars. A final comparison: in 1959 the University of Mississippi awarded \$41-thousand in student loans, Jackson State awarded only \$7 thousand.

Those courses which are given do not show students how to use the information they receive in everyday life.

The state's schools have a long way to go before they can claim to provide equal opportunities to both Negroes and whites. Inadequate buildings, equipment, and personnel make a joke of the doctrine of separate but equal. But for hundreds of thousands of young Negro Mississippians who will start back to school this month, it is hardly a laughing matter.

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Dilemma Of Cotton Economy: Automation Reducing Work; No Relief Seen From State

Labor, Lacking Skills, Trapped In Delta Area

A revolution in agricultural techniques is threatening to put the already poor Mississippi Negro farm worker in an increasingly precarious position.

Automation and the economics of cotton, combined with segregation, are creating a situation in which there is less and less work and little hope for improvement.

State programs to relieve the situation are inadequate. Prospects for agricultural workers remain grim, and in the Delta area, the possibility of economic depression are strong if unpromising employment trends continue.

For the Negro agricultural worker, escape from the trap seems to appear only in the questionably advantageous move from the land to the city—Jackson or Chicago, Greenville or Gary, Indiana.

To compete in cotton farming today, planters must invest heavily to pay for expensive machines and chemicals. The relatively low wages paid to labor thus are often considered by the planter to make the difference between profit and loss.

Machines Replace Men

If a planter pays wages above a certain level, it becomes cheaper for him to put machines in the field and pickers out of work. The ceiling for such wages, after which it is to the planters' advantage to use machines, has been cited as low as \$2.50 per hundred weight.

The introduction of machines which take the place of workers is a national problem and would exist regardless of the racial question. In Mississippi, the problem is particularly severe.

During a typical peak week in October, 240,000 people are engaged in harvesting the cotton crop, according to the Mississippi Employment Security Commission. Of these, about 73,000 are hired workers, of whom half are seasonal workers or are hired on a day-haul basis.

These 73,000 and their dependents, almost all Negro, are the victims of automation. The mechanical cotton picker can do the same work as 70 to 100 human pickers. Airplanes spraying and tractors drastically reduce field work. One baling machine can handle 30 bales a day—work which would require the effort of 210 laborers.

Work Days Reduced

The development of machines and chemicals has resulted in the reduction of the number of work days in the year. The picking season, for example, which formerly extended from September to the end of December, last year was finished by November 1.

Hand Labor

However, for a number of reasons, the planter still wants to keep the workers around. During the chopping season from May to July, and during the picking season in the Fall, the state usually experiences a crisis in

labor supply in peak four week periods and when unpredictable weather conditions create great demand for workers.

Hand picking continues to be more efficient than machine picking, saving the planter about two cents per pound. It is also more selective, and thus preferred at the beginning of the picking season when the open cotton hangs close to the ground, hand picking also remains essential for growers of foundation cotton.

Thus the planter through automation reduces the amount of work available but continues to depend upon hand picking and seasonal labor for some jobs.

Statistics Confirm Situation

This situation is confirmed by statistics published by the Employment Security Commission. The number of day-haul laborers for picking last year almost equalled the number employed in 1958. But the season was reduced from 18 to 14 weeks during that period, and the average number of work days was reduced from 78 to 70.

At the same time, the demand for laborers from state labor pools for picking and chopping rose by 7,000 from 1958 to 1962. This figure reflects both the continued need for seasonal labor and a rise in the demand for day-haul labor as a result of the decrease in the number of workers tenanted on plantations.

Fewer working days and continued low wages are driving Mississippi agricultural workers off the land. For many years, agricultural workers were leaving the state at a rate of 10,000 each year. More recently, the migration has been slowed somewhat, but it is still significant.

Workers Leave Farms

Perhaps even more significant is the number of workers who are leaving farm employment. The Department of Agriculture census indicates that from 1954 to 1959, the number of people engaged in farm employment dropped from about 469,000 to about 261,000.

The cotton picker's problems are compounded by the fact that the acreage devoted to cotton growing is diminishing. Last year, 996,000 acres were in cotton, compared to this year's 895,000 acres, a reduction of 11 percent. The remaining 101,000 acres have been planted with soybeans, rice, and other crops, none of which require intensive labor.

The average yearly income for Mississippi agricultural workers has been slowly declining. Currently, it is less than \$1000 per year—one-fourth of the minimum income necessary to provide the basic essentials, according to the U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

Technological Revolution

The cotton industry—planter and worker—are both faced with a technological revolution. Workers know that their income is meager, and that they are being replaced by machines.

Planters know this too, and know that the economy of the Delta will be severely damaged if workers' incomes are reduced. Machines do not spend wages in local grocery stores, gasoline stations or other enterprises in which planters often have interests.

Employment Overseer

To deal with the problem, the Farm Placement Department of the Mississippi Employment Security Commission has organized labor pools to insure that workers are available when needed, and that workers are informed of work opportunities.

The operation is equivalent to an open labor market, where wages are set by the law of supply and demand, and the supply of labor continues to increase relative to the amount of work available, except during short peak work periods. Thus wages remain low most of the year and in any case cannot rise higher than the cost of putting a machine into operation.

Department Concerned

The Department is concerned with three things, according to Mr. Ira Welborn, knowledgeable Chief of Farm Placement: providing work; insuring the presence of a work force; and bolstering the economy. But the Department can only make the best of a bad situation—it cannot create work in Mississippi.

The Department has attempted to find work for farm laborers in other states during the off-seasons. In some ways, its efforts have been impressive. Last year 5280 Mississippi workers found employment in 17 other states; this year the figure is expected to be over 8000.

The Department's efforts, therefore, are impressive as far as they go. But they do not begin to solve the long-range dilemma of growing underemployment while the need for a large labor force during short periods continues.

For the individual worker, finding employment away from the cotton fields is essential. Many have left already. Yet still others, potentially interested in moving into other jobs, are confined by their lack of skills and education.

Skills And Education

In some respects, inadequate training for industrial jobs affects both races in the state. The 1960 census ranked Mississippi forty-sixth among states whose citizens have completed eight years of school or more. The average number of school years completed by a Mississippian is less than nine.

Negroes Have Less School

But school segregation has made the situation of the Mississippi Negro even more severe than the average for the total state population would suggest. The average Negro in the state has completed only six years of school compared to 11 for the white.

Less Than 5 Years

One hundred fifty-two thousand Negroes who were over 25 years old had completed less than five years of school, compared to 49,000 whites in Mississippi. The figure for people under 25 would be comparable.

Illiteracy is a problem which can be overcome with effort. Yet there is no indication that Mississippi is at all concerned.

At present, the state has no program to improve the reading skills of whites or Negroes. According to the 1960 census, at least one out of every five adult Negroes in Mississippi is "functionally illiterate."

The State's program to combat this problem consists of conducting a few elementary education classes for which tuition is charged. The legislature has not considered the illiteracy question of sufficient importance to vote funds.

Economic Development

Mississippi officials boast of the economic development program undertaken by the state. In the last four years, over 10,000 jobs each year have been introduced through new industries. But these jobs for the most part require skills which the underemployed farm laborer does not have.

Vocational Education

Vocational education in Negro high schools depends upon the initiative of local school boards, which request financial assistance from the state if they want to set up a program.

It is difficult to assess the vocational education program of the state. The adequacy of programs depends upon local school boards, which must take the initiative in starting programs and provide at least half the funds to pay for them.

At the state level, assistance in vocational education is offered in a variety of trades. However, the state legislature's allocation of funds has lagged behind the demand for vocational education assistance.

But even with a smoothly running program, Negro students would continue to be denied equal work opportunities in the community. Nor are job opportunities opening up fast enough as a result of industrialization to stay ahead of unemployment.

Clarksdale Cited

In the three county area around Clarksdale, for example, manufacturing employment increased by 50 from July, 1962 to July, 1963, but agricultural jobs decreased over the period by 2620, mostly as a result of a shorter chopping season. In Washington County (Greenville), non-agricultural employment increased by 340 jobs while agricultural jobs were decreasing by 2130.

The employment picture in Jackson, presumably a center of growth in non-agricultural jobs, remained stagnant over the one year period, according to the State Employment Service bulletin.

In sum, with the exception of the limited but important services of the Farm Placement program, the state has no meaningful program to assist the trapped farm laborer.

Mississippi's cotton industry faces increasing competition from foreign cotton sources, other cotton growing states, and synthetic fibre manufacturers. Automation in the Delta will continue. Last year, 3720 baling machines were in operation throughout the state. This season will see 3950 baling machines in operation—an increase of 236 machines over last year, each one doing the work of 210 men.

Technicians are now experimenting with a cotton chopping machine which distinguishes between grasses and the young cotton plant by means of a photoelectric cell. It is impossible to predict what the development of a chopping machine will mean for Mississippi cotton, but it will not mean more work for the farm laborer.

Legislation To Cover More Jobs

New Law Means \$1.25

A new Wage-Hour Law will go into effect September third of this year. For many workers this law will bring about an increase in their weekly paychecks.

The new wage law is divided into two parts. First, if you are now subject to a minimum wage of \$1.15 an hour because you are engaged in interstate commerce, or because you produce goods for interstate commerce, your employer will be required to raise your salary to at least \$1.25. The maximum workweek is forty hours. If you work longer, you must receive time and a half.

The second part of the law requires that all employees engaged in the following establishments must be paid at least a dollar an hour: (1) Any retail or service establishment with an annual volume of sales of at least \$1 million, which purchases or receives at least \$250,000 in goods that travel across state lines.

(2) Any construction or reconstruction firm which has an annual gross business of at least \$250,000.

(3) Any gasoline service establishment with a gross sales of at least \$250,000.

(4) Any establishment en-

gaged in city or inter-city transit.

(5) Any establishment that has some employees engaged in interstate commerce, or in the production of goods for commerce, who were not previously covered by the \$1.15 minimum, if that company has an annual sales volume of at least \$1 million.

The maximum workweek for any person working in firms like the ones listed above is forty-four hours. If you work longer, you must receive time and a half.

The new Wage-Hour Law will be enforced. If its provisions are violated, any establishment of the kind listed above is subject to either civil or criminal action.

An official notice has been sent out by the U. S. Department of Labor to all establishments concerned. This notice must be posted by your employer on September third when the law goes into effect. It must be posted where you can see it.

If you want more information, or wish to enquire about your own place of work, you can call the nearest office of the Wage and Hour Public Contracts Divisions. They are listed under the U. S. Department of Labor in the U. S. Government listings.

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Judge Retreats In Brown Case

U. S. District Judge Harold Cox has been forced to dismiss his case against R. Jess Brown, Jackson attorney. In the face of overwhelming evidence supporting Brown, Judge Cox originally modified his case, then decided he would be wiser to drop it entirely.

Charges were brought against Brown when a Leake woman was frightened into signing an affidavit stating that she had not engaged him in a desegregation suit.

Upon receiving the woman's affidavit, Cox ordered Brown to show why he should not be charged with contempt of court. Brown apparently did.

Cox then revised his citation to make it a bar disciplinary case against Brown. He said the case required Brown to justify his use of the woman's name.

During the hearing Brown

produced the paper signed by the woman which authorized the use of her name. In a previous hearing she admitted she signed the paper. It was also indicated that shots fired into her cafe and her brother's home had prompted her to deny her role in the suit.

This evidence brought Judge Cox to a wall of indisputable fact and R. Jess Brown was cleared.

The Leake County desegregation suit is now pending appeal before the Fifth U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals.

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Freedom Fighters Lose Jobs, Protest Itta Bena Bombing

Eleven Itta Bena residents have lost their jobs with white employers for participating in civil rights work, they charged. They were told they would not be able to resume work unless they quit the movement.

Four of the rights workers were employed at Mississippi Vocational College, an all-Negro school near Itta Bena.

According to Scott Harris, one of the group, all the people now employed at the County Work Farm in Itta Bena are marked for similar retaliation. Despite all pressure and hardship, Mr. Harris said that he would not give up the freedom fight and that he would not go back begging for his job.

The eleven were part of a group of 45 who sought police protection after the bombing of a voter registration meeting at Hopewell Baptist Church. The Justice Department has appealed their case to the Fifth U. S. Circuit Court.

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Negro Teachers' . . .

(Continued from Page 3)

hiring process than the teacher's ability.

Poor Leadership

The weak M.T.A.—in the eyes of one teacher, "a social organization"—at present seems hardly the organization to help bring about change. Speaking of the state's Negro educational leadership in general, another teacher said, "These men are willing to sacrifice their students' future for personal expedience."

It is, of course, the Negro students who suffer directly from this never adequate, sometimes immoral, and always second-class education. The Negro student must be taught by a teacher who remains in his eyes "a tool of the white man."

He must endure the incompetence and insecurity of his teacher. And he will graduate—if he is one of the select few who do graduate—with the feeling that he is incapable of competing with whites and Northern Negroes. Inferiority, both the concept and the reality, is the result of this system and it is Negro children who suffer.

It is well and good—and accurate—to point to segregation as the chief cause of the Negro's educational ills. But, segregation, still leaves room for a definition of a good teacher. There are few teachers in Mississippi with the imagination, the dedication and above all the bravery it takes to be classed as good educators.

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Diggs Calls For Vote To Defend Citizenship



Rep. Charles Diggs of Michigan, Mississippi's "Congressman-at-large." Ralph Bunche is at right.

Before a large audience at the Masonic Temple last Friday Congressman Charles C. Diggs asserted that if Mississippi Negroes voted together, the impact of their votes could "turn this state upside down."

Congressman Diggs' own election victory in Michigan shows us how a minority group can exercise considerable power in state and national elections.

When white voters are split and can not get together on election day a minority of Negro voters can elect their candidate, if they are strongly unified.

To prove it, in Diggs Congressional District, there are more white than Negro voters.

Congressman Diggs stressed the importance of Negro unity in Mississippi. He said Negroes have more potential voting power in every voting district in the state than in his own home district of Detroit.

Never Sit Down

Diggs told the audience, "There's not a single person in this room who doesn't know that freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor." Diggs said that we could either sit in, lie in, walk in, or stand in, but, above all else, we could never sit down.

Diggs reported that during Congressional hearings for civil rights, Ross Barnett made much a fool of himself he actually helped the civil rights cause. The name of "Ole Ross Barnett" brought laughter to the hall.

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Inmates At Parchman Chained To Cell Bars

(Continued from Page 1)

tend them.

The registration workers would have served their complete term at the County Farm in Greenwood except they feared an attempt might be made to beat or kill them. The group's leaders noticed that while each day they were taken to isolated spots to work the same men returned time after time to watch them. Putting both facts together, they feared an attack—with their guards joining the vigilantes.

Move To Parchman

Several prisoners hit upon the idea of demanding transfer to Parchman where they would be safer, and organized a work stoppage and hunger strike. Two days after the strike began, they were transferred to the State Penitentiary and placed under maximum security.

Once there they were constantly reminded that they were at their jailers' mercy. "We ought to kill you," one guard told them. Their sergeant warned that they "did not run this place like they ran Greenwood," and that any talking, singing, or praying would be punished.

Clothing Taken

As soon as they entered the penitentiary all their clothes were taken away, and they were issued only undershirts and shorts, they said. This humiliating outfit was their only clothing for the next eight weeks.

They were not given mattresses to sleep on, and had no bed clothes. Instead they spent their nights on the steel slabs which serve as the prison's bedsprings. Such harsh living conditions were selected to break the inmates' morale, and certainly were not necessary for security reasons.

Brutal Punishment

Perhaps the most brutal treatment came when guards handcuffed the prisoners to cell doors for periods up to 18 hours. One youth was chained for 18 hours because a guard said he had thrown a bit of tissue on the ground in front of his cell, the report continued.

Anyone caught talking was sentenced to "the hole"—a cell six feet square and nine feet high which was used for solitary confinement. The only ventilation was provided by a small slot in the door and an exhaust fan controlled from the outside.

14 In 6 Foot Cell

As a special punishment, prisoners were placed in the hole in large numbers for long periods of time. At one point nine men were left in the cell two days. The fan was off the entire time.

Another time, when all 14 were put in the cell together, one man fainted after developing a temperature he later was told to be 106 degrees. As treatment, he was taken from the cell, given two aspirin tablets, and returned to his quarters, fellow prisoners claimed.

The other 13 were left in the hole until the next morning when they were released and instructed to take showers. While they were washing, their undershirts were taken from them and the prison air conditioner turned on. Guards set the temperature so low that the prisoners were unable to sleep. The air conditioner was kept running at the same temperature for two days and one night, they charged.

Prisoners say they were not allowed to exercise, and not given normal rations. When one complained that they received only about half as much as the other inmates, he was put on short rations for the day: a small piece of meat, a slice of corn bread, and five peas.

The appeal of their conviction is scheduled to come before the Leflore County court next week.

Freedom Vote Triumphs



At Farish St. Baptist church in Jackson, poll officials watch over the ballot box. The officials distributed ballots and insured that people did not vote twice.

(Continued from Page 1)

another freedom voter said it was "a way to get started."

Protest

Other people saw value in the chance to express their protest against discrimination. One voter said, "We should have the right to vote," and noted that Negroes in Mississippi are generally denied that right.

The election was discussed by ministers in many church services. Usually, the ballot boxes were set up in the church lobbies, but in some churches, the Vote for Freedom was part of the service and was conducted before the minister dismissed his congregation.

March Redresses Negro's Dissent

(Continued from Page 1)

sion dedicated to Medgar Evers, William Moore, Herbert Lee, and other nameless individuals who have given their lives in the civil rights struggle.

Accompanied by bands and choirs, the marchers sang "We Shall Overcome" as they proceeded down Independence and Constitution Avenues.

The procession reached its climax at the Lincoln Memorial in the afternoon where the Freedom Marchers heard the main program of the rally.

Leaders of the march reported to the group on the results of their meetings with President Kennedy and several Congressmen. Speaking on the theme of the March, they presented their demands for Jobs and Freedom—NOW.

After viewing a presentation put on by several celebrities which dramatized the struggle for equality, the marchers rejoined their local groups and set out for their home areas.

1964 Presidential election.

The Greenwood organization also has purposes which lie outside the civil rights fight. This winter block captains will help distribute food and clothing to needy residents in their areas.

Eventually it is hoped to set up block clubs, and then to group these clubs into five or ten-block districts. The districts would be able to establish child care centers, recreation halls, and sponsor neighborhood improvement programs.

It is clear that if the Greenwood plan succeeds, it could change the Delta area, and by showing what an organized community can do, the entire state.

Citywide Action . . .

(Continued from Page 1)

blocks have held meetings, and some have been able to get groups of citizens to go to the Leflore County Courthouse and attempt to register.

Workers expect that the block-by-block organization will make it easier to hold voter registration workshops, and to get people to register for the

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