



THE MOVEMENT

Published by
The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee of California

The Church and Civil Rights

'THEY SAID WE COULDN'T HAVE A UNION' Militancy In The Delta

The vast, flat, lowland area of the Mississippi delta is considered to be some of the best farm land in the world, with its rich top soil reaching down an astonishing thirty feet in some places. The major crops of the area are cotton and soy bean, two crops that are rapidly becoming mechanized, and the major work force of the area is the Negro day laborer. The land costs \$500 an acre; a cotton chopper earns three dollars a day for ten or more hours work.

THE DEMANDS

On April 9, 1965, forty-five day laborers, tractor drivers, haulers, domestic servants, part time carpenters, mechanics, handymen, former sharecroppers and renters met in a tiny Negro church in Shaw, Mississippi, and formed the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union. Within two weeks 1000 persons joined the union and 200 declared themselves on strike, in a state where mere hints of labor organization are enough to bring out the Klan. The demands of the striking workers were simple: a \$1.25 minimum wage per hour, and eight hour day with time and a half for over time, sick pay, health and accident insurance and equal employment practices in wages, hiring, and working conditions. At present more than 1800 workers are staying out of the fields in the first major attempt to organize farmworkers in the area since the 1930's when efforts of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union were suppressed by violence.

Some individual AFL-CIO unionists have joined with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Delta Ministry staff of the National Council of Churches to assist the MFLU. But there is no evidence of any direct support by the AFL-CIO, the Industrial Union Department, or the Teamsters Union - which could make the difference between success and defeat. A number of major unions -- such as the Teamsters, the National Maritime Union and the railroad brotherhoods -- are directly involved in shipping machinery, fertilizer and cotton in and out of the area, and would be in a position to give immediate practical aid to the strikers.

FIGHTING AGRI-BUSINESS

The union is fighting the rich farmer who operates his plantation as if it were a huge industrial corporation. Foreign visitors come to Mississippi to see one of the world's largest plantations, the Delta Land and Pine Corporation, which occupies more than 60 square miles of land in Bolivar county alone. This English-controlled corporation is typical of the growing concentration of agriculture in America. From the civil war to about 1930 the large slave owners' plantations were divided among increasing numbers of share-croppers. But since then the trend has reversed. Negro share-croppers and renters have dwindled because farm land costs too much for poor people today, and very little is for sale. For the Negro there is practically none at all.

Although the share-cropper has never been able to earn a stable, decent income in the Delta, in a sense, the land was his. But for the day-laborer this was never true. For him, the corporation is his boss man and he works for him on a day-to-day basis, without security, without tenure, without rights of any kind. The important change that has come about is that the overwhelming number of Negroes in this part of the state are day laborers, completely "proletarianized", without capital, without property, without security beyond today's piece of bread and yard.

So far day laborers (choppers and pickers) make up 90% of the union membership. For years the usual wage was \$2.50 or \$3.00 for ten or more hours work. This year, Shaw residents say that white farmers are talking about paying only \$1.75 per day. There is no work at all when it rains, no unemployment compensation, minimum

wage or social security protection from the government. It is almost impossible for a day laborer to get loans from the Farmer's Home Administration since he has no collateral and is deeply in debt. Loans from private finance companies are available - at rates of interest over 33 1/3 %. As one union member said at a recent meeting: "I've taken people to Greenville to get loans and most come back just as they left -- with nothing. But if you borrow it, you got to pay it back and with what? If you got a dark skin you're in trouble."

A 75-year old chopper, Miller Larks, is a typical union member. On the hottest days, he will wear a clean though badly frayed shirt, tie, and long woolen jacket which reaches down four inches above his knees. He sometimes closes his eyes when he talks and he usually has a grin on his face. As much as anyone, he helped to get the union started. He describes the system:

"I began farming when I was eight years old. Only went to school till the fourth grade. My father needed me to help out in the fields. I moved to Arkansas when I was 24 and joined a farmer's union. But we couldn't get it through because the white folks cut us out. They said we couldn't have a union in the south. I came back to Shaw and rented till I couldn't rent no more. It got so that I was losing money. Then white folks got that they wouldn't rent to colored folks. That was about in 1949. They just got land out from under the colored peoples because of the debts. I remember it was in 1947 that I got some parity checks -- about \$2,400. The white folk, they didn't want you to have no parity checks. They took it all from me in 1947. After that I couldn't rent for cash no more. I couldn't even fourth-rent (an arrangement where the renter pays a fourth of his cash earnings to the land owner). I couldn't rent no way. I had to work the shares but I wasn't making any living at all.

"Then I got a truck and I hauled day labor but I couldn't get enough people -- just two or three. I couldn't keep up my truck. The boss man, he only paid you 50¢ for each person you brought. Now I'm too old to do a hard day's work. I live on old age checks and I get a government check for my kids."

"AFTER OLE MISS SHE LET ME OFF"

The secretary of the union is Mrs. Edna Mae Garner. The three room shack she lives in with her seven children has holes in the floor that daylight can be seen through; there is no electricity or indoor plumbing. The linoleum is worn through and the wall paper is peeling off the wall. The last commodities she received are just about gone and there is no chance for any more. She says this about the welfare authorities:

"No matter how bad you're starving and your kids are doing without, they don't care. They listen to what peoples tells them, they don't go by how bad is your need. The lady I used to work for would give me dinner, and let me off early. I used to do chopping later in the day and I would make three dollars a day but after James Meredith at Ole Miss. in 1962 she let me off. The last times I worked for her she wouldn't even give me dinner. I expect the boss man's going to come round here to ask me to leave any time now. When he ask me 'will I do come chopping?' and I tell him 'no, I'm on strike till I get \$1.25 an hour, I expects he's going to ask me to move on."

CAN'T WIN WITHOUT THE HAULERS

An important link in the plantation system is the hauler. He makes his living by transporting workers from the towns and neighboring areas to the plantations on a so-much-per head basis. Without him the owner would have to make do with the workers.

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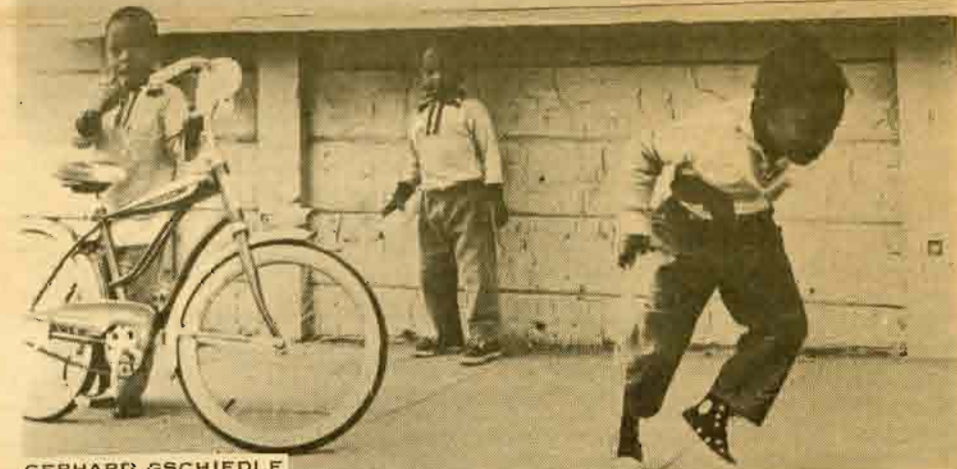
(This article inaugurates a regular Movement feature on the role of the church in society. The general editor will be Rev. William R. Grace, Director, Dept. of Urban Church, North Coastal Area, Synod of California, United Presbyterian Church.)

This is the time of year when the major religious denominations of our country hold their annual conferences, conventions, or general assemblies. Most of these bodies will say the right things about the racial struggle in our nation. Some of these bodies might even say something that is truly prophetic. On the whole, the highest judicatories of our churches have been attempting to be extremely relevant and, in many instances, have been relevant!

Yet, when it comes to the local church in a particular city or section of the nation, the church appears to be "completely out of it." Oh, to be sure,

these national statements ever have passed in the first place? It means that the majority of Christian people believe them and will seek to implement them. But it also means that if civil rights groups want or need the church, then they must seek to make overtures to the church to join with them. Otherwise the church sets up its own instruments for accomplishing goals in racial justice. And these instruments may appear to block in some cases or in other cases simply be naive. But the point is that the church will respond and is concerned and will make commitments.

National pronouncements by the church as an institution (with respectability) cause other institutions within the society to at least discuss their own racial positions. This means that at the very minimum other secular institutions are going to be forced to search their own souls before declaring a policy of segregation publicly.



isolated clergy serve on human relations commissions; some even partake in civil rights organizations; and others even march in picket lines. But, as a whole, the church as an institution appears to have little or no impact on this basic struggle for equality and justice in our day.

What, then shall we say about these magnificent statements that come from the national religious organizations? The cynic might respond with, "Well, they just reflect the hypocrisy of the Christian Church!" Such a statement might seem at face value a true observation, except for the fact that the national church has responded. Sefma saw the church. The March on Washington saw the church. The Delta ministry is the church. Bail monies for arrested Southern demonstrators was in large part church monies.

However, this still has not brought the issue down to the local level. What then do these statements mean in terms of our own situation? First, these statements enable civil rights groups to use them. Any civil rights group which desires to have the weight of the Christian Church in a publicity release can quote from these pronouncements. And this is not a minimal thing, since all of us are quite conscious of the need for adequate public relations and press releases.

THE CHURCH WILL RESPOND

But these pronouncements also mean that in the churches there are a large number of Christian laity and clergy who are ready to respond and to initiate concerns for racial justice. Else, how could

In other words, national church pronouncements set a context for a different set of values for the whole community and, if used correctly, can aid the more militant in civil rights to have a base for discussion. The church's racial pronouncements are another set of facts and figures which build into the stream of local thought that racial equality and justice is not just a good cause, but a basic right for all men. Civil rights groups should not overlook this significant fact.

The church has met, and has again said racial equality must be the norm for our nation. Let's stop being cynical about these statements and begin to recognize that these statements are evidence that "we shall overcome!" Furthermore, can anyone of us imagine where the racial question would be if the church had not openly and a great sacrifice committed itself to this position?

When you read the next church pronouncement, recognize it for its use in the common struggle, and recognize it for what it can mean to you and to me.

WILLIAM R. GRACE

DEALER

SIGN IN A
MISSISSIPPI
JUNKYARD
WE
BUY
BURN'T
BODIES

WORTH LONG

Why Are Farm Workers Poor?

More than 1,000 laborers in the plantation country of the Mississippi Delta have refused to work any more for the going rate of three dollars a day. Organized into the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union (MFLU), they say they will return to work when cotton growers agree to give them the minimum conditions which millions of American workers have enjoyed for decades.

THEIR ENEMIES ARE STRONG

Will the strikers win? They are fighting a powerful combination of enemies -- the planter who has conspired for seventy years to prevent a black majority from being heard at the polling place, the industrialist whose machines threaten to make the people of the fields unnecessary to the cotton economy, the bankers and their loan sharks who milk even ambitious men's money by means of the "poor tax" -- high interest charges, the textile manufacturer and the merchant who want their cotton as cheap as possible, a long succession of Presidents and Congresses who have engineered multi-billion dollar subsidies for these groups, and the millions of Americans who have allowed all this to happen.

Negroes in the Delta counties in which farm laborers have gone on strike (Bolivar, Issaquena, Panola, Sharkey, Sunflower and Washington) are a solid majority of the population (61%), and the overwhelming majority are very poor (88% of the families have incomes of less than \$3,000 a year). Nevertheless, since very few vote, the men who supposedly represent them in Congress (Senators James Eastland and John Stennis and Rep. Jamie Whitten) have over the years generally voted against legislation which would have helped the poor and black majority in the Delta.

THEY ARE IGNORED

Eastland, Stennis and Whitten, however, are not alone, for most of the nation has consistently, almost pointedly, deserted the farm workers. The basic legislation affecting worker-employer relations in the United States has almost always left out the farm hand. He is not covered by minimum wage laws or the Taft-Hartley Act, which offers some protection to workers trying to organize themselves.

For decades federal farm policies, thanks to the disproportionate influence of the veteran Congressional scions of the Southern one-party system, have drained billions of dollars of the nation's resources in effect to protect large planters from change which might threaten their ruling position.

As machines, fertilizers and insect poisons have made it possible for planters, especially the largest ones, to raise more cotton than people can afford to buy, the federal government has brought up the "surplus" at a higher price than the famous "free-enterprise system" would have given them.

Presently the federal government buys cotton for about thirty cents a pound from producers, sells some to merchants, textile manufacturers and exporters for about

twenty-four cents a pound (the world market price), and pays private operators to store the rest.

Although there are conflicting claims about the cost of producing a pound of cotton, studies referred to by Rep. Weltner on the House floor in 1963 conclude that costs range from 16 to 24 cents a pound, with the larger and more mechanized plantations producing more cheaply than smaller ones.

THEY ARE NOT RICH

Weltner also pointed out that the present cotton subsidy greatly favors the largest producers with more than 1,000 acres in cotton, such as Mississippi Senator James Eastland. The 322 farmers in his class received in 1961 an average of \$100,000 in subsidy, while the small farmers with 10 acres or less (some 70% of all cotton farmers) received on the average \$63 in that year. Senator Eastland's plantation, which like others in the Delta pays \$3.00 a day for cotton pickers and choppers, received crop loans of \$140,299.65 in 1961 and \$393,514.79 in 1962. Figures for 1963 and 1964 are unavailable. The Andrews Brothers plantation in Washington County, where the present strike began, received crop loans of \$102,152.90 in 1962, of which they paid back \$54,286.62, and \$25,369.44 in 1963, of which none was paid back. This means that they did not redeem any of the cotton which they put up as collateral for the loan of that year, and the government was stuck with the cotton. Other plantations, some of whose workers have gone on strike, are Dan Seligman, who received crop loans of \$349,631.44 in 1960 and \$116,887.63 in 1961; and the English-owned Delta Pine & Land Co., which received loans of \$1.2 million in 1960 and \$900,000 in 1961.

The legislation responsible for these enormous payments has yet to be renewed for next year, due to bitter disagreement among cotton growers, handlers, merchants, textile manufacturers, shippers and the Johnson Administration. Spokesmen for the large growers, who seem to dominate over the more numerous small growers, are against proposed legislation (sponsored by Georgia's Senator Talmadge) which would encourage large farmers to reduce the number of acres they plant to cotton, while still making correspondingly smaller price support payments. But manufacturers, exporters and merchants want prices low enough to compete with foreign cotton.

The Administration seems to want to satisfy everybody (except the workers, it seems), while limiting the cost of the whole program. In 1961 the cotton subsidy program alone cost \$608 million, and critics have complained of rising expenses since. But planter James Eastland has bitterly opposed controls on acreage, accusing supporters of the program of "trying to make

VOICE OF THE FARM WORKERS

1500 Braceros

Good news for Mr. Owner and for Don Judas Coyote, the contractor. Good news to all of you who are each as evil as the next one. You have been granted 1,500 braceros. That is what you were waiting for. Your tears were not in vain. Your wailing was heard by Saint Washington and it was effective. It seems that the thorns you were given to bear were successful, isn't it so Mr. Owner?

Now Mr. Boss, you will have the people you wanted for smaller wages. The triumph is yours and now you can continue to steal blatantly. You will have flings which smell of onion, for all that and more you are taking away from the braceros.

We are sorry. Now it is only 1,500 braceros. A little later it will be more, and tomorrow your wages will go down. This is the way this group of ranchers wants to make us conform. They dazzle the braceros with the shine of the dollar so that they leave their lands without producing and they come here to suffer.

They have taken advantage of the need, these owners. But the day will come when there will be STRIKE EVERYWHERE.

Reprinted from EL MALCRIADO,
newspaper of the Farm Workers Association
Trans. by Maria Vargas

the farmer the whipping boy for the present cotton program."

In comparison with their subsidies of farmers, the President and members of Congress have done very little to help victims of the plantations. The food - stamp plan, for example, allows poor residents of counties which have approved the program (as of October 1964 none in Mississippi had done so) to buy stamps, at the rate of seventy cents on the dollar, to be redeemed for food at a local grocery store, which then received the full dollar from the federal government.

As for the programs operating in Mississippi, civil rights workers have heard many complaints from residents that, for example, elderly people who register to vote find their social security checks cut off.

THEY ARE NOT YET POWERFUL

There is a chance that if Mississippi Freedom Labor Union members increase their numbers and generate enough nationwide support, Congress may be able to help them. The labor movement has managed to gather support for amendments to the Taft-Hartley Act and the Fair Labor Standards Act, including proposals to extend coverage to farm laborers. Public pressure on the Senate hearings in late June on these amendments could curb Senator Eastland and his friends, the planters of the Mississippi Delta. And the Freedom Democratic Party's challenge of the five Mississippi Congressmen if successful in July could loosen the reactionary log jam which blocks help for the dispossessed farm laborer of America - the Great Society.

SNCC Research

The New Politics

The question I pose is whether, in the North, a political office with all its ambiguities and inherent faults can be used as a tool for organizing people around their own issues rather than exalting and isolating (and, I think ultimately corrupting) the office-holder.

Perhaps the question of priorities is the crux of the idea of politics. In the past the responsibility of a politician was to maintain the system. I propose that politicians build communities outside the system.

The rationale is that we take America at its word when it says it is a people's democracy made up of free institutions. To make these words true, it is necessary for all people to participate in deciding what happens in this free country, to shape and use those institutions, change them if need be.

A PRACTICAL SUGGESTION

An assembly district in a Negro community (representing 100,000 people) in California might serve as a specific example. The assemblyman of the district, after winning the election, could project the basic problems in his community with which he has to deal before going to the Assembly in Sacramento. He, and his field representatives, could spend those first weeks working in his area, calling block meetings, neighborhood meetings and community meetings, using his position as a trusted representative to get groups of people together to talk about their problems with him and among themselves, with the idea of taking those problems to the Assembly. Ed. Note: see Julian Bond Poster,

this issue) He would try to build an independent political arm to which he would relate but not dominate. This arm would include workers, the unemployed, students, welfare recipients, and professionals and would center around issues which directly relate to that community.

Since one person cannot represent the people no matter how close he is to them, the assemblyman's responsibility, instead of attempting to articulate the community's needs all the time, would be to channel people from the community to speak on issues in the halls of the Legislature. Further, each assembly district has one seat with one vote, but the assembly itself has many committees and subcommittees. People could come to Sacramento to serve on those committees, perhaps rotating in small numbers every week or two.

For instance, three or four welfare mothers could participate on the Welfare committee. If the bills before the committee were too highly legal in writing for them to understand, the bill might have to be re-written in simpler terms. Then the women could take the bill back to the other welfare mothers in the community for more discussion and among themselves work out a decision. Then another group of welfare mothers could take this revised version back to the Assembly committee for more debate.

Another example might be an education bill which comes to the floor of the Assembly for debate. The assemblyman would introduce high school students from the community who would articulate what they felt about such a bill. Students could sit in the galleries and listen to the proceedings. If the bill is for the benefit of students, than students should play a part in deciding what goes into it. The same ideas apply to medical, labor and other bills.

TWO RESULTS

There are at least two results which might come out of such mass participation in governmental processes: 1. the community people will find that the assembly district does not have time to deal with their needs; that all their efforts to participate will be ignored or ruled out of order by parliamentary procedure until finally they see that they have no alternative but to go back to their community and organize themselves to resolve their own problems; 2. the Assembly will adjust itself to running differently.

The reality of the American system is that the people who run the country will give some things - money, position, status, the vote, but they will not give up control of the power to make basic decisions. If more people participate in government, particularly local and state politics, and define for themselves the kinds of decisions they want to make, being careful to use politics and not let politics use them, the decision-making apparatus will become more unstable. Then the system will either give more in order to gain time in which to steady itself or else destroy that participation. The former brings the optimism of victory and the need for expanded movement. The latter brings open rebellion and a drive for alternative solutions.

In either case radical actions have brought people together to work on their own problems. That in itself is a direct threat to the existing structure of the government. Beyond this, mass participation by people in the government would not simply be disruptive; it would be an educational device both for the community and the governmental body.

JIMMY GARRETT

THE MOVEMENT

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NEEDED: A MECHANIC!

The Regional SNCC office has several cars that have been donated to the office and are essential to our work. They are also in poor-to-moderate condition. Is there a mechanic in the Bay Area who would like to contribute his labor to SNCC in the form of servicing these cars?

COME TONITE June 8, 1965
7:30 pm

John Hope University Homes
TENANT ASSOCIATION MEETING

BoSeVelt Hall MAIN OFFICE

COME TALK with
JULIAN BOND DEMOCRATIC

CANDIDATE FROM YOUR DISTRICT

DISCUSS JULIAN BOND NEEDS

TO KNOW WHAT YOU THINK

ABOUT THE PROBLEMS OF OUR

DISTRICT!!

REMINDER

VOTE JUNE 16

Julian Bond, SNCC Communications Secretary, defeated his Republican opponent by a 6 to 1 vote. The poster above helps explain his victory: Bond had strongly organized community support.

'THE MFDP CHALLENGE...

Jackson MFDP MARCH FOR FREE ELECTIONS

... I asked the policeman if I could make a telephone call -- I explained that I had a constitutional right to make one, and he said, "Hell, no. Not here you don't."

"Here" is Jackson, Mississippi, where hundreds of demonstrators have been arrested for marching to protest a special session of the State Legislature.

Mississippi Governor Paul Johnson convened the session to liberalize the state's voting regulations by "taking reasonable steps to delete some laws from (state) statutes."

Two state provisions to be abolished require that voters be of "good moral character" and that they write an interpretation of any section of the State Constitution.

"Mississippi will continue to set her own voting requirements", Governor Johnson said, but the proposed deletions will put the state "in a more favorable position to fight a strong but fair battle when the situation demands."

--- A TACTICAL MOVE

Several Mississippi lawyers have reportedly been working with the Governor to prepare a lawsuit to test the constitutionality of the federal voting rights bill when it becomes law. They hope that voluntary liberalization of Mississippi's voting laws now will strengthen their chances of winning a future lawsuit.

It is also possible that the Governor has called for looser voting requirements to gain support for the state later in the summer when the seating of its five congressmen is challenged by the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP).

However, the "moderate" Tupelo, Mississippi Journal viewed the special session as a danger to the state. "Nothing could be worse", the Journal reported, "than to turn loud-mouthed, short-sighted South Mississippi legislators loose in Jackson while the new voting proposals are being considered in Washington."

THE FEAR OF FREE ELECTIONS

Recent events in Mississippi have created "tremendous animosity" which now "makes possible any imaginable action to put the state 'in its place'." The Journal felt that unseating the five congressmen was one possible action, but another "far more serious" was a proposal "to oust every local officer in Mississippi."

This proposal, which calls for new local elections throughout the state, was written by MFDP lawyer William Kunstler and introduced as an amendment to the federal voting bill.

The Journal advised against the special session with its possible consequences, "for if the MFDP won its fight to oust all the officers in our state, it would assume such heroic proportions to the Negro voters of Mississippi that winning them back to responsible citizenship would be an exceedingly difficult and lengthy process."

Governor Johnson ignored the Journal, and convened the legislature Monday, June 14.

MARCH FOR FREE ELECTIONS

Members of the MFDP and the striking Mississippi Freedom Labor Union (MFLU) began marching on the capitol to protest the session, because the State Legislature, like the five congressmen, was not elected by a vote of all the people, and to call for "free and open" elections following the passage of the federal voting bill.

"Governor Johnson is just as illegal in office as the five congressmen," said Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, one of the congresswomen elected in a freedom vote last November. "We didn't have a chance to vote for him either, and he has no right to make laws about voting."

Each day of the session, hundreds of

continued on last page --- supplement



LAWRENCE GUYOT,
CHAIRMAN OF THE MISSISSIPPI
FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

Statement by Lawrence Guyot

LEGAL PHASE ENDING; ACTION BEGINS

Today the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party is submitting to the Clerk of the House of Representatives more than 600 depositions of evidence taken in Mississippi conclusively proving that the five Congressmen from that state were elected by processes violating the Constitution of the United States and the political rights of over 400,000 Negroes in Mississippi. These depositions of evidence were collected by lawyers acting in behalf of the MFDP in support of the challenges we have instituted to the seating of the congressmen from that State under Title 2, Section 201-26 of the United States Code.

OFFICIAL PARTICIPATION OF STATE AUTHORITIES IN NEGRO DISENFRANCHISEMENT

This testimony is not only the statements of hundreds of Negroes in the State describing shootings, private acts of intimidation such as bombings, beatings, evictions, and dismissals from jobs which they suffered for attempting to register. It also includes conclusive evidence of officially perpetrated and inspired harassment, the admission of state officials of their own participation in organized racism, and illustrates the close ties and over-lapping interests between such organizations as the White Citizens' Councils and the State Administration in depriving Negroes of the right to vote.

Mr. Earl Johnson, Jr., Director of the tax-supported Mississippi Sovereignty Commission admitted under oath that as of January 1st of this year \$193,000 drawn from public funds had been given by that agency to the White Citizens' Council, Richard Morphew, Public Relations Director for the Citizens' Councils admitted to having received the money and testified that, "The first major accomplishment and the first project undertaken by the Councils on a state level was the passage of the (Mississippi) constitutional amendment to raise voter qualifications in Mississippi." Mr. Morphew testified that "it was not uncommon for a great many people in public life in Mississippi to be proud of their membership in the Council," and that Congressmen Whitten, Colmer and Williams "participated in Citizens' Council Forums," and that to the best of his recollection Governor Johnson is a member.

Over 400 depositions of local Negroes and voter registration workers document the patterns of intimidation and terror suffered by Negroes seeking to vote. Mrs. Aylene Quinn of Macomb testified that her house was bombed after she sheltered voter registration workers and attempted to register. The bombers were released with suspended

continued on last page --- supplement



A MOVEMENT SUPPLEMENT

We reprint here one part of the over 15,000 page long depositions taken in Mississippi this Spring to document the conditions under which Negroes must live in that state.

MRS. ELIZABETH ALLEN OF AMITE COUNTY IS QUESTIONED BY WARREN B. WILSON, MFDP LAWYER

Q. Are you a widow?
A. A widow?
Q. Yes. Who was your husband?
A. Mr. Louis Allen ...
Q. Where is your husband now?
A. He's dead ...
Q. Can you tell us how he died?
A. He was killed by a shotgun.
Q. Where did this take place, at the house?
A. It took place right beside of his gap (gate) ...
Q. Did you hear anything unusual that night?
A. I heard three shots.
Q. And when you heard the shots, did you do anything about it at the time?
A. I didn't do anything about it, because at that time they was so bad about burning crosses up there and his truck fights was still on and I didn't know whether they were burning crosses out there in front of my gap or what.
Q. You mean the lights of your husband's truck were burning?
A. That's right, the night of my husband's death.
Q. When the lights were burning, where was the truck?
A. The truck was just outside the gap. He got out to let the gap down and someone shot him ...
Q. Just inside the gate to your house?
A. Just inside it. He kept it closed on account he had cattle inside. When he got out of his truck, someone shot his four fingers off, and after they shot his fingers off, he run under the truck for protection, and then someone put the gun aside of the truck and shot him through the head ...
Q. Prior to your husband's death (January 31, 1964), had he been a member of the NAACP in a chapter operating in Amite County?
A. He had ...
Q. And as part of the program of the NAACP, did they deal with voter registration?
A. They did.

Q. And what was your husband's attitude toward voter registration?
A. Well, he went to the courthouse twice to vote and they told him the first time that he wasn't eligible to vote ...
Q. Did they give a reason for his ineligibility?
A. They didn't give a reason, because they don't allow Negroes to vote in Amite County ...
Q. What types of things, if any, were done to discourage Negroes from voting in Amite County?
A. Well, I guess they didn't want Negroes to have the legal rights or anything, so they don't allow them to vote. That's the way it is.
Q. You said your husband went and tried to vote a second time. Did he?
A. That's right. And the second time he went to vote, it was some shooting going on and he didn't go back to vote any more after that ...

Lee's death ...
Q. Were you ever present when your husband was arrested by Sheriff Jones?
A. I was. I was present when Sheriff Jones broke his jawbone, because he broke it on his place and naturally I was at home ...
Q. He came out to your house after you and your husband had gone to see someone in jail?
A. That's right ... They said Louis was messing with office affairs, because he was on the (jail) grounds.
Q. Was he being arrested at that time by Sheriff Jones?
A. That's right. That's the time Sheriff Jones broke his jawbone.
Q. And why did he break his jawbone?
A. Because he didn't have his hat and he asked Sheriff Jones could he go in the house and get his hat and he said, "No, not you, Louis." Well, he turned around and his son was standing in the

From The Depositions....

Q. Did (your husband) write his own checks and balance his own checkbooks?
A. That's right.
Q. Then presumably he could read and write.
A. He could read and write.
Q. How much education did he have?
A. He went to the 7th grade, but after he went to the army he took up some more schooling. And that made him be further up than the 7th grade.
Q. Did he do his banking in Amite County, in Liberty?
A. That's right.
Q. And was he able to borrow money there?
A. Well, for a while he was, but after they started picking on him and he started running his own logging business, wouldn't no one lend him any money and they cut out his credit also.
Q. Was your husband in fear of his life at the time when he was killed?
A. He really was.
Q. And can you tell me why he was in fear of his life at the time he was killed?
A. Because the white people was picking at him so.
Q. Had he been a witness to any other murder?
A. He was a witness at Mr. Herbert Lee's death.
Q. And how had Mr. Herbert Lee died?
A. He was killed by Mr. E.H. Hurst from a shotgun blast.
Q. And who is Mr. E.H. Hurst?
A. He was a state senator ... They didn't start threatening until after Mr. Herbert

door and he asked him, say, "Well, can I tell my son to bring my hat?" ... When he turned around to tell his son to bring his hat, the sheriff hit him with a flashlight and broke his jawbone ...
Q. Did your husband testify at any hearing or inquest about the death of Herbert Lee?
A. He testified twice about Mr. Herbert Lee's death ... He testified that Mr. Lee did have a piece of iron when Mr. Hurst killed him ... because he wanted to live for his family ...
Q. You mean he was afraid and this is the reason he testified this way?
A. That's right. He was afraid. He was afraid they would kill him if he didn't say that Mr. Lee had a piece of iron, because a Negro don't have no say-so.
Q. Did he tell you what actually happened?
A. He said he was standing next to Mr. Lee and he had two or three words and Mr. Hurst killed him.
Q. Did Herbert Lee actually have a piece of iron in his hand?
A. He didn't.
Q. Did your husband tell anyone else that Mr. Herbert Lee really didn't have an iron in his hand?
A. He told the FBI in Jackson ... Because he said he really wanted to live for his family, but the reason he told the FBI that Mr. Herbert Lee didn't have an iron, if he knew of a live person he told a story on, he could ask to be forgiven, but if it was a dead person, he couldn't

continued on last page --- supplement

TO THE MISSISSIPPI CONGRESSMEN IS . . .

"SNCC Front" or Grass-Roots Club?

MISSISSIPPI YOUNG DEMOCRATS

If you are between the ages of 18 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, ratified a constitution, supported the party ticket and sent delegates to the Young Democrats' convention in Atlantic City. They were not recognized by the convention on the grounds that they lacked certification by the "senior party officials" 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.

YD's SUPPORTED TICKET

The group returned to Mississippi to continue organizing and preparing to fight for a charter at the next YD national convention on April 10. Melvyn Whitfield, the President of the still unofficial Young Democratic Clubs of Mississippi, was prepared to show an article from the McComb "Enterprise Journal" in which Mr. Bidwell Adams, 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." Whitfield also had a letter from Mr. Adams refusing to certify the group.

At the April 10 convention in Kansas City, the Adams article was shown to the membership practices board to demonstrate that one of the three senior party officials failed to support the previous presidential ticket, which under the membership provisions in the National Young Democrats' constitution would automatically waive the certification requirement.

Statement by James Farmer REJECT THE PRETENDERS

CORE unequivocally supports the historic challenge of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party and calls for a great coalition of civil rights, political and civic organizations and individuals to join this struggle. CORE pledges its fullest support of MFDP on this 11th Anniversary of the Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in the public schools.

The chronicle of brutality to be presented today in these petitions has no equal in the parliamentary history of our nation. These are real voices of the real Americans who had been blooded and even murdered in their efforts to exercise the right to vote.

As we take these depositions to the Congress, I ask of the Congress fast remedial action and the rejection of the regular Mississippi Congressional pretenders who have been elected on a platform of blood and disenfranchisement.

CORE is prepared to take whatever steps may be necessary to support this challenge. Discussions are underway as to a schedule of massive demonstrations if the Congress fails to act and act quickly. These demonstrations will be in large part directed at Congressmen across the nation who have opposed this challenge. For example, on June 20, a major demonstration is planned for Brooklyn, New York calling attention to Congressman Emmanuel Celler and the Brooklyn Congressional delegations vote against the Fairness Resolution on January 4, 1965.

As to the voting rights bill before Congress at this moment, these depositions bear tragic witness to the need for this bill -- and more specifically to the need for a bill with real legislative and judicial teeth.

The board, headed by Spencer Oliver of the Maryland YD, refused to recommend the chartering of the Whitfield group.

Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, in a column printed in the "S.F. Examiner" on April 18, commended the YD executive committee's rejection of "SNICK power play," as they called it, on the grounds that the Whitfield group is a front for "an attempt by Militants of the Student Non-violent Co-ordinating Committee . . . to commandeer the YD state charter for Mississippi with an all Negro organization -- thereby increasing racial polarization in state politics." Evans and Novak fail to mention who, other than Spencer Oliver of the Maryland YD's, and Charles Evers of the NAACP, are the specific foes of giving the charter to the "SNICK group."

Oliver and Evers support the position of the Mississippi AFL-CIO and segregationist Ole Miss YD officials, who one week before the Kansas City convention attempted to dissuade Whitfield's group from seeking a national charter. When Whitfield refused, stating that his group had fulfilled the organizational requirements, and using the state party officials' refusal to support the national Democratic Party as the basis for waiver of the certification requirement, he was accused by Evers of "moving too fast."

At the convention, Oliver, Evers, Ole Miss YD's, and Claude Ramsey of the Mississippi AFL-CIO actively fought against chartering the Whitfield group. These are the opponents referred to by Evans and Novak as the "moderate whites and Negroes from Mississippi" who were "upbraided as bigots and segregationists" because they "pleaded with YD national leaders not to recognize SNICK." During the fight Oliver indicated that the National Committee of the Democratic Party also did not want the Whitfield group chartered.

WHO REPRESENTS MISSISSIPPI?

"The direct action of local people's organizations in the state has forced the necessity for many accommodations," says Hunter Morey, executive secretary of the Mississippi YD's. "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, AFL-CIO, biracial committees, conservative Negro leaders and white segregationists. . . ."

To charges such as Evans' and Novak's that the "essentially all-Negro" Whitfield group would increase racial polarization in state politics, and to Evers' charges that they are "rushing things," the April publication of the Young Democratic Clubs of Mississippi counters: "If white people will not join the Young Democrats because Negroes have taken a leading role in organizing for national politics in Mississippi, that just proves the fact that most white people in Mississippi truly do not believe in national politics, but rather in racism."

REJECT COMPROMISE

A compromise proposal, later rejected, was put forward by Jack Sexton, also of the membership practices board, calling for the Whitfield group's return to Mississippi and after 30 days notice to all Democrats in the state, the holding of a statewide convention and after 15 more days the granting of a charter. Whitfield rejected the compromise because it made his group an exception to standard YD procedures. "By accepting a compromise," he states, "we would be selling out the Negroes of Mississippi who are members of the Young Democratic Clubs."

About the regular Democratic Party, Whitfield states, "We believe it is corrupt. It has crippled people into thinking one way, into having a one party state. We believe that not only should the Negroes be free, but the whites too . . . they are kept in a prison too, whether they realize it or not. We will be an independent organization from the state Democratic Party."



MRS. FANNIE LOU HAMER, FREEDOM CONGRESSWOMAN FROM MISSISSIPPI

DIRKSEN AMENDMENT

Disaster for Civil Rights

The right and power to determine the composition of the legislature of a State and the apportionment of the membership thereof shall remain in the people of that State. Nothing in this Constitution shall prohibit the people from apportioning one house of a bicameral legislature upon the basis of factors other than population, or from giving reasonable weight to factors other than population in apportioning a unicameral legislature, if, in either case, such apportionment has been submitted to a vote of the people in accordance with law and with the provisions of this Constitution and has been approved by a majority of those voting on that issue.

Senate Joint Resolution # 2

Dirksen Amendment to the United States Constitution.

On June 15, 1964, the Supreme Court of the United States affirmed the basic democratic principle of one man, one vote. The Court declared that "as a basic constitutional standard, the Equal Protection Clause requires that the seats in both houses of a bicameral state legislature must be apportioned on a population basis."

The United States Constitution and the Supreme Court thus affirm the principle of equal representation, and the population standard acts as a guarantee of equality of voting power. The Dirksen Amendment, quoted above, stands for the direct opposite; it stands for unequal representation and unequal voting power.

ONE MAN, NO VOTE

If passed, the Dirksen Amendment would enable a state to apportion one house of the legislature on any basis a majority of the people selected. Hence, any southern state with a white majority could apportion one house of its legislature on a racial basis. By racial gerrymandering southern states could destroy the effectiveness of the Negro vote. If Negro districts were assigned a small and insignificant proportion of the total vote, the white majority would continue to control state politics and retain the power to legalize discrimination. Hence, the Dirksen Amendment offers the legal power southern states need to negate the Negro's vote. Under the Dirksen Amendment the Negro will be denied the right to an effective vote.

The Dirksen Amendment directly threatens two important achievements of the Freedom Movement -- the Voting Rights Bill and the Mississippi Freedom Democratic

Party. The right to register and vote is meaningless if each Negro vote carries less power than each white vote. The Voting Rights Bill must be passed and the Dirksen Amendment defeated if the Negro is to obtain equal representation and an effective vote as well as the abstract right to vote. Similarly, the formation of a freedom political party and organization for political action can only be effective if each Negro vote is as strong as each white vote. The defeat of the Dirksen Amendment is essential if the freedom struggle is to retain vitality and strength.

If passed, the Dirksen Amendment will entrench a system of unequal representation and malapportionment, where rural votes count more than urban votes. Malapportionment means that in a country that is 75 per cent urban, state legislatures will remain dominated by rural interests. It means that in 15 states less than 20% of the population can elect a majority in at least one house of a state legislature; it means that in 17 states less than 40 per cent of the population can elect both houses of a state legislature. In state after state, a minority, in control of one house, can frustrate the will of the majority. It can and does prevent progressive social legislation such as urban renewal, new schools, and new housing. Because minority groups live mainly in urban areas, the perpetuation of rural control of state legislatures means a devaluation of the minority vote. As an ACLU publication has noted, "It is no political accident that in California, the Assembly has four Negro members while the Senate has none. And it is no political accident that civil rights measures have had their greatest difficulty in the State Senate."

Supporters of the Dirksen Amendment argue that state senates should be elected on a basis other than population because representation in the United States Senate is not based on population. This argument termed the "federal analogy," is a totally erroneous one. The United States government was formed from independent, sovereign states and represents both states and people. Cities and counties within a state were never independent entities capable of coming together to form a federation. In fact, cities and counties are created by the state and remain politically dependent on the state. Chief Justice Warren of the Supreme Court has stated, " . . . Political subdivision of states --

continued on last page -- supplement

THE MOST IMPORTANT POLITICAL

EDITORIAL: Open Letter to President Johnson

"I am well aware that a little handful of my political adversaries have tried to destroy my place in the affections of my fellow Mississippians by claiming that I am a "moderate". Apparently, these people cannot tell a moderate from a successful segregationist . . . I ask you to ignore what they say and look at what the record says . . . I have delivered the goods. I am not entitled to be called a moderate, and I notice that none of my friends have called me that."

Thus spoke James Plennore Coleman of Ackerman, Mississippi, former Governor, former Attorney-General of that state, nominated last month by Lyndon Baines Johnson of Johnson City, Texas for the position of judge of the US 5th Circuit Court of Appeals.

The Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals is responsible for rendering final decisions (subject only to limited Supreme Court review) and for guiding the course of most of the civil rights litigation in the United States.

Who is the man Lyndon has placed with his hands in this position? The "honorable" J.P. Coleman is a fervent speaker; let him speak for himself.

■■■■

"I do not now favor the Negro voting in Mississippi. He is wholly unprepared to assume this responsibility."

Coleman had just been elected Governor. His official platform said, "There will be no mixing of the races in any of the state operated educational institutions, I already have a record on this subject."

You know that record, Lyndon. The Negroes of Mississippi know that record. It is the record of a man who reached the top of a political system built on murder, terror, and intimidation. It is the regular Democratic system in Mississippi.

But Mississippi was under attack by the Supreme Court, and Coleman rose to its defense. "We have already planned our strategy," he announced. "First we will stand on the provisions of our state constitution. When the US Supreme Court strikes that down, then we will start assignments under the Gore Act . . . should that fail, we can adopt a school on the local option plan, get it out of the clutches of the Federal Courts, and immediately re-establish it with a new set of trustees."

"Where was my distinguished opponent in 1951?" Coleman cried. "When I stood alone before a hostile Supreme Court and showed those Communist lawyers they could not fool . . . with the Great State of Mississippi!"

This is the man you appointed, Lyndon, to uphold the Constitution and enforce the rulings of the U.S. Supreme Court. Do you really want those laws enforced?

He was elected Governor. He immediately met with 3 other Southern governors to "unify and correlate" their efforts to maintain segregation.

He declared that if a Negro succeeds in entering any school in Mississippi, that school would be immediately abolished.

He repealed the compulsory school attendance laws.

He created the Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission.

He signed into effect the new segregation laws he had written as Attorney General.

Lyndon, do you know how many people were beaten and killed, lost their jobs and their homes, to overthrow the laws that Coleman wrote and signed?

Can it be said that Coleman was an armchair segregationist, that he was a moderate unaware of the realities?

"I am sure everybody within the sound of my voice remembers when Clennon

King tried to integrate the University of Mississippi. I am sure they remember that when I came face to face with this due threat I did not sit scared in the governor's office . . . I went in person to Oxford, Mississippi, and everybody knows what happened to Clennon King."

Everybody knows, and I guess you do too, Lyndon. King was held incommunicado by State Highway Patrolmen, forcibly confined in the Whitfield State Mental Hospital, and finally run out of the state.

Recollecting this happy moment 4 years later, Coleman reflected, "When I was your governor, Clennon King was escorted by officials as he attempted to enroll in school, but it was red-blooded Mississippi Highway Patrolmen, not a Federal Marshal."

This is the man, Lyndon, in whose hands you are placing the lives of Fannie Lou Hamer, Lawrence Guyot, SNCC and COFO and SCLC workers and volunteers in the South. Do you too support the red-blooded State Highway Patrolmen, like the one who shot Jimmy Lee Jackson?

After four years out of office J.P. Coleman ran again for Governor of Mississippi. He bought a full page ad in the Jackson "Clarion - Ledger." It was headed:

☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆

J.P. COLEMAN'S PLATFORM

1964-1968

SUBMITTED TO AND APPROVED BY A.F. SUMMER, STATE CAMPAIGN MANAGER

FOR: SEGREGATION, 

PEACE,



PROSPERITY

☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆☆

This is your man, Lyndon.

Your personal referral.

Your American judge.

People change. Justice Black changed. Coleman's platform may not expire until 1968, but perhaps his views have tempered since last year. He is presently the attorney for four Democratic Congressmen being challenged by the MFDP. Two months ago he questioned Jesse Harris of SNCC during deposition proceedings. Excerpts from the transcript follow: First they talked about the U.S. Constitution --

Coleman: Why didn't you move on when the officer asked you?

Harris: Because I have a constitutional right to go in any part of the bus terminal that I please, and to purchase a ticket.

Coleman: In other words, you decided for yourself what your constitutional rights are instead of allowing the appropriate courts to do so?

Harris: Well, I had been informed by some lawyers that I did have a constitutional right to go into any part of that particular bus station according to the Constitution of the United States.

Coleman: In other words, you take the position that people are supposed to obey the law according to what they personally think about it instead of what has been settled by the courts?

Harris: No, I think they should obey the law according to what the Constitution of the United States said.

Then they talked about the people and organizations whose cases Coleman will be adjudicating as 5th Circuit Judge:

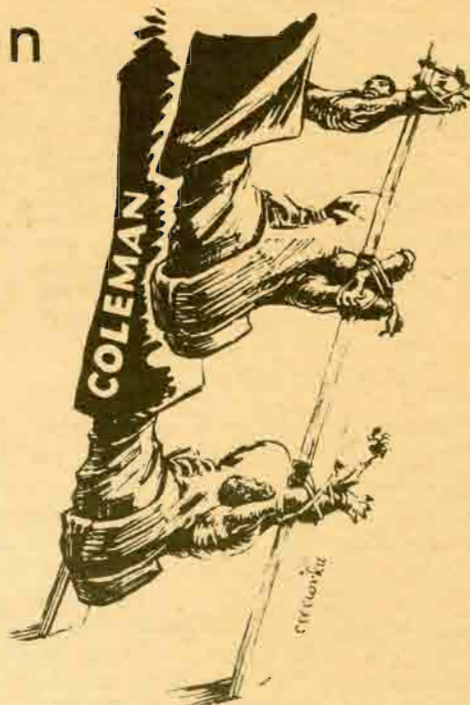
Coleman: In any case, after you had your day in the freedom rider movement, then you got off into The Student Nonviolent Coordinating movement?

Harris: Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

Coleman: I can't remember all these organizations, I get as near to it as I can.

Then Coleman gave his interpretation of the 15th Amendment

Coleman: I am asking if you don't know from your study of history . . . That at the time this amendment was adopted, Negro citizens outnumbered the white citizens in many states, particularly, I call to mind at the present, Mississippi and South Carolina, if not others, and the legislatures in those states were under command of the Negro citizens; and at the time this amendment was adopted had it not been for the amendment, the Negro majority in those states could have prevented any white man from voting by simply enact-



ing a statute to that effect. But we've come upon more recent times in which people want to say this altogether for the purpose of qualifying Negroes to vote.

Is there some reason we don't know about, Lyndon, that you want this keen, objective legal mind to sit in the 5th Circuit Court?

When you said "We Shall Overcome" -- who did you mean by "we"?

Statement by Dr. Martin Luther King

A TEST OF MORAL INTEGRITY

Today, on the 11th Anniversary of the historic Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in the Public Schools, the MFDP has filed with the Clerk of the House of Representatives the more than 600 depositions taken in support of the Challenges to the seating of the entire congressional delegation from Mississippi. This indeed is a momentous and historical moment. I wholeheartedly support as I have from the beginning, these Challenges.

The unseating of the Mississippi congressmen will be the test of the moral integrity of the Congress of the United States. The weakening of the voting bill by the Senate's shameful action in stripping away the anti-poll tax provision makes it absolutely imperative that the House of Representatives does not waiver in its obligation to unseat the congressmen. The unseating will make any voting bill meaningful.

I, therefore, again pledge myself and the SCLC to the fullest support of the Challenges of the MFDP and call upon all Americans to join with me in this commitment.

Statement by John Lewis

Must Have Free Elections

The issues raised by the MFDP Challenge to the congressional delegation from Mississippi go to the heart of Negro exclusion from the political processes in Mississippi and the South.

The question of the challenge goes beyond the processes of registration. It

goes to the issue of actual participation in elections and the political processes. It is entirely possible that the mere fact of being registered -- thereby qualified -- to vote will not enable Negroes in Mississippi to actually vote since economic intimidation and violence will still be available to those who are opposed to Negro voting.

The challenges are based specifically on the lack of Negro participation in the elections of November 1964. The evidence covered by the depositions given cover not only obstruction to registration, but the acts of economic harassment and violence that are also used as a matter of policy by the State. It is only when the Congress unseats the Mississippians and calls for and conducts free and open elections in Mississippi for these seats that the Negroes in the state will be free to participate. It is only when the Congress takes these actions that the political forces in the South that are opposed to Negro voting will understand that Congress and the Nation are serious about guaranteeing the rights of Negroes to fully participate in the processes of government.

Recognizing this the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee stands ready to commit the major portion of its organizational resources and energies to the support of this challenge during the next two months.

We plan to use our organizing staff in Mississippi to support the voter registration drives, mass rallies and political demonstrations called for by the local leaders of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party.

SNCC stands ready to support with all its organizational resources, both north and south, any call that comes from the MFDP and its allies for a national mobilization of people in Washington.

VIET NAM: A POEM

MRS. IDA MAE LAWRENCE,
ROSEDALE, MISSISSIPPI

We say we love our country
We say other people love their country
We said that all mens are brothers. What
Would we call the war in the Vietnam
Would we call that brotherly love
Does the word freedom have a meaning
Why do the history books say America is:

the
Land of Liberty a Free Country,
Then why do all mens Negro and White

fight
the Vietnam and Korea why can't we be

Americans
as North and South regardless of color

What does we have again the Vietnams?
Why are we fighting them?

Who are really the enemy?
Are Vietnam the enemy or we

Americans enemies to ourselves,
If we are the same as Vietnams

Why should we fight them?
They are poor too.

They wants freedom.
They wants to redster to vote.

Maybe the people in the Vietnam
can't redster to vote

Just Like Us.

PLEASE SEND ME THE NEXT 12 ISSUES OF
THE MOVEMENT. ENCLOSED IS \$1.00.
(mail to 1316 Masonic Avenue, San Francisco)

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____

BATTLE OF 1965."

John Lewis, SNCC chairman

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GUYOT STATEMENT

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sentences. George Johnson, a law student working on voter registration in Greenwood, testified that police officers threatened him with castration while he was in custody at the jail.

In making these depositions, amounting to over 15,000 pages of evidence, the Negro people of Mississippi have again come forward to risk reprisals of violence and terror. However, these depositions, formally signed and witnessed are an incontrovertable body of evidence proving that the general elections of November 1964 in Mississippi were unconstitutional. They prove that the conditions described by President Johnson on March 15th, "The harsh fact is that in many places in this country men and women are kept from voting simply because they are Negroes. Every device of which human ingenuity is capable has been used to deny that right.", applies very specifically to Mississippi.

RESPONSIBILITY PLACED WITH HOUSE

The submission of this evidence and the filing of a final legal brief completes the legal aspects of the challenges. We have made enough evidence available to the Congress to convince any reasonable and unbiased panel. We now call upon the Clerk of the House, the Sub-Committee on Elections of the Committee on House Administration and the members of Congress to act swiftly to ensure that the House of Representatives has a full opportunity to examine the evidence and charges brought in these challenges at any early date. There are, for example, a number of depositions which are being inexplicably held up by white notary publics and hearing officers in Mississippi. In these cases we are submitting duplicates of all statements which are still unsigned by the Mississippi officials with receipts showing that the hearing officer is in possession of the originals, which have not been sent back as the Statute provides. We urge the Clerk to proceed with all subsequent steps of the challenge.

CHALLENGE ENTERS NEW PHASE -- NATIONAL ACTION PROGRAM BEGINS

After today the progress of this challenge will be at the pace imposed by the internal machinery of the House. The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party is presently engaged in taking the issue to the Nation. With the support and assistance of major organizations within the civil rights movement -- The Southern Christian Leadership Conference, The Congress of Racial Equality, The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and others we are currently engaged in discussion to formulate a program of action in the North and the South. Mr. James Farmer of CORE and Mr. John Lewis of SNCC are present to discuss this further. On April 24th a conference was held in Washington to begin the national effort in the north. In addition to the civil rights organizations there was representation from 40 civic, religious and labor organizations from 30 states. Action is now being taken to bring to Washington delegations from these states to bring the issue of the challenge to congressmen from the various areas. This effort will culminate in a national convocation in Washington during July.

JACKSON continued from front page

people from all over the state have met to march on the capitol; each day hundreds are arrested and taken to compounds at the state fairgrounds.

SNCC Chairman John Lewis, who was arrested June 15, sent a telegram to 19 congressmen protesting the treatment of the marchers: "Men and children were made to run the gauntlet. They were beaten by city policemen and state highway patrolmen with badge numbers covered with tape. At least five were hospitalized as a result of police brutality."

DISASTER

continued

counties, cities, or whatever -- never were, never have been considered as sovereign entities We necessarily hold that the equal protection clause requires both houses of a state legislature to be apportioned on a population basis."

The Dirksen Amendment can become law if ratified by three-fourths of the states legislatures. This is an extremely important point, because it means that the very forces in the state legislatures who seek to perpetuate the status quo have the power to enact the Dirksen Amendment, which is designed precisely to maintain the status quo. The amendment already has the support of 25 state legislatures, including California. (It should be noted that California senators Kuchel and Murphy are co-sponsors of the Dirksen Amendment). If the amendment does not pass in Congress, its supporters are prepared to mobilize state legislatures to call for a Constitutional Convention in order to pass the amendment by state action alone.

It is important that opponents of the Dirksen Amendment make their opposition known. Letters to Senators and representatives, talks with state legislators, mayors, city managers, and suburban county officials, and petitions by groups and individuals are important in order to mobilize support for fair reapportionment and opposition to the malapportionment of the Dirksen Amendment. The Freedom Movement is a struggle for change in order to create a more free and just society. The Dirksen Amendment is a direct blow at any effort toward change; it seeks to perpetuate the status quo ad infinitum. Adoption of the Dirksen Amendment means legalization of the denial of an equal right to vote; opposition to this amendment must be expressed and mobilized.

VIVIAN BOZMAN

Bernice Crosby, 16, of Hattiesburg, Mississippi, said that when she sat down on the ground, a policeman grabbed her by the neck and began choking her. Then he grabbed her legs and dragged her to some grass 20 feet away.

Robert Gahtan, 32, of Boston, Massachusetts, said all the prisoners were packed into an auditorium. The adults were not allowed to move several fainting children to fresh air.

"They put us in a paddy wagon. It was so hot in there -- there was 20 of us in there and we couldn't get no air", Mrs. Annie Mae King of Sunflower County said. "They just beat up the children, punching them and hitting them in the head."

IN THE CONCENTRATION CAMP

"After they registered us, they carried us into another stock barn", Mrs. King said. "They made us sit down on the concrete floor about five to a row. They wouldn't let us sit against the wall, and we had to sit on the floor the whole time. About 10 that night they gave us some little thin mattresses. At 5 in the morning they made us stand up and give up the mattresses . . . It was two young ladies there pregnant, and they beat one of them so she had a miscarriage . . ."

Mrs. Maggie Gordon from Holmes County was arrested Tuesday, June 15. Early the next morning four policemen told her to move and then decided to drag her. "They grabbed me and just pulled my legs apart and they kicked me . . . When I did manage to get up they had pulled and stretched me and tore my clothes off."

They put Mrs. Gordon in solitary, "a dark, small room. On the way, they threw me down, stomped me all in my body and still were kicking me . . . I was in there for 12 hours without food or water or a place to go to the bathroom."

Thursday morning Mrs. Gordon gave a statement to the FBI, but "The FBI men didn't say too much. They took pictures of my head bruises and I was already naked from tearing my clothes off, and they took pictures of my back end where I had been beaten . . . The FBI men didn't say anything about what they would do. There were just two FBI men . . ."

But the people keep marching in spite of arrests and beatings. One MFLU member said, "We all know that freedom for Mississippians and other black folk across the US will not come today or tomorrow, but when it gets here we'll be ready. We'll also have the satisfaction of knowing that we did more than just sit back and talk about it."

Washington

REPORT FROM A LOBBYIST

Pat Thalheimer, a San Francisco SNCC volunteer, went to Washington, D.C., June 13 to a four-day lobbying session for the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP)

The 120 to 200 lobbyists spent two days at workshops, where they heard about the history of the MFDP and the legal basis for the Challenge. Then they divided into teams and spent two days contacting Representatives. Each evening they met with MFDP representatives to report what they had done that day.

Mrs. Thalheimer and her team visited three Congressmen, E.S. Walker and Thomas J. Morris from New Mexico and Teno Roncalio from Wyoming. They asked the men three questions:

1. How do you feel about the Challenge?
2. How do you feel about the Federal Voting Rights Bill?
3. How do you feel about an anti-poll-tax amendment to that bill?

THINKS IT'S UNCONSTITUTIONAL

E.S. Walker had voted for a January resolution to seat the five contested Mississippi Congressmen. When Mrs. Thalheimer approached him, he said that he did not believe it was constitutional for the House to unseat its own members. He felt that he as a New Mexican could say nothing about the internal affairs of Mississippi, but he thought all people should be able to vote -- the way they can in New Mexico. He was in favor of the voting rights bill, because the Administration had proposed it, but he said that Attorney General Katzenbach thought an anti-poll-tax amendment might be unconstitutional.

Mrs. Thalheimer's team was never able to see Representative Morris. His morning secretary said he was at a meeting. His afternoon secretary said he was at another meeting and could not make appointments for the next week, because he was leaving town. They spoke to his legislative assistant, who said that Morris never told

MFDP DEPOSITIONS

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ask, so his conscience was clipping him . . .

Q. When was it (Mr. Allen) went to vote in the company of Leo McKnight?

A. Both times he went to vote they was together.

Q. And is Mr. Leo McKnight still living?

A. Mr. Leo McKnight is dead.

Q. What happened to Mr. McKnight?

A. He got burned up.

Q. Where did he get burned up?

A. He got burned up in his own house . . .

Q. How many people were killed or died in the fire at Leo McKnight's home?

A. It was four of them . . .

Q. Did Sheriff Jones know that your husband had talked to the FBI about the death of Herbert Lee?

A. He must have knowed it, because he told my oldest son before they moved the body that if Louis hadn't told the FBI that Mr. Herbert Lee didn't have a piece of iron, he wouldn't have been laying on the ground tonight . . .

Q. Had your husband made plans to leave Amite County before he died?

A. Yes, he was going to leave the next day for Milwaukee. He had already packed his suitcase.

Q. Had he told anyone about his plan to leave?

A. Yes, he had told different ones about his plan to leave . . .

Q. And why was he intending to flee from Amite County?

A. Because they were threatening him . . .

him any of his positions on anything.

When they saw Roncalio, he immediately began talking about Viet Nam, "to show us what a liberal he was," Mrs. Thalheimer said. He had voted against seating the five Mississippi Congressmen and seemed to favor the Challenge, although he would not commit himself on the final vote. He indicated that he would work with other Representatives to get the MFDP depositions published by the House Clerk.

Mrs. Thalheimer said that many Representatives helped the lobbyists by meeting with other Congressmen and pressuring the Clerk to print MFDP testimony. Others promised to help get the Challenge onto the House floor through the Elections and Privilege subcommittee of the Committee on Administration.

She said there is a House rule that any contested election should be out of committee and onto the floor in the form of a simple resolution six months after it is introduced. Since the Challenge was introduced January 4, 1965, it should be voted on by July 4. However, she said, "It looks as if the House is going to break its own rules."

SAW MURPHY AND KUCHEL

They visited California Senators Murphy and Kuchel to ask them to protest the brutality and arrests in Jackson and to stop the proposed appointment of ex-Mississippi Governor Coleman as Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals judge. They also wanted the Senators to contact the Justice Department to ask for protection for California volunteers who might be arrested in the South.

They spent half an hour with Kuchel's legislative assistant, who said that the Senator was willing to work with other Congressmen to block Coleman's appointment. He said that Kuchel had already contacted the Justice Department about events in Jackson and that whenever he knew of California volunteers' being arrested, he called the Justice Department to ask for confirmation of the charges against them and reduction of their bail.

Murphy's assistant said he would tell the Senator about the brutality in Jackson. He also said he did not realize the Justice Department could be contacted when volunteers were arrested. When he was asked about Coleman's appointment, he replied that the Washington "Post" had reported favorably about the ex-Governor, so he didn't understand why people were protesting.

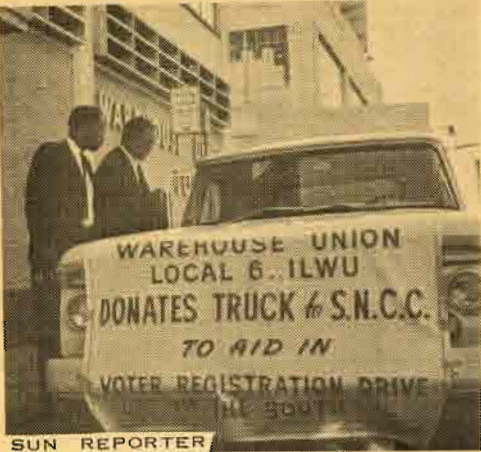
THE HONORABLE MEN WHO DON'T SEE IT STRAIGHT

Mrs. Thalheimer said that the lobbying experience helped many of the students, because they saw that "the actual merits and legality of the Challenge are irrelevant to some Congressmen." Students also saw "the degree to which Congressmen are uninformed -- or pretend to be."

Some Representatives said that the Challenge should have been taken through the Courts, not presented to the House. Others claimed that the whole idea of a Challenge to unseat House members was unconstitutional. Others said they knew nothing about the Challenge or said that the January resolution vote disposed of it or said that the Federal voting rights bill eliminated the need for the Challenge. Several Representatives said they were against the Challenge, because "if it were successful, their own seats might be threatened."



BERNICE GLENN



AMERICAN PEOPLE'S MOVEMENTS

The Populist Party (Part 1)

In July, 1892, the People's (Populist) Party adopted a platform in Omaha, Nebraska. Parts of it read:

"... urban workman are denied the right of organization for self - protection; imported ... labor beats down their wages; a hireling standing army, unrecognized by our laws, is established to shoot them down ... we have witnessed ... the struggles of two great political parties for power and plunder, while grievous wrongs have been inflicted upon the suffering people. ... we seek to restore the government of the Republic to the hands of the 'plain people', with which class it originated."

And later, in the resolutions:

"Wealth belongs to him who creates it. ... the interests of rural and civil labor are the same; their enemies are identical."

PARALLELS DRAWN

Recently some of SNCC's friends and foes have spoken of the resurgence of a new Populist-type movement. From some this is condemnation; from others, praise. What was the Populist movement? Why is Populism interpreted by different people in strikingly contrasting ways? What the Populists really wanted and why their demands have been so historically misrepresented is a very important question for those fighting today for a "peoples" government, a country where human beings are valued for their human worth.

The Populist movement grew out of the discontent of farmers in the last two decades of the 19th century. After the Civil War the American economy began to change from an agricultural base to industry. With this rapid industrialization came consolidation of economic power, the rise of monopoly which today dominates America. The farmers saw this clearly; the railroads were an ever present reminder of the power monopoly could and did exert over the unorganized individual. The small farmer had no choice but to ship his goods by railroad, often being forced to accept prices of transit which completely impoverished him. Moreover the railroads had political power; they could give rebates to favored producers, travel passes to politicians. Yet the railroads were by no means the only cause of distress to the farmer. There was a great drop in farm prices from 1870 to the turn of the century; cotton, for example, dropped to a third of its market value in two decades.

REFORM OR RADICAL?

Many historians, concentrating on these economic grievances, have called the movement one of "stomach complaints," contending that when farm prices rose the impetus for reform died. Less narrow writers, however, saw that there was much more to the Populist party than price complaints, and the demise of Populism was a more complex issue than short lived farm prosperity. Some have stressed the "retrogressive" nature of Populism, saying it was a western movement of small farmers who could not adjust to the new industrialization. Therefore the question and answers posed by Populism were untenable because the farmers looked backwards in history for their remedies. Another result of looking at the Populists as simply agrarian rebels trying to impose the small family farm upon a growing modern economy is, as historian Richard Hofstadter states: "This meant that by not comprehending the basis for its discontent (the rise of modern capitalism), Populism was forced to search for simplistic examples and ultimately, scapegoats. ... as a protest becomes more emotional, it bears less resemblance to reality." This view of Populists leaves the impression that they

Local 6 of the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union has donated a new pickup truck to aid SNCC's work in the South.

The pickup truck, costing over \$2200, was presented in the name of the membership by Charles Duarte, Local 6 president. Duarte commented to the press and radio, "Our payoff will be the satisfaction we receive in seeing this truck used. For each mile this truck travels, we hope there'll be one more voter registered."

The truck is essential to voter registration work in the South because SNCC workers must be able to visit rural, isolated areas.

were crackpots and opportunists with a conspiracy theory of history. "The overall consequence of this image (of Hofstadter's) is that Populism has been denied its traditional place as a democratic social force. Rather, its significance for American history is altered so greatly that it has come to stand as a source for later proto-fascist groups, McCarthyism, anti-semitism, xenophobia, and anti-intellectualism" (Pollack, The Populist Response to Industrial America).

"TO EMANCIPATE ALL MEN"

Did Populism face up to the reality of industrial America? Norman Pollack, who has taken it upon himself to refute Mr. Hofstadter, tells us some interesting things about the People's Party. First, the Populists saw themselves as a class movement "reasoning that farmers and workers were assuming the same material position in society" (as the farmers grew more impoverished). They accepted industrialism, but not the form of capitalism which American industrialism was taking. Part of the Populist critique of capitalism called for a more equitable distribution of the nation's wealth. They saw that the working man was becoming degraded and alienated by the new industry, and that "there was an inverse relation between industrialism and freedom" not because of the nature of the machine by itself, but because "the machine was made to exploit rather than serve man." Said one Populist in 1892, "Don't confine the fight to any one thing, money or land. Let's make the fight for human liberty and for the rights of man." The Populists realized that human rights were tied to economic rights. Said the Farmers' Alliance, a populist newspaper in 1891, "The people's party has sprung into existence not to make the black man free, but to emancipate all men; not to secure political freedom to a class, but to gain for all industrial freedom, without which there can be no political freedom; no lasting people's government. ... (Populism) demands equal opportunity and exact justice in business for each individual and proposes to abolish all monopolistic privileges and power. ... (Populists) shall make this nation an industrial democracy in which each citizen shall have an equal interest."

TIME OF POWER

The People's Party presidential candidate in the election of 1892 received 48% or more of the vote in five western states. In Kansas the entire Populist state ticket was elected, plus winning five out of seven congressional seats. In other states Populists were elected to state legislatures in great numbers, but they did not capture complete control from the other two parties. In the south the Populists had tried to forge a coalition between white and black farmers. In the west they had fought the railroads and the eastern banks. Yet in 1896 the People's Party supported William Jennings Bryan on the Democratic ticket. In a short number of years the Populists had lost their political power and revolutionary impulse. It was not racism, not irrationality, not an outdated agrarian mythology that caused the downfall of Populism. The Populists had seen the future of industrial America and had tried to change it before monopoly power consolidated and gained control of the country.

ELLEN ESTRIN

(Part II: discussion of the failure of Populism and its fusion with the Democrats will appear in the next issue of THE MOVEMENT.)

The Literature of Protest

AND IN A BLAZE OF RED I LEAPED
TO THE SKY
AS PAIN ROSE LIKE
WATER, BOILING MY LIMBS
-- Richard Wright, "Between the World and Me"

What is more real than agony, and yet more fantastic? Pain sculptures the language of protest: textured, realistic in Richard Wright, explosive, grotesque in Ralph Ellison, molded and formal in Fredrick Douglass, pain - and the understanding of it. The force that drives artists of protest carries with it a fundamental risk - the artist must speak, he must write, or be blinded, or die.

LET THOSE WHO CAN ENDURE
THEIR DOUBTS
SPEAK FOR THE COMFORT OF
THE WEARY
WHO WEEP TO KNOW.

-- Charles Enoch Wheeler, "Adjuration"

Pain without understanding is a rats' maze. It is a scream of rage in the dark of an isolated room. It carries suffering and hatred with it, and when it dies, it often dies in a pool of self-pity, in a room with no doors, listless, and apathetic. Because there are others that could scream if they only knew they were in pain (the suburban housewife alcoholic), but do not, that scream becomes the first works in the literature of protest, the first blues, the sad chants,

I don't know why
I've got to cry
Sometimes.

But the oppressed and their partisans have got to know why, or they can't get out of the trap. They cannot accept ignorance of causes as excuse for tyranny. "Who decides who shall be poor?" is a question raised in Freedom Schools. It demands answering before things can change. They have to be able to look straight at Things As They Are and say, "It's not me - it's you! You put me in this box and you're keeping me here for your own profit."

These are the second words of the literature of protest. This is what Mark Twain is saying when he exposes the profit motive behind racism, or Ralph Ellison revealing the sick paternalism behind a white-endowed Negro college, or John Steinbeck unfolding the financial forces behind the tractors that plow down the homes of the Oklahoma poor.

When we look at it this way we see the

TELL IT LIKE IT IS

tremendous need behind telling it like it is. For those struggling to be free, realism is not a style, it's a life and death matter. Not to see directly into the heart of their pain (as dangerous as this is) is to continue to suffer. They must tell the truth in order to change the order of things.

Is it any wonder that those who know the causes of others' pain and who want to hide the causes must invent a language that cannot tell it like it is? Languages that give men with guns the name "advisors," or SNCC field secretaries "communists," or janitors "sanitation engineers."

Words are only ways of thinking, and books are also tools. The professional literature-makers have a word, "propaganda," for any work of art that leads its audience beyond the work itself into unsafe territory. They have a theory that a novel or a poem, like a dead animal in a bottle of formaldehyde, is an end unto itself, that it is born in a bookstore and dies on a bookshelf. That it may be studied for its intrinsic value, its handful of chemicals, but that it does not breathe the same air as those who read it.

Irrelevant is the life of its author - so it came from nowhere. The man who reads it undergoes no change - so it is read by no one. No wonder authors are alcoholic curios, admired and dispossessed; no wonder books are status symbols, their value set by the International Critics Bank; no wonder those who read feel strangely guilty.

LET HAPPY THROATS BE MUTE;
ONLY THE TORTURED REED
IS MADE A FLUTE.

-- Donald Jeffrey Hayes, "Threnody"

Art comes from living men and women; it is their voice. And when that voice is protest it is dangerous and spreads far. The very way it speaks of the world makes it hard to live with. It cuts away the safe ground from under the audience and pushes them to the edge of recognizing the sources of their pain. The "political" sources, that is, those that can be changed.

"Propaganda, didacticism, pamphleteering." Those are just words, bought and paid for. Whenever they are used, notice who uses them, and why. Maybe they're the ones who feel threatened.

TERENCE CANNON

Letters to the Editor

To The Editor:

After reading the article in the April 1965 issue of THE MOVEMENT I decided to look up the insurance company mentioned under WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR ALABAMA POLICE BRUTALITY?

Sure enough, I found that Liberty National was in the portfolio of the company I have invested in. Accordingly, I sent them the letter, whose copy I am sending you, for whatever comfort it may bring.

Insurance Securities Trust Fund
Insurance Securities Inc.

Sirs:

I see by the company prospectus published May 1, 1964 that the ISTF holds stock in the Liberty National Life Insurance Co.

I hope I am wrong in assuming that this company is the same one mentioned in the following quote under the name Liberty National Insurance Company.

It is a quote from the Selma (Alabama) Times-Journal of 6 Dec 1964 and it says:

"Law enforcement officers from the state, city and county ... were guests of honor at a barbeque given by the Liberty National Insurance Company."

The guests who were honored by the insurance company included "law enforcement officers" from Al Lingo's State Police, Sheriff Clark's deputies and Posse, and the Selma Police Dept. Officials and employees of Liberty National ... stood behind the serving counters and loaded the plates of the hungry "law officers."

I do not care to have any corporation in which I invest my money invest its funds in a life insurance or any other company which, by its reported acts mentioned in the newspaper article, gave rise to these awful people.

For Those Little Stamps--
Two Buses!

Two station - wagon - buses will be rolling South this month to join SNCC's Sojourner Motor Fleet. They are the offspring of a remarkably successful drive for trading stamps conducted by Marin County Friends of SNCC.

Stamps have come from all over the country. Says one member of Marin FOSNCC, "I only wish I could communicate how gratifying it is for all of us to open the stamp mail and realize the reservoir of sympathy and good will that exists toward the work that SNCC is doing."

The drive continues. Blue Chip and Green Stamps are preferred, as are filled books, but any contribution is welcome. Chain letters soliciting stamps have not been initiated by Marin FOSNCC and they discourage them.

For an easy, direct way to contribute to the movement, send stamps directly to Box 210, Mill Valley, California.

TO OUR TRADE UNION FRIENDS

THE UNION BUG WAS INADVERTANTLY LEFT OFF THE LAST ISSUE OF THE MOVEMENT. PLEASE ACCEPT OUR APOLOGIES.

If Liberty National is doing this, then ISTF and ISI are doing it, and if ISTF and ISI are doing it, then I am doing it. And I damned well don't want to contribute anything to the health and comfort of Cracker Cops.

I request that our company immediately sell any and all Liberty National stock in its possession.

Profits from creeps like this: I -- and I hope we -- don't need.

Sincerely,
Jack H. Levin
Covina, California

Mime Troupe Minstrel? Show

A MINSTREL SHOW, or "CIVIL RIGHTS IN A CRACKER BARREL"
Produced by the S.F. Mime Troupe, directed by R.G. Davis

IT'S GREAT . . .

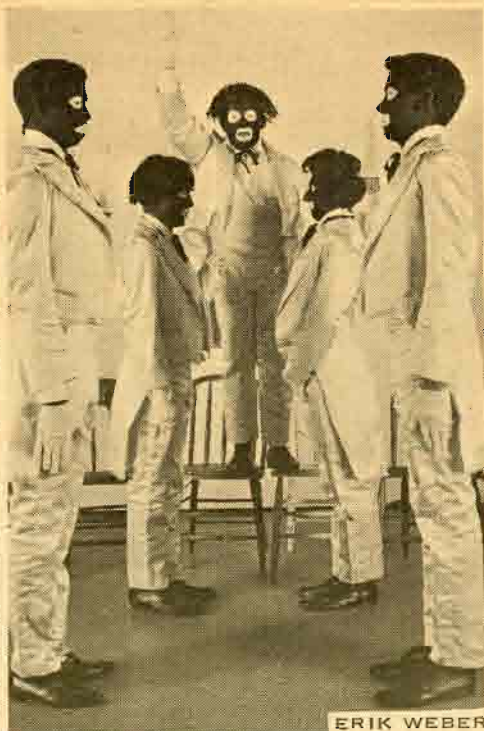
The minstrel show was an indiginous American art form, which intentionally and by acquiescence contributed to the humiliation of the American Negro. For Ronnie Davis and the Mime Troupe to take this form and attempt to make it a vehicle for the pride, anger, and satire of the "new" Negro is a courageous and creative act. There is power and irony in the idea; it is a theatrical idea.

The show hustles. The actors move in a flash from rambling, shapeless jokes or incidents into a tight frieze or structured movement. Transitions are particularly brilliant. The minstrel idea is used well; a dance, a few wisecracks, a dramatic incident, a speech, evolve into one another. The audience's expectations are reversed. You're not allowed to react the way you wanted to; your attention is demanded. There is one scene where the show is at its best:

The minstrels decide to show the audience something. After some wrangling, all leave but three. Two are to be teenagers, the third a white cop. The cop - minstrel goes off. The two kid-minstrels lounge in front of four chairs that are a hardware store in Harlem. They're still kidding, but the kidding is of two kids, not minstrels. Then the cop enters: he's still in minstrel clothes and wears a hat that says WHITE COP. You're back in the Show, but the "actors" keep merging into the characters. You begin to feel the fear, of the cop, of the kids. It seems real. The kids are fooling around, the cop pushes them, they push back, too much, the cop fires. Freeze. A boy in Harlem is dead. The other kneels. Freeze. It is shocking (the only really shocking scene in the show) because it's honest. Then the other minstrels file back on, make a quiet joke, the dead boy stands up. The actors are pulled back into the Show. The interlocutor comes on, everyone's a minstrel again.

. . .BUT

For a show that espouses cutting deep and has the freedom to do so (like Tous-saint L'Ouverture or the "Nigger" in the washroom have the freedom to cut) there's little slashing done, and none deep. You'd never know from watching the Minstrel Show that there was a civil rights movement in America. The closest thing



ERIK WEBER

to an exhortation in the show is "Kill Whites!" - and that's neither radical (I use the word meaning 'getting to the root') nor revolutionary: both self-described ideals of the Troupe.

The premise of the Show is bitter, helpless: you can't change the world, though it needs it. The Show's enemies are the middle class Negro and the White: straw men. Where it could explode it jibes. Where it could expose it quips. Where it could slash it brushes past.

Why doesn't it attack the Poverty Program, Urban Renewal, the Coleman appointment, the Asian war, the buyers of people and the degraders of Negroes, the ones with power? Where is the humor of the movement? Where are Fannie Lou Hamer and the people who are radically changing our way of life? Why, when a real enemy, or a real ally comes along, does the Minstrelman shuffle away? Why does Content step off the sidewalk when it meets Form coming the other way?

ADVICE

Go to see the Minstrel Show. It's still the best thing going today. It's at the Gate Theater in Sausalito Thursday, Friday and Saturday Nights. July 30 it moves to the Berkeley Little Theater, where it will play July 30 and 31, August 6 and 7. It is sponsored by Marin Friends of SNCC in Sausalito and Berkeley Friends of SNCC in Berkeley.

TC

LIFE WITH LYNDON IN THE GREAT SOCIETY

SOUTH AFRICA, LAND OF THE FREE (ENTERPRISE)

A few weeks ago Lyndon's Secretary of Agriculture, Orville Freeman, was wringing his hands and moaning that he couldn't find any way to get surplus foods into the hands of hungry Negroes in Selma who had been fired from their jobs for civil rights activities. Freeman just couldn't seem to persuade the county authorities in Dallas County that they should distribute the food. The entire might of the U.S. Government was hung up by a few courthouse political hacks in Alabama.

But just the other day, Lyndon and his boys in Agriculture pushed through a deal for trading surplus food to the Tshombe Government in the Congo in return for industrial diamonds produced there. Lyndon explained that if the U.S. didn't take these diamonds in return for the food, the Belgian-owned company which mines the diamonds in the Congo would run into serious financial troubles.

The Republic of South Africa got in on the same deal. Lyndon said he would trade surplus food to South Africa in return for \$55 million worth of uranium.

As nearly as we can make out, here's the way these two deals will work. The U.S. Government (Lyndon) will contract with private business in the U.S. to take the surplus foods, and sell them in the regular commercial markets in the Congo and South Africa. Then the U.S. businessmen will turn the money over to the private businessmen in the Congo who sell the diamonds, and to the private businessmen in South Africa who sell the uranium.

The diamonds and the uranium will then be delivered to the U.S. businessmen, who will sell them commercially or to the U.S. Government. Now at every point in this series of transactions - - the food goes from the U.S. Government to the businessmen; the food goes from the U.S. businessmen to the South African and Congo (Belgian) businessmen; the money goes from the South African and Belgian businessmen to the U.S. businessmen; the U.S. businessmen then buy the diamonds from the Belgian company and the South African company; and the diamonds and uranium are shipped to the U.S. and food is shipped to the Congo and to South Africa -- there is a profit for American business.

That profit for American business, we figure, is the reason why Lyndon and his Agriculture Department were able to arrange for this complicated international deal, when they couldn't find any way to get the same surplus food into the hands of hungry Negroes in Dallas County, Ala. There just isn't any money to be made out of giving food to hungry Americans, so, naturally, Lyndon and his friends find it very difficult to do so.

No incentive, you see.

Chrysler Motor Corporation, whose Chairman, George H. Love, was such a strong supporter of Lyndon (and whose major stockholders, the Mellon family of Pittsburg, were just as strong Goldwater supporters) announced it will build a \$28 million plant at Silverton, near Pretoria, South Africa.

Charles Engelhard's Rand Mines, Inc., will install a \$14 million stainless steel plant at Middleburg, South Africa. Engelhard, it will be remembered, is the close business associate of Treasury Secretary Douglas Dillon. Engelhard has with him on the board of his holding company, Engelhard Industries, the former Governor of New Jersey, Robert Meyner. Meyner is married to the former Helen Stevenson, sister of that great freedom fighter in the United Nations, Adlai Stevenson, who always finds reasons why the United States cannot support an economic boycott of South Africa.

Scripto, Inc., of Atlanta, will open a new plant on May 1, in Capetown, South Africa. Scripto, and its head man, James V. Carmichael, were recently involved in a fight with their largely Negro work force in Atlanta, over the substandard wages and working conditions there. Carmichael and his associates, among whom are some of Lyndon's staunchest supporters, will doubtless have less trouble with the black workers of South Africa. South Africa knows even more about how to handle black workers than does Alabama. They don't just club them - - they shoot them dead wholesale.

If this is a Great Society, then South Africa's must be even greater.

JACK MINNIS

MILITANCY IN THE DELTA

continued from front page

that live on or around his farm or else arrange for transportation himself. William Brewer, 63, a short, solidly built man, was a sharecropper, but for the past few years he has worked as a hauler. Mr. Brewer describes how he earns his living:

"I work directly with the landlords. I've never gone to the (Federal) Employment Office to get choppers and pickers. The landlord pays me directly 50¢ for everyone I bring. I work five or six months on the average. We only work at most five days a week unless it rains. I have hauled twenty-four people on my truck, and I usually have about sixteen. That means about eight dollars a day. The choppers pay for their lunches which I buy in town. I am supposed to be with my group all day and service them. Lots don't eat early in the morning so right away I go to town to get lunch and ice. I got to be up before dawn. Don't go home till dark.

"I earned about \$700 last year. From that I had to pay \$85 liability insurance and \$170 for an overhaul on my truck. Of course I only pay five dollars rent a month but with all the expenses and all, I'm three months back due. So far this year I did construction work in Cleveland for about 12 hours and I did some moving people around. I charge about \$3.50 or \$4 for

moving families. I'll do just about any kind of work that comes around."

Union leaders realize that unless more haulers like Brewer go on strike, the strike is in trouble. Tractor drivers are also crucial to the success of the strike. They are the highest paid (\$5 to \$8 for ten to twelve hours a day) and the most skilled besides mechanics. For weeks now they have been plowing and planting the fields and so far only a handful have gone on strike. One driver explains: "I started working for my boss man two years ago. He started me off at \$5 a day but within a few weeks he raised me to \$6 and now I'm getting \$7.50. I didn't even have to ask him for it. He came up to me and said he's just going to give me a raise."

OLD IDEA, NEW FORM

A union of agricultural workers has been in people's minds for years. Some even remember their grandparents talk about the Southern Farmer's Alliance which developed into the Populist party in the 1890's. George Shelton of Shaw said the impetus for beginning a union came out of Freedom School meetings conducted by COFO workers Mary Sue Gellatly and Bob Weil. But Mr. Larks, who faithfully attended these

meetings, says that he thought about forming a union here long ago.

"I have people in the north who belong to the union." He says, "When we gets together that's mainly what we talk about -- the union. So we began talking about it here that \$3 a day from sun-up to dark wasn't enough. We couldn't support our families. We all talked about how much we needed to live and we talked and talked about it for a month. We decided on \$1.25. That will be good on condition we get the work. But we know that if he has to pay us that much he's likely to give us nothing."

The union members know they're fighting against enormous odds, but they are convinced that right is on their side. At one meeting one man said, "A man shouldn't get angry if all we is asking is \$1.25 an hour. That's nothing considering we worked for so long for nothing. Let's love the white man but let's stand up for what's right."

STRIKERS SHARE

To help those on strike, members voted to collect 50¢ a month dues. A barber and beautician offered their service at cut rates, women promised to sew aprons and bed quilts and some people planned to hold fish fries. Everyone agreed to enlarge the size of their garden plots, and plant one large plot in common. It has

been suggested that small Negro farmers be approached for help: "We can't strike against them. Maybe we could help them feed their hogs and they could help feed us."

On April 28, a two day meeting of the MFLU began in Shaw. Poor Negroes came from areas all over the state. The Freedom Democratic party started in somewhat the same way last year. Now Negroes throughout the whole country have come to this state to study its political ideology and tactics. The MFLU may become the economic arm of the revolution. But before that happens, there is much suffering to be done.

TIME VALUE

SAN FRANCISCO REGIONAL OFFICE

1316 MASONIC AVENUE MA 64577

EAST BAY
5929 Grove St.
Oakland 655-9545

S.F. STATE COLLEGE
1600 Holloway
San Francisco
JU 4-5215

MARIN
Box 210, Mill Valley
332-1127

COLLEGE OF MARIN
32 Williams St.
San Rafael 453-8241

UNIVERSITY OF S.F.
58 Clayton, Apt. 2
San Francisco
751-7660

SANTA CLARA VALLEY
246 Eastside, San Jose
292-6161

MT. DIABLO
1658 Foothill
Lafayette YE 5-3061

SACRAMENTO
1956 Grand Ave.
Sacramento. 922-6003

STANFORD
Box 2484
Stanford 327-8879
UNIVERSITY OF CAL
Davis SK 3-3249

SAN JOSE STATE
603 North 16th St.
293-4684

MID-PENINSULA
180 University Ave.
Palo Alto
322-5521
STOCKTON
Anderson Y Center
Univ. of the Pacific
462-7314

LOS ANGELES AREA REGIONAL OFFICE

6605 HOLLYWOOD BLVD. ROOM 307 462 6873

BAKERSFIELD
2812 Kaibav
323-8702

CLAREMONT
McAllister Center
Claremont College
626-8514

HARBOR JR. COLLEGE
750-A Ninth St.
San Pedro 835-0161

SANTA BARBARA
910 Camino Pascadero
Goleta 968-6558

FRESNO
479 North Fresno
268-7778

LONG BEACH
205 E. Broadway
436-4426

SAN DIEGO
3622 El Cajon Blvd.
448-5273