

Revolt, Repression At Grambling College

(By Staff Correspondent)

"Students at Grambling College go on, in large numbers, to a graduate school called Professional Football."

—Esquire Magazine

Prologue

Grambling College, La., is yet another of those black colleges that resemble plantations:—patronizingly protected by white overseers, an administration belonging to another era, academic standards too low to trouble most high-school sophomores.

Students are treated like children; every aspect of their lives is supervised. Large signs hang in the dining hall, admonishing

them to Take bite-size mouthfuls and Break bread before eating. Girls may not wear slacks; men may not wear beards and must keep their shirts tucked in. Magazines and reference books are kept under glass at the library, presumably because the students might damage them. Strolling couples found holding hands are told by a black matron, "That is not nice." Afro haircuts are frowned upon and a student who cuts class three times gets an "F."

If the school suffers academically (it lost its accreditation this year) it excels in sports. Often, it has been called a "beef factory" for the pro-football leagues; indeed, only Notre Dame (with a student body six times larger) has more players in the pro leagues than Grambling, whose student population is 4,200.

The president of the school, Ralph Waldo Emerson Jones, is also the baseball coach, and the dean of men is the football coach. Reason enough for students to refer to their yearbook as a hard-back edition of Sports Illustrated.

The Revolt

"Awaken black brothers and sisters! It doesn't make sense for a person in college to live like a man in the Ghetto. Yes, a Ghetto in the black belt of Mississippi or even Viet Nam!"

—The Informers

Much as a ghetto rebellion shatters the peaceful facade built on a city's apathy, so are the order and tranquility of a college shattered when its students rise in revolt. A group of Grambling students calling themselves The Informers began to hold discussions on what was wrong with their school; through mass distribution of circulars they invited all students to take part in a dialogue on how the wrongs could be corrected.

Miss Gale Daggs, one of The Informers, says: "If you want to keep people down and oppressed, don't let them get educated and, most important, never let them have a dialogue."

(Continued on page 8)

Black and White Divided

Laurel Strike Is Broken

(Editor's Note: A recent strike in Laurel, Miss., between Local 5-443 of the International Woodworkers of America (IWA) and the Masonite Corporation points up what trade-union experts in the South have been saying for some time:—that industries in the region plan to use divisions between white and black workers in a new way.

(For several generations the owners of land and industry have kept political and economic control by getting white workers to believe they had an identity of interest with the owners because of the color of their skin. At the same time, black workers were pushed to the lowest rung of the ladder.

(Today, because of the new strength of black people and their movement for freedom, employers can no longer keep them down. So the employers now try to convince black workers that they will do better by going along with management rather than with the white workers.

(The result is the same:—a division which benefits nobody but the employer. The Laurel strike is typical because it also involves the question of automatic machines' replacing people; it also involves the continued moving of more industries into the South.

(Robert Zellner, director of grass-roots organizing work (GROW) for the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), and Jack Minnis, SCEF research director, went to Laurel several times during the strike.

(Robert Analavage, assistant editor of The Southern Patriot, went with them. His article tells the story from the standpoint of both the black and white workers. It is hoped that this analysis will help all of us to understand the necessity for black-white unity in the struggle for economic and political democracy in America.)

By ROBERT ANALAVAGE
(Assistant Editor)

LAUREL, Miss.—The strike formally began in April, 1967, when a shop steward was fired by a foreman. The steward was backing two workers in their re-

fusal to do work not included in their job descriptions.

But it began a long time before that. It began when Masonite brought in a team of efficiency experts to determine how to make the most profits with the fewest

workers at the lowest cost. The experts suggested that the plant be totally reorganized, with automation the eventual goal.

Masonite calls its operation here the largest hardboard plant in the world; it produces a

\$250,000 weekly payroll for the Laurel area. The company and the local, largest in Mississippi, have had bitter struggles over the years, but nothing to rival this one.

This time the local, considered the most militant in the state and possibly in the South, saw the actions of the company as the opening of an effort to destroy the local completely. It did not hesitate to strike once it felt its interest threatened.

The strikers set up mass picket lines and refused to allow anyone, including management personnel, inside the plant. Hulse Hayes, a lawyer from the firm of the late anti-union Senator Robert Taft, went to court for Masonite, seeking an injunction against the union's activities.

A lower-court judge upheld the strikers' right to picket peacefully, so Hayes appealed to the Mississippi Supreme Court.

During the court proceedings the local argued that it had been pushed into the strike and so was unable to give the required ten days' notice before striking. The local subpoenaed documents and exposed Masonite's reorganization plan. The documents also showed that the company had hired Wackenhut guards 10 days before the strike began.

These guards come from the same private detective agency used by Governor Claude Kirk to police the state of Florida.

(Continued on page 4)



GUN-TOTING WACKENHUT GUARDS patrolled Masonite's Laurel plant during the seven-month strike (photos by Bob Analavage).

Another SCEF Case in Supreme Court

(By Staff Correspondent)

LEXINGTON, Ky.—Last September three federal judges put seized SCEF documents in the hands of Thomas Ratliff for safekeeping.

Last month the U.S. Government admitted in open court that copies of some of the papers were given to a U.S. Senate investigator while in Ratliff's care.

Ratliff is the prosecutor who raided the home of Alan and Margaret McSurely, SCEF workers in Pike County; carried away their papers; and put them in jail. He also jailed Joe Mulloy, then working for the Appalachian Volunteers, and two SCEF executives, Carl and Anne Braden.

Two of the three judges on the U.S. court held that the state sedition law under which the five were jailed violated the U.S. Constitution in several ways.

"It is difficult to believe that capable lawyers could seriously contend that the statute is constitutional," Judges Bert T. Combs and James Gordon declared.

Their opinion was handed down October 18, a month after they

voided the sedition law. (Excerpts from this remarkable and historic opinion are on Page 3.)

On that same day, Ratliff and the McSurelys got summonses from a subcommittee headed by Senator McClellan of Arkansas. They were told to bring the seized documents to a hearing in Washington.

McClellan claimed the papers would show that SCEF, SNCC, and other human-rights organizations were connected with ghetto uprisings. Attorneys for SCEF and the McSurelys told the three federal judges that it would be illegal to turn over to McClellan any material seized under an invalid law.

Then the government attorney admitted that copies of some documents had been given to McClellan before the summonses were issued. This would have been while Ratliff was supposed to be keeping them inviolate. Further admissions by the Government showed, step by step, how Ratliff worked with the investigator. (Details on Page 3).

The three judges ordered copies of the documents given to McClellan, but actual transfer was blocked pending an appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court. SCEF attorneys William M. Kunstler, Morton Stavis, Arthur Kinoy, and Dan Jack Combs have filed such an appeal.

As I got into the car I asked a boy in the crowd why he would not talk to us. He had lovely blue eyes but the hatred in them as he stared silently was ugly. I asked him a couple more times why he wouldn't talk, and he pushed me into the car, saying "get the hell out of here". As we drove off, someone thrust his hand in the window at Tom, and someone smeared spittle over the windshield.

Later Lyn and I went back on campus to talk to some profs. They said the whole campus was buzzing about the incident and that many people were ashamed of their or their fellow students' behavior.

(Continued on page 3)

Neighbors Ask The President:

Free the Kentucky Miners

(By Staff Correspondent)

HAZARD, Ky. — Neighbors of four Eastern Kentucky miners who went to prison in the aftermath of the roving-picket movement are asking President Johnson to free the men.

Hundreds of mountain residents have already signed a clemency petition for Bige Hensley, Clayton Turner, Herb Stacy and Charles Engel. They began serving their terms at the federal prison in Terre Haute, Ind., in November.

Support is now being sought from people across the United States. The signatures will be taken to the White House in February.

The U.S. Supreme Court has refused to review their conviction on charges of conspiring to blow up a railroad bridge that was never blown up. They were convicted on the strength of confessions they later repudiated, claiming they confessed under unbearable pressure. The prosecutions helped to break the movement for jobs and justice here

in the early sixties (see recent Patriots.)

Their sentences—which originally ranged from four to six years—were reduced to one, two and three years by the U.S. District Court in Lexington, Ky. on November 24. This followed wide protests in the mountains.

The petition was initiated by: George E. Archer, Walter Allan Archer, Jason Combs, Walter Gamble, Manerva Naylor, Rich Naylor and Atha Whitson, all of Hazard; Hazel and William Bailey, Krypton; Sheldon and Rachel Brewer, Bulan; Francil Hager, Lothair; Charles Moore, Walkertown; Sherman Niece, Darfork; Jim Hamilton, Cornettsville; and the Rev. Philip H. Young, of Blacksburg, Va., President of the Council of the Southern Mountains.

They invite people who believe in justice everywhere to join in the petition. For copies write SCEF, 3210 W. Broadway, Louisville, Ky. 40211.

Mississippi—Black Officials Are Sworn In

(By Staff Correspondent)

JACKSON, Miss. — Twenty-three black people, elected in November, have taken public office in Mississippi. But it took national publicity, the hard work of many people, and considerable pressure in high places to overcome the roadblocks put in their way.

One of them was Robert Clark, the first black person elected to the Mississippi Legislature since Reconstruction. Plans of his defeated opponent to challenge his seating collapsed at the last minute—after widespread national attention to the threat.

The 22 others had been elected to local offices in several counties. Up until the last moment, there was doubt as to whether



Muhammad Ali

Muhammad Ali Appeals

NEW ORLEANS, La. — Muhammad Ali has appealed his conviction for refusing to be drafted into the army, on the ground that Negroes were systematically excluded from his draft board.

The world heavyweight boxing champion was sentenced to five years in prison and ordered to pay a \$10,000 fine, after a Houston jury found him guilty of draft evasion June 20. U.S. boxing authorities quickly stripped him of his title.

Muhammad Ali claims he should be exempt because he is a minister of the Muslims, and a conscientious objector to war.

His appeal, which is being handled by the American Civil Liberties Union, points out that only two tenths of one per cent of Selective Service board members of Kentucky, his home state, are black, even though Negroes make up 7.1 per cent of the state's population. The proportion is even higher, around 25 per cent, in his home city, Louisville.

The appeal also charges that Ali's selective service files were jammed with "reams of letters and newspaper clippings of a prejudicial nature" that deprived him of "fair and just proceedings."



Robert Clark

many of them would be allowed to take office on January 1.

This was because the state law required that they be bonded and bonding companies were refusing to write their bonds. Some of the biggest insurance companies in the nation, which normally write such bonds, were involved in the refusals.

In the course of the battle it was learned that in some of the counties the law requiring such bonding was not usually enforced for white office-holders.

Finally a number of nationally powerful people put pressure directly on the heads of the insurance companies, and the bonds were secured.

The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party and the NAACP cooperated in the successful drive to overcome the bonding roadblock. They were assisted by the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law.

Book Notes

On Sojourner Truth

Jacqueline Bernard has written for people who care the biography of a woman who cared deeply. *Journey Toward Freedom* is the story of Sojourner Truth, born in slavery in the state of New York in 1797. Publisher is W. W. Norton, 55 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y.; 265 pages; \$4.50.

Sojourner Truth was not freed from slavery until she was 30, by which time she had suffered the same blows and insults that slaves in the South were to feel for another generation. She had been separated from her parents and her brothers and sisters by the slaveowners, and her own children had been sold away from her one by one.

After gaining her freedom, Sojourner Truth spent the next half century working to free black

people from the chains of slavery and then neglect.

Her life is a lesson in courage and determination. A tall woman with a great voice, she sang and lectured for freedom across the Northern states. She paid her way by selling her biography and pictures of herself.

She was close to all the great people in the abolitionist movement and in the fight for equal rights for women. They cherished her strength and her ability to "tell it like it is."

Most of them were dead by the time she passed away in 1883. Friends in Battle Creek, Mich., where she is buried, put on her tombstone the statement that she was about 105 years old. They must have thought that a woman who had done so much must have lived that long.—CB

Two Views of Appalachia

Two of the books about Eastern Kentucky published last year were *My Appalachia*, by Rebecca Caudill, and *Stinking Creek*, by John Fetterman. The first is written by a native of the area, who spent part of her childhood on Poor Fork in Harlan County; the second, by a reporter for the Louisville *Courier-Journal*.

Miss Caudill lived relatively well in Kentucky until her father moved the family to Tennessee, apparently to leave behind "lawlessness and killing" and lack of education. It is from this perspective that she writes, and her book suffers from it. Her descriptions of mountain residents, often based on her childhood experiences, are unfortunately generalized and without much subtlety.

The historical sections and interviews are valuable and give a more balanced view. The photographs appear uniformly dark

and grainy, which is apparently intended to convey the mood of the text. They are perhaps too gloomy and neglect redeeming features of mountain scenery, although several are excellent.

Stinking Creek has been written with a relentless refusal to treat the "mountain people" as one subject. It is an in-depth observation of one particular community with due consideration for the different kinds of people who live in it. The photographs are matter-of-fact, as is the prose.

Fetterman has included commentary on the war on poverty and Vietnam, which provides some perspective on his reportage. The situation has of course changed — deteriorated — since publication, but the discussion of the "two wars" brings the people of *Stinking Creek* into a national framework familiar to those of other areas.—S. CROWELL

Wansley Case Will Be Reviewed

RICHMOND, Va.—The Virginia Supreme Court has agreed to review the case of Thomas Wansley, who was convicted of rape and robbery in Lynchburg last spring and sentenced to two life terms.

Wansley, 22, has been in Virginia's jails and prisons for the last five years. The Virginia Supreme Court overturned his first conviction on the charges; a second trial on the robbery charge resulted in a hung jury.

At the same time, the high court said it would review a contempt conviction against Wansley's lawyer, Philip Hirschkop, Alexandria.

The lawyer was held in contempt after he had the case removed from corporation court in January, 1966. Judge Raymond O. Cundiff sentenced him to five days in prison and a \$50 fine, but later suspended the sentence. It was one of a wave of contempt charges which have been brought against civil-rights lawyers across the south in recent years (see January, 1967 *Patriot*).

Attorney Arthur Kinoy of New York, who is handling the case, said: "I was very worried about whether the court would take Hirschkop's case and I am delighted that it has. This is the first important successful roadblock to the now-developing wide-scale attack on civil-rights and civil-liberties lawyers."

Organizers' Library

SCEF's Organizer's Library Series was among the "seditious material" that Pike County prosecutor Thomas Ratliff seized last August in his midnight raid on the home of SCEF organizers Al and Margaret McSurely.

This is a series of "how to" pamphlets written for movement organizers who work with students, workers, peace and community groups. The seven pamphlets in the series, along with suggested donations, are:

1. Getting and Keeping People Together, Alan McSurely (25¢)
2. Hangups—Common Problems of People Who Organize Other People into Communities, Alan McSurely (50¢)
3. The Care and Feeding of Power Structures (Revised), Jack Minnis (50¢)
4. How to Put Out Community Newspapers, Alan McSurely (25¢)
5. Common Group Problems, Alan McSurely (50¢)
6. Lowndes County Freedom Organization, Jack Minnis (50¢)
7. How to Negotiate, Alan McSurely (25¢)

In bulk orders, donations for the 25-cent pamphlets are 10 for \$2, for 50-cent pamphlets 10 for \$4. Order them from SCEF, 3210 W. Broadway, Louisville, Ky. 40211.

The Southern Patriot

Postmaster, send P.O.D. Form 3579 to:

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Eastern Representatives: Sandra Rosenblum and Carol Hanisch.

SWAFCA Members Reap First Harvest

(By Staff Correspondent)

SELMA, Ala. — Negro farmers from 10 Southwest Alabama counties spent Thanksgiving together this year. They were celebrating their first year as members of SWAFCA—the South West Alabama Farmers' Cooperative Association.

They gave thanks for new harvests — okra, cucumber and peas—instead of the failing cotton crops they used to plant. They celebrated the fact that none of them were forced to leave the land, in spite of cold weather that destroyed the cotton crop and ruined thousands of small Alabama farmers this year.

Perhaps this is the best way to measure SWAFCA's success. Each member made a different profit, depending on how much of the new crops he planted, how much fertilizer and pesticide he could afford, and things like that. But SWAFCA managed to find markets for everything its 1500 members produced, and their profits enabled them all to stay on the land.

Their problems are not over yet. The white power structure is still doing everything in its power to prevent them from finding markets for their produce and suppliers of seed and fertilizer (See August Patriot).

They have tried to split the members, or to destroy their faith in SWAFCA's future, with newspaper stories which regularly predict that OEO will stop funding the co-op.

Violence and intimidation by whites are on the rise. One young farmer in Dallas County was shot to death. A man who defended his store has been charged with assault. Many homes have been shot into.

One of the most effective tactics has been to deny any credit

to the co-op and its members. Right now, the people desperately need money so they can take advantage of discounts to buy seeds and fertilizer for the spring planting.

Because they can't get credit through the same channels as any white farmer in the South, they are asking individuals and groups who support their struggle to invest directly in it, by becoming "Brothers for SWAFCA."

"This isn't a charity concept," one SWAFCA worker said. "They won't be adopting an individual family. They'll be investing up to \$400 in a farm and—not immediately, but in five or ten years—they'll see a return from it."

For more information about Brothers for SWAFCA, write the president of SWAFCA, Joe Johnson, 1315 Jefferson Davis Blvd., Selma, Ala.



SWAFCA MEMBER picks okra to sell through the co-op (Southern Courier photo).

Combs's Opinion

Prosecution Had Freezing Effect

(Below are hitherto unpublished sections from a historic opinion outlawing the Kentucky sedition law. It was written by Judge Bert T. Combs of the Sixth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, who was joined by U.S. District Judge James Gordon.)

Kentucky's sedition law was passed in 1920 in the aftermath of World War I and the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia. The law was amended slightly in 1922, otherwise it has remained unchanged through the years. As would be expected, the statute is broad and comprehensive. It was good politics to be against Communism. The Governor signed the bill but was fearful that it drew too much water. He publicly stated that it "goes far afield and far beyond syndicalism and sedition." He thought the courts would "take out of this law the sections which make it dangerous . . ."

Now, for the first time, a section of the law is squarely presented for judicial determination. KRS 432.040 . . .

The statute in question is clearly unconstitutional under even the most flexible yardstick. It is too broad and too vague. It contravenes the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States because it unduly prohibits freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and the right of assembly. It fails to distinguish between the advocacy of ideas and the advocacy of action. It makes it a criminal offense merely to possess, with intent to circulate, literature on the subject of sedition.

It imposes the penalty of imprisonment for advocating an unpopular political belief. It would turn the courts into a forum for argument of political theories with imprisonment the penalty for the loser. It contains no requirement of criminal intent. The unwary and the ignorant could be enmeshed in the dragnet as easily as the covert plotter . . .

KRS 432.040 violates basic constitutional guarantees which have been applied to the states through the Fourteenth Amendment for nearly half a century.

The next question is whether this Court should enjoin the state court from proceeding further with the prosecution of these plaintiffs. It seems to us that *Dombrowski v. Pfister* . . . is in point. The statute is an unduly broad and vague regulation of expression and enforcement of the statute would necessarily curtail activities which are privileged under the First Amendment.

It is difficult to believe that capable lawyers could seriously contend that this statute is constitutional. The indictment follows the language of the statute and in our opinion fails to state an indictable offense. It too fails to make the distinction between advocacy of ideas and advocacy of action and is therefore insufficient . . .

In addition, the conclusion is inescapable that the criminal prosecutions were instituted, at least in part, in order to stop plaintiffs' organizing activities in Pike County. That effort has been successful. Not only has there been the "chilling effect" on freedom of speech referred to in *Dombrowski*, there has been in fact a freezing effect.

The Governor has issued a public statement that federal funds to the Appalachian Volun-

teers should be discontinued. Plaintiffs' possessions have been seized and impounded and they have been placed in jail. The Bradens, who originally had not been charged with any offense, were indicted and placed in jail

after they attempted to render assistance to the other plaintiffs. Clearly, the prosecutions have put a damper on the plaintiffs' freedom of speech, as well as on others who might be in sympathy with their objectives. . . ."

The Anatomy of a Conspiracy

Below is a blow-by-blow description of how Thomas Ratliff, a Kentucky prosecutor, made seized documents available to a U.S. Senate investigator while they were in his custody for safekeeping. This account was filed in U.S. District Court at Lexington, Ky., by an attorney for the U.S. government. (Background on Page 1.)

1. Defendant Ratliff announced publicly on or about August 11 . . . that the seized material would be made available to Congressional Committees.

2. Some time shortly after the decision of this court on September 14, 1967, (that the prosecutions were unconstitutional and must be stopped) Lavern Duffy, assistant counsel to the McClellan Committee, telephoned defendant Ratliff and asked if he (Ratliff) had the aforesaid seized material in his possession. Ratliff answered in the affirmative.

4. On Sunday, October 8, 1967, John Brick, an investigator for the McClellan Committee, visited defendant Ratliff and Thadeus Scott, Commonwealth's detective, and made known to them his official capacity.

5. Mr. Brick thereupon asked defendant Ratliff whether the aforesaid seized material contained any references to an alleged meeting in Nashville, Tenn., between April 5 and April 8, 1967, at which representatives of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, the Southern Student Organizing Committee and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, including Stokely Carmichael, were present. Mr. Ratliff replied in the affirmative.

8. On the evening of October 8, 1967, defendant Ratliff, accompanied by Mr. Scott, visited Mr. Brick in the Landmark Motel in Pikeville, Ky. After some discussion among the three, Mr. Scott and Mr. Ratliff left Mr. Brick's room together. Mr. Scott returned some time later, bringing with him a number of manila folders containing xeroxed copies of some of the seized documents. Mr. Scott thereupon departed from the said motel room and Mr. Brick examined the xeroxed material for two hours.

9. On the morning of October 9, 1967, by prearrangement, Mr. Scott picked up Mr. Brick at the Landmark Motel and conveyed him by automobile to the Pike County Courthouse. Mr. Brick brought with him the xeroxed material which Mr. Scott had furnished to him the night before and returned it to Mr. Scott. Mr. Scott and Mr. Brick, upon arrival at the Pike County Courthouse, found Mr. Herman Dotson, Assistant Commonwealth's Attorney, who opened a locked door to a room for one hour.

10. On October 9, 1967, after

inspecting the aforesaid seized material, Mr. Brick proceeded to the United States Post Office in Pikeville, Ky., where, in the Clerk's Office, he inspected the file of this (sedition) action. After inspecting the said file, Mr. Brick asked the aforesaid clerk to mail to him at his office in Washington, D.C., a copy of the final order of September 14, 1967, and of the inventory attached thereto, which documents he received several days later.

11. On October 12, 1967, Mr. Brick returned to the Pikeville County Courthouse where, again accompanied by Messrs. Dotson and Scott, he entered the room in which the seized material was kept and examined same for approximately four hours. For the first time, Mr. Brick took notes of the contents of the said material.

12. Mr. Brick thereupon returned to Washington, D.C., where on October 16, 1967, at the personal direction of Senator John L. McClellan, he prepared the subpoenas involved herein. He thereupon took the said subpoenas to Senator John L. McClellan, Chairman of the McClellan Committee, with whom he had conferred on the subject matter thereof since October 6, 1967. After some discussion with Senator McClellan, four subpoenas were signed and returned to Mr. Brick for further action.

13. On October 18, 1967, at 8:25 a.m., Mr. Brick served Alan and Margaret McSurely with the appropriate subpoenas at their home in Pikeville, Ky.

AVs Fire Mulloy For Draft Stand

PIKEVILLE, Ky.—Joe Mulloy of Louisville was fired in December by the Appalachian Volunteers (AVs) after he informed the AV staff that he would refuse induction into the army on the ground of conscience.

Mulloy's previous occupational deferment as an AV was not renewed in 1967. He was charged with sedition along with four SCEF staff members after he helped the people of Pike County organize against strip-mining last summer. (See recent *Patriots*.)

He and his wife Karen are now working jointly for SCEF and the Louisville Peace Council, organizing both in Louisville and in the mountains. (A complete article on the Mulloys will appear in the February *Patriot*.)

Louisville Aldermen Adopt Open Housing

(By Staff Correspondent)

LOUISVILLE, Ky.—The city's Board of Aldermen has adopted a strong open-housing law as a result of demonstrations in which hundreds were arrested last spring.

Another result of the fight for open housing was the election of a new board of aldermen on November 7. Eleven Democrats were elected to replace Republicans. The only Republican returned to the board was Mrs. Louise Reynolds, a Negro.

The new board voted 9 to 3 for a law providing \$100 fines for refusing to sell or rent a house or an apartment to a person because

of race, religion, or national origin.

The only exceptions are apartment houses with four or fewer apartments if the owner or a member of his family lives on the premises. Persons making false claims of discrimination would have to pay all costs of any investigation and litigation.

Mayor Kenneth Schmied, a Republican, said he would neither sign nor veto the law, so it went into effect automatically on December 27. The mayor's office was not at stake in the election, so Republicans were able to keep control there.

They lost 11 aldermanic seats because civil-rights groups worked hard for their defeat. The same thing happened to the Democrats in 1961 after they refused to pass a law barring discrimination in public accommodations. The Republicans then passed such a law but refused to vote open housing in 1967.

The resulting marches and protests brought the arrest of hundreds of demonstrators. More than half of these were white. Officers and staff of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), and the West End Community Council (WECC) were jailed for contempt for leading marches in violation of a court order.

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Masonite Splits Black and White Workers,

(Continued from page 1)

Still the Mississippi Supreme Court granted the injunction. The strike was ruled illegal, and it was made a crime for the international union or anyone else to support the strike. The workers carried on alone.

Wackenhut set up outposts all over the Masonite property, with shotgun-toting guards entrenched in sand-bagged bunkers. The plant looked more like a fortress than a factory.

The local had been through it all before. As recently as 1964 the men had conducted a bitter wildcat strike. They saw the 1967 walkout as just another in a series of battles between capital and labor, and described it in those terms.

As in the past, the workers felt that their union would stand firm. They had no doubt about the outcome. But one factor had changed since 1964. This was the growing number and strength of black workers and the efforts of the company to manipulate these employees.

In fact, some union officials said that Masonite had planted agents in the plant to discover ways to divide the workers. These agents seem to have decided that the long history of division between black and white people made it possible to pit them against each other.

In reality the Laurel local is two locals—one white, comprising 75 percent of the membership, the other 25 percent black. Until a few years ago the black workers were in a sub-local. Although more than 500 blacks were members of the local and felt that the 1500 white workers accepted them as fellow trade-unionists, they still did not feel they were really a part of the union.

No black people were elected to office in the local. Officials of the local now see this as a mistake. Some realize that a program of education might have brought about the unity they needed in this strike.

The Union's Position

In order to assess the whole situation better, Bob Zellner, Jack Minnis and I met with seven or eight members of the local's leadership—all white. The strike had been going on for months and the local found it difficult to get its side of the story to the public. The Laurel newspaper had even refused to sell the union space to explain its position.

Meanwhile, Masonite was recruiting strikebreakers from Georgia, Texas, and other parts of Mississippi.

"They had the whole Ole Miss football team scabbing in there," said J. D. Jolly, president of the local.

A Wackenhut guard had been slain the day we met with Jolly and other leaders of the union. The room was tense as we sat down with these men.

We were very frank about the fact that we were in the civil-rights movement. Minnis explained that at one time we had all worked for SNCC. He said we were now with SCEF and were interested in building unity between black and white working people in the South.

Minnis told the men that we wanted to help if we could, but we needed to understand the full nature of the strike. The men were silent for a moment.

Then Jolly spoke up: "We don't care who you are as long as you can help."

I think it is important to know Jolly. His life has been dedicated to the local and to the cause of trade-unionism. His name was in the headlines briefly in 1964 after a white union official was beaten by the Ku Klux Klan for backing a Negro in a grievance against the company. Jolly declared that the union would go to war with the Klan, if necessary, to stop further such acts.

He was frank about the local's history. "You have to understand the nature of the South to understand it," he said. "Because of this, we once had a sub-local. All colored, with their own officers. The different races did occasionally at-

tend each other's meetings. There were three colored workers on the negotiating committee and they took part in contract deliberations.

"It wasn't integration; it wasn't segregation. Still . . . well, our international constitution prohibited segregation and, to be frank, we knew all the time what we had to do. Then came the Civil Rights Act (1964) and a suit was filed by six of our brothers—one white and five colored.

"When we integrated, the whites had the numerical strength. They were 75 per cent of the union. Candidates were put up for office and everybody voted

The other ingredient needed for a coalition is trust. And the black people who refused to take part in the strike simply did not trust the white members of the union.

When we talked with the black men who went back to work, they said there was a slight possibility that they and other non-striking blacks would meet with the white union leaders to discuss an arrangement whereby the black workers would honor the strike. But, said the black workers, any such meeting would have to be on the initiative of the whites. They would make no effort to set up the meeting.



The largest hardboard plant in the world

along racial lines. None of the colored candidates were elected and they never ran again."

Jolly calls that election a mistake. He says: "I, from a practical standpoint, thinking of the union first, don't want to freeze the colored out, because we need them. If some of our colored members hadn't broken this strike and gone back to work this strike would be over."

We asked what could be done to avoid similar splits in the future. "Only thing I can see is that we've got to form a coalition," Jolly went on. "White and colored in the local will have to get together and come up with some candidates from both races and everybody will have to back them. Otherwise this thing will continue to split us."

The Need for Coalition

Coalition. A magic word these days. Quite simply it means the coming together of people with similar problems to fight a common enemy. It does not mean love or brotherhood or integration, although it could mean or lead to all of these things.

But coalition does require two ingredients, and one of these is strength. The mostly white local did have strength and had shown it many times in previous strikes. The question is: Did the black minority in the union have any strength?

I believe Jolly answered that when he said, "If colored members had not gone back to work the strike would be over."

The majority of the black workers had used their strength, but they used it against the union. They gave reasons for this, which I will go into shortly, but first we need to stress that the black unionists did not act as a unit. Although about 300 blacks helped to break the strike, about 200 supported it.

We reported this conversation to Jolly and other union leaders. We pointed out that we were not in any sense representing the black workers; that they were not our clients and we had absolutely no influence in the black community. We stressed to them that they would have to gain the trust and confidence of the black workers themselves.

Jolly and the others asked us what we thought they should do. We told them they should contact the leaders of the black strikebreakers. They asked us whom they should talk with. We told them they should know who the leaders of the black strikebreakers were, and added that we could not act as go-betweens.

When they mentioned "good friends" they had in the black community, we suggested that these "good friends" were probably not the leaders of the militant workers. We said that a new spirit was abroad in the black community, and it would be up to them to figure out how to deal with that spirit in the interest of unity.

Jolly and the other said they would consider what we had told them and that they would try to work out something. However, Jolly said that it wasn't just a simple matter of the union leadership going to the black strikebreakers and bargaining over concessions.

The union members honoring the strike had already taken the necessary steps to impose sanctions, if they chose to do

so, against those who had abandoned the strike. Jolly emphasized that the black strikers had also voted for these steps.

"Our local is a democracy and we have to abide by the majority will," he said.

The Strikebreakers' View

The meeting we had had with the black strikebreakers revealed how they felt about the whole business. One of their supporters was Mrs. Susie Ruffin, a veteran in the freedom movement and now a member of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP).

She is very militant but was opposed to the strike. She arranged for us to meet some of the black strikebreakers in her home. They agreed to talk but only on condition that their names be withheld. Their names are not important; their views are.

They had supported strikes before, including wildcats. One man who had walked the picket line for six months in 1964 said:

"What did it get us? Nothing changed; we were still treated like second-class citizens, like niggers. Ain't no Negro union officials. There's only four black shop stewards, and they don't have authority over whites.

"The union never asks us for help until something like this comes up. To put it right down, Negroes are just sick and tired of being fooled by whites. But no more. I'm so tired of my people being walked on."

We asked another man what he thought about the union. Mrs. Ruffin broke in: "It's a den of Kluxers." The man agreed with her. Yet, when we ran down a list of union officials, he and the others referred to only one of them as a Klansman. They called all the local officers "good union men."

Bob Zellner, a native of Alabama who still has relatives in the Klan, had raised the question of the Klan with the union leadership. They admitted that there were Klan members in the local.

Herbert Ishee, the financial secretary, added: "There are some Klan on the negotiating committee. They're good unionists, pretty good boys, but I don't believe in their politics."

As for the widely held belief in the black community that the Klan controls the local, Jolly said: "Sure, we have Klansmen in the local but they don't control it. I'll fight anyone—any outside group—that tries to take over this local."

We asked one of the black workers why he refused to take part in the strike. He said: "You know, after the Civil Rights Act the company integrated the facilities at the plant. Washrooms and showers. The whites kicked up a fuss.

"I don't appreciate a man using me . . . saying we're together when there's a strike and then kicking up a fuss because we're using the same facilities. Another thing, the whites didn't even consult us when this strike began. Not one word, like they figured we'd support it anyway. I didn't desert the union; the union deserted me."

None of the black workers considered themselves anti-union. They said: "A worker has to be in a union for his own security. We have good wages and job security only because of the union's work."

However, all of them were highly critical of Local 5-442 for allowing segregated job classifications. They all said they wanted to stay in the union, "if only it would change."

We asked them if they would be willing to meet with the white unionists to try to work out such differences. With the balance of power they held in this strike, there was a possibility they could win concessions they wanted from the local, since the whites had now seen the need for unity.

If an understanding was reached between the two groups, it could be guaranteed by the strength of the blacks; the white workers would know that only

Company's Position

CHICAGO — Masonite Corporation was asked to comment on statements made in this article. Their public-relations manager replied that "the article is untruthful to the point of being ridiculous." He did not say what was untrue.

Sets Pattern to Destroy Southern Unions

united action would bring gains from the company in future disputes.

Here was shown the need for a black caucus within the union. Blacks have usually mistrusted white people in similar situations because so many promises have been made and then broken when the black people were no longer considered necessary. A caucus within the union would make sure that there would be no backsliding on promises made and agreements reached between the black and white workers.

However, this did not appear to be in the minds of the black people, as reflected by these comments:

Mrs. Ruffin—"If only those white people would come to us equal and bargain. . . ."

A worker—"I've seen something of these whites for years. They can't be trusted. I see no reason to talk with them."

Another worker—"If they would come to us and ask us like men."

Setting a Pattern

In Jackson, where we talked with Claude Ramsey, head of the Mississippi AFL-CIO, he gave us a larger perspective on the Laurel strike. He saw the Masonite strike as part of a plan to destroy trade-unions in the state. He believed the Mississippi Manufacturers' Association was involved.

"Masonite is the beginning of a pattern," he declared. "This local has always been radical and a thorn in the company's side. They've had some bad strikes down there. If they destroy this local, unionism in Mississippi will be set back decades. Masonite laid a trap for them and they walked right into it."

What the company had done was to win many allies in the black community by upgrading a few blacks in the plant and ending segregation in the wash-rooms.

Minnis described how it worked in the *Patriot* last month: "Thus when management was confident that it had the loyalty of enough black workers it began upgrading black workers in a way that was certain to drive the white workers into a wildcat."

Jolly had told us that this very upgrading of blacks had caused friction with the whites, but he also admitted that the black men had previously "had the dirtiest, the filthiest, the roughest jobs."

However, Masonite is no crusader for the rights of black people. It has a plant

in the Union of South Africa where its black workers are the most exploited in the world. It also needs to be pointed out that the company was simply complying with a U. S. Government order when it ended segregation in the wash-rooms.

Claude Ramsey arranged for us to talk with E. K. Collins, attorney for Local 5-443. Collins is also state senator from Jones County. He is most widely known to the civil-rights movement as attorney for the regular Democratic Party in Mississippi, which fought off the challenge of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party at the Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City in 1964. He has a reputation for being a strong trade-union supporter.

"I signed the first union card in this state," he told us proudly. "I once worked for John L. Lewis (of the United Mine Workers)." He said that as a boy "I had a job carrying water for the workers—white and colored."

Senator Collins said he had been one of the original organizers of the Laurel local and obtained its charter. "It was the first union charter in the state," he added.

The attorney said he agreed with Ramsey's charge of a conspiracy to bust all unions in Mississippi. "No doubt about it," he declared. "If they break this union, the shipbuilders in Pascagoula are next and after that the paper mills in Natchez and Moss Point."

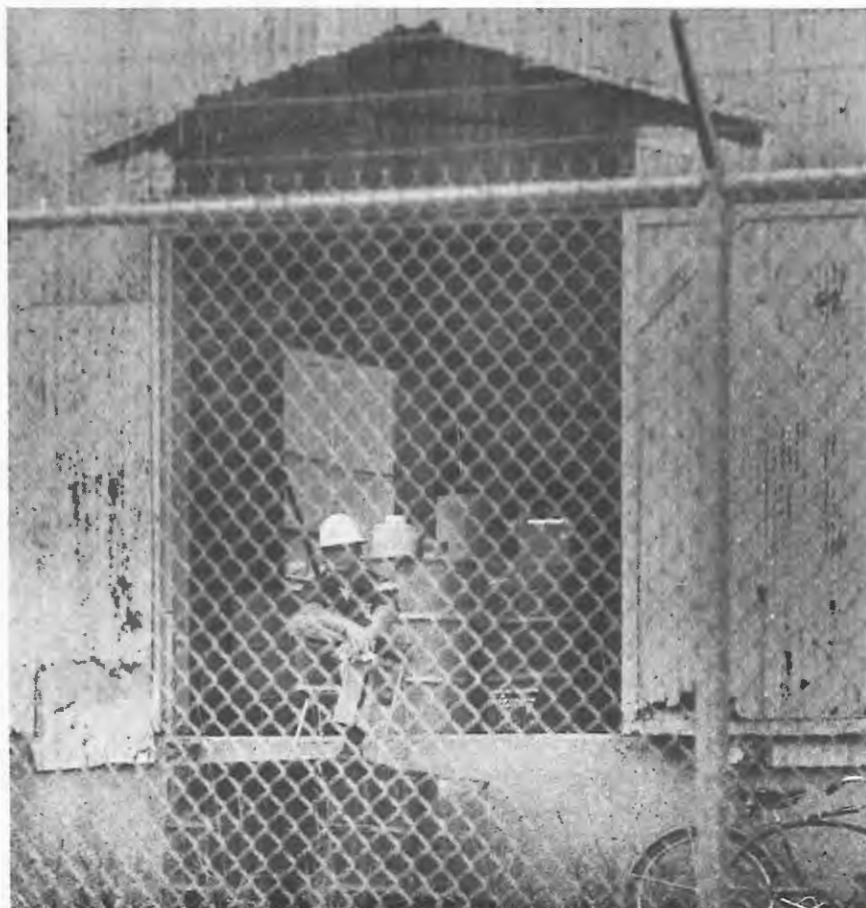
"You see, there are all kinds of companies up North that want to bring plants down South because of cheap labor. And every Chamber of Commerce is backing them."

(We were also told that all elements of the local power structure, including the Laurel Chamber of Commerce, backed Masonite in the strike; indeed, "the city attorney represents the company in disputes with the workers.")

We asked Collins about the Klan elements in Local 5-443. He said he had evidence that there were 65 Klan members in the union, but he also pointed out that the local had published a manifesto against the Klan in the Laurel newspaper.

The Strike Continues

As the strike continued, there were bombings and at least five killings which authorities blamed on some of the strikers. However, the black workers told us that none of this was aimed at



It looked more like a fortress than a factory

them. The violence seemed directed at whites breaking the strike.

At the height of the violence, the Mississippi Highway Patrol sent extra men to Laurel and the National Guard was placed on alert.

Soon there were 900 men working in the plant, which was reported working at 45 per cent of capacity. The 900 men were about equally divided among white unionists who had returned to work, strikebreakers (white) brought in from other areas, and black unionists who had refused to join the strike.

But Masonite was being hurt. A *Standard & Poor's* bulletin reported at the end of the summer that there had been a substantial decrease in Masonite earnings due in part to strikes in Ohio and in Laurel. *Standard & Poor's* also stated that Masonite had sold more than 210,000 acres of prime Mississippi timber to St. Regis Paper Co. for \$35 million.

"The colored workers (who went back to work) make up the numerical difference and give the company hope of winning the strike," Jolly said several weeks before the end of the strike.

We talked with people in SNCC, the MFDP and the Delta Ministry about the possibility of working together to build a black-white coalition to aid the local. They all saw possibilities in the situation, but were busy with other things they felt were more important.

Two weeks before the strike ended, a statement did come from the MFDP, which is made up almost wholly of black people. The full text is printed elsewhere on this page, but the following portion is worth quoting here:

"It is to Masonite's advantage to emphasize the KKK element in the union. This keeps the black and white workers apart. We refuse to swallow Masonite's claim of complete KKK control of the union."

"We have found that labels, whether Communist or KKK, prevent people from thinking and cover up the real issues. . . . If Masonite can kill the union in Laurel, this will set back both Negro and white workers 30 years."

The Strike is Broken

On December 12, 1967, after seven and a half months, the Laurel strike came to an end. In San Francisco, an agreement was reached between the international union, the Masonite Corp., and the federal mediation service.

We happened to be in the Union hall the day the agreement was announced.

"Ain't it a shame," one rank-and-file member told us, "we don't even get to vote on it."

J. D. Jolly and the rest of local 5-443's officials were removed from office and the local was placed in trusteeship, which meant that all property, finances and other assets of the local came under the complete control of the international.

A man of about 50 said, "one of these days it's all coming to a head and it's going to be settled with guns. There's going to be one final battle between capital and labor."

The agreement was explained to the *Patriot* by Ronald F. Roley, Portland, Ore., international president of the union, on the ground that "our aim was to save as many jobs and as many benefits as possible under the circumstances. A preferential hiring list was set up for those men still out at the time of the settlement." (There were over 1,200 men, more than half of the local, still on strike when the agreement was signed.)

As for the company's reorganization plan, Roley said, "we'll try to resolve whatever we can."

Members of the local scoff at this. They described the agreement to me as "a sellout, a sweetheart contract." Sources within the local also say they have learned that the militants who led the strike will not be rehired—ever. Additionally, all strikebreakers will keep their jobs.

What is clear is that Masonite exploited the social divisions between the unionists masterfully, like pawns in a giant chess game. Whether the same tactics will be used in other areas, as Claude Ramsey and E. K. Collins predicted, seems hardly open to question.

The burning resentments of black workers exist everywhere; the failure, even the refusal, of some white workers to cope with this also exists everywhere. If the tragedy of Laurel is not to be repeated, this situation must be corrected.

Blacks have said they will not initiate any reconciliation because they feel they have been betrayed too many times in the past. Therefore, whites will have to make the first move. Unity remains the working men's only protection; otherwise they will continue to be the victims.

Masonite can now dictate conditions and wages and, as the directors of that company can tell you, it will be a long time before the workers of Laurel will again have the strength to challenge them.

The MFDP Statement

The MFDP is investigating the strike in Laurel, Mississippi by the International Woodworkers of America (IWA) local against the Masonite corporation, because this strike affects every member of the MFDP in Mississippi.

If Masonite can kill the union in Laurel, this will set back both Negro and white workers 30 years. Whatever the result of the strike, it will be copied by management and members of the Mississippi Management Association to crush union organizing in Mississippi. Without unions, working people can be fired without cause by management, they lose their right to collective bargaining, better working conditions, higher wages and decent vacations with pay.

Members of both races are working at Masonite and are also on strike. Masonite claims that the union is completely controlled by the KKK. This places Negro employees in the unfortunate position of having to choose between the KKK or Masonite. This is too simple and too frightening to be true.

It is to Masonite's advantage to emphasize the KKK element in the union. This keeps black and white workers apart. Since 1964 the union has held integrated meetings, yet it was only since the strike began in April that Masonite gave Negro workers many good jobs previously reserved for whites. But it is important to understand the history of the KKK's power in Jones County. This power affects not only the union but Masonite and every important economic and political institution in Jones County.

The FDP is and has always been on the side of FREE trade unionism. We refuse to swallow Masonite's claim of complete KKK control of the union. We have found that labels, whether Communist or KKK, prevent people from thinking and cover up the real issues.

The Klan issue should not force Negro workers to reject unionism. A man should not be deprived of his right to a job or a right to belong to a union solely because he is a member of the KKK. Only if we protect the rights of all men to freedom of association and speech, no matter how unpopular their cause, will our own rights be preserved.

"Those who profess to favor freedom and yet deprecate agitation, are men who want rain without thunder and lightning. They want the ocean without the roar of its many waters."

FREDERICK DOUGLASS

THE PEOPLES FORUM

"If you want the happiness of the people, let them speak out and tell what kind of happiness they want and what kind they don't want!"

ALBERT CAMUS

On Courage

I enclose a copy of a poem by Yevtushenko, from which I learned something very important, which I'd learned in different form from Septima Clark when I worked with her at Highlander. Once you understand what he's saying it helps you keep yourself in perspective, i.e. you don't go around believing that you're great simply because you're honest. It's just the opposite.

TALK

You're a brave man they tell me.

I'm not.

Courage has never been my quality.

Only I thought it disproportionate

so to degrade myself as others did.

No foundations trembled. My voice

no more than laughed at pompous falsity;

I did no more than write, never denounced,

I left out nothing I had thought about,

defended who deserved it, put a brand

on the untalented, the ersatz writers

(doing what had, anyhow, to be done).

And now they press to tell me that I'm brave.

How sharply our children will be ashamed

taking at last their vengeance for these horrors

remembering how in so strange a time

common integrity could look like courage.

JULIUS LESTER

New York, N.Y.

Movement Failed on Laurel Strike

On December 12, over 1,000 Masonite workers had their union put into trusteeship and their 7½ month long strike sold out. The local Laurel movement that day was very concerned because some preacher had thrown a wrench into a planned Christmas boycott of downtown Laurel aimed at getting some Negroes hired in the stores.

It would be dishonest, however, to say that the local movement had no position on the strike that ended—for all practical purposes—in the busting of the most militant union in Mississippi. The Laurel movement did have a position: it urged black workers to scab for Masonite, and did so for the whole length of the strike.

A main argument used to justify support for and encouragement of the scabs has been that this was the first time most of these black men had "ever stood up." But when you have on your side the Mayor, the Mississippi Supreme Court, the Mississippi Chamber of Commerce, the Mississippi Association of Manufacturers, the regional NLRB, the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, the International Woodworkers of America, the city police, the state police, the National Guard, the Wackenhut guards and, in the center of it all, the Masonite Corporation . . . well, hell, what kind of a "stand" have you really taken?

What essentially happened is that Masonite wanted to get rid of the union, and felt that they needed a sizable number of workers who would be willing to scab on a union-initiated wildcat. They tried to do this among the black workers by integrating washrooms and showers. The strategy worked, and a union that the black scabs said "was good on fighting for economic issues and working conditions" was destroyed.

Now at least some of us should be able to see, at this late date in the history of U.S. capitalism, that the forces of the corporations, their various State apparatuses (especially the courts and the police), and their 'friends' in organized labor (which is most of the international unions), are never going to be doing good for workers. So if we want something better than what we have, it means we must look to workers themselves. With workers' unity and a good program of struggle, the international unions can be taken over, and the corporations and their state beaten.

As you know, this area almost all Mississippians depend on cotton. Less was planted and once it come up the farmers used chemicals to keep the fields clean, instead of the hand laborers. The cotton also opened late this year and once it did most of the work was done by the mechanical pickers, except for the small forty acres farmers.

People have been leaving Mississippi since the early spring and on holidays when their children or relatives come down they would take many of their people back with them, hoping they will be able to get a job.

This in our feelings makes things bad on both sides, first for the Southern Negro to continue hoping that one day they will have enough Negro votes to put people in all parts of the government to represent them. Secondly, the way it hurt the north it makes more people be out of jobs, the slum gets bigger and by not being aware of how things are in the north, this makes people who have no skill not aware and looking for new hope. And do not find it, have nothing else to do but steal, kill, and whatever else is necessary.

As you know Mississippi have received more poverty money aid from Federal government in

Report From Sunflower County

proportion than any other state in the union. Some say that poverty program have helped Mississippi, but we say it have hurt Mississippi, because after all the challenge is the money has been taken before it makes it to the poor man there's hardly anything left and when you total everything up the rich man get richer and the poor man gets poorer.

Also we feel that the poverty program was designed for two reasons; one, to give a hand-full of poor people jobs to take their minds off their rights and they wants, while the rest of the people they promised to give jobs sit around waiting on their promise and keep quiet, the men on top sturdy gets ahead. Secondly, they will try to hire people like us and close our mouth and closing our mouths they close mostly everybody's mouth.

In the town of Sunflower, we have had two elections and lost both of them. The city have men working on the poverty program, going around digging ditches or cleaning them out, and some of these ditches that the men are working on have had work done on them over a hundred times and everytime it rains they would decay, and they would be in the same position they were in at first, because they are dug out in a straight line instead of some curves along the side.

We are still in hope of getting started on the super-market. We need about \$1300 in order to really get started. We need about \$17,500 in all, this includes land, stock, and building supplies; also we need \$150 for our car in order to get it over-hauled.

The money we received to run our program for the year of 1967, was \$3200, and this is how we spent it.

1. We gave the sewing co-op \$200 to get started, it employed eight ladies and they work two days a week, six hours a day, for \$5 a day. These ladies make blouses and quilts.

2. We have taken 98 people down to get on Welfare. 89 are

receiving it, two lost and the rest their case haven't come up yet.

3. We have freed school for the children and adult education classes during the summer; we also paid the teachers, classes were held for two hours each class night.

4. Improving the community center in some places that we built last year was \$325. (Its cost was \$4,225 last year to be completed and it's 50 x 50.)

5. We laid aside \$200 to help start building on the super-market.

6. During the early part of this year we helped the Headstart School when it was operated in the community center, we gave \$240. We helped 35 people get on Social Security.

7. Expenses for lights, gas, water, and gasoline for the car—\$435, and for the community center \$220.

The things we need now are food, clothes, money, S&H green stamps and any other kind of stamp, a sewing machine and material scraps for the sewing co-op, and a typewriter.

For the 44 children that attends the white schools we gave clothes and we also gave clothes and others to more than 900 people.

This is how our salary was paid through the year of 1967, after we got started. Otis Brown, Jr., director, \$600. Betty Humphries, secretary, \$250. Mrs. Brooks, welfare, \$125.

So we will close hoping you will take concern to our needs, and may all of you have the Merriest time during and after the holiday.

SUNFLOWER COUNTY
IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION
P.O. Box 398
Sunflower, Miss. 38778

Freedomcraft Seeks Support

We are poor people of the Freedomcraft Candy Cooperative in the South who make delicious candies. We started our cooperative in Edwards, Miss. trying to help ourselves. You can order this candy which is carefully packed for you or as a gift to a friend or neighbor.

We are asking for your help to proceed in making our candy. Freedomcraft has begun to make two new products—pecan brittle (\$2.85 a pound) and roasted pecans (\$2.15 a pound), in addition to our pecan pralines (\$2.60) and peanut brittle (\$1.50) Postage is 75 cents a pound.

You could also cooperate with us by asking different church groups to buy our candies to use for raising money. We also want to sell to stores so that more people can enjoy what we make. We can send large orders at wholesale prices.

Remember: Freedomcraft candies make sweet gifts!

MRS. LYDIA SWANAGAN
Freedomcraft Candies
Box 139,
Edwards, Miss. 39066

THE WAR WITHIN THE WAR

As a follow-up to the article in last month's *Patriot* about Tom Tuck, let me use your pages to make a plea. The Louisville Peace Council is doing all it can to assist Tom Tuck and other GIs who are organizing at Fort Knox.

What we need is the name of any soldier at Fort Knox (or who will be there) who is against the war. If the readers of the *Patriot* would send us the name and company of any soldier who would be interested in such a program, we would appreciate it very much.

(REV.) JAMES C. GORMAN
Louisville Peace Council
1135 S. Brook St., No. 1,
Louisville, Ky. 40203

FRED LACEY
New Orleans, La.

(The writer of this letter, a former CORE field secretary in Louisiana, is now a dockworker who is active in the Progressive Labor Party in New Orleans.)

THE ROAD AHEAD

Rap Brown and Free Speech

By ANNE BRADEN

I have just signed a citizens' petition to the U.S. Supreme Court asking that SNCC Chairman Rap Brown be freed from the court restrictions that prevent his travel outside the island of Manhattan. I hope thousands of other people are signing it too.

The facts in this case are frightening. Last July, Brown spoke in Cambridge, Md. After he left town, a Cambridge school was burned. Cambridge officials charged Brown with inciting people to burn it. The federal government issued an arrest warrant, charging him with leaving Maryland to avoid prosecution.

Brown arranged immediately through his attorneys to surrender in New York City. He was in the Washington airport on his way to keep that commitment when the FBI broke its agreement with his attorneys and jailed him in Alexandria, Va.

They later dropped the federal charge, but Virginia officials arrested him under a state "flight from prosecution" law. After some maneuvering in federal court, he was released—but only on condition that he not leave the Southern District of New York.

Government Avoided an Uproar

Thus, the government quietly and efficiently stopped Rap Brown from speaking across the country—avoiding the uproar that would ensue if he was in jail. How anyone can square that with the First Amendment is beyond me.

Something has to be done to dissipate our national sickness that expresses itself in scapegoating Rap Brown and Stokely Carmichael. As long as people can blame two individuals for the crises we face, the longer we delay dealing with their real causes—racism and injustice.

Furthermore, such scapegoating endangers us all. Last spring there was a rumor that Carmichael was in Lexington, Ky. The police chief there assured a newspaper reporter that he was not because, the chief said, if he was he "would be in jail." "What would you have arrested him for?" inquired the reporter. "For being Stokely Carmichael," answered the chief.

What Free Speech Means

If Carmichael can be arrested for being Stokely Carmichael and Brown can be held in Manhattan for being Rap Brown, I can be arrested for being Anne Braden—which I'm sure would please many people. And you, too, can be arrested for just being you.

I personally want to hear what Rap Brown has to say. I may not agree with all of it, but his ideas are important for this country to hear—and we just bury our heads in the sand if we don't listen. And I don't want it filtered through newspaper reporters, most of whom I don't agree with either. When the government imprisons Brown on Manhattan, they deny me my right to hear him. This is the real importance of free speech—not just one person's right to speak, but the right of us all to hear.

If you feel the same way, you can get a copy of the citizens' petition on Brown by writing SNCC, 100 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 10001. You can also invite him to speak in your community; his attorneys will use such invitations to support their efforts to free him from Manhattan.

The Month in Review

Violence, Repression Continue

Violence by white racists continues across the South.

In Mississippi, the homes of four churchmen have been bombed. They are Rabbi Perry E. Nussbaum of Jackson (his synagogue was dynamited too); Robert B. Kochtitsky, a prominent Methodist churchworker in Jackson; the Rev. Allen J. Johnson, a Negro minister in Laurel; and the Rev. Dennis Delmar.

Delmar, a former Klansman, testified against the Klan at the recent trial of men accused of conspiring to kill three civil-rights workers. The bombings all occurred after Judge W. Harold Cox said he would cancel the bond of the convicted men if any violence involving explosives occurred in southern Mississippi. So far he has not acted.

In North Carolina, the homes of two civil-rights leaders active in school desegregation have been bombed—Moses Forbes of Greene County and the Rev. Luther Coppedge of Franklin County. Mr. Coppedge's home was bombed twice.

In Alabama, police have shot and killed two Negro men while allegedly trying to arrest them. Police claim Willie Joe Carter, 25, was running from the scene of a robbery in Birmingham. Near Auburn, a state trooper killed an unidentified black man (arrested for drunken driving) after the man allegedly stabbed the trooper.

Fourteen people, including George Ware and Ernest Stephens of SNCC, have been indicted in connection with an outbreak in Nashville's ghetto last April (see May and October *Patriots*).

Ware and Stephens, who are on SNCC's national staff, are charged with meeting to riot and carrying a weapon. Five local SNCC members are among the other 12 indicted. No date for the trial has been set.

SNCC brought a suit against the city after the outbreak.

SNCC claimed that Nashville officials were trying to stifle free speech and that police behavior had provoked the outbreak. The U.S. District Court dismissed the suit and congratulated the police on their handling of the situation. This left the way open for the grand jury to bring the indictments.

* * *

Seven Mississippians convicted of taking part in a Ku Klux Klan plot to kill three young civil-rights workers have been sentenced to federal prison terms ranging from three to ten years. They are appealing the sentences.

* * *

William A. Rutherford, a former businessman, is the new executive director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

He succeeds the Rev. Andrew J. Young, who was named executive vice-president. Mr. Young will continue to be principal spokesman and representative of SCLC and its president, Dr. Martin L. King, Jr.

Rutherford will be chief administrative officer of SCLC, in full charge of over-all organization.

Dr. King also announced the selection of the Rev. Bernard Lafayette, Jr., as program administrator. One of his main jobs will be the organizing of a massive poor people's campaign for jobs and income. This is planned for the spring in Washington.

Assisting Mr. Lafayette on this program will be the Rev. James Bevel, who returns to SCLC after a year's leave of absence to work with the peace movement. Staff members have been assigned to 10 cities and five rural areas to mobilize people for the effort.

* * *

Roy Innis, the militant chairman of Harlem CORE, has been named associate director of the Congress of Racial Equality. He replaces Lincoln O. Lynch as CORE's second-ranking official.

Officials in Pike County, Ky., recently solved the problem of finding money to raise county teachers' pay. Their solution should make everybody happy—except the poor people. They plan to set a three-cents-on-the-dollar tax on all utility bills. Every family will have to pay equally, rich or poor.

The teachers went on strike September 22 and stayed out for five weeks, until the school board promised to raise their salaries (see October *Patriot*).

The crisis in the school budget resulted from a \$112,526.42 deficit last year, caused by unpaid taxes. More than 325 coal companies which operate in Pike County were among the delinquent tax-payers.

TSU FIVE DEFENSE FUND

Houston's SNCC chapter has been reorganized to conduct "an adequate and forceful defense" for the five Texas Southern University (TSU) students charged with murder after violence at TSU last May (see December *Patriot*). Floyd Nichols has been elected chairman of the SNCC chapter and of the Defense Fund.

The Fund issued a statement which said, in part: "such frame-ups, if allowed to succeed in a single case, will engulf us all in a pattern of repression which will make the Age of Lynching and the persecution of the McCarthy era seem mild by comparison."

"You should understand that the charges could be placed on others. You could be charged with murder. These men in a sense are your brothers. You and I have to try to save them."

All donations, or requests for one of the TSU Five to speak, should be sent to:

TSU Five Defense Fund, Douglas Wayne Waller, Secretary, 2024 Eastex Freeway, Box #21085, Houston 26, Texas, 77026.

The Continuing Struggle

By JACK MINNIS
(Research Director)

There is a difficulty that many people who have supported the civil rights movement in the past are going to have to face. Whatever "the movement" is, it is no longer merely a "civil rights" movement. The civil rights movement secured the passage of the civil rights acts. Those acts did all the federal government is prepared to do to remove the barriers of racial discrimination in the U.S. It is obvious that the federal government is not willing to risk the political hazards it sees in eliminating racial discrimination. It is also obvious that the right to eat a hamburger anywhere they're sold, does not necessarily mean that the hamburger-eater will have the two bits to pay for what he's eaten.

It was supposed at one time that if racial discrimination in employment could be ended, then black people could "earn" their way into the economic "mainstream," where the great majority of white people already were. That might be so. It might be that if all vestiges

of racial discrimination in employment could be ended tomorrow, black people could immediately begin earning the same kind of money white people earn.

But hold on. Black people have also been discriminated against in education—they've not been permitted to develop the skills and technical knowledge to make it profitable for U.S. businesses to pay them wages equal to those they pay the whites. So how could they take their places alongside their white brothers with the supposedly fat pay envelopes? Well, just for the sake of argument, let's suppose that such deficiencies of skill and technology do not exist (I suspect their effect is greatly overdrawn in many cases—a cover-up for continued discrimination), and that black workers could fill any positions white workers fill. Would this, then, solve their economic problems?

It would solve the economic problems of black people. It would leave them with the same economic problems that white people have. They would not be

the same economic problems, and, for a time, it might seem to black people that they had no economic problems at all. But that seemingly would very soon end, as most of the whites in the country could testify.

On October 25, 1967 the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the U.S. Department of Commerce issued a report estimating how much it costs to live "moderately" and to just plain live. The "moderate" living cost a family of four just over \$9,000 per year. The plain living cost a family of four \$7,329, and this did not include social security and federal income taxes. The report described the plain living as "the cost of goods and services needed for living."

These figures, of course, tell you nothing about the economic situation of people in the U.S., unless you also have figures showing the level of family income. The Bureau of Labor Statistics apparently did not provide any up-dated figures on family-income levels. However, the U.S. Census Bureau directs

enquiries about up-dated family income levels to the "Buying Power" supplement of *Sales Management* magazine, published last June. The Census Bureau says these figures are as accurate as anything available.

According to these figures, 65 per cent of the households in the U.S. do not have an income sufficient to meet the "plain living" standard set by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. As would be expected, the Southern states are in worse shape than the others; but the differential is less than might be imagined—10 to 15 percentage points. The best state in the South, Georgia, shows 29 per cent of its households with incomes sufficient to maintain existence. Mississippi and Arkansas tie for last place, with only 20 per cent of the households making a living.

Now, to get back to the proposition this column began with. If all the black workers in the U.S. could achieve wage parity with the white workers, 65 to 75 per cent of them would still be faced with the problem of living on an income

which the government says is insufficient for living.

The story is told that when Franklin Roosevelt was preparing the propaganda for his presidential campaign of 1932, his researchers told him that two-thirds of the nation's families were in want. He remarked that nobody would believe such a figure—it would be taken for mere campaign bombast. During the campaign he said that "one-third of the nation is ill-housed, ill-clothed, ill-fed." Few people know why he cut the figure in half. Perhaps because it frightened even him.

It seems reasonable to argue that any society in which 65 per cent of the families cannot live decently (according to the society's own government) is a malformed and malfunctioning society. It is reasonable to argue that such a society can be made whole only by a complete restructuring of its political and economic institutions. The most frequently used shorthand for such a restructuring is one word: revolution.

Something Is Wrong

Grambling Students Revolt

(Continued from page 1)

A dialogue is just what the students had. Football games were forgotten; campus gossip ceased. A different atmosphere prevailed at Grambling, and the grievances of the 98 per cent of the student body who do not participate in athletics were articulated.

In a series of "mandates", they demanded that President Jones either initiate change or retire. They called for a committee of students and faculty to be set up, to discuss programs that would bring "academic excellence to the school."

Most of all, they wanted an end to "administration despotism." They wanted the old paternalistic system replaced by a system that would be relevant to the needs of black people. And they called for the dismissal of those faculty members who maintained the old system.

The administration was not moved at all and ignored the students. The Informers called for a boycott of all classes. It had some, but not enough, effect. Then, one chilly morning, The Informers organized more than 2,000 students and marched into classrooms, disrupting them by loudly singing freedom songs. Classes stopped and some faculty support was given—secretly.

At a rally that night, student leaders argued that since power resided in the Administration Building the school would cease to function if the building was shut down. The next day, with a picket line and a massive sit-in, human bodies literally brought the gears of the college machine to a halt. It remained that way for 48 hours.

Meanwhile President Jones shrilled to the press about "outside agitators" and "black-power advocates". The normally racist newspapers, the *Monroe Morning World* and the *Shreveport Times*, sprang to Jones' defense and praised his administration and policies.

The annual Homecoming Game was to be played that week end, and for Grambling (at least, for the administration) it is the most important day of the year. Jones reported wild rumors that the disruptive students might prevent the game from being played. Saying that "law and order" had completely broken down, he called on the governor to send in the National Guard. The State gleefully complied—the Guard was sent in and occupied the campus. The game was played and Grambling won!

Then the administration moved swiftly. Students were in the dining hall when news came that 29 student leaders had been expelled. They threw food and plates on the floor. Chaos reigned and the hall was closed. Some 1500 students followed The Informers off campus but the little town of Grambling is a "company"—more accurately, a plantation—town, and they could not find a place to meet.

Finally, gathering on the property of the U.S. Post Office, they cheered as one Informer, Willie M. Zanders, student government president, urged all students to withdraw from school.



GALE DAGGS, one of the leaders of Grambling's student revolt, confers with attorney Richard Sobol (photo by Bob Analavage).

"A college cannot remain open if it has no students," he shouted.

The next day more than 2,500 students purchased bus tickets. Parents began arriving to drive some home, and everywhere students were packing bags.

"It resembled the Christmas break," Miss Daggs reported.

The Administration reacted by sending threatening letters to all parents warning them that, if students did not return immediately, serious consequences would result. A stalemate lasted for about a week and the students, fearful of jeopardizing their education, began to filter back slowly. The revolt, although still popular with most of the students, lacked the troops to carry on a protracted struggle.

The Repression

The 29 students who were expelled immediately enlisted the help of the Lawyers' Constitutional Defense Committee (LCDC) in New Orleans. Attorneys Paul Kidd and Richard Sobol went into U.S. District Court and got a temporary restraining order against the college on the ground that the students were denied due process when they were expelled without a hearing. Judge Ben Dawkins ordered the students readmitted, but he ruled that the school could take action if proper charges were filed.

The 29 students then received notice of the charges against them. The most important was that they had provided the leadership for the revolt that shut down the school. A discipline committee was formed to hear the charges. This consisted of the very faculty members the students had criticized. The school presented no evidence for the charges, but the expulsion order was upheld.

Sobol and Kidd went back into court and won a clarification of the original restraining order, holding up the expulsions until a

hearing could be held before the State Board of Education.

The hearing was held in Baton Rouge, much too far for campus supporters of the 29 to travel. The LCDC attorneys argued that the original hearing at the school was valid and, because the school had not presented evidence against the students, the charges should be dropped.

They also argued that the students were being punished because they had dared to criticize the administration, and their First Amendment rights were being violated. The attorneys produced 54 witnesses who testified that the students had called only for "orderly demonstration against a lack of academic excellence and an overemphasis on athletics."

The Louisiana assistant attorney general, T. McFerrin, argued for the school and used only school officials as witnesses.

All of this last 18 hours. But the state board upheld the administration and its expulsion order. It took them only 20 minutes to decide.

"Barely enough time to type up the opinion," Sobol said sardonically.

LCDC is now trying to get the students reinstated until a new hearing can be held. "All the students were trying to do," Sobol said, "was to get the president of their college to talk to them."

Today the 29 students, who sought only academic excellence for their school, remain out of school and would have trouble getting into another college, as schools grow ever more leery of dissenters. Also, The Informers reveal that 26 of the 29 students have been reclassified 1-A by their draft boards.

The repression against the students that began at Grambling and was upheld in Baton Rouge may well end in Viet Nam in a most complete and final way.

SDS Confronts Tulane—Literature Is Seized

By ROBERT ANALAVAGE

NEW ORLEANS, La.—White Southern colleges have been silent in comparison to the confrontations and rebellions that have rocked black campuses. Yet similar conditions exist at these schools—the paternalism, the complete lack of real student participation in university affairs, the college's complicity in programs like the draft.

At Tulane University, which takes great pains to project a liberal image, a small but growing number of white students are beginning to challenge this. The challenge is being sparked by a chapter of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). They hope, in the words of one member, Eric Gordon, to "bring about a series of confrontations with the administration, by students, to show up the oppressive nature of the university."

SDS has already succeeded in doing this. The group put a piece of its literature in the student bookstore and it was confiscated, on the ground that it contained obscene material.

"The material was a 14-page document," Gordon says, "and only two paragraphs contained obscenities." It was obvious to the students that the material was seized because of its political nature. Gordon pointed out that if the university was interested in such censorship, "they would have to close down the bookstore."

Harassment extends beyond the SDS group. For example, the student newspaper, the *Hullabaloo*, also came under attack after it criticized the seizure. Liberal Mississippi publisher Hodding Carter Jr., a writer in residence at Tulane and an advisor to the paper, resigned because of statements by the *Hullabaloo*.

In another incident, a participant in the school's ROTC program was thrown out because he joined an SDS demonstration—which the administration itself had approved.

One incident exposed the administration clearly. SDS had sought and received permission to invite representatives of the New Orleans Draft Resistance Union (DRU) to set up a table and recruit right alongside the U.S. Marines. However, when the DRU arrived, the university ejected them on the grounds that they were off-campus people. SDS challenged the administration. Gordon says they reminded them that "VISTA, the Peace Corps, the armed services, Dow Chemical, the United Fruit company and the CIA have recruited on campus and were all certainly off-campus people." The administration lamely replied, "those other organizations are established groups."

What may turn out to be the confrontation SDS is looking for was announced in a rather startling statement by the executive committee of the student senate, that they will resign if real concessions toward "student power" haven't been ceded by the administration by February 1. Even conservative senators favored the possibility of a student strike if demands are not met. SDS is making plans to mobilize the entire student body behind the senators' threat to resign.

But there is a larger idea behind the SDS program at Tulane. Gordon talks about it: "The university is really a job-training school. Students are taught how to be good business men, good teachers, good army colonels. It is impossible to change the nature of the university since it merely reflects the larger society. Ideally, we can build radical consciousness in students so that they will move out into the larger society and make the real changes."

Peace Travellers Tour North Carolina

(Continued from page 1)

And two good things happened when we went back that evening: Tom talked for hours in the student union with about 50 students, many of whom had been part of the mob earlier. He said every once in a while some kids would try to start something violent, but others would shout, "shut up, we're trying to have a discussion."

Meanwhile the rest of us met with a group of about 20 or so faculty members and students who planned to form a study group, set up literature tables, and also invite us back on campus later. They were all elated to find each other, each having told us he was the only enlightened person on campus.

The Appalachian affair was all over the newspapers; of course they reported gleefully that we had been "booted off" the campus, and described the scene as pretty much of a riot. This, predictably, frightened administrators on most campuses we visited later.

At Belmont Abbey, a small Catholic school near Charlotte, we had been invited by the student government to speak in classes in the morning, show films and slides, do draft counseling in the afternoon, and present our panel discussion in the evening. The administration, allegedly to protect our safety, cancelled everything but an hour-long presentation in the evening.

The head of the student government was angry at this, and he agreed to back us in trying to get back the original program. Some students distributed leaflets on campus inviting everyone to come to the one-hour meeting, not to hear us discuss the issues, as we felt we could not have a two-way dialogue in one hour, but to vote on whether or not to invite us back on Saturday.

That night we walked into a gym packed full of booing, screaming, jeering students. Tom said he'd never heard such loud booing. Some students held picket signs with such slogans as "God is a Marine" and others chanted, "Bring on the napalm, bring on the bombs."

When they finally quieted down, we each gave a short summary of our usual talks, and told the students why we weren't giving our usual presentation. They applauded after each of our speeches. We asked if they wanted us to come back Saturday. They voted by acclamation a resounding yes—the applause and whistling were astounding.

The next day, the student government went back into negotiations with the administration and set up classes for us to speak in, and an open ended afternoon discussion.