

THE STUDENT VOICE

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STUDENT VOICE, INC.

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McCOMB SHAKEN BY OVER 20 BOMBINGS

McCOMB, MISS. -- The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) said this week there had been more than 20 bombing or arson attacks aimed at local Negroes and civil rights workers in this Southwest Mississippi town since last April.

The Atlanta-based civil rights organization said nine whites, among them the self-confessed bombers or Negro homes, churches and businesses, were still at liberty following the last bombing two weeks ago, despite a judge's warning they would be arrested if bombings continued.

The nine white men were arrested and tried on Oct. 23. They entered guilty pleas, and were freed on probation after being sentenced to five years in jail. The judge, W.H. Watkins, said the nine had been "unduly provoked" in the bombing attacks that included bombing a home where Negro children were sleeping and the bombing attack of the McComb Freedom House where 10 rights workers were sleeping.

Judge Watkins -- appointed to the bench by former Governor Ross Barnett -- said he freed the nine because they "come from good families" and "were all young men" (the youngest was 35). He did indicate, however, that they would be required to serve their five year terms if further bombings occurred. Two weeks after the latest bombing

in Tylertown Nov. 7, 20 miles east of here, all nine whites were still alive.

Six hundred fifty white residents of McComb issued a statement Nov. 17 calling for an end to racial violence and for equal treatment under the law for all citizens.

The statement followed the recent bombing by a few days, CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

UNION ARMS AGAINST KKK

LAUREL, MISS. -- One of the largest unions in the state of Mississippi has urged its members to arm themselves against the Ku Klux Klan.

All 18 officers of Local 5443 of the International Woodworkers of America, AFL - CIO, signed the announcement after a union official was beaten by masked men. The statement, published in the Laurel Leader - Call stated that "our members have been advised to arm themselves against a further occurrence of violence."

The declaration followed the beating of Otis Matthews, assistant business manager of the local. Matthews said he was abducted and beaten with a strap and that a "hot liquid" was poured on the wounds. He said hooded men blocked the rural CONTINUED ON PAGE 4



FREEDOM VOTE WORKERS in Ruleville, Miss. Over 60,000 Miss. Negroes cast their votes during the four day Freedom Vote.

'DEMOCRATIC' OUT SAYS MISS. JUDGE

FDP POLLS MOST DEMO VOTES IN ELECTION

JACKSON, MISS. -- A state court judge has made permanent an injunction barring the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) from using the word "democratic" in its title.

The MFDP challenged the right of the regular all-white state Democratic Party to sit at the National Democratic Convention in Atlantic City this summer.

State officials, acting in behalf of the regular party organization, sought and received a temporary restraining order from State Chancery Judge Stokes Robertson restraining 10 MFDP officials and the party itself from operating as such in the state.

The order, handed down before the National Convention, would have held those named in contempt of court for attending the convention. The order was subsequently amended so that only business carried on by the MFDP within Mississippi was proscribed.

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THE NEGRO VOTE : AN ANALYSIS

ATLANTA, GA. -- Of the six states carried by the Democratic Party Nov. 3, four (Arkansas, Florida, Tennessee and Virginia) would have gone Republican had it not been for Negro votes. Another, North Carolina, might have. Republicans might not have carried Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and South Carolina if those states allowed Negroes access to registration lists. Only Texas gave Democrats a majority of white votes cast.

The Southern states that voted Democratic have the highest Negro registration in the region; Republicans carried those states with less than 45% of the eligible Negroes registered.

In Georgia, Louisiana, and South Carolina, Republican Senator Barry Goldwater carried 54%, 57% and 59% of the vote respectively; heavy Negro votes for the Democratic ticket prevented bigger margins. In Mississippi and Alabama, where Republicans took

87% and 69% of the vote, Negro registration is abnormally low because of the state-inspired difficulties Negroes have in registering to vote.

Thus, in the five states of the deep South -- Georgia, South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana -- most notorious as seats of racism, white voters supported Senator Goldwater almost unanimously. The rejection of Negroes from the traditionally integrated Republican party, the lack of support the Democratic ticket received from local and state Democratic party figures in the deep South, and the clear delineation of Senator Goldwater's position favoring states rights and "local option" of segregation all contributed toward a Republican victory.

The Goldwater states had never in recent years (except Louisiana)

EDITORIAL

The Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, J. Edgar Hoover, could spend his time more wisely finding the mid-night bombers, arsonists and murders throughout the South and directing his agents to use their powers under Federal law to make on the spot arrests of Southern policemen who daily deny Negroes their constitutional rights, than in trying to justify the historic failure of the FBI to make any concrete advances in assuring that Southern Negroes can exercise the simplest rights that most Americans take for granted.

The FBI, especially under Hoover, is incapable of performing this task. Such a task would require arresting many of the law enforcement officials with whom the FBI works with and cooperates with daily in the course of their investigations.

For Negroes the FBI has become part of the oppression of the South.

The FBI under Hoover has come to mean, "the man" and the police state to Southern Negroes.

The FBI under Hoover has come to mean an organization that stands and watches as Negroes are beaten in Selma, Ala. because it is an "investigatory agency."

The FBI under Hoover has come to mean an organization that can't find the killers of Louis Allen and Goodman, Schwerner and Chaney.

The FBI under Hoover has come to stand for an organization that can not protect any person, in his attempt to register to vote.

The FBI under Hoover has come to stand for an organization that disregards Federal laws for the sake of local officials. We have repeatedly emphasized that the FBI has the power to act and to make arrests without warrants for "any offense against the United States committed in their presence;" and arrest anybody they believe has committed a felony if they have reasonable grounds to believe that the person has committed such a felony.

It is now time to end the Hoover version of the FBI.

OVER 100 ATTEND SSOC CONFERENCE

ATLANTA, GA. -- One hundred and fourteen students from 46 colleges and universities in 11 Southern states gathered in Atlanta Nov. 13 through 15 for the first annual fall conference of the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC). Over 25 persons representing various professional, civil rights, and church groups participated as observers.

Conference topics included the economy and history of the South, academic freedom and civil liberties, students in politics, students and the civil rights movement, and the role of the church in the struggle.

Larry Goodwyn of the Texas Democratic Coalition and Rev. Edwin King of the Freedom Democratic Party discussed the role of students in politics. Robert Van Waes of the American Association of University Professors and Rev. C.T. Vivian of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference spoke on academic freedom and civil liberties respectively. Don West, farmer, poet, historian, and educator shattered some myths of Southern history.

James Forman, Executive Secretary of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) challenged the group with "The Revolution; Student and Community." Forman said that if the nebulous "Revolution" is to come to pass, students must play an even more significant role than they now play. Student, as defined by Forman, is construed broadly and must include high school students and non-students of student age. He proposed that statewide student unions be set up, and that these be subdivided along political lines to the precinct level. He placed special emphasis on the states of Georgia and Kentucky where the voting age is 18.

Rev. Vivian, raising the issue of civil liberties, pointed out that many of the committees and organizations which pose as "defenders" of the American way of life actually serve to proscribe our basic freedom of speech and association. He cited the Louisiana Joint Committee on Un-American Activities raiding the office and homes of the officers of the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF) in New Orleans last November. SCEF has been active for a number of years in attempting to involve Southern whites in the civil rights struggle.

SSOC was formed in Nashville, Tennessee in April, 1964 at a meeting of 50 students from 15 colleges in 10 states. SSOC goals include topics discussed in this conference and questions of peace, poverty, and capital punishment. SSOC was originally organized to service the needs of students on white or predominantly white Southern campuses. The conference called for an interracial, intercollegiate organization that will blanket the South. Information on SSOC can be obtained from their office in Nashville, P.O. Box 6403, Sue Thrasher, Executive Secretary.

Scenes of the South by Weaver



WELL, MURDER IN THIS CASE IS A LOCAL MATTER WOULD YOU LIKE TO CONTEND THAT THE SHERIFF DENIED THIS NEGRO SOME CIVIL RIGHT IN KILLING HIM?

J. EDGAR STANDBY
(FEDERAL OFFICER)



"FREEDOM NOW" A new record by SNCC's Freedom Singers, is available from SNCC, 6 Raymond Street, N.W., Atlanta, Ga. for \$4.00.

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee	6 Raymond St., N.W. Atlanta, Ga. 30314
Enclosed is my donation of \$ _____ to SNCC to continue the struggle for true democracy in the South.	
Name	Address
City	State Zip
The first \$3.00 of each donation goes toward a subscription in The Student Voice, SNCC's newspaper.	

NEGRO PROF WINS ARK. SCHOOL POST

PINE BLUFF, ARK. -- A Negro college professor has apparently become the first of his race to win a school board post in a bi-racial district in Arkansas.

The winner, Arthur H. Miller, a professor of industrial arts at Arkansas AM & N College here, defeated incumbent Rob W. Bryant in an election Sept. 29 by 60 votes.

Bryant is contesting the election.

Miller's district, Dollarway, is on Pine Bluff's northwest edge. Only two Negroes attend the desegregated school with 1200



ARTHUR MILLER

whites.

SNCC has conducted a voter registration drive here for two years.

ALA. JUDGE DENIES FEDERAL MOTION

MOBILE, ALA. -- A Federal judge denied Nov. 19 a Justice Department motion to consolidate suits filed against Selma, Alabama and Dallas County officials by SNCC Chairman John Lewis and 46 local Negroes and by the Department itself.

U.S. District Judge Daniel H. Thomas turned down the request to consolidate the Lewis

suit, filed July 11 and the Justice Department suit, filed Sept. 9.

Officials named in the Justice Department suit were Sheriff James A. Clark, Circuit Solicitor Blanchard McLeod, Police Chief Ed Mullen, City Attorney Randolph Smith, Recorder Randall Smith and other county and city officials.

The SNCC voting drive here has been in progress for over two years.

HAMPTON SITE OF SOUTHERN CONFAB

HAMPTON INSTITUTE, VA. -- A three-day conference here Dec. 3 through 5 will discuss "The Movement, The College Student and The Upper South" in an attempt to "bring about a union of students in Virginia and to encourage student participation in local civil rights activity," according to SNCC Southern Campus Coordinator Thomas Brown.

Brown said the conference expected to draw "at least 150 full time participants from 15 Virginia and North Carolina colleges." Students had already applied from Hampton, Virginia State, Union College in Richmond, Randolph Macon, the University of Virginia, Mary Washington College, West Virginia State and St. Paul's Polytechnic Institute, Brown said.

Brown said workshops would be lead by Arkansas SNCC Project workers James Jones and William Hansen and Alabama SNCC worker Silas Norman. Featured speakers may include Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer and Mrs. Annie Devine, Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party can-

didates in the Nov. 3 election.

Others involved in the student conference will be SNCC Mississippi Project Director Robert Moses and SNCC worker Prathia Hall. Virginius Thornton, Hampton history professor and founding member of SNCC, will also aid the conference, Brown said.

Brown said the conference -- the first of several state conferences planned by SNCC's Southern Campus Project -- would try "to develop an awareness among college students of their responsibility to their college community, their state and their region."

Southern college students interested in contacting SNCC's Southern Program can write Brown at 6 Raymond Street, Atlanta, Ga.

NEW ZINN BOOK NOW AVAILABLE

"SNCC -- THE NEW ABOLITIONISTS" by Howard Zinn, a history of SNCC, is available from SNCC, 6 Raymond Street, Atlanta, Ga. for \$4.95.

VOTE ANALYSIS

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supported Republican Presidential candidates. All -- except Georgia -- had supported the racist Dixiecrat slate in 1948.

Goldwater lost three states -- Florida, Tennessee and Virginia -- that had voted Republican in 1952, 1956, and 1960, because sizeable Negro votes wielded the balance of power.

A study by the Southern Regional Council -- assuming that 95% of the voting Negroes voted Democratic -- reveals the following voting patterns throughout the South: (Negro vote totals are estimates)

I. In Florida, Tennessee, Arkansas and Virginia Democrats could not have won without the heavy Negro support they received. Florida -- Johnson margin: 37,800 votes. Negro votes: 211,800. Virginia -- Johnson margin: 77,000. Negro votes: 166,600. Tennessee -- Johnson margin: 126,000. Negro votes: 165,200. Arkansas -- Johnson margin: 65,400. Negro votes: 67,600.

II. In North Carolina, Democrats probably would not have won without Negro support. Johnson margin: 173,900. Negro vote: 168,400.

III. In Texas, Democrats clearly carried a majority of white voters. Johnson margin: 684,100. Negro votes: 325,500.

IV. Republican victories in Georgia, Louisiana and South Carolina would have been greater had it not been for Negro votes. Georgia -- Goldwater, 578,509; Johnson, 487,581. Margin: 90,900. Negro votes: 178,700.

There are more eligible unregistered Negroes (343,000) than registered Negroes (270,000) in Georgia. If 40% of the eligible unregistered Negroes had been registered, and had followed similar voting patterns, Georgia would have been carried by the Democrats.

Louisiana -- Goldwater, 503,545; Johnson, 387,811. Margin 115,700. Negro votes: 122,000. In Louisiana also, unregistered eligible Negroes (350,000) outnumber registered Negroes (164,800).

Had only 45% of the unregistered Negroes been allowed to vote, and had they followed similar turnout and voting patterns, Louisiana would have gone Democratic.

South Carolina -- Goldwater, 311,144; Johnson, 219,613. Margin: 91,500. Negro votes: 90,300. Again, registration of 65% of the state's eligible unregistered Negroes (227,000) would have changed the election results here.

V. In Alabama and Mississippi, where Negro disenfranchisement is greatest, Goldwater received the highest totals of all votes cast.

Alabama -- Goldwater, 454,313; unpledged Democrats, 200,355. Margin: 240,000. Negro votes -- 68,100. In Alabama, only 110,000 of the state's 370,000 eligible Negroes are registered to vote.

Mississippi -- Goldwater, 359,693; Johnson, 53,063. Margin: 306,600. Negro vote: 21,200. In Mississippi, not more than 28,000 Negroes are registered. Another 394,000 are eligible.

In Georgia, Johnson carried North Georgia counties with low Negro populations, one urban center (Atlanta-Fulton County) and some south Georgia counties with large Negro registration. In Louisiana, rural areas stayed Democratic, while urban areas voted Republican. In Tennessee, Negro votes beat down Republican challenges on the state level, and in Arkansas, Negroes -- who split their tickets between Democrat Johnson and Republican gubernatorial candidate Winthrop Rockefeller -- and labor combined to place the state in the Democratic column, although the national Republican ticket received strong support from the state's segregationist Delta area. Significantly, winning gubernatorial candidate Orval Faubus softpedaled the race issue in his campaign against the more moderate Rockefeller.

The "Freedom Vote" conducted in Mississippi dramatically demonstrated the potential power of the Negro vote. In 37 Mississippi counties, "Freedom Votes" (unofficial ballots cast over three days by local Negroes) outnumbered votes the regular Democratic ticket received.

For example, had those who cast "Freedom Ballots" in the regular election Nov. 3, the Johnson-Humphrey ticket would have won in Benton, Holmes, Issaquena, Leflore, Panola and Tunica Counties.



A RULEVILLE, MISS. woman cast her "Freedom Vote" during the Freedom Vote Oct. 29 through Nov. 2. The FDP ticket with President Lyndon B. Johnson and Hubert Humphrey carried the Freedom Vote. The Goldwater -- Miller ticket received only 14 votes.

INJUNCTION

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The permanent injunction, handed down Nov. 17, prohibits the party from using the name "democratic" since the traditional party has registered that name under state law for the its own use.

The MFDP argued that it was the only party in the state with any allegiance to the National Democratic Party and thus the only party with any right to the

name.

The previous injunction was not honored by the MFDP and it has continued to operate. In a state-wide "Freedom Vote" held Oct. 29 through Nov. 2, 68,029 Negroes in 56 of the state's 82 counties cast votes for four Negro candidates and the Johnson-Humphrey ticket under the MFDP banner. ("Underground" ballots were mailed in to the FDP from most of the other 26 counties).

In 37 counties, more MFDP ballots were cast than were cast Nov. 3 for the regular Democra-

tic slate, which lost Mississippi 53,063 to 359,693 for the national Republican ticket.

The MFDP supported the Johnson-Humphrey slate in the "Freedom Vote" and in the regular Nov. 3 election, although not one member of Mississippi's traditional Congressional delegation supported the national ticket and one member, Representative John Bell Williams, actively supported Republican loser Senator Barry Goldwater.

Meanwhile, Lawrence Guyot, state chairman of the MFDP, announced from the MFDP Washington office that the four "Freedom Vote" candidates would challenge the seating of the regulars when Congress reconvenes next January.

The four are Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer of Ruleville, vice-chairman of the FDP delegation to Atlantic City who opposed Rep. Jamie Whitten in the 2nd Congressional District; Mrs. Victoria Gray, National Committee-woman for the FDP who opposed Rep. William Colmer in the 5th District; Mrs. Annie Devine of Canton who opposed Rep. Arthur Winstead in the 4th District, and Dr. Aaron Henry, state NAACP president, who opposed Sen. John Stennis for a Senate seat. All four are named in the injunction.

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and -- according to local citizens -- was rushed into publication to beat by one day NAACP sponsored tests of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

SNCC began its first voter registration project here in 1961.

The 25 bombing and burning attacks included seven attacks on Negro churches, 13 attempts to burn or bomb private homes (including the home of one white man), the bombing of the SNCC Freedom House, the bombing of three Negro businesses, and the bombing of a Negro home in Tylertown, 20 miles from here.

UNION ARMS

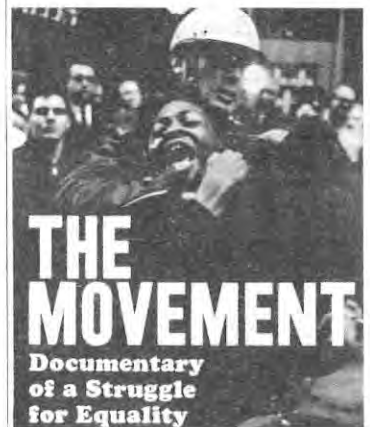
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road near his home and took him from his car at gunpoint.

Most of the 3200 workers at the Masonite Corporation plant here are members of Local 5443, which, with management, recently adopted a non-discriminatory policy in job placement.

The beating makes over a dozen incidents of brutality and intimidation against local Negroes and civil rights workers in this Southeast Mississippi town since June. On Aug. 22, a picnic held for departing summer workers was broken up by a group of white men carrying clubs and chains. Shots were fired at the fleeing rights workers.

Earlier this summer, volunteers here were beaten on several occasions. One was knocked unconscious while his female companion was kicked and stepped on.



"THE MOVEMENT", A picture history of the civil rights movement with text by Lorraine Hansberry, is available from SNCC, 6 Raymond Street, N.W., Atlanta, Ga. for \$1.95.

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