Jesse Harris December 31, 1965

JM: Do you think you could discuss the decision to go into voter registration in 1961?

JH: That's a long time ago. I don't know, you know. Maybe what we should start talking about is - you know, how we started working in voter registration. Well, like after the Freedom Ride - well let me give you an example, on some of the issues here.

Like the Freedom Ride, in '61. At that time theatre there was a program, sponsored by CORE - one of the things that came out of that whole program was to introduce civil rights activities to the south, using the bus terminals. Well, (they got to) the student that came down on the Freedom Ride, wanted to establish some kind of base in the south. So, I was a part of that Freedom Ride, and after we were released from (punishment), a few of us met, and talking about continuing our work with the movement. From that we set our own - you know, day in and day out, trying to figure out where do we go from there. Some people were feeling that we should be continually doing sit-ins, and demonstrations, boycotts, and so forth. A few of us felt that the only way that we could make a big headway in the state - I'm referring to some parts, most of the south - that we concern ourselves with voter registration. That is, to go in, open up a new community, talking about the Freedom Rides, talking about being a first-class citizen, talk about some of the local problems, what people's faced with, talk about police brutality.

So from that we - I'm not saying that voter registration was our program, what we had on our mind. Voter registration was something that at that time we used to get into a community, to start organizing on any issue other than voter registration. In other words, voter registration was the umbrella we used in '61.

Now, looking at some statistics in the state, and comparing the Negro population with the white population, and the percentage of Negroes registered to vote and whites registered to vote. I think in '61 it was 28 - I'm giving you an example for the state - in '61 there was 28 thousand Negroes registered to vote in the state. Close to 500 thousand white people were registered in the state. That shows that the white peoples in the state controlled, and actually - you know, for years and years they controlled the political processes in the state. So what I'm saying is that we went around from communities, finding out, doing - in other words we were doing research - finding out why people wouldn't register to vote, and why they haven't tried to go down and participate. Why that the local power structure refused to let peoples go down and register. So just a lot of things we found out in new communities where we went in, was that the only way that we could make any headway in any place is that we'd take people to

the courthouse and register *em. And we did that, in a period of time.

I remember one case that we took down about a hundred peoples in (Rwk ville, Mississippi), right there in the downtown. The population I counted was something like 85 or 90 per cent Negro. There were about two Negroes registered in that county. So we took down a hundred people one day, and after we took them down the courthouse, I mean, that's when all the trouble started. Most of us got put in Jail, and the people who went there - that we took down to the courthouse, they were thrown off they plantations. And so from that we began to organize a base, against the power structure, using voter registration. And I think that's mainly - you know, when we think in terms of voter registration, we think other than just getting people registered, organizing people. (Learn how) to vote, political action, political education, you might say organize people - introduce people to the whole democratic process which they faced with every day.

JM: From what I understand, there were a series of meetings in 1961, with foundations in the Justice Department. And people in the movement were urged to go into voter registration, and that if they did they would get protection from the Federal Government.

JH: Yeah, there was one meeting that we had, with some men from the Justice Department - they were John (DeAA), and Burt Marshall, and a couple more other guys - well, they learned that we was in Greenwood at the time, and we was having a voter registration drive there. And they learned that we were trying to march hundreds of peoples down to the county courthouse in Greenwood. So before we started taking peoples down there, we had a meeting right there in the office with the Justice Department. And our position was that we want to get peoples registered, and we wanted cooperation from the Justice Department in terms of helping us get these people registered. And so John (Doga) and Burke Marshall explained the Justice Department position to us, saying that they will help us in terms of filing suits, if we go out and get affidavits and complaints that the registrar actually discriminated against Negroes, if we consider in taking down - not taking down peoples who can't read and write. And our position on that, that we felt that everybody twenty-one, that had lived in Mississippi all their life - over two years - that paid poll tax and hadn't been convicted of certain crimes, should be a registered voter, if he can read and - or if he can't read and write. And our position that everybody had the right to go down to the courthouse in a group, and if they're afraid to go down by themself.

So, the Justice Department, again, position on that was that they didn't want too much trouble, they didn't want any brutality, and they feel that the local police official din't want large numbers of Negroes to congregate in front of his courthouse, they feel that they didn't want a large number of peoples to congregate within the limits of the courthouse, in terms of inside, and that the local sheriff

had made serious threats, in terms of the Citizens' Council and the Klansman made a serious threats to us if we bring large numbers of peoples down there. So that the Justice Department mainly concern was in there was to cool everything off. To keep us from taking large number of peoples, and keeping the tension down in terms of the press, in terms of what we have asked the Justice Department to do. You know, by the way, we have asked the Justice Department many times turing that time, that we'd like for them to come in and set up a registrar - a fair registrar, a person that we can deal with. And that we didn't have to take peoples down and that same old stuff that had been - yesterday and for a hundred years or so.

So I think it was clearly, to us, that the Justice Department was not ready to move in favor of Negroes being registered in Mississippi at that time. I think the position that they took, you know pointed out very clearly.

JM: IN early '62 there was a poll tax campaign. Can you discuss the motivation of having a poll tax campaign?

AH: Well, yeah. Between January 1 and February 1, a period of about 31 days or 30 days, Mississippi law requires that everybody who registers to vote should pay poll tax - have to pay poll tax in that period, if they want to become a voter. And in the year at that time, other - not only at that time, but other times too - we go around the state publicizing, pay your poll tax. You know, getting out leaflets announcing over the radio, having community meetings, encouraging people to go down and pay their poll tax. But

in '62 what we did, is - I don't think - well, we were discussing seriously, should a person be able to pay a poll tax before he can become a registered voter. So we had some students from Cornell University come down, and do research on poll tax paying. And we found out that most of the money that goes for poll tax, it goes for schools, it goes for roads, and we also found out that the money from poll tax - a big bulk of it go to the government, in terms of the government relating it to the Citizens' Council. So in other words we did a research on poll tax, to see exactly where the money go. And there was some serious question about should we involve ourself in getting people to pay for that type of stuff, in terms of paying poll tax.

So, we asked the Justice Department at that time, would they mind coming in and joining us - helping us file a suit against the state of Mississippi for the payment of poll tax. Mississippi say you have to have two years of poll tax receipts before you can become a registered voter in any election. And that a lot of peoples we found in the state have paid poll tax more than two years, but they lost their receipt. And when they register, they have to show that - when they casting their ballot they have to show that two years of poll tax receipts.

So, I think that there's one of the conflicts that we came up with at the time during the Freedom Vote. We were encouraging people to go up to the polls and vote for their candidate, and they was turned away because they didn't have two years of poll tax. And there we are! We also learned from other states, comparing Mississippi with the 49 other states in this country, is that we found that only a few southern states actually have to pay poll tax before peoples can vote. And so we just figure on those basis that Mississippi is one of those states shouldn't have to pay poll tax, in terms of before people can register to vote.

long story into the whole poll tax payment, and go ghl the way back to the whole approach to the Freedom Ride, desegregation in schools, opening up doors for people to register to
vote. The only thing we were concerned with ourselves was - after
people get names on the books, you know, what next? The poll tax and we found that Negroes couldn't afford to pay two dollars to the
Citizens' Council, or couldn't afford to pay two dollars for segregated schools. Couldn't afford to give two dollars for segregated schools. Couldn't afford to give two dollars for segregated schools. Then they have no jobs, you know, they're being discriminated against in jobs. And yet they have to pay two dollars to support all these things, in order to become a registered voter.

JM: Can you discuss the congressional primary campaigns of 1962? Of Reverend Lindsay and Reverend Smith ...

JH: I don't know - was that '62? Well, you know, let's go back to what I said earlier, about voter registration. In all the time that we were working, the people there , you know, when we walk up to somebody, and say, will you go down to the courthouse, and register. People say, well what I'm going down there and register for? Who I'm gonna vote for? And if I go down to register to vote, they gonna throw my vote out. And these are the type of things that we got from people. And we ran up against this from '61 on way up into somewhere in the middle of - June of '61 all the way up into June of '62. And we found out that people needed something in terms of, before they could become a registered voter they needed something to vote for. And we figured that if we could find somebody in the state to run for a public office - we found two people, the Rev. Lindsay from Clarksdale, and the Rev. R.L.T. Smith from Jackson, to run for Congress - Rev. Lindsay running for Congress in the Second Congressional District, we wanted a district mainly where we was operating out of. And R.L.T. Smith from was running for Congressman from the Third Congressional District.

So in other words, we were their campaign managers, and their campaign workers, and so forth. We took posters, and we took leaflets, and everything, went into new communities in these districts, and talk to the people. In terms of giving them something to go and register for. Giving them something that they can see. In terms of if they had a chance to register, and they know Rev. Smith or Rev. Lindsay, will they east their ballot for them, will they actually vote for them.

If things would change, if they had a chance to participate in the election. So a lot of people began to learn from that - a lot of people (knowed) Rev. Smith, a lot of people knowed Rev. Lindsay. Because of their running, because of what happened during that whole campaign, for the first time peoples began to participate in - knocking on their neighbor's doors, in other words we got people from these towns that we went into, to go out and do campaigning for these people. For the first time they learned how to participate in these type of activities. And from that we got a considerable large number of peoples to register, and we began to have many meetings in the community, talking about voter registration, talking about pay your poll tax, we were talking about the government, how - you know, the points in it in terms of participating in the democratic process. And we were talking about a Republican and a Democratic Party in Mississippi - at that time you had only one parth, that was the Democratic party. And we talked about what is the Democratic Party - what is the Republican Party? How is it run in Mississippi - and comparing it, how it's run in Mississippi and how it's run on the national level. How do the Presidents get elected. How many people it took to elect a President. What's the Negro feeling about becoming President, becoming sheriff, chief of police, running for mayor. In other words, these two men ran for Congressman, opened up the doors, just like we used voter registration in '61, opening up the doors for people, used pool tax, I think all these type of approach that we pulled back in '61 and '62, and in 63, is that - actually, it was opening up the doors for a lot of people who had never had the chance to participate.

JM: Then this was in actuality presenting a real alternative to the people if they did go down and pay their poll tax and register to vote. They could vote for somebody they felt might be of help, not just for a recist candidate.

JH: Not only that, - Well, you know, somebody seeing Rev. Smith, a Negro, running for office, they heard about it, they read about it in all the states, and they see a Negro running for office here in Mississippi,), a person that they know, now that would give them more confidence than them running themself. Even though Rev. Smith had lost that whole election, is that it opened up - like I said before, it opened up doors for people to participate - not only getting rid of people like Barnett and Johnson and the old sheriff and mayor and so forth - they were beginning to get a feeling that these people was elected by registered voters. by the citizens of that town, and that the best way that they can get rid of them is not to shoot 'em, not to think in terms of - that the Lord'll make a way and that someday they'll break a leg or quit, or they'll resign, but they dare to think in terms of the only way to get rid of these people is that you get to run against 'em, and you got to get people to vote against them, and - you know, I think that that whole educational point of view which I call (to people) - that they realize that (

JM: So that these congressional campaigns - where there had been no hope before - people were given hope to think that there was a possibility of changing the system.

JH: Yeah. I think that what they finally realized - a lot of people - for a long time they feel that there was no hope. The white people in Mississippi controlled everything, and they'll be controlling everything the day you were born, and they'll be controlling it until they die. Lot of peoples in Mississippi feel that way. Specially Negroes. And that we had to show something. So I guess what I'm saying is the same thing I said before. You have to show something - that there was hope, in terms of - like the Freedom Ride, what the Freedom Ride proved, you know, that whole project - that is, open up the eyes of a lot of peoples, and especially here in Jackson. You know they figured that Negroes and whites couldn't go into a bus station together. And they found out after they read about it, and some of the people started participating in it. And from that - () gain hope for the other - not only someone from the North telling them to go to the bus station, but a lot of people took it upon themself to go into the white side of the bus station, go into the white side of the lunch counter, and so forth. And I think that that whole type of approach is showing people what can happen if people do participate, involving people -I mean, all over the state - not for the sake of winning the right way, but for the sake of participating, you know - people, once they get involved, and they lose, they find out where they made their mistake. Then they also learning, you know, how they lost, and why did they lost. And they also learn that - you know, what it takes to win. That whole type of process is giving- you know, about a person doin' something, that means bringing about hope, and also bringing about a big change within that person itself.

JM: From this point we move into '63, where there were primaries for governor, local offices, and finally the Freedom Vote in the fall. Can you discuss how the period of '63 evolved towards the Freedom Vote?

JH: I think that it was a repeat of running Rev. Smith, and Rev. Lindsay, for Congressmen, and it was a repeat of taking people to the court house, paying poll tax, all the things we said in the past, that we had to continue on having some way of involving masses of peoples, not only on a local level but on a statewide basis. We had to see how many peoples in Mississippi, if they had a chance to participate, had a chance to vote for governor, who would they vote for. Would they vote for J.P. Coleman, who was running for Governor at that time; Ross Barnett; would they vote for a Negro candidate, Dr. Aaron Henry, who is a friend of NAACP? Well, a lot of people who never registered to vote before, and never thought about it, that thought about, that - what I said, that - thexasterxamdxthexwhite voting was white people's business. So we had to see that if they had a chance to vote, who would they vote for? So we made up a

little mock ballot, we had the three candidates on there, we had I mean we had the governor and lieutenant governor, we had Governor J.P. Coleman name on there, we had Barnett name on there, we had Asron Henry, and right up under there we (said, Freedom Vote, Aaron Henry and two party members of the Democratic party. And we had for lieutenant governor Rev. Ed King, which is a white minister from Tougaloo College, and we had close to 200 thousand ballots drawn up, and we would distribute them all over the state, in the communities, in churches, and in pool rooms, cafes, and in cab stands, everywhere we could think of we had these ballots distributed. And we had people to mark, you know, with no name and no address, but just mark a ballot, make a X, if they had a chance to vote, who would they vote for. And we got close to 90 thousand people to mark their ballots, in the state, saying that if they had a chance to vote, they'd vote for Aaron Henry. Which is a Negro candidate. And from that we began to - some people was willing to put down their names and their address, and their telephone number, to be contacted for other matters that in terms of opening up some kind of contacts in town that we never get into. So we used the ballot to go in and present to somebody in terms of they had a chance to vote who would they vote for, and from that we began to talk to them, about their local situation, involving them) way up there, to try to organize them in terms of around the vote, around participating in the movement, understanding what was the Freedom Ride all about, understanding the way that they live, in terms of the way that the governor keep them from living. So the Freedom Vote brought out one thing. It brought out mass participation in the state. From the Freedom Vote we had a state-wide meeting, involving close to 500 people, for the first time in the state For the first time in the state that 500 people came to Jackson to talk about, how tan they participate, how can they involve themself in terms of deciding who they want for governor, who they want for mayor, who they want for sheriff, chief of police or any official office in the state. I think the Freedom Vote, from that, gave us a way to - let peoples to understand how to go about their - the peoples themself making some - make a decision. Down at the state meeting some peoples stood up for the first time in they life, wanted to know why have a big meeting, expressed themself, how they feel. The first time people began to talk to each other. We had people from McComb talking to somebody way from Clarksdale, which is about - almost 300 miles apart. Met two people - well, these two people lived in the same condition, practically. And met each other, started talking to each other about how can they solve this whole mess that they'd been faced with for the last hundred years. And the Freedom Vote bring about - brought about all these type of things, meetings in the counties, meetings on a statewide basis and on a district base, meeting on a county level. I think this is one of the things that is - follow from running a candidate, is - that took place there was a Freedom Vote.

JM: Can you discuss the Voter Education Project's role in Mississippi?

JH: Well, the vote - well, we call it VEP, and - set up by the Southern Educational Foundation. And at that time we didn't have no type of resource, no finance help, to carry out our work and in terms of voter registration in the state. So we asked numbers of groups would they support a type project - work. And we was all turned down. But VEP came in and said that they will give us resource, in terms they give us two cars, and they would give us a little money to - you know, to eat, and well, for room and board. /So after a period of about - I'd say about six months, is that we began to take large number of peoples down to register, because of the resource that we got - we began to change our approach, taking em down to register, and after they went down to register they began to start making their own decision, without us, that they want to go into other things, like sit-ins. They wanted to picket, they wanted to demonstrate. So the Voter Education Project was simply a research group. They wanted to do research on Negroes, in the south, And that they mainly what they wanted to do is for us to go from door to door, you know, asking the person have they registered to vote, and try to encourage them to go and register to vote, and ask them how many kids they got, and what is their yearly income, and so forth.

But at one point when people finally made their decisions like they made in Greenwood in '62, is that they wanted a job. They want to go down to the employment office and picket the employment office, for discriminating in jobs, that they won't give Negroes jobs, as they would give whites jobs. So people went down and picketed. They got put in jail. And so the people from the VEP came to - who were sponsoring us, in terms of organizing our people, wanted us to stop people from picketing. We simply supposed to been at that time is doing research. So VEP really, I mean took the position in Mississippi, mainly they were concerned about educating people around reading and writing, and taking them to the court house, and that's it. We were concerned about peoples involving themself, participating in any way, other than reading and writing and going to the court house, but after they leave the court house, what they should do is consider involving themself around desegregations of schools, desegregation of the lunch counters, discrimination in jobs, welfare, social security problems, organizing themself they own group, independent group in that town. We was - we were looking way beyond what the Voter Education Project was looking at. I mean we had our work to do in the state, and in terms of - they had they work to do. And so at a point we had to get resource from other places, other than VEP, because, I mean I think their period, in terms of their relationship with us, had ran out.

JM: Now, their period ran out somewhere in June or July of *63, when they withdrew their funds. Can you discuss what was involved in the movement's decision down here in saying that they just

weren't going to limit themselves to voter registration, they were really interested in people, and why they consequently rejected the VEP on that basis.

JH: Well, the time there was about twelve of us, working in Greenwood, and - well we decided one day, after Dick Gregory flew down so many thousand pounds of food into Greenwood, 37 thousand pounds of food that he brought in to feed a lot of sharecroppers. And so after we gave out all the food to the people, we - people decided for themself that they want to go down to the courthouse, and register. That they want to go down there in large numbers, they didn't want to go down there by themself. And there were close to 600 people that made that decision. And they lined up in front of this church to go down there. So we got word from Atlanta, that if we wanted VEP money that we can't concern ourself with marches and demonstrations, and that we have to tell people - to stop those people from marching. couple of people from Atlanta, from the office, came over to talk to us in terms of marching to the courthouse. He says simple that we can take the people down to the courthouse in cars, one and two at a time, and that we didn't have to march down in a large number like we did. And we had to make a decision, should we take people down to the courthouse who was afraid to go down by themself, in small numbers, or take them down all in one time. And I asked the man could they stay down till he register them all. So we did, and we found that VEP wasn't ready for that type of approach to the problem, that they wasn't concerned in terms of the people themself. They concerned mostly in us controlling the people, in terms of us telling them what they got to do. And VEP telling us what to do and we relate this to the people in terms of what to do. So we were against that whole thing. So we simply told VEP that they have to find other ways of supporting other groups in Mississippi in terms of doing the job what they want to do, but that we were going to do what we want to do. We were doing it before VEP came in, and we were doing it after VEP left us.

JM: Can you discuss the fashion in which the protest ballots were cast in the primary in *63.

JH: Well, one thing that happened, during that whole process, is that a large number of people went and registered to vote there. And the state denied thousands of people who were registered in the whole time that we been taking people down to the courthouse to register. Well then they had a election, is that from voter registration we began to take people actually to the polls, where at the pools they fill out a affidavit saying that they haven't had a chance to register, and that now that they had - not having a chance to participating in actually casting they ballot. And that - we took the affidavits and present that to the Justice Department to show that Negroes in Mississippi don't have a chance to register, and that they don't have a chance to actually participate in electing any candidate in the state. And that Mississippi is mainly

is trying to keep Negroes from participating at any level of government in the state. So we had affidavits from peoples who tried to register, so we had affidavits from peoples who tried to vote. So we present that to the government in terms of injoining the state from actually having these elections, and actually file suit against the registrars, who were discriminating against peoples who were trying to register to vote.

JM: There is a statute that goes back to, I believe the 1890's, that said that if a person were denied the right to vote, then he could go down to the polls, in a primary or in an election, to cast a ballot, which would be impounded until there was a judgment on whether he was denied the right to vote. At that time also you would fill out the affidavit. This is what you were talking about, isn't it?

JH: Well, this is exactly what I mean, when I say this is i- when I say people was filling out affidavits at the polls, is that also in that same clause, in the Constitution, say that when a person have been denied the right to participate, and register, and say you've been turned away from the polls because of you feel that discrimination was brought to him because he was a Negro, or something like that, I'm not - I don't know the exact words. But I know it's in the Constitution that - is that a person had a right to fill out a complaint against anybody who discriminate against him, in terms of him participating. And, well, lot of cases here in Jackson what I did, I took five or six people to the polls, and when they got to the polls, the lady told them that they couldn't vote. And peoples asked why, and she say well, your name is not on the book. And she say well, my name ought to be on the book, because we pay poll tax, we been paying poll tax for years, and then we went down to the courthouse and we try to register. We been living in Mississippi all our life, and we ain't never been in jail before, for any orime. And that we have been going by the law, ever since we've been living. And that I feel that I should have a chance to vote, and I want to participate. And the lady way well I'm sorry, but you can't participate if your name ain't on the book, so you going to have to leave, and if you don't leave, then I'm gonna have to call the police and he gorma place you under arrest. So right them I got six complaints, six affidavits, the exact words that was said then, and I present it to the Government, and told them exactly what happened, that these people went to the courthouse more than once, matter of fact they went to the courthouse about five or six times, to try to register to vote, and each time that they was turned down, and it was no doubt about it, that they was turned down because they was a Negro, not because they couldn't read or write. Because the people had - two ladies had a college diploma.

JN: You said there were some things you felt you missed and you wanted to go back over.

JH: No, I was mainly thinking about the point about - you know, what happened in the state after that Greenwood meeting with the people

from the Justice Department. I was talking about John Doe and Burt Warshell, who had a meeting with us, to tell us about the laws in the United States Constitution and to tell us about the laws in Mississippi. And that our position with them was that we didn't give a dawn about the laws of Mississippi, the only thing that we were concerned about was the laws of the Constitution, the Fifteenth, Fourteenth and the Thirteenth Amendments, that we know - we- one time we got arrested, and we got arrested for taking people to the courthouse, there were ten of us, and we asked the Justice Department to come in and file a injunction against the city officials for interfering with the voter registration workers. And to release us from jail and stop the officials from arresting us. So the Justice Department came in, they came right in and they made a deal with the city officials to release us from fail, and ten days staying in jail, we got out because the Justice Department came in. But the next day we started taking another group of people down there, some of us got arrested again. We went back to the Justice Department and say now, look, they arrested us again, so the Justice Department simply took the position that, well, I got you out the first time, and I promised the man that you all won't demonstrate no more, that you all won't do that again. And so the position that we took on that that we didn't want anybody to come in and get us out, and promise that we wen't involve ourself again, that we wanted somebody to come out and actually get us out of jail and stop the man from arresting us at any time. So in other words that we got put in a trap, in terms of the relationship that - the compramise that the Justice Department made with the city officials. in terms of stopping the demonstrations and, not demonstrations but stop the police from interfering with voter registration workers up there at that town. So I thought maybe that I want to bring this out, because this is something that - this example points out a lot of other things that happened, what has happened in terms of - from '61 all the way up to now, the relationship of the Justice Department to the State power structure. That each time that the Justice Department deal, not only with civil rights workers, but deal mainly with the Mississippi power structure. And in terms of coming in and filing suits. It took three years - two or three years for them to come in and file a suit against six registrars in the state. And it took close to a year and a half for them to actually get the case thrown out, in terms of filing enough evidence to see that the registrar actually discriminate against Negroes. And I think they had this evidence in Washington some 20 years ago, in terms of what can be done, and it took us to really come in and put pressure on them, and to bring out a lot of facts about the Justice Department in terms of their moving into Mississippi and taking any type of action. And it took a lot of peoples in the state going to jail, a lot of people getting best up, and it took a lot of people to get killed. The Justice Department finally came in and moved. But when they came in and moved, they moved in the direction of - the white power structure, the people who had been controlling all the time. I mean, making deals and compromising in terms of what those people... they're not with the Negro community.

... In terms of the peoples who actually asked the Justice Department to come in. And I think that they have to deal with us, and I don't think that they are prepared to deal with us.

JM: In 1963 the Mississippi State Legislature passed a law saying that when you finally did pass your voter registration examination, your name had to be published in the newspaper for two weeks. What effect do you think this had on the people who were going down to register, and why do you think the power structure is doing something like this?

JH: Well, we'd known for a fact here in the state that for a person to go down, risked his life, I think that's what it is. Never registered to vote before, go down to the courthouse and register. He'd have to, in a lot of cases he'd have to slip down there, to keep his boss man from finding out that he want to participate, and that he was - he went through a meeting and he heard some of us talk about going to the courthouse, and that - he had to slip down there, and he go down, and he try to become a registered voter. Then they publish his name in the paper that everybody can see it. and a lot of cases that people's home was shot into because of that. People's house was bombed with all that they have. People thrown in jail. I mean it have a open field for Klahamen and Citizen Council and everybody who want to really get at this person, his name published in the paper. So we asked the Justice Department to come in and file a suit against that, to stop publishing names. And for example right now in a lot of counties in Mississippi, they still pub-lish the names, after the civil rights bill. And I think that the Justice Department knows about that. I mean, I think this'll show you that people in Mississippi still afraid to go down to the courthouse, like up in the Delta, in one county particularly, this (Belivar) county, that is predominant plantation-owned, and so forth, the sharecroppers, is that people still afraid to go to the courthouse, they seared to go down in front of the registrar, there is(n't?) a federal registrar there, and they still afraid that they name be published in the paper. And some names are still being published in the paper. And people is having some doubts about should they involve themself in terms of being a registered voter, having a approach like that. And the Justice Department knows that.