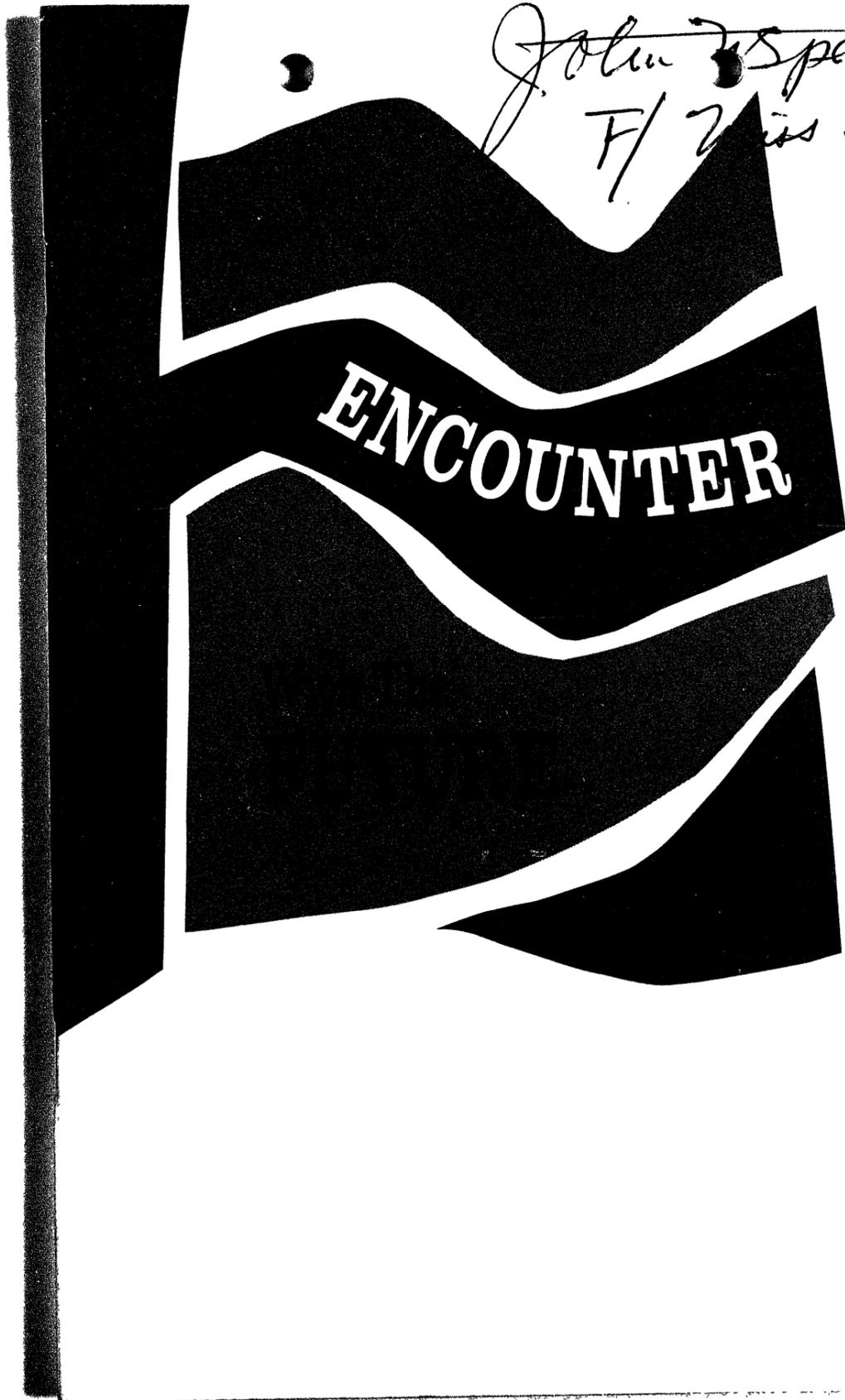


RG 453

Mississippi - Politics [1965-1967]



John W. Spence
F/ Miss. politics

I HAVE NOT ENDED the story for there is no end. This Movement is alive, it is growing, it has already become a part of our life as Americans; it is joyous, still a singing movement, still one full of compassion and love; and being so, it is flexible, amenable to the best our minds and hearts can offer it. Amenable also to the worst we offer it. A brave vigorous movement that is here to stay: rich with infinite creative possibilities, potent—and dangerous, for the potential good can be distorted and lost by the despairing restlessness of those from the ghettos who have no hope, and who are too uninformed historically, too unsure emotionally to analyze current conditions or foresee the consequence of their acts. We, as a people, could be confronted soon by a series of catastrophes. Whether this happens depends on the wisdom of responsible Negroes but more, much more on what every responsible white American does next. One thing is certain in a plexus of uncertainties and that is, *our encounter with the future cannot be evaded*, it must be met by both the artist and the scientist in us, by our deep intuitions and our rigorously proved knowledge—and by the human being in us, too, that creature who knows the power of compassion, the potency of a strange love that keeps reaching out to bind one man to another.

—LILLIAN SMITH, *Our Faces, Our Words*.
(W. W. NORTON, 1964)

Encounter With The Future

by

PAT WATTERS

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

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Foreword

PAT WATTERS, a senior staff member, has written for the Southern Regional Council this inquiry into the thought and influence of certain American youth. These are people who have given both direction and depth to the struggle for civil rights.

The record will show, I believe, that the Council by its Special Report of February 25, 1960 was among the very first to welcome and value the sit-in Movement begun by Negro students of the South. In a sense, this pamphlet is a sequel to that 1960 report, for if that expressed faith this expresses respect for a Movement that has since served and in no small measure inspired this country. It still serves and it should, in sum and despite misadventures, still inspire.

LESLIE W. DUNBAR
Executive Director

IT used to be so wonderfully simple. Here were these Negroes and they were right. There were those segregated lunch counters. In an age of ambivalence, of moral ambiguity, the Negro Movement gave us at last a choice, as clear-cut as a sit-in, between good and evil. It let us have the cake of certainty and eat it too, by frosting it with forgiveness, non-violence, love.

It is not that simple any more.

Of course it never really was, and we never had any right to add that to the impossible demands we have made on Negro Americans, however they might have encouraged it. Two years ago, the catch-phrase was "new militancy," and I remember a Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) veteran saying then: "It's not new. We've been militant—and angry—all along. It was just that nobody bothered to ask us."

No single phrase can catch the mood now. Most of the negative elements—internal dissension, disorganization, alienation, the Communist question, dispute over attitudes toward whites and toward America itself—have been there all along. So have the seeds of new and positive elements (beyond the old bravery and dedication): whole new concepts of methods and goals; a new thrust toward causes, rather than symptoms, of social sickness. Now it is time to bother to ask about all these things, precisely because the comforting oversimplification of the sit-ins is gone forever. It is time to look at the Movement with something like human expectations, and, perhaps, with compassion, and to try to understand some of the real depth of the struggle between good and evil that is, indeed, its profound meaning for America.

This is a look at the youthful wing of the southern civil rights Movement, for as always it sets the pace. SNCC is the

key, but also involved are much of CORE (Congress of Racial Equality), and of SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Conference), and the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) insofar as they reflect or react to the same radicalism. Throughout the report, references to the Movement are in this rather loose sense.

This is not an "insider's" report. It doesn't pretend to anything like omniscience. If there was once a time when anyone not a worker in one of the four chief civil rights organizations might nevertheless develop an "insider's" knowledge of the Movement, that time is no more. No longer can a reporter measure the mood of the Movement by talking to a few key people. Often now it is difficult to be sure who the key people are, and difficult sometimes to evaluate what any people tell you. The best one can do from the periphery is to talk to as many people as possible, observe as much as possible, and try to think it through. The effort is important.

Communication by the youthful wing about itself has always been in action more than words. Where the issues are crass, as in a sit-in, nothing more is needed. Where they are not, as at the Democratic National Convention in 1964, communication either breaks down, or is on a level difficult to perceive. Very few people in the nation understand what SNCC was trying to say with its action of opposing the political compromise offered at the convention. Its efforts to explain in words weren't successful. It has always had a disdain for the efficacy of words spoken to an audience outside its own circle. Perhaps this is because the context in the circle is so terribly different from that of any audience outside it.

Nevertheless *something* was communicated by the action at Atlantic City. It produced circles of negative reaction to SNCC that have been widening ever since, and these negative reactions have prompted the many examinations of radicalism and other realities of the Movement, like this study. These may, finally, find out what SNCC was trying to say at the conven-

tion, or more of what it has been saying all along. If so, one must still jerry-build his own understandings.

A beginning is to try to understand better the COFO Summer of 1964.

Gains and Losses

This was the campaign concentrated in Mississippi by the four civil rights organizations, SNCC, CORE, SCLC, and the NAACP. They were banded together into a Council of Federated Organizations (COFO). COFO had its origins in earlier futile efforts to register Negro voters. The Mississippi Summer was the first large-scale coordinated effort of the four organizations, and it may be the last.

Any appraisal of it has to be with awareness constantly of what the workers were up against, simplified in these grim statistics from the New York Times: 1,000 arrests; 35 shooting incidents, with three persons injured; 30 homes and other buildings bombed; 35 churches burned; 80 persons beaten; at least six persons murdered.

COFO operated 47 Freedom Schools and nearly that many community centers, worked on voter registration and developed the Freedom Democratic Party (FDP). It brought in upwards of 1,000 volunteers, many of them white northern students. They were a presence from the rest of the country and were psychologically effective, if not in inhibiting racist murderousness, then in calling attention to it. Lawyers, doctors, and church people from afar similarly served.

Immediate tangible results were few: a very small success in fiercely resisted registration; the attraction to the Movement of a relatively few Negroes who are very faithful, giving them tastes of real learning and equalitarian association; the attraction of many more (80,000) in the less risky role of FDP voters; the election of a very few Negroes to the U.S. Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service county committees.

The most impressive tangible result was not evident until nearly a year later. A major goal of the Summer of 1964 was to develop an indigenous Negro leadership. By the following Spring of 1965, virtually all of the COFO projects and activities were in the hands of indigenous Negro leadership.

COFO claimed many intangible results on the morale of Negro Mississippians and in awakening political consciousness. Perhaps even more, intangibly, was done for white Mississippians. They saw integration in action. They learned how far from the rest of the nation they stood, and how much they have become despised for this. Since the Summer, they have showed the first signs of change, and hope. Moderates are speaking out. McComb ceased public sanction of racist terrorism. The Mississippi Economic Council, a state chamber of commerce, called for law and order, communication between the races, "impartial administration" of voting laws, and support of public (desegregated) education.

A number of pressures, including economic, were behind this. Also in the background was successful court-ordered desegregation of three school systems in August, abetted by a state-wide organization of white liberals and moderates known as Mississippians for Public Education; enlargement of the FBI forces in the state; continued federal court suits against segregation; continued exposure by the national press of racism and thought control in the state; and passage of the Civil Rights Act. COFO had its impact on all of these.

In 1964, nothing much could succeed in its specific, announced goals. What COFO helped so much to do was to force Mississippians to confront themselves and their problems, and the nation to confront Mississippi. COFO's success has made obsolete this strategy.

Unstructured shaking up of Mississippi's peace—agitation for the sake of confrontation—has not the same necessity as it had last Summer. The new federal poverty program should be given a chance to work; school desegregation should continue smoothly;

white moderates and liberals should be given a chance to gather themselves together.

COFO seems aware of this. A big adjustment for many of its workers is the shift to poverty program work, community development, agriculture committee work, Title Six compliance. Many have left for other parts of the Black Belt. Like pioneers, some freedom fighters get restless on yesterday's frontier. The unexplored territory of racism is rapidly diminishing and where pockets of it yet remain—in Alabama, Louisiana, or northern suburbia—they call out to be seen and tested.

Not that Mississippi is tamed. The enlarged FBI force shouldn't leave. Neither should the effort to work at the deep levels of poverty and racist persecution. Nearly all of the Negro population is yet to be registered to vote.

The gains of the COFO Summer were not without cost to the southern Negro Movement. The effects have lingered and are an influence as the Movement prepares for another long hot Summer. Stress last Summer brought dissension to the surface—more than ordinarily—among member organizations of COFO and its allies. At the end of the Summer, the Mississippi NAACP voted to withdraw, a generally unpublicized action.

During 1964, the NAACP and SCLC had participated only nominally in COFO. CORE, on the other hand, had contributed one-fifth to one-fourth of the trained field workers. The rest had been SNCC, and the volunteers. As 1965 came in, it became clear that COFO was to be almost entirely SNCC, or that it was to become a self-directing organization, fraternally related to SNCC.

Indeed, the Mississippi theater had become an organizational complex. During 1964, three lawyer's groups were active in providing defense council for COFO, with the heavy duty work being done as always by the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund and its cooperating attorneys. There was also a new group—the Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee. Finally, there was the National Lawyers Guild, which was close

to COFO leadership, but with which the Legal Defense Fund will not associate, and which LCDC held at a distance. A fourth group, generously financed and with ties to both the American Bar Association and the Mississippi bar, appeared during 1965: the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law. A further change is that LCDC has become sponsored by the American Civil Liberties Union.

The legal achievement in Mississippi is one of impressive results. The appearance of so many "outsiders" practicing law in behalf of Negroes upgraded standards of justice. Prosecutors needed more than the color of a defendant's skin for a conviction that would stick. Appeals have been started on inter-related cases involving habeas corpus and transfer to federal courts which may eliminate or curtail harassing arrests of civil rights workers on baseless charges.

Involvement of doctors, an auspicious development, and of the church in the COFO Summer was less contentious and will probably continue. The Delta Ministry of the National Council of Churches is an apparently permanent program with a \$400,000 a year budget, and a program paralleling COFO's generally, though with missionary overtones.

10 After withdrawing from COFO, the NAACP announced its own Mississippi program. If COFO was SNCC's great opportunity to lead the Movement structurally, it failed. At least for the present, the most youthful part of the civil rights Movement is still only one part. Nevertheless, the SNCC approach—living and working with the people—is established in Mississippi and southwest Georgia and by CORE in some parts of Louisiana, and is being put into practice by new exponents, including SCLC. This could be crucial to the future of the Movement. Hitherto, SNCC's virtual monopoly on this kind of sustained work has been its chief strength, and the source of its radicalism. It remains to be seen whether other organizations can do the kind of job SNCC has done, and, if they can, whether it will have the same radicalizing effect on them.

A New Radicalism Seeks Its Identity

12 One SNCC innovation that has not been adopted by other elements of the civil rights Movement is the Freedom Democratic Party. The FDP envisions extending out from Mississippi, and envisions offering its own candidates across the Black Belt, refusing to make "lesser of evil" choices. This, amid much criticism and sincere misgivings about SNCC's leftism, is a chief factor in the widening of a breach between SNCC and the so-called coalition of civil rights organizations, labor, and the rest of the liberal establishment. The NAACP and organized labor this Spring in Mississippi, for example, joined forces to block an effort to get national accreditation for an FDP-developed Young Democrats organization.

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15 But SNCC's radicalism also is manifest in two other of its directions. First, SNCC has always been an endless, introspective conference, toiling away at defining itself, its ideals, its aspirations, its plans. As it has grown, it has vacillated between bringing non-staff into its "conference" or excluding them. Its policy now seems to be to confine the conference within the staff, and between staff members and the Negro dwellers in rural and urban slums. There is a formalization of the latter in SNCC's announced plans for "People's Conferences."

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19 Second, SNCC's persistent iconoclasm throughout early 1965 in saying, over and over again, that passage of the Voting Rights Bill is of considerably less importance than unseating of the Mississippi Congressional delegation is important for insights it provides. Liberal forces will pass a voting bill. SNCC refuses to say "thank you" and has itself given the effort only left-over energy, maintaining that the major problem—enforcement—is still not solved. Instead, it will demand of liberal forces that they do something which they probably will not do: unseat the Mississippi delegation. It is the SNCC style. If the great demonstration planned for Washington during the Summer of 1965 in behalf of the Congressional challenge comes off, its

true importance will be that its target—actual if not announced—will be liberals.

20 Amid all the dissension around it last year, SNCC itself apparently underwent serious and traumatic internal struggle.

21 A perhaps symbolic issue seemed to be disagreement over how SNCC should be organized. (The "coordinating committee" has from the beginning been preoccupied with forms of organization, just as it has been supremely disorganized, the latter a part of its style which probably costs more than it is worth, and, when necessary, as with organization of the short wave radio in Mississippi or the FDP convention, can be abandoned immediately. In the internal convolutions of its forms of organization, which seem always more and needlessly complicated, it often seems, maybe consciously, to be parodying the over-organization of our age.)

7 The dispute this time seemed to be over whether the loose but at least structured organization of the past, with a defined executive and administrative function, should be supplanted by an arrangement of local and perhaps even personal autonomy. James Forman and John Lewis, two of the top officials of SNCC, led the former view, Robert Moses the latter.

1 22 In a sense, the issue was state's rights (local autonomy), and the area of discontent much the same as Senator Goldwater tapped. And—despite the harm done by reactionaries to a legitimate idea—discontent with over-organization and meaningless form is one of the profound mass emotions of the time.

23 The ostensible issue was resolved at a seven-day annual meeting this Winter, with those in favor of organization over local autonomy prevailing. The decision was probably influenced by a three-month period of near anarchy in SNCC just preceding. 24 The meetings of SNCC in the past year have become for members apparently a particularly upsetting experience, with emphasis on letting everybody speak, so that they are overly long and emotional. This reorganizational meeting was of this pat-

tern. Its most important achievement was to complete the transition of the organization from one of student and community groups to one of individuals working as organizers. The staff workers emerged as the power base, with frequent staff meetings promised. Apparently in deference to local control, the executive committee was selected almost entirely from among Negro Mississippi staffers. But on a practical level, the executive committee functions little. Decisions are made in the offices in Atlanta, or, just as often, by local leaders in the field. It is never simple.

Distrust of organization continues a strong influence in SNCC, and one needs to understand this. Mr. Moses, the Harvard mathematics major who began the SNCC work in Mississippi four years ago, personifies this instinct. To escape the mantle of revered leader and prophet that settled on him in Mississippi, he went to the length of changing his name and moving to Alabama. He is now Robert Parris. 25

Throughout recent SNCC literature and conversation, opposition to the very concept of national civil rights leaders is a strong theory. This is part of the intensified dedication to working with and through the people. Big leaders weaken the will of the people to think for themselves, SNCC argues. The real task is to develop decision-making ability among the people, and leaders from among them. 26

In much of this, the term alienation is inescapable. At times, it seems to be SNCC against the world, and divided against itself. Willy-nilly, it cuts a swath of lost friends and uninfluenced people, many of them white liberals. In one locale where the local newspapers are bad beyond belief, the one completely competent, honest, and fair-minded newspaperman on the scene has come to despise SNCC. He has no good word for it. He could have remained a useful friend. This kind of thing is behind the drop of the voice, and even intonations of sorrow, almost pity, when people who are genuinely friendly to SNCC start telling its flaws. 27 28 29 30 31

The alienation reached a crisis at the Democratic National Convention last year and the scars and enmities linger on from FDP's refusal to accept a two-seat compromise of its demand that all the FDP delegation be seated. Some SNCC people insist this was not necessarily a rejection of the concept of compromise, but rejection of an insulting, unsuitable compromise, that an earlier proposal to seat anyone of both factions willing to pledge loyalty would have been accepted. Nevertheless, to those oriented to the give and take of politics, and the cloaks and daggers of sinister motivation, the FDP decision and SNCC's heavy influence on it had to be either hopelessly idealistic and unrealistic, or diabolically designed to confuse the masses of the Negro followers, to stir them to needless discontent. To SNCC, everybody from the President on down had "sold out." Perhaps it is well that 1965 and 1966 are not particularly big political years; they may be a breathing space during which the political breach within the Movement and with the liberals may be healed.

Viewed as a third party effort—as many in SNCC do view it—FDP might not gain as much power for itself as its backers think, but it could take crucially needed power (in the Black Belt and the Negro ghettos of the North) away from the liberals to the benefit of the right wing.

In the initial stages at least, FDP seems contenting itself with the role of being a separate wing of the regular Democratic Party in Mississippi. In Georgia, Julian Bond, public information officer of SNCC, jumped into a reapportioned House of Representatives race, running as a Democrat. The opting is in, for the time.

SNCC's unwillingness to settle merely for registering Negroes, its plans to run its own candidates, can be at least partially understood by looking at the areas in the rest of the South and nation where there is Negro enfranchisement and something less than an equal society. Atlanta comes to mind. An interesting study might be made of the impact of Atlanta, the head-

quarters of SNCC and SCLC, on radicalism and awareness of sad realities in the southern Movement. Again and again, when they cite evils of tokenism they want to avoid in the reformation of the Black Belt, the Movement people use illustrations in Atlanta: the manipulation in the past of the Negro vote by conservative Negro leadership in coalition with moderate whites; tokenism in schools, annually exacerbated by policies increasing housing segregation and the growth of a ghetto; hypocrisy and cynicism summed up by what critics contend is the city's regard for its national image for good race relations but not for the human victims of racism. One needs only to see what the Movement believes about the South's "most progressive" city to understand its pessimism and intransigence in other parts of the South.

Southern liberals look askance at FDP with slightly different perspective from those in the North. They regard as dangerous its tendencies to solidify and continue a racial alignment in southern politics, leaving both major parties still in the hands of whites, and discouraging effective political alignment of Negro voters with white moderates or liberals.

(The FDP idea began with mock elections in the Fall of 1963 as a demonstration of disenfranchisement. Somewhere between then and Atlantic City, some began to think of the demonstration party as simply a party. Interestingly, the first mock election originated the idea of involving white college students in the southern struggle, thereby arousing the national concern over their safety that never came for the safety of Negroes in general, or the small bands of full-time civil rights workers. The students who worked in that election, as did later the Summer volunteers, went in with their eyes open to this aspect of their role. The sad rationale behind it was demonstrated anew during Selma when the death of a Negro civil rights demonstrator in Marion was largely ignored by the public—though fully covered in the press—while the later murders of two white civil rights demonstrators caused a great storm of national indignation.)

By demanding a stronger repudiation from the Democratic Party and its liberal supporting forces of the unholy alliance with racism in the South since Reconstruction, the FDP shows a new face of the Movement, less willing to forgive and forget. It raises a question not satisfactorily resolved by either World War II or the Civil War: is unconditional surrender the way to deal with the people, behind a social system with which there can be no compromise? About the system there is no question; but what of the people?

For all its inherent dangers, FDP forces us also to examine a cherished rationalization. Politics is the art of the possible and of compromise, but neither of these is necessarily a virtue, and we still have a responsibility to examine the possibilities and set limits to compromise.

Because it was so long and so hot, the Mississippi Summer was reported in column inches far better than any other civil rights campaign. But the coverage nearly all centered on violence, partly because of circumstance, partly because of the Movement's and the press's own fixations. This is a dilemma. The Movement and the press both know that what the public responds to is turmoil and violence, even though other important things might be happening and even though the great violent upheavals haven't bettered appreciably the lot of the Negroes immediately involved, as an examination now of Albany, St. Augustine, and Birmingham would show.

The important things that were happening in Mississippi during the Summer of 1964 were the reaching to the grassroots of Negroes, the forcing of change on the white population, and development of political consciousness in the Movement. And these were reflections of the very important effort of the Movement to adjust to the new realities of its role. But violence made the news.

57 SNCC for a time seemed trying to move out of the violence dilemma in Selma. But when it did agree to demonstrate, it did so in a manner that seemed deliberately to provoke violence.

This illustrates one of the more strained tensions, more precarious philosophical balances, within the Movement—the reconciliation of deliberate provocation by Negroes of the close-to-the-surface violence of an element of whites in the South with the true spirit and high meanings of non-violence. Often there is a frank admission by a civil rights worker that to him, as an individual, non-violence is only a tactic, not a way of life, or a way to a better life for the world. The simple act of demonstrating, no matter how orderly and dignified, was often in the immediate past, in parts of the South, a provocation to violence. In more sophisticated sectors and the present more sophisticated time, when the mere presence of a demonstration fails to provoke violence, demonstrators have jeered, taunted, and otherwise, short of actual violence on their part, brought it forth. There are also elements in this of a grim game to see who will “chicken” first, a simple release of hostilities. The cynicism that begins with considering non-violence as simply a subtle sort of weapon would seem to justify this next step to make it effective. It is only another step, too, to the use of violence itself, where tactically feasible. But at its best, non-violence never sought, as no human should, deliberately to goad the beast in a man. The question—and the answer is really not known—is whether America has ever responded to the higher meaning and hope of non-violence, or whether it has simply reacted to violence and turmoil, acting in civil rights matters only as necessary.

New and Old Radicals

The introduction of white volunteers in great numbers to the existential reality of the southern race struggle was another most important aspect of the Mississippi Summer. To white Mississippians, this was the unkindest cut. COFO's popularity rating would not have been improved if all its followers had worn

Brooks Brothers, or had constantly fawned and bowed and made that elbows-in shuffle of self-abnegation common to an older generation of deep-South Negro men. But by the beards of the Summer volunteers, and the hanks of their women's hanging down, uncombed hair, they offended to the soul nigh onto a state-full of whites. These were people who voiced no noticeable storm of popular protest over murder of COFO workers, but who, on the subjects of unkemptness, beer drinking, white and Negro dating, racial and sexually mixed sleeping arrangements, and, most of all, beards, howled in holy and moral and righteous indignation. They really believed at the beginning that a horde of Communists and beatniks were coming to rape and pillage. They were relieved that racial revenge was not so reaped, but they remained convinced about what constituted the horde. The horde did little to convince them otherwise.

COFO attempted to organize poor whites in Gulfport, but in most ways, seemed to write off the whites in Mississippi en masse. If the Goldwater vote (more than 90% of whites) may be regarded as a headcount on racism, then COFO was probably right. Yet, as the grip of totalitarianism in the state slips a bit, one remembers the accounts of how the overtures of moderates and liberals to the COFO volunteers were rebuffed. "They lectured us, and wouldn't listen," one liberal told me. "They were so dogmatic."

One remembers the account of how in the one town in Mississippi where there was a hope of engendering sympathy and respect from local whites, the volunteers came with arrogant disdain, and promptly alienated the town.

It was of course murder that these kids felt they faced. They were scared all over Mississippi.

A professional man took a look at the worst of human failings among the volunteers under the terrible pressures of the Summer, and concluded that the patterns of behavior did not differ from the norm for a similar group of young Americans any-

where, in far less stressful situations, for example, on a college campus.

The consensus among those who saw the volunteer operation being formed and in motion is that the majority of the white volunteers were not the way-out variety of campus radicals, but were mainstream, middle-class young Americans, highly motivated not so much by intellectual or neo-beatnik philosophical instincts, but by the standard religious, patriotic, and political ideals of the mainstream. Even severest critics of COFO say this, adding that the effect of the Mississippi Summer was to radicalize such youngsters considerably. One has but to read the thoughts and feelings of these white volunteers in a compilation of their letters home (*Letters from Mississippi*, edited by Elizabeth Sutherland) to see the truth of both propositions. They were radicalized not just by SNCC, as the critics contend, but by the conditions they encountered in Mississippi, the same radicalizing forces that had been at work on SNCC for five years.

I asked Aaron Henry, the Mississippi Negro leader from Clarksdale, if any more strenuous efforts would be made in the future to screen out "oddballs." "Oddballs!" snorted Mr. Henry. "They ain't nothing but oddballs. Coming down here to get scared to death and shot at just to help us Negroes. They're not typical Americans. They're oddballs all right. The right kind." An impeccable moderate summed them up another way: "They are good and dedicated and absolutely right. But there is a harshness and cynicism to their idealism. They're the kind of way-out people I could never get along with when I was in college."

The issue of the beards (and the philosophically inaccurate but semantically correct epithet, "beatnik") goes deeper than race; it is part of the age-old antagonism of young and old, the old against the new. The new young rail against many of the same things the beatnik movement did, in oversimplified sum the values and compulsions of the atomic-age industrial society, but they are not "beat," not impotent.

Less obviously, the young as a class have been only a little less powerless than Negro Southerners. When the latter, out of desperation, finally forged a lever to power, the young jumped to get a hand-hold, too. The lever since has been used in campus protest across the country. Reaction there has been more civilized and realistic than in Mississippi, but the methods have been criticized and the question keeps being put: is this a Communist infiltrated thing?

Mississippi racism didn't ask the question; it knew—and has cried over the years—that it's all a Communist plot. The Mississippi Summer saw more responsible people taking the question seriously. This was fed by the FBI assertion that two out of every seven of the volunteers had "connections" with organizations listed as subversive by the Justice Department. The only names mentioned were not of Communists but off-spring of Communists. A month after this disclosure, the FBI at Jackson was refusing to discuss it at all.

A frank discussion with SNCC leaders is about the least comforting follow-up on the question. Certainly, they say, we don't worry about the past or present political affiliations of anybody. If they are for what we are, which is merely to make America do what it says it believes, we accept them. How can they hurt us or the country? Julian Bond of SNCC told me a couple of years ago in one of the earlier, smaller of the recurring panics over the question, that "Sure, if a guy comes in here and says he wants to work and then the first thing he says after that is, 'I'm a socialist,' we probably wouldn't take him. Not because he's a socialist, but because he must be hung up on politics. We'd do the same thing if all he talked about was, 'I'm a Republican.'"

One acute observation is that in the usual refusal of SNCC people even to discuss the Communist issue, there is denial of their most cherished ideals, the civil liberties of those who are genuinely concerned about it. It is anti-anti-Communism as dogmatic as extremist anti-Communism. One SNCC spokesman

answered this, and in a sense confirmed it, by saying that people who had to discuss Communism had nothing relevant to talk about, that they were really worried about something else, namely, the radicalism of the Movement. A Mississippi Negro, not of SNCC, who pointed out that the mass of Negroes there don't worry about Communism because they don't know what it is, echoed the answer when he said, thoughtfully: "Radical ideas are not necessarily Communist. Maybe it's time for radical ideas."

SNCC seems to say it is simply uninterested in the ideological clash between Communism and democracy, that it is not pertinent in the existential reality of the personal clash with racism. What they seem to be saying is that nothing can be worse than what they fight, so why bother with these minor battlings so long as the major one remains unresolved?

While the Negro Movement and the campus movement feed each other, it is probably accurate to say that the campus movement draws more heavily. SNCC is its model organization. The COFO Summer "snickized" the volunteers, and they took this back to the campus. But the campus radicalism is less single-minded and hence more revealing about politics. Even a brief reportorial sortie into this world of student radicalism reveals an unknown little theater of power battling and bewilderingly shifted values, definitions, assumptions. "Oh, don't worry about the Du-Bois clubs," said an intimate of this world airily about the California-based organization that openly avows Marxism. "They are Russian-oriented, and hence for peace," and added: "And therefore to the right of SNCC." The term Maoism is flung around; often, as in a long interview with an entirely pragmatic student much dismayed by his Summer with COFO, it is used not to describe an ideology or organizational tie, but merely a frame of mind. The structured, ideological Maoists in the country, meanwhile, are coming out into the open, so it seems important to keep the distinction clear between actual and metaphorical Maoists.

SNCC with other elements of the Negro Movement came together formally with the campus "new left" Movement in demonstrations against American policy in Viet Nam. Interest in such matters as foreign policy is not new in the Movement; part of it, in the past, when the Movement's chief obstacle on civil rights often seemed the federal government, probably reflected a tendency to sympathize with other lands embroiled with this same federal government; if the emphasis now is stronger on such matters, this may in part be due to the fact that the new audience is more interested in such matters. Part of it, inescapable, too, is that the Movement probably tends to identify with the people in a place like Viet Nam, North or South, because of race, because of poverty. The first poster against U.S. policy in Viet Nam I ever saw was in the COFO office at Jackson. In SCLC, a strain of pacifism has always accompanied emphasis on non-violence. (One doesn't get the feeling that the Movement thinks out such foreign policy stances, however, with the same thoroughness and continuity that it gives to race relations.)

The searcher for subversion in the Mississippi Movement finds immediately in Freedom Schools and Community Centers, among other randomly received donations of literature, the damning little stacks of such publications as the People's World, West Coast party organ; Freedomways, a Marxist magazine; the National Guardian, Chinese-oriented; and the Crusader, published by Robert Williams, formerly a Monroe, N.C., Negro militant, now in Cuba. A sample of his approach: "The weapons of defense employed by Afro-American freedom fighters must consist of a poor man's arsenal. Gasoline firebombs (Molotov cocktails), lye, or acid bombs (made by injecting lye or acid in the metal end of light bulbs) can be used extensively. . . . Hand grenades, bazookas, light mortars, rocket launchers, machine guns, and ammunition can be bought clandestinely . . ." Strange literature for the non-violent coordinating committee, though certainly not reflective of program.

Everyone always says there are no Communists in positions of influence in the Movement. How they know this is hard to say. Clearly there is no reason why some skilled undercover man couldn't become a leader; indeed, in SNCC, such a fellow would seem to have found a perfect set-up.

The point is that nobody really knows; nobody produces proof of anything, and the legacy of McCarthyism (and the upsurge of HUAC won't help) has created such an absurd context that it is almost impossible to think logically within its framework. The Maoist mind—formally connected or informally operative—would seem to be an enemy of all the Negro Movement has stood for in the past, and it is this, *intellectual positions*, not old and ineffectual Reds still living in the 1930's, that should be our concern and that of the Movement. (Or perhaps our concern should also be *psychological types*: "What really worries me," said one astute observer, "is the number of psychologically suspect characters around now.")

Of interest to some observers is the rapid change that occurred in FDP leadership. The FDP was created in the Spring of 1964. Its early leadership included some of the most prominent, established Negroes in Mississippi. By the Fall of 1964, these people of stature were mostly gone, replaced by youthful SNCC militants or figures drawn from the impoverished masses. Legal representation by a nationally known attorney, close to the Democratic Party and to the AFL-CIO, had been exchanged for that of a group of lawyers which includes men who are themselves targets of Communist accusation. There are uninsister explanations for all of this, and part of SNCC's strength is its refusal to compromise its beliefs; it opposes the House Un-American Activities Committee and, therefore, tends to be protective of those whom it attacks. Part of SNCC's style is its willingness to affront middle-class, including middle-class liberal, values and concerns. These qualities can be respected, though they may reflect immaturity as well as radicalism. At any rate, the FDP—particularly an enlarged FDP—because its business

is politics and the business of politics is power, causes especial concern to those who have witnessed its development.

The attempt to make judgments on the Communist question, as is frequently pointed out, in the light of 1930's and 1940's concepts is an exercise in unreality. This may mean that there is developing a redefinition of what is respectable on the American left—with SNCC and the campus radicals setting the limits and beyond, and forcing America back to some of its pre-McCarthy intellectual freedom.

The investigation we should be making, then, is not one in the McCarthy style, as seems inevitable with the dangerous reinvigoration of HUAC to "investigate" the Ku Klux Klan. (The Klan is about as relevant to what remains wrong with the South as the Cosa Nostra is to the real sickness of New York City.) The investigation that should be made is within ourselves to determine what in the new radicalism supports and promises to strengthen our heritage of democracy and freedom, and what in it is subversive in itself of these.

The red scare among liberals and moderates is not so much the fear that the Negro Movement will some morning deliver America into the hands of the Russians or the Red Chinese. What is feared is the kind of betrayal that so hurt the labor movement in the 1930's and 1940's, particularly in the South, by Communists or by those opposed to labor who seized on Communism as a way to discredit it, depending on your view of that history. The fear is that the Negro Movement and its great hope of a truly integrated society will be similarly betrayed, become tainted in the mind of the mass of the public, and lose the popular support that it needs to achieve its goal. (The question of whether its true goal is achievable where such a fear is possible is a paradox whose implications need facing.)

The red scare these days is akin to the paralyzing fear of the far right that haunted us when Senator Goldwater ran, possibly as groundless now as then. It is a fear founded largely on propaganda and image considerations, the likelihood that if one sure-

enough Communist is found in the Movement the great American middle will become disenchanted with the racial revolution, and then turn to the right. The new radicalism tends to react on this same image-conscious level, saying that if concessions must be made to the witch-hunt and hysteria-prone streak in the American mentality, then this in itself defeats the goals of the Movement.

Neither view seems to come to grips with the genuine conflict that exists between the goals of the Movement and the political system of Communism, which is the legitimate concern. It is, in any revolution, considering the sad history of most of them, relevant to raise and to continue to raise the question of ultimate values which are at stake—support of the traditions and institutions in America and the West which assert and protect human rights and freedom, representative government, respect for truth, and concern for the individual, as opposed to dehumanization and totalitarianism in any form, including Communist.

One of the main questions that SNCC and the new radicals raise within the Movement is whether it is fruitful any longer to work within the framework of the liberal's problems—his desire to achieve the Movement's goals and his fear of both Communism and the far right. The question as more often stated is whether it is fruitful to try to work within the framework of the liberal establishment and society's institutions as they now exist.

What alternative does SNCC think it has? Blowing up bridges? Howard Zinn, a white college professor who has been in the thick of things with SNCC since its beginnings, and has written a book about its meaning and mystique, describes one route that many of the influential SNCC people take seriously. It is the notion of parallel institutions, of which the Freedom Schools and the FDP are the first going examples.

The idea, as explained by Dr. Zinn, is to have something in between the people and the established institutions. You prod

the institutions to do better; they fail; you set up parallel institutions to serve needs, set standards, and prod the institutions harder.

The idea, Dr. Zinn said, has its roots in both anarchist and trade union socialist theory. It marks a return to these old radical streams and a flowing together of them. Distrust of government had been abandoned in the 20th century in favor of the power of government—by the Bolsheviks in Russia, by the trade unioners in the New Deal.

As early as the Spring of 1963, Dr. Zinn urged in a speech to SNCC that they keep the centers of popular power they were creating outside the existing institutions. Para-government is indeed revolutionary, he points out. It could include local governments. (In Ruleville, Miss., last Winter, a SNCC field worker told a mass meeting of plans for a mock election of city and county officers. "We'll elect a mayor and he'll be a mayor. I mean he won't really be a mayor, go down there to city hall and all. . . .") As Dr. Zinn points out, this is the kind of thing you do when you are setting out to overthrow an existing government, or—as is the case—to transform it.

Over against SNCC's distrust of existing institutions is the thinking and persuasion of Bayard Rustin who urges a continuation of the coalition of labor, the churches, liberals, and the Negroes which marched on Washington, got the civil rights bill passed, and elected Johnson. The Negroes cannot win alone, he points out; poverty cannot be ended without drastic new measures (massive public works); coalition is the answer.

SNCC people attended a trade union luncheon in Atlanta at which Mr. Rustin spoke eloquently on these ideas. Afterwards I asked them what they thought. "Look at that lunch," was one answer. It had consisted of cocktails, a crab meat souffle, sufficient for most lunchers, a heavy roast beef course, three vegetables, salad, and for dessert, flaming baked Alaska. (The hosts had ordered and paid for a good-sized lunch, but a lesser one than they got, through the generosity of the chef, an old

Czech socialist, who apparently believed that nothing is too good for the working class. Nothing is simple.)

Much of the widespread concern about the youth wing of the civil rights Movement can be described as merely SNCC's normal effect on a new audience. Certainly little of the radicalism is new. It may be stronger, deeper, now in such an organization as SNCC, and the new audience may be more preoccupied with such matters. But I remember in 1963 listening to SNCC workshops on the evils of Wall Street and the sickness of all American society, but listening with half an ear, for these were side issues to the main fight then against public segregation.

Robert Moses, six months before Atlantic City, made a speech warning against accepting the first compromise liberals came along with. He also talked then about the need to open a new frontier, of freedom of association, and also said then that those who accused SNCC of trying to wreck the two-party system just couldn't admit that the two-party system wasn't working, that to do what really needs to be done on race, a national administration would have to destroy knowingly its chances of winning the next election.

An important thing for this new audience to know about SNCC is that it has its eye on power. This was evident when it—after much debate three years ago—chose the quiet drudgery of voter registration over more spectacular avenues of expression, and it is not merely evident but becoming effective now in the grassroots community work and political organization. A SNCC veteran of the southwest Georgia work described it: "One of the basic assumptions of SNCC is that you get nowhere without power, and the most effective and meaningful power is grassroots political power, organized and cohesive. . . . I have the feeling too that it is more important to concentrate on city council elections than on the presidential elections. On top, the issues become obscured. There is dilution of top policy through things like the war on poverty. We don't need to lobby when we have power. We don't educate people. We help them

express what they know. They know what is needed. We show them how to get it."

Thus, three main elements of SNCC are its willingness to work with the people and know their lives, its determination to put these people into touch with power, and its concern with the forms of organization.

The youth wing knows what the good reporter knows—that the greatest truth is not in abstractions but what exists in the given situation, and it's never simple. "Tell it like it is," they say, summing up at once the perhaps fatal fault of much of our communication—from Congressional debate to news coverage to the best seller list. They live with the people they want to help. This is, besides the hell of racist oppression, living in the culture of poverty with all the dislocations that implies.

Here is a white, formerly middle-class SNCC youngster on some of the cultural differences: "There is less value on big words and academic distinctions. This is from their lessons of survival. They don't see the difference in the guy who says, 'Sorry we have no vacancies,' and the one who says, 'We don't hire niggers.' The result is the same. They don't differentiate between the superior court and criminal court, or the county jail or city jail. They're all bad. It doesn't matter whether it's the FBI or the sheriff. The important thing is they're white and they're against you."

What such youngsters know of racism and poverty is known in their guts, the same kind of knowledge out of which Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, the symbol of the FDP, speaks. It was Mrs. Hamer who set something dangerous a loose at the Democratic Convention, an emotionalism in the credentials committee that threatened pre-arranged plans, and made a floor fight unthinkable. She disturbs people. They laugh at her and others like her, disparage them, dismiss them. "They do not," said a middle-class Mississippi Negro, "represent me. They don't help the Negro's image. They might illustrate certain of our problems in education." A white minister in the state, referring to FDP's

elevation of poor people to leadership roles, said the problem was already too many ignorant people in political power.

But when Mrs. Hamer tells of her and her people's suffering, she is eloquent in a way that most of us who are smoother and better educated cannot be. She speaks to the emotions; like good blues, her voice tones and images cut through to something responsive in us, and we feel and understand and are, for a moment anyway, angry along with her. "Somethin' got to break," cries Mrs. Hamer. "They jes' keep on sayin' wait, and we been waitin' all of our lives, an' still gettin' killed, still gettin' hung, still gettin' beat to death—Now we tired waitin'!"

All of the more than 50 long books written out of the long hot Summer say no more. Perhaps what upsets people about her is that they recognize in her a threat that is older and more menacing than Communism: the wrath and the power when the persecuted cross a line which says life itself is not dearer than end to the persecution.

Increasingly, it seems clear that one of the great reappraisals America needs to make is its attitude toward the relevancy of the dispossessed of the nation, and the earth, of what they feel and what they say. This involves, as some have put it, the debate of the Federalist Papers all over again.

America's poor, we are beginning to learn, have their own distinct culture, and it is far less like the dominant culture of the nation than it is similar to that of the other poor of all the other nations. This distinct culture of poverty isn't pretty and is not to be romanticized, but it does have its good characteristics and strengths, and some of these are the very characteristics whose lack, glumly, we are told cripple American culture and its people—for example, ability (or, among the poor, necessity) to live in the present moment instead of forever in the past, mulling it over and rationalizing it, or in the future, planning it and fearing it. Anyone who comes into surface contact with this culture of poverty, however peripherally, comes away impressed with these positive qualities—from Tolstoy to Oscar

Lewis. Yet those who—in various states of alarm—contemplate new trends in the Movement usually fail to see the healthy potential in the new notion of putting many people from outside the culture of poverty into it, to live it. The poor, they seem to say, are not blessed with anything we need. But why can we not learn from these people, get some of the energy of their strengths into our own culture, a revolution of fiber more than of form, instead of allowing their strengths to be destroyed when, hopefully, we destroy poverty?

SNCC's involvement with these people may form a Gestalt that will, as direct action did five years ago, sweep away many objections which, taken one by one, are entirely valid.

Who Are the Alienated?

And there are plenty of these.

The controlling—almost the entire—ideology of the youthful militants, apart from the handful of adherents of DuBois Clubs and other such disciplined groups, is still a literal acceptance of the copy-book ideals of American democracy. Their charge against America is that we have despised our own inheritance, have alienated ourselves from our ideals.

The full-hearted agreement with American ideals is balanced by an angry disillusionment, amounting at times to cynicism, about the institutions and processes of American society. To understand this alienation is to understand the kind of life the field workers endure, the special world of psychological and physical danger they live in. An uninitiated white can enter just the edge of this world for just a few days and (though the situation isn't the same because Negroes have bought with pain better defenses) he comes out endlessly angry, distrustful, and more than impatient with those who can remain unconcerned about its evils. The irrationality of the reaction is that of the

returning front-line soldier's to the essential frivolity of civilian life. It is an over-reaction, but the assessment of the realities of both the hell at the front and the frivolity back home are valid. The over-reaction can be hard to take. A disenchanted volunteer told of a fellow white in the Movement who said to him: "The trouble with you is that you don't wake up every morning like I do, hating America."

Dr. Robert Coles, the Harvard psychiatrist who has studied the psyche of the southern Movement with exquisite and erudite sympathy, has written in the November 1964 issue of *Psychiatry* a study of the worst effects on the full-time workers in the civil rights front lines. He makes the point that they must fight distrust and fear from Negroes as well as white racism. He describes resulting irritability, hopelessness, loss of energy and terrible fatigue, and says: "They are clinical signs of depression. They constitute 'battle fatigue.' They indicate exhaustion, weariness, despair, frustration, and rage. They mark a crisis in the lives of those youths who experience them, and also one in the cities which may experience the results, translated into action, of such symptoms."

He goes on to suggest that the psychiatric profession can be helpful to their most difficult effort. This is the effort to maintain the "delicate equilibrium" of "trying to keep their courage and initiative while accepting the often sour lessons that come with growing older and living through unexpected and dismaying experiences. They must keep their moral initiative, maintain their ethical resolve, yet somehow avoid succumbing either to depression as an inward expression of frustration or to disorganized rage and anti-social behavior as equivalent outward forms."

We have avoided such truths about the southern Movement's most deeply involved workers, blaming them for symptoms caused by the insanity they fight, like blaming a man battling a mad dog for getting his trousers torn. So have we been willing to accept the whole rationale of non-violence without daring

to look behind it for what our knowledge of human beings will reveal. Such super-goodness and saintliness in an individual, we know, is often the mask for murderous rage that is so great he dare not show it, even, or most of all, to himself.

This, then, is the background for understanding stories like that of a youngster who two years ago I watched in one of the most beautiful exhibitions of personal, gentle loving of white taunters the Movement has known, but who during the Mississippi Summer saw one beating of a Negro too many, and screamed for weapons; the background for hearing a gentle and sensitive young man of the Movement talk with dispassion, if not satisfaction, of how Black-Belt Negroes hate whites so much that it may end in the killing of women and children; the background for understanding the sullenness, distrust, sneers, and condescension with which civil rights fighters can greet outsiders.

But there is a great danger to the individual, the Movement, and the nation in translating the insight that Mississippi represents the worst in all the nation and its history into a belief that Mississippi is the nation. Dr. Coles, in tracing an emotional cycle common to many new civil rights workers, describes a final "philosophical" adjustment where they become able to relate what they experience in the hell of racist oppression to all of life, instead of abstracting it as the meaning of life.

Too much integrity can be a neurotic paralysis. You can become so right, so uncompromising that you no longer are able to function in this wicked world.

From Radicalism to Racism?

SNCC's penchant for disorganization has to be counted among the same kind of liabilities. Disaffected Summer volunteers called it debilitating. The press is constantly confounded by it.

It goes beyond unanswered phone calls and unpredictable

actions. During last Summer there were at least three different, opposing theories current, discussed, and activated about the function of Freedom Schools. They were never reconciled. Until one understood this, and no one explained it, it was impossible to make much sense out of the many COFO publications and pronouncements about this vital program. The full propaganda value of these schools, as the elaborate demonstrations that they were of the unutterable condition of Mississippi education and the desperate needs of Negro children there, was never fully realized. Does the nation know about these conditions and needs yet, in their full, horrible meaning?

Yet another weakness of the youth wing in general is the tendency that has always been there to a certain snobbishness that is not so much racial as it is a matter of whether you've been where they've been. On one level, it is almost a cult of suffering.

But these are as nothing to the most hurtful and hurting danger to the Movement, and that is that Mississippi may after all win—not by murder and intimidation, but by the spread of the contagion of racism.

There are signs to see in the southern Movement and among the masses of people to whose grievances it gives voice, signs long evident and ignored in the North. At the mass meetings, the effort is still made (though sometimes not) to say "white segregationist," not just "the whites," when anger and bitterness come pouring out. But in private conversations, it is the man, the white man, Mister Charlie, all-inclusive. The old plea, seldom ever heeded, to the white Southerner to take each man on the basis of his worth, and not his race, incredibly, surrealistically keeps coming to mind in conversations with people of the Movement. The possibilities for success of terrorism against whites is a topic for informal discussion. Hatred often shows in eyes, in words, deeds. That it is earned hatred is not the point. It is lamentable not so much in the light of the reality Negroes face, but in the light of what the southern Movement first promised and sought—which was a suggestion of a way out of all the

trap of hostility and fear in the nation, and the world. The suggestion may never have been realistic or even right, but it was a mustering of will to try to find some new truth out of all the old good truths that are preached in the Negro churches, and the inability to muster such will for survival is one of the modern world's most frightening characteristics.

A white tells himself after an encounter in the Movement with reverse racism, "Well, it probably did him good to be able to say that, and me to know how it feels." But this would be a pitiful and puny way for the Movement to end, the Movement that marched the beautiful Negro people of the South to the edge of something better than America has yet known, and let them, and us along with them, see the Promised Land, and begin to believe in our hearts that we could get there.

(We speak of the beautiful. There is so much we could learn. I talked with a fat and creased-face Negro woman who was housing white COFO volunteers in a little Mississippi town, and she told me about her husband, how before he died, back last year when he was sick, he had gone down to the mill and gotten some scraps of beautiful cloth, yellow and red and orange and green, and had brought them to her and told her to make a quilt of them, so that when he was gone, she could spread it on her bed, and when she got in it at night, she could think of him. We can't even talk about beauty like that. It embarrasses us.)

There are still many on both sides of the color line who have not given up getting to the Promised Land. If we are to concede that, all along, the Movement ideal of non-violent, religious, redeeming love was better than America deserved, then we can begin to realize that the amount of vitality still behind the ideal among Negro Southerners is remarkable.

We can also begin to sort out the phenomena that fall short of the ideal. John Lewis, the quiet, always polite, utterly fearless chairman of SNCC, made a much whispered-about speech in the privacy of the Winter reorganization meeting which, in

effect, said that whites were welcome but that the Movement "must be black controlled, dominated and led." (If you're not black, get back.) He tied this to "the fact that we are caught up with a sense of destiny with the vast majority of colored people all over the world who are becoming conscious of their power and the role they must play in the world."

Bayard Rustin makes the distinction between such identification with Africa (Mr. Lewis and other SNCC leaders had recently returned from a visit to Guinea) and black nationalism, saying the former can be entirely healthy, and I recall a year ago listening to Mr. Lewis tell two African visitors that SNCC was as much against black nationalism as segregation, because they meant the same thing.

Robert Moses in a speech a year ago put the identification with Africa in a perspective that clarifies its meaning. He was arguing that it is fallacious to compare Negro Americans with other immigrant groups who have succeeded in the country. The Negro American, he said, does not come from the European community and tends to identify with the African community. And neither America nor the world has progressed to the point where there is a community big enough to include both. The reason for this, he seemed to be saying, is white exclusiveness, white racism. Another Negro leader, on a more earthy level, seemed to be getting at the same thing, chuckling as he did: "We're still trying to figure out if the white man's soul is worth saving."

It has also been suggested that what might on the surface appear to be reverse racism in the Movement might in reality be based on more pragmatic stratagems, part of the infighting between distinct types in such an organization as SNCC, with race irrelevant—in a sense, a manifestation of real integration. Interestingly, whether significantly or by chance, the alignment is often white women against Negro men.

Antagonisms were common between white Summer volunteers and the old-line Negro civil rights workers and, to a lesser

degree, their followers. There was fear and resentment, the feeling that better educated, more articulate whites were moving in and taking over. "Look at those fly-by-night freedom fighters bossing everybody around," a SNCC veteran summed up the feeling during Selma. The clash was more cultural than racial, and all too human. Some of the northern whites probably were insensitive to the beauty and strength of the Negro people with whom they worked. Others, however, were overwhelmed by these qualities, talking lovingly of them long after they got back home, and, ironically familiar to a Southerner, expressing love of the landscape and atmosphere and the soft, slurred speech of the South itself.

August Meier, professor of history at Roosevelt University, has suggested in a perceptive paper on the types of "true believers" in the Movement that the antagonisms are largely ones of class and orientation. Broadly, this was, before the Mississippi Summer, the resentment by lower class religious Negroes of the South of middle-class and high-achieving Northerners with beatnik, radical, and other intellectual orientations. He takes some hope from the fact that during the Mississippi Summer another type of middle-class northern youngster was coming into the Movement, one deeply committed to religious and national ideals, the same that motivate the lower class Negroes.

There is of course irony to the fact that it was this entrance of the mainstream into the white wing of the Movement which prompted the most widespread concern in the nation about intellectual and political postures of the Movement. Such concern would better have been expressed a few years earlier insofar as the whites of the Movement are concerned. It is also worth noting that after its single Summer of encounter with this mainstream of white volunteers, SNCC moved to de-emphasize the role of volunteers and of white staff members.

Class antagonism—the reaction of middle class Negroes to the COFO and Delta Ministry bias against any but the poorest being leaders—was, as much as anything else, behind a serious schism

in the Greenville, Miss., Negro community during a May 1965 effort to get jobs integrated.

* * *

Racism remains the enemy. If it really does infiltrate the southern Movement, the danger and damage will be far greater than if Communists should. If we are really convinced of the threat of either—racism or Communism—then our concern should not be to punish and destroy, or to lop off the most radical arm, but to find the ways to strengthen the Movement against both. For these were our bravest and best Americans trying to achieve overnight with action the goals of the bravest and best of American thought. If we lose them, we have indeed lost.

If these youth, as vital a part of the Movement as they have been, do show signs of alienation so deep that they are in danger of being hostile to all of America, we should be mainly worried about why. It does no good to keep repeating that the answer is to get rid of the evils in the South that have so alienated them. We keep fighting to do that, and not without success.

We can't just dismiss SNCC either, call it crazy or Communist, and forget about it. For SNCC's genius, from the sit-ins on, has been to put its body where truth is.

In the middle of an obscene Fourth of July racist "patriotic rally" in Atlanta last year, with Ross Barnett and George Wallace inflaming a crowd of lower-class whites from all over the South, SNCC sent into the grandstand full of hate a white girl in company with three Negro men. The truth of the patriotism and civilization there showed immediately as the crowd shrieked and gangs of men attacked the three Negroes, beating them over the head with heavy folded metal chairs. (SNCC was of course criticized later for provoking the savagery of that mob.)

The truths that SNCC with its bodies seems to be seeking now are in the realm of ideas. "Do I really *want* to be integrated into

a burning house," James Baldwin asked two years ago and we whites have been talking about it ever since. SNCC, by hesitating outside the door with its bodies, makes us do more than talk. It forces us to try to come to grips with what Baldwin says. Are we, indeed, a burning house?

A whole range of other ideas—from the frequently bewailed way we have crippled representative government to the legacy of McCarthyism—are similarly being translated by SNCC from abstract to emotional understanding. On the campuses, such high-flown concepts as academic freedom and the noble meaning of a university are getting similar treatment.

In the past, the Movement was right in its moral position on segregation, and its militants were right about the tactic of direct action. SNCC and other elements of the Movement may not be right at all about many of the political and social issues they are raising. But the tactic seems as valid as ever if it forces us to do more than talk about these issues, if it forces us to the kind of emotional understandings we must have if our thinking is ever to be more than sterile. Desperately, our thinking needs to be creative and capable. Because things won't ever be simple again.

William F. Winter Announces Candidacy For Governor

F. Winter - Politics
Lex. Adv.

In the following statement issued for release Wednesday, State Treasurer William F. Winter announces his candidacy for the office of Governor of the State of Mississippi:

I take this occasion to announce to the people of Mississippi that I will be a candidate for governor in the elections this year.

The decision to ask the citizens of this state to consider me for the highest office in their power to bestow was not hastily made. It has been arrived at only after a careful assessment of the conditions which now face our state.

I am aware of the fact that thousands of patriotic Mississippians are concerned about what the future holds for their state. They are particularly concerned about the kind of governor they will have for the next four crucial years.

Many citizens from all parts of the state have communicated this concern to me and have been kind enough to inquire what plans I have about seeking high-

er office in state government. I am making those plans known today.

My decision to make this race is based on two major considerations. First, I believe that my 20 years in state government as legislator, as tax collector and as state treasurer have given me the experience and the intimate knowledge of government at all levels that specially qualifies me to meet the challenges and responsibilities of this high office. Secondly, I believe that the people of Mississippi will respond to a campaign based on a positive, affirmative program that will come to grips with the needs of the state.

I have perceived in other state wide campaigns that have taken me into every county in the state that the people have been disappointed in politicians who have based their appeals or mudslinging and unfounded rumors. I intend to wage a campaign free of rancor, recrimination, and mudslinging. I believe the dignity of the high office of governor calls for such a cam-

paign. 1/12/67

During the course of my career I have preferred to be judged on the basis of performance in office rather than promises. And I am not going to mislead the people by making promises in this campaign that

(Continued on Page Five)



MR. WINTER

William Winter

(Continued from Page One)

I know can never be fulfilled.

In the campaign ahead, I am not going to insult the intelligence of the voters of this state by misleading them about the trials and difficulties that lie ahead. I am simply going to lay the cards on the table and present the facts as they are. After that it will be up to the people to decide where they want their state to go.

What kind of leadership do the people want in the governor's office during the coming four years? That will be the issue in this campaign. It is a simple choice of responsible conservatism versus reckless reaction — of good government versus second-rate politics. Today, here and now, I invite those in Mississippi who want conservative, orderly, honest government to join with me to achieve that end.

In making this campaign I am making the fight for Mississippi, and for the good people in it who want to see better days for themselves and more particularly for their children.

My family has been in Mississippi for five generations. My roots go deep in the soil of this my native state. And I believe that now — as never before — our state needs leadership that will conserve the best in our way of life as we stake out our claim to Mississippi's share of the future. More than that I believe with all my heart that this can be done without turning our people over to those in and out of the state whose fondest hope is to see us saddled with reckless and intemperate leadership in the next four years.

If our children are ever to realize the opportunities that we know we can achieve for them, our leadership must have the vision and the courage to make the right decisions. We need a man in the governor's office who will be guided by his head and his heart instead of by his emotions.

Honest errors can be tolerated in any man. But Mississippi simply cannot endure leadership that carries us into blind alleys and confuses and disillusion our people.

Our needs are great; our tax resources are limited. To achieve our ends in the future.

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be reached.

(Street or R.F.D.)

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Honest errors can be tolerated in any man. But Mississippi simply cannot endure leadership that carries us into blind alleys and confuses and disillusion our people.

Our needs are great; our tax resources are limited. To achieve our ends in the future, we must insist on fiscal integrity. We must live within our means, and we must cut waste and inefficiency everywhere that we can.

Industry, business, and our way of life cannot thrive in an air of anarchy, uproar and confusion. If you see fit to elect me, I pledge you that law and order will prevail in every county of the state.

Our rights as a sovereign state can only be maintained if we meet our responsibilities squarely and conscientiously. This we will do.

As governor, I will not use your state government as an employment agency to pay off political debts. I shall bring into positions of public responsibility the most talented men and women that we have. A vast reservoir of untapped talent lies in the women of this state who love Mississippi and who want to see it prosper.

The political bombast of other years has largely obscured some of the critical problems we face today. In the next few months I shall be discussing them with you in every corner of the state.

Especially are Mississippians concerned about the serious crisis which faces public education in our state. Our children are being shortchanged by the long-standing inadequate support of our schools and our teachers and utter chaos is threatened by the arbitrary and unreasonable demands of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare in trying to take over and run our local schools.

And our people are concerned about the need for a more adequate highway program, better care and treatment of the physically and mentally ill, and vastly stepped up research and development that will bear directly on providing better job opportunities and a better way of life. We need to conserve and develop fully our natural resources, and we need to close the economic gap which separates the working people of Mississippi from those in the rest of the nation.

In the campaign that lies ahead, I shall recommend specific programs in each of these and other fields of concern to the people of this state.

Hopefully and with your help I support my campaign will at the way a better day for Mississippi. For too long, Mississippi has been denied her

rightful share of progress and prosperity. For too long our state has been downgraded by those from without who have had no understanding of our people or appreciation for our state's potential for greatness.

But there is a brighter day ahead. If you love Mississippi and are concerned for her future, I invite you to join with me in this crusade to defend with dignity the good name of our state at the same time that we claim a better future for ourselves, our children and succeeding generations.

Candidate Hits Extremists, —Whether White Or Black

LAUREL, Miss., April 25, 1967 (UPI) — Gubernatorial candidate William Waller attacked both the Ku Klux Klan and militant Negro groups Tuesday and called for new state laws banning the activities of any organization which advocates violence in Mississippi.

The Jackson district attorney told the Laurel Rotary Club the Klan had given the entire state a bad national reputation. "These hooded cowards commit crimes of violence, then shout that they should not be prosecuted."

"They claim that Mississippi custom and tradition protects them from paying the penalty for their crimes."

Waller, saying he took pride in his conservatism, said the issue was not liberalism vs. conservatism but "one of law and order, nothing more and nothing less."

He called for stronger laws on sedition, insurrection and on threats to the judicial process which would "ban the activities of groups like the White Knights and the Black Panthers."

The White Knights has been identified by the FBI as one of the most militant Klan groups in Mississippi. Several of its alleged leaders, including Imperial Wizard Sam Bowers Jr., are residents of the Laurel area.

The Black Panthers is a militant Negro organization.

"Is Mississippi going to be governed by its state laws, or is it going to be ruled by a small clutch of fanatics who hold themselves above the law?" Waller asked.

"Are we to be a state where a bomb under the hood of a car, or a cross burning on a lawn, or a rabble-rouser at a civil rights rally, replaces the law of our courts?"

He said the Klan did not represent white Mississippians while civil rights militants like Stokely Carmichael "do not speak for black Mississippi — he speaks only for lawlessness and violence."

Waller charged the Klan "now has triggermen very

much like the infamous Murder Incorporated of the Mafia. They receive and accept orders to kill.

"Some fragments of the Klan, according to reliable police reports, have become completely irrational. They are uncontrollable and capable of individual and mass murder."

Waller said Klan membership was relatively small in the state, probably fewer than 1,000, but charged the Klan had managed to "shape the reputation of Mississippi before the world, and through fear, rules with a power far beyond its strength in numbers."

"Yet, the Ku Klux Klan is not alone to blame. The work of these secret groups is protected by our silence. Their success is magnified by our fear."

"Our children have the right to be protected from the extremism of Stokely Carmichael and the right to be protected from the hooded cowards."

Waller commended the efforts by Gov. Paul Johnson and the Highway Patrol to keep law and order, but urged all citizens to "stand up and be counted."

Waller served as prosecuting attorney in the two murder trials of Byron De La Beckwith, accused slayer of Negro leader Medgar Evers in 1963. Both trials ended in hung juries and Beckwith, now free on bond, is a candidate for lieutenant governor in the 1967 elections.

Inside Report . . . By Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

After Mississippi's Johnson

F/miss - Politics

JACKSON, Miss.—Following Gov. Lurleen Wallace's incendiary speech announcing her takeover of the Alabama public school system, Mississippi's Gov. Paul Johnson immediately came under pressure from State legislators to do the same here.

Johnson, whose air of cautious respectability is in sharp contrast to George Wallace's political flamboyance, flatly refused. Mississippi, he said, has a different school system than Alabama.

But the real reason Johnson hasn't played that game in Mississippi is quite different. The real reason goes to the heart of the civil rights policy he has pursued in his term as Governor. It also goes to his deep concern that this policy not be changed by his successor, who will be elected later this year: Former Gov. Ross Barnett, Rep. John Bell Williams, or State Treasurer William Winter.

Gov. Johnson's race policy can be summed up in one word: Silence.

"If he talked out on race," says one politician here, "the whole state might go up in flames. So Paul's just kept quiet, and it's worked pretty good."

It is precisely for that reason that, for the first time in post-Civil War Mississippi history, the race issue as such has not been mentioned in the campaign thus far by the three leading prospects to succeed Johnson. It's here, of course, everywhere—but it's out of sight, submerged like a submarine, and Johnson wants to keep it that way even if it means his own involvement in the campaign to succeed him.

JOHNSON CAN'T run for re-election himself, and he has passed the word to his own political camp that he's not going to take sides in the campaign—unless Barnett, Winter, or Williams (who lost his Party seniority in the House by backing Barry Goldwater in the 1964 presidential election) begin to campaign on the race issue.

Despite Johnson's protestations of neutrality, it is widely assumed here that his favorite is William Winter. Winter is no white-

Novak Evans

knight reformer, but he's not cut from the Barnett-Williams cloth, either. He held what used to be the highest-paying political job in the county.

As State tax collector, he made a legal percentage of the total State Tax take, which put him in the six-figure income bracket and enabled him to salt away a tidy sum which is now the basis of his well-financed campaign kitty.

Winter himself abolished his old job and is now State Treasurer. He's surrounding himself with one of the best campaign staffs ever collected here, including one of Johnson's top men — Gene Triggs — who resigned his State job to help elect Winter.

Another recruit is Jack Pittman, who headed Johnson's youth division in Johnson's successful 1963 campaign.

But Winter's real boost came when John Bell Williams entered the race. With Williams taking votes from Barnett, Winter is certain to survive the Aug. 8 primary and go into the run-off primary of Aug. 29 against either Williams or Barnett.

BUT WINTER also has a potentially killing weakness. If Williams or Barnett, who was Governor at the time of the fatal 1962 riot at Oxford when Negro James Meredith was registered at the University of Mississippi, can attach the label of racial moderate on Winter, he could find himself buried under an avalanche of white votes in the run-off primary.

Thus Winter's effort to round up the 175,000 Negro votes, the largest number of registered Negroes in the State's history, must be handled with extraordinary subtlety. If Winter comes out of the first primary with a solid Negro vote, that very fact will almost surely de-

feat him in the all-important run-off.

Accordingly, Winter can be expected in the three-month campaign ahead to invoke the name of George Wallace and other champions of white supremacy, not in an overt racial context but in the context of states' rights and local autonomy.

Only in that way can he convince the back-country whites "up on the creek banks," where Mississippi elections are decided, that he is free of the taint of racial moderation. That's the way it has to be in the convoluted politics of a State trying to edge its way into a bi-racial society while no one is looking.

An Address by Claude W. May, President of the Mississippi AFL-CIO
To the NDEA Institute in History, University of Mississippi, July 14, 1966

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Organized Labor and Politics in Mississippi

F/miss-
Politics

JW

When I accepted Doctor Baylen's invitation to address you a few months ago I assumed the subject matter would be rather easy to deal with. After accepting the invitation, however, I discovered that I had taken on quite an assignment. Our subject yesterday was relatively easy compared to our topic today.

Politics in Mississippi for the past one hundred years has been a rather complicated affair. When organized labor and the Negro are added, it becomes slightly more than complicated. Yesterday we briefly reviewed the history of organized labor in the United States so that you would more fully understand our problems in Mississippi. Today I propose to take the same approach. We will briefly touch the National scene and then, to the best of my ability, review the situation at the State level.

The American Labor Movement learned early that many of its objectives could not be attained at the bargaining table. Many of these objectives required Legislative action. From experience, organized labor had also learned that many of its hard won gains at the bargaining table could be taken away by one stroke of the legislative pen. This meant, as a matter of necessity, that Labor had to become active in politics.

For years the American Federation of Labor tried to stand aloof from the political arena. Samuel Gompers felt that an active lobby in Washington would suffice. This attitude almost proved fatal; lobbying had little effect on members of Congress who had been elected by enemies of the labor movement.

In 1890, Congress passed the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. This Act, supposedly, was designed to hold down and control monopolies in the business community. The Act had not been on the statute books long, however, when its full force was brought to bear against trade unions. For twenty long years the American Labor Movement was harassed and persecuted with this law. Millions of dollars were spent in the courts and many unions were destroyed during this period. Finally, in 1914, Congress passed the Clayton Act which clearly stated, and I quote, "The labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce." Even though the Clayton Act removed organized labor from the clutches of the Anti-Trust Act, progress was slow for the next twenty years.

During most of this period the Nation was on a superficial binge. It was to take a great depression and thousands of people out of work before the Nation was to come to its senses. As I advised you yesterday, I was thirteen years old when the depression came and have a vivid memory of those dark days during the history of this country.

When Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected President in 1932, a Congress committed to social reform was also elected. The Nation was on the verge of revolt and it was very apparent that something had to be done. During Roosevelt's first and second terms in office, Congress passed a steady stream of legislative acts designed to not only get America back on its feet but to also prevent any more disasters such as what occurred in 1929. Most of this legislation had long been advocated by the American Labor Movement. Briefly, I would like to review a few of those measures with you and attempt to show what they mean to the American people.

The economy of this state and of the Nation is dependent, to a large degree, upon the purchasing power of the work force. Many of the New Deal measures were designed to stabilize and shore up that purchasing power. The Wagner Act or National Labor Relations Act passed in 1935 gave labor a legal right to organize. This Act established a National policy of encouraging the collective bargaining process and set up certain safeguards for working people who wished to organize. As a result, we have over 17 million organized workers in the United States today who are covered by labor agreements. Wages and other conditions are nailed down by contract. This means that employers can not cut wages when a depression appears on the horizon.

The Fair Labor Standard Act or Minimum Wage puts a floor under wages for most workers who work in industries dealing in interstate commerce. This law has a stabilizing effect, for it also prevents wage reductions below the minimum in unorganized industries.

The Employment Security Act provides unemployment insurance for workers who are thrown out of work by no fault of their own. This Act provides them with some income whereby he can purchase the necessities of life.

The Social Security Act provides purchasing power for the retired workers and keeps them from becoming wards of society. Recent amendments also provide hospital and medical care.

Added together, all of these things have done much to stabilize the economy. In my opinion they prevented at least two depressions in the Fifties during the Eisenhower Administration. Obviously, many of the programs initiated by Presidents Kennedy and Johnson are designed to further improve the programs began by F.D.R.

Beginning in 1932, organized labor had a 15-year period of unparalleled success. More workers were organized than during any period, and many of Labor's legislative goals were attained. Tough days were ahead however, for an anti-labor Congress was elected in 1946. This Congress, in 1947, went to work immediately on the National Labor Relations Act. When the smoke cleared, labor had received a set back in the form of the Taft-Hartley Act. This Act removed many of the protective

measures of the old Wagner Act and opened the door to Pandora's box by adding a new section, commonly known as 14-B. This section of the law is responsible for so-called "Right to Work" laws in 19 states. Mississippi, naturally, is one of those states.

Taft-Hartley was a signal to the labor movement that its efforts had to be redoubled in the political arena. Even so, things did not move in the right direction until after the merger of the AFL and CIO in 1955. In 1955, the AFL-CIO formed the Committee on Political Education. This, the political arm of the AFL-CIO, probably made the difference in President Kennedy's election in 1960 and certainly had much to do with the election of a friendly Congress that year. COPE had much to do with providing President Johnson with his landslide victory in 1964 and helped elect the most liberal Congress since 1932. COPE is presently working overtime to keep that majority intact in this off year election.

In view of the tremendous victory in 1964, organized labor had every reason to believe that Section 14-B of the Taft-Hartley Act would be repealed. As everyone knows, the House passed the repealer last year but a filibuster prevented it from being voted on in the Senate. Senator Eastland of this state certainly didn't endeavor himself with the members of my organization when he helped conduct that filibuster.

Having briefly touched the National picture, I will now attempt to review the Mississippi political situation from Labor's point of view.

Mississippi has the lowest per capita income of any state in the Nation. No state gains more by an increase in the minimum wage than does our state, yet our Congressional delegation consistently votes against minimum wage increases.

Our school teachers are the lowest paid of any state. We spend a larger percentage of our tax dollar for education than do many states, yet we spend less on each pupil than any state. No state benefits more from Federal Aid to Education than does Mississippi, yet our two Senators and our five Congressmen consistently vote against Federal Aid to Education.

We have a larger percentage of people on the Social Security rolls than many states. Yet, our Congressional delegation consistently votes against improvements to this Act.

We have over fifty five thousand AFL-CIO members residing in Mississippi. When the House of Representatives voted to repeal Section 14-B of the Taft-Hartley Act, all five voted against repeal and, as I have already stated, Senator Eastland helped carry on a filibuster that prevented the Senate from voting.

You may well ask yourself as I have, who do these people represent in the Congress of the United States? It certainly isn't the poor workers, the school teachers, the retired people or the union people. When you total up the groups just mentioned, you

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come up with a vast majority of the people who live and work in this state. How and why is this possible? I hope to answer that question later on in my remarks.

In 1959, the organization I represent warned the people of Mississippi what would happen if Ross Barnett was elected Governor. The record speaks for itself. Barnett's Administration will go down in history as one of the worst ever. Our predictions were far short of what actually happened.

When the legislature convened in Jackson in January of 1960, we had one of the best Workmen's Compensation laws of any state. When it left town six months later, we had one of the worst. When Barnett was elected Governor we had a fairly progressive tax system. He and the legislature changed it to one of the worst. A windfall of 18 or 20 million dollars per biennium was handed to corporations and the wealthy in the form of tax reductions. In 1960, the state had 35 million dollars in surplus funds. Two years later the state was broke. In 1962, this same Governor and this same legislature raised the sales tax to balance the budget. In a period of two years, the cost of state government was shifted from the backs of those best able to pay to the backs of those least able to pay.

When Barnett was elected Governor we had a so-called "Right to Work" law on the statute books. As payment to some of his financial supporters, he initiated a move to make this law a part of the Constitution. The object, of course, was to make it more difficult to repeal. As long as this law was a simple legislative act, any session of the legislature could repeal it by a majority vote of both Houses. Barnett and his cohorts knew that this would be done as soon as the people realized what "Right to Work" was all about.

In 1962, at the end of the second regular session of the legislature, Barnett's stock was at an all time low. Any one associated with his Administration was thought to be dead politically for all time to come. This was not to be, however, for a young Negro by the name of James Meridith gave Barnett an out. When the Courts ordered Meridith's admission to this University, Barnett and the people around him saw this as an opportunity to create a diversion and in so doing to get the people's minds on something other than his putrid Administration.

Use it he did. He came close to ruining this University and almost wrecked the state, but he got the people's minds on something other than the Capitol in Jackson. In spite of Senator Robert Kennedy's recent exposure of Barnett's double-dealing in this situation, we must worry today over the prospect of this man being Governor again.

After reviewing the deplorable voting record of the Mississippi Congressional delegation, the Barnett Administration and the Mississippi Legislature, the Mississippi AFL-CIO decided in the fall of 1960 that the time was overdue for Labor to initiate a concerted political action program in our state. Consequently, in a special convention,

the organization adopted a Program of Progress." This program spelled out our legislative goals and levied an assessment of \$1.50 per member per year with which to finance the program. In reality, the program is simple. It concentrates on voter registration, voter education and communication with the rank and file. The assessment provided the necessary funds to purchase an addressograph system and other needed equipment. This equipment was purchased in 1961. By the fall of 1963, we had approximately twenty five thousand names and addresses on addressograph plates. In the meantime the legislature was reapportioned, giving the industrial counties more representation in that body.

When our "Program of Progress" was adopted in 1961, the Hederman press in Jackson branded it as an attempt by organized labor to take over our state government. I want to read you the eighteen legislative goals of that program, and let you decide whether or not we have the interest of our state at heart. The eighteen points are as follows:

1. Establish a State Department of Labor
2. Reapportion State Legislature
3. Increase Workmen's Compensation
4. Provide State Quaranteed Loans for College Education to Qualified High School Graduates
5. Increase Unemployment Insurance
6. Revise Mississippi Tax Laws
7. Enact State Davis-Bacon Prevailing Wage Law
8. Change Primary Elections from Tuesdays to Saturdays
9. Enact Temporary Disability Insurance Law
10. Raise Salaries of Mississippi School Teachers up to Average for Southern States
11. Enact Comprehensive Child Labor Laws
12. Enact State Civil Service Law to Cover all State Employees
13. Qualify Women as Jurors on Equal Basis with Men
14. Increase Maximum Amounts of Assistance to the Aged and to the Permanently and Totally Disabled
15. Amend State Constitution to Provide Initiative Referendum Procedures
16. Enact State Fair Labor Standards Act
17. Amend State Constitution to Eliminate Poll Tax Payments as Requirement to Qualify to Vote
18. Enact Law Requiring Equal Pay to Women for Work Equal to that Done by Men

As you will note, not one point of this program is designed to help union members only. Our program is designed to uplift the state as a whole - our enemies to the contrary.

Our political action program is built around fourteen Central Labor Councils throughout the state. These organizations represent AFL-CIO local unions at the county

and city level. Most of them have several counties under their jurisdiction. Representatives of these organizations interview candidates who are running for city or county offices. They check voting records of members of the legislature and make recommendations to the membership based upon their findings. Using our mailing equipment, we at the state office make this information available to the individual member. This is the thing that disturbs the Hederman press; they are afraid of an informed electorate.

This system and our equipment was used in the elections of 1963. Our efforts, along with reapportionment, has brought a small degree of change to the legislature. This is especially true in the Senate. Even so, there is still much room for improvement.

We mark progress in this state by the lack of damage done, not by progressive legislation adopted. This is due primarily to the fact that the legislature, as presently constituted, is not a truly representative body. It is due in part to the archaic rules that govern the assembly. It is due in part to the method of selecting the Speaker of the House of Representatives and is especially true in the method of selecting committees and committee chairmen. Contrary to the belief of many, the Governor is not the most powerful man in Mississippi. The most powerful man in this state is the Speaker of the House of Representatives. He appoints all committees and committee chairmen in the House and by virtue of this fact has a stranglehold on legislation considered by that body. Yet, this man answers to only a few thousand people in his district. The school teachers of this state found out how powerful this man was during the recent session of the legislature when he blocked for months their efforts to secure a pay increase.

The Senate, on the other hand, is much more responsive to the wishes of the people. In my opinion, this can be attributed to two factors. This body is more properly apportioned than the House and the presiding officer, the Lieutenant Governor, is elected state-at-large. The Senate provides us with hope for the future. It seems reasonable to assume that considerable progress will be made when both Houses are properly apportioned.

In a negative sort of way, the Negro has dominated Mississippi politics for many years. Instead of running for or against issues affecting the economic welfare of the people, most candidates have been elected on their ability to use the race issue. The reason for this of course centers around the fact that very few Negroes were allowed to use the ballot. For years we had the most stringent voter qualification laws of any state in the Nation. These laws, supposedly, were designed to keep the Negro from voting. In actuality, they kept the number of qualified voters down to a bare minimum.

A few years ago I read a report issued by the American Heritage Foundation which disclosed that Mississippi had the lowest percentage of people of voting age who were qualified to vote of any state in the Nation. These figures disclosed that only twenty five percent were qualified. At that time, only five percent of the Negroes were qualified. This means that at that time only twenty percent of the whites of voting age were qualified. To me this explains the election of people like Ross Barnett. It also explains the deplorable voting record of our Congressional delegation. Why should they worry about such things as minimum wage, education, social security and organized labor when a great majority of these people affected were not qualified to vote.

Without question, the system of government in these United States is the best yet devised by man. While our two major political parties leave much to be desired, their very existence has brought stability to our government down through the years. In reviewing the political history of our state, it is necessary in my opinion to acknowledge that many of our present day problems stem from the absence of a two-party system. This began in 1890 when James K. Vardaman first established the "Closed Society." Vardaman's ideas were actually a closed political system that excluded Negroes from the polling place and at the same time eliminated the Republican Party from the state. For over seventy years Vardaman's ideas prevailed. They prevailed, in large part, because the Republican Party was Lincoln's Party and any one who even thought about voting Republican was branded as a traitor to the state and to the South.

During Franklin D. Roosevelt's second term, cracks began to appear in the one-party Democratic South. When Roosevelt was first elected in 1932, he received a vast majority of the Southern vote, including those in Mississippi. The same thing occurred four years later but at the end of his second term, voices of dissent were beginning to be heard. The reason for this dissent was simple, Roosevelt was showing concern for the plight of the American Negro. Harry Truman continued Roosevelt's policies when he took over after FDR's death in 1945 and, as a result, Mississippi and several other states bolted the Democratic Party in 1948. As we all know the third party movement of that year was designed to prevent Truman's election. The people behind this movement felt Truman had to have the South to win. He proved them wrong and things have never been the same since.

The abortion of 1948 brought forth a strange political creature. He has been called a Dixiecrat by many but I prefer to call him a Republicrat. He is elected as a Democrat, accumulates seniority and receives committee assignments as a Democrat yet he is seldom loyal to the National Democratic Party. He consistently votes with the Republicans in Congress and several have even supported the nominees of the Republican Party in Presidential elections.

In 1960, several of our republicrats supported Barnett's unpledged electors' scheme and helped throw our electoral vote down the drain. In so doing, they helped to create a Frankenstein which has already eliminated one of their members and will probably retire several more in the near future.

In 1964, a man riding a white horse from out of the west, by the name of Barry Goldwater, carried the state by a lopsided majority. Goldwater, the Republican nominee, was to be the beneficiary of the political climate that began in 1948. Lyndon Johnson, the first man from the South to occupy the White House in a hundred years, received only 13 percent of the total vote cast in Mississippi. I can assure you, being a part of that 13% was quite an experience.

Lyndon Johnson's poor showing can be attributed in a large part to the fact that our entire Congressional delegation sat on their hands. They found themselves in a trap of their own making and were afraid to identify themselves with the National Democratic Party.

I consider myself a Democrat of the Roosevelt persuasion, yet I contend that a bonafide Republican Party is badly needed in our state. As a matter of fact, I will go one step further and say that the aims and objectives of the National Democratic Party can best be served in Mississippi with the establishment of a Republican Party. To carry this theory a little further, I suggest that most of the Democratic Party office holders in Mississippi should belong to the Republican Party. The voting record of our Congressional delegation certainly indicates that these people are affiliated with the wrong party. What may I ask, outside of party label, is the difference between Jim Eastland and Prentiss Walker? Eastland has been in office longer than Walker, has voted with the Republican Party consistently, yet Walker is out to replace him in the Senate. Eastland is a good example of one of the glaring weaknesses of our system, the lack of party responsibility. If people like Eastland can't support the platform and nominess of the National party, they have no right to positions of power within that party.

The gubernatorial election in 1964³ marked the end to a one party system in the state of Mississippi. Rubel Phillips may never be Governor of this state but I predict he will have a place in Mississippi history. When Phillips received almost forty percent of the vote in that election, he assured a two party system in our state from that point on. The Goldwater vote in the Presidential election a year later further established this fact. After generations of voting the straight Democratic ticket, no matter who the candidate, the people of this state finally decided they could vote Republican without becoming contaminated. My major concern at this time centers around the fact that we are now in danger of becoming a one party Republican state. As I view

the situation, Organized Labor and the newly enfranchised Negroes are the only forces around to prevent it from happening.

Since the debacle of 1964, I, along with a number of other people, have spent considerable time in attempting to rebuild the Democratic Party in the state. As of this date, little fruit has resulted from these efforts. Our major accomplishment up to this point has been with the Young Democrat Clubs of America. The National organization finally granted a charter to a bi-racial group that is pledged to the National Party.

It appears that the Mississippi Democratic Party is going to have to suffer several more defeats before it is willing to reorganize along the same lines. As I have pointed out to the National Democratic Committee, the Republican Party in Mississippi is well organized and well financed. This means the Republicans are going to have much more political success in the near future than the Democrats, unless the Democrats also organize.

In final analysis it can be said that Organized Labor, the Republican Party and the Negro will play important roles in Mississippi politics in the near future, or so I predict. Several factors prompt me to make this statement. Our state has already modified its registration laws and the poll tax is out of the picture. These things were done, of course, as a result of pressure from Washington. The fact remains, we now have liberal registration laws.

Instead of twenty five percent, we should have seventy five percent of the people of voting age registered in the near future. This means that the politicians of this state will have to be more responsive to the needs of the people or face defeat.

As already stated, the Negro has played a negative role in Mississippi politics for many years. Instead of a negative role, he will be playing a positive one in the near future. We in the AFL-CIO intend to see that he does play a positive role.

Twenty six counties in Mississippi have a Negro population majority. Many of Labor's worst enemies in the Mississippi Legislature live in these counties. We have very few members residing in these counties; if these people are removed from office, it will have to be done with the Negro vote. To a large degree our legislative program is dependent upon our ability to form political alliance with these people. This we are trying to do. The enemies of the labor movement in this state know this and are working overtime to keep it from coming about. These enemies can be found in both the white and Negro communities.

For years we have been doing battle with the "Radical Right" in this state. Today we are faced with a similar problem from the "Radical Left" that has attached itself to the Negro community. We intend to meet this challenge also. As I stated yesterday, the AFL-CIO has always resisted any group or element that would subvert our system of

government. We intend to continue that policy in Mississippi.

Ninety nine percent of the Negroes in this state are working people. They have a direct interest in such things as minimum wage, aid to education, social security and other phases of our legislative program. Working with such groups as the Voter Registration and Education League and the League of Women Voters, we intend to do our best to politically educate these new voters. We certainly intend to provide them with the record of those office holders who have consistently voted against the welfare of the people of this state.

As I stated yesterday, we are making considerable progress in the field of organization. Within the next few years we expect to add several more thousand members to our ranks. Using our mailing system, we hope to be able to politically educate these new members as well as the ones already organized. If our educational efforts are successful and if we are able to form political alliance with the Negro and other liberal forces in the state, we will have a new day in Mississippi.

Certainly, we have some tough days ahead of us. It will take a lot of doing to bring a semblance of political stability to Mississippi, but I am convinced that it can and will be done. Within the next few years the "race issue" should recede into the background. When this happens the Unpledged Democrats and the Freedom Democrats will be forced to join one of the major political parties. With a two-party system in operation, people will then begin to vote for candidates who identify with their own economic interest.

All of you have a stake in the final outcome. I welcome you to join with us in making this state a better place in which to live.

WHAT HAPPENED WITH THE YOUNG DEMOCRATS?

By Hunter Hoey

F/ Miss - Politics JWH

9/7/65

The Young Democrats have gotten together - after their big split three weeks ago at the Hotel Heidelberg convention. This is of special interest and importance to Mississippi politics since Democratic Party affairs in the state are one big question mark. While the coalition Young Democrat group is now certain to get the official charter from the Young Democratic Clubs of America (the official youth section of the National Democratic Party), no one knows what will happen with Mississippi's adult Democrats. The Freedom Democratic Party at the Atlantic City national convention last August successfully brought into question the regular Democratic Party, resulting in FDP's getting two seats and the requirement that all states desegregate their parties (to be enforced by a committee headed by former Pennsylvania governor David Lawrence). In addition, FDP has gained great support nationally for its challenge to the Congressional seats of Mississippi's five Representatives, on the basis that their elections were illegal since Negroes were denied the right to vote. The recent voting bill is based on the exact same conclusion, as are numerous court decisions, and findings by the U.S. Department of Justice and the Civil Rights Commission.

One of the challenged Congressmen - John Bell Williams, has called upon Governor Johnson to convene the special committee called for by the regular Democratic Party convention to map out a future for the regular party. Governor Johnson is refusing to call this committee because he is afraid that the committee will recommend that the regular Democrats (white supremacist, right-wing racists) join up with the Mississippi Republican party, thereby hurting the regular Democrats' chances with the National Democrats - who could vote out of Congress those five Representatives.

On the Mississippi level, the hard fact remains that the people who support the national Democratic Party WHO ARE REGISTERED are very few. Remember that about 80% of the voters in Mississippi voted for the Republican candidates Goldwater (who voted against the Civil Rights bill). Therefore, since there are so few liberals (or even moderates) in Mississippi, it might be good for them to stick together to pool their strength to fight the racists. In addition, history shows that the white racists try to divide Negroes against themselves in order to weaken their political strength. Another good reason for working together, is that

many young white people want to be part of something worthwhile. Their parents have nothing to offer but Confederate treason or cowardly silence. And since it is still too "radical" to join a civil rights group, the Young Democrats provide the way for white young people to finally help bring about progress. Perhaps the most dramatic fact about the Young Democrats is Negro Leadership. Never before in the Deep South has an official Democratic Party unit been actually led by Negroes. 12 of the 17 YD officers are Negro, led by Cleveland Donald, Jr., one of the first Negroes to attend Ole Miss. Co-Chairman with Mr. Donald is Hodding Carter III, editor of the Delta Democrat Times. 1st Vice Chairman is Bob Smith, National Committeeman is attorney L. H. Rosenthal, National Committeewoman - Joyce Brown; 3rd Vice Chairman - Everett Sanders; 4th District Chairman - Andrew Lee Green; and 5th District Chairman - Doug Smith. The Young Democrats were first organized after the Freedom School Convention last summer, but failed twice to get the charter, due to the same opposition that FDP faces. The Democratic Party National Committee sent AFL-CIO's Claude Ramsay and NAACP's Charles Evers to speak against granting a charter, since the YD group was too liberal, Movement, and Negro.

However, SMCC's Hunter Morey continued the work of building the Young Democrats, attempting to get the "moderates" to honestly join in, and not continue to fight the work. This sectarianism or exclusiveness illustrates itself in the Mississippi Democratic Conference, which was organized by the NAACP and the AFL-CIO to control National Democratic Party affairs in Mississippi while keeping the FDP out. At the Young Democrats convention, the Ole Miss - NAACP group walked out when it no longer had a majority vote, after illegally changing the agenda and electing a slate of officers (without having a Constitution) exclusively from their own group. But the Bob Smith group immediately started to work to get the two groups together. They elected some of the other side to their slate, sent peace committees, and top officers agreed to resign if reunion was agreed to. This work, in which several FDP members played important roles, finally resulted in a unified Young Democrats. The challenge of bringing progress to Mississippi will provide more than enough work to keep the group busy. Anyone loyal to the principles and goals of the National Democratic Party can join the various local clubs or start new ones where none exist.

by R. Hunter Morey

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Politics

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THE VOTING RECORD OF THE CHALLENGED

CONGRESSMEN FROM MISSISSIPPI

The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party is challenging the constitutional validity of the elections which returned the five Mississippi Congressmen to the House of Representatives in 1964. One of these Congressmen, Prentiss Walker, is a Republican without previous experience in the House. Walker defeated long-time Democratic Congressman Arthur Winstead in the November general election. He celebrated his victory for the party of Abraham Lincoln by making his first public appearance after the election before the Americans for the Preservation of the White Race in Brandon, Mississippi, on November 24, 1964. APWR is a white racist-terrorist organization which was organized to suppress by force and violence the civil rights activities of Mississippi Negroes.

There is no past legislative record upon which can be based an estimation of what Walker's being accepted by the House of Representatives as a bona-fide Congressman might mean for future legislation. However, if his first public appearance means anything, it may very well be that Walker will develop for the Republican Party the same kind of racist image which has disgraced the Southern Democratic Party during the past 100 years.

There is a considerable background of legislative experience on the other four challenged Congressmen, from which can be drawn quite dependable inferences about their future course if they are seated.

They are all Democrats, and each occupies committee positions of considerable importance.

Thomas G. Abernethy, 1st District, is from Okolona, Miss. He is 61 years of age and has been in the House since 1942--22 years. He is fifth in seniority below the Chairman on the House Agriculture Committee. (This committee handles matters of agriculture and forestry in general; farm credit and security, crop insurance, soil conservation and rural electrification). Abernethy is third below the chairman on the cotton subcommittee; first below the chairman on the dairy subcommittee; first below the chairman on the poultry subcommittee; fourth below the chairman on the Special Subcommittee on Departmental Oversight and Consumer Relations; and chairman of the Special Subcommittee on Research and Extension. Abernethy is also first below the chairman on the Committee on the District of Columbia. (This committee handles all measures relating to municipal affairs of the District of Columbia except its appropriations).

Jamie L. Whitten, 2nd District, is from Charleston, Miss. He is 54 years of age and has been in the House since 1941--23 years. He is fourth in seniority below the chairman on the House Committee on Appropriations. He is Chairman of the Subcommittee on Department of Agriculture and

Related Agencies; 3rd below the chairman on the Subcommittee on the Department of Defense; and last in seniority on the Subcommittee on Public Works. (The House Appropriations Committee originates all appropriations of Government revenues).

John Bell Williams, 3rd District, is from Raymond, Miss. He is 46 years old and he has been in the House since 1946--18 years. He is first below the Chairman in seniority on the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. (This committee handles regulation of interstate and foreign commerce and communications, regulation of interstate transmission of power, inland waterways, railroad labor, civil aeronautics, Weather Bureau, securities and exchanges, interstate oil compacts, natural gas, and public health). He is chairman of the Subcommittee on Transportation and Aeronautics. Williams is also fourth below the chairman on the House Committee on the District of Columbia.

William M. Colmer, 5th District, is from Pascagoula, Miss. He has been in the House since 1932--32 years. Colmer is first in seniority below the Chairman of the Committee on Rules. (This Committee handles the rules and order of business of the House. It determines how much time any bill will be debated on the floor of the House, how much time each side will have to debate, whether or not the bill can be amended on the floor, etc.). The Rules Committee has no standing subcommittees.

Clearly, then, the position these four Democrats take on a given issue is more than routinely important. Because of their seniority (which, of course, is based on the disfranchisement of Negroes in Mississippi), these men occupy committee posts of considerable power. When they are vitally interested in a piece of legislation, they can bring that power to bear on other representatives who do not have their seniority, and who might, otherwise, vote against the positions of the Mississippians.

Six organizations rate the voting performance of Congressmen from the viewpoint of the interests the organizations represent. Three of the organizations are usually thought of as liberal, and three as conservative. The liberal organizations are: The Americans for Democratic Action (ADA), the Committee on Political Education of the AFL-CIO (COPE), and the National Farmers Union (NFU). The conservative organizations are: The Americans for Constitutional Action (ACA), the National Associated Businessmen (NAB), and the American Farm Bureau Federation (AFBF).

Here are the ratings each of these organizations give to the four Mississippi Democrats whose right to be seated in the House is being challenged by the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party:

	ADA	COPE	NFU	AFBF	NAB	ACA
Abernethy	0	0	13	50	79	70
Colmer	8	0	13	75	75	73
Whitten	12	0	25	63	74	67
Williams	4	0	8	63	80	82

When interpreting these ratings, it is important to remember that Mississippi is, in every respect, the poorest state in the Union. The material needs of the people of Mississippi are being less adequately dealt with than are those of the people of any other state. The per capita income of Mississippi is lower than that of any other state; the Mississippi education system is the least adequate in the nation; Mississippi's housing needs are greater than those of any other state; wages are lower and jobs scarcer there than in any other state. In other words, Mississippi has a greater need for liberal or welfare legislation than does any other state. The liberal organizations mentioned above back such legislation and rate Congressmen according to the way the Congressmen vote on such legislation.

On the other hand, the conservative organizations are opposed to all welfare legislation even to the point in the case of the Farm Bureau Federation, of backing the repeal of all child labor laws.. The conservative organizations represent the interests of the wealthy and powerful people of America--the banks, the utilities companies, the large corporations. It is apparent, then, that the Mississippi congressmen, rated as they are, high by the conservative organizations, and low by the liberal organizations, are simply not representing the people of their state. This is what happens when almost half the people of the state, and that the most deprived half, are disfranchised. This is what the constitutional requirement of the vote for everyone is designed to prevent.

This is why all persons and organizations who are interested in constitutional government, and in the welfare of their fellowmen, should support the MFDP challenge to the seating of the Mississippi congressmen.

Following is a listing of how the Mississippi Democrats, Colmer, Abernethy, Whitten and Williams have voted on specific issues between 1946 and the present. No listing has been made of their votes on civil rights issues, because it is common knowledge that they vote unanimously and consistently against all measures designed to relieve the plight of Negroes.

1946

(Williams not in office.)

Colmer, Whitten and Abernethy voted for the Case Anti-Labor bill which was designed and written and supported by the National Association of Manufacturers.

The same three voted to remove existing ceilings on rents and thus wreck the whole structure of rent control, leaving tenants to the tender mercies of the landlord's conscience.

Whitten and Abernethy voted for a price control provision which permitted a vast increase in prices.

All three voted in support of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

All Three voted to draft the railroad workers who were on strike, thus breaking the back of the strike.

Whitten and Abernethy voted to exclude agricultural processing workers from the rights accorded workers under the procedures of the National Labor Relations Board.

1947

All four voted for a resolution giving the House Labor Committee additional subpoena powers which the committee wanted to use in its red-baiting and witch-hunting of the labor movement.

All four voted for the Gwynne bill, outlawing portal-to-portal pay suits and seriously weakening the Wage-Hour Act.

All four voted for a bill cutting the appropriations of the Labor Department, and thus seriously curtailing the services the Department could provide for the nation's workers.

All four voted for the Taft-Hartley Act, which seriously curtailed the ability of workers to organize in labor unions.

All four voted for exempting natural gas production and distribution from the jurisdiction of the Federal Power Commission, thus permitting the petroleum industry to increase the price it charges for the gas you use for cooking and heating.

All four voted for the Rees Loyalty Bill, providing that government workers could be investigated for evidence of disloyal thoughts and ideas.

1948

All four voted in support of the House Un-American Activities Committee.

Whitten and Abernethy voted to turn tidelands oil over to the states, so that these valuable resources could be exploited by the big oil companies for their own profit.

All four voted for the Mundt-Nixon bill, which seriously abridged the civil liberties of all Americans.

All four voted to exclude outside salesmen, industrial home workers, taxi drivers, loggers, tailors, etc., from coverage under the social security act.

All four voted to eliminate low-cost public housing and slum clearance from the 1948 housing bill.

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1949

Whitten, Abernethy and Colmer voted in support of the House Committee on UnAmerican Activities.

All four voted to remove rent controls at the discretion of local officials, thus enabling real estate interests to apply their great power locally to increase the cost of rent.

All four voted twice to retain the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act severely restricting the ability of workers to organize labor unions.

All four voted to eliminate low-rent public housing from the 1949 housing bill.

All four voted to relieve natural gas producers and distributors of government control over the prices they charge to consumers.

All four voted to remove over a million workers from the protection of the minimum wage laws.

All four voted to weaken the anti-trust laws and legalize unfair price discrimination.

1950

Whitten voted against appropriating funds for a mobile public library service for rural areas.

All four voted to kill loans for cooperative middle-income housing.

All four voted in support of the House Committee on UnAmerican Activities.

All four voted to exempt natural gas companies from certain federal regulations, thus permitting the companies to charge increased rates to consumers.

All four voted to cut funds for low-rent public housing by \$3 million.

Abernethy and Whitten voted against the extension of rent controls for an additional six months.

All four voted to provide concentration camps for aliens. The bill later became part of the McCarran Internal Security Act.

Whitten, Colmer and Abernethy voted for the McCarran Internal Security Act.

1951

No recorded votes.

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1952

All four voted to cut the number of housing units provided in the 1952 housing bill from 50,000 to 5,000.

Abernethy, Colmer and Whitten voted to give states title to tidelands oil reserves thus opening the way for the exploitation of these valuable public properties by private companies for their own profit.

Colmer, Whitten and Williams voted to amend and rewrite the immigration laws to set up discriminatory restrictions against immigrants and endanger the rights of already naturalized citizens.

Colmer, Whitten and Williams voted to request the President to invoke the Taft-Hartley injunction provision to break the steel strike.

1953

All four voted to give to the states ownership of the tidelands oil reserves.

Whitten and Abernethy voted to extend for three years the importing of foreign labor to work on farms. Previously the house had rejected by unrecorded votes attempts to guarantee minimum wages, working, and living conditions (to prevent depressing American wages and working conditions).

All four voted against authorizing funds for construction of 35,000 low-rent public housing units.

All four voted to sell government-owned rubber-producing facilities to private corporations.

Abernethy, Whitten and Williams voted to permit the use of unemployment compensation funds for political patronage purposes and to reduce the contributions of employers to the funds.

1954

All four voted in support of the House Committee on UnAmerican Activities.

All four voted against authorizing 35,000 new housing units.

Abernethy, Whitten and Williams voted to permit the use of wiretap evidence in Federal Courts in certain criminal cases.

All four voted against increasing the amount of unemployment compensation benefits and extending the period of coverage.

All four voted to apply concepts of espionage and sabotage to certain labor union activities and to provide the death penalty for peacetime espionage for the first time in American history.

Abernethy and Colmer voted to prohibit the use of the fifth amendment before congressional red-baiting committees and grand juries.

Abernethy, Whitten and Williams voted to require that labor unions be "cleared" by the Subversive Activities Control Board and to outlaw a political party, the Communist Party, for the first time in American history.

1955

Abernethy and Williams voted to sell 88% of U.S. rubber facilities to 4 rubber and 3 oil companies.

All four voted for Universal Military Training of the nation's youth in peacetime.

All four voted to exempt natural gas producers from federal regulation thus increasing natural gas rates to consumers.

All four voted to eliminate from the omnibus housing bill provisions for public housing and provisions affecting housing for elderly persons, cooperatives, students and farmers.

1956

All four voted to eliminate public housing provisions from the omnibus housing bill.

All four voted against federal aid to education.

All four voted in support of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

All four voted to cite playwright Arthur Miller for contempt of Congress because of his refusal to become an informer.

1957

All four voted against the use of federal funds to build public elementary and secondary schools.

All four voted to limit the right of an individual to defend himself against informers.

All four voted to cite radio announcer Louis Earl Hartman for contempt of Congress because he refused to submit to the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

1958

All four voted against providing 16 additional weeks of benefits for

workers covered by existing unemployment compensation legislation and against providing 16 weeks of benefits to workers not then covered by the legislation.

Williams and Whitten voted against increasing funds from \$100 million to \$2 billion for construction of public works to relieve unemployment.

All but Colmer voted against providing federal funds for redevelopment of localities suffering chronic unemployment.

Williams and Abernethy voted to permit airlines to retain all capital gains from the sale of equipment so they could use it to modernize their equipment. This was, in effect, an exemption from taxation for the airlines.

All four voted for a bill which instructed the U.S. Government to build two passenger steamships at a cost of \$201 million and then to sell the two ships to private companies for \$81 million. The bill further instructed the U.S. Government to guarantee the companies 10% profit on operating costs before the companies would have to return any of this money.

Abernethy, Williams and Whitten voted to permit police officials to arrest and detain indefinitely any person on mere suspicion that the person might have committed some crime.

All four voted to extend the Government screening program to all federal workers, whether or not their jobs had anything to do with national security.

1959

All four voted to cut public-housing out of the omnibus housing bill, and to cut the authorization for urban renewal by \$200 million.

All four again voted to give police officers authority to arrest and detain a person for an indefinite period on mere suspicion.

All four voted to permit the President to declare certain areas off-limits for travel by U.S. citizens; they also voted to give the State Department power to deny passports to Communists and others whose presence abroad it thought might endanger U.S. security.

All four voted for the Landrum-Griffin anti-labor bill. The bill curbed secondary boycotts, outlawed organizational picketing.

1960

All four voted against encouraging home buying by low and middle-income families by making it easier to obtain government-guaranteed loans.

All four voted against giving federal aid to chronic unemployment areas.

All four voted against providing federal funds, to be matched by state funds, for school construction.

1961

All four voted in support of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Abernethy, Colmer, and Whitten voted to give police officers authority to arrest and jail for an indefinite period persons suspected of crimes.

The same three voted to speed up the deportation and exclusion procedures of the Immigration & Naturalization Act.

All four voted against the omnibus housing bill which provided \$4.9 billion to begin meeting the housing needs of the nation.

All four voted against authorizing \$325 million to build schools, \$90 million for student loans and \$201 million to aid schools in areas crowded because of federal activities.

Colmer, Whitten and Williams voted against providing funds for construction of generating facilities to produce electricity from waste steam from a new atomic reactor. The private power companies were against further extension of government-owned generating capacity.

1962

All four voted to establish an industrial screening program to deny to workers employed on national defense work the right to due process under the law and the right to face their accusers when charged with being a "security risk."

All four voted against a \$262 million, two-year program to aid unemployed workers whose jobs were eliminated or made obsolete by automation, runaway plants, etc.

All four voted against authorizing \$900 million for emergency, short-range public works to provide jobs for unemployed workers.

All four voted to turn over ownership and control of the communications satellite system to American Telephone and Telegraph. The system had been developed by the government at a cost of \$25 billion.

1963

All four voted to support the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

All four voted to discontinue the first of the anti-poverty programs, The Area Redevelopment program.

Abernethy, Colmer and Whitten voted against the first income tax cut granted to working people in many years.

All four voted to discontinue the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, which did such able work in preparing the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, and the institution of the "hot line" between Washington and Moscow.

1964

All four voted to outlaw any federal action which might relieve the mal-apportionment of state legislatures and give city dwellers a more equitable representation in state law-making bodies.

All four voted against an amendment to the mass transit bill which protected pension rights, working conditions, etc., of transit workers whose jobs will be endangered through installation of automatic equipment, mergers, etc.

Abernethy and Williams voted against the Food-Stamp Act, authorizing \$400 million in a four-year period to expand the program giving aid to poverty-stricken families in the form of supplemental food.

All four voted against the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, which provides training programs, work-study groups, etc., for both long-term unemployed workers and youths entering the labor force for the first time.

F/ Miss - Politics

A CALL FOR SUPPORT
of the YOUNG DEMOCRATIC CLUBS OF MISSISSIPPI
In Their Attempt To Get A Charter From The Young Democratic Clubs Of America

Negro and white young people have taken the risks and organized to work politically for basic improvements in Mississippi. Thus far, the Young Democratic Clubs of America have turned us down twice in our attempt to get the official state charter. We know that with your support we will be successful in obtaining our rightful charter this October 12-16 in New York City where the Young Democratic Clubs of America have their annual convention. Use this book to guide your work.

- R. Hunter Morey, P.O. Box 2251, Jackson, Miss.
- A PERSONAL, UNOFFICIAL OPINION. THIS BOOK DOES NOT PRETEND TO SPEAK FOR THE YDCM.

C O N T E N T S:

- A. History of The Clubs.
- B. Purpose Of The Clubs.
- C. How To Organize Young Democratic Clubs in Mississippi.
- D. Documents: Quotations and full originals giving background and history.
 - 1. NCC New York meeting on the Mississippi Project.
 - 2. Nowfield's article "The Liberals Big Stick".
 - 3. Our YDCM Constitution.
 - 4. Our YDCM Membership Application.
 - 5. The Atlantic City Young Democratic Convention.
 - 6. The YDCA Constitution section on charters.
 - 7. Newspaper proof of disloyalty of senior party officials.
 - 8. Statement by the former Mississippi YD President.
 - 9. Minority Report of the Membership Practices Committee.
 - 10. Geri Storm's report on Kansas City.
 - 11. New Jersey's report on Kansas City.
 - 12. April '65 YDCM newsletter.
 - 13. April 20, COFO News on the YDCM.
 - 14. Evans and Novak attacks on us.
 - 15. Ol' Miss. President Ransom Jone's letter to Ed King.
 - 16. Cleveland Donald's resignation from the Ol' Miss group.
 - 17. Hunter Morey's letter to Claude Ramsey, Mississippi AFL-CIO President.
 - 18. Claude Ramsey's replay.
 - 19. Constitution of the Mississippi Democratic Conference.
 - 20. Letter to the YDCA from the YDCM.
 - 21. Senior Party officials and the YDCM.
- E. What You Can Do To Help
- F. Lists of the YDCA National Officers
 - National Membership Committee
 - State groups possibly helpful.

HISTORY OF THE CLUBS

August 9, 1964 over 300 local Mississippians met at the Baptist Seminary in Meridian in convention as the Young Democratic Clubs of Mississippi. These young people ratified a Constitution in conformity to the national Young Democratic Clubs of America (YDCA) Constitution, and elected the following officers: Melvin Whitfield, President; Willie Clay, Vice President; Delmas Henderson Secretary; Malcolm Taylor Treasurer; Larry Jones, National Committeeman; Roscoe Jones, Vice National Committeeman; and Thelma Eubanks, National Committeewoman. All the officers were elected as delegates to the YDCA national convention in Atlantic City. The only civil rights workers who helped were Joe Morse (CORE) and Tom Harris (COFO volunteer from Virginia). We failed to get our charter at the YDCA convention August 21-23 mainly on the grounds the Mississippi regular Democratic Party had not certified us. However, the YDCA Constitution provides that if the regular state party did not support the national presidential ticket, then that requirement is waived. We had proof on the Chairman, Bidwell Adam, (see documents below) but it was not accepted. We came back into Mississippi and campaigned for LBJ and HHH, sometimes getting harassment as if that constituted civil rights work. However, there was a new national atmosphere which greatly involves us. The Mississippi Summer Project of SNCC and COFO and the Freedom Democratic Party convention challenge (with its very significant victory requiring the state regular party

to desegregate) had created such great pressures that the national and state power structures were beginning to be forced to give in some to the civil rights movement. But at the same time, the liberal community was tired of being in the back seat in the Movement to SNCC, CORE, FDP, and COFO, and they wanted to run the show as they were used to before the Movement got going in these recent years (see the first two documents following). The NAACP announced that they were going to run a separate summer project from COFO (rumored to be with the national Democratic Party and the AFL-CIO as part of the drive to isolate and kill SNCC, COFO, and FDP). The "Movement" had gotten too strong and had gotten too much (the '64 Civil Rights Bill, the upcoming voting bill, etc.) and now had to be slowed down. The NAACP was willing to be "responsible and happy to criticize the direct action/ local people forces. The new voting bill especially is going to create a large chunk of voting power which all types of people want to control. While these conservative moves were going on with the power structure and the liberal establishment, the national Young Democrats were also working. The YDCA President, J. Albert House, is from North Carolina and he appointed Spencer Oliver, a former Texas YD leader to head up a committee to "handle" the situation for him. There were several high level meetings in Washington with the National Committee of the Democratic Party. In addition, the former President of the Mississippi Young Democrats (YDs) when it was an entirely white group Robert Oswald, made a statement (see documents) to Oliver which shows the great and similar concern over the Young Democrats and the Freedom Democratic Party. It seems that these "liberals" just can not stand Negroes leading or predominating in any important group which has influence in the white community - nor can civil rights be a main feature. Spencer Oliver was appointed in March to "handle" us as Chairman of the Membership Practices Committee. There was no membership practices issue in Mississippi (no one is claiming that Negroes or whites can't join, etc.) but there is in Alabama, where the white state group wouldn't give a charter to the Negro Tuskegee chapter. Oliver used the Alabama situation as an excuse to then "cover the other deep south situation also". The YDCA Constitution only mentions the Credentials Committee as having any relevance to charter issues. Oliver then set up a meeting in Jackson April 4th without consulting the only group who was applying for a charter (our group) as to who and where the meeting should be. It was held at the AFL-CIO office and it was clear that Claude Ramsey, Mississippi AFL-CIO President, was the "loader" we all were to accept. Our group (called the Whitfield group) was supposed to voluntarily drop our application to the Kansas City meeting and fall in under the direction of Ramsey, Oswald, and the Ol' Miss group, headed by Ransom Jones (who seems to be sincere), and the civil rights man for the state was Charles Evers, of the NAACP. (Interestingly enough, both Evers and Ramsey are too old to be Young Democrats). No one from any other civil rights group would have been there if Whitfield had not brought me along. No one from FDP had been invited. After refusing Whitfield's offer of working together, the meeting ended with Spencer Oliver vowing to fight our charter application.

Next, we went to Kansas City to the YDCA National Committee meeting. There Oliver ran the show against us, and had the help of Evers, Ramsey, et al. After our second defeat, we came back and organized the Hinds County Chapter. This time the NAACP, instead of attacking us, came with a prepared slate of officers to take us over. They were quite successful, although the end result is good in that the NAACP will not go so easily against our state charter application now. (Johnny Frazier, a NAACP National Board member, is Vice President). Then we had a state planning meeting May 2nd at Tougaloo. Whitfield's group got no official nor direct notification of the meeting, but I found out fast enough to get a lot of Negroes there. Claude Ramsey brought a lot of white men there, including Hodding Carter III from Greenville, who along with Ramsey, tried to railroad the meeting, spoke without bothering to be recognized by the Chair, and pushed the idea of college chapters, which Atty. Rosenthal forcefully pointed out was supporting segregation given the Mississippi school system. A planning committee (chapter Presidents, R. v. Ed King and myself) was set up for another state meeting June 4. It is interesting to note that while we have gotten almost absolutely no help whatsoever from the national Young Democratic Clubs (the only exception is that the College Vice President Dale Wagner has sent us some college applications), the President J. Albert House called up the Ol' Miss. President and offered to send him help, which he did. Spencer Oliver and Rozak came down and talked with Claude Ramsey and then the Ol' Miss group, but not with any Whitfield group people. They then got in an automobile accident and so couldn't make the meeting. In addition, Cleveland Donald, whom our opposition is heralding as proof that the Ol' Miss group is integrated and that we are a segregated all black group, had resigned with an excellent letter (see documents) attacking the Ol' Miss group, but Spencer Oliver talked him back into rejoining.

More recently there have been meetings around the state and in Washington with old line Negro "leaders" from Mississippi with national Democratic Party big shots. They seem to plan to kill FDP and our Young Democrats by building up the status and power of certain select Negro "leaders", like by means of the poverty program and Operation Headstart, and then by organizing a counter FDP called the Mississippi Democratic Conference. Sunday May 23 I was refused entrance and the acting FDP Chairman and local COFO director were kicked out of one of their meetings in Meridian. Mr. Charles Young of Meridian was elected President and Atty. Cassie Hall temporary Secretary. Others there including Rev. R. L. T. Smith, Atty. Jack Young, and interestingly enough, Claude Ramsey, Mr. Knight, Mr. Charles Evers, and Robert Oswald - who were so interesting in seeing the YDCM not get their charter. The next meeting of the Mississippi Democratic Conference is in Jackson, June 20th.

Our next step is to have a good state convention, apply to the senior party officials for certification (I suggest both FDP and the regular since there is that dispute) and then try to get our charter at the national convention in New York October 12-16. Let us not fail this time because of lack of lobbying and national support.

THE PURPOSE OF THE CLUBS

The purpose of the Young Democratic Clubs of Mississippi is to deal politically with the issues of the state: labor, education, poverty, culture, economics, etc., without being limited by Mississippi's traditional racism. We can consolidate some of the hard work we have done in the state. Now that Negroes and civil rights people have created a situation wherein Negroes have great potential political power, why should just the old line existing power structure be able to run the show. Besides just registering to vote, why not be organized to use that vote to make needed change. The main point is that if we don't work to help Negroes organize politically to use their vote, others will - like the Liberal Establishment. Let me put it in the form that Byron Montgomery from Durant asked me:

Q: What is the purpose of the Young Democrats?

A: To provide a way for young people to get together politically to change Mississippi.

Q: How can young people change it? Run for office?

A: 1. We can get political information and education from the Young Democratic Clubs.

2. We can have this action program:

A. Voter Registration.

B. working with the Freedom Democratic Party.

C. running and supporting candidates

D. working in the Young Democratic Clubs of America

(1) we can add 3 people to the YDCA National Committee, which now has only one Negro member.

(2) we can introduce and work for civil rights and other resolutions which would have large impact coming from the national organization.

(3) we can help in other states such as Alabama with our officers.

3. Leadership training and experience.

A. having county, state, or national offices and committee positions.

B. working with Mississippi whites in a joint political context.

Q: Are the Clubs affiliated with the FDP or the regular party?

A: The Clubs are an independent organization. We get our charter not from any state group but from the national Young Democrats. Several state groups support the FDP, and we are as free as they are. Our position is that we are loyal to the platform of the national Democratic Party as opposed to the state regular party.

Q: How old do you have to be to be a member?

A: between 16 and 40. Over 40, people can be honorary members.

Some people have asked if the Young Democrats are not part of the Establishment and therefore bad. Here is my answer. Since the white people let the charter die, and left no one having it for Mississippi, we can organize and get the charter. Therefore WE will be the establishment. It is like having Mrs. Hamer as chief of police. It has been a goal of the Movement to either influence (like by demonstrations) or take over (by running candidates or challenging) the power structure, so that we can change things. When we have a chance to run something, it will be as good as we make it.

We should be aware of the fact that many whites, some pretending to be very liberal, and many Negroes, suddenly pretending to be civil rights oriented, are going to try to take us over. It may be that the Young Democrats will end up being so moderate it will be like token desegregation at a school, instead of full integration. In addition, civil rights action independent of any political considerations must continue and under strong leadership. And as Mississippi becomes less beastial, less militant people will be willing to work within the framework of the platform of the national Democratic Party and workers for basic humanistic change may well have to concentrate again on independent groups, such as SNCC, for vehicles of action.

HOW TO ORGANIZE YOUNG DEMOCRATIC CLUBS IN MISSISSIPPI

1. Organize county-wide chapters first, because our purpose is to organize the state into one group. If we don't organize the county chapters first, someone else might well, and then we would have to contend with that. Don't organize segregated chapters. This means that high school or college chapters should not be organized since Mississippi schools are still segregated. (exceptions will be made for integrated school chapters). City chapters should come second and should coordinate their programs with the county chapter.

2. Publically announce "The Organizational Meeting of the Young Democratic Club of _____ County", and include the date, time, and place, and words "Public Invited". Make reasonable attempts to get this announcement into the white and Negro communities by means of newspaper ads, radio announcements, leaflets, church announcements, and posters. If a white newspaper or radio station will not accept your ad, keep a copy of a letter written to them requesting the ad.

3. Write the YDCA National Officers and National Membership Committee (see the list at the end of this book) and the state YDCM office (P. O. Box 2251, Jackson, Mississippi, 39205) including a report of the meeting, the list of members (with addresses and phone numbers). THIS IS VERY IMPORTANT TO PROVE THAT WE EXIST.

4. Adopt as your program action on voter registration, helping with political education and organization in your county, learning about the government and officials, and civil rights, civic, and community work.

5. Send in articles for our state newsletter and chapter reports.

6. Do not let any group or individual person take over or run your group. There are areas where conservative Negroes or slick white people will try to boss you or influence you by pretending to be nice. Get advice from the Freedom Democratic Party people, the COFO people, or best, from your state office.

7. Be aware of tricks that others use to hurt or control us: we must learn parliamentary procedure to be able to fight for our rights in meetings; we must not let white people get up and speak without being recognized from the chairman and trying to dominate the meeting; we must learn to put out our own political propaganda of the truth to counter the lies and distortions of our many enemies; we must learn to write letters to the national YDCA and heads of organizations to get aid; and we must learn to keep accurate records (such as certified mail receipts) to prove our case.

SECTIONS OF ROUGH MINUTES OF A MEETING CALLED BY THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES TO DISCUSS THE MISSISSIPPI PROJECT, SEPTEMBER 18, 1964. People Present: Gloster Current, Jack Groenberg, Joe Rauh, Bruce Hanson, James Farmer, Anna Hedgeman, Al Lowenstein, Jack Pratt, Andy Young, Robert Spike, John Morsoll, Courland Cox and Mendy Samstein. (the BIG SHOTS)

Current: I would like some evaluation of the Summer Project, for instance, the role of the Lawyers Guild. I object to Johnny-come-latelies. Let's us settle around the table where we are going in 1965. Let's determine the extent of cooperation. NAACP has 1/4 million tied up in Mississippi.

Spike: Mississippi is no longer a local problem. Tension is created between those who are moved by local considerations and those who must heed national considerations.

Current: The Freedom Democratic Party is a delusion. It causes confusion among local people. FDP units are developing in several cities around the country -- and wherever they are there are suspicious characters. In Jackson Charles Evers has rapport with downtown. So there and in Biloxi and Vicksburg will have little resistance to registration.

Farmer: Decision making in COFO is nub of problem. Confusion exists on how decisions are made.

All: Question of making the right decisions. MFDP challenge at Atlantic City was important, but it was weakened in the end.

Rauh: But I would like to drive out the Lawyers Guild. I think it is immoral to take help from communists.

Lowenstein: I agree with you but we must maximize cooperation... We need a definite structure. We need to draw up a constitution. It is true that SNCC was main source of funds and resources but this is no longer the case. Now students, labor, other groups, so these must have say. We must strike balance with people of Miss. in decision-making.

Morsell: We must consider our national responsibilities, and this is the problem. Decisions, no matter how democratic, if injurious to our national interests, we must have way out.

Thomas: Unreal as far as Miss. is concerned for ad hoc group to meet in New York and determine what should go on.

Rauh: Freedom Registration bridge to regular party. Basis for caucus in regular party and files are useful for organizational work.

Lowenstein: Question of decision making. People are excluded or not notified of meetings, like Rev. Smith.

Samstein: Rev. Smith is not a member of the FDP Executive Committee. Exec. Comm. chosen by the district caucuses about a week before the state convention.

Lowenstein: I was called by two Negroes in Mississippi and told that they couldn't understand what was going on. Rev. Smith considers himself a member of the FDP executive committee.

Current: Need summit meeting of different groups to evaluate whole situation.

Cox: Need for low level meeting. Next meeting should be in Mississippi with people from Mississippi and based on interpretations from them.

Current: The more I listen to Cox the more I know we need a top level meeting. I have been listening to crying of people from Mississippi for 17 years. I don't want to listen to Steptoe. We need high-level meeting we can cut away underbrush.

Morsell: You want us to listen to people in Mississippi; we don't want to be attacked.

SECTIONS FROM "THE LIBERALS BIG STICK: READY FOR SNICK?", JUNE CAVALIER, by Jack Nowfield

America's mighty Liberal Establishment is coiled and ready to strike at "Snick - the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, those saints and irresponsibles of the civil rights movement... The movers and shakers of the liberal coalition are: Charles Evers, Mississippi field secretary of the NAACP; Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive director; James Wechsler, editorial-page editor of the NEW YORK POST; Joseph Rauh, former chairman of ADA and former lawyer for the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party; Allard Lowenstein, author, professor, and chief recruiter for the 1964 Mississippi Summer Project; and Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers union... Evers has oriented his middle-class followers towards integrating the restaurants and motels of Jackson. But SNCC, under the humanistic grass-root influence of Bob Moses, has worked with the cauperized menials and illiterate sharecroppers, who couldn't care less about the plush motels of the capital... Wilkins... January 6 in New York charged publicly that "Chinese Communist elements" had infiltrated SNCC. Reuther's criticism of SNCC... is that SNCC is inefficient, disorganized, and bereft of democratic procedures. Rauh, who is a braintruster of Vice-President Humphrey, is most disturbed by SNCC's "irrationality and bitterness." Lowenstein... believes it is "SNCC's hostility to coalition with less militant civil rights groups" that is at the root of the liberals' winter of discontent....

Lawrence Guyot, the 25-year-old chairman of the SNCC-organized Freedom Democratic Party, says: "We will accept help from anyone, but we will accept guidance from no one. The only coalition I am responsible to is the Negroes of Mississippi." Says Bob Moses, "The liberals getting upset at us was inevitable. We are raising fundamental questions about how the poor sharecropper can achieve the Good Life, questions that liberalism is incapable of answering."....

The Liberal Establishment... stood before the FDP delegation of tenant farmers, janitors, and domestics on the second day of the Atlantic City convention and pleaded for acceptance of the compromise.... But the 68 FDP delegates ... unanimously voted down the compromise.... The rejection of the compromise confounded the liberals who thought they could influence the FDP.

The leadership of SNCC was equally bitter because they felt that Wilkins, Rauh, Reuther, and the others displayed more compassion for Humphrey's ambitions than for the Negroes of Mississippi. SNCC was further outraged by the series of attacks aimed at them in the press immediately following the convention. They suspected these assaults were inspired by the Liberal Establishment. Evans and Novack, columnists for the NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE, who are often privy to "leaks" from the White House, charged "communists and left-wingers had infiltrated the FDP" and that Bob Moses had "Black Muslim sympathies." The Liberal James Wechsler, writing in the NEW YORK POST, bitterly assailed the irrationality of the FDP and Moses....

In January, the FDP's challenge to the seating of the five congressmen from Mississippi reopened all the scars inflicted during the convention fight.... If the liberals attack (SNCC), they will have the backing of the unions, the press, the funding foundations, and the Johnson Administration.

* * *

YOUNG DEMOCRATIC CLUBS OF MISSISSIPPI
MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION

TO JOIN - read and then answer the questions (or have someone help you). Mail this form to YOUNG DEMOCRATIC CLUBS OF MISSISSIPPI, Post Office Box 2251, Jackson, Mississippi, if you agree with what it says.

ANY PERSON ABOVE THE AGE OF SIXTEEN YEARS AND UNDER THE AGE OF FORTY WHO PROFESSES AND DEMONSTRATES ALLEGIANCE TO THE PRINCIPLES OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY SHALL BE ELIGIBLE FOR ACTIVE MEMBERSHIP. THE PURPOSE OF THIS ORGANIZATION SHALL BE: TO STIMULATE IN YOUNG PEOPLE AN ACTIVE INTEREST IN GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS, TO INCREASE THE EFFICIENCY OF POPULAR GOVERNMENT, TO FOSTER AND PERPETUATE THE IDEALS AND PRINCIPLES OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY, TO RECRUIT NEW MEMBERS FOR THE CANDIDATES OF OUR CHOICE, TO HELP ACQUAINT VOTERS WITH THE ISSUES AND THE CANDIDATES, AND TO PROVIDE FOR OUR PEOPLE THROUGH ITS ADMINISTRATION THE HIGHEST DEGREE OF JUSTICE, SOCIAL WELFARE, AND HAPPINESS.

Sign here if you agree: _____

- 1) Write today's date: _____
- 2) Print your full name: _____
- 3) How old are you today: _____
- 4) What county do you live in: _____
- 5) What town do you live in: _____
- 6) What is your address: _____
- 7) What is your telephone number (or neighbor's): _____

GET YOUR FRIENDS, NEIGHBORS, CHURCH MEMBERS, FELLOW WORKERS, and CLUB MEMBERS TO JOIN. ORGANIZE COUNTY CHAPTERS OPEN TO ALL PEOPLE WITHOUT REGARD TO RACE, RELIGION, OR NATIONAL ORIGIN. CONTACT THE STATE OFFICE FOR HELP, and WRITE US ABOUT YOUR PROGRESS. Young Democratic Clubs of Mississippi, P. O. Box 2251, Jackson, Mississippi, 39205

* * *

...Chairman McMahon announced the problem of whether to recognize the delegation present from Mississippi as the duly accredited representatives of the Young Democrats of Mississippi. No group from Miss had applied for a charter at the Law Vegas convention. Application from current group seeking recognition received by President House on August 20; material received included a copy of their constitution, minutes of their Convention held in August, a list of officers, and the requisite \$100.00 charter fee. No certification, as required from Senior Party officials, was received. Miss McMahon read the two sections of the YDCA National Constitution that covers the chartering of clubs by the committee. (Section 3(a), (b)). Credentials Committee chairman McMahon authorized by Committee to appoint a sub-committee to hear testimony on the matter. Members of the sub-committee: Mr. Schumann (Calif.), Mr. Farley (Colo.), Mr. Shuval (Texas), Miss Schaaf (Ill.), and Mr. Badley from Washington to serve as Chairman. Sub-Committee met, reported back to Credentials committee, split 3 to 2. Cred. Comm. received both majority & minority reports. Motion by Schumann to accept the minority report failed; the majority report denying the charter to the Mississippi group was adopted. Chairman McMahon moved the adoption of the majority report (2nd from the floor) with a notation that the following documents had been received from the chair: "We the undersigned (representatives of 13 states) express our disapproval of the majority report of the Credentials Committee and are in favor of the minority report recommending seating of the delegation from the State of Mississippi." Mr. Schumann moved to substitute the minority report for the majority report (2nd from the floor).....

Chairman announced that one-half hour had been apportioned for the discussion of the Credentials committee report. Appointed timekeeper: V. P. Oliver Ocasek. Mr. Schumann (Calif.) first speaker for substituting minority report. Schumann stated that there was no chartered Miss delegation, so this proposed chartering would unseat no delegation. No other Miss group had applied for a charter. There being no question about the materials presented, only the lack of the required signatures of the Nat'l Committee man and National Committeewoman for State Miss. Chairman. Lack of Nat'l Committeewoman in Miss. noted; testimony given that Nat'l Committeeman Brady did not support the Democratic Ticket in 1960; opinion given that Nat'l Committeeman Brady did not support the Democratic Ticket in 1960; opinion given that applying YD group from Miss. would probably be only Democratic LBJ support in Miss. Mr. Schumann used 5.5 minutes. Majority proponents, having but one spokesman, would have the right to close. Richard Kaplan (Ore.) read resolution passed by Policy Committee of the College Young Dems supporting the seating of the Miss. group (present) in the YDCA. Signed by all Comm. members.

The chair recognized John O'Malley of Mass., who compared the seating and chartering of the Miss. group with the analogous situation re Alaska at the Law Vegas convention, and stated that the same arguments that were valid re Alaska were still pertinent in the Miss. case. The Miss. groups' support of LBJ, its not being contested as the official YD group by other Mississippians, and the obvious impossibility of their obtaining the requisite signatures were also cited as telling points in favor of granting the group the charter for Miss. YDs.

The chair recognized Josiah Beeman of Calif., who reported the hard trail to organize the Miss. YDs; declared there were 18 clubs representing almost 1000 members, 65 delegated at the State YD convention, who voted to seek a charter from the YDCA. Beeman stated "the same people are now vigorously defending the virtue of the (YD) constitution who tried to rape it in Law Vegas". Beeman cited Sr. party Miss. declaration stating and re-affirming (in 1960) its belief in "segregation of the races", and that Miss. Sr. Party declared "that we reject & oppose the platforms of both national parties and their candidates." Lack of a legal Sr. Party Nat'l Committeewoman was cited, as well as FDR, Jr's noontime speech to the YD luncheon.

The time for the minority presentation having run over (Mr. Shuval granted Mr. Beeman a minute of his time), the chair recognized Mr. Shuval from Texas to present the only defense for the majority report. Mr. Shuval opined that it was inconceivable to expect a Sr. Party member to answer a letter in one week's time; lack of a National committeewoman was agreed to, but writing only one letter in an attempt to get two signatures was considered insufficient. Lack of testimony before sub-committee, and time to verify testimony were cited as reasons for not allowing chartering of Miss group at this time. Re: Alaska analogy: in Las Vegas, Alaskan YDs seeking charter had telegrams reputedly from necessary signators, but no such telegrams presented from Miss. group. Shuval stated it wasn't an issue between integration and segregation...We don't know that the (Sr. Party) people down in Mississippi even know that these people (the YDs seeking the Miss. charter) exist, and this is a different question." Mr. Shuval digressed about Texans, and how Texan YDs were liberals who supported public accommodations laws. Lack of signatures was again cited as adequate reason for refusal of charter, and need for Sr. Party approval mandatory for Young Dems to exist and "have banquet downstairs". Sr. Party people would not let many state YD organizations exist unless they had control over it. "They (Sr. Party) let us exist...because they have a control, and this is the thing of essence...If they (YDs) come with this proof (of Sr. Party disloyalty) I will be the first one to seat them, but they have not come with this proof...Everybody's heart in this room goes out to the people in Mississippi, but I say to you stand up and be responsible Americans and responsible Young Democrats.".....(in addition the Resolutions Committee recommended and the National Committee passed a resolution which "urges Democratic Platform Committee to include in its Civil Rights plank praise for the courage of the civil rights workers in Mississippi.")

CONSTITUTION OF THE YOUNG DEMOCRATIC CLUBS OF MISSISSIPPI

9 August 64
P. O. Box 2251
Jackson, Miss.

Article I - Name

The name of this organization shall be "The Young Democratic Clubs of Mississippi."

Article II - Purposos

The purpose of this organization shall be: To stimulate in young people an active interest in government affairs, to increase the efficiency of popular government, to foster and perpetuate the ideals and principles of the national Democratic Party, to recruit new members for the candidates of our choice, to help acquaint voters with the issues and the candidates, and to provide for our people through its administration the highest degree of justice, social welfare, and happiness.

Article III - Affiliation

A) This organization shall affiliate with and become a part of the Young Democratic Clubs of America.

B) Local clubs wishing to affiliate with this organization shall submit a proposed Constitution and/or by-laws with a letter requesting the issuance of a charter. A charter may issue upon investigation by the Executive Committee of the local club making application, as long as the issuance of said charter is in the best interests of this organization.

C) Charters issued to local clubs may be removed at any time by the Executive Committee after a hearing held under rules for the same. The rules for such hearing shall be adopted and promulgated by the Executive Committee as soon as possible, and said rules shall provide for adequate notice to all parties concerned, and shall assume due process to all parties concerned.

Article IV - Policy

Section 1: This organization shall support actively the nominees of the Democratic Party in national elections; in state and local elections it shall support those candidates who this organization feels endorse the principles of the national party. It shall conduct an aggressive state-wide campaign in support of the nominees and the platform of the National Democratic Party; it shall endeavor to maintain permanent contact with Young Democrats throughout the state of Mississippi, and it shall function continuously in order that it may contribute continuously to the growth and influence of the Democratic Party.

Article V - Membership

Section 1. There may be two classes of membership, active and honorary.

Section 2. Any person above the age of sixteen years and under the age of forty who professes and demonstrates allegiance to the principles of the national Democratic Party shall be eligible for active membership.

Section 3. Democrats over forty years of age shall be eligible for honorary membership provided they have rendered service of out-standing character in the advancement of the ideals and principles of the Democratic Party.

Section 4. Members may be expelled by a three-fourths vote of the local governing body for disloyalty to, or, failure to support the national Democratic Party, or for any conduct, either criminal or degrading in character; provided any member so expelled shall have the right of appeal to the members in good standing called for a special meeting, by written notice, to hear such appeal, whose action, determined by majority vote thereof, shall be final.

Article VI - Officers

Section 1. The officers of each local club shall consist of a president, a vice-president, a secretary, and a treasurer.

Section 2. In addition, the Executive Committee of the Young Democratic Clubs of Mississippi shall consist of a National Committeeman, National Committeewoman, President, Vice-President, Secretary, Treasurer, and four additional members, for a total Committee of ten, with two representatives from each of the five congressional districts. The Executive Committee shall be elected annually by all of the members of the YD's of Mississippi meeting in convention.

Section 3. The duties of the officers shall be, in addition to such special duties as are elsewhere stated in this constitution, such duties as are customarily allocated and attributed to, and performed by, similar officers in similar organizations or clubs.

Section 4. Officers of the local clubs shall be elected annually by a majority vote of all regular members present and entitled to vote at the annual meeting of the club thirty days or more before the annual YD state convention, and shall hold office until the next annual meeting, or until the election and qualification of their successors.

(OVER)

Article VII - Executive Committoos

Section 1. In each local club there shall be an Executive Committoe composed of such elected officers and appointed officers as deemed desirable.

Section 2. The Executive Committoos of both the local clubs and the state organization shall constitute the governing boards thereof, and shall, in addition to their duties specified in this constitution, act as the general managing, supervisory, and administrative bodies of their respective organizations.

Section 3. Meetings of the Executive Committoos shall be held at such times and places as the Executive Committoos may decide, or as the President or any other two (2) officers may specify upon at least two days' written notice.

Section 4. The local or state President may from time to time appoint such other committoos (Membership, Finance, Social, Convention, etc.) as the club, the Executive Committoe, or the President may deem necessary or advisable.

Article VIII - Meetings

Section 1. An annual convention of the Young Democratic Clubs of Mississippi shall be held in the month of August in each calendar year,

and shall be held upon such date in said month at such time and place as the Executive Committoe may designate.

Section 2. Regular local club meetings shall be held either monthly or bi-weekly upon such date(s) and at such time and place as the club Executive Committoe may specify.

Section 3. Special meetings of the club shall be held upon such occasions and at such time, place, and on such dates as the President or the Executive Committoe may specify.

Section 4. Notices of each regular and special meeting shall be given, at least a week prior to the meeting, by mail or by telephone call to each active member.

Article IX - Dues

Section 1. There shall be no entrance fee and no fee or charge for initiation into the club.

Section 2. Each member of the club shall pay an annual membership fee or dues to be determined and collected by the Treasurer, or by such committee and the President.

Section 3. Special fees or assessments may be charged or levied from time to time when the Executive Committoe or the club shall direct, but such special fees or assessments shall be discouraged except when deemed necessary for the proper and effective functioning of the club or its essential activities.

Article X - Voting Qualifications

Upon the election of officers and members of the Executive Committoe or each local club and upon the consideration of any matter or question put to vote, only regular members whose dues are not delinquent shall be entitled to vote.

Article XI - By-Laws

A local club may adopt such by-laws as, from time to time, it shall deem necessary. By-Laws shall be adopted when approved by a majority vote of the members in good standing present at the regular meeting or at a special meeting called by written notice stating the purpose for which the special meeting is called. Said by-laws of a local club shall not be in conflict with this Constitution.

Article XII

Section 1. This constitution may be amended by a two-thirds (2/3) affirmative vote of the members present at the annual state convention and eligible to vote in their local clubs as herein-above specified; provided, however, that no proposed constitutional amendment may be considered or voted upon unless the convention delegates shall have received at least two days prior to the convention a brief statement describing the general nature of the proposed amendment.

Section 2. The constitution of local clubs may be amended by a two-thirds (2/3) affirmative vote of the regular members present at any meeting and eligible to vote as herein-above specified.

SECTIONS OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE YOUNG DEMOCRATIC CLUBS OF AMERICA of special interest.

ARTICLE II - MEMBERSHIP Section 3. (a) Affiliation of State Units shall be by Charter to be granted by the National Committee of the Young Democratic Clubs of America upon proper application for Charter by the State Organization, with the verification signature and authorization of the State Organization President and two of the three State Senior Party signatures, to-wit, the State Chairman, National Committeeman and/or National Committee-woman provided such application shall be delivered to the President of the Young Democratic Clubs of America on or before thirty days prior to the National Convention; and provided, further, that said application shall contain a statement to the effect that the applicant is an active state organization of Young Democratic Clubs which has hold a state convention since the last National Convention. And provided further that a charter shall be granted only to those states and units whose officers shall have been elected at said state convention by delegates representing local organizations within the State or elected by the direct vote of such members of said organization and which state grants county and college clubs representation and opportunity at said convention provided that such clubs meet requirements set forth by the state constitution.

(b) No state organization or counterpart thereof shall be accredited by the Credentials Committee for seating at the National Convention without compliance with the provisions of Article II, Section 3(a) except that, if a delegation does not have the required two out of three state senior Party signatures, or if a dispute arises and one or more of such signatures is lacking, the committee may recommend and the convention may seat such a delegation, if any of such senior Party officers of said States failed to support the Democratic Presidential nominee in the last preceding election.

(c) Any dispute in regard to the validity of the State Organization or its charter may be appealed to the National Committee no later than 30 days before convention, who shall act on the presentation of both or more factions according to the official Constitution and By-Laws.

Section 5. State units and each local organization affiliated therewith shall permit membership without regards to race, religion, or national origin and said state units and all local member units affiliated therewith shall not segregate their members on the basis of race, religion, or national origin.

BY-LAWS 6. (b) State Organizations shall be chartered by the Young Democratic Clubs of America upon receipt of a written application for charter submitted biennially with a \$100.00 charter fee, a copy of the State Constitution which is compatible with the National Constitution, a list of State Officers and officers of affiliated groups such as county, city, or college clubs.

* * *

SENIOR PARTY OFFICIALS WERE DISLOYAL

The Mississippi Democratic Party and its officials have over and over again declared in public speeches and printed matter that they are not a part of the National Democratic Party. All recent Governors bear this out, such as former Governor J. P. Coleman who said "This party has always been separate and distinct from the national party." (BILOXI-GULFPORT DAILY HERALD, May 10, 1963) And Bidwell Adam, State Democratic Chairman, has publicly announced that he was "through with the National Democratic Party. The National Democratic Party will have to get somebody else to carry their banner." (MONTGOMERY ADVERTISER, September 29, 1962) Previously Adam indicated his loyalties by commenting thusly after Ross Barnett's election as Mississippi Governor: "I want to say I'm thankful to God that Ross Barnett has saved Mississippi." (TIME, September 7, 1959) And since, Mr. Adam has made it clear that he did not support the Democratic Presidential nominee in our last election. In criticism of Wirt Yerger, state Republican Chairman, Adam said "Not one word of praise or tribute for Gov. Wallace and his heroic battles fought against South-haters has been uttered by Parry Howard's successor....Would you, Mr. Yerger, go into the booth on election day, next November and vote for Gov. Wallace if his name appears on the ballot as a Presidential candidate or would you put your political dagger into the back of this champion of states' rights from Alabama?" (JACKSON CLARION LEDGER, 5/18/64) Bidwell Adam supported Goldwater, not LBJ. The JACKSON DAILY NEWS of August 8, 1964 headlined an article "Bidwell Leans to Barry But Not The GOP....He said laws provide 'any elector can vote in the presidential election for any person of his choice for president or vice president of the United States without regard to party lines and without any penalty for so doing.'" The next day the DAILY NEWS said "Earlier Wednesday, State Democratic Chairman Bidwell Adam urged state voters to cross party lines in the Nov. 3 general election." It is clear enough, but Adam wanted to make sure that people know he was for Goldwater, so September 11, 1964 JACKSON DAILY NEWS reports he said "State Democratic Chairman Bidwell Adam discounts any reprisals against Mississippi Democrats who support Barry Goldwater. 'Lyndon Johnson is bidding for eight years in the White House, not four,' he said. Adam said Johnson 'has already cut the Kennedy apron strings. He wants it to become the Johnson cable.' He said Johnson is a very astute man in the field of politics...and I apprehend no reprisals from the national Democratic organization or administration in the future." Adam said Thursday he sees 'no sign' of any further support in Mississippi for the Johnson-Humphrey ticket. No doubt one good reason was Mr. Adam's disloyalty. In October the McCOMB ENTERPRISE JOURNAL said "Mississippi's Democratic chairman says he will not lift a finger for the Democratic ticket of President Lyndon B. Johnson and Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey. Adam said

Saturday he will neither support nor campaign on the behalf of the national party candidates." (this story was also on the Associated Press wires). Everybody in Mississippi know that Adam and the regular Democratic Party supported Goldwater. As the November 11 CLARION LEDGER put it, "Goldwater was favored almost from the start since he had the indirect backing of Gov. Paul Johnson and the state Democratic Party machinery, plus the support of former Gov. Hugh White and former Gov. Ross Barnett." (Additional proof can be found in the BRIEF SUBMITTED BY THE MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY to the Atlantic City National Democratic Party Convention, prepared by Joseph I. Rauh, Jr., assisted by Eleanor K. Holmes and H. Miles Jaffo)

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STATEMENT GIVEN BY ROBERT OSWALD, FORMER PRESIDENT OF THE MISSISSIPPI YOUNG DEMOCRATS TO SPENCER OLIVER, CHAIRMAN OF THE MEMBERSHIP PRACTICES COMMITTEE OF THE YOUNG DEMOCRATIC CLUBS OF AMERICA. THIS STATEMENT WAS GIVEN TUESDAY, MARCH 23, 1965 IN THE OFFICE OF SPENCER OLIVER. WITNESS PRESENT WAS MISS GERI STORM, NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN FROM SOUTH DAKOTA.

OSWALD: My name is Robert Oswald and I am a past president of the Mississippi Young Democrats, and a past secretary of the Mississippi Young Democrats. At the present time I am serving as Chairman of the Jackson County Democratic Executive Committee -- a post which I have held for the past ten years. In my capacity as President and Secretary for the Young Democrats, at no time was I approached by any group of Negroes in Mississippi who sought to obtain a charter as a club under the Mississippi Y.D. organization. In the ten years that I have served as county chairman, I have never had any Negro group come to me with a request for any information concerning matters political or party matters with the singular exceptions of the Kennedy campaign in 1960, and the Johnson campaign in 1964 when several Negroes came to my office and asked for campaign material and received it from me, and worked with those of us in my county who were what we called down there "loyal democrats." I have never known of any of the so-called Freedom Democrats, who are actually functioning in, with and around the SNCC group and the COFO group, to have meetings for party political purposes. We have had these groups active in my county and my views in my county have been quite well known to the extent that recriminations have been made against me personally, and against my family and against my children; and yet none of these Negro people have contacted me at any time with a request to participate in any manner within the framework of the regular Democratic Party or within the framework of the Young Democrats. Last year, I did receive several letters from individual Negroes around the state asking how to go about chartering a local Y.D. organization. At that time I was no longer the President nor official of any type in the Mississippi Y.D.'s and I referred them to the gentleman who was my successor, and who happened to be not a Democrat, but in fact, a Dixiecrat or a Republican. The Dixiecrats had made an effort at the time I was elected, to take over the Mississippi Y.D.s, we were fortunate, however, in being able to defeat that effort. Future events caused many of the staunch Y.D. members in Mississippi to have to drop out due to economic recrimination against them in their home towns, and the organization became for all practical purposes an organization in name only. Notwithstanding this, we continued to identify ourselves with the national party and with the ideals and aspirations and programs of the national party.

OLIVER: Bob, did you ever know of any instances in any of the other clubs in the state, where Negroes were kept out or discriminated against in any place in your organization outside of your home county or any other place?"

OSWALD: I would have to answer that by saying no, because I never learned of any effort being made by any Negro group or any individual for that matter, to participate within the party, with the Senior Party of the Y.D.'s

OLIVER: When you were an officer of the Young Democrats, in Mississippi, how many clubs did you have in the state?

OSWALD: We had about seven or eight clubs that were widely scattered throughout the state from Oxford, that's the University chapter up at Ole Miss, down to Gulfport and Pascagoula on the Gulf Coast. The organization -- that was the largest number that the organization ever had for that matter, and due to the peculiar political climate that existed in Mississippi, it was very difficult to foster clubs in the various towns of the state. I might make this further observation you. Contrary to what some of the Press would have you believe, not all of the counties of Mississippi followed the so-called Mississippi pattern of voter discrimination and like. In my own county, for example, to my certain knowledge, Negroes have been registering without any difficulty since 1895, and not notwithstanding all of the various upheavals that have occurred, they have had no trouble whatsoever in going down to register. In fact, the only time that there was any sort of a restraint or limitation was back during the tense racial situation a year or so ago when it became necessary to limit the number that might be in the courthouse at any particular time. This was due, however, to certain local circumstances that existed that were unrelated to the racial problem. And it became a question of how many -- whether you wanted to pack the corridors of the courthouse, or whether you were going to have an orderly procession of people going into the Registrar's office. The Judge and the Sheriff determined that the orderly procession was far better than just jamming the people up in the corridors and so that system was followed. But other than that, and I personally observed these things, there was never any instances of anyone being abused and every Negro who chose to register was registered. I's true they were required to take this literacy test, but in my county, the thing is very generously interpreted in favor of the right to vote. And, in instances where white people have failed to pass the test, they have been turned down on the same basis that Negroes have been turned down. And yet, we have observed that there has been no wholesale

effort made by the Negroes to come in and register. It follows a pattern that exists in large areas of the nation, in that while they have the right to come in, like a lot of white people, they just don't bother to come in and register.

OLIVER: Let me ask you about what happened to the Young Democratic organization of which you were a part. Does it still function? Is it still in existence, or are remains evident?

OSWALD: What happened to the Y.D.'s after I ceased to be President -- a gentleman by the name of Al Neceise, who is an attorney in Gulfport, who was a very close political friend of Ross Barnett and of Governor Paul Johnson, took over the reins, and they have for all practical purposes buried the Mississippi Y.D. movement. Many of the people who originally participated in the formation of the Y.D.'s there, are still loyal to the concept, they are faithful to the national Democratic party, and they want to see the thing revitalized. But, they recognize, as do I, that we are confronted with one hell of a situation at the present. It has no immediate answer to it, and we recognize that at this time, any direct deliberate participation in the state of Mississippi by the National Democratic Party is going to have the effect of creating an all-Negro Democratic Party within the State of Mississippi. Some, at this time, they think that that's desirable, or may feel that such course is justified because of a century of abuse and so on, but at the same time there are thousands of white Mississippians who want to participate in the Democratic Party, who do not feel that color is any barrier, who are willing to participate in an integrated organization, who are loyal to the National Party as evidenced by the fact that 52,000 did, in fact, go out and vote for the Johnson-Humphrey ticket the last time around -- and there aren't that many Negro voters, there are only about 25,000 registered Negro voters in Mississippi. So you can see that there is support to the ticket although this last time around, it was very insignificant in the total picture. But we don't want to see the white support driven into a totally segregated white political organization that could only become Republican oriented. And, while it may be, that temporarily the Republican Party will come out with an overall liberal goal of attracting the Negro voters, in the final analysis I don't think that anyone in a position of responsibility wants to see Mississippi or any other state driven out of the National Democratic Party while there is a reasonable basis to believe that in time to come, the Party can be rebuilt along a line that is more consistent with the national purposes of the Democratic Party. And many of us, thousands of us, in the state recognize this can be done, it simply cannot be done at this present time with the tension that's in the air there.

OLIVER: Are there any present plans or any present prospects for the Young Democratic Clubs in Mississippi to attempt to be chartered by the National organization at the next national convention?

OSWALD: No. The Y.D. organization has been effectively buried by Mr. Neceise. I think that the Charter, in fact, has expired by virtue of the terms of the Constitution. And, there will be no effort that I know of to revitalize it. Although, there is some interest in a couple of the colleges in the state, particularly on an integrated basis, but the point is not to prove that we can make integration a fact in Mississippi and the Y.D. organization. I think that the long range view that we have to consider is the overall benefit to the Party, of a total Democratic Party, in the state of Mississippi that will be on an integrated basis, that will be worthwhile to the national party in future elections.

OLIVER: What do you think would be the effect, both long range and presently, of the YDCA granting a charter to the group of Young Democrats that appeared in Atlantic City, and are expected to appear again in Kansas City seeking a charter?

OSWALD: The ultimate result of such a step would be to make the Democratic Party in Mississippi a totally Negro organization. The tension there is too great at this time. I know that people around the nation are tired of hearing the words "let's have a little patience on this thing", but right now we're on the verge of the greatest thing that ever happened to the South taking place -- that's this Voting Bill, and when the Negroes are given the right to vote, in all elections, throughout Mississippi. END OF FIRST TAPE.

OLIVER: Bob, we were talking about the effects of seating the Young Democratic Organization that appeared in Atlantic City, and which we expect to appear in Kansas City or in New York to obtain the charter as a Young Democratic Clubs of Mississippi, and would you tell us, or can you tell us, what you know of this organization, and its existence and how does it function, and what do you think would be the effect of the YDCA granting such a charter to them?

OSWALD: Well, I think that we have to relate the entire Negro movement politically in Mississippi in order properly to answer that question. Last year, we had a precinct convention which leads to the county convention, and so on up to the district and state convention and ultimately to the national convention. I know that in some sections of Mississippi the Negroes were deprived of the right to participate in those conventions by one way or another. I know, also however, of no instance in Mississippi where a majority of Negroes appeared to participate in any precinct convention. It's true that they did go to a number of the precincts in some of the parts of the state, and they were not successful in getting their people selected as precinct delegates to the county democratic convention. But I know in my county where we have a Negro population of probably 12 to 15 thousand, that not at a single precinct did one Negro appear, although the fact of the holding of the precinct convention was well publicized in the local newspapers, and in spite of the fact that at the request of one of the local newspapers, I had written a detailed article that spelled out exactly how the party machinery functioned from the precinct election on up to the state convention, and I had no inquiry from any Negro as to how, or what they could do or should do, what they wanted to do -- although my position as county chairman was well known to all of them, and I have worked with numerous Negroes in past political campaigns for the national party. None showed up in my county. Yet, we have had the SNCC

group and the COFO group which are promoters of the FDP program or at least allies in any event, active within the county, and none of those people have made any effort whatsoever to contact me. I don't feel that I have any particular responsibility to go out and search them up. They know my office is located right by the Courthouse, they have no difficulty in finding out where I am located and coming down there to my office if they choose to. And, I don't think that they have made a legitimate effort to participate in party affairs in many of the sections of the State. It was obvious to me when I looked at the pattern of their action in 1964 that they had selected the worst spots of the state for their activity which amounted to nothing more than actual demonstrations. And yet, even in those areas, they did not take down a majority of people to participate in the precinct convention. In my county, for example, we had some delegates from some precincts elected with no more than five people present at the particular precinct. It would have been no job for the Negroes, had they chosen, to go down with ten people and they would have elected the delegate to the county convention. The same thing is true in the neighboring counties to the west of me which is Harrison County, where Gulfport and Biloxi, Mississippi are located. I have talked to the people in the party over there, and they said that a similar situation existed there. And yet, in a number of precincts, just on a per head county, the Negroes outnumber the white people in the precincts. So they could have taken over if they had wanted sincerely to participate in the Party matters, and not just try to get headlines.

GERI STORM: Where are your precinct conventions held?

OSWALD: In Mississippi, they are held at the actual voting place. In most counties, it may be a school, it may be a church, it may be the courthouse, it may be the city hall, some public building as a general rule. In a few areas, there is a building that is used for that exclusive purpose. And, they are well identified, they are centrally located as a general rule, ample parking, the public knows where they are. They have been, in a general rule, in the same location for many, many years.

OLIVER: Bob, let me ask -- did you have any knowledge of the group of Young Democrats that went to Atlantic City before they went? Were you in contact with them in any way, or did you know any participants? What I want to know, what the Committee wants to know is what knowledge you have of this organization, how it was organized, who organized it, who participates in it, how extensive it is, and this sort of thing for our particular information. If you would tell us what you know about that.

OSWALD: I was not personally contacted by any of them, as I think I mentioned earlier. I did receive several letters addressed to me asking for information on how to organize a Y.D. club in Mississippi. And those I replied to and advised of the name and address of the party whom they should contact for that purpose. And this I did, because I had no official status with the Y.D.'s. As far as the activity that they have had political-wise, principally they have worked with, and as a part of the SNCC and COFO operation in Mississippi. And as far as having a political organization or being politically oriented in what they are doing, I have seen none of it, and I have learned of no such action on their party within the state. The basic thing they have been doing has been to work along, and bring about demonstrations, and they have not sought to get down to the grassroots and work with the old line established political organization in the counties and in the districts. Now, I might make this observation to you. They may disagree with what is done, as I frequently disagree with what is done in my state, but at the same time, I recognize that just because I don't like who the county chairman may be a county or two away, I can't go in and say "Well, look the hell with him, lets just organize a new political party. Let's organize a new democratic party there." Sometimes I think that would be highly appropriate on the state level, and yet there is a way to go about this. If we start tearing up all of the rules and saying "O.K. we have a special reason here to cast aside all the rules, then who can say but what some other group five years or ten years from now can come along and say "O.K. the rules don't work to suit us anymore, so lets tear them up, and let's set on a new course." You will make new rules every time you get a dissatisfied group. What I say is this. I think these people have a right to participate in everything that does on, politically, within Mississippi, but I think that they are obliged first to make a sincere effort to participate in the various counties of the state. If they would come into a number of the counties, they would not be turned aside, they would be permitted to participate in many of the areas, they would be welcome to participate, and they haven't done this. I think that they have some obligation in the matter.

OLIVER: Let me ask you, Bob. Did this organization ever carry on any of the activities that a Young Democratic Club usually does. Did they ever conduct registration drives, or hold meetings, or have guest speakers, or have membership drives, or function in any way like a Young Democratic Club, or did they use themselves principally as a civil rights advocates, and also, how extensive do you know their Young Democratic organization to be. Not SNCC or COFO, but what they contend to be the Young Democratic organization in Mississippi.

OSWALD: Well, the whole point is -- that there is no separate Young Democrat movement. It's all a part of the SNCC-COFO operation down there. As far as what they have done as proposed or prospective Y.D.'s in Mississippi is concerned, Voter Registration and the like, I know I think you can separate it out, because it's a part of an overall movement. In my county and I keep referring to my county because naturally I am more familiar with what happened precisely there, but they came in and pretended to have precinct elections. They did not meet at the precincts. They designated where these were to take place by an ad that they placed in the newspaper, and they held the meetings in total disregard of any of the statutes of the state. Their meetings were not in the morning, as the law prescribed, but were at night. They were at a Negro Masonic Temple in one instance, they were at a Negro church in another instance, they were always at night. And, now this despite the fact

that they had made no effort in the county to participate in the precinct conventions that had already been held, and although the responsible Negro leadership in the county will know the party leaders in the county; they will know that they could get cooperation any time they asked for it, they knew that they had had the full assistance of the majority of the county Democratic Committee whenever they called upon it for help. And, they simply have never in that county, been denied any participation. The truth of the matter is, they simply have never sought to participate.

OLIVER: Bob, we have had a number of inquiries. We did during the campaign, the Democratic National Committee and the national office of the YDCA has had inquiries from some people in Mississippi. Some young people at Universities and other places who want to participate in the Young Democrats; who want to organize clubs, and I received a phone call just the other day from an English professor at the University of Mississippi named E. V. Truss who wanted to organize a Young Democratic club there, and they asked us how to go about it, how their young people can participate in Young Democratic organizations as affiliated and supported by the national YDCA. What should we tell these people? Where can they participate and how should we deal with this problem if we don't have a chartered organization down there?

OSWALD: Those people who are by inclination, Democrats, are going to continue to be such regardless of particular or peculiar affiliation they may have through an organization.

END OF TAPE TWO

oliver: We were discussing how young people could participate in the Young Democratic party in Mississippi if there is no YDCA organization.

OSWALD: You must bear in mind that we have no state senior party organization in the state where adults and older people can participate as far as an affiliation with the national party is concerned. The state democratic machinery is in the hands of people who are not national democrats. They call themselves Mississippi Democrats, you can call them a Dixiecrat or a Republican, and either one of those shoes would fit. And what we are in the process of doing now, is putting together, in various cities of the state, a very small little group of people who are national democrats. We're not meeting with publicity or a great deal of fanfare, we are not concerned with publicity at the moment, we are concerned with trying to lay the groundwork for doing the job that must be done. And these younger people will have an opportunity to participate in such organizations as that. We've got to regain control of the state political machinery as far as the Democratic Party in Mississippi is concerned. That's what we're trying to do. We're including in this group that we are working with, all segments of Mississippi Society, without regard to race, color, or anything else. It includes labor, includes the professions, people from all walks of life. And we can see that we've got to fight the battle out within the framework of what exists down there now, but if we go about engaging in wishful thinking, the job will never be done. So we're trying to lay the groundwork now, and these younger people can work with us. We have people around Oxford and other parts of the state who will work with them, and help channel their enthusiasm along the line that will be very helpful in the long-run to the party. But at this stage of the game, to create an all-Negro Young Democratic movement in Mississippi, is going to spell the death of the Young Democrat movement on a long range basis as far as the state of Mississippi is concerned. And I think it would be a loss to the Y.D.'s nationally for this to occur.

OLIVER: You said before that this Young Democratic group of which we have been speaking was affiliated with SNCC and COFO, do you know any of these people? Do you know Melvin Whitfield, or how do you know that these people are affiliated with these groups, and aren't just young Negroes who want to participate in the Young Democrats? Do you have any evidence that they might be financed, or that they participate completely in the other groups? Or are they just off-shoots, or what?

OSWALD: All of this is related time-wise and otherwise to the SNCC-COFO effort that began in Mississippi. No effort, as I described earlier, was made by any Negro groups to participate in my county or in any of the other counties of which I have knowledge, in the political structure there. Even though they know they would have been welcomed. The only thing that did happen, was the several letters that I received asking how they went about organizing. Now, it is impossible for me to conceive that a group of interested, sincere young Negroes who wanted to participate in the Young Democrat movement in Mississippi would not have made themselves known to the people who have conspicuously identified themselves with the national Democratic Party in Mississippi for years, and years and years and years and who have heretofore, over a period of years, worked with, and cooperated with the Negro leadership in Mississippi. There has been none of that displayed by the so-called movement, this present movement, to get the charter for this Negro group in Mississippi.

OLIVER: Bob, having been President of the Mississippi Young Democrats and having attended a national convention, you are familiar with the procedure for chartering in the YDCA. And under the present circumstances, it seems that the Young Democratic group, the extensible Young Democratic group that appeared at Atlantic City, would comply with all -- substantially -- comply with all the requirements other than those of receiving the signatures of the National Committeeman and Committeewoman and State Senior Party Chairman. And those particular provisions, the latter provisions can be waived if they can show evidence that these people did not support the Democratic Party nominees in the last general election. And it is our understanding at this time, that they are gathering such information and we expect them to come to Kansas City and to seek to be chartered by our organization, and we feel that our organization is emotionally, and very sympathetic with their general purposes, and certainly with the Civil Rights movement in the South. Under the circumstances what recommendations would you make, what do you think we should do under these particular circumstances if these people seek a charter. We really don't see any legal grounds that we could deny them on, especially since there is no other group in Mississippi; that is

seeking a charter or is functioning as a Young Democratic organization. Perhaps you see our dilemma and what the situation is, and what would you suggest that we do?

OSWALD: Well, first I think that the Voting Bill that is now pending is going to have such a profound effect and create such tensions on a temporary basis in Mississippi and other Southern states, that there would be nothing to be gained by further stirring of an already bad situation down there. I think that if any chartering were simply delayed until after the Voting Bill is passed, and some effort is begun to subside, and frankly, I think that many of the basic motivating forces behind these people will begin to disappear, as they begin to enjoy the right to vote in Mississippi. I can appreciate the problem that the Committee is confronted with; I think that the Committee could well ask itself a question. What effort has been made by this group to welcome others to participate with them in a Young Democrat movement in Mississippi. Especially in view of the fact that they have apparently little effort to contact any of the people who have been sympathetic for decades with their cause. And, where they would get a friendly ear, where they would get such cooperation as might be possible from that particular individual. But above all, I think that the tension that exists in the South cannot be understood by people who do not live there, or people who go down and stay for a brief period of time. You've seen what can happen at Selma, you've seen what can happen up at Oxford, you've seen what happened down at Philadelphia. We're dealing with a question not of just Negro rights and voting, you're dealing with a situation of massive ignorance on the part of a large segment of the white population down there, and to throw a lighted match into a can of gasoline is not the better course of wisdom, I don't think. And, the matter is beginning to resolve itself. I don't think that we are talking about a delay of any long period of time, but I think that it would serve the overall Y.D. program, it would serve the nation, if, at the moment, there are no further episodes to kick off more hatred in Mississippi or any other state. And the net result of this, of chartering such a group at this particular time is all I'm talking about, at this particular time it would be like lighting the fuse. And what would it gain? What would it gain the Y.D.'s? It's true that there's a great deal of emotion and feeling on this matter, but I feel compelled to look at it in the long range history and what we can do not just this year, but next year, and the next election and the election after that. And I think in that context, a delay for a short period of time until the Voting Rights Bill can be begun to be implemented is not saying never, it's saying let things calm down a little bit, and then let's all work together.

OLIVER: Bob, of course, many people will argue that that's what many of the Southern Leaders have been saying for along time. And that the only thing that has precipitated swift action on the part of the Congress and the Justice Department is the demonstrations, and is the violence that has occurred throughout the South and the demonstrations that are occurring today in Selma, and Montgomery Alabama. And, many people in our organization, I'm sure, feel that by having the Young Democratic Clubs of America go on record by chartering such a group as will be in Kansas City, that we will show the world and the Party and perhaps our elders that we, the youth of the Party, the leaders of the future are in sympathy with the Civil Rights movement in the South, and that we think that the degradation and the discrimination has gone to such an extent that the time for waiting has passed. Would you comment on what you think the effect in this regard, our chartering such an organization might have.

OSWALD: I don't know that it would prove any particular point in the long run which is what I'm trying to point out here. It might be of some temporary significance, but when you measure it against what you would have done over the long haul, you would have created the very thing that you dispise. You would have created a totally, segregated politically, structure of the Y.D.'s in Mississippi. On such a basis, that would almost preclude the thing every from becoming integrated. On the other hand, there is the real prospect that within a fairly short period of time after the Voting Rights Bill has been enacted, that there will begin a greater degree of integrating political life in Mississippi, and when I say in a short period of time, I'm talking about assuming that this Voting Rights Bill will be law within 60 or 90 days, and that the implementation of it -----

(END OF THIRD TAPE -- Transcribed by Janice Potts, March 24, 1965)
 ((editor's note: Mr. Oswald told me June 4, '65 that he thought it would take ten years for the Voting Rights Bill to have achieved substantial registration))

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 MEMBERSHIP PRACTICES COMMITTEE, MINORITY REPORT, April 10, 1965, by Jack Soxton

The issue before the National Committee is whether the Young Democratic Clubs of Mississippi have met the constitutional requirements for chartering by the YDCA, e.g. do they represent YD clubs in Mississippi, have they had a state convention, etc., in short, do they have a real, active organization?

I. August 1964 to February 20, 1965 (6 months) In August at the YDCA National Committee meeting in Atlantic City the Young Democratic Clubs of Mississippi submitted to the YDCA an Application for Charter, a copy of their Constitution, minutes of their State Convention, and a list of officers. (see Official Minutes of Atlantic City meeting). Opponents pointed out that the applicants did not have signatures by any of the three state senior party officials, i.e. State Chairman, National Committeeman, National Committeewoman. The Mississippi Young Democrats contended that the senior party people had not supported the National ticket in the prior election and that therefore, under the YDCA Constitution,

the signatures were not required. Opponents contended that this had not been adequately proven in the meeting. By a vote of 69-57 the National Committee voted not to seat the Mississippi Young Democrats. President Al Huse told them that he hoped that they would go back to Mississippi, continue to organize, and come back to the next YDCA meeting with proof of their contention about the position of the senior party people. During the 6 months from August 1964 until February 20, 1965, no effort was made by the National YDCA to assist or even to contact the Mississippi Young Democrats, notwithstanding the fact that a list of their officers had been submitted to the YDCA and notwithstanding the fact that staff members and elected officials of the YDCA travelled extensively during the election campaign. Finally, six months after the Atlantic City meeting, on February 20, 1965, a letter was written by YDCA Executive Secretary Fred Ricci to Melvin Whitfield, State President of the Mississippi Young Democrats. In March, Spencer Oliver was appointed Chairman of the Membership Practices Committee. He established telephone contact with State President Melvin Whitfield and National Committeewoman Thelma Eubanks. No contact was made with any other officers of the Mississippi Young Democrats.

II The Jackson Meeting (April 4, 1965) Chairman Oliver arranged a meeting in Jackson, Mississippi on Sunday, April 4 attended by a number of persons interesting in the Young Democrats. Chairman Oliver and Committee member Jack Sexton attended the meeting.

A. Senior Party Signatures The meeting in Jackson, Mississippi, on April 4, conclusively established that the Present state Chairman, Bidwell Adam, did not support the National ticket in the last presidential election. Melvin Whitfield (State President, Mississippi Young Democrats) read a newspaper article in which Bidwell Adam stated prior to the November 1964 election that he would "not lift a finger" to help the Johnson-Humphrey ticket. A letter which was sent to Bidwell Adam prior to the November election was read, criticizing Adam for supporting Goldwater in the November election. The proof that was allegedly lacking in Atlantic City has now been provided.

B. The Mississippi Young Democrats Organization. The sole issue to be decided by the National Committee Meeting is whether the Mississippi Young Democrats come within the requirements of the YDCA Constitution for grant of a charter. This in turn revolves itself primarily into the question of whether or not the Young Democrats of Mississippi have a real organization, really have clubs, really have meetings, really have members, really had a state convention. In Atlantic City in August of 1964, ten members of the Mississippi Young Democrats came to Atlantic City and were extensively questioned individually by various members of the National Committee. At the meeting in Jackson on April 4, six members of the Mississippi Young Democrats were present and at various times in the meeting in response to questions, described the activities of their organization. They said that a group of 65 people had a meeting in Jackson in July to plan the Young Democrats State Convention which was held in August at which officers were elected and that there are 15 clubs with approximately 300 members. They gave to the committee the names of 15 towns in which they had clubs, and in six of those towns, the names of the president of the local club. They agreed to furnish a complete list of their clubs and officers (As noted above they had already furnished a list of officers and minutes of their state convention to the YDCA in August 1964.) The evidence before the committee indicates that they do have an organization, that they do have clubs, that they have had meetings, and that they have had a state convention. The YDCA has had over 7 months since Atlantic City to investigate and has produced no evidence to the contrary. The foregoing conclusion rests not simply on the statements of the State President Melvin Whitfield, but on the statements made by the ten people who came to Atlantic City, the statements made by the six people including Melvin Whitfield, who attended the April 4 meeting in Jackson and the information submitted to the YDCA in Atlantic City.

C. Tactics All of those at the Jackson meeting expressed willingness to work together, to organize integrated Young Democratic Clubs in Mississippi, looking toward a State Convention in the summer. Melvin Whitfield proposed that a state convention be held in the summer at which new officers could be elected, to be voted upon by all those clubs represented at the Convention. Melvin Whitfield invited those present to send representatives to the Kansas City National Committee meeting and to participate in a State Convention. The sole point of disagreement between the Young Democratic Clubs of Mississippi and the others at the Jackson meeting was whether it would be tactically desirable for the Young Democratic Clubs of Mississippi to apply for a charter in Kansas City at this time. The others at the meeting stated that it would be tactically wiser to wait until the fall. The representatives of the Young Democratic Clubs of Mississippi disagreed. The question of what would be ideal tactics in Mississippi is not an issue before the Membership Practices Committee, nor is it an issue before the National Committee. Assuming that the Young Democratic Clubs of Mississippi renew their request for charter, the sole issue to be decided by the National Committee is whether the application comes within the YDCA Constitution. By analogy, over the past several years, some persons have stated that some of the actions that were brought in court by Negroes on civil rights issues should not have been brought at that time, but rather that it would have been better tactics to wait until the situation improved to bring these actions. However, once the actions were brought, the courts had no alternative but to consider them on the merits. Similarly, because there is a disagreement among various Democrats in Mississippi about timing is not a reason for the National Committee to avoid passing on the merits of the charter application.

D. Where was Melvin Whitfield on April 1? On the telephone on Thursday, April 1, Chairman Oliver asked Melvin Whitfield where he was. The answer was that he was in Mississippi. Undersigned concludes from the evidence that he was actually in California. However, this is not material to the issue: 1. The issue is whether the Mississippi Young Democrats

comply with the YDCA Constitution and not whether Whitfield was in Mississippi, California, or somewhere else on that particular day. 2. The following circumstances should be kept in mind: Melvin Whitfield is an 18 year old Negro from Mississippi. He led a group to Atlantic City which sought a YDCA charter. This group was rejected on the ground that they had failed to prove that any of the state senior party officials had failed to support the National ticket last election. Some proof was presented in Atlantic City. The Mississippi Young Democrats knew that the state senior party officials had not supported the Kennedy ticket in 1960. Melvin Whitfield could legitimately have concluded that his group was turned down in Atlantic City on the basis of a phony issue. He was then encouraged by the national President to get back to Mississippi and continue organizing and come back to the next meeting, which he and his group have now done. The National YDCA made no effort to help this group until a letter was sent on February 20, 1965. Next, Whitfield received a telephone call from a person whom he did not know, who identified himself as Spencer Oliver, Chairman of the Membership Practices Committee of the Young Democratic Clubs of America, and who showed a rather extraordinary interest in exactly where Whitfield was telephoning from. Given the present atmosphere in Mississippi, Mississippi Negroes do not lightly give out their own names and addresses or the names and addresses of other persons, particularly to strangers. We all know that there is an atmosphere of fear in Mississippi and that reprisals have been taken against many Negroes. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that Melvin Whitfield did not repose complete trust and confidence ^{1/} in telephone calls from a person he did not know, representing an organization which Melvin Whitfield had every reason to believe was hostile to his organization.

III. The Constitutional Issue Article II of the YDCA Constitution deals with membership. Section 3(a) provides that "Affiliation of State Units shall be by Charter to be granted by the National Committee of the Young Democratic Clubs of America upon proper application for Charter by the State Organization, with the verification signature and authorization of the State Organization President and two of the three State Senior Party signatures, to-wit, the State Chairman, National Committeeman and/or National Committeewoman...." Section 3(b) authorizes waiver of the Senior Party signatures requirement under particular specified circumstances. Opponents of the Mississippi Young Democrats argue that section 3(b) applies only at a National Convention and not at a National Committee meeting. One can as well argue that if the provisions of section 3(b) are the rule for seating at a National Convention the same rules should be applied at a National Committee meeting since there is no policy reason for having two different rules. However, if it is concluded that section 3(b) does not apply to a National Committee meeting then section 3(b) is irrelevant to our consideration at this National Committee meeting and we are left with section 3(a). The requirement of senior party signatures contained in section 3(a) should not be insisted upon here when no one seriously contends that these Mississippi Young Democrats could obtain the senior party signatures from the Ross Barnett State Democratic Party. There is no legitimate Democratic Party in Mississippi. The law does not require a useless act. Neither should the YDCA Constitution.

Respectfully submitted, JOHN J. SEXTON (1000 Federal Bar Building, Wash.)

(1/ It now appears that prior to the April 1 telephone call Oliver had asked Frank Rozak, YDCA College Director, to check on where Whitfield was and learned that Whitfield was attending school in California. Thus the questions to Whitfield on the telephone on April 1 about where he was were not for the purpose of obtaining information but for the purpose of entrapping Whitfield on an immaterial issue. A good deal of time, effort and money has been spent by the YDCA in proving that Whitfield was in California and not in Mississippi on a particular day which could have been much more fruitfully devoted to helping organize Young Democratic Clubs in Mississippi.)

* * * * *

The MISSISSIPPI AND MEMBERSHIP PRACTICES REPORT OF GERI STORM, NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN, SOUTH DAKOTA YOUNG DEMOCRATS on the Kansas City Meeting, April 9,10, 1965.

I have been pleased and gratified by the expressions of support you have given my service on the national Membership Practices Committee and the committee's efforts to build a Young Democratic Club in Mississippi. Particular thanks goes to Michael Swanton for his consistent words of encouragement and help. So that you South Dakota Y.D.s as well as others who are receiving this newsletter, will fully understand my position and the problems the committee faced, I will have to relate the background, beginning at the Atlantic City U.D. National Committee meeting, when 57 committee members, including the 3 of us from South Dakota, voted to seat a delegation of young people from Mississippi whom we supposed to be affiliated with the Freedom Democratic Party. 69 Y.D.s many of them under considerable pressure and many with an eye on the impending battle at the Democratic National Convention, voted against seating the delegation. Those of us who voted for the "Freedom" delegation were of the opinion -- at least I was -- that this was the position we must take, not just because the applicant club had apparently made an effort to comply with the constitutional requirements and had substantially done so -- but because the time had come to stand up and be counted for freedom and equality in the South -- the time had come to show our deep commitment to the civil rights movement -- the time had come for some kind of action -- and this was our chance -- and 57 of us took it. There was little doubt in anyone's mind that those young Mississippians would be back in the Spring and that they would be seated. I, for one, was determined to make it a personal crusade. That was in Atlantic City -- two weeks ago we were in Kansas City and a lot of things happened in between. Between August and February no one heard from or about the Mississippi Young Democrats. Letters from the YDCA office went unanswered. Then, in February, a newsletter appeared from their President. Another letter was sent from Y.D. Executive Secretary Fred Ricci requesting information.

None was forthcoming and some people began to be suspicious and question the existence of Y.D. activity in Mississippi. In the meantime, Y.D. President Al Huse was trying to put together a Membership Practices Committee that would have the duty of looking into the Mississippi situation as well as allegations that Alabama Young Democrats had refused a charter to Tuskegee Institute. To get anyone to take on such a politically dangerous assignment, much less to get an objective, open-minded committee, was not easy. Spencer Oliver, former Texas Y.D. leader (who now commutes between Maryland and Arizona) took on the task of Chairman against the advice of almost all his friends. Appointed to serve with him were Ed Rosewell, YDCA V.P. from Illinois; Don Hamilton, YDCA General Counsel from Oklahoma; Don Bonker, national Committeeman from Washington; Franklin Haney, Tennessee President; Pat Clary of Nevada; Jack Sexton, former D.C. President, who had been especially vocal on behalf of seating the Mississippi group in Atlantic City, and myself. Ed Rosewell turned down the assignment, due to the press of business back home, and was replaced by Jan Pettee, former national committeewoman from Michigan. All six conferences were represented, plus an at-large chairman and the general counsel. The committee consisted of three persons (Sexton, Pettee and Storm) whose clubs had voted to seat Mississippi in Atlantic City, two (Hamilton and Haney) whose clubs had voted not to seat and three (Oliver, Bonker, and Clary) who had not been at that meeting. With less than five weeks to Kansas City, the Committee began an energetic schedule of meetings in Chairman Oliver's Capital Hill offices and at the Democratic National Committee. All meetings except the final gathering before Kansas City were open to anyone who wished to attend and participate. At the final meeting, tape recordings made in Mississippi by Chairman Oliver and Mr. Sexton on behalf of the Committee were played for over 5 hours (till 2:30a.m.!) and, because of the nature of the tapes, only the committee was permitted to hear them. In view of the fact that the national senior party is attempting to join together the dissident national Democratic groups within Mississippi, the committee felt a special obligation to all those -- white as well as Negro -- who had been loyal to the Johnson-Humphrey ticket in its deliberations. We also felt we had a unique opportunity to help in building something meaningful within the State and to lay the groundwork for something more than an organization whose primary aim seemed to be the fostering of racial tensions within a political framework rather than alleviation of tensions through cooperative political endeavors. Evidence on the tapes, as well as our earlier contact with the President of the applicant Mississippi groups, Melvin Whitfield, (who had finally consented to talk with us), proved to the satisfaction of 7 of 8 committee members that the applicant group showed an alarming reluctance to work with other Democratically inclined groups with the state -- the NAACP, AFL-CIO, loyalist Y.D. of former years and an integrated Y.D. club at Old Miss (whose advisor, incidently, is a former USD English prof). In addition, we could find no evidence of Y.D. activity in Mississippi other than the Old Miss club, either during the 1964 campaign or since, except for the applicant President's February newsletter. I personally checked many sources, both in Washington and in Mississippi, in a futile attempt to find information on an organization when Mr. Whitfield had not responded to the repeated inquiries of the Committee. Statements were made by senior party leaders, Johnson-Humphrey campaign coordinators, labor leaders, Young Citizens for Johnson leaders, Y.D.s NAACP and persons at the Civil Rights Commission that they had never heard of or seen any activity on the part of the applicant group and did not believe it existed. If it did, the consensus was that it was a very small, secret, unrepresentative groups, probably aligned with persons whose primary interests were other than the future of the Democratic Party in Mississippi. Mr. Whitfield cast further doubts on the credence of his organization when he did talk to the committee. He claimed to be a student at Mississippi Valley State College (which he had never attended -- he is and has been a college student in San Jose, California since last September). He gave contradictory testimony on the place, time and attendance of a "state convention" and refused to submit a list of clubs and officers in his organization to the committee. It was clear that anything Mr. Whitfield told us about his organization had to be taken with a grain of salt. The applicant group was apparently nothing more than a "paper" transposition of an all-Negro youth organization, the Mississippi Student Union -- a fragmentary, loose-knit unit whose functions are not quite clear. Therefore 7 committee members reached what we believed would be an unpopular decision, no Mississippi club should be chartered in Kansas City. We would instead suggest that interested parties, within the State get together, hold a bona-fide convention and form a working, broad-based organization willing to cooperate with national Democratic forces working to rebuild the party in Mississippi. The majority of the committee had underestimated its allies. When Charles Evers, Field Secretary of the NAACP in Mississippi appeared in Kansas City to speak on behalf of our committee's recommendation -- along with the State President of the AFL-CIO, three very persuasive young Democrats from the integrated club at Old Miss and Robert Oswald, former President of the Mississippi Young Democrats (and one of the few Mississippi Democratic County Chairmen to publicly support the Johnson-Humphrey ticket), there was no doubt about the outcome. Supporters of the Whitfield group, through their principal spokesman, Joe Beeman of California, managed to keep the floor situation pretty confused as to the intent of the committee when a "compromise", in the form of an amendment to the committee report (earlier rejected by all groups appearing from Mississippi and, in another form, by the Membership Practices Committee) was introduced. Chairman Oliver finally took the floor, with a unanimous consent agreement, to "clear the air" on the matter. He declared in no uncertain terms that he was opposed to the amendment and asked for unqualified support of the committee report. That did it -- the amendment was defeated, 90-39 (representatives from 33 states voting against it, from 14 voting for the amendment), and the committee report was then adopted by an overwhelming voice vote. The Membership Practices Committee also reported that steps have been taken to correct any discriminatory practices in the Alabama Young Democrats and a final report on this matter is expected in 60 days.

SECTION ON MISSISSIPPI FROM NEW JERSEY'S REPORT ON THE KANSAS CITY MEETING, by Cannavo and Kelly, with assistance of Ed Kruse, YDCA national Secretary

Undoubtedly the key issue before the meeting was what action or recognition should be taken on the "Freedom Young Democrats" group seeking a charter, as they previously had done at the Atlantic City meeting. In the interim period, the Membership Practices Committee had been reactivated, with Spencer Oliver of Texas as Chairman. During the six months from August 1964 until February 20, 1965, no effort was made by the National YDCA to assist or even to contact the Mississippi Young Democrats, notwithstanding the fact that a list of their officers had been submitted to the YDCA and not withstanding the fact that staff members and elected officials of the YDCA travelled extensively during the election campaign. Finally, six months after the Atlantic City meeting, on February 20, 1965, after a communication from Secretary Ed Kruse, a letter was written by YDCA Executive Secretary Fred Ricci to Melvin Whitfield, State President of the Mississippi Young Democrats. The chairman of the Membership Practices Committee presented an oral report for the committee and its activities during the preceding six weeks. The committee had contacted both Melvin Whitfield, President of the Mississippi Young Democratic group seeking a charter; Robert Oswald, a president of the former (now defunct) all-white Mississippi Young Democrats; a group of Young Democrats from the University of Mississippi; and other persons. Two presentations on this matter were made: the first by the group seeking a charter; the second by a group urging delay in chartering until a "truly integrated" club could be formed. Both presentations were made by integrated groups. An amendment to the motion to accept the report of the Membership Practices Committee (which recommended no charter granting until after a possible presentation at the YDCA convention in October) was duly moved and seconded. The intent and test of the amendment were designed to have the National YDCA aid in the formation of a truly integrated Mississippi Young Dem Club, representing all factions, by setting up planning meetings for the purpose of obtaining maximum participation in a projected Mississippi Y.D. state convention to be held in July. The YDCA would set up a special committee to supervise the fulfillment of the conditions of the amendment, including attempts to obtain necessary Senior Party authorization signatures and submission, 60 days before the YDCA October convention. The special committee would be composed of John F. Geaney, Jack H. Beaupre, and Leo Krulitz, respective State Y.D. Presidents of New Jersey, Illinois, and Idaho. The amendment was defeated, 40 to 89. The national officers' votes (and proxies held by them) were the hard-core of the no votes: J. Albert House (North Carolina), President, and V.P. Alice McMahon (Florida) between them cast 17 no votes; the other officers, 3 no votes. The southern states members cast an additional 35 no votes. These 52 votes did the job. In the convention where the "one-man, one-vote" criterion is more closely approximated, the influence of the southern states is much less than in this committee (equal votes for all states, regardless of size), and the national officers, per se, haven't any votes, or proxies.

Of course there were some yes votes. New Jersey's three were proudly among them! And so were those of Ed Kruse, National Secretary from New Jersey, Ed Rosewell, 1st Vice President from Illinois, and Dale Wagner, College City President from Iowa. Those who voted yes thought that compliance with the amendment would put an end to the charter procrastination, insure the establishment of a state-wide, integrated club, and put an end to the run-around from the Mississippi senior party officials. The Committee's report, as adopted without the amendment, in effect said "not this time, but try again (and again, and again,....)". After all, 100 years have passed until a voter's right bill is being given a chance of passage in Congress, whereas the YDCA is only 33 years old. (Resolutions passed by the National Committee included) advocacy of the right to vote for young Americans between the ages of 18 and 21 (Ill.), support for the one man, one vote principle, and opposition to any attempts to overturn the meaningfulness of the ruling (M. & Cro.).

LETTER OF RANSOM JONES, PRES. YOUNG DEMOCRATS CLUB OF OL' MISS. TO REV. ED KING, TOUGALOO

This letter should and is going to begin with an apology for the incident which took place on this campus last Thursday night. Please express to the students who were the victims of that uncivilized act our sincere apologies and the shame and disgust some of us have for the students here who participated.

The purpose of this letter is to request that the YOUNG DEMOCRATS CLUB of the University of Mississippi be allowed to hold a meeting on the campus of your college. The date and time we would like to hold the meeting is May 2, 1965 at one o'clock in any building or facilities available at that time. The purpose of the meeting will be to promote the establishment of a biracial Democratic Party in Mississippi. Your immediate attention to this request will be very much appreciated. Thanking you in advance I am,

/s/ Ransom Jones

P. S. Cleveland Donald just called me and informed me that no one from Tougaloo had been invited to the meeting. Would you invite some of your students, especially Hunter Morey?

(Letter dated April 26, 1965) Mr. Jones knew that I was not a student of Rev. King's (I am a Field Secretary for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee), and he also knew that I was then functioning as Executive Secretary of the Whitfield group (which no longer exists independently from the other groups now making up the Young Democratic Clubs of Mississippi) but he refused to either answer any of my letters to him or to notify any of the Whitfield group of this meeting. Luckily Rev. King told me about it. We then turned in into a state planning meeting where over 150 people from 26 counties came.

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THE YOUNG DEMOCRATIC CLUBS OF Mississippi

Vol. 1. No. 2.

P. O. Box 2251, Jackson, Mississippi

April 1965

TURNED DOWN AGAIN! IN KANSAS CITY

Molvin Whitfield of Columbus, President of the YOUNG DEMOCRATIC CLUBS OF MISSISSIPPI, led our delegation to Kansas City in the second attempt to get a charter. Just like in Atlantic City last August, we were denied. However, just as the Freedom Democratic Party does not give up when it doesn't immediately win, we must carry on the struggle. Thelma Eubanks of McComb, National Committeewoman; Dolmas Henderson of Columbus, Secretary; Roscoe Jones of Meridian, Vice-National Committeeman; Joyce Brown of McComb; and Hunter Moroy of Jackson went with Mr. Whitfield to present our case. On August 9, 1964, at the Baptist Seminary in Meridian, a state convention of over 300 people elected officers, ratified a Constitution, and passed resolutions. Official delegates were sent to Atlantic City, but were denied a charter primarily on the grounds that no certification was obtained from state senior party officials. However, the Mississippi Regular Democrats not only don't want to see a civil rights oriented, heavy Negro membership, group get established, but they also did not support LBJ's and Humphrey's campaign. That is supposed to waive the certification requirement, which we nevertheless have tried to meet. In our favor, the Policy Committee of the College Young Democrats unambiguously supported us, and the National Committee passed a resolution praising the courage of the civil rights workers in Mississippi, still we didn't get a charter. The next development was that Mr. Spencer Oliver of Maryland, was made Chairman of the Membership Practices Committee, and decided to investigate the Mississippi situation. Without asking our President, Mr. Whitfield, where and who should come to a meeting, Mr. Oliver set one up at the Mississippi AFL-CIO office, including Mr. Claude Ramsey, state AFL-CIO head; Mr. Charles Evors, state NSSCP Field Secretary; Mr. Robert Oswald, Chairman of the Jackson County Regular Democratic Party and former state president of the Young Democrats (which was an all white group); Professor Truss and Mr. Ransom Jones and others from 'Ol Miss.; Mr. Jack Sexton and Mr. Spencer Oliver from the YDCA Membership Practices Committee; and our delegation with Mr. Whitfield. Mr. Oliver pledged that he

CORE'S JAMES FARMER SUPPORTS US

"I am acquainted with the YOUNG DEMOCRATIC CLUBS OF MISSISSIPPI, which is an organized, integrated, anti-racist organization of young democrats in the state of Mississippi. I strongly believe that their seating as the official representatives of Mississippi would strengthen the possibilities of making the Democratic Party an even greater expression of the desires of men and women of good will to create a great society in our land. I therefore unequivocally urge that the YOUNG DEMOCRATIC CLUBS OF MISSISSIPPI be seated as the official representatives from that state." - April 10, 1965

* * *

COMMENTS FROM MELVIN WHITFIELD

Why should Mississippi Negro or white youths join the YOUNG DEMOCRATIC CLUBS OF MISSISSIPPI? "I believe that our main purpose is to be informative and to help people begin to think politically. What are we in this society, what is our function, how are we able to express ourselves in our government, and how are we able to demand a redress of grievances? It is mandatory that people be informed of the issues of today and be able to make wise decisions that will be beneficial. We believe that the dollar bill should not be able to tell people how to vote and who to vote for. Instead, it should be the issues and how they will involve an individual." What are your views concerning the regular Democratic Party? "We believe it is corrupt. It has crippled people into thinking one way, into having a one party state. We believe that not only should the Negroes be free, but the whites too, ... they are kept in a prison too, whether they realize it or not. We will be an independent organization from the state Democratic Party."

* * *

HINDS COUNTY ORGANIZES!

An organizational meeting of the YOUNG DEMOCRATIC CLUB OF HINDS COUNTY is planned for Saturday, April 24, 1 pm at Tougaloo College, just outside of Jackson. People have expressed interest from Mississippi, Milsaps, and Tougaloo colleges.

(20)

TURNED DOWN AGAIN! (Cont.)

would fight to deny Mr. Whitfield's group a charter, Mr. Sexton focused on obtaining information, and all the others except our delegation argued against our seeking a charter. Mr. Oswald in particular made the point that he thought that white people would not want to come into a group which was primarily Negro. Our position was that race was the one issue which had to be squarely and honestly faced up to if any progress was to come to Mississippi. If white people will not join the Young Democrats because Negroes have taken a leading role in organizing for national politics in Mississippi, that just proves the fact that most white people in Mississippi truly do not believe in national politics, but rather in racism. Mr. Evers argued against our seeking a charter, making the point that it was great that a group of southern whites wanted to work with us. Mr. Whitfield then suggested having another meeting to be held that following Wednesday at the Lynch St., Masonic Temple. The other people criticized this as "moving too fast". So Mr. Whitfield then invited the 'Ol Miss. students to send a representative along with us to the up-coming Kansas City meeting. They refused, saying that we should wait until the National Convention this fall. However, not only the 'Ol Miss. group (including Mr. Cleveland Donald), but Mr. Evers, Mr. Ramsey, and Mr. Oswald all appeared at Kansas City and explicitly asked the body to deny us our charter, even though they were not applying for one (they couldn't, they did not even pretend to have any state-wide group as required), and even though they did not maintain that our application was not in order. We do not understand how such tactics are showing a policy of "working together". Nevertheless, the YOUNG DEMOCRATIC CLUBS OF MISSISSIPPI reaffirm our policy of inviting all people to join in with us. And so, after almost deciding not to allow us a chance to speak before the Kansas City meeting, the YDCA National Committee voted first against a compromise proposal and then in favor of Mr. Oliver's committee's report to not give us a charter.

Now your delegation has returned home pledged to carry on the fight so that we will get our charter in New York, at the National YDCA Convention in October. This fight depends on your work in building strong local clubs. Write your state office for materials: YOUNG DEMOCRATIC CLUBS OF MISSISSIPPI, P. O. Box 2251, Jackson, Mississippi.

ORGANIZE COUNTY CHAPTERS AND NORTHERN SUPPORT for getting our charter at the YDCA NEW YORK CONVENTION this October.

129
65
52
13

179
52
77

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129

84
129

FDP SUPPORTS OUR FIGHT

Lawrence Guyot, Chairman, April 10, 1965:

"The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party has looked with great hope and pleasure upon the progress of YOUNG DEMOCRATIC CLUBS OF MISSISSIPPI. We regard their emergence as another heartening indication of the beginnings of truly democratic and raceless capital democratic political activity in Mississippi. We urge that you welcome the delegation headed by Melvin Whitfield into your convention as brother Democrats and that you extend the charter to them. We urge this very strongly although we are not officially affiliated with the group. Because we consider them to embody the hope of truly encouraging political possibilities for the future moral and political strength of the Democratic Party in Mississippi."

* * *

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY APPOINTED

State Young Democratic President Melvin Whitfield has appointed R. Hunter Moroy of Jackson to be Executive Secretary of the organization. His job will be to assist in setting up a state office, maintaining correspondence, and being of service to the clubs and members. Send him report, membership lists, etc. P. O. Box 2251, Jackson, Mississippi

* * *

WE NEED MONEY!

If you believe in bringing democracy into Mississippi, send us some money. While the 'Ol Miss. group took a plane to Kansas City, we had to go by bus and a cramped car. We need funds for office space, filing cabinet, paper, postage, transportation, and the like. There is no chartered Young Democrats in Mississippi now. If you would like to see one, it takes money. Make out your checks to YOUNG DEMOCRATIC CLUBS OF MISSISSIPPI, P. O. Box 2251, Jackson, Miss.

clip and mail to Box 2251, Jackson, Miss.

JOIN THE YOUNG DEMOCRATS NOW

OUR PURPOSE: To stimulate in young people an active interest in government affairs, to increase the efficiency of popular government, to foster and perpetuate the ideals and principles of the national Democratic Party, to recruit new members for the candidates of our choice, to help acquaint voters with the issues and the candidates, and to provide for our people through its administration the highest degree of justice, social welfare and happiness.

I AGREE AND HEREBY JOIN THE YOUNG DEMOCRATIC CLUBS OF MISSISSIPPI signed:

(21)

APRIL 20, 1965 COFO NEWS "NATIONAL YOUNG DEMOCRATS REFUSE TO CHARTER STATE YOUTH GROUP
YOUNG DEMOCRATIC CLUBS OF MISSISSIPPI TO CONTINUE ORGANIZING"

If you are between the ages of 18 (sic 16) and 40 and are a supporter of the Democratic Party, you can form a Young Democrats organization. If you elect officers, ratify a constitution, support the party platform and have some reasonable support around the state, then all you need is the certification of "senior party officials" to become chartered as a member of the National Young Democratic Clubs of America. Certification is usually automatic. But this is not the case in Mississippi. Last August 9, a group of 300 young Negro Mississippians tried to get such certification. They held a state convention, elected officers to the Young Democrats' convention in Atlantic City. They wrote to the "senior party officials" but were ignored by them. They were not recognized by the convention because they lacked certification by the racist Democrats of Mississippi, even though membership regulations state that such certification can be waived if the party officials did not support the presidential ticket of the national party. The group returned to the state to continue organizing and prepare to fight for a charter from the National Young Democrats at their next convention April 10. Then, last April 4, just one week before the convention, a sudden meeting of Mississippi labor and 'Ole Miss Young Democrat officials was announced in Jackson. The President of the unofficial Young Democratic Clubs of Mississippi, Melvin Whitfield, an 18 year old Negro from Columbus, Mississippi, is interviewed below for a more detailed account of how the Young Democratic Clubs of America, like its parent group, has frustrated the efforts of young Mississippi Negroes to channel their energies into legitimate political activity.

What was the purpose of the meeting in Jackson on April 4? "The meeting, called by Spencer Oliver, chairman of the membership practices board of the Young Democratic Clubs of America and Claude Ramsey of the state AFL-CIO, was ostensibly to combine the three groups of Young Democrat Clubs, the 'Ole Miss group, Mr. Robert Oswald, a Pascagoula attorney currently chairman of the Jackson County Democrats and past chairman of the Mississippi Young Democrats, and the group represented by me, which includes clubs throughout the state organized in the main by local Negro civil rights activists and committed to an anti-racist program."

What proposals were put forward to unify the groups? "Actually none. All those present at the meeting, which included Charles Evers of the NAACP, attacked our group for planning to seek a charter from the National Young Democratic Clubs of America at its coming Kansas City convention recognizing us as the official Young Democratic Club in Mississippi. Evers lined up with the 'Ole Miss Young Democrats, arguing that we should wait until the next national gathering of the Y.D.s in October before seeking recognition. I pointed out that we have been organizing clubs since last summer, and, having fulfilled the organizational requirements for obtaining a charter, traveled over 1000 miles to the Young Democrats' convention in Atlantic City (held three days prior to the Party convention) to seek a charter. We were refused because we had not obtained certification from the adult party in the state. We told the convention that we had repeatedly tried to get certification from state party officials but that they had ignored most of our requests. Also, we demonstrated that the state party officials had refused to support the candidates and platform of the national Democratic Party and in fact that our group and the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party -- later rejected by the national Party, were among the few groups in the state calling themselves democrats that supported the presidential ticket. I proposed a meeting of our group with the 'Ole Miss Young Democrats, to be held before the Kansas City convention, to analyze our problems and try to come to some kind of agreement to take to the convention. Evers denounced my proposal and accused us of 'moving too fast'."

What was accomplished by the meeting? Nothing. Mr. Oliver stated that he would fight to prevent our group being chartered. Mr. Evers and 'Ole Miss YDs stated that they would not attend the convention. This, however, turned out not to be true. They were present at the convention, actively fighting against chartering our group. At its national convention (sic - committee meeting) on April 10-11 in Kansas City, the Young Democratic Clubs of America again refused to grant a charter to the civil rights-oriented Young Democratic Clubs of Mississippi, represented by its chairman, Melvin Whitfield, and its executive secretary, Hunter Morey, a white SNCC worker long active in the Mississippi civil rights movement. Below, Mr. Whitfield tells of the convention proceedings. "On April 10 we met with the membership practices committee of the Young Democrats and were asked why we had not written the state party officials asking for a charter. We replied that in the past we had a hard time getting a response and felt that we would receive the same treatment. Besides, we pointed out that under the membership provisions in the National Young Democrats' constitution, such certification can be waived if we can demonstrate that one of the three senior party officials failed to support the previous presidential ticket. We showed them an article from the McComb Enterprise Journal IN WHICH Mr. Bidwell Adam, state Party Chairman, stated he would not lift a finger to support the Johnson-Humphrey ticket and denounced the Democratic Party convention as a 'sad and unhhly spectacle'. Spencer Oliver, chairman of the committee, read a telegram from Adam denying any knowledge of our group. I took the floor and read a carbon copy of a registered letter from me to Mr. Adam requesting that our group be certified as a Young Democrats Club, giving the time and location of our state wide convention and the names of our officers. I also read a letter to me from Mr. Adam refusing to certify our group. During the general session Oliver read the report of the membership practices committee, which was mainly a series of personal attacks against me for having gone to school in California. He was asked to discontinue the report because it was too long and was boring the audience. Speaking time was then granted to us and to the 'Ole Miss Young Democrats, accompanied by Charles Evers. Evers

made an emotional speech stating that here are whites who once acted like demagogues and now are acting like human beings. He continued his attack on our group's drive for recognition with the chorus of the white liberal anthem: 'why can't you wait.' 'We have long waited for the opportunity and the privilege of being able to work with southern whites and now they're trying to rush things,' Evers said. Telegrams supporting our fight for recognition as the official Young Democrats of Mississippi were sent to the convention from James Farmer of the Congress of Racial Equality and Lawrence Guyot of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. A compromise proposal, which was later rejected, was put forward by Jack Sexton, also of the membership practices committee, calling for us to go back to Mississippi and after 30 days notice to all democrats in the state, have a state-wide convention and after 15 days the charter would be granted. I stated that we came to Kansas City for a straight charter and that no compromise would be accepted by our group. We feel that for too long Negroes have had token rights and not full equality. By accepting a compromise we would be selling out the Negroes of Mississippi who are members of the Young Democratic Clubs. We want the charter and we want it now. We intend to put forth a great effort in the state of Mississippi. We will establish a state headquarters in Jackson. We will continue to try to work with the group of 'Ole Miss and all other whites and Negroes of the state who are willing to accept and abide by the rules and principles found in the official constitution and by-laws of the Young Democratic Clubs of America."

Hunter Morey, executive secretary of the Mississippi Young Democratic Clubs is interviewed below on the convention.

What was the role of other civil rights groups towards the chartering of the Whitfield group? "James Farmer of the Congress of Racial Equality and Lawrence Guyot of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, supported our demand for a charter. The NAACP, represented by Charles Evers, opposed us, stating that it was such a wonderful thing that southern white people were willing to work with Negroes that we should allow them a chance to organize and develop and that therefore the predominately Negro and civil rights oriented group headed by Whitfield should not be given a charter. The assumption is that these white people would refuse to join an organization led by Negroes and oriented towards civil rights. It's my opinion that if you want to deal seriously with the state of Mississippi you've got to be strongly against racism or you're going to be preserving the status quo. Cleveland Donald, an active member of the NAACP and one of only two Negro students at 'Ole Miss, took the same position as Evers. It's interesting to note that none of the white members of the 'Ole Miss Young Democratic Club will even sit down and eat lunch with him. He admits that. And yet he went up there supporting Ransom Jones (white president of the 'Ole Miss YD's). Jones wasn't even elected to office -- he just assumed it. That Evers and Donald, both with the NAACP and therefore supposedly civil rights oriented, opposed the elected representatives of Negro civil rights activists and supported the Mississippi whites is not only shocking but revolting."

What other forces worked to defeat the Whitfield group? "Claude Ramsey, head of the Mississippi AFL-CIO, was there to lobby against the Whitfield group. Spencer Oliver, chairman of the membership practices committee, indicated that the National Committee of the Democratic Party did not want Whitfield's group chartered. I think these organizational positions are indicative of a program sponsored by the national Democratic Party, the NAACP, the AFL-CIO and those few white southerners who wish to opportunistically take advantage of the civil rights movement. This coalition realizes that Negroes will be voting in large numbers and want to control that vote to maintain the status quo."

Isn't this the same coalition that claims credit for the voting bill? "Yes, however the truth of the matter is that the voting bill, just as the civil rights bill of 1964, results primarily from the direct action movement and the development of local people's organizations like the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the Council Of Federated Organizations, and the Freedom Democratic Party. The coalition is like the camp followers who scavenge behind the lines and then try to take all the credit for the war."

How is this coalition a danger in Mississippi? "These forces seek to accommodate the civil rights movement to the racist status quo. The direct action of local people's organizations in the state has forced the necessity for many accommodations. But instead of dealing with the groups that local people create and work through, such as SNCC, COFO, and the FDP, the power structure tries to negotiate through non-representative groups such as the Mississippi Council on Human Relations, the NAACP, the AFL-CIO, biracial committees, conservative Negro leaders, and white segregationists whose opportunism is even stronger than their racism."

Why is there a need for a Young Democratic Club since there are already channels for political action, such as the FDP and the Mississippi Student Union? "Young people have proven themselves to be in the vanguard of needed social change in this country. They need a political organization of their own so they won't be watered down by more weary and vulnerable adults. A political organization expresses this need because most of the problems to be attacked find their roots in the political structure. There is additional value in organizing the YD's in that we have a very good chance of controlling the Mississippi segment of one of the most influential young people's organizations in the whole country. Controlling this group is must as useful as controlling any other part of the power structure."

What concrete advantages can Negro and white progressives get from the Young Democrats? "We would gain an explicitly political forum and vehicle for political education and influence in local communities and throughout the state. Whites will feel free to join an organization that is a chapter of the national power structure. As the official Young Democratic Club of Mississippi our resolutions and actions will carry more weight both locally and nationally, given the power structure orientation of America."

WASHINGTON COLUMNISTS ROWLAND EVANS AND ROBERT NOVAK ATTACK OUR GROUP (they had previously called for the isolation of SNCC unless they "cleans out the ultra-Leftists")

INSIDE REPORT: Courage in Kansas City, Sun. April 18, 1965. By an unpublicized act of political courage, the seed for a moderate, racially integrated Democratic party in Mississippi may now have been planted. The Young Democrats, like their Republican counterparts, are not particularly known for responsibility. But the Y.D. national executive committee demonstrated real responsibility - and courage - last week end. At issue was an attempt by militants of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (Snick) to commandeer the Mississippi YD with an all-Negro organization - increasing racial polarization in state politics. Considering the fervor for civil rights among American youth, it is to the credit of the committee that it rejected the Snick power play by a 3 to 1 margin. The fight began early this year. As part of the general disintegration of the Democratic party in Mississippi, the state's YD charter ended up homeless. Four separate organizations put in for it, (sic: that is not true, only one did, the YDCM, - ed.) one of which had enthusiastic backing from liberals across the country. Spencer Oliver, a leader in the Maryland Young Democrats and chairman of the national YD membership practices committee, was dispatched to Mississippi to investigate. He found an all-Snick operation. The YD group with the strong national backing turned out to be a paper organization whose president is a college freshman in San Jose, Calif. Its essentially all-Negro membership paralleled the membership of the Leftist Mississippi Student Union, a Snick front. At Kansas City last week end, foes of giving the charter to the Snick group were upbraided as bogots and segregationists. But moderate whites and Negroes from Mississippi pleaded with YD national leaders not to recognize Snick. The clinching argument against Snick was made by Charles Evers, NAACP leader from Jackson and brother of the martyred Medgar Evers. As a result of the vote, Mississippi moderates will attempt to form a racially integrated YD organization. It could produce a new Democratic party in the state.

- and our reply - MALICIOUS ATTACK ON YOUNG DEMOCRATS EXPOSED Washington columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak grossly distorted and misrepresented the truth about the YOUNG DEMOCRATIC CLUBS OF MISSISSIPPI in their article "Inside Report, Y-D Group Rejects SNICK Power Play" which appeared in the April 28 CLARION-LEDGER on page 13. Contrary to the implications that we are an all Negro organization, we have many white people as members. However, it is true that most white people reject the politics of the National Democratic Party as indicated by the landslide Mississippi vote for Goldwater, and that most white Mississippians reject participation in integrated groups such as the Young Democrats. In addition, some of our white members have been forced to resign due to pressure from other whites. Such tactics have been used against us in McComb, Mississippi, for example. The YOUNG DEMOCRATIC CLUB OF HINDS COUNTY has an integrated board of officers, as we hope will be the pattern for other newly organizing groups. Secondly, it implied that we are a "front" for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. Let the fact be known that we have not, are not, and will not be a "front" for anybody or anygroup whatsoever. While we welcome support from all groups working for a democratic society, it is interesting to note that only the Congress of Racial Equality and the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party sent telegrams urging the YDCA National Committee to grant us our charter. Thirdly, it is implied that we are in opposition to the NAACP. That is absolutely false. The Vice-President of our Hinds County chapter is Mr. Johnny Frazier, a National Board member of the NAACP and the Hinds County chapter Secretary is Miss Shirley Bailey, daughter of the Jackson NAACP branch President. The YOUNG DEMOCRATIC CLUBS OF MISSISSIPPI invites white moderates to join a racially integrated organization dedicated to building national Democratic Party politics in Mississippi. Come to Tougaloo College Student Center this Sunday, May 2nd, at 1pm where our YOUNG DEMOCRATIC CLUB OF HINDS COUNTY is hosting a meeting of Young Democrats from the University of Mississippi, Mississippi Southern, Delta State, Milsaps, Tougaloo, Jackson State, and other interested people. - Mrs. Carolyn Stevens, Publicity Secretary

- and another attack - INSIDE REPORT: Black-White Politics, Fri. May 7, 1965. Just at the moment when white moderates here were seeing new hope for racial peace, Mississippi politics may well be heading for a tragic racial polarization. There is real danger that the Democratic party here recognized by national Democrats will be predominantly Negro, dominated by civil rights radicals. Even if the new voter registration law is more effective than anybody dreams, such a black man's party would be consistently outpolled by a lily white Mississippi (as contrasted to national) Democratic party sticking to bitter- and segregation. And this, paradoxically, is the situation desired by most civil rights radicals and by white supremacists trying desperately to cling to lily white politics. In fact, a racial polarization of politics here could negate the impact of Federal voting registrars. White liberals and moderates are particularly heartsick about this because racial tension in Mississippi has eased measurably thanks in large part to the cautious courage of Gov. Paul Johnson. Abandoning the rednecks and white Citizens Councils who elected him, Johnson has joined with the business community in demanding law and order. He has all but emasculated the State Sovereignty Commission, defiant citadel of segregation. Partly because of the Governor and partly because of the slight stirrings of realism all over the South, forecasts of the long, hot - and bloody - Mississippi summer that stirred the air a year ago are now absent. Consider McComb in South, Mississippi which last summer was close to a race riot. The Ku Klux Klan is now infiltrated by the FBI and actually seems under control. There are no signs of another mass invasion of northern civil rights workers. McComb's white leaders have finally consented to bi-racial consultations. But there is no such progress in the vital political sphere. For this, much blame must be placed on the Freedom Democratic

party (FDP) - Mississippi arm of the most radical of civil rights groups the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNICK). The FDP is simply not interested in a racially mixed party. The FDP headquarters, a second floor walk-up in a Negro section of Jackson, has the feel of a revolutionary command post. Before we were summarily ordered out, FDP members told us they had no faith in voter registration and were concentrating on "the challenge" - a quixotic scheme to replace Mississippi's five white Congressmen with three FDP Negroes. The real culprits, of course, are not FDP radicals but Mississippi whites who for a century refused to allow Negroes into the white man's politics. Even today, loyalist Democrats whine that they would be destroyed politically if they were caught talking to reasonable NAACP leader Charles Evers, no friend of the FDP. This atmosphere is made to order for the FDP radicals. For instance, the FDP is within a hair of capturing the national charter of the Mississippi Young Democrats. As we reported from Washington, the national YD organization refused to grant the charter to an FDP-sponsored group a few weeks ago. But since then, white moderates have not formed a racially integrated organization to counter the FDP group. This was seen last Sunday in a YD meeting at predominately Negro Tougaloo college (a FDP hotbed) near Jackson. Some 200 Negroes, but only about 10 Mississippi whites turned up. The meeting was controlled by FDP leaders. While declaring themselves to the Left of LBJ's Great Society and denouncing N.S. "colonial" policy in Viet Nam and Santo Domingo, they upbraided the few Mississippi whites who dared come. What is happening at the Young Democrat level today may be in store for the senior party tomorrow. While loyalist Democratic politicians talk grandly of sending a racially mixed Mississippi delegation to the next national convention (as required by the 1964 convention), they do nothing about it. Thus, it is entirely possible that the FDP will seat a Negro-dominated delegation at the next national convention. Such a racial polarization not only would please old-time segregationists. It also would make a reasonable racial relationship here more distant than ever.

* * *

CLEVELAND DONALD'S RESIGNATION LETTER FROM THE '01 Miss Group (three days later he told the YD state planning meeting that Spencer Oliver had talked him back into rejoining, but he has not written any letters stating that in writing, to my knowledge)

Cleveland Donald, Jr.
Box 4269
University of Mississippi
University, Mississippi

Mr. Ransom R. Jones, III
President, Young Democratic Club
University of Mississippi
Box 2378
University, Mississippi

April 29, 1965

Dear Mr. Jones:

I hereby respectfully submit my resignation as a member of the University of Mississippi Young Democratic Club. I joined in the formation of the Young Democratic Club because I felt that a nondiscriminatory organization was needed to provide an opportunity for student expression on campus. More importantly, I felt a need for a nondiscriminatory group of young people dedicated to the betterment of the State of Mississippi and particularly to the achievement of full equality for all Mississippians. It was requested that I attend the National Young Democrats meeting in Kansas City earlier this month. I attended in the belief that the University of Mississippi organization had a sincere desire to create a group which would be nondiscriminatory in practice as well as in theory. We effectively prevented the chartering of a predominately Negro group from Jackson (sic: the state-wide YDCM) because it was felt that this group could not be nondiscriminatory in practice as well as in theory. i.e. Caucasian Young Democrats would likely have reservations about cooperating with a group which was assumed to be orientated toward the Council Of Federated Organizations. Since the Kansas City meeting I have learned that the assumed orientation of the Jackson (sic: the state-wide YDCM) group is erroneous. To deliberately block another Democratic group in intrapolitical maneuvering is perhaps politics par excellence, but it seems not to reflect a sincere interest in the end objective, i.e. voter registration, a nondiscriminatory party in Mississippi, etc. Since the University of Mississippi group could not associate itself with the Jackson group before the meeting in Kansas City (editors note: Melvin Whitfield had invited them and anyone else interested) it is my belief that it presently has little hope of creating a truly nondiscriminatory Young Democrats Organization in the State of Mississippi. My continued association with the University of Mississippi Young Democratic Club will only continue to create a false illusion and an appearance of an organization which genuinely reflects the end objectives. Furthermore, such association could continue to be a basis for intrapolitical strife which in fact helps to prevent more sincere groups (like the Jackson group) /sic: YDCM/ from receiving a charter. Therefore, my resignation is regrettably submitted. Sincerely /s/ Cleveland Donald, Jr.
cc: Mr. Spencer Oliver, Roy Wilkins, Charles Evers, R. Hunter Morey, Tom J. Truss, Jr., Delmas Henderson, Raoul Cunningham, Melvin Whitfield, and others." X

N = CR, RLD, RJ²⁵, EK, EM?
N = LG, L.M., RLTS, RJ, R De.

HUNTER MOREY's LETTER OF 3 May 65 to CLAUDE RAMSEY, PRESIDENT, MISSISSIPPI AFL-CIO

It was good to see you and Mr. Knight at our very successful planning meeting yesterday at Tougaloo College. That the state AFL-CIO is pledged to supporting and working with us Young Democrats insures us of significant success. We had more people come than expected, over 150, from at least 24 counties, and from all five congressional districts, 101 officially registered. In that regard, and since as of yet our organization has not received any contributions, could you help things by carrying out the mandate of the body which was to send a copy of the registration list to everyone on the list. I enclose a copy of the list for that purpose.

Participation seemed to be quite broad and well balanced. The program consisted of 5 Negro speakers and 5 white speakers: Mr. Emmett K. Morris, President, YDC of Hinds County; Rev. Kenneth L. Dean, Executive Secretary, Mississippi Council on Human Relations; Rev. Edwin King, Dean of Students, Tougaloo College; Mr. Lawrence Guyot, Chairman, Freedom Democratic Party; myself; Mr. Ransom P. Jones, III, President YDC of 'Ol Miss; Mr. Roscoe Jones, President, YDC of Meridian; Mr. Roy Deberry, President, YDC of Holly Springs; yourself; and R v. R. L. T. Smith.

I am looking forward to working with you on our next planning meeting, which the body decided to have June 4, 1p.m., at Tougaloo College. You will be kept right up to date by the Planning Committee they elected, which consist of the chapter Presidents, Rev. Edwin King, and myself.

Yours for Democrats loyal to the national party in Mississippi. /s/
cc: Mr. Ransom P. Jones III, Mr. Robert Oswald, National Officers of the Young Democratic Clubs of America; Mr. Bidwell Adam, Mrs. Burnette Y. Hennington, Mr. E. K. Collins, Mr. Lawrence Guyot, Mrs. Victoria J. Gray, Rev. Edwin King, and Mr. Joseph Rauh.

CLAUDE RAMSAY's REPLY, May 6, 1965

Receipt of your letter of May 3, under your signature as Executive Secretary of the "Young Democratic Clubs of Mississippi", is acknowledged.

Frankly I'm slightly puzzled after receiving your letter. This puzzlement centers around the letterhead of your stationery (sic) as well as the number of people who you sent copies of the letter to. You and I both know that the "Young Democratic Clubs of Mississippi" has no official status. In the face of this, you apparently want to convey an impression to the contrary. (editor's note: in the interest of broadening the Young Democrats, the Whitfield group has given up using its stationery and acting separately. We are all now one group, the current "authority" now being the YDCM Convention Committee)

As I have stated before, the Mississippi AFL-CIO is interested in working with other groups toward the establishment of a bonafide Democratic Party in this state. This applies to you and your associates when you convince us that this is likewise your objective.

I expect to convene our Executive Committee in the near future and will present your request that we do the mailing to those in attendance at the May 2nd meeting.

/s/ Claude Ramsay. cc: Mr. Clifton Carter, National Democratic Party, Mr. Al House, Young Democrats of America, Mr. Joseph Rauh, Mr. E. K. Collins, Mr. Bidwell Adam, Mr. Robert Aswald, Mr. Ransom Jone, Rev. Edwin King, Mr. Charles Evers, Mr. Emmett Morris.

LETTER OF HUNTER MOREY TO FRED RICCI, NATIONAL YDCA EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, 19 MAY 65

Mr. Frederick A. Ricci, YDCA, 1730 K St., N.W., Washington, D.C.

With its extreme white supremacy, the state of Mississippi does not make organizing for loyalty to politics of the national Democratic Party easy, especially at this time of action for citizenship rights such as voting. We hope that you will help us therefore in recruiting members and clubs for the Young Democratic Clubs of America. We need organizing materials and assistance. This is the 5th time we (YDCM) have requested aid. Could you please send us assistance, 100 YDCA Organizing Manuals, Constitutions, Directories, and similar batches of YDCA and Democratic Party materials. We wish all our state-wide work to be in full conformity with the Constitution and requirements of the organization. And, as YDCA Secretary Mr. Kruse requested February 15 and as I against requested April 14th, could you please indicate in what manner should the senior party officials be contacted in regard to chartering a Young Democratic Club. Mr. Kruse referred to the "approved forms" which you apparently have. Could you please send us several sets of them since as Mr. Kruse said "possibly some will get lost by the intended recipients." In addition, we have been told by Mr. Dale Wagner that there will be a national college YDCA convention in New York City October 12-16. We have not received one word concerning any national YDCA convention. Will it be the same time and place as the college one? Please send all details.

Our records indicate the following contacts between the YDCA and the YDCM:
(ed. note, this is as of 19 MAY 65) August 21-23, '64 YDCM applied for a charter at the YDCA Atlantic City meeting. Sept. 2, '64 J. Albert House wrote Melvin Whitfield, YDCM President, returning our charter application and referring us to you for information.
February 15, '65 Edwin Kruse send Whitfield a copy of his letter to you requesting that you put Whitfield on the YDCA mailing list and send him organizing materials. February 20, '65 You wrote Whitfield including a Constitution and senior party officials addresses. April 9, 10, '65 Whitfield presented the YDCM charter application again, including list of chapter towns and presidents, Constitution, and proof that senior party Chairman Bidwell Adam did not

support the national party Presidential nominee and therefore waived the certification requirement. ³ April 14, '65, YDCM sent YDCA our April Newsletter. ⁴ April 21, '65, House sent YDCM back their charter application and stated that Ricci and Rosak would send us materials. April 27, '65 YDCM sent YDCA another request for organizational materials including a list of the 41 Hinds County members, and addresses. ⁵ May 3, '65, YDCM sent copy of summary of the May 2nd state planning meeting at Tougaloo to YDCA, including addresses of the 101 registrants. ⁶ May 13, '65, Dale Wagner sent YDCM applications for college chapters and notification of the Oct. 12-16 college convention. ⁷ May 10, '65, House sent YDCM a letter stating that Frank D. Rosak couldn't attend our May 2nd meeting due to an automobile accident, and again referred our requests for help to the proper YDCA offices. Mr. House neglected to mention that the self-avowed foe of YDCM, Spencer Oliver, also came down, and both Oliver and Rosak contacted Claudia Ramsay and the 'Ol Miss group (who had both argued against us) but not a single YDCM person.

We trust that this fifth request for materials will produce results. Cordially,
R. Hunter Mrey [ed. note: we still have not received our materials from the national]

SENIOR PARTY OFFICIALS AND YDCM

As indicated above, certification must be obtained from the state party officials (2 out of the Chairman, National Committeeman, National Committeewoman) unless any one of such "senior Party officers ... failed to support the Democratic Presidential nominee in the last preceding election." Bidwell Adam has been the Chairman for years, First Supreme Court Justice Tom Brady and now Senator E. K. Collins is the National Committeeman; and first Mrs. J. A. Phillips and now Mrs. Burnett Y. Hennington is the National Committeewoman. The former officers failed to respond favorably to our requests for suggestions and certification. The current set have either been very hostile, such as Bidwell Adam who sent the Kansas City meeting a telegram stating he knew nothing about us and refused to certify us while I have in my possession the letter of August 7, 1964 in which Mr. Adam refers our state secretary's (Mr. Henderson) request for certification to Mr. Mauldin, Secretary of the party executive committee; or in the case of the national committee people, they wrote very friendly letters to be read in Kansas City, but have refused to answer (along with Mr. Adam) ANY of the more than five letters each I have sent them since the Kansas City meeting. I have sent them all information about the clubs, notices and invitations to meetings, etc., and requests for suggestions and any criterion or standards they might have for certification. They have totally refused to cooperate at all and have completely ignored our requests for certification or even just communication. I feel that we should not be required to obtain signatures from officials who refuse to even reply to letters, and when the Chairman did not support the LBJ HHH ticket and so waived the requirement. In addition, I personally agree with the legal brief prepared by attorney Joseph Rauh which proves that the Freedom Democratic Party is the only loyal state party in Mississippi, and that therefore we should be allowed to use the FDP officials for certification. (I have certified receipts for all correspondence indicated above.)

WHAT YOU CAN DO TO HELP

1. Research on Bidwell Adam (also Collins and Hennington) to prove that he did not support the Presidential nominee of the national Democratic Party. Mississippi newspapers such as the CLARION LEDGER, JACKSON DAILY NEWS, McCOMB ENTERPRISE, DELTA DEMOCRAT TIMES, and others such as from Gulfport; and the Memphis Commercial Appeal, the New Orleans Times Pycianune, the New York Times, Washington Post, etc., should be carefully examined for the period between June, especially the August and November periods and later for post election coverage.
2. Legal Briefs in support of granting a charter to the Young Democratic Clubs of Mississippi - for presentation to the Credentials Committee, the National Committee and the National Convention of the YDCA (with copies to all the state delegations).
3. Letters of support both from the grass roots and from big shots: send to the YDCA officers, the National Membership Committee, the National Committee of the YDCA. We need letters from individuals, YD members, church, labor, civic groups, public officials, congressmen, national figures, etc.
4. Lobbying with YDCA National Officers, National Membership Committee members, and the state delegations and the National Committee to support our charter application at the YDCA National Convention in New York City this October 12-16.
5. Fund raising - mimeo paper, ink, postage, envelopes, rent, filing cabinets, transportation in the state and to New York in October. We would like to buy some school buses (new ones so we won't be stopped by frequent repairs) so that we won't just spend a lot of bus rental money and have nothing to show for it back in the state afterwards. They cost about \$6,500 each. We have the time to raise this type of money. The YDCM and the Movement back in Mississippi NEED these buses).

6. Letters to the Editor and Articles about the YDCM (based on this book) for newspapers and magazines and newsletters. Get groups to put out special mailings and reports on us. Get this book duplicated and distributed widely.
7. Prepare demonstrations and posters for the New York convention October 12-16 (picketing, freedom singing, sit-ins, etc.) around the theme CHARTER THE YOUNG DEMOCRATIC CLUB OF MISSISSIPPI. Use signs such as HOW LONG, HOW LONG TO WAIT? YOUNG DEMOCRATS OR YOUNG DIXICRATS? RECOGNIZE MISSISSIPPI. A VOTE FOR MISSISSIPPI IS A VOTE FOR FREEDOM. etc.
8. Get other organizations and chapters of groups to make support of us their program. Student groups, peace groups, civil rights groups, political groups, all can play a part.
9. Come down and work with us in Mississippi Get a supporting letter from your nearest office which has recruited workers for Mississippi before (such as SNCC, CORE, FDP, etc.). You should either be an experienced organizer, or CR worker, a YD official or Democratic Party official, or have something unusual to offer our work AND at least \$500 in bail bond money ready with a person who can wire it right down when we call him collect AND at least \$25 a week living money since ALL expenses must be paid by the volunteers since we have no money, AND a willingness to live in crowded, poor conditions, which are sometimes dangerous.

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John J. Sexton, Esquire
1000 Federal Bar Building
1815 H St., N.W.
Washington 6, D.C.

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YDCA SOUTHEASTERN CONFERENCE OFFICIALS

CHAIRMAN
Carl Barrett
Box 25
Holly Springs, Ga.

GULF (Region VI) DIRECTOR
Dan Ellis
2222 General Pershing St.
New Orleans, La.

GULF DEPUTY DIRECTOR
John Mmahart, Esquire
1112 Georgia Drive
New Orleans, La.

SOUTHEASTERN CONFERENCE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Davo Reid, Esquire, Box 375, Greenville, N.C.

YDCA STATE GROUPS POSSIBLY HELPFUL (the President or other top person)

Jack D. Files
215 Goshen
North Little Rock, Ark

Joe Beaman
1622 House Office Building
Washington, D.C.

Howard Schumann
11047 Hawthorne Blvd.
Lennox, California

Gordon Graham
903 Quackenbos St., N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Raoul Cunningham
5327 4th St., N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Leo Krulitz
1st Security Bank Building
Boise, Idaho

Jack R. Beaupre
Kankakee County Courthouse
Kankakee, Illinois

William E. Gluba
1012 Farnam
Davenport, Iowa

John Ivan
11220 West 70th
Shawnee Mission, Kansas

Wally Orlinsky
1316 Bolton St.
Baltimore, Maryland

Thomas Sullivan
166 North Main St.
Randolph, Mass.

Bob Owens
Carlton College
Northfield, Minn.

Del Swigart
3328 North 58th
Omaha, Nebraska

John F. Geaney, Jr.
151 Cornell Ave.
Hawthornq, N.J.

John D. Kearney
387 N. Burgher Ave.
Staten Island, New York

Cathy Lawlaw
Valley City
North Dakota

John McDonald
388 6th Ave. W.
Eugene, Oregon

Paul T. Hicks
72 Callan St.
Providence, Rhode Island

Dickie Lee Shoppard
Gamma Phi Beta H use
University of Wyoming
Laramie, Wyoming

On these next two pages is the Constitution of the Mississippi Democratic Conference which was obtained from the Sunday, May 23 Meridian meeting from which I was excluded and from which at least two local registered Negro citizens were excluded merely because they were acting FDP County Chairman

and local COFO Project Director. I think that this group is part of the "Liberal Establishment" plan to organize counter to the FDP to attempt to destroy it (and to provide "safe" and "responsible" Negroes to integrate the racist Mississippi regular Democratic Party. This "Democratic Conference" may well be the most significant threat to progress on the scene.

At this conclusion of my personal report (AND THIS REPORT DOES NOT REPRESENT THE YOUNG DEMOCRATIC CLUBS OF MISSISSIPPI BUT IS MERELY MY OWN OPINION) I want to make sure that the limitations and opportunities of the Young Democrats are clear. All organizations and institutions are mere tools for people to use to get their needs fulfilled. Mississippi now needs a New Reconstruction complete with the political and social revolutionary implications. Instead of minority of wealthy whites totally controlling the community, the majority which is made up of Negroes and poor whites must rule democratically. Not only voter registration and mass direct action (both of which remain essential) but political groups must grow in which Negroes and poor whites can focus their voting power to make the needed drastic changes come about. They must not be hampered by either the old line white racists and uncle Toms, nor the new type of enemy, the Negro and white "moderates" who are merely opportunistically motivated to fulfill their own selfish ambitions. Last night, for example, Charles Evers of the NAACP (a participant in the Democratic Conference) who has publically criticized both FDP and who was the main reason why we Young Democrats still do not have a charter, came to the FDP rally after the Capitol March arrests claiming that "when the chips are down, we are all together."

I have never seen such a blatant case of a man desparately trying to get public credit for something he not only has done nothing for, but which he has attacked. When you are successful then even some of your enemies claim to have been for you. The fact is that in Mississippi Charles Evers has been unable to come up with any program. COFO and FDP have all of the imaginative leadership and the mass support. Mr. Evers just has his wish to be a big shot. So when FDP starts something which is obviously excellent, and when the local people start supporting it in a big way, (over 600 people are now in jail in Jackson in the current FDP campaign) all "Negro leaders" feel that they must either support it or be publically left aside as the irrelevant old thing some really are. We must not underestimate the power of such Negro and white opportunists. Remember how Evers took over the Madison County COFO and FDP situation, how the NAACP tried to take over the McComb development, etc. One problem has been our reluctance to define the difference between the various groups and what they stand for. It is true that there is room for everyone here, but there are such genuine and important differences between the groups, that glossing over them becomes irresponsible and allows things like the Democratic Conference and the "Liberal Establishment" to take us over. Let me make it clear that I do not object of having the "Liberal Establishment" in the Young Democrats, but I do object to their attempts to kill us or failing that, to take us over. The People's Movement Shall Reach Victory Some Day.

CONSTITUTION OF THE MISSISSIPPI DEMOCRATIC CONFERENCE

ARTICLE I - Name This organization shall be known by, and do business under the name of "The Mississippi Democratic Conference, Incorporated".

ARTICLE II - Purpose The purpose of this organization shall be to bring together in one organization, through duly elected representatives, members of city and county Democratic organizations within the state, to stimulate and facilitate the organization of such groups where none exists, and to advocate and advance the principles and goals of the National Democratic Party.

ARTICLE III - Membership The Mississippi Democratic Conference shall be composed of a specified number of bona fide Democrats elected to represent the Congressional Districts within the state. Each Congressional District shall have the number of votes equivalent to the number of representatives in the lower house of the Mississippi Legislature. *why*

ARTICLE IV - Meetings The Mississippi Democratic Conference shall meet annually on the second Sunday in April. Special sessions may be called by the chairman upon approval of a majority of the members of the Board of Directors. A quorum of the Conference shall consist of at least 27 members, representing at least five Congressional Districts.

ARTICLE V - Officers Section 1. The elected officers of the Conference shall consist of a chairman, a secretary, an assistant secretary, a treasurer, a parliamentarian, and a chaplain. An officer shall hold office for one year, or until a successor has been elected. Officers may succeed themselves in office. Section 2. All officers shall be elected annually by ballot at the annual meeting, and shall be installed immediately. Section 3. The Board of Directors shall consist of the elected officers, the chairman of standing committees, and the District Representatives. Representatives-at-large may serve on the Board of Directors as alternates to the District Representatives. Section 4. The executive committee of the Board of Directors shall consist of the elected officers. Section 5. An executive committee quorum shall consist of at least four (4) elected officers.

ARTICLE VI - Vacancies In the event of death, physical or mental disability, or other disqualifications of the chairman, the vice chairman shall take over the duties of the Chairman's office, and shall conduct such office until the next regular election. In the event of the death or disqualification of any other elected officer, the executive committee shall, by majority vote, appoint a successor to serve until the next regular election.

ARTICLE VII - Dues and Assessments Each County and each City Democratic Conference shall be assessed ten cents annually for each registered Democrat in the County or City Conference, payable in two installments. Contributions to the National Democratic Party may be made in the form of membership dues or donations through the State Conference.

ARTICLE VIII - Amendments and Revisions Any proposal to amend must come from at least ten members from at least three Congressional Districts 90 days before the annual meeting in April. The proposal must include the signatures of the members, and must be sent to the chairman, and a copy to the secretary. Any amendment may be changed at the time of the annual meeting as long as the modification is germane to the original proposal, and is voted favorably by 2/3 of the members present and voting.

BY-LAWS

Article I - Memberships Section 1. The Mississippi Democratic Conference shall be composed of a specified number of representatives of County and City Democratic Conferences or Clubs from each Congressional District in Mississippi. Section 2. Each county within a Congressional District which has at least 100 qualified Democrats shall be entitled to a representative. Section 3. The names of the representatives and their alternates must be certified to the Secretary of the Mississippi Democratic Conference by the president or chairman and secretary of the County or City Conference immediately after they are elected or appointed.

Article II - Meetings The regular annual meeting shall be held on the second Sunday in April at a place designated by the Conference or the Board of Directors. Special sessions of the Conference may be called by the chairman upon approval of a majority of the Board of Directors. Special sessions may be held only after members have had twenty days notice. Board meetings may be called by the chairman, or by one-third of the members of the Board.

Article III - Officers The officers of the Mississippi Democratic Conference shall be (1) a chairman, (2) a vice chairman, (3) a secretary, (4) an assistant secretary, (5) a treasurer, (6) a parliamentarian and (7) a chaplain.

Article IV - Duties of the Officers It shall be the duty of the chairman to preside at all meetings of the Conference and of the executive committee, and to see that the Constitution and policies of the Conference are carried out. The chairman shall appoint all standing committees, and any other committees considered necessary to carry out the program of the Conference. The vice chairman shall preside at all meetings in the absence of the chairman,

and shall perform such other duties as may be assigned by the chairman. The secretary shall keep all records of the Conference, record the minutes of each meeting of the Conference and of the executive committee, receive all monies of the Conference and issue vouchers for checks against the account of the Conference. The assistant secretary shall act as secretary in the absence of the secretary, and at the direction of the chairman. The treasurer shall receive all monies given to him by the secretary, deposit same in a commercial bank, and issue checks upon vouchers received from the secretary. The parliamentarian shall see that the meetings are conducted according to parliamentary procedure. The chaplain shall open and close each meeting with prayer.

Article V - Revenue The revenue of this Conference shall come from membership dues and assessments, and from such other activities which are deemed appropriate. In order for a member to be eligible to vote in the annual meeting and to be eligible for election to office or appointment to committees, the assessment of the County or City Conference or Club which he represents must be fully paid by March 15.

Article VI - Election of Officers At each annual meeting there shall be elected a nominating committee of five whose duty it will be to prepare a slate of candidates for presentation at the next annual meeting. Each member of the committee shall be from a different Congressional District. Candidates may be nominated from the floor. Voting may be secret or open ballot. Candidates receiving a majority of votes shall be declared elected. The Chairman of the Conference shall be an ex-officio member of all committees.

Article VII - Committees The standing committees of the Conference shall be: 1. Budget, 2. Finance, 3. Legislation, 4. Membership, 5. Organizing, 6. Program, 7. Public Relations and Research, 8. Voting and Registration, 9. Women's Activities. The chairmen of the committees shall be appointed by the Chairman of the Conference. Other members of the committees shall be appointed by the District Representatives, or by the Chairman of the Conference.

Article VIII - Duties of Committees 1. Budget. This committee shall prepare the annual budget and present it to the Conference at its annual meeting. 2. Finance. The Finance Committee shall propose and plan special fund-raising projects when needed, be responsible for receiving financial contributions at the public meetings, at the annual meetings, and on other special occasions, and shall perform such other duties as the executive committee may authorize in order to provide the Conference with adequate funds. 3. Legislation. It shall be the duty of this committee to analyze and evaluate proposed or pending legislation; to recommend support of legislation conducive to the general welfare and opposition to, and repeal of, legislation not in the public interest; to recommend needed legislation. 4. Membership. This committee shall consist in part of the chairmen of the membership committees in the Congressional Districts, and shall have the responsibility of identifying and certifying the County Democratic Clubs which are bona fide financial members of the Conference. (The Membership Committee is the Credentials Committee). 5. Organizing. The primary function of this committee shall be that of stimulating and facilitating the organization of county-wide Democratic Clubs in those counties in which they do not exist, and that of facilitating their financial affiliation with the Conference. 6. Program. This committee shall develop for the Conference program proposals which shall be submitted to the executive committee, and shall execute such program activities as the executive committee may assign. 7. Public Relations and Research. It shall be the duty of this committee to interpret the Conference to the public and to advise the officers and members of the Conference as to decisions and activities most appropriate for creating and maintaining the most effective public image. It shall, also, be the duty of this committee to assemble through inquiry, investigation and formal research such data as would be of value to the Conference, and to present such to the Conference in an effective manner. 8. Voting and Registration. This committee shall assemble and disseminate through the most appropriate channels such information as might promote the most effective voting on the part of the electorate, and facilitate the registration of the unregistered. 9. Women's Activities. The duty of this committee shall be that of formulating and recommending to the executive committee programs designed to facilitate the effective participation of women in the Party, and to execute the approved programs.

Article IX - Roberts Rules of Order The Conference shall be governed by Roberts Rules of Order.

Article X - Amendment The By-Laws of the Conference may be amended at any annual meeting by a two-thirds majority vote of the members present and voting.

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MINUTES OF THE 2nd STATE PLANNING MEETING of the YOUNG DEMOCRATIC CLUBS OF MISSISSIPPI
held June 4, 1965 Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Mississippi
Prepared by Miss Shirley Bailey, Secretary YDC of Hinds County
and Mr. R. Hunter Morey, YDCM Convention Committee.

The meeting was called to order at 1:45p.m. by Mr. Emmett K. Morris, President of the Young Democratic Club of Hinds County. Mr. R. Hunter Morey, Treasurer of the Hinds County YDs introduced Mr. Gordon Graham, member of the National Committee of the Young Democratic Clubs of America and President of the Washington D.C. YDs. Mr. Johnny Frazier, Vice President of the Hinds County YDs introduced Rev. Donald Thompson of Jackson, an honorary YD.

Mr. Morris then attempted to appoint a Time and Place Committee to arrange the state convention. Mr. Morey objected to the procedure. Mr. Robert Oswald, Chairman of the Jackson County Regular Democratic Party and former President of the Mississippi YDs moved that the state convention be set for Jackson, Mississippi. The motion passed. Mr. Morey moved that the state convention be set for August 6 and 7th with a Convention Committee to have the power to move it up or back one week if necessary. Mr. Oswald offered an amendment to leave the date totally up to the Convention Committee. The amendment failed. Mr. Morey's motion was not voted upon and so in effect died. Mr. Ransom Jones, President of the University of Mississippi YDs moved that Mr. Morris be given full power to appoint all committees. The motion failed. Mr. Morey moved that the present Chairman (Mr. Morris) preside over this meeting but that the body elect the committees for the convention. The motion passed. Mr. Morey moved that the state convention be set for between Mid-July and Mid-August with the exact date to be set by a Convention Committee. Mr. Oswald moved to table. The motion to table failed. The previous motion then passed.

Mr. John Harris, of the Sunflower County YDs moved that a Convention Committee be elected consisting of two people from each of Mississippi's five Congressional Districts. The motion passed. The following people were elected:

- 1st: vacant. the Committee itself will fill.
2nd: Mr. Cleveland Donald (Ol' Miss YDs); Miss Doris Green (Sunflower County YDs)
3rd: Mr. R. Hunter Morey (Hinds County YDs); Miss Thelma Eubanks (Pike County YDs)
4th: Mr. James Anderson (Madison County YDs); Miss Lucy Lockett (Madison County YDs)
5th: Mr. Robert Oswald (Jackson County Regular Democratic Party); Miss Gracie Hawthorne (Forrest County YDs)

The Body then elected the following committees for the state convention:
CONSTITUTION and BY-LAWS: Robert Oswald, Hunter Morey, Cleveland Donald, Johnny Frazier, Alberta McCullen, and Percy Chapman.
RULES COMMITTEE: Joe Ford, F. L. Smith, Bob Smith, Irwin Walker, Johnny Frazier, Kenneth Dean, Milton Cooper, Percy Chapman.
RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE: Clifford Anderson, Barbara Lee, Hunter Morey, James Dann, Otis Brown.
CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE: Rev. Edwin King, Charles Scattergood, John Harris, Kenneth Dean, Donald Thompson, Milton Cooper, Walter Mayberry, John Brown.

Mr. Lenard Rosenthal, General Counsel of the Hinds County YDs introduced a resolution to the effect of: Whereas the people of our nation's capital are presently being denied the right to self government; and
Whereas we, the Young Democratic Clubs of Mississippi believe in the principle of democracy;

New Therefore Be It Resolved that the Home Rule Bill introduced by the President of the United States, Lyndon Johnson, be passed by the Congress. The resolution passed. Then Mr. Morey moved that we adopt the 1964 Platform of the national Democratic Party. Mr. Oswald offered an amendment regarding Communism which failed after Mr. Kenneth Dean of the Mississippi Council On Human Relations pointed out that the Democratic Platform already covered the subject. The planning meeting of the Young Democratic Clubs of Mississippi officially adopted the 1964 Platform of the national Democratic Party.

The Chairman Mr. Morris then introduced Mr. Spencer Oliver, Chairman of the Subcommittee on Mississippi and Alabama of the National Membership Committee of the YDCA and recently appointed Chairman of the YDCA Board of Regional Directors. Mr. Oliver graciously made the meeting by flying down from a doctors appointment in Memphis for the automobile accident he had when previously in Mississippi assisting us in organizing.

* * *

(I would like to add that this meeting was most encouraging, having two representatives of the national Democratic organization, the state Democratic Party, Negro and white students, civil rights workers, and Mississippi white and Negro residents. This broad coalition must continue. I urge all people between 16 and 40 to actively organize toward a large, broadly based convention this late summer. Yours for nationally loyal Democrats in Mississippi.

R. Hunter Morey for the Convention Committee
Young Democratic Clubs of Mississippi
Post Office Box 2251
Jackson, Mississippi, 39205

ITEMS ON CURRENT POLITICS IN MISSISSIPPI

The COUNCIL OF FEDERATED ORGANIZATIONS is pleased to present this full report on politics in Mississippi, written by R. Hunter Morey, a SNCC Field Secretary COFO worker. His report constitutes a small book of his own opinions on the Young Democratic Clubs of Mississippi, the Freedom Democratic Party, the state and national Democratic parties, and politics in general. The views expressed are his own, and do not necessarily represent those of COFO.

The entire civil rights Movement has broadened so much nationally and in Mississippi that now many differences of values and method are coming out in the open, which have all along existed. The various civil rights groups appear as one monolith only when conditions are extremely brutal and the fighters are few. Conservative, liberal, political or legal differences in emphasis come out when there is more freedom to operate and when more resources and people are attacking injustices and racism. Negroes, after all, differ individually just as much as white people do - look at all the "white" organizations. What racism can't stand, is that the maturing Movement, instead of fragmenting, is strengthening itself through division of labor, use of previously inactive resources, and recruitment of more and more institutions of society into the struggle.

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