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The Southern PATRIOT

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Whitley is Elected Chairman of MFDP

By MIKE BIGGON

Jackson, Miss.—The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) elected a new chairman and new members to an expanded executive committee, in a state convention here January 5.

The Rev. Clifton Whitley, chaplain of a black college in West, Miss., who ran against Senator Eastland in 1966, takes over the post at the MFDP convention. This is the first leadership change within the MFDP since the party was established in April, 1944. (Mr. Whitley is a member of the SCEF board of directors.)

Once the darling of liberals, and for a time the prototype for "grass-roots" organizing, MFDP has ceased to be that.

So the MFDP's presence in the delegation to the Democratic National Convention and the selection of Mississippi's representatives in the 88th Congress. MFDP's failure to accept Atom bomb protesters' seating plan at Atlantic City was the start of the rift with the liberals. Yet the MFDP has survived and has largely set the priorities for much of the organizing in the state's black community since 1964.

The fact that Mississippi now has a Democratic Party structure loyal to the national party can be traced to the 1964 challenge and to the MFDP's presence in the delegation which last August successfully challenged the regulars.

The MFDP's involvement in this alliance was a tense one. Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, a former sharecropper from Ruleville, Miss., died at the convention: "It is time we waste our money... time to change our society in the way we see it.

On the other hand, Whitley, who attended the MFDP convention two months ago, said: "We will work with

McClellan Postpones Hearing; SCEF Will Challenge Committee

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The appearance of Alan and Margaret McSorely before the McClellan Committee of the U.S. Senate has been reset for March 4. It will be at 10:30 a.m. in Room 8302, New Senate Office Building.

The hearing was originally set for January 14 but was postponed until February 20 on January 17, as opposition began to build. People all over the United States were working to keep those senators and their families from being called to testify. On January 18, it was postponed a second time.

McClellan apparently delayed the McSorely's appearance in order to try to consolidate his position. He had told the members to bring papers and records covering their association with groups working for civil rights, peace, an end of poverty, and student rights.

These groups include the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), for which the McSorely's have been working as organizers in Appalachia for two years.

SCEF issued a statement saying that the delay of the hearing "means that we have the possibility of winning a fight against this attack—but the fight probably will be tougher".

SCEF's attorneys announced that they will challenge the committee in the U.S. courts on the ground that the documents demanded by McClellan were illegally seized.

The papers were taken from the McSorelys and Joe Mulloy, another mountain organizer, when officials in Pike County, Kentucky, raided their homes and arrested them on sedition charges in August, 1965.

They and Anne and Carl Braden, executive directors of SCEF, were released on July 28, 1966. A special U.S. court killed the state sedition law but McClellan refused to endorse the judgment.

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SCEF Has Two New Representatives

The Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF) has opened an office in Los Angeles and has employed a new Eastern representative.

They will seek greater financial and political support in the North and West for SCEF's work in the South. Wherever possible, they want to be in the fight against war and racism in the South.

The Western office, which is at 5889 W. Pico Blvd., Los Angeles 36, is directed by Mr. and Mrs. Marilyn Ruman, who live in Sherman Oaks, Calif. The new Eastern representative is Mrs. Jane McMurro, former general manager of the Guardian, a weekly newspaper. She will work with Mrs. Sandra Rossnau, who has been an Eastern representative for SCEF for 2½ years.

Marilyn Ruman was born in El Paso, Texas, in 1925. She is the wife of Thomas Ruman, ex-student of SCEF, who has twin daughters, Andrea and Linda, aged 17 months.

In May, 1960, Marilyn and other students were washed down the drain in a fracas at a San Francisco City Hall with a fire hose. They were protesting against the hearing of the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC)

Marilyn later got a master's degree from the Columbia University School of Journalism. She has been working in Watts for two years as a community organizer. She will be SCEF's Western representative, working closely with support committees in Southern California, Northern California, Oregon, and Washington, the two countries were wartime allies against the Nazis.

The Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF) is an educational fund to which they were related that was not the purpose of the fund.

Memorial to Lil Landau

A living memorial—to promote grassroots organizing among the poor and disfranchised people in the South—has been established in the name of Lil Landau, long-time organizer in the field of human rights in the New York area.

Miss Landau died in 1959. Trustees of a memorial fund established in her memory have contributed $3,000 to the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF) to carry on organizing work in the South around the principles she stood for.

Although her own work was mostly in the New York area, Miss Landau was always deeply interested in the South. In her last years the Southern Conference National Citizens Committee for Abolition of the Poll Tax grew out of the efforts of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare (SCEF's predecessor) to end voting restrictions.

Lil Landau became an organizer and leader of student and church groups in attending City College of New York. After she graduated, her great interests were in trade union and political work. She worked at various times on the staff of the National Citizens Conference on the staff of the Illinois Commission on Human Rights.

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Mine Safety Fight Begins at Grassroots

By SUZANNE CROWELL

LOGAN, W. Va.—A grassroots movement of miners, spearheaded by a group of crusading doctors, is spreading across the Appalachian states. It aims to force coal operators to take responsibility for mine safety.

The drive gathered strength after the mine explosion at Logan, W. Va., which killed 78 men. Its main targets are mine conditions which produce accidents and black-lung disease.

Black-lung—or coal pneumoconiosis—is a disease miners get from breathing coal dust. It eventually claims its victim's life.

Although one in every 10 coal miners gets the disease (and one of every five retired miners has it), the incidence of black lung can be greatly cut if mine owners are willing to spend the money to clean up their mines.

So far, they have not.

A Committee of Doctors for the Health and Safety of Miners was set up nine months ago. Dr. H. A. Wells of Johnstown, Pa., said: "We decided it was time to go to the people. We are doctors who are tired of writing scientific papers, holding discussions, getting publicity."

The newer over black lung results from the fact that no effective measures are being taken in the United States, and that in West Virginia and Kentucky it is not recognized as a workmen's compensation, as it is in Pennsylvania. Only 15 people in both states have received compensation for it in the last few years.

"The danger of getting black lung has increased with automation and the use of continuous mining machines. These machines produce more and finer dust than ever before."

In a study written by doctors at the West Virginia Regional Hospital, it was estimated that at least 15% of the men affected show no X-ray evidence. These men have nothing to show compensation officials to prove they are sick—except their inability to climb stairs and move.

Another common cause of death in the mines is accidents. Mining is the most dangerous of all major industries rated by the National Safety Council. The accident rate is 4.1 times the average rate.

In past years, the United Mine Workers of America has been the chief spokesman for mine safety in the mines. But at the site of the recent mine disaster in Mannington, W. Va., union president Tony Boyle said: "This happens to be, in my judgment as president of the UMWA, one of the better companies to work with as far as cooperation and safety is concerned."

The recently signed wage agreement between the UMWA and the Bituminous Coal Operators' Association contained no new safety standards. At present, local safety committees can stop work at unsafe mines, but the miners receive no pay.

In a hearing on black lung in West Virginia, the union's marketing expert, Michael Waldman, took the view that the cost of some safety measures would not be as great as the coal industry in a bad position to compete with other fuels.

The UMWA Journal has taken to task those who believe otherwise. They 'indict experts and the ill-informed are, as usual, pointing the fingers of blame at the coal industry, at the U.S. Bureau of Mines, at the UMWA and at coal mine safety laws.

"The facts are that there is no simple answer to the question of why such disasters occur. The coal industry, the union and the state and federal agencies and coal-mine-safety men do know, in theory, how to prevent such disasters."

"We do not, at this point, know the facts about the latest disaster."

The experts referred to included Dr. Ralph Nader, Dr. J. E. Buff, and Rep. Ken Hechler.

Nader recently wrote a letter to Gov. Lute Lunn of Kentuckiana, asking: "What medieval description is appropriate to describe a state government... which does not recognize black lung as a 'work-related' disease and thereby denies the deplored human beings of the right to workers' compensation awards?"

Dr. Buff made a documentary on black lung, which was shown on Huntington TV— and blacked out in the coalfields by the small coal operators-controlled cable TV companies that carry the station's broadcasts to southern West Virginia.

Hechler is sponsoring a national safety legislation in Congress. The national safety record of Consolidation Coal Co. (a subsidiary of Continental Oil Co.) shows 30 violations at the exploded mine alone since Dec. 1, 1966. Rock-dusting standards have been consistently ignored in every inspection at the mine since 1965.

Numerous public officials are charged with maintaining mine safety, on both state and federal levels. One of these is the director of the federal Bureau of Mines.

Walter Hibbard, Jr., who reported from that post that this was not terribly familiar with coal mining and its problems. "One reason," he said, "is the lack of understanding on the part of Congress, and the lack of technical information."

Hibbard added: "There is no fair hearing procedure now.... The group has other reforms in mind to improve the lot of retired and disabled miners."

Peaking up against the operators takes courage. At a hearing in West Virginia on the Consol No. 9 explosion, one miner, Walter Skovsly, criticized safety measures at the mine. Later he said he expected trouble finding a job.

"Sure I'm going to have trouble," he said. "But I was under oath and I had to tell the truth, didn't I?"

It is in such an atmosphere that the drive to pass a new workers' compensation law—one which would force the states to prove that mining is not the cause of the miner's disability—is taking place. At present, the burden is on the miner to prove that mining—and not any- thing else—disabled him.

The Doctors' Committee is bringing this campaign to the states. West Virginia legislation adopts the new law. They are not inter- ested in compensation for its own sake—but they want the mine operators to be forced to pay the compensation money. This will force them to clean up the mines, because it will be too expensive not to.

The union districts have so far taken no action to push the bill, but at the local level there is widespread participation. About 200 coal miners and ex-miners filled an auditorium here in Logan January 3 to rally support for the bill.

The doctors' presentation was graphic. Dr. Wells held up a slice of lung taken from an autopsied man. It was black with soot, and as he held it, it crumbled. He said miners breathe air 100 times as dusty as the limit recommended by the Public Health Service, and he urged each local union to buy its own filter to measure mine dust.

"In Kentucky it is not recognized as a workmen's compensation but the UMWA and at coal mines. The safety record of Consolidation Coal Co. (a subsidiary of Continental Oil) has 30 violations at the exploded mine alone since Dec. 1, 1966. Rock-dusting standards have been consistently ignored in every inspection at the mine since 1965."

The suit argues for the right of the miner to work and thereby deny the "1 have had no operational no fair hearing procedure now. "No one wants to expose his friends."

"Have you visited a coal mine?" asked Anderson. "Yes sir, I have." "Many times?" "I visited one once." "Once?" "Yes sir.

"One day?" "Yes sir."

"That is the extent of my experience." James Boyd, former Bureau of Mines director, is now chairman of the coal mining company and president of a railroad.

The Kentucky State Department of Mines and Minerals offers no help in cleaning up mining company, and President of the State. The conference on safety called by Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall, with West Virginia mining companies, is the same as the UMWA and the Bituminous Coal Operators' Association.

MINERS at Logan meeting listen attentively. (photos by Suzanne Crowell).
McCellan always opposed fair employment legislation. In 1950, he said: "...the fair employment practices bill violates and would destroy one of the most sacrosanct rights we enjoy as to own, possess, and control property." (Arkansas Gazette, May 14, 1950.)

In 1943, he stood with Senator Eastland, ready to offer "several hundred amendments" to a bill that would abolish the poll tax.

McCellan signed the Southern Manifesto, which urged resistance to the U.S. Supreme Court decision on school "segregation by legal means." It was this manifesto which created the atmosphere of the repression and violence which swept the South.

Political observers say McCellan has never forgiven the Supreme Court for that 1954 school decision and he has attacked the Court ever since. During the 1967 school integration crisis in Little Rock, when his own state was defying a federal court order, McCellan deplored "the intervention of the Federal government into States' Rights."

In his home state of Arkansas, 74 per cent of the industrial worker remained unorganized. Industrial workers earned an average wage of $1.98 an hour, second lowest in the country; this is 80 per cent below the national average.

In Little Rock, the state's largest city, 60 per cent of the work force is underemployed. Arkansas has, as one might expect, a so-called "Right-to-Work" law. (Information furnished by Bill Becker, president, Arkansas AFL-CIO)

Sid McMath, an ex-governor of Arkansas, said: "In every measure of public policy where there is a conflict between the profits of the large corporations and the public interest, you will find (McCellan) votes to make the rich and powerful richer and more powerful at the expense of the average citizen." (Arkansas Gazette, Apr. 11, 1954.)

During the 1957 school integration crisis, he voted to make the richest and most powerful districts more "rich and powerful."

He is opposed to unions using dues for political purposes, but he has never indicated that he opposes corporations using dues for political purposes. He has been putting unions under anti-trust laws.

He wanted to amend the Taft-Hartley Act to authorize the issuance of Federal injunctions in "any" transportation strike and to make it "illegal for any union to act in concert with any other union—once a sister local in the same international." (The Nation, Nov. 11, 1961.)

In 1954, with Sen. Joseph McCarthy, he called for an investigation into the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) on the ground that it was "honeycombed with subversives.

McCellan has a habit of referring to union dues as "paying tribute to a union."

During his investigations of the Teamsters in the late '50's, he developed a demagogic tactic that he would use time and again against other groups. When he believed that a victim would take the Fifth Amendment against self-incrimination (which the Constitution says is the right of any man), McCellan would continue questioning the witness until he had run up an impressive number of "Fifths.

The newspapers could then print, "HECK JR TAKES 1ST 125 TIMES."

He defended this smear tactic by saying: "The witness has a right to invoke it (the Fifth); and we have a right to expose him; as we ask him we expose him to public opinion."

Worcester referred to this tactic as "trial by the press"; the courts have said that congressional committees do not have the right "to expose for exposure's sake."

During his labor investigations, McCellan would face up when asked what he planned to get at an anti-union hearing. He was investigating the management side of things.

Business and Capital

"The law in its majesty equally affects the rich and the poor."

But McCellan's views on business and high finance, as well as his own personal investments, are unique: He comes from a state where the tax structure tends to favor corporations. The state has a corporate income tax, introduced in 1919, but this is now riddled with loopholes. Banks and trust companies received huge deductions for charitable purposes raised from five per cent to 80 per cent in 1919. There is a negligible six per cent tax on public utilities, and only a small assessment on real estate.

To be fair, this dismal picture is not unique to Arkansas. The tax code there is largely borne by people who exist on incomes of less than $3,000 a year.

While McCellan was in the House, he was an advocate of maximum wage minimum; he showed where his sympathies lie: "There is one thing sure—the people's wages must be increased."

In 1947, McCellan voted for the Taft-Hartley Act, and he has voted against repeal of its 14-B section ever since. He has consistently voted against minimum wage laws; in 1956 he tried to tie an amendment to outlaw the union shop to a civil right bill.

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There is one thing sure—there is no way to bust the union—there is no way to bust the union.
"I did not become a Senator to transform the United States into a socialistic, paternalistic society."

—McClellan, 1953

LIFE IN ARKANSAS:

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One investigation that never got beyond the preliminary stages involved Robert Tyris Ross, former secretary of defense in Eisenhowers administration.

On September 3, 1950, he astonished many when he delivered a sharp ultimatum to the Soviet Union that if she did not enter into a spirit of international cooperation upon U.S. terms, he would favor "Bringing the first shot's a war that will win or diehard Communists."

In recent years, McClellan has been a staunch advocate of continuing the war in Vietnam.

Crime, Civil Liberties, Poverty

"A plague of sentimentalists want more and more sympathy, less and lighter punishment for criminals," McClellan said. (U.S. News and World Report, June 7, 1955.)

This viewpoint may explain his silence when national sensibilities and the Arkansas prison system. Last year, scores of graves were discovered around Cummins Prison, the state's largest. Prisoners charged that over the years prisoners had been murdered by guards and dumped in unmarked graves.

Meantime, a report from Arkansas revealed that the state prisons are corrupted by "flouting, electric torture, enforced homosexuality, starvation, extortion, unlimited pregnancies, sale of jobs, women and illegal narcotics."

There is nothing to the record to indicate that McClellan protested any of these conditions.

Much has been made of McClellan's arguments with Joe McCarthy over the latter's handling of investigations. But McClellan objected not to the damage McCarthy did to the nation, but to the harm he brought on the Senate.

When the Democrats won a majority in 1946, CRS broadcast an interview with Joe McCarthy over the eviction of investigations. But McClellan objected not to the damage McCarthy did to the nation, but to the harm he brought on the Senate.

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This, then, is McClellan, the investigator. This is the man who chairs the old McCarthy committee, who seeks to expose "subversives" and people he sees as a threat to what he considers the "American way of life."

The record shows that he cares nothing for the black man and woman. He does care for the bankers, the oil interests, the utility companies, the big cotton planters, the military-industrial complex—and he has taken care of them very well indeed. He has used his investigations to further those interests and his own—and to crush all opposition.

SCEP has repeated this article—including additional material cut from the "Patriot" for lack of space—as a useful weapon for other groups and individuals fighting the McCarthy Committee.Copies available from SCEP, 3210 W. Broadway, Louisville, Ky. 40211.
Mr. Swig Douglas

I wrote Mr. Swig some weeks ago after reading a story in the (another issue) about a strike at the Roosevelt Hotel in New Orleans. Your readers might be interested in his reply:

"After reading your letter I wonder how a person like you can make a judgment without investigation on something that happened several hundred miles away. Frankly, you are not entitled to a countless reply to your letter, but I thought I would let you know that when we purchased the Roosevelt Hotel, we were aware of some of the first things we did was to cooperate with the Union and see that our hotel was organized and all of our employees are members of the Union.

"As a matter of fact, we are the only major hotel in the city that the other major hotels would be organized. In the three years none of the other hotels have joined the Union.

"We did have differences in the beginning and, for your information, the offer that we made so far as price was concerned was accepted. I think it would be nice if well meaning people would investigate before they hold someone responsible for things that did not happen."

Very truly yours,

Benjamin H. Swig

THE PEOPLE'S FORUM

LEE OTIS JOHNSON WRITES FROM JAIL

You are aware that I am a political prisoner, as a result of organizing and participating in effective non-violent direct action, I am now in jail having been unjustly convicted of an alleged "sale of marijuana" (see October Patriot). I was sentenced to 30 years in the State Penitentiary.

The conviction and sentence are pending upon my appeal to the State Court of Appeals at Austin and, if advised I will do it, in two years before the court can render a decision in my case. In the meantime I remain in jail. The court's failure to set bail, which would allow me to remain at liberty while my appeal is pending.

The arrest was made to alleviate these injustices will not only immediately benefit my cause, but also may result in establishing legal precedents that will vitally affect future injustices similar to mine.

Presently, I am trying to engage myself in educational efforts to require the courts to set an appropriate time limit, and I am without funds to finance such effort, which will involve exhausting all remedies of relief in the state court, to appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court to have funds and money available to me have been exhaused in the defense of this case and the numerous other charges that were filed against me.

I would not solicit this type of help unless it were truly needed, the fact is, I do need assistance if I am to continue in the struggle... When the injustice begins, the prospect of Justice prevailing at the end result seems most remote.

Any funds that you may wish to donate, please specify it as a political gift and made payable to: Mrs. Helen Johnson Box 88015, Houston, Texas 77004.

In extending my thanks for your concern and support, I remain, in the continuous struggle...

CRUSADING JOURNAL FORCED TO STOP PUBLISHING

By MIKE HIGSON

Jackson, Miss.—A second Mississippi movement publication has suspended publication this winter for lack of funds. The 10th issue of the Freedom Information Service (FIS) newsletter was its last unless more money is forthcoming. Its demise followed by less than two months that of the Southern Courier, a civil-rights publication, founded in the last year of the United States.

The end of the Mississippi newsletter is a big loss. Its editor, Mr. Higson, and the rest of the staff were involved in the work of organizing Mississippi's first black revolution.

Mr. Higson edited the city's only black newspaper, and declared the situation under control on Easter Sunday, April 14. But the Governor refused to withdraw the guard troops, saying he had "informed the courts" and could not do so without violating the next day, there was a major riot. Mayor Babers formally ended the emergency on May 17, when the city's police were given a broader jurisdiction.

From the point of view of the white residents, all adds up to a white occupation army. The police force is made up of less than 200,000 men in the state. The reaction to the shooting of the unarmed activists, however, was nothing but... On April 6, the morning after the first post-arrest-uprisings in Wilmington, Delaware, Governor Charles Terry responded to Mayor John Babers's call for 8,000 Guardsmen by mobilizing, for the first time in Delaware history, the entire 10,000 men of the Delaware National Guard. More than 6,000 armed men responded.

Based on figures 8 and 13, more than 375 persons were arrested, including 67 journalists, and 187 persons were jailed. Mayor Babers said the total number of arrests was 74. Most of these arrests were for curfew violations, and 162 of them occurred under an Emergency Riot Act passed August 4, 1967, following the city's first black rebellion. . .

Mayor Babers lifted the city's curfew and ended the situation under control on Easter Sunday, April 14. But the Governor refused to withdraw the guard troops, saying he had "informed the courts" and could not do so without violating the next day, there was a major riot. Mayor Babers formally ended the emergency on May 17, when the city's police were given a broader jurisdiction.

From the point of view of the white residents, all adds up to a white occupation army. The police force is made up of less than 200,000 men in the state. The reaction to the shooting of the unarmed activists, however, was nothing but... On April 6, the morning after the first post-arrest-uprisings in Wilmington, Delaware, Governor Charles Terry responded to Mayor John Babers's call for 8,000 Guardsmen by mobilizing, for the first time in Delaware history, the entire 10,000 men of the Delaware National Guard. More than 6,000 armed men responded.

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On the Question

"Other people will lose democracy to win the struggle against poverty, or property, in fear of poverty, will destroy democracy. . . .

"Our answer is the struggle for freedom, and wealth and health and democracy, and to make them or the conditions that make them possible for everyone.

GEORGE BEVAN

The SOUTHERN PATRIOT

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**The Southern Patriot**

The Continuing Struggle

By Jack Minnie

(SCF Research Director)

We're seeing the beginning of the third Republic, a new society and a new world. The stated purpose of New Deal programs in agriculture, business subsidy, tax, etc., was to preserve the interest of the “little man” in the face of the overwhelming economic and political power of big business and big wealth. That has been the intention of the Democratic administrations.

However, the years since 1932 have seen the demise of the small farmer and of the small business. Agriculture and business are now, almost exclusively the domains of large corporations and the billionaires' contributions. Federal taxation and subsidy programs combine to place the burden of keeping the poor alive and increasing the wealth of the wealthy upon the shoulders of what is left of the small business community, and upon the weak to produce any income derived from work (whether they wear a white or a blue collar). Indeed, given the economic systems by which we live, it could hardly be otherwise.

**Agriculture**

For example, former Agriculture Secretary Freeman recently explained that it was necessary to continue crop subsidy and quota programs because farmers are “sitting on a powder keg of overproduction.” “American farmers still have the capacity to produce more than the market can absorb at a fair price,” he said. Thus at a time when hunger and malnutrition are a way of life for millions of U.S. citizens (not to mention millions worldwide), U.S. farmers must restrict production, because if they produce more, they cannot sell at a profitable price. In the clearest contradiction, the hunger and the blighted lives of millions upon millions of people are necessary conditions for the continued prosperity of U.S. agriculture.

Another necessary condition is the Federal tax loopholes which benefit the wealthy, and that those who have jobs and small businesses must continue to contribute a disproportionate share of their income and wealth to support the “fair prices” of agriculture.

**Business**

Simultaneously with Secretary Freeman's recent explanation, Edmund F. Martin contributed his bit to an understanding of the U.S. economic system. Martin is Chairman of Bethlehem Steel Corp. He insisted that the federal government must restrict imports of foreign-made steel products. Such products are lower in price than domestic production. Thus U.S. buyers of steel fabrications—automobiles, airplanes, etc.—must pay higher prices for what they buy so that U.S. steelmakers can retain a competitive price range.

The only businesses that buy U.S. steel are those who produce goods that are not subject to foreign competition. “The ‘common man’ is,” it all comes down to, the two parties to see different from one another. Another major reason for this is that the U.S. government, if the government really wanted to put an end to drug traffic, it could be done in a minute.

**Finance**

Coincident with these developments in agriculture and business, we are witnessing a new government. The Federal Reserve Board raised the re-discount rate and the big banks raised the prime interest rate to its highest in U.S. history—in fact, 12 per cent or more. Such high interest rates for continued production and expansion are the rule and, therefore, charge more for their products. Those who must pay more, again. Furthermore, any business which does not want to pay must go, now. Furthermore, any business which has the money to pay through the Federal Reserve Board is able to provide products in the long term future, if they are to build to the facilities to meet present demands. Thus the ability of these public bodies to continue to meet the public demands of an expanding population is compromised by current interest rates extended, as they are, into the future by long-term borrowings. The only possibility for meeting future demands, then, is to increase unemployment. Who pays? Those who earn.

This is the nature of the so-called “dollar” that is acquired by the great majority of people who benefit from it only marginally. In some cases, it is barely enough to eat. All along so long as this majority reaps the benefits of the economic system, it will remain impotent politically. Recognition of its interest is an essential prerequisite for political and social change by the majority. This is what we must be about.

On the Drug Question

By Margaret McSurely

(Editor's Note: Over a year ago, the staff of SCEF discussed the matter of illegal drugs and adopted the following policy statement: "We feel that illegal drugs will be permitted on SCEF property, if a SCEF staff member is willing to carry or use illegal drugs while performing SCEF work, and if SCEF staff member is responsible enough to be able to provide legal support in case of a frame-up.

The reason agreed upon by all the staff of SCEF was simple and practical: it would seem that the SCEF people work in some of the most dangerous areas of the South and are therefore very much exposed. We want to know which police are using drug charges on an excuse to arrest political dissidents. Thus, they agreed, this is a weapon they do not need to head to their opposition. Considering all the life-and-death struggles in which they are engaged, this is a battle they are either willing to fight or in the manner in which they feel workers can groove together.

Besides, one of the most popular and effective tools in the struggle for freedom is the personal freedom to live and move where you wish. This is a right which has been denied to the black man and the red man."

For some, although not all, of the SCEF staff the opposition to the use of drugs goes deeper than the legal questions involved. One of those is Margaret McSurely, author of this month's organizer's column.)

Several months ago I was talking with a young man, a member of a small group which included an organizer, about some young people he was working with "turn on" together.

When I criticized the organizer about the danger of getting rabid and arrested for possession and using pot and for putting all the rest of us who were responsible for their training in trouble, he said it was worth the risk. You have to share great experiences like getting high with people you're working with and people you can groove together. Besides, one of the most useful tools in the struggle for freedom is the personal freedom to live and move where you wish. This is a right which has been denied to the black man and the red man.

Take the story of Sammy Younge.

The Story of Sammy Younge

By Anne Braden

The Southern freedom movement of 1960's has produced a number of books and will no doubt produce more. I think one of the most informative and classic is the recently-published story of the Southern freedom movement death of 1965, Sammy Younge, Jr., by James Forman.

The book is entitled simply Sammy Younge, Jr., with subtitles, “The Black College Student to Die in the Black Liberation Movement.” (Green, New York, 1968, $5.95).

Younge was a 21-year-old student at Fisk University, a black campus in Nashville, the night of January 3, 1966, by a white filling station attendant. The killer was later acquitted by an all-white jury in Lee County, Ala.

Forman, a key leader in SNCC from its earliest days, probably knows as much as any person living about what actually happened in the developing movement of 1960's. But during the most intense period of the movement, other people who were writing about it seemed to have too busy living it. Now, apparently, he has begun to write about it; this is in the first chapter of an important document.

Forman decided to write his book after reading King's story on the day he attended his funeral. This was simply "one civil rights funeral too many." He decided that Younge, whom he had watched come into the Movement through the Montgomery demonstrations of 1965, would make a good subject for another in the long list of martyrs in the civil-rights battle.

His book accomplishes that— and dose it beautifully. Younge comes to life—not as a two-dimensional hero, but as a human being with fears and doubts and, finally, commitment.

But in the process of telling the story of Sammy Younge, Forman skillfully and sensitively weaves in the story of the rising black movement, from the growing of the movement to the rages of 1965 and 1969.

I am sure there are reasons why black youth want to read this book—and perhaps it is they for whom Forman wrote it. But for me, Younge, who is white, is convinced that this is one no white person should miss.

Many of the questions America White America has been asking are answered here: Why and did many black people lose faith in nonviolent demonstrations— if they ever had it? Why and when did the dream of integration fail? Why and what did great black numbers of people become convinced that the Federal government had nothing to do with their lives? Even some smaller questions: Why and did we lose our idealism of black power that once moved so many people to a hollow measure of satisfaction? Forman answers these questions skillfully and humanely. By recounting an intense experience in one small town that that of the Montgomery bus boycott and the March on Washington, he exposed a blast of gunfire.

He uses the immensely effective technique of being the (Continued on page 2)