

The Southern PATRIOT

February, 1969

Published by the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), Louisville, Ky.

Louis Puts Black Liberators on Trial

(By Staff Correspondent)

LOUIS, Mo.—Detective Donald Hardy was the main witness against four members of the militant Black Liberators and two SNCC leaders. During his testimony, this exchange took place:

Judge: "What do you understand by 'Uncle Tom'?"

Hardy: "That's me. I'm an Uncle Tom."

Because he said that speeches given at a rally here on September 7 were "inflammatory," police had arrested the six and charged them with unlawful assembly. Based on Hardy's testimony, they were convicted of violating both a state statute and a city ordinance.

On January 2, appeals of both convictions were heard. Again, Hardy was the prosecution's main witness. But defense attorneys produced a tape recording of all but one of the speeches—and, somehow, most of the "inflammatory" statements that Hardy described were not on it.

Now two judges—one to rule on the city's charge, the other, on the state's—are pondering the discrepancies and waiting for written arguments from the attorneys. A ruling is expected in a few months.

The episode showed how determined local authorities are to stop the Black Liberators.

* * *

The Liberators were organized last July. Charles Koen, the leader of the group and one of the six men arrested, described their goals:

"We thought in terms of how we could most serve the black community. We thought of a black political party to work through electoral politics for immediate gains—and move to revolutionary politics if necessary.

"We also want to establish a black economic base—and, third, a black defensive unit; a trained group of brothers, to protect the black community and themselves. We have the basic concept of organizing street brothers."

The Liberators began to build a paramilitary structure, with ranks, duties, and strict discipline. Many young people joined. Soon there was enough community support for the Liberators to publish a paper every two weeks, with 8,000 circulation.

"We organize on a block level," Koen said. "Our strongest thing is an under-

(Continued on page 8)

McClellan: The Man Behind the Committee

(Sen. John McClellan is using the power of the old McCarthy Committee of the Senate to attack movements for change in America. Who is he and what is his record? This article attempts to answer these questions.)

John Little McClellan, at 72 fourth-ranking U.S. Senator, is in the twilight years of a spectacular congressional career that spans the administrations of six presidents.

He succeeded Joe McCarthy as chairman of the Permanent Investigations Subcommittee of the Committee on Government Operations—a post he has held ever since.

His power throughout his career has been used against the poor, the black, the intellectual, the working man—in short, against all those outside the big power circles of America.

The Man Behind the Committee

He is consistently described as a person of restrained warmth; his relations with other senators are seldom more than cordial. He is a Puritan, a stern Baptist who is fond of quoting the Bible.

He is not an enormously wealthy man, for a powerful politician—but he has taken care of himself quite well. He is an avid boxing fan, a devotee of Western movies, an omnivorous reader of detective stories. He spends many hours in front of the TV set; his favorite programs are "Dragnet" and the "FBI."

He is a consummate investigator, a grim inquisitor, who has conducted more than 90 investigations in 12 years.

McClellan was born in Sheridan, Ark., on February 25, 1896. His father had been a farmer, a schoolteacher, a country editor and then a lawyer and dabbler in politics. According to McClellan's own biographical statement, he started read-

ing law at the age of 12 with his father, and continued for five years. This is all the legal training he has had.

His father persuaded the legislature to

Research by Bob Ansalvage, Jack Minnis and Mike Higgin

pass a special law permitting young John to take the bar examination when he was 17, making him the youngest lawyer in America; the procedure was not unusual for the times.

He moved to Malvern, Ark., in 1919 and set up a law practice. In 1927 he was elected prosecuting attorney to the Seventh Judicial Circuit of Arkansas. He ran for Congress in 1934 and was elected to the House.

An examination of his voting record for the four years he was a member of the House reveals general support

Whitley is Elected Chairman of MFDP

By MIKE HIGSON
(Staff Correspondent)

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 Point, Miss., who ran against Senator Eastland in 1966, takes over as chairman from Laurence Guyot. This is the first leadership change within the MFDP since the party was established in April, 1964. (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 quite so novel, so moderate. Nor has it kept the political pace it set in 1964 and 1965, when it challenged the Mississippi delegation to the Democratic National Convention and the seating of Mississippi's representatives in the 89th Congress.

MFDP's failure to accept the compromise 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 Loyalists, as they are called, take in the NAACP, the MFDP, Hodding Charter III, editor of the *Delta Democrat Times*, and groups like the Elks and Masons. They are now trying to get recognition from the State as the Democratic Party, with all the advantages that flow from this status. The issue is likely to be resolved in court. They already have what amounts to paper recognition from the national party.

MFDP's involvement in this alliance is a tenuous one. Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, elected vice-chairman, declared at the convention: "It is time we went our own way . . . time to change our society in the way we see fit."

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

(Continued on page 8)



JOHN McCLELLAN

McClellan Postpones Hearing; SCEF Will Challenge Committee

(By Staff Correspondent)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The appearance of Alan and Margaret McSurely 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 3802, New Senate Office Building.

The hearing was originally set for January 14 but was postponed until February 25 on January 7, as opposition began to build. People all over the United States were writing and telephoning their own senators and Sen. John McClellan of Arkansas, urging them to cancel the inquiry. On January 22, it was postponed a second time.

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

These groups included the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), for which the McSurelys 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 McSurelys and Joe Mulloy, another mountain organizer, when officials in Pike County, Kentucky, raided their homes and arrested them on sedition charges in August, 1967.

They and Anne and Carl Braden, executive directors of SCEF, were indicted on charges of trying to overthrow the government of Pike County by organizing the poor people.

A special U.S. court killed the state sedition law but McClellan sub-

(Continued on page 4)

(Continued on page 8)

for New Deal policies, except where they conflicted with the moneyed interests in Arkansas.

He ran for the Senate unsuccessfully in 1938 and charged he was defeated by "50,000 captive votes of the W.P.A." In 1942 he ran for the Senate again, this time successfully, and has been there ever since.

This article is not intended as a biography of McClellan. It is rather an investigation of the investigator. Let us look at his record.

Race

McClellan has always been a staunch advocate of what is today called "law and order"—that is, he has been hard on "criminals and wrongdoers." But his pyramid of serious crimes is somewhat inverted. One crime for which he has

(Continued on page 4)



THE REV. WILLIAM HOWARD MELISH and his second son, Bill, stand outside a wrecked COFO House in Vicksburg, Miss. Bill Melish worked with the Mississippi Summer Project in 1964, and he had left this building shortly before racists blew it up.

Rev. Howard Melish Returns To Episcopal Parish Work

(By Staff Correspondent)

NEW YORK, N.Y.—On February 1, the Rev. William Howard Melish became full-time rector of Grace Church, Corona, He resigned as assistant director of SCEF but will remain on the staff as a consultant.

His return to parish work in the Episcopal Church was a quiet victory for freedom of speech and association, ending a 20-year struggle which at times made international headlines.

Melish came under fire for his radical activities soon after he became assistant rector under his father, Dr. John Howard Melish, at downtown Brooklyn's Holy Trinity Church.

The congregation gave the Melishes strong support—and it was not until 1957 that the younger Melish was finally ousted from the parish. He has spent the last 11 years building support for SCEF's work among friends in the East.

Melish's long struggle was played out against the backdrop of the Cold War. He helped to found the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship while the two countries were wartime allies against the Nazis.

At first, the Council included many highly placed men, such as General Dwight D. Eisenhower. But as World War II ended, and the Cold War began, the Council and Melish came under attack.

The Council was placed on the U.S. Attorney General's list of "subversive" organizations in November, 1947, along with 11 other groups. Soon after, Henry Cabot Lodge attacked Melish as a communist during a radio debate. The FBI and Washington foreign-policy makers put pressure on the Holy Trinity vestrymen, and they demanded Melish's removal as assistant rector.

But the congregation stood firm and the elder Melish declared that he would not ask his son to curtail his activities—since he was "only doing what I would do myself if I were younger and stronger."

The vestry appealed to the Bishop of Long Island. After two years, the courts ruled that the elder Melish could be removed by the Bishop—but that young Melish was protected from dismissal by his contract. The son continued as acting rector after his father left, but the Bishop refused to institute him as rector. (The elder Melish, now 94, still lives in the Holy Trinity rectory.)

In 1953 the Council of American-Soviet Friendship was asked to register as a "Communist front" under the McCarran Internal Security Act. The courts later ruled that the Council was not a "Communist front."

But meantime there was a second effort to remove Melish. Again the congregation stood behind him, but the vestry, weakened by two deaths and a resignation for age, did not. Church authorities discovered that he could be removed if a new rector were appointed. Dr. Herman S. Sidener accepted the post after three other ministers turned it down.

The vestry split. Although there was no quorum at the meeting where Sidener was elected, the Bishop ruled the election valid. He asked another clergymen, the Rev. Robert K. Thomas, to take charge of the church temporarily. Before the first service, some vestrymen changed all the locks and posted armed guards in the church to assure a smooth transition.

But Thomas arrived to find the church open, people in the pews, and Melish conducting the service. As it ended, Thomas went to the main pulpit and began conducting his own service. Photos of these dual services were printed on the front pages of newspapers all over the nation and abroad.

The conflict touched off a scandal. Sidener was instituted at Holy Trinity, although the courts ruled that he had not been properly elected. When the congregation refused to support Sidener, the Bishop closed the church and liquidated the parish. That was in 1957.

By this time, Melish had met and befriended Anne and Carl Braden (he preached a widely circulated sermon about their Kentucky sedition case in 1955—causing further controversy).

In 1957, the Bradens asked the late Aubrey Williams, then president of SCEF, and James Dombrowski, then executive director, to invite Melish to become SCEF's Eastern representative. He began work in early 1958, and was named assistant director of SCEF when the Bradens became executive directors in 1966.

In the last 11 years, Melish has helped to increase the number of SCEF supporters in the East threefold. He has aided in broadening the base of support by adding thousands of regular contributors.

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 will help in the fight against war and racism in their areas.

The Western office, which is at 5889 W. Pico Blvd., Los Angeles, is in charge of Mrs. Marilyn Ruman, who lives in Sherman Oaks, Calif. The new Eastern representative is Mrs. Jane McManus, former general manager of the *Guardian*, a weekly newspaper. She will work with Mrs. Sandra Rosenblum, who has been an Eastern representative for SCEF for 2½ years.

Marilyn Ruman was born in El Paso, Texas, 26 years ago. She is the wife of L. Richard Ruman, an attorney, and they have twin daughters, Andrea and Angela, 17 months old.

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

Marilyn later got a master's degree from UCLA and worked 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 Western headquarters is being financed by special gifts from friends of SCEF in the Los Angeles area. It will share office space with Women for Legislative Action, which has been very active in supporting SCEF's work.

Jane McManus, the new Eastern representative, joined the staff

of the then National *Guardian* in January, 1962, shortly after the death of her husband John T. McManus, who was one of the three founders of the newspaper. She directed the paper's promotional operations from that time until its reorganization as the "independent, radical newsweekly *Guardian*" in May of 1967.

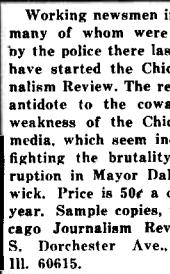
She then added to her other responsibilities that of general manager, until her resignation from the staff last September. Specifically, her work at the *Guardian* included planning and organizing all fund-raising events and appeals, editorial and promotional writing for the paper, and frequent trips across the country and abroad to help establish relations between the

paper and its readers all over the United States, Cuba, the Soviet Union, the Scandinavian countries, and Mexico—all of which she visited in the last year and a half.

Before joining the *Guardian*, Jane had been on the editorial staffs of the *New Republic*, *Time*, and *Mademoiselle*, and had worked in market research and free-lance professional work. She is a graduate of the Columbia School of Journalism and UCLA. Her immediate family includes two daughters and a grandson. She lives in Montrose, N.Y.

Carol Hanisch, who has been working in the Eastern office for two years, has moved to Gainesville, Fla. For the next six months she will explore the possibility of setting up a women's liberation project in the South.

Miss Ella J. Baker and the Rev. William Howard Melish remain on the SCEF staff as consultants (see article about Mr. Melish this page).

Working newsmen in Chicago, many of whom were clobbered by the police there last summer, have started the Chicago Journalism Review. The review is an antidote to the cowardice and weakness of the Chicago news media, which seem incapable of fighting the brutality and corruption in Mayor Daley's bailiwick. Price is 50¢ a copy; \$5 a year. Sample copies, write Chicago Journalism Review, 5000 S. Dorchester Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60615.

Memorial to Lil Landau

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

Miss Landau died in 1965. Trustees of a memorial fund established in her name have contributed \$5,000 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 the 1940's she was a leader in the National Citizens Committee for Abolition of the Poll Tax, which 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 organizations while attending City College of New York. After her student years, her great interests were in trade unionism and independent politics. She worked at various times on the staff of the National Citizens Political Action Committee, on the staff of the late Congressman Vito Marcantonio, and at the time of her

death was on the staff of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union. She also worked in the educational field—in various efforts to improve schools in New York.

A tribute by a long-time associate at the time of her death noted that "she chose her tasks by only one standard—the decree to which they were related to the needs and the hopes and the struggles of people." Trustees of her memorial said they felt that efforts to bring poor black and white people together in common struggle in the South met this standard that she set for herself in life.

The Southern Patriot

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

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND (SCEF)
3210 West Broadway, Louisville, Ky. 40211

The Southern Patriot is published once a month except in July and August by the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), a social and business offices, 3210 West Broadway, Louisville, Ky. 40211. Publication, 154 Tenth Ave., North, Nashville, Tenn. 37231; Eastern offices, Suite 412, 739 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10019; Western offices, 5889 W. Pico Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif. 90019; Back issues from 1942 to date are available on microfilm from Serials Section, University Microfilms, 200 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48106. Thirty cents a copy; \$3 a year. Second-class postage paid at Nashville, Tenn.

The Southern Conference was founded in 1938 and is dedicated to ending racism, poverty and other injustices in the South; it opposes war as an instrument of national policy.

Executive Committee: The Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, President; Jack Peebles, and Modjecka M. Simpkins, Vice-Presidents; Clarice Campbell, Secretary; Dorcas Ruthenburg, Treasurer.

Executive Staff: Carl Braden, Executive Director; Anne Braden, Associate Executive Director; Miriam Nichols, Assistant Director; Office and Printing Staff: Theresa Bridges, Helen Grever, Virginia Guild, Ira Gruber, Louise Grupe, Furione, Keith Stickford.

Field Staff: Robert Analavage, Eila J. Baker, Susanne Crowell, James A. Dombrowski, Carol Hanisch, Michael Higson, Joe Hoban, George McAlister, Alan McGurley, Margaret McGurley, the Rev. William Howard Melish, Jack Minnis, Karen Mulloy, Joseph Mulloy, Dorothy Zellner and Robert Zellner.

Eastern Representatives: Jane McManus and Sandra Rosenblum.

Western Representative: Marilyn Ruman.

February, 1969

Vol. 27, No. 2

Mine Safety Fight Begins at Grassroots

By SUZANNE CROWELL
(Staff Correspondent)

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

The drive gathered strength after the mine explosion at Mannington, 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 chokes its victim to death.

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 doctors are tired of writing scientific papers, holding discussions, getting publicity."

The furor over black lung results from the fact that no effective precautions against it are taken in the United States, and that in West Virginia and Kentucky it is not recognized as a work-related disease, as is silicosis. 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 Beckley Appalachian Regional Hospital, it is estimated that at least 20% 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 keep a job.

Another common cause of death in the mines is accidents. Mining is the most dangerous of 40 major industries rated by the National Safety Council. The accident rate is 4½ times the national average.

In past years, the United Mine Workers of America has

been the chief spokesman for 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 Widman, took the view that the cost of some safety measures would put the coal industry in a bad position to compete with other fuels.

The UMWA *Journal* has taken to task those who believe otherwise. "The instant experts and the ill-informed are, as usual, pointing the finger 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 one 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 include Ralph Nader, Dr. I. E. Buff, and Rep. Ken Hechler.

Nader recently wrote a letter to Gov. Louie Nunn of Kentucky, 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

MINE EXPLOSION
at Mannington, W. Va., sent thick smoke billowing into the sky. Underground fires prevented rescue teams from entering the mine for several days.

depleted human beings of the right to workmen's compensation awards?"

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

Hechler is sponsoring new safety legislation in Congress.

The safety record of Consolidation Coal Company (a subsidiary of Continental Oil) shows 25 violations at the exploded mine alone since Dec. 1, 1966. Rock-dusting standards have been consistently ignored in every inspection at the mine since 1963.

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 Hubbard, Jr., who resigned in April from that post was not terribly familiar with coal mining and its problems. In a Senate hearing, Sen. Clinton Anderson of New Mexico asked Hubbard about his qualifications, and got this reply:

"I have had no operational experience in mining."

"Have you visited a coal mine?" asked Anderson.

"Yes sir, I have."

"Many times?"

"I visited one once."

"Once?"

"Yes sir."

"One day?"

"One day, yes sir."

"That is the basis of your experience in that field?"

"That is the extent of my experience."

James Boyd, former Bureau of Mines director, is now chairman of a copper-mining company and president of a railroad.

The Kentucky State Department of Mines and Minerals is headed by H. N. Kirkpatrick, who owns a strip mine in Western Kentucky. At the conference on safety called by Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall, Kirkpatrick said that a meeting "...in the emotional climate



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.

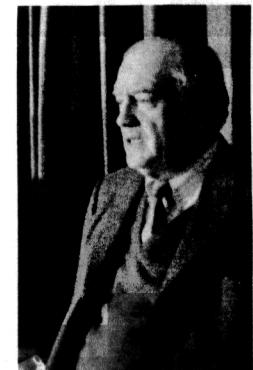
The union districts have so far taken no action to push the bill, but at the local level there is widespread participation. About 300 coal miners and ex-miners filled an auditorium here in Logan January 5 to rally support for the bill.

The doctors' presentation was graphic. Dr. Wells held up a slice of lung taken from an autopsy. 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.

Dr. Donald Rasmussen of Beckley, W. Va., passed out lung sections enclosed in plastic which showed various phases of disease, and Dr. Buff showed color slides.

The doctors were obviously filling a vacuum of leadership. Miners filed up after the meeting to shake Dr. Buff's hand. Many said they had seen him on news shows.

They listened intently as he listed the ten corporations that he says own the state. He told them they were second-class citizens—that they couldn't get life insurance, or had to pay for it by the week, which costs two to three times as much. He said the educational system "is sup-



DR. I. E. BUFF

posed to keep your kids ignorant, so they'll be coal miners."

He noted the poor sewage, air pollution, and bad housing that miners must put up with, and said, "You've lived in a camp for 40, 50, 80 years. Whoever went camping for 80 years?"

Finally he asked for 10,000 miners to come to a rally in Charleston for the compensation bill, and the answer came back—

"How about 40,000?"

"Local 6207 will shut down the mines!"

The Logan meeting was one of several held in the state to support the bill. The bill is not the final goal of the Doctors' Committee, which has membership in Kentucky, Ohio, and Illinois. The first Kentucky miners' meeting was held January 11 at Pikeville.

The doctors, and many of the miners, believe such a drive from the bottom up is the only way to force change in the coal industry.



MINERS at Logan meeting listen attentively. (photos by Suzanne Crowell).

John L. McClellan: Portrait of an Inquisitor

(Continued from page 1)

not shown great concern is murder.

In 1937, he delivered an impassioned speech against an anti-lynching bill in the House. "...the crime of lynching," he said, "was committed only eight or nine times last year . . . the record therefore shows in 22 years a decrease in total number of lynchings . . . this showing and progress warrant and justify the statement that if permitted to continue without the unlawful interference you propose by enactment of this law, within 10 years the crime would seldom occur . . ." (Congressional Record, Apr. 15, 1937).

Over the years, and as late as 1960, McClellan made similar statements whenever anti-lynch legislation was proposed. In 1950, during debate on another abortive attempt to pass an anti-lynch law, he told the Senate: "We of the South know the Negroes. We get along with them. It would be better if the problems were left to us and if others would quit meddling with them. I am misleading no one. The problem should be left with those who have lived with it and know how to handle it." (Congressional Digest, Feb. 1950.)

McClellan always opposed fair employment legislation. In 1950, he said: "...the fair employment practices bill violates and would destroy one of the most basic liberties we enjoy—the right 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.

In 1956, McClellan signed the Southern Manifesto, which urged resistance to the U.S. Supreme Court decision on schools "by all legal means necessary." It was this manifesto which created the atmosphere for the repression and violence which swept the South.

Political observers say McClellan has never forgiven the Supreme Court for that 1954 school decision and he has attacked the Court ever since.

During the 1957 school integration crisis in Little Rock, when his own state was defying a Federal court order, McClellan deplored "the intervention of the Federal government into States' Rights."

In March, 1965—after passage of the 1964 Public Accommodations law—Arkansas State Police, with clubs and tear gas, beat back 25 people who sought to buy something to eat at a cafeteria located in the State Capitol building.



This apparently did not offend McClellan's sense of "law and order." He uttered not a whisper.

"It is quite obvious to me that you don't understand the causes of riots," a witness told McClellan. "I do understand them," he said. "It's law violators." (Arkansas Gazette, Oct. 1, 1968.)

When in 1967 the McClellan Committee was authorized to investigate ghetto rebellions, the senator was officially cast in the role of a farm state expert on urban disorders. In launching the investigation, he said: "We will undertake to determine whether the outbreaks were spontaneous or if they were instigated and perpetrated by the calculated design of agitators or lawless elements." (New York Times, Nov. 2, 1967.)

Christian Century magazine commented: "McClellan wants ghetto order but solely by means of police repression."

Labor

"John McClellan doesn't think of himself as being anti-labor," *The Nation* observed in 1957. "It's just that the whole thing is sort of foreign to him."

In his home state of Arkansas, 74 per cent of the industrial workers remain unorganized. Industrial workers earn an average wage of \$1.89 an hour, second lowest in the country; this is 80 cents below the national average.

In Little Rock, the state's largest city,

60 per cent of the work force is unemployed. 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 before the Senate where there is a conflict between the profits of the large corporations and the peoples' interests, he (McClellan) votes to make the rich and powerful richer and more powerful at the expense of the average citizen." (Arkansas Gazette, Apr. 11, 1954.)

Delivering a speech to a business club back home, McClellan described his philosophy this way: "A person by his labor, thrift, ingenuity and investment of his capital creates a business and through his business creates jobs, owns that business and the jobs and has the right to decide who shall fill the jobs." (Arkansas Gazette, May 14, 1950.)

In 1947, McClellan 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 rights bill.

He is opposed to unions using dues for political purposes, but he has never indicated that he opposes corporations using profits for political purposes. He favors 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—even 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 grounds that it was "honeycombed with subversives." McClellan 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 it became obvious that a victim would take the Fifth Amendment against self-incrimination (which the Constitution says is the right of *any* man), McClellan would continue questioning the witness until he had run up an impressive number of "Fifths." Then the newspapers could and did produce headlines such as "BECK JR TAKES 5TH 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." Sen. Wayne Morse 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, McClellan would flare up when asked when he planned to get around to investigating the management side of things.

Business and Capital

"The law in its majestic equality must forbid the rich as well as the poor from begging in the streets and sleeping under bridges."

It is useful to keep in mind this quotation from Anatole France as we explore McClellan's views on business and high finance, as well as his own personal investments.

He comes from a state where the tax structure tends to favor corporations at the expense of the individual taxpayer. The state has a corporate income tax, introduced in 1920, but this is now riddled with loopholes. Banks and trust companies were exempted in 1941, deductions for charitable purposes were raised from five per cent to 30 per cent in 1967. There is a negligible property tax, no tax on public utilities, and only a small severance tax on oil and gas producers.

To be fair, this dismal picture is not unique to Arkansas, but it is a fact that the tax burden there is largely borne by people who exist on incomes of less than \$3,000 a year.

While McClellan was in the House, his remarks on a minimum wage bill showed where his sympathies lie: "There is one thing sure—they (corporations) will not operate without some reasonable hope of profit . . . the effect of this law will be bankruptcy for hundreds of Southern industries." (Congressional Record, May 24, 1938.)

During World War II, he was a staunch advocate of tax havens for industry which made possible the development of a great many war millionaires. Also, in the same period, he fought to get several mineral companies aboard the mineral gravity train through depletion allowances.

Before he went to Congress, McClellan earned his bread by representing Wisconsin and Arkansas Lumber Company in personal injury suits filed against the company by the firm's workers.

Arkansas has substantial oil and gas deposits, much of them in the Camden area, where McClellan had an early law practice. Among his clients were: Standard Oil of New Jersey, Seaboard Oil, Tidewater (Associated Oil) and Carter Oil. In the Senate, McClellan has supported the oil industry.

(see next page)

Supreme Court Won't Hear HUAC Challenges

WASHINGTON, D.C. — The U.S. Supreme Court has refused to hear three cases involving challenges of the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC). One was an appeal by Robert Shelton, Alabama Klan leader, who was sentenced for refusing to turn Klan records over to HUAC.

The court also denied a hearing to Dr. Allen M. Krebs and Walter Darwin Teague III, who had contended that HUAC's mandate from the House restricted free expression guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution.

Their appeal grew out of a hearing before HUAC in August, 1966, at which attorney Arthur Kinoy was dragged out by the neck and fined on a charge of disorderly conduct. The higher courts later freed Kinoy, who is an attorney for SCEF.

McClellan Postpones Hearing

(Continued from page 1)

poenaed the seized documents. He said he needed them for his investigation into the causes of ghetto rebellions in American cities.

The U.S. Court of Appeals ordered the documents returned, whereupon McClellan subpoenaed them again. Meantime, he had obtained copies of much of the material from Thomas Ratliff, the prosecuting attorney in Pike County.

The McSurelys issued a statement on the McClellan attack in which they said:

"Thomas Ratliff used machine guns and machines to bust the union—and make three million dollars. He is now the Commonwealth's Attorney of Pike County, and the founder of the National Independent Coal Operators Association (NICOA).

"He and his friend, Robert Holcomb, who is now the president of NICOA and of the Pike County Chamber of Commerce, planned and carried out the raid on our home, tried to imprison us for 21 years, and then conspired with John McClellan to steal our papers and further isolate us from our friends in the mountains."

SCEF has issued a pamphlet giving the background of the continuing harassment of the organization and its officers and staff. This is entitled "Appalachia: Case Study of Repression."

On December 30 the Nation magazine published Gene Mason's detailed account of the organizing drive in the mountains and the coal operators' efforts to stop it. This is entitled "The 'Subversive' Poor" and has been reprinted especially for SCEF.

Copies of all this material are available from SCEF, 3210 W. Broadway, Louisville, Ky. 40211. Donations to help fight McClellan and to print more literature are badly needed. You may also wish to send a letter of protest to your senators.

An example of this is his fight to give away Arkansas' share of oil revenues to "free enterprise." In 1954, Sid McMath asked: "Has it occurred that McClellan might be getting his orders from the oil millionaires in Texas, the ones whom he served in the Tidelands oil give-away, and who financed Joe McCarthy's far flung activities?" (*Arkansas Gazette*, April 11, 1954.)

McMath was referring to McClellan's vote to give title to the offshore oil deposits to the coastal states, to the detriment of the people of his own state. Had the Federal Government retained possession, each state in the union would have got a fair share of the revenue. In effect, his vote was for Arkansas to get nothing; Arkansas is not a coastal state. Arkansas immediately filed suit.

McClellan has been called "the banking industry's most obedient champion in the Senate." (*The Case Against Congress*, by Drew Pearson, p. 195). He is also something of a banker himself. He is director of the First National Bank of Little Rock, as well as one of its 20 top stockholders.

He is opposed to issuing charters to new banks; such new banks threaten the monopoly of existing ones. He appeared before the American Bankers Association convention and said "too many National banks are being unwisely chartered." (Pearson, p. 195) and this was greeted by appreciative applause.

Drew Pearson wrote in his book: "The Senator did not, of course, mention that among the charters he was particularly anxious to block were three for the Little Rock area. One would have been in direct competition with McClellan's First National Bank. Another would have brought competition to a suburb where McClellan also has an interest in the existing bank at West Memphis, Ark." (Pearson, p. 195)

It is noteworthy that McClellan, the Grand Inquisitor, has never really seen fit to probe the goings-on of big business.

One investigation that never got beyond the preliminary stages involved Robert Tripp Ross, assistant secretary of defense in Eisenhower's administra-



LIFE IN ARKANSAS: II

tion. The 1957 investigation was into Army contracts awarded Ross's wife and brother-in-law, Herman D. Wyn. The scope of the investigation was later broadened to cover several million dollars of Army contracts held by various companies controlled by Wyn.

Ross appeared before McClellan's committee and McClellan said afterwards that Ross answered all questions and that he would decide within a few days whether to press the inquiry further. The inquiry was dropped and on St. Valentine's Day, 1957, a smiling Ross and McClellan posed for photographers. (*New York Times*, Feb. 1957.)

Sen. Frances Case of South Dakota charged two men in the pay of Superior Oil, Elmer Patman and John Neff, with offering him a \$2500 bribe. McClellan, whose Little Rock law firm represents oil companies (listed above), was asked to investigate the oil and gas lobby.

This relentless investigator, with his penchant for making headlines when he wants to, conducted a quiet, unspectacular "probe" and then allowed the whole mess to fade away. Patman and Neff

"I did not become a Senator to transform the United States into a socialistic, paternalistic society."

— McClellan, 1953

repented, pleaded guilty of failing to register as lobbyists and received small fines and suspended jail sentences. (Pearson, p. 142)

McClellan, the grim inquisitor, likes the big drug companies. He opposed a bill which would have required the drug manufacturers to label drugs by generic name as well as trade name so that people could shop around and buy them cheaper than those sold by big manufacturers. (Pearson, p. 327)

McClellan and his family also own stock in a TV relay holding company named Midwest Video, with outlets in Mississippi, Texas, and New Mexico. In 1967, it was revealed that at least four times in recent years the company had put political pressure on the FCC for favorable rulings. Besides McClellan's family, the other principal stockholder was Ham Moses of the Little Rock Law firm of Moses, McClellan, Arnold, Owen and McDermott.

In 1957, Midwest Video was merged with KTBC-TV of Austin, Tex. KTBC is owned by none other than Lyndon Baines Johnson. Another outfit, TV Channel of Austin, appealed to FCC for a ruling that would enable them to compete with Capital Cable on an even basis in the Austin area. FCC was warned that Capital Cable would be compelled "to enlist the aid of our delegation in Congress" if TV Channel received a favorable ruling. FCC ruled against TV Channel, which eventually went out of business.

In 1954, Sid McMath ran against McClellan, charging that he was a tool of the Arkansas Power and Light Company, which has a virtual monopoly on electrical power in the state. McClellan brushed the charges aside, claiming they were campaign rhetoric.

But the building in which McClellan retains an office and which also houses

his law firm is owned by Arkansas Power and Light. Ham Moses of McClellan's law firm, until he died a couple of years ago, was a director of A.P. & L. McClellan's son-in-law, McDermott, is the attorney for the State Public Service Commission, the body which is supposed to approve or disapprove rate increases by A.P. & L. A.P. & L. never has trouble getting a rate increase.

McClellan is a deadly opponent of rural electric cooperatives. He fought the confirmation of Aubrey Williams as head of the Rural Electrification Agency in 1945 because Williams would have used the agency to help small farmers improve their conditions.

McClellan once told the N.Y. Times: "I did not become a senator to transform the United States into a socialistic, paternalistic state." (*New York Times*, Feb. 20, 1963) No one could accuse him of not living up to his convictions.

Foreign Policy

McClellan was an early advocate of recognizing Franco's Spain. During the

Korean War he wanted to declare war on China and bomb targets inside that country. He was an ardent supporter of General MacArthur.

It was McClellan who on January 16, 1951, placed a resolution before the Senate declaring that the "Red Government of China should not be admitted to membership in the United Nations." (*Congressional Record*, Jan. 23, 1951) The resolution was passed 91-0 and one-fourth of humanity was kept outside that body.

On September 3, 1950, he astounded many when he delivered a sharp ultimatum to the Soviet Union that if she didn't "enter now into a spirit of international cooperation" on U.S. terms, he would favor "firing the first shot in a war that would be inevitable." (*Arkansas Gazette*, Sept. 3, 1950)

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 has said. (*U.S. News and World Report*, July 5, 1965)

This viewpoint may explain his silence as national scandal has erupted around 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' governor revealed that the state prisons are corrupted by "flogging, electric torture, enforced homosexuality, starvation, extortion, unlimited perversions, sale of dogs, women and illegal narcotics."

There is nothing on 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 disrepute he brought on the Senate.

When the Democrats won a majority, McClellan replaced McCarthy as chairman of his committee, the post he still holds today. In a tribute to his predecessor, McClellan said, "No one had been more effective than Joe McCarthy in alerting the nation to the dangers of Communism."

In 1936, CBS broadcast an interview with Earl Browder, executive secretary of the Communist Party. McClellan charged CBS had committed "nothing less than treason." (*Congressional Record*, March 4, 1936)

In 1948, he proposed the creation of a joint Senate-House committee to run down communists. He thought HUAC and its Senate counterpart were splitting their resources.

In 1956, he was angered when a witness spoke out against state sedition laws. "You want to favor the Communists in that respect," he said.

During the last few years, McClellan has conducted an endless investigation, ignoring the delicacies of civil liberties, into anti-poverty and political action groups.

Currently he is investigating SCEF, the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, Students for a Democratic Society—and he has announced an investigation of the Black Panthers.

All of these groups seek to change the system of oppression and exploitation that McClellan has represented. Let us look again at his home state, where



LIFE IN ARKANSAS: I

that system has had free rein:

The per capita income in Arkansas is \$2,098-\$1,047 below the national average (University of Arkansas Industrial Research and Extension Center). Forty-seven per cent of the people live beneath the \$3,000 poverty level set by the Federal Government; an incredible 35 per cent live under a level of \$2,000. There are 129,000 children locked in the poverty class in Arkansas; 31 per cent of the children in the state belong to families earning less than \$2,000 a year.

McClellan's state is in no danger of becoming a Welfare State. It furnishes the aged with only \$54 a month (ninth lowest in the U.S.), \$69 to the blind (sixth lowest), \$61 to the disabled (fifth lowest), and to mothers with dependent children, \$79 (fifth lowest). (*Arkansas Public Welfare Report*, 1967-68).

Faculty pay at the University of Arkansas is lower than that of all surrounding states with the exception of the University of Mississippi (Comprehensive Study of Higher Education in Arkansas, 1968; University of Arkansas).

Although the state's population is 25 per cent black, there are no black sheriffs, no black judges, no black state legislators. In this respect it is the worst state in the South—even Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi (which have the kind of organizing McClellan is investigating) have black legislators.

The black population is heaviest, as one would expect, in the cotton-growing counties in Eastern Arkansas. Blacks leave the state in droves, but so do poor whites. There has been a steady exodus of poor whites from the state since 1890. Every census since then has reported more whites leaving Arkansas than coming in.

In spite of all this, in speech after speech McClellan argues for curtailing federal spending in "non-defense and non-essential areas." He voted against all civil-rights bills, opposed all poverty legislation, rent bills and public housing for low-income groups.

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 blacks, the poor, the working 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 these interests and his own—and to crush all opposition.

SCEF has reprinted this article—including additional material cut from the *Patriot* for lack of space—as a useful weapon for other groups and individuals fighting the McClellan Committee. Copies available from SCEF, 3210 W. Broadway, Louisville, Ky. 40211.

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

FREDERICK DOUGLASS

THE PEOPLES FORUM

Mr. Swig Responds

I wrote Mr. Swig some weeks ago after reading a story in the *Southern Patriot* (December 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 courteous reply to your letter, but I thought I would let you know that when we purchased the Roosevelt Hotel three years ago they were not organized and one 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 joined the Union and we did that with the assurance 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 settling the negotiations and, for your information, the offer that we made so far as price was concerned was accepted by the Unions.

"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"

STELLA ELIASHOW
New York, N.Y.

Wilmington's Untold Story

(Ed. note: How National Guardsmen have occupied the ghetto of Wilmington, Del.—an experiment in social control which could become a model for cities throughout the country—is an atrocious, but little known story. Below are excerpts from a pamphlet circulated by People Against Racism, 212 McKehey Bldg., 2631 Woodward Ave., Detroit, Mich. Write them for the complete article.)

Following the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. last April, the black community of Wilmington, Delaware, expressed its bitterness and grief in what is by now the traditional way; like their brothers in cities throughout America, black Wilmingtonians took to the streets.

Compared to what happened in other cities, the outbreak was mild. There were no deaths and no major injuries. Property damage was estimated at less than \$250,000. The reaction to the disturbance on the part of elected officials, however, was anything but mild....

On April 9, the morning after the first post-assassination uprisings in Wilmington, Delaware Governor Charles Terry responded to Mayor John Babiarz's call for 500 Guardsmen by mobilizing, for the first time in Delaware history, the entire 4,000 man strength of the Delaware Army and Air National Guard. More than 3,500 armed men responded.

Between April 8 and 18, more than 370 persons were arrested, including 67 juveniles, and 157 persons were jailed. Mayor Babiarz put the total number of arrests as high as 714. Most of these arrests were for curfew violations, but many were arrested under an Emergency Riot Act passed August 4, 1967, following Delaware's first black rebellion....

Mayor Babiarz lifted the city-wide curfew and declared the situation under control on Eas-

ter Sunday, April 14. But the Governor refused to withdraw the Guard troops, saying he had "intelligence reports" forecasting violence the next day. There was none....

Mayor Babiarz formally ended the emergency on May 1... (and) withdrew city policemen from their joint patrols with the Guardsmen. Governor Terry still refused to remove the Guard.

Since spring the situation has changed very little. Troops—somewhat less than 50 men in radio-equipped jeeps—still patrol the city's black community every night.

From the point of view of the ghetto resident it all adds up to a white occupation army. The Wilmington police force has fewer than 10 Negroes; the National Guard is 97% white.

At present it is unknown exactly how many blacks have been arrested in Wilmington or how many are still in jail.... The court records are poor and nobody in the clerk's office knows for sure the number remaining in jail. There are at least 30—there could be more.

(The Guardsmen were finally withdrawn from the ghetto in late January, when a new Governor was inaugurated.)

Crusading Journal Forced to Stop Publishing

By MIKE HIGSON

JACKSON, Miss.—A second Southern movement publication has suspended publication this winter for lack of funds. The 70th 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 tabloid covering mainly Alabama and Mississippi, published in Montgomery, Ala.

The end of the Mississippi newsletter is a big loss. Its content was almost entirely political and its stance, despite

LEE OTIS JOHNSON WRITES FROM JAIL

You are aware that I'm a political prisoner, victimized for organizing and participating in effective human rights activities.... 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 I'm advised it will take "one or two years" before the court can render a decision in my case. In the meantime, I remain in jail. The courts have failed to set bail, which would allow me to remain at liberty while my appeal is pending.

The action we propose to alleviate these injustices will not only immediately benefit my crisis, but may also result in establishing legal precedents to prevent future injustices similar to mine.

Presently, I am trying to arrange an all-out concerted effort to require the courts to set an appeal bond, but as matters now stand I am without funds to finance such an effort, which will involve exhausting all remedies of relief in the state courts, and proceeding to litigation through federal courts, including the U.S. Supreme if necessary. All funds and money available to me have been exhausted 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.... Without such assistance, the prospect of Justice prevailing in the end result seems most remote.

Any funds that you may wish to contribute should be mailed and made payable to: Mrs. Helen Johnson, P.O. Box 88012, Houston, Tex. 77004.

In extending my thanks for your past and continued support, I remain, in the continuous struggle,

BROTHER LEE OTIS JOHNSON
3-D-2 #3
2310 Atascocita Road
Humble, Tex. 77338

shrinking funds, had become increasingly radical over the last 18 months. Bi-weekly mailings (at one time weekly) averaged about 2,000, the majority going to black people in the state; the rest went to movement organizations, papers, and people around the country.

Printed on a duplicating machine, the newsletter was the only Mississippi publication—except the Freedom Democratic Party's paper—which carried a round-up of movement news, political analysis, and such crucial information as when candidates should file to run for office, with whom to file, and

On the Woman Question

Donna Allen makes several good points toward equality for women (*October Patriot*). I agree a woman needs a "listening climate", as does anyone who hasn't had much practice speaking out, or anyone who is more than usually sensitive to expectations and reactions of other people. Given the differences in experience and training considered appropriate for each sex, conditions now are such that men do find it more difficult to talk with than at women. But these are socially based differences.

Other statements in her letter imply that this and other differences between men and women are inherent differences. I don't think we know enough yet about what kinds of social behavior can be attributed to sex to 1) talk about what women as opposed to men want, 2) to assign aggression to men and non-aggression to women as innate characteristics, 3) to assign intuitive understanding or instinctive understanding of the young to women rather than to men.

A lot of people are writing about such characteristics, about a woman's special way of doing things. Let her work at any job, for example, if she does her work in a womanly manner. This manner may not exactly conform to other familiar stereotypes, which call for entertaining or comforting, in general for being non-threatening to the dominant group. But it comes close.

I don't mean to say this is what Donna Allen has in mind, but she does set aside several attitudes or skills as inherently belonging to women or men. Aggression is more often, now, shown by men than women, while understanding and sensitivity to others, to psychological and interpersonal behavior, are, now, generally better developed among women than men. But that's too bad for all of us. Women could be expected to show more aggression in learning, and in speaking out than they do now. Men could be expected to place more recognition and value on feelings and emotion, on cooperation (rather than competition and achievement) than they do now.

Most of these differences I believe, are due to unequal opportunities for boys and girls; some things are OK for one, not for the other. I favor ideas for change in these areas along the lines suggested by Alice Rossi. ("Equality Between the Sexes," for example, in *The Woman in America*). Girls should be encouraged in and allowed more aggressive and extensive exploration of their physical and social surroundings, to develop intellectual, analytic and leadership skills. Boys should be allowed and encouraged more opportunities to develop greater understanding of themselves, and sensitivity and responsiveness toward other people. This approach toward fuller development for both sexes seems to me humane and rational, given the needs of people of a complex society.

Again, Donna Allen's argument is a good one for the moment, but not for the future. Men don't listen well to women. But things will never change by assuming that *by nature* men lack the understanding women have. Expect it of them, insist on it (aggressively, if necessary). Everyone has responsibility to learn these sorts of things. And parents (mothers and fathers), teachers, leaders in the Movement and the media, have a responsibility to teach these skills as appropriate to both girls and to boys. Aside from the effect on women, imagine the strain it puts on a man in today's society to hang on to an Old West image of masculinity. Where is he going to be comfortable? In the military or the police? Or behind George Wallace?

In the meantime, why take refuge in "women's unique contributions," when all people can be capable of, should be expected to, and thereby even as adults may learn to make such contributions. The special appeal of the *Southern Patriot*, for example, seems to be their effort to break down barriers between groups based on such characteristics as sex, race, or age, when these barriers prevent effective social action.

At the present, it looks like it is as necessary to form interest groups representing women, as it is necessary for black people (Judith Brown, November Patriot). But in the process we have to keep in mind that the goal is a reorganization of values, of what is more important, not who.

(MRS.) SALLY HACKER
Houston, Tex.

the qualifications for various offices. The rest of the press in Mississippi rarely publishes this kind of information, and it is still not readily given to black candidates at county courthouses.

It is probably not generally known that the newsletter was the work of one woman, Miss Jan Hillegas, 25, a graduate of Syracuse, who has been in Mississippi since August, 1964. She was then working with the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO).

In the summer of 1965 she established the Freedom Information Service, which for a

time was a research and document-gathering body. The newsletter was started in March, 1967.

Its Jackson office contains the most comprehensive record of the 1964 Mississippi summer project of any in the state, and probably in the country.

Jan Hillegas is now working part time at Tougaloo College outside Jackson. She is still trying to fund the newsletter. Between \$10,000 and \$15,000 would finance the paper for a year. Contributions may be sent to Freedom Information Service, Box 120, Tougaloo, Miss.

The Continuing Struggle

By JACK MINNIS
(SCEF Research Director)

We're seeing the beginning of the third Republican term since 1932. It seems, therefore, an appropriate time to examine the record of the Democratic Party in the light of its difference, if any, from the acknowledged party of U.S. business.

The programs of the New Deal purported to be pursuing the interest of all the people. The stated purpose of New Deal programs in agriculture, business subsidy, taxation, 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 theme of subsequent Democratic administrations.

However, the years since 1932 have been a chronicle of the demise of the small farmer and of the small businessman. Agriculture and business are now almost exclusively the domains of the enormous agricultural corporations and the billionaire conglomerate corporations. 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 those whose income is derived from work (whether they wear a white or a blue collar). Indeed, given the economic system in which we live, it could hardly be different.

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 to them." Thus at a time when hunger and malnutrition are a way of life for millions of U.S. citizens (not to mention whole nations abroad), U.S. farmers must restrict production, because if they produce more, they cannot sell at a suitable profit. In the clearest terms, then, the hunger and blighted lives of millions upon millions of people are necessary conditions for the continued prosperity of U.S. agribusiness.

Another necessary condition, given the federal tax loopholes which benefit the wealthy, is

that those who have jobs and small businesses must continue to contribute a disproportionate share of their wages and salaries and incomes, through the federal taxes they pay, to subsidize the "fair prices" of agribusiness.

Business

Simultaneously with Secretary Freeman's swan song, 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—autos, appliances, etc.—must pay higher prices for what they buy so that U.S. steelmakers can retain satisfactory profits. Who buys? The same people who contribute—disproportionately through federal taxation on wages, salaries and small business income.

Finance

Coincident with these developments in agriculture and business came the corollary in finance. 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—7 percent. Businesses which borrow for continued production and expansion pay more for money and, therefore, charge more for their products. Those who buy must pay more, again. Furthermore, governing bodies which borrow on a long term basis to provide public services must contract to pay unconscionable interest rates for years in the future, if they are to build facilities to meet present demands. Thus the ability of these public bodies to continue to meet the public demands of an expanding populace is compromised by current interest rates extended, as they are, into the future by long-term borrowings. The only possibility for meeting future public demands, then, is an increase in taxation. Who pays? Those who earn.

This, then, is what we've come to after 36 years of government designed by the party of the "common man." Is it all a conspiracy of the leadership of the two parties to seem different while remaining the same? Hardly.

Government must always reflect the underlying economic reality of the society. The economic reality of this society is

apparent: The monetary and productive systems are made up of institutions which are owned by private individuals. The purpose of these institutions is to create and increase wealth for their owners. The entire economic system, with all its elements cooperating, is harnessed to this purpose. Little wonder, then, that government, whether it be Democratic or Republican, reflects this reality.

Conspiracy, by legal definition, exists. But it is more economic than political. And its primary purpose is not to keep people hungry, or to increase unemployment, or to perpetuate any other anti-social condition; its purpose is to enhance the wealth of those who own. The anti-social results are merely acceptable consequences to those who own.

This is the nature of the society which is acquiesced in by the great majority of people who benefit from it only marginally and incidentally—or not at all. So long as this majority remains split and disorganized, it will remain impotent politically. Recognition of its interest in revolution is the necessary prerequisite for political and economic 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, which remains the same today: "No illegal drugs will be permitted on SCEF property, no SCEF staff member will use or carry illegal drugs while pursuing SCEF work, and if a SCEF staff member is arrested with illegal drugs the organization will not be able to provide legal support unless it is a frame-up."

(The reason agreed upon by all the staff for this policy was a simple and practical one: SCEF people work in some of the most dangerous areas of the South and are therefore very much aware of the manner in which police are using drug charges as an excuse to arrest political dissenters. Thus, they agreed, this is a weapon they do not need to hand to their opposition. Considering all the life-and-death struggles in which they are engaged, this is a battle they are neither willing nor able to take on.)

(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 these is Margaret McSurely, author of this month's organizer's column.)

Several months ago I was visiting a movement group in a large city. In the evening, much to my chagrin, I watched a small group which included an organizer and some young people he was working with "turn on" together.

When I criticized the organizer about the danger of getting raided and arrested for possessing and using pot, and for putting all the rest of us who were there in this same danger, he said it was worth the risk. "You have to share these great

experiences like getting high with people you're working with so you can groove together."

Besides, he added, one of the young men involved had been the first to offer him a joint when he arrived in the city so they already knew the risks and what they meant.

When I look back on this incident I feel I handled it very poorly. Certainly the legalities

of getting arrested and kept in prison are important. My own experience working in the mountains has shown how an arrest can ensnare all your energies instead of spending time with the people. But, in this case with the young organizer, struggling with him on the legal level was avoiding the real issue.

My arguments could have come from the experiences of the mountain people. In the old days in the coalfields opium derivatives and cocaine were readily available to workers in the mines and railroads. The workers could buy drugs along with their food and house coal at the company store. It helped them relax and made their condition seem not so terrible. It

sapped their will to fight; then, once they were addicted, they literally became slaves to the company for the rest of their lives.

Today, it's no accident that drugs are so easy to get and so fashionable to use. The media tut-tuts the use of illegal drugs among hippie type dropouts while the underground press promotes it. It's no accident that some dope pushers turn out to be narcotics agents of the U.S. government. If the government really wanted to put an end to drug traffic it could be done in a minute.

We were all born and raised in the capitalist system. From an early age we were taught that individual freedom, private property, and free enterprise were glorious ideals. Unfortunately some of this poison remains in some of our brains to this late day: "I like to smoke pot because it makes ME relax

and enjoy life," "I use acid because it helps ME understand MYSELF better," etc. etc.

I would be the first to admit that this is a hideous and oppressive government we live under. But if would-be workers in the movement try to escape this oppression through drugs, who benefits—the system or the people? The rulers of this country would much rather for movement people to be busy discovering themselves and enjoying life on an individual level (through drugs) than organizing people to overthrow the system that's oppressing them.

My class instincts tell me that if the small class of rulers that runs this country is making drugs available and fashionable, there is a hooker in it somewhere. And it is not hard to find, once we identify our own lives with those of the oppressed people all over the world.

The Story of Sammy Younge

By ANNE BRADEN

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

The book is entitled simply *Sammy Younge, Jr.*, with a subtitle, "The First Black College Student to Die in the Black Liberation Movement." (Grove Press, New York, 1968, \$5.95)

Sammy Younge was a 21-year-old student at Tuskegee Institute, Ala., who was shot and killed on the night of January 3, 1966, by a white filling station operator. 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 black movement of the 1960's. But during the most intense Southern struggles, it was other people who were writing about it because Forman was too busy living it. Now, apparently, he has begun to write it down; this in itself is a major development.

Forman decided to write Sammy Younge's story on the day he attended his funeral. This was simply "one civil rights funeral too many." He determined that Younge, whom he had watched come into the Movement through the Montgomery demonstrations of 1965, would not become just another statistic in the long list of

martyrs in the civil-rights battle.

His book accomplishes that—and does 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 without seeming to try—tells the story of the rising black movement, from the lunch counter symbol to the rage of 1968 and 1969.

I am sure there are reasons why black people will want to read this book—and perhaps it is for whom Forman wrote it. But this reviewer, being white, is convinced that this is one no white person should miss.

Many of the questions white America has been asking are answered here: Why and when 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 when did great numbers of black people become convinced that the Federal government was not on their side? Even some smaller questions: Why and when did We Shall Overcome, the song that once moved so many people, become a hollow mockery?

Forman answers these questions—not by exhortation but by recounting an intense experience in one small town that was known as a model of racial harmony and whose hypocrisy was exposed in a blast of gunfire.

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