

Mr. Woods placed emphasis on the point that we must get first people who can pay their way. The Chairman of SNCC, Mr. John Lewis, made the point that the basic question right now is whether NAACP and SCLC would be responsible for underwriting the expense of two trains. C.T. Vivian agreed that these two organizations should underwrite the expense for the two trains.

Mrs. Hurley spoke out very strongly against the idea of the NAACP being responsible for one of the trains. She said that they were paying bills and bonds to get people out of jail throughout the nation and they didn't have any money. She didn't know what action the National Office would take.

Then John Lewis asked Reverend Woods who could speak for SCLC? And Rev. Woods said he would get in touch with Dr. King.

During the meeting Worth Long went to the SCLC office to speak to Rev. Wyatt T. Walker, Southern Administrator for the March, (with Dr. Henry, Mr. Long and Atty. McKissick) as he had not attended the meeting. ~~\_\_\_\_\_~~ SCLC could not be responsible for the underwriting of the train.

John Lewis made a passionate plea that these people in the struggle in the South should be represented.

It was suggested for all people present, that the Southern Committee with the assistance of the National Committee held an emergency mass Freedom Rally on Thursday, August 22 or Saturday, August 24, in Memphis for the purpose of raising funds to bring the unemployed from other points of the South. It was suggested by the Southern Committee that the National Chairmen of the March (Wilkins, Randolph, Farmer, King, Lewis, Young and the others) along with big name stars, appear in the show. C.T. Vivian, who is the coordinator for the state of Tennessee will lay the groundwork for this rally.

JL:WL/sk

Worth Long, Staff Coordinator for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee has visited most of our Field Secretaries and workers and talked with them and distributed leaflets and buttons. He reported that there are many unemployed workers in the Mississippi Delta and the black belts of Alabama and Tennessee who desire to be a part of the March on Washington who have no financial resources and so would be unable to go.

\* \* \*

In Arkansas, 200 people have been recorded as wanting to go by bus, and arrangements have been made for payment of their transportation. Pine Bluff, Arkansas, however, where demonstrations by SNCC affiliates have resulted in desegregation of major public and private facilities, has the majority of unemployed and of SNCC staff and workers involved in the movement who are unable to pay their way: about 90.

Mississippi: August 27, 1963 is the date of the second Democratic primary for Mississippi. Dr. Aaron Henry of Clarksdale, Mississippi, has arranged for at least 3 buses to make the pilgrimage from Mississippi to Washington. OUR problem in Mississippi, however, is that those people whom we would select for the March on Washington are the same people whom we count on to present affidavits to vote.

This poses the question of how we get them to Washington. Registered voters can get absentee ballots, but absentee affidavits...Well!! It seems to me that they are the people who deserve the right to march on Washington. Many have given their bodies, some their jobs, and all are totally committed.

In Albany, Georgia, the situation is much the same. Lots of people; no money. Charles Sherrod has sent workers out into the field publicizing the march, and based on information he has received from the March on Washington that the transportation to the March is free.

\* \* \*

(summary from meeting)

September 30, 1963

Mr. Allyn P. Robinson  
The National Conference of Christians  
& Jews, INC., Manhattan Region  
43 West 57th Street  
New York 19, New York

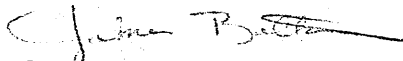
Dear Mr. Robinson:

At the present time John, is out of the city; he was arrested five days ago, in Selma, Alabama. John was arrested for leading a demonstration, protesting segregation in the city of Selma.

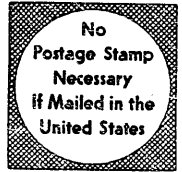
Due to the fact that John's arrest, it is impossible for him to send an immediate response to your letter. As soon as John returns to the office your letter will be forwarded on to his desk.

Thanks for your kind letter.

Sincerely,



James Belton  
Office Staff

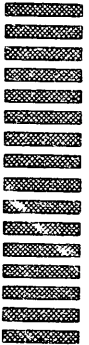


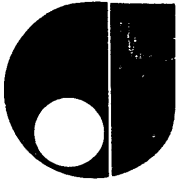
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**NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS**  
Greater New York Area

43 West 57th Street

New York 19, New York





THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS & JEWS, INC  
 MANHATTAN REGION/43 W 57 ST/NY 19 NY/MU 8-7530  
 ALLYN P. ROBINSON, DIRECTOR, GREATER NEW YORK AREA

September 17, 1963

Mr. John Lewis  
 Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee  
 5 Beekman Street  
 New York, New York

Dear Mr. Lewis:

On behalf of the Manhattan Region of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, I cordially invite your participation in a three-session series of luncheon meetings on the theme "The Meaning of Leadership."

A Forum Luncheon Planning Committee has been at work for several months designing the format of this series -- a copy of which I enclose -- and it has designated that the invitation be extended to a selected list of individuals who are leaders in our community. Actually, the working group will be limited to fifty people.

Your ideas on the subject in its several aspects will be of great value to others who will attend, and so I look forward to an affirmative reply -- for all sessions.

Please complete and return the enclosed form as soon as possible. Should you be unable to participate, we will want to try to invite another to fill your place.

Sincerely,

*Allyn P. Robinson*

Allyn P. Robinson

rl  
 encl.

- NATIONAL CO-CHAIRMEN
- CARROLL M. SHANKS
- ROBERT D. MURPHY
- LEWIS L. STRAUSS
- CHAIRMAN EMERITUS
- JAMES F. TWOHY
- PRESIDENT
- LEWIS WEBSTER JONES
- EXECUTIVE VICE-PRESIDENT
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- WILLIAM ESBITT
- JAMES FELT
- MRS. ISAAC GILMAN
- MANUEL A. GOMEZ
- FRANK GRAHAM
- GORDON K. GREENFIELD
- MRS. OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN, JR.
- FORREST A. HEALD
- MRS. ANNA HEFFNER
- MISS CROTHY L. HEIGHT
- DAVID L. HURWITZ
- MRS. H. A. INNES-BROWN
- WILLIAM JANSEN
- GEORGE R. KATZ
- MISS YEFFE KIMBALL
- BERNARD KRONENBERG
- RALPH E. LADUE, JR.
- FRANK H. LESLIE
- DAVID J. LEVIDOW
- MRS. MARJORIE LONGLEY
- MRS. JAMES H. LUTHER, JR.
- MICHAEL MANN
- JOHN REAGAN MCCRARY
- JOHN W. MORGENSTERN
- THOMAS MURRAY, JR.
- RICHARD NETTER
- FREDERICK O'NEAL
- CHARLES J. OPPENHEIM, JR.
- THOMAS CLARK POLLOCK
- MRS. ROBERT H. PREISKEL
- HAROLD S. PRINCE
- JOHN A. ROOSEVELT
- MRS. SYLVIA K. ROTH
- MRS. EMMA A. ROTHBLATT
- PHILIP SCHARPER
- CLARENCE SENIOR
- FRANK THOMAS SINGER
- JOHN E. SULLIVAN
- CHARLES TAUBMAN
- MRS. RONALD TREE
- NORMAN E. WALT
- THEODORE H. WALWORTH, JR.
- MAX E. YOUNGSTEIN

There is no fee for the series, other than a charge for the lunch that will be served--\$2 per session, or \$6 for the series.

To: Manhattan Region NCCJ  
43 West 57th Street  
New York 19, New York

I plan to participate in  
\_\_\_\_\_ The entire series  
or  
\_\_\_\_\_ Luncheon on October 17  
\_\_\_\_\_ " " November 14  
\_\_\_\_\_ " " December 12

I enclose my check for \$ \_\_\_\_\_

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

TELEPHONE NO. \_\_\_\_\_

Have the terms "Leader" and "Leadership" given you pause these days?

Have you given thought to your own role in community affairs?

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THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS AND JEWS, INC.

Cordially Invites You To

P A R T I C I P A T E

In a Series of Three Forum Luncheons

To Explore

THE MEANING OF LEADERSHIP

-----  
Who is the leader? How is he selected?

What is his role? How is he motivated?

For whom does he speak? To whom does he speak?

Who are our leaders? Who should they be?

-----  
October 17 - Those who Lead

November 14 - Those who are Led

December 12 - Communication Between and Among  
the Leaders and the Led

From 12 Noon to 2:00 P.M.

at the

Building for Brotherhood  
43 West 57th Street  
New York City

We are in the throes of a social revolution, the pace of which is unprecedented. Leadership is being challenged everyday. Are our leaders capable of accepting such challenge?

Out of a sense of need--and urgency--that a good many of our problems are occurring, and are remaining with us, because of lack of effective leadership (and lack of awareness on the part of New York City residents and commuters of their role in its affairs--and to whom to turn for sensible decisions), the NCCJ has deemed it vital that the whole question of leadership be understood by those who are leaders.

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The NCCJ is attempting an experiment with this three-session series of Forum Luncheons.

There will be no one speaker. It will be run as a forum, with ideas coming from you, the participant.

A chairman will be on hand to give focus to the discussions, to keep them moving, to summarize.

In order to establish some basis for discussion, a set of guide lines will be distributed to the participants in advance of each session; however, we need not be bound to or limited by them.

The proceedings of each discussion will be taken down and distributed to the participants only, so that each will have a further opportunity to study the ideas expressed.

Our intention is to enable you, as a community leader and as a member of one or more groups in the community, to clarify your own thinking with respect to the effectiveness of your function in these groups and in the larger community.

Since we hope to explore the subject in depth, we trust that you will plan to attend all three of the sessions.

NCCJ - Manhattan Region

Forum Luncheon Planning Committee

July 17, 1963

Rabbi Everett Gendler  
The Jewish Center  
435 Nassau St.  
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Rabbi Gendler,

Mr. Forman has asked me to respond to your letter of June 27.

We are happy to know that the Action Committee for Racial Justice has been established. Mr. Forman has talked with Theodore Bikel about the possibility of his using his influence to set up a group of rabbis from outside the South who would be willing to speak in synagogues in the South about the race question. We have found that many of the rabbis in areas where we work are sympathetic to our work, but fear speaking out. I think having someone of their faith who could come in and speak might help. This is one idea that might be helpful to you, at any rate.

We will place your name and the name of Rabbi Jules Harlow on ourkey mailing list, which will mean that you will get all our press releases and action requests.

We hope to hear from you in the future and look forward to working with you.

Sincerely,

*Sandra Hayden*  
Sandra Hayden  
Northern Coordinator

enc.

NORTHERN STUDENT CONTACT FORM  
SNCC CONFERENCE: APRIL 12, 1963, ATLANTA, GEORGIA

NAME \_\_\_\_\_  
ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_ PHONE \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_ YEAR IN SCHOOL \_\_\_\_\_

SCHOOL OR VOCATION \_\_\_\_\_

ORGANIZATION YOU REPRESENT \_\_\_\_\_

NAME OF CAMPUS CIVIL RIGHTS GROUP \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

PRESIDENT OR CONTACT PERSON \_\_\_\_\_

HAS ANY GROUP ON YOUR CAMPUS DONE SNCC FUNDRAISING?

NAME OF GROUP \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

PRESIDENT OR CONTACT PERSON \_\_\_\_\_

IS THERE A POTENTIAL FUND RAISING GROUP ON YOUR CAMPUS? (LIBERAL CLUB,  
CIVIL RIGHTS GROUP, ECT.)

NAME OF GROUP \_\_\_\_\_ PRESIDENT \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

IS THERE POTENTIAL FOR SETTING UP A FRIENDS OR SNCC GROUP ON YOUR CAMPUS  
OR IN YOUR COMMUNITY? NAME OF GOOD CONTACT AND OTHER RELEVANT INFORMATION:

WOULD YOU BE WILLING TO SET UP A FUND DRIVE? WHEN?

NAME OF OTHER STUDENT WHO MIGHT DO SO IF YOU ARE GRADUATING \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

REMARKS OR OTHER RELEVANT INFORMATION (PLEASE GIVE IDEAS FOR FUND RAISING  
IN YOUR LOCALITY IF YOU ARE NOT A STUDENT):

USE BACK OF SHEET IF NECESSARY.



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*Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee*

*8 1/2 Raymond Street Northwest*

*Atlanta, Georgia, 30314*

SIX MONTHS REPORT

27 December, 1963

John Robert Lewis

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Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee  
6 Raymond Street, North West  
Atlanta, Georgia, 30314

27 December 1963

TO : Coordinating Committee  
FROM : John R. Lewis, Chairman  
SUBJ : Six Month Report

This is not to be a formal report, rather an informal collection of statements based on my observations, so please forgive the many personal references.

Since June of this year, it has been my pleasure to visit all of the SNCC projects in the protest areas, with the exception of Gadsden, Alabama. For the first time, I was able to see the Atlanta office as somewhat of a nerve center of SNCC. I had the opportunity to meet practically all of the field secretaries and field workers.

During the early part of the summer I found myself in Danville, Virginia. I was very much moved and impressed by the spirit and courage of the people of Danville, under a very dynamic SNCC-type leadership. The people of Danville were willing to put their bodies between the High Street Baptist Church and Police Chief McCain. In Danville, I had the opportunity to speak at rallies, to conduct workshops and to participate in a demonstration.

During the last part of June, after the hot days of Danville, the Executive Secretary and I, along with heads of several other civil rights and labor organizations, were asked to meet with the late President Kennedy and Vice President Johnson to discuss the President's Civil Rights Bill he had just presented to Congress.

During the early part of July, we were very much involved in the "Big Six" (later the "Big Ten") conferences which were dealing with the March on Washington (the Council For Civil Rights Leadership, and the United Civil Rights Leadership Conference). A good deal of our time went into the preparation of, and policy making decisions for the March on Washington.

Later in July, I had the opportunity to visit Greenwood, Miss. Under the distinctive direction of Bob Moses, perhaps Greenwood is a symbol, in one form or another, of what we would like to accomplish in our other projects. In Greenwood, I was able to see more than just the hard daily work of canvassing around the communities, voter registration clinics, mass meetings, etc. I saw, in Greenwood, a positive education program, not just for SNCC staff and young people, but for the whole community as well. The new library was off to a good start. Hundreds upon hundreds of books had been received and catalogued, and were made available to youngsters and adults alike, who used the library as an informal community center.

Later during July, I dropped over to Pine Bluff, Arkansas, to check on Bill Hansen, Ben Gringer, and Bob Whitfield. I spoke at mass meetings, worked to assist in the canvassing of the Negro community urging voter registration, and collection of poll taxes, etc.

Lewis Report

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From there I went to Somerville, Tennessee to see Walt Tillow. SNCCers and non-SNCCers were conducting a massive voter registration drive which appeared to be largely successful.

During the middle of July, I happened by chance into Selma--the heart of the Black Belt in Alabama--to take a peek at the Lafayettes. I was speaking at a mass rally when I received an urgent call, similar to those I have received on many other occasions: I was needed in Cambridge.

I spent some time in Cambridge, meeting with our Executive Committee member, Gloria Richardson, Field Secretary Reginald Robinson, local officials of Cambridge, and on other occasions, state officials of the South. From Cambridge, I proceeded, with Gloria Richardson, Reggie Robinson, and other civil rights people, to Washington to meet with Attorney General Robert Kennedy. It was at this meeting that we signed the now famous "Cambridge Non-Demonstration Agreement."

I think there's a great lesson to be learned from the events surrounding the Cambridge protest. Cambridge dramatized to the nation, and to the world perhaps, that there cannot be any such thing as "peace and tranquility" in any given community where protests have taken place until the demands of the Negroes are met. Furthermore, I think that Cambridge is one of the best examples of what a few people could have done by being steadfast in the face of opposition from both sides. By yielding to the demands of factions within the Negro community, we were forced into signing this agreement. We did so because we felt it necessary to present to Attorney General Kennedy and others with whom we were negotiating, a reasonable facsimile of unity. And here, I think it cannot be overstressed that there are times when "flexibility" is not the word. All of us are aware of the difference between resoluteness and mere pigheadedness.

During the first week of August I was in Mississippi at the time of the primaries for that state. I was in Greenwood, and later in Clarksdale, where an injunction curtailing my activities was served me, as well as a member of the National Council of Churches. The next two or three weeks were quite hectic with my being constantly in transit between Atlanta, Washington, and New York City, in preparation for the March on Washington.

Everyone on the Executive Committee is well aware of the facts surrounding the censoring of my speech, so I will content myself with making a few observations about the effect of that censorship. First of all, it must be noted that not only did pressure to change the speech come from officials like Burke Marshall, et al, but from Negro leaders within the March on Washington as well, notably, Roy Wilkins and Martin Luther King. Again, "unity" was stressed. Now, there are two schools of thought about the changing of the wording of the speech. One is that either way (i.e. changing or not changing the wording), was bound to bring SNCC to the attention of the people and the press. The other is that I should have refused to accommodate Messrs. Wilkins, King, and the Archbishop. The fact remains that in the name of "unity" I did change the speech, at the same time trying to maintain the original tenor of the speech without sacrifice. This was done in consultation with the aid of our Executive Secretary James Forman, and our Executive member and March on Washington representative, Courtland Cox.

Since that time, I find that people are asking questions about SNCC. What is SNCC's program? What is SNCC doing? Who is SNCC? And usually, when they do find out, they want in some way or another to become identified with SNCC. For this we can thank our good brethern, Archbishop Boyle, Messrs. Wilkins, King, Young and Randolph. So much for that!

The march being over, I returned to Atlanta, after which I spent about a day and a half in Southwest Georgia--in Albany and Americus. I came back to Atlanta to attend a meeting of the Coordinating Committee which lasted about three days. The cowardly and insane murder of the children in Birmingham brought me to that unfortunate city. After the funeral in Birmingham, the Macedonian Call went up, and I was off to Selma, once again. I had the opportunity to be in contact with the local people by conducting workshops, canvassing neighborhoods, addressing mass rallies, etc. I also said "hello" to Jim Clark, and I got a close look at Al Lingo. After these momentous events, I was granted a two-week vacation at the expense of Dallas County. I rested at the Dallas County Manor, and shuttled back and forth between Camps Selma and Cameda. All in all, what with trials, etc., I spent about three weeks as a guest of the State of Alabama.

The slogan of my Washington speech: *One Man - One Vote*, was never put into visible operation until signs were carried in Selma shouting this demand. In a real sense, this slogan served to awaken the Negro community to the issue of voting and the part in civil responsibility they have a duty to play. To the Southern white power structure, it demonstrated that they would have to use every means available to suppress this movement. The extreme, brutal attempts to quash registration in Selma served notice on Negroes everywhere in the South--as well as all citizens in the rest of the nation--that the white Southern power structure will continue to use brute force, and flagrantly violate constitutional laws (as well as laws of human decency) in order to deprive Negroes of their rights. One thing we can learn from Selma is that we can effectively have a positive program of Direct Action centered around Voter Registration.

The first week of November I had the opportunity to spend a few days in Mississippi working in the field (which I like) on the Freedom Vote Campaign. At the conclusion of the campaign, I went on an extended speaking engagement in cities throughout the country, which included Detroit and Ann Arbor, Mich.; Chicago, Ill.; Columbus, Cincinnati, and Granville, Ohio; Meadville, Penna.; Burlington, Vt.; New York City and Newburgh, N.Y.; Washington, D.C.; and on the West Coast: Los Angeles, San Francisco, etc., following the paths made by some of our field secretaries and our Freedom Singers.

This part of my report is the most difficult to write, but since I feel a responsibility to the Committee, I would be derelict in my duty if I omitted it. I would like, first of all, to preface these remarks with this statement of principle. While I am not too concerned with our "image" in the sense that would affect our national policy: as an organization SNCC does what SNCC must do and in SNCC's own way, and that's that! I make no apologies for SNCC's image in that respect. What concerns me, however, is our relationship with the public at individual levels. And this is where I must be

count some rather unfortunate incidents which came to my attention during my travels.

It appears that some of our personnel have been abusing hospitality while on the road. It further appears that these same people have the mistaken idea that because they are FREEDOM FIGHTERS, they are to be accorded the red carpet treatment. Some, I am told, even go so far as to demand VIP treatment wherever they go. This attitude has done nothing to win SNCC friends and influence people. It has done quite the opposite, and I don't think it necessary to labor the point. There are two incidents to which I will refer in order to justify the charge I just made. The first is that two SNCCers spent some time in the home of someone who befriended them. They repaid that hospitality by leaving their host with a \$100.00 telephone bill. The other incident is that a young lady decided, for reasons best known to herself, to purchase a \$45.00 pair of shoes in the presence of a wealthy woman who is a FRIEND OF SNCC. It is beside the point the amount of money this young lady paid for her shoes, but it is NOT irrelevant that SNCC is not noted for being an affluent organization that is not obliged to depend upon the good will of contributors.

Recommendations:

1. There should be more effective screening of individuals who are to go on the road to campaign for funds for SNCC. They should not only be conversant with SNCC activities and policies, but with SNCC's underlying philosophy of nonviolence. I am well aware that some of us accept nonviolence as a technique, while others among us accept nonviolence as a philosophy of life. It is not an absolute necessity that the latter is a prerequisite for going on the road; however, it is desirable that the difference is known and adequately explained to those whom we would enlist in our struggle. It should also be reflected in our behavior.
  2. Members of the Coordinating Committee and the Executive Committee should have a more intimate knowledge and a closer interest in the day to day operation and activity of the whole organization, as well as their own immediate area. Closer contact with the main office is needed.
  3. SNCC should explore the necessity to move into metropolitan areas as well as opening up rural areas. The existing situation of farm automation is moving many of the younger population into the larger Southern cities, or else to the North. What is usually left behind in the rural areas are the very old, and/or the very young, for the most part.
- While *esprit de corps* is both necessary and desirable to maintain cohesion within the organization, it must not degenerate into mere chauvinism. In spite of differences with other civil rights organizations, we must be willing to work and cooperate with them, at the same time grappling with the Herculean task of resolving external organization differences.

5. There should be some active efforts on the part of the Coordinating Committee to restore life to local protest areas. (We don't have a single strong or active protest area except for Cambridge. At the end of this meeting the Coordinating Committee should issue a *call* to all local protest areas to *finish the job!*)
  
6. There is a definite need for more centralization of authority in the organization, and this should be investigated at this meeting. On some occasions, our field secretaries have gone into a community to conduct a *voter registration project*, only to switch to a program of *direct action*, without consultation with the Executive Secretary or anyone else in the Atlanta office. (The Executive Secretary, Director of Communications, Bookkeeper, and the Chairman could be in *Snow Storm, Maine*, when such actions occur without prior consultation.) At the same time, when people are arrested or some other dramatic event occurs, the field staff or project director expect immediate legal assistance, money for bail from the communications section, or, in other words: full attention from the Atlanta office. We must be mindful of the fact that SNCC is no longer a spontaneous movement, but an *Organized Revolution*.

"One Man - One Vote!"

  
John R. Lewis

JRL:srl

Season's Greetings!

Statement by John Lewis, Chairman  
Staff meeting February 1965

With a deep sense of humility I speak to you today in an attempt to share with you some of my feelings and thoughts on SNCC and the ~~black~~ Civil Rights struggle. I have no words of wisdom, nor have I been dreaming great dreams. From the outset I am aware of the fact that we are at a crucial juncture in the history of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. The situation demands clarity, firmness, and certainty, as well as an unmatched capacity for planning and foresight.

On my arrival in Atlanta after having been out of the country for two months, I was thoroughly informed about the questions and issues that were raised at both the staff meeting and the staff retreat. I have read the positions papers, the minutes, and have talked with many members of the staff with great interest concerning the nature of your deliberations in Atlanta and in Bay St. Louis. I only regret that I was unable to take part in the many sessions of serious discussion and thinking. Fortunately or unfortunately I was in Africa on what I like to call a mission of learning, or an attempt to cement the relation between the liberation movement of Africa and the Civil Rights Struggle in this country. I am convinced more than ever before that the social, economic, and political destiny of the black people of America is inseparable from that of our black brothers of Africa.

It matters not whether it is in Angola, Mozambique, Southwest Africa, or Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and Harlem, U.S.A. The

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Struggle is one of the same.. Call it what you may--racial segregation, social, economic, and political exploitation, or what the Freedom Fighters in South Africa are demanding an end to....imperialism and colonialism. It is a struggle against a vicious and evil system that is controlled and kept in order for and by a few white men throughout the world.

We are struggling against the same powers. We must question the United States intervention in the Congo. We in SNCC must in good conscience ask of the United States government whether it stands with struggling freedom fighters of South Africa, or with the U.S. supported oppressive government.

The cry in the dependent countries of Africa is still One Man One Vote. It is a cry for Freedom, Liberation, and Independence. It is a cry of People to have some control over their political destiny. The cry of SNCC is essentially the same, for it is a cry to liberate the oppressed and politically denied black people of this country. I think we all recognize the fact that if any radical social, economic, and political changes are to take place in our society, the masses must be organized to bring them about. We must continue to inject something new and creative into the very vein of our society. We must continue to raise certain questions and certain problems that we can neither answer nor solve, but must dramatize them in such a way that they would force the government to address itself to the demands and basic needs of all the people. I have noticed the constant use by the staff of the words "It seems

to me." These words are extremely significant. For our job in Mississippi, Alabama and the deep south is to get people to say "It seems to me," to get people to express their ideas, their opinions. One of the basis for the Freedom School is that the students say "It seems to me."

Those of us in SNCC are only playing roles on the American scene, for we are here today and gone tomorrow. SNCC is one of many forces at work in our society for certain basic changes. There is something unique about SNCC which sets us apart from other organizations and groups---at least we tend to think that way. In a real sense I would like to consider SNCC as a spark to begin the flame for basic social, economic, and political changes. SNCC is the shot in the arm of a sick society. We are the birth pains in the body politic. We have made summer projects respectable; we have made Freedom Registration acceptable. We have even made the idea of One Man One Vote "respectable;" just look around at some of the other civil rights groups.

Our job is to help educate, help prepare people for political action. Our job is to organize the unorganized into a vital force for radical, social, economic, and political change. Our job is to create what I like to call pockets of power and influence, where the people can say "this is what I want and need." Our primary concern must be the liberation of black people. At the same time knowing that there are many white people in this

country who are victims of the evils of the economic and political system. Black people feel these evils more for we are not only economically exploited and politically denied but we are also dehumanized by the vicious system of segregation and racial discrimination. So our work must continue to be in the black communities, in the rural areas, the farms and hamlets of the slums and ghettos of the cities.

Too many of us are too busy telling white people that we are now ready to be integrated into their society. When we make appeals for active, moral, and financial support they have been geared toward the white community and for the most part not at all toward the black community. This is true of all the major civil rights organizations including SNCC. We must dig deep into the black centers of power throughout this nation not just for financial reasons but as a base of political support. I am convinced that this country is a racist country. The majority of the population is white and most whites still hold to a master-slave mentality.

Father Thomas Merton raises this question in his book, Seeds of Destruction: Is it possible for Negroes and whites in this country to engage in a certain political experiment such as the world has never yet witnessed and in which the first condition would be that whites consented to let Negroes run their own revolution, giving them the necessary support, and being alarmed at some of the sacrifices and difficulties that this would involve?

We have reached a crucial moment in American history and the history of the world. For the word revolution is becoming common. In 1960 with the Sit-in Movement, the Freedom Ride in '61, and the other events through the spring of '63, the word "revolution" was at first accepted with tolerance, and as a pleasantly vivid figure of speech. With the Negro masses demanding jobs, Southern Negroes demanding the vote, with the Democratic Convention Challenge and now the Congressional Challenge by the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, the word Revolution is becoming a bad word, with more and more disapproval, because it comes too near the truth. Why? What is a social or political revolution?

What does it mean to say that a people struggling for civil rights amounts to a revolution? Much as it may anger some die-hard whites, the fact that a Negro sits down next to a white woman at a lunch counter and orders a Coke and a hamburger is still short of revolution. When the Negroes in Lowndes County, Alabama, where there are 12,000 Negroes and 3,000 whites, and not a single Negro is registered, get the vote and actually manage to cast their vote on Election Day without getting shot; this is still not revolution, though there may be something radically new about it. The real question still is, who will they vote for: Governor Wallace, Bull Connor, or Jim Clark?

Southern politicians are much more aware of the revolutionary nature of the situation than are the good liberals in the North, who believe that somehow Negroes (North and South) will gradually and

quietly "fit in" to white society, exactly as it is, with its power structure, its affluent economy, its political machine, and the values of its middle class suburban folkways.

White America as a whole seems to think that when Negroes of the South begin to use the vote, they will be content with the same candidates who were up the last year and the year before. As a matter of fact, Southern politicians realize very well that when the Negroes turn out in full force to vote- and thereby establish themselves as a factor to be reckoned with in Southern politics, the political machines of the past are going to collapse in a cloud of death. There are enough black people in the South to make any free election death for the status quo.

I think past history will testify to the fact that white liberals and the so-called affluent Negro leader will not support all our demands. They will be forced to support some of them in order to maintain an image of themselves as liberal. But we must also recognize that their material comforts and congenial relations with the establishment are much more important to them than their concern for an oppressed people. And they will sell us down the river for the hundredth time in order to protect themselves. We all saw this in Atlantic City. For this reason, as well as to support their own self-esteem, white liberals are very anxious to get closer to what they call the "seat of power", or to have a position of leadership and control in the Black Revolution, in order to apply the brakes when they feel it is necessary. Why was the United Civil Rights Leadership Council organized during the summer of 1963? Because

a segment of White America felt that the revolution was getting out of hand, and by raising money and promising some big money, they could control the movement. There have been other situations where an attempt has been made to remove the revolutionary sting from the movement. // The civil rights revolution is a manifestation of a deep disorder that is eating away the inner substance of our society. Thoreau said "If a man does not keep pace with his companion, perhaps it is because he hears a different drummer. Let him step to the music he hears, however measured or far away." As William Melvin Kelly makes it clear in his first novel, "A Different Drummer," the Negro hears a drummer with a totally different beat, one which the white man is not yet capable of understanding. It is a must for the black people to make themselves visible in order for white America to pay attention. Even white staff members must recognize the fact that we are caught up with a sense of destiny with the vast majority of colored people all over the world who are becoming conscious of their power and the role they must play in the world.

If the movement and SNCC are going to be effective in attempting to liberate the black masses, the civil rights movement must be black-controlled, dominated, and led. The oppressed people, the common people, the little people, are the people who rise up.

In closing I make an appeal to all of us; not just for SNCC's sake, but for the sake of the total struggle and the people who are depending on us. I appeal to the silent staff, the intellectuals, Southerners and Northerners, black and white, to move forward in building a better, stronger, and more effective organization



with a sense of purpose and direction.

Finally, lest I be accused of chauvinism, we are what we are. We are not the Students for a Democratic Society. We are not the Salvation Army. We are not American Friends Service Committee. We are an organization, yet a movement of people with different backgrounds, ideas, hopes, aspirations, working for a just and open society. We are the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

JOHN LEWIS

18 April 1965

Current State of New Office Developments

Plans have generally been completed with the exception of the heating and ventilating. These are promised by Joe Gottlieb by next week (April 26). In addition some changes must be made in the layout of rooms on the first floor in the photography and lithography areas. These changes are required in order to adjust room sizes to accommodate the lithography equipment which has arrived since last time I was here. Although these changes will take a week to make they should have no effect on the costs or the establishment of agreements with the contractors. The signing of contracts and the purchase and delivery of materials may proceed without delay.

Agreement has been reached through Joseph W. Robinson with his employer Herbert A. Rawlins AIA to supervise the construction for a flat fee of \$320.00. Mr. Rawlins is a registered architect in Atlanta. The agreement with Mr. Rawlins should be on a standard AIA contract form altered as may be necessary to include the following:

1. Mr. Rawlins will provide the necessary registration seal on the drawings as required by the city.
2. Mr. Rawlins (or Mr. Robinson on his behalf) will periodically inspect the work to insure that it is being carried out in accord with the drawings, specifications, and regulations of the city.
3. Mr. Rawlins (or Mr. Robinson on his behalf) will make such minor changes in the instructions to the contractors as may be required by unforeseen conditions in the existing building

2.

or the need to comply with local regulations.

4. Mr. Rawlins will not be concerned with the normal supervisory responsibility of authorizing interim payments to contractors, but will certify to SNCC when final payment to contractors shall be made on completion of the work. Mr. Rawlins will ascertain and notify SNCC in writing that all work has been properly performed and all materials properly provided and that all manufacturers' warranties and instructions have been turned over to SNCC before final payments are made.

The arrangements with Mr. Rawlins is to provide for payment of the \$320.00 fee in four stages; the first on signing the agreement and the remaining three staged over the course of the construction. The agreement should stipulate that Mr. Rawlins or Mr. Robinson visit and inspect the work at least twice a week during the course of construction.

I spoke to Leroy Smith yesterday (17 April) at Tuskegee and he assures me that the work crew can still be provided. He would like to be notified by phone and in writing as soon as the dates that the crew will be needed are known. A crew of 12 will certainly suffice-- this would even allow a few to be assigned as helpers to the plumber or electrician. Leroy expressed some concern about sleeping arrangements for the work crew and I indicated that they could probably sleep in the Nelson St. Building. I hope this is OK.

I would suggest that the arrangements with the contractors be made as follows:

Mr. Brooks, the general contractor, will do the ordering of construction materials and the supervision of the work crew from Tuskegee. In addition he will provide a full-time carpenter on the job. Payment for construction materials should be made by SNCC. Payment to Mr. Brooks

3.

will then be made strictly on the basis of his services. By the end of this coming week he will contact Howard Moore and agree on a price per day based on services alone and an estimate of the length of time necessary to complete the work. He will, in addition, coordinate the work of the other contractors and see to it that all necessary permits are obtained. There is one possible complicating factor in this arrangement which must be accommodated. Circumstances may arise ~~ixx~~ in which materials must be paid for on delivery. In those cases it will be necessary for M. Brooks to notify SNCC in advance of the cost and the time of delivery so that some one can be on hand with a check. The materials to be provided under this arrangement are limited to lumber, wall board, hardware, nails, and other general construction materials.

Mr. C.C. Hart, the plumbing contractor, will operate under a conventional construction agreement. He will contract with SNCC to supply all necessary materials and perform all work for a fixed sum of money.

Mr. Edward Johnson, the electrical contractor will also operate under a conventional contract with these exceptions:

1. He will itemize in his contract price the cost of the fluorescent fixtures. If these can be obtained by SNCC more cheaply or if they can be obtained by donation this amount will be deducted from Mr. Johnson's fee. Betty Garman has agreed to make some contacts about these fixtures. The fixture selected is manufactured by Mitchell Lighting Corp. of Chicago and is catalogue # 1222 model name "motif." They are four feet long, two tube fixtures and 150 of them are needed. RNN

An equivalent fixture by another manufacturer would be acceptable. Any price under \$14.00 a piece is a bargain.

4.

2. He will also agree to deduct any other items which SNCC can obtain for less.

Each ~~ix~~ of the contractors has been given a set of drawings and specifications. They have agreed to contact Howard Moore during the coming week after they have had time to price their own work. Howard will draw up the contracts and arrange with Leroy Smith to bring in the work crew. He will also set up the necessary special ~~xx~~ account to pay for materials as described above.

Mark Suckle is to act as contact for Mr. Johnson to provide information relating to the wiring of the large printing press and the lithography equipment.

I will make the necessary revisions in the drawings and return them to Howard as quickly as possible. He will in turn distribute the revised prints to the contractors and the revised originals to Mr. Rawlins so they may be stamped for submission to the city.

Another item which Betty might try to have donated is the hardware. The descriptions of the various types needed are listed in the specifications and the number of each type needed can be obtained from sheet A-4 of the plans.

Upon receipt of the mechanical plans and specifications from Joe Gottlieb contact should be made with Mr. Newton of Newton Inc., Heating Contractors, 633 Pryor St. Contract arrangements with Mr. Newton should be similar to those with Mr. Hart.

*Yale Rabin*  
Yale Rabin

October 7, 1965

Fellow Staff Members:

With the 1965 Civil Rights Bill and the new Voting law, it may appear to some of our "friends" as well as the opposition that the struggle for an oppressed people to have some say and control over their political destiny is over, and there is "nothing left for us to do". If anyone feel that way, then I am afraid that they are a little misinformed.

During the past few months there have been a number of political studies and reports on what political action, should group such as the SNCC take to make real the full opportunity offered by the new voting law. In addition, on Oct. 6, a number of organizations, including the SNCC, CORE, SCLC, NAACP, MFDP, Urban League, Mississippi Democratic Conference, and Alabama Democratic Conference testified before the Special Equal rights Committee of the Democratic National Committee on a number of questions dealing with exclusion of Negroes from party activities and elections in Southern States.

You will find enclosed in this packaged two such political reports a 4-year political calendar for 4 of the Southern States where SNCC is working and a proposed future political action program for SNCC. These reports and studies were prepared and compiled by or under the direction of William Higgs, Director of the Washington Human Rights Projects at my request. From time to time SNCC is called upon to give testimony or make statements before committees and agencies in Washington on issues and questions that concern each of us and the people we work with. Bill Higgs and the Washington SNCC have been more than helpful in preparing and compiling material for testimony, statements and reports on a number of occasions which entails a lot of hard work. We are very much indebted to Bill Higgs and Marion Barry for their willingness to burn the mid-night oil and do the extra paper work at moment notice. (I am aware that there is a philosophy on the part of some of us that we shouldn't thank people for their work).

It is my sincere hope that this information will be of some benefit to each of us in planning a political program of bringing the fullness of democracy to all the citizens of the South.

With Justice, Freedom and  
Peace,

*John Lewis*  
John Lewis

FOUR-YEAR POLITICAL FOR 4 OF THE SOUTHERN STATES  
WHERE SNCC IS WORKING.

Alabama  
Georgia  
Mississippi  
North Carolina

SNCC  
360 Nelson St. S.W.  
Atlanta, Ga.  
October 7, 1965

ALABAMA

Feb. 1, 1965 Last day for paying the annual poll tax of \$1.50. (Note: Poll taxes for two preceding years must have been paid in order to vote in state elections.)

Aug. 7 Last day for registering to vote in the Aug. 17 municipal elections.

Aug. 17 Election of commissioners whose terms have expired in those cities and towns having a commission form of government.

Sept. 7 A run-off election, if necessary, for the election of city commissioners in cities and towns having a commission form of government.

Feb. 1, 1966 Last day for paying the annual poll tax.

March 1 Last day for candidates to qualify for May 3 primary.

April 23 Last day for registering to vote in the May 3 primary.

May 3 Primary elections for Nov. 8 election, and the last day for an independent candidate to qualify for the Nov. 8 election.

May 31 Second primary, if necessary, for the Nov. 8 election.

Aug. 7 Last day for registering to vote in the Aug. 17 municipal elections.

Aug. 17 Election of commissioners whose terms have expired, in those cities and towns having a commission form of government.

Sept. 7 A run-off election, if necessary, for the election of city commissioners in cities and towns having a commission form of government.

Oct. 29 Last day for registering to vote in the Nov. 8 election.

Nov. 8 General election of a U.S. Senator (The incumbent is John J. Sparkman), U.S. Congressmen, two Associate Justices, a Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, Attorney General, Auditor, Secretary of State,

ALABAMA -2-

Treasurer, Superintendent of Education, Commissioner of Agriculture and Industries, Senators and Representatives in the State Legislature, Sheriffs, Tax Assessors, Members of the County Boards of Education, and two Associate Public Service Commissioners.

Feb. 1, 1967 Last day for paying the annual poll tax.

Aug. 5 Last day for registering to vote in Aug. 15 municipal election.

Aug. 15 Election of commissioners whose terms have expired in those cities and towns having a commission form of government.

Sept. 5 A run-off election, if necessary, in those cities and towns having a commission of government.

Feb. 1, 1968 Last day for paying the annual poll tax.

March 1 Last day for candidates to qualify for the May 7 primary.

April 27 Last day for registering to vote in the May 7 primary.

May 7 Primary election for the Nov. 5 general election, and the last day for an independent candidate to qualify for the Nov. 5 general election.

June 4 Second primary election, if necessary, for the Nov. 5 general election.

Aug. 3 Last day for registering to vote in the Aug. 13 municipal elections.

Aug. 10 Last day for registering to vote in the Aug. 20 municipal election.

Aug. 20 Election of commissioners whose terms have expired in those cities and towns having a commission form of government.

Sept. 3 A run-off election, if necessary, in those cities and towns having a commission form of government.

Sept. 10 A run-off election, if necessary, for

ALABAMA -3-

mayor and aldermen in those cities and towns not having a commission form of government.

Oct. 26

Last day for registering to vote in the Nov. 5 election.

Nov. 5

General election of Presidential electors, a U.S. Senator (Incumbent is Lister Hill), U.S. Congressmen, two Associate Justices, a member or members of County Boards of Education, Presidents of Public Service Commission, County Commissioners, County Treasurers, Justices of the Peace, and Constables.

The 1969 dates are approximately the same as those for 1965.

GEORGIA

July 26, 1966

Last day for registering to vote in the Sept. 14 primary.

July 31

Last day for candidates to qualify for the Sept. 14 primary.

Sept. 14

Primary election for the Nov. 8 general election.

Sept. 19

Last day for registering to vote in the Nov. 8 general election, and last day for independent candidates to qualify for that election.

Nov. 8

General election of a U.S. Senator (the incumbent is Richard B. Russell), U.S. Congressmen, a Governor, state administrative officers, State Senator, and members of the State House of Representatives.

July 23, 1968

Last day for registering to vote in the Sept. 11 primary.

July 28

Last day for candidates to qualify for the Sept. 11 primary.

Sept. 11

Primary election for the Nov. 5 general election.

Sept. 16

Last day for registering to vote in the general election, and last day for independent candidates to qualify for that election.

Nov. 5

General election of Presidential electors, a U.S. Senator (the incumbent is Herman E. Talmadge), U.S. Congressmen, State Senators, and Members of the State House Of Representatives.

MISSISSIPPI

Feb. 1, 1965 Last day to pay the annual poll tax of \$2.00. (Poll taxes for two preceding years must have been paid in order to vote in state elections.)

Feb. 8 Last day for registering to vote in either the May 8 primary or the June 8 general election of municipal officials. (Note: a few municipalities have different election dates.)

March 12 Last day for candidates to qualify for the May 11 municipal primary.

April 29 Last day for independent candidates to qualify for the June 8 general election of municipal officials.

May 11 Primary election of municipal officials.

May 18 Second primary election of municipal officials, if necessary.

June 8 General election of municipal officials.

Feb. 1, 1966 Last day to pay the annual poll tax.

April 18 Last day on which a candidate can qualify for the June 7 primary election.

May 7 Last day for registering to vote in the June 7 primary.

June 7 Primary election for Nov. 8 general election.

June 28 Second primary, if necessary, for the Nov. 8 election.

July 8 Last day for registering to vote in the Nov. 8 election.

Sept. 29 Last day on which an independent candidate may qualify for the Nov. 8 election.

Nov. 8 General election of a U.S. Senator (the incumbent is James O. Eastland), U.S. Congressmen, State Supreme Court Judges, Chancery Judges, and County Judges.

Feb. 1, 1967 Last day to pay the annual poll tax.

MISSISSIPPI -2-

June 9 Last day to qualify as a candidate for the Aug. 8 primary election.

July 7 Last day for registering to vote in the Nov. 7 election.

July 8 Last day for registering to vote in the Aug. 8 primary election.

Aug. 8 Primary election for Nov. 7 general election.

Aug. 29, 1967 Second primary, if necessary, for the Nov. 7 general election.

Sept. 28 Last day on which an independent candidate may qualify for the Nov. 7 general election by a petition filed in his behalf.

Nov. 7 General election of a Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Secretary of State, Auditor of Public Accounts, State Treasurer, Attorney, Superintendent of Education, three Public Service Commissioners, Land Commissioner, Supreme Court Clerk, Commissioner of Insurance, Commissioner of Agriculture, State Senators and Members of the House, District Attorneys, Clerks of the Circuit and Chancery Courts, Sheriffs, Coroners, Assessors, Surveyors, Members of the Boards of Supervisors, Justices of the Peace, Constables, and County Attorneys.

Feb. 1, 1968 Last day to pay the annual poll tax.

April 5 Last day on which a candidate can qualify for the June 4 primary.

May 4 Last day for registering to vote in the June 4 primary.

June 4 Primary election for the Nov. 5 general election.

June 25 Second primary, if necessary, for the Nov. 5 general election.

Aug. 5 Last day for registering to vote in the Nov. 5 general election.

Sept. 26 Last day on which an independent candidate may qualify for the Nov. 5 election.

MISSISSIPPI -3-

Nov. 5 General election of Presidential electors, U.S. Congressmen, and those State Supreme Court Judges whose eight-year terms expire.

The dates for 1969 are approximately the same as those for 1965.

NORTH CAROLINA

March 18, 1966 Last day for candidates to qualify for the Nov. 8 election.

May 14 Last day for registering to vote in the May 28 primary.

May 28 Primary election for the Nov. 8 general election.

Oct. 29 Last day for registering to vote in the Nov. 8 election.

Nov. 8 General election of a U.S. Senator (the incumbent is B. Everett Jordan), U.S. Congressmen, State Senators, Members of the State House of Representatives, a Clerk of the Superior Court, Registrars of Deeds, Sheriffs, Coroners, County Surveyors, County Commissioners, County Treasurers, and County Solicitors.

March 15, 1968 Last day for candidates to qualify for the Nov. 5 election.

May 11 Last day for registering to vote in the May 25 primary.

May 25 Primary elections for the Nov. 5 general election.

Oct. 26 Last day for registering to vote in the Nov. 5 general election. General election of Presidential electors, A U.S. Senator (the incumbent is Sam J. Ervin), U.S. Congressmen, a Governor, state administrative officers, State Senators, Members of the House of Representatives, a Clerk of the Superior Court, Registrars of Deeds, Sheriffs, Coroners, County Surveyors, County Commissioners, County Treasurers, and County Solicitors.



Memo: To SNCC Staff

December 7, 1965

Fellow Member of the Staff:

I write this note as a follow up and attempt to see that the decisions you made during the staff meeting of November 24-29 are implemented.

Hopefully by now each of you have received the Dec. 2, memo from the finance committee which stated that the financial situation is critical and serious. (These are rather dark days..the days of black outs; "but we are gonn'a make it." In addition you should have received a note from Fay Bellamy concerning the trip to the Soviet Union and the statement on Vietnam and the Draft, sent out by Shirley Wright.

Now concerning the trip I am enclosing all communications that we have had with the student groups in the Soviet Union for your information. All of you who are interest in or have a desire to make this trip will please send me your name by December 15.

In regard to the statement on Vietnam, I am asking that if any of you have any suggestions or additions for changes in this statement please advise me of the same no later than Monday December 13, 1965. We hope that we will be able to make our position public as soon as possible.

The minutes of the Staff Meeting will be forthcoming.

For Freedom and Peace

*John Lewis*  
John Lewis

bu

From: John Lewis

To: All SNCC Staff

I have been back from Africa for more than two weeks. I hope by now that each of you has a copy of the report on the trip. I hope to talk with each of you about Africa and the movement for liberation throughout Africa and how it relates to the Civil Rights Struggle in this country. I am convinced more than ever before that the social, economic, and political destiny of the black people of America is inseparable from that of our brothers of Africa.

On my arrival in Atlanta I was thoroughly informed about the questions and issues that were raised at both the staff meeting and the staff retreat. I have read the position papers and minutes, and talked with many members of the staff with great interest concerning the nature of your deliberations in Atlanta and Bay St. Louis. I only regret that I was unable to take part in the many sessions of serious discussion and thinking. Fortunately or unfortunately I was in Africa on what I like to call a "mission" of learning or an attempt to cement the relation between the Civil Rights Struggle in this country with the liberation movement in Africa.

Since being back, I have taken part in a Planning Committee Meeting, (the committee planning for the next staff meeting) which was held in Pine Bluff, Ark. I attended the COFO staff meeting in Hattiesburg. I am just returning from a four-day fund raising and speaking venture in the New York and Philadelphia area. The trip to New York and Philly is particularly the reason I am sending this memo to you at this time. I would be derelict in my duty if I didn't share with you some of my observations while in New York.

While in New York and Philly for four days, I had the opportunity to speak at five rallies and parties, and also attended two smaller meetings of supporters. At each of these gatherings some of the persons in attendance raised questions about the following:

The alleged coup in SNCC:

- a. "Bob Moses is no longer Director of the Mississippi Project, and he is out of the state."
- b. "Jim Forman is no longer Executive Secretary of SNCC."
- c. "John Lewis is no longer Chairman of SNCC."

The red-baiting of SNCC:

- a. "SNCC has been taken over by the communists."
- b. "Some of the key people in SNCC made a trip to Peking."
- c. "Most of the volunteers that SNCC recruited were communists or communist sympathizers."

Now we all know that there is not a word of truth in any of this. We all should know that Bob Moses is still the Director of COFO, Jim Forman is still the Executive Secretary of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and I am still SNCC's Chairman.

Memo from John Lewis Page two

If I can further dispel the rumor that I am leaving SNCC or the Movement, let me say -- and this is contrary to what some of the staff have said -- that I have no plans for leaving the Movement to enter school in either January 1965 or September 1965. I will be involved in the struggle one way or another till every victory is won.

Our supporters and friends are confused and bewildered, for they feel a sense of uncertainty and instability about SNCC. It is hard to get people to invest in anything that is shaky, unstable, and without a sense of permanence, whether it be a country, the stock market, or a civil rights organization. I am of the opinion that these rumors are hurting SNCC financially and otherwise. In addition, we are under attack from many quarters -- the press, and other civil rights groups. We must understand these rumors, and the "red-baiting" as effective and destructive political gimmicks, and we cannot take this lightly. The situation demands that we reassure our friends, supporters, and the American public that we are a unified, effective, strong, and vital force on the American scene for social, economic, and political change.

I am asking if all the staff to speak the truth of the work and programs of SNCC. We have nothing to make apologies for. Our projects and programs are worthy of support. While I am not too concerned with our "image" in the sense that would effect our policies and programs. As an organization SNCC does what SNCC must do and in SNCC's own way, that's that. What concerns me, however is: that we do not let certain malicious and vicious rumors and attack go unanswered. On the other hand we must never stoop so low to engage in public slander or debate with any group.

I am asking Julian Bond and Betty Garman to use their respective departments to make a special effort to counter these rumors and attacks. Each of us must do our part to present the truth about SNCC.

During the next few days I will be visiting all of the projects and will be at your disposal. It is my hope that we will have some serious and honest discussions. My tentative schedule is as follows:

Dec. 17-18	Central Alabama
Dec. 19-24	Mississippi
Dec. 28-Jan. 5	Mississippi
Jan. 6-7	Eastern Arkansas
Jan. 9-9	Southwest Georgia

Hope to see each of you very soon.

Uhuru!

John Lewis

Memo to all SNCC Staff  
From Janet Jemmott  
Regarding Vietnam and the draft

At the staff meeting we passed a resolution stating that lawyers would be contacted to explore the possibility of filing suit against the selective service system and any other office within the armed services which discriminates in any way against Negroes. I took the responsibility for doing this. The intent of this action would not be to desegregate the Selective Service Boards throughout the South, but (merely a tactic) to expose the inconsistency between what this country says it is fighting for in Vietnam--"freedom"- and the fact that the very institution which is mandated to bring about freedom in Vietnam--the military-- is committed to a policy of segregation and discrimination. The fact that Negro soldiers are fighting in Vietnam for a freedom which is absent both in the country for which they fight, and within the institution with which they fight further exposes the contradiction posed by this country's fighting for freedom ANYWHERE, except at home. We realized that it would have to be made clear that a desegregation of either of the military would in no way legitimize this organization's approval of the war.

As regards the draft, a motion was passed stating that a call would be put out for soldiers to refuse to serve in the armed forces, because of Vietnam, and to commit themselves to serve in the struggle for freedom in the South. Their commitment would take the form of signing our draft list, stating that they would be willing to "serve" in the South. Efforts would be made to contact Negro soldiers who have served in the army in Vietnam, to commit themselves to work in the South, i.e., to fight in this country-- which they should have been doing all along.

Bill Hall "Winky" talked about the possibility of organizing demonstrations in New York. He is especially interested in getting black folk from uptown, downtown to the U.N. around the issue of Vietnam and possibly South Africa and Rhodesia.

INSERT: One interesting side light is the fact that potential draftees now working in the Peace Corps and in the Vista program, i.e., the Peace Corps at home, have received one year deferrals from their draft boards. This fact is all the more interesting when we consider that the government pays the Vista kids to carry out voter registration work in the South. SCLC also plans to attempt to get deferrals for its workers and associates of the draft age. The possibility of organizing young black men in the urban ghettos around the issue of the draft is perhaps much greater than it is in

page two-Memo on Vietnam the South. We must keep in mind, however, that scores of black men in the South are being shipped to Vietnam (as they were to the Congo, and Santo Domingo and Cuba), most likely in numbers disproportionate to their representation in the population of potential draftees. A lot of young Negroes volunteer their services for want of a job, or the possibility of getting one outside of the cotton patch (and we know whose fault that is!). Gwen Robinson suggested that we talk about all of these things in our projects and that if possible pamphlets etc., should be used as resource material.

I realize that the discussion could have been more fruitful if more people had been there to participate. I hope that you will tell me what you think about the proposals, and will offer suggestions. All correspondence should be sent to me at P.O. Box 572, Selma, Alabama.

Yours in the Struggle,

Janet Jemmott (for the staff)

[1965]

REPORT ON MEETING IN WASHINGTON, Saturday, March 13

Breeden  
Attending: National Council of Churches (Spike et al), SNCC (Featherstone and Barry); CORE (Farmer and Wiley); NAACP-no one; SCLC (Andy Young for short time at beginning; Faunterey); FDP; Catholic Interracial people and Jewish groups.

1. The provisions of the proposed voting bill (proposed by the President) were discussed. The provisions are:

age and residence -- everyone who can sign their name  
In any county or state where less than 50% of the people are registered a federal registrar would automatically be appointed. To be appointed by federal civil service people in that area, ie. poss. Post office employees. Penalties for those not fulfilling the job adequately. Applies to federal, state and local elections. Federal courts can void elections about which there are complaints. Stronger criminal penalties for interference with voting activity. In places where over 50% are registered and there is still harassment and intimidation, federal registrar's too.

2. Four issues/ fronts on which to push, etc. discussed:

- a. voting legislation
- b. MFDP challenge -- feeling was that challenge needs to be pushed, too and that people should not get overly mobilized on voting thing to the extent that they forget the challenge.
- c. federal protection -- feeling was here, too, that people have to continually raise this issue. Feeling was that people should continue to raise it now in their home communities (not in DC)
- d. making civil rights murder a federal crime.

people generally of the opinion that more meetings have to take place to map out a six month "pressure and lobby" timetable... around above four issues. Another meeting was called for Monday at 2 pm. Also Walter Reuther had called a meeting and to a man those in attendance were offended by his telegram -- on the basis that he was (as part of the establishment) picking the spokesmen and leaders of the movement and pushing strategy, etc. Reuther's meeting is Wed. at 10 am in DC. All will attend but some sort of discussion on objectives will be held Monday.

LBJ apparently said (to Wallace) that there would never be a repeat of what happened in Selma Sunday and that he, LBJ, would see to it that that was so. Perhaps we ought to organize around that for a while and see if the pres. really means what he says -- which would, if pres. doesn't take action -- mean that we can keep people involved on the issue of protection -- for the steam is coming out of people's sails in the North after a solid week of demonstrations...ed. notes garman.

Events in Montgomery may not permit me to attend the meeting however SNCC will be represented. It is our feeling that the focus and thrust of the civil rights movement has shifted since ~~March~~ the March on Washington in 1963 and that the groups invited to the meeting are no longer representative. We ~~must~~ strongly recommend ~~that~~ the inclusion of an FDP representative and possibly others at the meeting.

For freedom,

John Lewis

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Lester McKinnie/Wash SNCC

Melzetta Poole, ~~XXXXXX~~ ASC, 19, hit in head; Galway Kinnell, 38, teacher, Juniata College, Huntington, Pa, hit in jaw bleeding; Shelly Davis 21 Montgomery hit on head; Frederick Kraai, 23, Amherst College, Fairport NY, hit in head, bleeding; Eric Stern, ~~XXXXXX~~ UPitt, Cleveland, possible broken jaw; Fran Lipton, UMich, Hartsdale, NY, leg broken by horse; Rhoda Siegel, UPitt, Oceanside, NY, tripped by trooper, beaten; William McCleod, 15, Montgomery, hit on head; Rev Gerald Witt, Evangelical United Brethren Church, Huntington, Pa.

John <sup>B</sup>illups, 18, Montgomery, kicked by horse; Rick Soderstrom, UIllinois;

Geneva Williams, 17, Montgomery, beaten. Steven Kurennya, 21, JapAM Calif and U of Penna.; Donald Hope, JuniataCol; ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ all treated at hospitals; about 10 others treated but no information on injuries.

Helen Jordan, ~~Ala~~ Ala<sup>S</sup>tate, 19; Anita Horn, Ala State, 18;

100 files

Wash DC

332-7732

LEWIS MASON'S

BILL

STRICKLAND-

line 1

Statement by John Lewis

9/30/65 re/ acquital

The acquittal of Thomas Coleman, murderer of Jonathan Daniel, should be the last in a series of hideous mockeries to assure the federal government that it should expect no justice for its Negro "citizens" in the South until the federal government itself accepts the responsibility for insuring that justice.

The outcome of the trial was predictable, considering the way in which southern courts have always dealt with such matters. Negroes and their supporters are killed by men in the South who realize that they have nothing to fear, either from their state or federal government.

We therefore call for the enactment of a federal anti-lynch law. We feel that the federal government can do no less if it expects respect for law and order to prevail in the Negro community. The federal government should be warned that further inaction might very well light the fuse.

- 30 -

August 28, 1963  
March on Washington

JOHN LEWIS  
CHAIRMAN, STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

We march today for jobs and freedom, but we have nothing to be proud of, for hundreds and thousands of our brothers are not here - for they have no money for their transportation, for they are receiving starvation wages...or no wages, at all.

In good conscience, we cannot support the administration's civil rights bill, for it is too little, and too late. There's not one thing in the bill that will protect our people from police brutality.

The voting section of this bill will not help the thousands of citizens who want to vote; will not help the citizens of Mississippi, of Alabama, and Georgia who are qualified to vote, who are without a 6th grade education. "One Man, one Vote", is the African cry - it is ours, too.

People have been forced to move for they have exercised their right to register to vote. What is in the bill that will protect the homeless and starving people of this nation? What is there in this bill to insure the equality of a maid who earns \$5.00 a week in the home of a family whose income is \$100,000 a year?

This bill will not protect young children and old women from police dogs and fire hoses for engaging in peaceful demonstrations. This bill will not protect the citizens in Danville, Virginia, who must live in constant fear in a police state. This bill will not protect the hundreds of people who have been arrested on trumped-up charges, like those in Americus, Georgia, where four young men are in jail, facing a death penalty, for engaging in peaceful protest.

For the first time in 100 years this nation is being awakened to the fact that segregation is evil and it must be destroyed in all forms. Our presence today proves that we have been aroused to the point of action.

We are now involved in a serious revolution. This nation is still a place of cheap political leaders allying themselves with open forms of political, economic and social exploitation.

In some parts of the South we have worked in the fields from sun-up to sun-down for \$12 a week. In Albany, Georgia, we have seen our people indicted by the Federal government for peaceful protest, while the Deputy Sheriff beat Attorney C.B. King and left him half-dead; while local police officials kicked and assaulted the pregnant wife of Slater King, and she lost her baby.

It seems to me that the Albany indictment is part of a conspiracy on the part of the Federal government and local politicians for political expediency.

I want to know - which side is the Federal government on ?

John Lewis  
Washington March  
Page 2

The revolution is at hand, and we must free ourselves of the chains of political and economic slavery. The non-violent revolution is saying, "We will not wait for the courts to act, for we have been waiting hundreds of years. We will not wait for the President, nor the Justice Department, nor Congress, but we will take matters into our own hands, and create a great source of power, outside of any national structure that could and would assure us victory." For those who have said, "Be patient and wait!" we must say, "Patience is a dirty and nasty word." We cannot be patient, we do not want to be free gradually, we want our freedom, and we want it now. We can not depend on any political party, for both the Democrats and the Republicans have betrayed the basic principles of the Declaration of Independence.

We all recognize the fact that if any radical social, political and economic changes are to take place in our society, the people, the masses must bring them about. In the struggle we must seek more than mere civil rights; we must work for the community of love, peace, and true brotherhood. Our minds, souls, and hearts cannot rest until freedom and justice exist for all the people.

The revolution is a serious one. Mr. Kennedy is trying to take the revolution out of the streets and put it in the courts. Listen, Mr. Kennedy, listen, Mr. Congressman, listen, fellow citizens - the black masses are on the march for jobs and freedom, and we must say to the politicians that there won't be a "cooling-off period".

We won't stop now. All of the forces of Eastland, Barnett and Wallace won't stop this revolution. The next time we march, we won't march on Washington, but we will march through the South, through the Heart of Dixie, the way Sherman did. We will make the action of the past few months look petty. And I say to you, WAKE UP AMERICA !!

All of us must get in the revolution - get in and stay in the streets of every city, village and hamlet of this nation, until true freedom comes, until the revolution is complete. The black masses in the Delta of Mississippi, in Southwest Georgia, Alabama, Harlem, Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia and all over this nation are on the march.

John Lewis

Speech at March on Washington, 1963

We march today for jobs and freedom, but we have nothing to be proud of. For hundreds and thousands of our brothers are not here. They have no money for their transportation, for they are receiving starvation wages ...or no wages, at all.

In good conscience, we cannot support, wholeheartedly, the administration's civil rights bill, for it is too little, and too late. There's not one thing in the bill that will protect our people from police brutality.

This bill will not protect young children and old women from police dogs and fire hoses, for engaging in peaceful demonstrations. This bill will not protect the citizens in Danville, Virginia, who must live in constant fear in a police state. This bill will not protect the hundreds of people who have been arrested on trumped-up charges. What about the three young men in Americus, Georgia, who face the death penalty for engaging in peaceful protest?

The voting section of this bill will not help thousands of black citizens who want to vote. It will not help the citizens of Mississippi, of Alabama, and Georgia, who are qualified to vote, but lack a 6th Grade education. "One man, one vote," is the African cry. It is ours, too. (It must be ours.)

People have been forced to leave their homes, because they dared to exercise their right to register to vote. What is there in this bill to insure the equality of a maid who earns \$5 a week in the home of a family whose income is \$100,000 a year?

For the first time in 100 years this nation is being awakened to the fact that segregation is evil and that it must be destroyed in all forms. Your presence today proves that you have been aroused to the point of action.

We are now involved in a serious revolution. This nation is still a place of cheap political leaders who build their careers on immoral compromises and ally themselves with open forms of political, economic and social exploitation. What political leader here can stand up and say "My party is the party of principles"? The party of Kennedy is also the

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John Lewis, "Text of Speech to be delivered at Lincoln Memorial: Original," August 28, 1963 (Atlanta: Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee), mimeographed.

party of Eastland. The party of Javits is also the party of Goldwater. Where is our party?

In some parts of the South we work in the fields from sunup to sundown for \$12 a week. In Albany, Georgia, nine of our leaders have been indicated not by Dixiecrats but by the Federal Government for peaceful protest. But what did the Federal Government do when Albany's Deputy Sheriff beat Attorney C.B. King and left him half-dead? What did the Federal Government do when local police officials kicked and assaulted the pregnant wife of Slater King, and she lost her baby?

It seems to me that the Albany indictment is part of a conspiracy on the part of the Federal Government and local politicians in the interest of expediency. I want to know, which side is the Federal Government on?

The revolution is at hand, and we must free ourselves of the chains of political and economic slavery. The non-violent revolution is saying, "We will not wait for the courts to act, for we have been waiting for hundreds of years. We will not wait for the President, the Justice Department, nor Congress, but we will take matters into our own hands and create a source of power, outside of any national structure that could and would assure us a victory." To those who have said, "Be patient and wait", we must say that, "Patience is a dirty and nasty word." We cannot be patient, we do not want to be free gradually, we want our freedom, and we want it now. We cannot depend on any political party, for both the Democrats and the Republicans have betrayed the basic principles of the Declaration of Independence.

We all recognize the fact that if any radical social, political and economic changes are to take place in our society, the people, the masses, must bring them about. In the struggle we must seek more than more civil rights; we must work for the community of love, peace and true brotherhood. Our minds, souls, and hearts cannot rest until freedom and justice exist for all the people.

The revolution is a serious one. Mr. Kennedy is trying to take the revolution out of the street and put it into the courts. Listen, Mr. Kennedy, Listen Mr. Congressman, listen fellow citizens, the black masses are on the march for jobs and freedom, and we must say to the politicians that there won't be a "cooling-off" period.

All of us must get in the revolution. Get in and stay in the streets



of every city, every village and every hamlet of this nation, until true Freedom comes, until the revolution is complete. In the Delta of Mississippi, in southwest Georgia, in Alabama, Harlem, Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia and all over this nation. The black masses are on the march!

We won't stop now. All of the forces of Eastland, Barnett, Wallace and Thurmond won't stop this revolution. The time will come when we will not confine our marching to Washington. We will march through the South through the Heart of Dixie, the way Sherman did. We shall pursue our own "scorched earth" policy and burn Jim Crow to the ground--non-violently. We shall fragment the South into a thousand pieces and put them back together in the image of democracy. We will make the action of the past few months look petty. And I say to you, WAKE UP AMERICA!!!



## Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

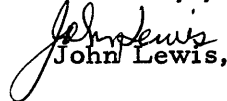
6 Raymond Street, N.W.  
Atlanta 14, Georgia      January 17, 1964.

688-0331

Enclosed you will find a copy of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee's February 1st, 1964 "Freedom Day Action Project". It will be the 4th Anniversary of the Sit-ins. We believe that the gains made by the Movement since February 1st, 1960 are impressive in many respects but we must seek to move into another phase of the struggle with renewed and expanded action.

In order to effectively carry out this program we must ask the cooperation and support of all organizations and persons in the civil rights struggle. It is important that on or around February 1st national attention be focused on our Southland and the whole nation on the issue of civil rights and youth unemployment.

Sincerely yours,

  
John Lewis, Chairman SNCC

*"One Man, One Vote"*

Pat Kelly



# Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

6 Raymond Street, N.W.  
Atlanta 14, Georgia

688-0331

Statement of James Forman, Executive Secretary of the Student  
Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. February 1, 1964.

Atlanta Constitution, c/o Harold Davis.

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee did not vote against the entire proposal of the Summit Leadership Conference presented on January 30, 1964. We voted against an amendment which would establish the cooling off period for thirty days. Once the vote was taken we agreed to abide by the decision of the Summit.

This decision does not mean that a cooling off period is now in effect. The Summit's statement was only a reaction to the Mayor's proposal for a cooling off period. It is now necessary for the Mayor to accept or reject the proposals of the Summit Leadership. If he does not accept them, the cooling off period is not operative.

*"One Man, One Vote"*

Text of speech presented to the  
American Society of Newspaper Editors  
Washington, D. C., April 16, 1964  
by John Lewis, Chairman  
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Negroes throughout the country are pressing a great welter of demands. They are seeking adequate income, decent housing, effective education for their children, and non-discrimination in public accommodations, to mention but a few. In the Deep South we are forced to demand the right to vote. Our people are tired of being voiceless and invisible in the political arena. Their sweat and toil have harvested America's food, have built its roads, buildings and industry. So we say: "Let us also participate in building our destiny." Years of brutality, unsuccessful negotiations and broken promises have forced us to take to the streets to press our demands.

Some of you may say, "But look at all the progress we've made." And I say yes, you are right, but the civil rights struggle is just beginning. The Senate is now debating the civil rights bill. It is not nearly as strong as it should be. But even if it is passed, there will be much suffering before it becomes a reality. We see this from past experience. If existing laws had been enforced, we would have many more people registered. Vote workers would not have been shot at; homes would not have been bombed. People seeking to register to vote would not have lost jobs and homes.

Any person who in any way interferes with the right of a Negro to vote in Mississippi commits a crime against the Federal Government. He commits as much of a crime as does the gunman who walks into a bank and robs it. Title 18, Section 594, of the United States Code makes it a crime to interfere with the right to vote. That law has been on the books since 1948, but nobody has ever been prosecuted under it. I doubt if there is a policeman of any sort in Mississippi who has not broken that law several times since 1948, but not one of them has been arrested and prosecuted for it.

The Federal Government has been toying with the registrar of Forrest County, Mississippi, since 1961. This man, Theron Lynd, has been convicted of civil contempt, criminal contempt, and has been enjoined from discriminating against Negro voters. Yet he still discriminates, and remained unjailed while waiting for the recent Supreme Court decision concerning jury trials for Governor Barnett and the then Lt. Governor Paul Johnson. And so I say, the struggle is just beginning.

The Federal Government - the present administration, at any rate - has not helped the movement with the appointments of federal judges. For example, Federal Judge Harold Cox of Mississippi, who was appointed in 1961, called Negro voting applicants "a bunch of niggers," and said they were acting like a "bunch of chimpanzees." And so I say, the struggle is just beginning.

This summer however, we are again presenting the Federal Government with an opportunity to act. With the cooperation of other civil rights groups, under the banner of the Council of Federated Organizations, we plan to install some 1,000

summer workers in Mississippi. They will teach in the Freedom Schools, staff Community Centers, register as many as 400,000 Negroes on mock polling lists, and will do the often dangerous work of voter registration.

There are four congressional candidates in Mississippi today, who are Negroes. If they lose, they plan to challenge the right of white Mississippians to choose who shall represent the state in Congress. There will be challenges at the Democratic Convention in August, and we will see whether the country is ready and prepared to allow full representation in Congress.

The Federal Government's challenge will come earlier. It will come as it is coming now, and has been, in the black belt areas of the Deep South. Will the government, at last, take action on the intimidations, threats, shootings, and illegal arrests, searches and seizures that are a direct result of voter registration activities?

Registering to vote is an act of commitment to the American ideal. It is patriotic. The Federal Government must decide whether it wants to let southern Negroes register. It must make that choice this summer, or make us all witnesses to the lynching of democracy as it allows our workers to be harrassed, beaten and jailed...

As we have suffered and struggled over the last four years, we have come to the conclusion that segregation continues, not because of a handful of sick people, but because the larger community, made up of people of good will, has remained silent and in effect given quiet consent to the system.

Thousands of dollars are being spent to defeat the civil rights bill. These people will not hesitate to spend millions more to insure that the laws are not enforced if the bill is passed.

Some people have pointed out that the Supreme Court decision of 1954 did not desegregate the schools, but freed the civil rights groups to begin desegregating the schools. And when the civil rights bill is passed, we will be free to begin desegregation on a nation-wide scale in all phases of American life. And all of us, young and old, North and South, must accept the responsibility of making it work.

Because ours is a nonviolent movement with a moral base, our job is to confront each human being with his potential to help build the "beloved community", to stand up for truth and justice. I ask each of you, what will you do? What will you give of yourself? Will you help us build?

Our task has been put before us, and so, in the words of the late President, "Let us begin." The day must soon come when justice, truth and freedom will exist for all of the people in America, and not just for some of the people.

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STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE  
6 RAYMOND STREET, N.W.  
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30314

STATEMENT OF SNCC CHAIRMAN JOHN LEWIS, June 12, 1964:  
SNCC SHIFTS NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS

The concern of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) for several hundred teachers and college students from across the nation who will be working in the Mississippi Summer Project, has led to a decision to shift our national headquarters to Mississippi for the summer.

We believe the nation is not sufficiently informed, nor the federal government sufficiently aroused, about the possibility of violent reprisal to the summer project. An upsurge of white terrorist activity throughout the state in the past few months, and the passage of six new laws by the state legislature designed to halt the summer's activity, gives grounds for concern.

The SNCC executive committee and staff, after a three-day meeting here this week, has finalized plans for a "Move to Mississippi." SNCC has committed the bulk of its resources and recruitment to the Mississippi Summer Project. The state-wide Mississippi Council of Federated Organizations (COFO), which sponsors the project, is predominantly directed and staffed by SNCC, and the summer project plans culminate three years' work in that state by SNCC.

This move should not be construed as abandonment of other projects. The Atlanta SNCC office will continue to coordinate SNCC projects in Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia and North Carolina. In addition, Atlanta will have a continuing communications staff to answer queries about the project, and to verify news, names and dates. Most news will emanate however, from the SNCC office in Greenwood.

SNCC Executive Secretary James Forman, Communications Director Julian Bond and Chairman John Lewis will leave Atlanta in the next few hours for a two-week orientation session in Oxford, Ohio. New summer volunteers, primarily recruited and processed through some 30 SNCC centers in the North, will be trained there for work in voter registration, Freedom Schools and community centers.

From Oxford, those leaders and other SNCC staff will proceed to Mississippi. SNCC expects to have summer workers based in all 82 of the state's counties by early July.

The massive summer project is planned by an alliance of local civic groups which formed across the state in response to vote drives, known as the Council of Federated Organizations. In the winter of 1962 SNCC workers helped draft a plan to combine these local groups through COFO.

A mock ballot campaign in the fall of 1963 attempted to enlist the assistance of other national groups working in the state. As a result, the state-wide federation is now directed by SNCC worker Robert Moses, and supported by the Congress of Racial Equality, Southern Christian Leadership Conference citizenship teachers, and the Mississippi State Conference of NAACP Branches.

#

Everett AP  
Gene Griffey UPE

175 left Conthorne  
FOP crowd

6:15

Selma, Alabama  
Feb. 10, 1965

John Lewis:

Slaughter  
Sheriff Jim Clark proved today beyond a shadow of a doubt that he is basically no different from a Gestapo officer during the Fascist rape of the Jews. Clark broke up and arrested (all the) members of a peaceful assembly before the courthouse here in Selma, Alabama.

He then proceeded to run, push and prod some 200 students down the highway as his posse ~~men~~ walked and ran behind them shocking students with electric cattle prods.

Students who fell to the ground were prodded and forced to get up on their feet and were ~~driven~~ driven three or four miles into the country. They then were forced to turn around and run back ~~to~~ into town. When friendly people attempted to pick them up, they were forced away.

■ This is but one more example of the inhuman, animal-like treatment of the Negro people of Selma, Alabama. This nation has always come to the aid of people in foreign lands who are ~~gripped~~ gripped under a reign of tyranny. Can this nation do less for the people of Selma? *by*

WNEW - Robin Tarkel - keeps - collect  
MOI-3621 - 1958

Chairman

Clair and his men came by and told them

STATEMENT OF SLATER KING, CHAIRMAN OF HUNTER DEFENSE COMMITTEE,  
MARTIN LUTHER KING, SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE,  
JOHN LEWIS, STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 1966

We urge Governor Sanders to initiate an investigation of the Hunter brother's case and of the process of jury selection in Schley County, Georgia. From facts available to us now, we have questions concerning the validity and the legality of the arrest and pending trial of Charlie and Willie Hunter.

Negroes, who make up 56% of the population of Schley County, are effectively excluded from jury duty. This makes a fair trial of the youngsters, accused of killing a white policeman, impossible.

Whether or not the youngsters are guilty, we hope their accusers will remember that the southern land of Georgia has long run with the blood of Negroes who died mercilessly at the hands of white racists.

We hope the fair-minded men of Georgia will recommend lenient treatment of the accused. Georgia law is clear in its defense of those who resist unlawful arrest.

We hope that Governor Sanders and other Georgia citizens will endorse whatever steps are necessary to see that Charlie and Willie Hunter receive a fair trial.

/signed/ Slater King  
Martin Luther King  
John Lewis

NEWS FROM  
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE  
360 NELSON STREET, SW  
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

FOR RELEASE FEBRUARY 14, 1966

Slater King of the Hunter Defense Committee and John Lewis, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, joined with Dr. Martin Luther King today to "urge Governor Sanders to initiate an investigation of the Hunter brother's case and of the process of jury selection in Schley County, Georgia." The civil rights leaders questioned the "validity and legality" of the arrest and pending trial of Charlie and Willie Hunter who are accused of killing a white policeman.

Charlie Hunter allegedly shot and killed city policeman John A. Hardin last November 13th on a dirt road about a mile outside the Ellaville City limits. The boy said he feared that Hardin was about to kill his brother Willie, 19, Willie is also charged with murder.

Concerned citizens in Southwest Georgia have formed the Hunter Defense Committee to attempt to free these youths. Slater King, president of the Albany Movement, is chairman of the group. He said the committee hopes to include persons in other parts of the nation who have voiced concern about the case.

Slater King pointed out that Officer Hardin and another man stopped the Hunter brothers on the road outside Ellaville, although the policeman's authority did not extend beyond the city limits.

The man with Hardin was identified as Kermit O. Green, a foreman with the Georgia Highway Department who also acts as county jailer. Sheriff William Mareene Ellis testified at a preliminary hearing that Green had no authority to arrest anybody anywhere. The sheriff said that Green should have been feeding prisoners in the jail about the time that he and Hardin stopped the Hunter brothers.

The brothers said that Willie Hunter, who was driving their car, was slow in getting out of the vehicle after it was stopped. They said the policeman then hit Willie Hunter with a club while Green held a pistol and an automatic rifle. Charlie Hunter said that he yelled to Hardin, "Don't hit him anymore."

The boy charged that Green pushed him back into the car while Hardin hit his brother with the club again.

The Hunter brothers related that Willie was lying on the ground half-conscious, and Hardin was preparing to hit him again, when Charlie grabbed the pistol from Green and shot the policeman.

The brothers were taken to the Sumter County jail in Americus, where they have been held without bond. Their family has employed C. B. King, an Albany attorney, to defend the youths.

Attorneys for the Hunter brothers are challenging the system of jury selection in Schley County. They say it results in the exclusion of Negroes, who make up 56% of the county's population.



THIS IS ONLY COPY LEFT WHICH PLEASE GIVE TO MAHONEY

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee  
100 Fifth Avenue, NYC  
YU9-1313

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Speech by John Lewis Memorial Dinner of Council for American-Soviet Friendship 1/26/66

I am glad to be here today to pay tribute to Mr. Morford, who has worked for so many years to help bring about a relaxation of international tensions.

We know that for many of these years, and even today, public endorsement of friendly relations between Americans and Russians is an unpopular stand. But because I am also concerned with peace, and I feel the necessity for this work, I salute Mr. Morford for his admirable contributions and wish him well for many more years in the struggle for peace.

We in SNCC have recently achieved a greater understanding of the pressures an organization can bring down on its head when it takes a forthright position on international affairs. As you know, we issued a statement January 6th condemning the U.S. government for its brutal role in Vietnam, and were immediately attacked, not only by the Georgia press and legislature, but even by a few Negro leaders. I am happy to say, however, that support for our position and for Julian Bond's right to sit in the seat to which he was legally elected, has come from all over the country. Perhaps this means that the American public can become involved in discussions about the policy which the American Government has adopted in their name. We hope so.

Many people have called and written us to ask why a civil rights organization would take a position on foreign policy. I would like to say a few words about this to give you an idea of how our thinking developed to this point. We soon found in the South that problems of discrimination lay much deeper than the "white only" sign -- that behind this sign was the fact that many thousands of people were deprived of the right to political representation. Not only did they not have a right to sit at a lunch counter, but they had no right to say who was going to govern them, where they were going to work, how they were going to be educated, indeed, how and if they were going to live. We are fighting for this now in the Black Belt.

And since we were involved with the struggles of the black community in the South, we soon could not ignore the situation in Vietnam. How could we fight for real and free elections in Alabama and Mississippi and ignore the U.S. role in Vietnam to deprive the Vietnamese of this right? How could we remain silent when the U.S. government sent marine divisions to Vietnam and Santo Domingo to protect "freedom and democracy" and we have yet to see one federal agent protect us or any of the Negroes with whom we work?

When we did say this, many people chided us that we should have kept silent and devoted ourselves solely to civil rights; that we were "harming our cause" and "confusing the issues". What these people were really saying (even those with good intentions) was that Negroes are only allowed to speak about Negroes.

But we are Americans too, and our government's role in Vietnam horrifies and shames us. We want peace in Vietnam -- we want the Vietnamese people to run their own country -- we want the U.S. soldiers in Vietnam to come home now and stand with us in the Black Belt while we register to vote.

We hope that other civil rights organizations will join hands with peace groups to bring this terrible war to a close. Only through a united effort will public opinion be able to deter our government from the course they have embarked on. And as we join hands with all of you, who have devoted so many years to try to bring peace to the world, we hope you will continue to support us in our own struggle to bring democracy to the Negroes of America. Both our struggles are really one -- to create a world where every person can live a life of dignity and face a future of confidence.





# Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

6 Raymond Street, N.W.  
Atlanta 14, Georgia

688-0331

Dear Friend:

Enclosed you will find a copy of our pamphlet, DANVILLE, VIRGINIA. This is our first venture into printing and distributing this kind of information. We attempted, by focusing on one Southern community, to bring to the attention of the reader problems of police brutality, recalcitrant public officials, and a rigid economic power structure, which by its silence, compounds the injustices of the Southern system. It should be noted that Danville is an "upper South" city. Negroes in the deep South, in Selma and Birmingham, Alabama, Greenwood and Ruleville, Mississippi and Americus, Georgia find these forces multiplied.

The rapid spread of the Movement, across the South and the nation, dictates better communication - North and South - which can only come through more frequent publications. This need we intend to fill. We hope to be able to send you the Student Voice, our newsletter, on a weekly basis plus occasional pamphlets, like the Danville story, throughout the coming year. Your support is needed. A contribution to the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee entitles you to receive the Student Voice regularly.

You can help us bring this information to the public through your contribution.

Freedom,

*John Lewis*

John Lewis  
Chairman

*James R. Forman*

James Forman  
Executive Secretary

*"One Man, One Vote"*



# Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

6 Raymond Street, N.W.  
Atlanta 14, Georgia

688-0331

Dear Sir:

I am writing to correct some mis-statements of fact appearing in a recent column syndicated by the Newspaper Enterprise Association by Bruce Blossat and carried in your newspaper.

Nothing about Atlanta's racial troubles could be further from the truth than the statement reading: "...It is a story of white and Negro leaders arrayed together against a small militant band of Negroes sparked by the so-called Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee."

In fact, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee began sustained demonstrations here at the invitation and request of the Atlanta Summit Leadership Conference -- a coalition of local and national civil rights groups that was formed here in October 1963 in an attempt to solidify the demands of the Negro community.

The Summit group includes the Atlanta Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Urban League, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and many local community-wide groups.

Such an endorsement does not indicate that SNCC is arrayed against Negro leaders here, but rather that the entire Negro community has joined together to remove segregation from Atlanta.

The group made repeated requests of city, county and state officials and private businessmen in an attempt to negotiate further integration here. When these conferences appeared to fail, the Summit asked SNCC and its local affiliate, the Committee on Appeal for Human Rights, to conduct demonstrations against segregated eating places.

*"One Man, One Vote"*

The "top level" meeting the column describes between Atlanta Mayor Ivan Allen and Negro leadership made an attempt to solve some of Atlanta's problems. But when Mayor Allen would not grant any of eight requests made by the Summit leadership group, they voted to continue demonstrations.

A little over a week ago, 150 doctors and dentists, and 50 college teachers from the Atlanta University Center, demonstrated downtown and in front of a segregated hospital. For the past several weeks over 30 white college students from white colleges in Atlanta have conducted picket lines against segregated restaurants in this city.

Surely this is not a picture of "white and Negro leaders arrayed together" against SNCC but of the total Negro community, with the aid and assistance of some whites, acting progressively to end racial discrimination here.

I am enclosing for your consideration a copy of a column written by a reporter for the Atlanta Constitution which appeared on their editorial page on February 15, 1964.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "James Forman". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the typed name.

JAMES FORMAN,  
Executive Secretary,  
Student Nonviolent Coordinating  
Committee

JF:mek

"ONE MAN - ONE VOTE"

(SUB LEWIS) *VP of Wire Service*  
 (ATLANTA)--THE LEADER OF THE STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE...JOHN LEWIS...RECOMMENDS THAT MEMBERS OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS ORGANIZATION AVOID THE DRAFT.

LEWIS, IN ANSWER TO A QUESTION BY NEWSMEN, SAID MEMBERS COULD BURN THEIR DRAFT CARDS "IF IT'S THEIR INDIVIDUAL DESIRE."

LEWIS SAID HIS OWN DRAFT STATUS WAS CHANGED LAST WEEK FROM ONE-A-- WHICH MEANS IMMEDIATELY AVAILABLE FOR INDUCTION INTO THE ARMED SERVICES--TO ONE-O (ONE-OH)--WHICH SIGNIFIES A CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR.

LEWIS CALLED A NEWS CONFERENCE TO READ A PREPARED STATEMENT CONDEMNING U-S POLICY IN VIET NAM, AND ENCOURAGING AMERICANS TO WORK IN THE CIVIL RIGHTS FIELD AS AN ALTERNATIVE TO FIGHTING IN SOUTHEAST ASIA.

LEWIS, IN ANSWER TO NEWSMEN'S QUESTIONS, REFUSED TO SAY WHETHER HE IS A COMMUNIST BUT COMMENTED..."I BELIEVE IN THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY AND BELIEVE THAT PEOPLE HAVE A RIGHT TO CHOOSE THEIR OWN WAY OF GOVERNMENT."

LEWIS SAID HE DID NOT KNOW IF JULIAN BOND, AN S-N-C-C LEADER, SUBSCRIBES TO THE ANTI-MILITARY POLICIES. BOND HAS BEEN ELECTED TO THE STATE LEGISLATURE AND IS TO ASSUME OFFICE MONDAY. HE WILL BE REQUIRED TO TAKE AN OATH UPHOLDING THE CONSTITUTIONS OF GEORGIA AND THE UNITED STATES.

LEWIS SAID HE HAD NOT ADVISED DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JUNIOR OF TODAY'S STATEMENT. HE SAID HE HAD NO PLANS TO STAGE A PEACE MARCH IN VIET NAM.

LEWIS HAS BEEN HEAD OF THE STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS. HE HAS BEEN IN THE FOREFRONT OF MANY BRUISING CIVIL RIGHTS DEMONSTRATIONS. HE HAS BEEN BEATEN AND JAILED A NUMBER OF TIMES.

LEWIS SAID HE DIDN'T KNOW IF ANY MEMBERS OF HIS ORGANIZATION ARE IN VIET NAM BUT HE IS CERTAIN SOME ARE IN UNIFORM. HE MADE NO RECOMMENDATION TO THEM.

LEWIS SAID HIS ORGANIZATION HAS A RIGHT TO DISSENT WITH U.S. POLICY. HE ACCUSED THE GOVERNMENT OF BEING DECEPTIVE IN ITS CLAIMS OF CONCERN FOR THE FREEDOM OF THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE.

HE SAID THE SLAYING OF SAMUEL YOUNGE IN TUSKEGEE, ALABAMA, THIS WEEK IS NO DIFFERENT FROM THE MURDER OF PEASANTS IN VIET NAM. YOUNGE WAS AN S-N-C-C WORKER.

LEWIS ESTIMATED THAT 85 PER CENT OF THE MEMBERS OF HIS GROUP ARE SUBJECT TO DRAFT LAWS.

HE SAID HIS ORGANIZATION WILL MAP A CAMPAIGN DEMANDING THAT WORK IN CIVIL RIGHTS BE CONSIDERED A DRAFT-EXEMPT ACTIVITY.

HE SAID...

"WE BELIEVE YOUNG PEOPLE WHO ARE GIVING THEIR TIME IN THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT MUST NOT BE TAKEN OUT AND SENT TO FIGHT."

*John Lewis*

## I. The Trojan Horse Delegation

The Democratic Party of the State of Mississippi has presented a Trojan Horse to the Democratic National Convention.

On July 28 a Democratic State Convention was held in Jackson, Mississippi. This convention officially "accomplished" the following: First, it declined to endorse a presidential candidate; more specifically, it declined to plunge into a headlong endorsement of Barry Goldwater, the Republican nominee, despite the obvious yearnings of the mass of those present. Second, it drafted no platform resolutions, despite the submission of numerous resolutions from county conventions denouncing (to use the mildest possible word) the policies of the present administration in their virtual totality and denying the existence of any bond, organizational, legal, philosophical, traditional or otherwise, remaining between the state Democrats and their national namesakes. Third, it named, with bewildering speed, a complete slate of delegates, alternates, and National Committee representatives, to be sent to the conclave at Atlantic City. This delegation is, strangely enough, not dignified by the presence of the Governor or other elected state officials-- The state Attorney General, Joe Patterson, was named, but quickly resigned, claiming that he had not authorized the use of his name. This is the same Joe Patterson, by the way, who, on September 19, 1962, accused Robert Kennedy, his opposite number in the federal government, of having "become general counsel for the NAACP, Martin Luther King and other radical agitators and trouble-makers." More recently, in February of this year, he demonstrated, during the course of an interview on the subject of the administration's Civil Rights

Bill, his profound respect for the legal foundations of our society by becoming his own Supreme Court: "It (the Bill) is unconstitutional and we don't intend to abide by it if it passes...We intend to disregard it!" Though not himself a delegate, Patterson has promised to present the delegation's legal defense before the Credentials Committee in the event of a challenge. Aside from state officials, the delegation is similarly bereft of the presence of both senators and all five congressmen. Likewise hidden from view is State Democratic Chairman Bidwell Adam, who rallied to the side of then Governor Ross Barnett in the latter's catastrophically irresponsible defiance of federal court orders demanding the admission of James Meredith to the University of Mississippi. Adam then threatened Robert Kennedy to the effect that "atom bombs would be more welcome" than marshals in Mississippi. When it became evident that the law would nevertheless be enforced, Adam, on September 26, 1962, declared to a crowd in Gulfport, Mississippi that he was "through" with the national Democratic Party. It should by this time be obvious that such an eminently odious personage as Barnett himself could not be included in this delegation. In fact, a most significant feature of this delegation is the virtual exclusion of personages whose involvement in racist and right-wing Mississippi politics has been so conspicuous as to be automatically offensive to liberal Democratic opinion. A glaring exception: the notorious Judge Tom Brady of the State Supreme Court, author of that grotesque classic of white supremacist and anti-Semitic ideology, Black Monday, officer of such ultra-Right groups as For America, Liberty Lobby, and The Association of Citizens' Councils. He was one of the founders of the Mississippi Citizens' Council.

In a speech to the far-Right 'Crusaders, Inc.' organization, on December 15, 1962, Brady called for the formation of an 'American Party' since, "Both Democratic and Republican parties are vying with each other to see which can be the most socialistic...This Frankenstein monster we call a federal government has set about to take all power it can get--and to lead us down the road to socialism and communism with that power," and consequently, in the Brady view, federal aid is but the usual procedure for subversive infiltration. Brady is so infamous that his appearance in this delegation may be due solely to his position as incumbent National Committeeman.

Most of the members of the "official" Mississippi delegation are unknown to the general public outside the state, though some are wheels of major importance at local and statewide levels. They include corporation lawyers, local political bosses and officials, planters, industrialists and merchants, and a bank president or two, as well as several state legislators. Their political attitudes probably lie at least as far to the right as those of more conspicuous leaders, though they are rarely as well publicized. Delegates such as State Senators Herman DeCell (State Sovereignty Commission; Citizens' Council attorney) and E.K. Collins (Citizens' Council member) are, as is indicated by their legislative careers, on the extreme Right. By contrast, Attorney Doug Wynn of Greenville was included in the delegation as a direct pipeline to the very fount of national Democratic power--Lyndon Johnson himself. The President is Godfather to Wynn's seven-year-old daughter and Wynn is otherwise considered to be on cordial terms with the chief executive. But let

us examine this man Wynn a little more closely:

Wynn is thirty-two years old and has not previously run for or held public office. Nor has he been otherwise conspicuous in state politics. His law firm, however, is general counsel for the Greenville Bank and Trust Co. and the City of Greenville. More significantly, it is local counsel for Mississippi Power and Light Co., Mississippi Valley Gas Co., Southern Bell Telephone Co., U.S. Gypsum Co., and various large northern insurance companies. But this is only the beginning. While studying law at the University of Texas in Austin, Wynn met Miss Lila Clark of Austin, now his wife. Her father, Edward Clark, is senior partner in the law firm of Clark, Thomas, Harris, Denius and Winters, Austin, Texas. It represents Central Power and Light Co., Southern Union Gas Co., and Capital National Bank in Austin. Clark himself is Chairman of the Board of Capital National, of which his law partner Denius is a Director. Another member of the Board of Directors is Allen Shivers. Denius is also a Director of Southern Union Gas. But over and above all this, Ed Clark is unquestionably one of the most powerful lobbyists in Texas, being reputed to have 17 of the 31 members of the Texas State Senate in his pocket on most issues. He lobbies for major international oil companies and large trucking interests. And he is one of Lyndon Johnson's closest associates in Texas politics.

The question naturally arises: Is the President of the United States prepared to ignore the shocking record of the 'Mississippi State Democratic Party' for fear of incurring the wrath of Ed Clark? Or is Lyndon Johnson prepared to look at that record and dispense rational political justice in the name of the liberal tradition for which the



Democratic Party stands? We await an answer...

The dubious Democrats of Mississippi have indicated, with no enthusiasm whatsoever, that President Johnson's name will appear on the ballot in November, probably without the Democratic Party label. They therefore feel that they have satisfied the minimal requirements of party loyalty and are entitled to wheel their deceptively well-behaved Trojan Horse delegation into the Convention Hall. After all, as State Senator Caraway (Washington County) cynically put it, "If the Democrats for Goldwater movement had prevailed L at the State Convention T, the national party would have been justified in refusing to accept the regular Mississippi delegation." And Charles C. Jacobs, a Bolivar County party leader, was even more crude, saying that, "this carries on the fiction of some kind of alliance between the state party and the national, because of the position of our Congressmen as Democrats. It may relieve them of some embarrassment." They feel that the Democratic Party of this nation is so desperate for support that it will trade its principles for the mess of political trash which the Mississippians offer. Senator Caraway was most explicit on this point. He felt that, "there is going to be a tremendous undercurrent to court the South. We're going to have more bargaining power than we've ever had in the 'smoke-filled rooms.'" State Rep. W. DeLoach Cope (Arcola) was even more blunt: "Our idea is to go to the convention in Atlantic City and see what we can get."

On September 9 the State Convention will reconvene in Jackson and will endorse the candidacy of Barry Goldwater. State Chairman Bidwell Adam noted "a very definite Goldwater sentiment at the convention

because of his stand and vote on the civil rights act and if I did not say this I would be trying to fool myself." The Washington Post reporter covering the convention noted Goldwater bumper stickers adorning the cars of numerous convention delegates including the staff car of His Excellency Gov. Paul Johnson. Not a single Lyndon Johnson sticker was in evidence (Wash. Post, July 29, 1964). And Charles Hills, veteran reporter for the Jackson, Miss. Clarion-Ledger, a newspaper which avidly supports the present state administration, noted (July 29, 1964) that,

"Delegates openly voiced themselves during recess and prior to the convention being called to order, as favoring the candidacy of Sen. Barry Goldwater.

"It was an open secret that the delayed convention reopening Sept. 9 is for the purpose of allowing the convention to swing to Goldwater as an individual."

On the day of the state convention, a State Representative with the ironically appropriate name of William McKinley urged Mississippians to cast party labels aside to vote for Goldwater or else "continue down the liberal road to a Socialistic Dictatorship." And, on the level of low comedy, an informal poll taken in the State Senate (all "Democratic") on July 15 yielded the following results: Goldwater (not yet officially nominated), 36; Gov. George Wallace of Alabama (not yet withdrawn from the presidential race), 12; President Lyndon Johnson, 1; and Calvin Coolidge, 1 (NY Times, July 16, 1964).

## II. Let's Look at the Record

In return for a six-week delay in the dubious Democrats' endorsement of Goldwater, the Democratic Party is being asked to ignore the record, which begins with 'mere' party disloyalty and descends from

there into the most incredible depths.

In 1960, the Mississippi Democrats resumed their State Convention on August 16, following the conclusion of the national conventions of both major parties. It adopted a resolution which declared, "That we reject and oppose the platforms of both National Parties and their candidates." Gov. Barnett and other leaders then threw their support to a slate of unpledged electors. A minority faction, led by ex-Governor J.F. Coleman and Chairman Bidwell Adam, campaigned for the Kennedy-Johnson ticket. The unpledged slate carried Mississippi, polling over 118,000 votes. But the national ticket polled a respectable 108,000--proving that Barnett and the Citizens' Councils had not yet reduced the Democratic Party of Mississippi to a cringing subservient orthodoxy. But Barnett and the rest of what Hodding Carter, editor of the Greenville Delta Democrat-Times, has called "our home-grown totalitarians," were determined to manipulate the race issue to enforce just such an orthodoxy. In September, 1962, Ross Barnett seized upon a federal court order to admit James H. Meredith to the University of Mississippi as a means of pushing the Democratic Party of Mississippi past the point of no return.

This is no place for a detailed recounting of the events surrounding the insurrection at Oxford on September 30, 1962; an excellent study may be found in James W. Silver's The Closed Society. But a few facts are immediately relevant. On September 13, 1962 Barnett, in the course of a statewide television address, proclaimed with all the solemnity of a tribal witch doctor casting a hex, the "interposition" of the "police power of the Sovereign State of Mississippi"

between "the people of the State of Mississippi" and the federal government. This was tantamount to maintaining that the writ of a federal court did not run in the State of Mississippi. He further stated that no school in the state would be integrated "while I am your governor" since the "integrity," and hence the "survival," of the white race was threatened, "We will not drink from the cup of genocide." Proclaiming his readiness to go to jail in pursuit of his grotesque ideals, Barnett then called upon all state officials who lacked such "fortitude" to submit their resignations. With the issues so drawn, the Democratic politicians of Mississippi, during the ensuing days of hysteria which preceded the riot, fell all over one another to demonstrate the extremism of their support for the governor. Only three state legislators dared voice their opposition--and they were subsequently purged in the 1963 primaries. All five of the present Mississippi members of the House of Representatives joined the chorus (Rep. Frank Smith, who went into opposition, was defeated in November, 1962). The five Congressmen were joined by Senator Eastland. In the final few days before the riot, Mississippi's Democratic Establishment attempted to blackmail President Kennedy, the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, and Attorney General Robert Kennedy by warning of the possibility of "violence"--a real possibility only because these same leaders evaded their clear responsibility. They did not conspicuously voice any determination to preserve law and order. The mood of the state Democratic leadership was perhaps best exemplified by State Representative Malcolm S. Mabry (Coahoma County), who denounced "mouthings about 'law and order.'"