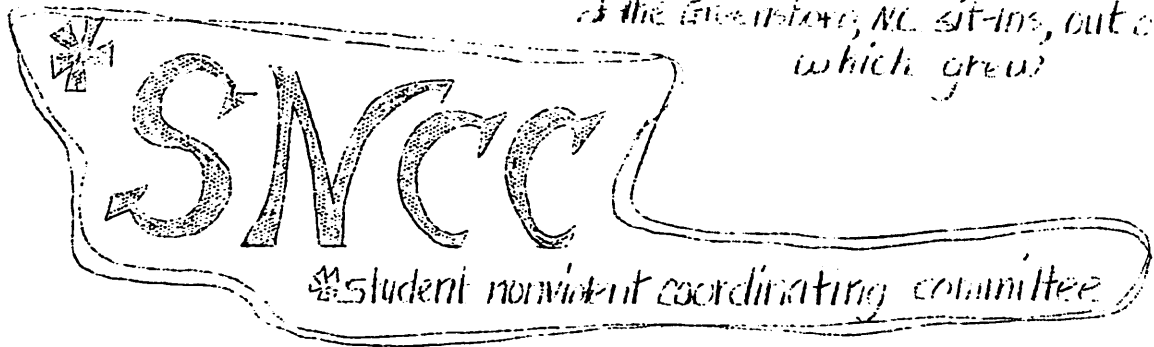


free  
of SNCC

# 5th Anniversary Celebration

of the Emancipation, NC sit-ins, out of which grew



Sunday, January 31<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>30</sup>

John Lewis → SNCC National chairman → speaks about his trip to AFRICA

Robert Moses → Director of Mississippi Freedom Project → speaks about the situation in the deep South now

THE COMMITTEE

JOHN HENDRICKS  
→ Company - JAZZ

A PLAYFUL PLAYLET  
by ART HOPPE

MOUSE AUDITORIUM, HAYES ST. at VAN NESS, SAN FRANCISCO  
donation → \$2<sup>50</sup> general \$1<sup>50</sup> student → from any Friends of SNCC office,  
or from the Bay Area Office, 584 Page St, S.F., 416-9577

Labor Donated

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE  
584 PAGE STREET, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.  
PUBLICITY-NORMA WHITTAKER, MA 6-4577  
Jan. 9/65

FOR RELEASE ON RECEIPT

FOR INFORMATION ONLY

SNCC PLANS 5th ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION  
Relate CR Movement To African Liberation

John Lewis, National Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), will be in San Francisco to take part in the program planned to celebrate the Fifth Anniversary of the Southern sit-in movement.

On February 1, 1960, four Negro students "sat-in" at a whites-only lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina, and out of this grew the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

Focal point of the program commemorating this event will be Lewis' report on his recent trip to sixteen African countries, and the strong link he advocates between the freedom movement in America and the liberation movements in Africa.

In addition, there will be a "playful playlet" by columnist Art Hoppe; skits by San Francisco's satirical group, The Committee; and music from Jon Hendricks and his jazz band.

In the five years since its inception, SNCC has grown from the initial impetus provided by the group at the lunch counter to an organization with 250 staff members and hundreds of additional volunteer workers. Working with the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) in Mississippi, SNCC has set up freedom schools, community centres, and the massive voter-registration programs which produced the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party.

MORE

SNCC PLANS 5TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION-Cont'

-2-

cl

Writing on the development of SNCC, Dr. Howard Zinn of Boston University in his recent book SNCC The New Abolitionists, has rendered the opinion that, "what started as an identity crisis for Negroes turned out to be an identity crisis for the nation". The nature of this crisis, and the implications it holds for American society, will be discussed during the course of the afternoon program by Robert Moses, Director of the Mississippi Freedom Project.

Tickets at \$2.50 general admission and \$1.50 student are available from any Friends of SNCC group, or from the Bay Area SNCC Office, 584 Page Street, San Francisco, phone Market 6-4577.

-30-

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE  
584 PAGE STREET, SAN FRANCISCO  
Publicity: Norma Whittaker, MA 6-4577

FOR RELEASE ON RECEIPT  
January 28, 1965

FOR INFORMATION ONLY

FRANCOIS TO SPEAK SUNDAY

Attorney Terry Francois, who returned Tuesday from Mississippi, will speak at a SNCC benefit program Sunday, (January 31), 2:30 p.m. in Nourse Auditorium. He will report on the experiences of the six San Francisco attorneys who went to Mississippi to take depositions from Negroes who have been deprived of their voting rights.

The group who have just returned are the vanguard of a deputation of 50 San Francisco attorneys who have volunteered to work in Mississippi during the next three weeks.

The attorneys answered a nation-wide appeal issued by the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party to assist with the Congressional Challenge it has instituted to unseat the regular Mississippi Congressmen.

Also speaking Sunday will be SNCC National Chairman, John Lewis, and Director of the Mississippi Freedom Project, Robert Moses.

Tickets for the affair are available from the SNCC Office at 584 Page Street, S.F.

-30-

NOTE: SNCC IS PRONOUNCED "SMICK"

FOR INFORMATION ONLY

THE STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE  
WILL HOLD A BIG BENEFIT PROGRAM SUNDAY, JANUARY 31  
AT 2:30 IN NOURSE AUDITORIUM.

THE PROGRAM INCLUDES JON HENDRICKS JAZZ BAND,  
THE COMMITTEE, SNCC CHAIRMAN JOHN LEWIS, AND A  
"PLAYFUL PLAYLET" BY ART HOPPE.

CALL MARKET 6-4577 FOR TICKETS.....MARKET 6-4577.

SNCC  
583 Page St., S.F.  
MA 6-4577

Jan, '65

TIME: 20 secs

FOR INFORMATION ONLY

NOTE: SNCC IS PRONOUNCED "SNICK"

THERE'LL BE A BIG CELEBRATION OF THE FIFTH  
ANNIVERSARY OF THE SOUTHERN SIT-IN MOVEMENT  
ON SUNDAY, JANUARY 31 IN NOURSE AUDITORIUM.  
.....CALL THE STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING  
COMMITTEE FOR DETAILS.....CALL MARKET 6-4577

FOR INFORMATION ONLY

NOTE: SNCC IS PRONOUNCED "SNICK"

THERE WILL BE A PROGRAM CELEBRATING THE  
FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SOUTHERN SIT-IN  
MOVEMENT ON SUNDAY, JANUARY 31 AT NOURSE  
NOURSE AUDITORIUM.

SNCC CHAIRMAN JOHN LEWIS WILL PRESENT  
THE AFRICAN AND AMERICAN FREEDOM MOVEMENT  
THE COMMITTEE WILL PRESENT THEIR ANNUAL  
SATIRICAL SKITS, AND COLUMNIST ARTICLES  
WRITTEN A "PLAYFUL PLAYLET" ESPECIALLY FOR THE  
EVENT.

GET TICKETS FROM SNCC AT 584 PAGE STREET  
IN SAN FRANCISCO, PHONE MA 6-4577.

MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY  
584 Page Street, San Francisco, Calif.  
Contact: Ed Stern, GA 1-7616, MA 6-4577

FOR INFORMATION ONLY

FOR INFORMATION ONLY

NOTE: SNCC PRONOUNCED "SNICK"

AFRICA AND CIVIL RIGHTS.....THE COMMITTEE  
AND ART HOPPE -- ARE ALL PART OF THE BIG FIFTH  
ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION PLANNED BY THE STUDENT  
NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE SUN. JAN 31.  
.....GET TICKETS FROM ANY SNCC OFFICE, OR  
CALL MARKET 6-4577.....MARKET 6-4577.

MEMO TO THE PRESS

January 9, 1965

TWO SAN FRANCISCO SUPERVISORS JOIN LAWYER'S DELEGATION TO MISSISSIPPI

The press is cordially invited to a conference with  
Attorneys Terry Francois and George Moscone, both members of  
the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, and Attorney Ed Stern.

Francois, Moscone and Stern will go to Mississippi on be-  
half of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) to  
collect evidence of the denial of Negro voting rights in the  
State. The evidence is being collected as part of the MFDP's  
challenge to the seating of Mississippi's five Congressmen.  
The challenge, (separate from Congressman William F. Ryan's  
"Fairness Resolution" on the opening day of Congress), is  
provided for by Title 2, Sections 201-226 of the U.S. Code.

Attorneys from across the Country will join the San  
Francisco group in Mississippi.

The PRESS CONFERENCE will take place:

Wednesday, January 13, 1965  
2:00 p.m.  
Bar Association Lounge  
21st Floor, Mills Tower Building  
220 Bush Street, San Francisco

584 Page Street, S.F.  
Publicity: Norma Whitteck, NA 6-4577

11/1

SNCC BENEFIT\*

FOR INFORMATION ONLY

There will be a program celebrating the fifth anniversary of the Southern sit-in movement on Sunday, January 31 at 2:30 p.m. in Nourse Auditorium, Van Ness and Hayes Streets in San Francisco. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), grew out of the original lunch counter sit-ins of February 1, 1960 in Greensboro, North Carolina.

The program will include performances by "The Committee", Jon Handman and Company, and a "playful playlet" by Art Hepper. The more serious side of the civil rights movement will be dealt with by SNCC National Chairman, John Lewis, and by the Director of the Mississippi Freedom Project, Robert Moses.

Tickets are available from any Friends of SNCC office, or from the Bay Area Office, 584 Page St., San Francisco, phone Market 6-4577.

-30-

\*You have received a more detailed background on the celebration in our release to you dated Jan. 9, '65 - more will be sent out prior to January 31.

February 28, 1965

To: Northern Staff      Re: FUND RAISING conference, New York City

Saturday and Sunday, March 13 and 14.

First session begins at 9:30 am Saturday. The meeting will run until around 7 pm that day. Sunday 11:00 am to 7 pm.

Place: Still tentative.

I've already talked with most of you about this meeting but let me add some additional comments and thoughts.

Saturday's session will be run entirely by the volunteer professional fund raisers in New York City. A committee of that group is currently working out the program but I am told that they will talk generally about fund raising methods and then go into detail about programs which SNCC staff members would most likely be called upon to implement. Included will probably be information on fund raising parties, direct mailings, special gifts, etc. IT IS IMPERATIVE THAT YOU BE ON TIME FOR THE SATURDAY SESSION.

Sunday's meetings will be just for Northern staff and those individuals who work closely with SNCC offices on a volunteers basis. I think we will probably want to raise some of the issues concerning fund raising which came out at the staff meeting in Atlanta. As well, I have listed below the items which people asked to have on the agenda for a Northern meeting. We never got to them because the meeting dealt only with Northern action.

Issues raised at the staff meeting:      broadening the base of fund raising efforts; are we honest with those people we accept money from? what problems will we face this spring with fund efforts?

Items which were on the Northern meeting agenda:

1. types of fund raising brochures and information needed
2. inadequacy of political information given to Northern staff
3. definition of the function of Northern offices
4. independent fund raising by projects
5. adoption programs
6. parent's committees
7. supplies needed in the South. What type/ where.
8. research department; its relation to the North
9. campus organizing
10. Southern cooperation with Northern offices
11. artists -- obtaining them for parties and benefits
12. alienation of Northern staff
12. responsibility to Southern staff coming North -- including financial

PLEASE FEEL FREE TO ADD ANYTHING TO THIS AGENDA THAT YOU THINK SHOULD BE DISCUSSED. SEND SUGGESTIONS TO ME IN ATLANTA OR BRING THEM TO THE MEETING.

over...

Who Should Come?

We felt initially that we should involve as many people as possible for the experience of this meeting. That notion has been slightly revised given the time factor and the fact that issues were raised at the staff meeting which ought to be aired in a group of smaller (and closer to SNCC) size. The list below includes those people who will receive this mailing -- and thus a request that they attend. Please let me know immediately who else from your area ought to come and who on the list won't be attending.

Boston

Pam Emerson  
Kathy Archibald  
Peter Kates  
Dottie Zeilner

New York

Elizabeth Sutherland  
Bobbi Y. Jones  
Marion Barry  
Charlotte Carter  
Carol Rogoff  
Reggie Robinson  
Carita Bernsohn  
Mary Britting  
Julia Prettyman  
Bob Gottlieb  
Joanne Grant  
Mike Standard  
Janet and John Simon

Princeton

Lucia Hatch

Philadelphia

Hilda Wilson  
Naomi Bernstein  
Clarence Harris  
Adrienne Morrison

Washington, D.C.

Jim Monsonis  
Lenore Monsonis  
Tina Smith

Baltimore

Gren Whitman

Chicago

Fannie Rushing  
Ralph Rappaport  
Jimmy Bolton  
Sylvia Fisher

Detroit

Martha Kocel  
Dorothy Dewberry

Schenectady

Rebecca Poller  
Herbert Poller

CANADA

Diane Burrows

PLEASE LET ME KNOW IMMEDIATELY IF YOU WILL NEED HOUSING. Try your best to obtain it on your own since arrangements will be difficult.

Transportation should be by car or bus.

Meals will be your own responsibility.

see you then...  
freedom,

*Betty*

Betty



Inter Office Memo  
March 9, 1965

file  
S.F.  
FOS

Regional: March 16, 1965, Jim Forman will be in the Bay Area, we are planning a Regional Council Meeting similar to the one we had with Moses at HOWARD PHARMACEUTICAL CHURCH. More info at later date.

SF POSNCC: Two lectures on Negro History

March 18, 1965 Dr. Rudolph Lapt  
Reconstruction to Present

Gill Theater 11:00 - 12:30 AM  
-----

March 25, 1965 Chester Wright & Jim Herden  
(Guest lectures at SF State Hist. Dept.)

SLAVERY \* The Peculiar Institution

Gill Theater 11:00 - 12:30 AM

No other reports came in.

We have asked again and again, and here we do again, that each office send in an up-to-date list of key people, please do this week. Thanks.

Freedom, Danny

The following is taken from the brochure of the Southern Student Organizing Committee, a group started by liberal and moderate Southern white students. We thought you'd be interested:

"We are young Southerners, Hereby pledge to take our stand now to work for a new order, a new South, a place which embodies our ideals for all the world to emulate, not ~~such~~ ridicule. We find our destiny as individuals in the South in our hopes and our work together as brothers.

Nashville, Tennessee  
April, 1964

#### SSOC'S PROGRAM

Education and self-education aimed at the Southern campus to expose the most vital issues of the nation and the world to Southern students. Education which encompasses the facts about the South today, the opportunities available to work for the building of a New South, and a vision of a democratic and integrated South.

Dialogue and democratic participation for Southern students in working for the building of the New South. Dialogue through conferences in accord with the vision and purpose of SSOC to strengthen interest and ~~participation~~ participation. Participation through community and campus projects enabling students to work for the New South.

#### SSOC'S GOALS

1. Not only end segregation and racism but the rise of full and equal opportunity for all;
2. An end to personal poverty and deprivation;
3. An end to public poverty which leaves us without schools, housing, parks, medical care, and communities;
4. A democratic society where politics poses meaningful dialogue and choices which affect men's lives;
5. An end to man's inhumanity to man;
6. A world working towards the easing of tension of the Cold War with ~~positive~~ positive emphasis on peace, disarmament, and world-wide understanding.

#### SSOC

The Southern Student Organizing Committee is a group of Southern students who have united to work for a democratic South.

SSOC Believes that there are many white students on campuses across the South who have begun to realize that there are things wrong with the South in ~~which~~ which we live. However, all too often these students feel isolated on their campuses and do not see what they can do to work for a New South.

SSOC was begun by students who realized this and felt that something must be done to encourage students to act on their convictions. When these students work together instead of in isolation, effective change can be brought about in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO MARCH 16/65

Regional Office

There will be a Regional Council Meeting Saturday, March 20/65, at the regional office. time: 10 am.

Reports from Friends Groups  
Mid-Peninsula Friends of SNCC have sent 1500.00 south since January.

USF-Lectures on Negro History

March 25/65 Chester Wright and Jim Herdon  
Reconstruction---Past and Present  
Gill Theater 11am

April 1/65 The African Background-Pre Colonial  
Gill Theater 11am.

no ~~other~~ other reports.....

wh~~y~~??@??????

*file  
Bay  
area*

Indeed I live in the dark ages:  
A guileless work is an absurdity.  
A smooth forehead betokens a hard heart.  
He who laughs Has not yet heard  
The terrible tidings.

Ah, what an age it is  
When to speak of trees is almost a  
crime  
For it is a kind of silence about  
injustice.  
And he who walks calmly across the street,  
Is he not out of reach of his friends  
In trouble.

It is true: I earn my living  
But, believe me, it is only an accident.  
Nothing that I do entitles me to eat my  
fill.  
By chance I was spared. (If my luck leaves  
me I am lost.)

They tell me: "eat and drink. Be glad  
have it."  
But how can I eat and drink  
When my food is snatched from the hungry  
And my glass of water belongs to the thirsty?  
And yet I eat and drink.

I would gladly be wise.  
The old books tell us what wisdom is:  
Avoid the strife of the world, live out  
your little time  
Fearing no one,  
Using no violence,  
Returning good for evil--  
Not fulfillment of desire but forgetfulness  
Passes for wisdom.  
I can do none of this:  
Indeed I live in the dark ages!

-2-

I came to the cities in a time of disorder  
When hunger ruled.  
I came among men in a time of uprising  
and so I revolted with them.  
So the time passed away  
Which on earth was given me.

I ate my food between massacres.  
The shadow of murder lay upon my sleep.  
And when I loved, I loved with indifference.  
I looked upon nature with impatience.  
So the time passed away  
Which on earth was given me.

In my time the streets led to the  
quicksand.  
Speech betrayed me to the  
slaughterer.  
There was little I could do. But  
without me  
The rulers would have been worse  
secure. This was my hope.  
So the time passed away  
Which on earth was given me.

-3-

You, who shall emerge from the fold  
In which we are sinking,  
Think--  
When you speak of our weaknesses,  
Also of the dark time that brought  
them forth.

For we went, changing our country  
more often than our shoes,  
In the class war, despairing  
When there was only injustice and  
no resistance.

For we knew only too well:  
Even the hate of squalor  
Makes the brow grow stern.  
Even anger against injustice  
Makes the voice grow harsh. Alas, w  
Who wished to lay the foundations of  
kindness  
Could not ourselves be kind.

But you, when at last it comes to  
pass  
That man can help his fellow man,  
Do not judge us  
Too harshly.

--

RULES AND PROCEDURES REGARDING SPEAKING TOURS IN  
THE S.F. BAY AREA

These suggested rules are drafted and presented to the Council as a guide to prevent further occurrences such as the following: 1) because of the differences in opinion within MFDP on the question of speakers, we were left in a position of having planned speaking events around one person then finding that she wasn't coming here and not knowing exactly what was going on; 2) because U.C. directly contacted its speakers for U.C. Freedom Week, no one in the rest of the Bay Area knew anything about when Stokely Carmichael, Fannie Lou Hamer or Silas McGee would be available to speak in their area. I don't raise these examples to get into a long discussion about who (if anybody) was right or wrong, but to say there is a real problem and these are two examples of it. So, to some proposals.

When a national organization like MFDP (or SNCC) asks BAFOSNCC to plan a speaking tour, we will ask for the names of the speakers who are to come and will ask that their names be confirmed by the chairman of the organization or the person delegated the responsibility of planning speaking tours. We will ask that all arrangements for speaking engagements be made by us here, with requests from us to the national office for support when we need it. If the national office has specific target groups it would like speakers before, it should let us know at the time of the arrangement of the tour and we will let the national office know if we can make that kind of arrangement. When a speaker is in the area he will not make speaking arrangements without consulting with the local person in charge of his tour.

We ask the national offices not to respond to requests for speakers from other groups in this area without first contacting us so that we can see if the engagement conflicts with local SNCC plans and so that we can plan other events for local SNCC people when a speaker is coming out.

Friends of SNCC groups will not initiate plans for bringing a speaker out without first bringing up the idea for discussion in the Bay Area Council, so that all groups can plan something with the speaker.

March 10, 1965

Dave <sup>4</sup>ogel, Chairman  
Volunteers Screening Committee  
1156 Walnut  
Berkeley, California.

Dave,

Could you get the following information out to the volunteers from whom we already have applications and use the information for future volunteers:

1. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee will not have its own Summer Project. It will, however, recruit and train volunteers for projects being planned by local community or state-wide groups with whom we work in the Black Belt states of the Deep South. This is in keeping with SNCC's policy of strengthening local movements and organizations that have emerged as a result of our work in the South.
2. The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party will have a Summer Project. MFDP County Committees have been asked to decide on exactly what they want to do in their counties. The general decision to have a project was made at a state-wide MFDP Convention. As county committee requests come in for personnel we will be in touch with volunteers who might fill those spots.
3. The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party will have a Summer Project. MFDP County Committees have been asked to decide on exactly what they want to do in their counties. The general decision to have a project was made at a state-wide MFDP Convention. As county committee requests come in for personnel we will be in touch with volunteers who might fill those spots.
4. In addition to the above plans, there is a call for students to come to Washington, D.C. around June 15 and spend from two to three weeks constantly lobbying for the unseating of the Mississippi delegation. These students may engage in nonviolent direct action demonstrations.
5. No volunteers are being accepted at this time, though applications and interviews for the summer will proceed.
6. The SNCC Research Department in Atlanta does need people who are willing to work on a year-round basis. People interested in filling these positions may become staff members of SNCC -- which means they may participate in SNCC decision-making staff meetings and would become full members of SNCC. There also is some money available for people who are willing to work for a minimum of a year in research.

A brief description of the work of the Research Department: three to four hours a day would be spent in clipping newspapers, government documents and other basic materials and in filing these materials. Other time would be spent in preparing research reports on specific projects as requested by field staff. For example, there might be a request for a community power structure study or a request for information on past Justice Department suits in the area of voting or a request for information of Federal aids available to small farmers, etc. Staff members also would have time for individual research.

The SNCC research department is doing some of the most interesting research in the Country. Anyone interested in the operation of national power, in the shape, power and personalities of the American corporate establishment, in the interlocks of corporations and Federal agencies, etc. would do well to work in SNCC research. Students working on senior theses of MA's or PhD's will find a lot of material for their work. Jack Minnis, Director of SNCC research, is available for individual work with his research staff. Samples of SNCC research department materials are available in the SNCC office or from the screening committee. (see enclosed).

Will let you know as things develop.

Freedom,  
*Mike Miller*  
Mike Miller

mb:MM

InterOffice Memo March 16, 1965

SNCC NEWSLETTER

Every effort will be made to get the newsletter out each month in time for the first Saturday Regional Conference. At that time, representatives from each Friends group should pick up the number of copies they want to distribute. If you cannot pick them up then, or shortly after, notify the Regional office and we will ship them to you (this costs money).

Beginning with the April issue, the Newsletter will be distributed in Los Angeles, and will be published jointly by Bay Area and So. Cal. Friends. The masthead will change to ~~THE~~ 'THE MOVEMENT'.

Any persons who want actively to contribute to this publication - (writing, reporting, drawings, photographs, layout, design ...) please contact Terry Cannon, 525 Duboce St. SF, 865-8272. We plan for it increasingly to become a channel for analysis, commentary, news, discussion, original material - a creative expression of the Movement in the South and in California.

REGIONAL MEETING... March 6, 1965

I. CONFERENCE FOR LOCAL SNCC GROUPS.....

The plan for the conference was to have it last for two days, one for discussion of our program, one for relation of program to our organization. Who should be included- only the most active members or all potential and interested people? The following points were made:

Jeff Freed- campus and community groups have different problems, we might have separate meetings to discuss unique problems of the two kinds of groups.

Neomi Lauder- the two kinds of groups do depend upon each other somewhat and so there has to be some coming-together eventually. There are problems that they share.

Ron (Palo Alto)- there is a need for regional staff to come to local groups which have their own particular problems which relate to particular areas.

There was no particular enthusiasm for planning the conference at this time. It was decided that Mike would visit local groups for a while and see if a feeling for the need to hold a conference later might develop.

II. HUAC- The problem of HUAC and SNCC was not discussed at length in Atlanta. Mike said that local groups can act on HUAC as they decide but with no assurance that SNCC in Atlanta will approve.

III. KEY MAILING LIST IDEA-

See dittoed proposal and report which Mike read. The idea will be to sell \$10 subscriptions to a bi-weekly letter of news from the south which is not given adequate (or any) press coverage. The budget to cover it is included in the report read by Mike. We will aim to have two hundred subscriptions sold to various individuals and organizations (CDC, Council on Civic Unity, union groups, academic groups). It was asked why this was not a more suitable project for Atlanta to handle on a national basis. The answer was that Atlanta is unable now to do it and if we prove it a successful project, they might pick it up later. A mailing will be made in a week from the Regional Office. It was suggested that local SNCC groups investigate possible mailing lists of potential subscribers.

IV. SUMMER PROJECTS-

SCLC Alabama- 500 volunteers- - campus groups will work together in a southern area. They will be oriented by a travelling staff member from SCLC. Volunteers will be linked to local groups.

The FDP will have a summer project. County committees will decide how many they want and how they will be used. Guyot was on TV but we were not sure what he said.

Courtland Cox is setting up nationwide and regional meetings explaining the DC project to student groups which then will let DC know how many are coming.

Question- Will there be FDP'S in other southern states?? Alabama already has Negro elements in the Democratic Party. Maybe there will just be a Democratic Club. For information

about the situation in Georgia read Floyd Hunter: Community Powerstructure. In Buttermilk Bottom, Georgia the power structure was able to buy off the Negro leadership.

San Jose is holding their preliminary meeting for volunteers today. There are 35 of them with their orientation on campus. Mike Miller said that they will have to be clear so that not all applicants will go south.

Questions- Are High School students acceptable? Do people just go and show up in the south? Applications are acted upon as soon as word comes from the FDP. People who can't go are interning with people in this area or up the coast.

#### V. Local Groups

1. This week at USF picture displays are needed.

2. Cars for Mississippi- There will be door to door selling of tickets by High School students.

3. San Francisco State will be holding a benefit March 25. Will demonstrate at the Federal Building. UC called for demonstration and vigil about Selma. Mike Miller spoke of the probability of decentralized autonomous groups vs. central office to make decisions. SFS, UC may do things other groups don't like--need central action planning group to coordinate action--to lessen ad hoc acts by local groups.

4. Fred Hirsch--sit-ins can be used to point up issues.

Question--will political pressure planning be separated from action planning? Mike Miller--most sit-in because they want the action--the sit-in itself becomes more important than the issue. We may need an action committee just for campus. Demonstrations have to be done with care and thought to what will come out of them not just with hope of being arrested. If regional council isn't involved in planning, local group involved will have to extricate self without regional council or office.

Friends of SNCC groups are to do southern support--not act in non-SNCC (i.e. non-southern issue) demonstrations except as individuals--USF people didn't know of this policy, although it was policy stated in a report from regional office last summer. Agreement to ask Atlanta about direct action and policy on this.

Problem of no one in regional office during Selma demonstrations. Fred Hirsch suggested that this not happen again, e.g. not all the staff go to meetings in the east.

When local SNCC groups become directly active in local issues they are abusing SNCC's name--group disbanded (as in Seattle, Detroit).

5. How to coordinate political pressure--with memos from Atlanta listing direct action. To Atlanta (Nelly Gillis): send us information, let us decide on action appropriate. Danger in repeating the Cal-Selma incident which grew out of Betty Garman's memo suggesting actions to be taken.

Fred Hirsch--we are to fund raise. Direct action can't take away from our fund raising function.

FSM Defense Fund letter signed by Lewis--campus SNCC must recruit, raise funds, therefore FSM linked with SNCC's functioning--question of free speech had direct relation to SNCC--so Lewis did sign and Mike approved this.

VI. MFDP--Johnnie Mae Walker, Lawrence Guyot, Theresa del Posso. Walker gave background on MFDP--L. A. response good, supporting FDP.

Guyot--FDP to seek independence from all existing civil rights groups. Plans for summer project to be finalized in 2 weeks. Applicants from COFO told of MFDP's project and that COFO won't have one. Mike asked for no administrative questions.

CDC convention--19-21st of March--action on MFDP support planned.

Question: Is raising money connected with SNCC? Larry Guyot: much money comes via SNCC.

Question: Is MFDP a third party, or does it intend to eventually join the Democratic party? Johnnie Mae Walker--definitely no--no joining up. Larry Guyot--FDP claims self to be the democratic party of Mississippi (endorsing Johnson-Humphrey and name itself--Democratic Party). But joining with the national Democratic ticket seems to be a contradiction between Johnnie Mae Walker and Larry Guyot. Mike Miller--the MFDP is controlled and run by Mississippi--like no other Democratic state party--all others are run by the national party structure and administration--tie in with fund apportionment, patronage. Administration is upset by the FDP because they have no control.

Tom Ramsey--It's a problem of politics (out 10 congressmen) vs. people (e.g., grass roots support ala Johnnie Mae Walker's primary concern).

#### IV Summer Projects continued-

CORE in Louisiana was similar to last summer's Mississippi project. They want to do it on \$35,000. They want to have an orientation in Plaquemine which could be dangerous. They want to have Freedom Rides, a test force who will ride and others to mobilize the local people.

Dave Dennis is in charge. He worked with Moses last summer. Ike Reynolds the new San Francisco regional director who has been in New Orleans. They can't recruit people yet as they don't even have forms for raising funds, they want to hit the San Francisco Negro Community.

The southern regional chapters are having trouble relating to the Northern chapters because they must go through the New York Office. New York is getting disturbed at the Southern Regionals. It is a SNCC-like form of organization.

NAACP in Mississippi is recruiting 200 people to place in their chapters. Now they are explicitly critical of the FDP. The state board of the NAACP voted to pull out of Cofo, over Aaron Henry's opposition. A memo critical of the FDP went out recently. They are also critical of the lack of attempts to develop middle class leadership.

DEPOSITIONS TAKING STARTS IN JACKSON - STATE OFFICIALS APPEAR

Over the past four days state officials and white citizen council officers have been submitting testimony under the questioning of Freedom Democratic Party lawyers at the Federal Court house in Jackson, Mississippi. This is the first time since reconstruction that Mississippi Negroes have been able to require testimony from the police, government officials and other members of the white community who oppress them. So far all but the Governor, who has claimed executive immunity have honored the subpoenas. At first we did not hear from Ross Barnett although he was served at his home. Morton Stavis then made an announcement that he was introducing into the record a sworn affidavit about the service which appeared in the Jackson newspapers. The next day Barnett called the Freedom Democratic Party legal office and told Attorney Hugh Maness from Los Angeles that he wasn't served personally and therefore knew nothing about the subpoena, but he just happened to find the summons on his desk today (January 30) and would be glad to make arrangements to appear. This is but one of the many indications over the past few weeks of just how seriously the Mississippi Power Structure is now taking our Challenge.

Hearings began Friday, January 29th, with Heber Ladner, Secretary of State, who spent a total of five hours on the witness stand, and then agreed to return the next day. Ladner did not bring the records which our attorney, Kunstler and Stavis summoned but said he would bring them in within "a reasonable time." This is probably a delaying tactic to keep the records out of the hearings. He declined answering most questions about the near total disenfranchisement of Negroes or on his membership in racist organization "on the advice of counsel." When questioned about his role in keeping the MFDP candidates off the ballot, Ladner after refusing to answer many questions, finally claimed that there was no previous precedent for the running of independent candidates.

Attorney General Joe Patterson admitted that his office has made "not one single investigation" of whether or not Negroes in Mississippi were excluded from the voting process despite the fact that the United States Department of Justice has filed some 60 voter registration complaints. He claimed he was never notified of these actions and therefore had no responsibility, when Mr. Kunstler reminded him that as one of the defendant in United States vs. Mississippi he was served with the government brief.

State Officials and White Citizens Council

Richard Mowphew, Director of Public Relations for the Mississippi Association of White Citizens Councils, admitted under oath that they received money from the State Sovereignty Commission, a tax supported agency, to maintain its racist propaganda machine, newspaper and radio broadcast.

Members of the State Sovereignty Commission were also interrogated. Earl Johnston, the Chairman, was tight lipped, but one of his investigators, Andrew Hopkins admitted that the State Sovereignty Commission would not investigate reports by Negroes of voter registration harassment nor was he concerned with "how many Negroes were in fact allowed to register." State Senator Hayden Camboll on the stand admitted his membership in the Sons of Confederate Veterans and the White Citizen's Council. The evidence our lawyers have introduced into the record, with the testimony of these witnesses, has built a solid case showing that the White Citizen's Council, and its dedication to segregation and denial of Negro voting rights is more than just a private organization. Many members of all sections of government are members, it is supported by government agencies and is basically part and parcel of the government.

The first day of hearings Attorney General Patterson tried to have the marshalls clear the courtroom, when Morty Stavis reminded him they were not in charge and that under the law we had every right to hold these as public hearings. Mr. Patterson made no further efforts.

During all the sessions the courthouse has been packed with many observers from the FDP. Among special observers have been the five congressmen from Mississippi. On Friday we were honored with the presence of four at one time.

LOCAL DEPOSITIONS

Local Depositions From Favorable Witness

Public hearings are also being held throughout the state with mainly favorable witnesses testifying. Some of the cities being covered are Gulfport, Moss Point, Natchez, Laurel, Batesville, Holly Springs and Canton. Despite the danger of retaliation from the white community, Negroes have been making public statements. This has been a new and important development for the FDP in Mississippi where the party is still enjoined. Only in Canton has there been an incident where the notary public, Hercules Jones, was intimidated by the white community and therefore did not show up for the hearings.

EASTLAND SIBARS FDP ON SENATE FLOOR

To a total audience of Senator Stennis, and Mr. Fannin, who was presiding officer, Senator Eastland took to the floor on February 3rd with a vicious smear attack on the communists, beatniks and sex perverts who are behind the challenge to the Miss. Congressmen. The dialogue often went something like this: Mr. Eastland. "I know of several instances in which members of the group were syphilitic and the Public Health Service had to take charge." Mr. Stennis. "Yes, I heard of that, too." Mr. Eastland. "I know of an instance in my hometown in which a Negro woman cut her husband up because of his attention to one of these white girls. I shall say that those people did not realize that they were part and parcel of the communist conspiracy. Those activities were directed by the Communist conspiracy in an attempt to take over the State of Miss. by the Communist Party." Mr. Stennis. "The pattern of operation is certainly the same." Mr. Stennis. "The (outside agitators) were cunning, vigorous, and persistent...But the agitators, the common crowd and the crumbs, would stay there. They were the ones who would make the trouble. Did not my colleague find a similar pattern of operation." Mr. Eastland. "That is absolutely correct" . . . and so they talked.



MARCH 23/65

*file  
Boycott  
area*

Regionals: Benefit to be held on APRIL 25, 65 with the Freedom Singers, Ivanhoe (the movie) and Ivanhoe Donaldson...

Santa Clara Valley: A Night of William Saroyan and Langston Hughes. Friday March 26/65 8 pm. Montgomery Theater, San Jose, Calif.

Stockton: SNCC Week March 22-26 rally Friday featuring Bob Moses Raymond Great Hall donation 1.00

NO MORE REPORTS..... 4/1/65

Some questions raised by Council members which I'd like to start some discussion on with these remarks. Mike Miller, March 23, 1965

1. "Won't a Hammermill paper boycott in Selma hurt the Negro in Alabama?"  
There is no question that if we were successful in a Hammermill boycott we would prevent a few Negroes in Selma from getting menial jobs that would be available to them if Hammermill moved there. However, if we can break the pattern of Northern industry moving South, paying low wages and following discriminatory patterns of employment, then we can open up many more jobs for Negroes. SNCC is convinced that if an economic stranglehold could grip the South, then patterns of discrimination would suddenly begin to change.
2. SNCC's role in the peace movement.  
SNCC has no formal role in the peace movement. Most of the field secretaries are too involved in their day-to-day work to become involved in the peace movement. Individuals in SNCC, such as John Lewis, Bob Moses, Jim Forman and a few others have, as individuals, joined in statements against the war in Vietnam. John Lewis joined with Bayard Rustin and A. Philip Randolph, along with a group of leading peace and liberal movement people in placing an ad in the NY Times in opposition to the war in Vietnam. Rustin, Randolph and the SNCC leadership seem to be the only people in the civil rights movement who have spoken out on Vietnam.  
  
The people in the MFDP have also been outspoken on the war in Vietnam. Mrs. Walker, Mrs. Hamer and Lawrence Guyot have all spoken on the war. Their approach has been based on the whole question of information and grows logically out of the whole MFDP view of what politics ought to be. When SNCC organized in Mississippi, we took the position that people ought to have the right to control their own lives--all people. After breaking through the resistance to that--based on fear and what I call the remnants of a slave mentality--people began to say, "Yes, we want to make the decisions that affect our lives and that means we have to have information so that we can know what those decisions are all about." This is then related to the war in Vietnam. The same argument is made about Vietnam. We don't have the information to decide about the war in Vietnam. Decisions are being made at the top and handed down to us. We don't have any idea of what is really going on. Some of the MFDP people (and some SNCC people) relate this to a generally pacifist position: war and violence solve nothing--we must stop killing people in Vietnam.
3. SNCC's view of direct action.  
By and large, SNCC does not now see direct action as an important part of its day to day work. The decision of whether or not to engage in direct action is made by local groups with whom SNCC works. Last summer, when this question was discussed in Mississippi, Bob Moses argued against direct action and was generally successful in convincing local people that it was a poor time to begin direct action. I think the point is a subtle one. At one stage in organizing, direct action frightens away the very people who have to be the base on a local movement. At another stage, those very people may themselves want to engage in direct action. SNCC organizers may advise them on what they think the consequences of such action might be, but the decision is made locally.  
  
Whether SNCC itself takes direct action in its name is still a mat-

ter of intense discussion among the staff. In the case of the Washington, D.C. action in support of the MFDP Challenge, SNCC will engage in direct action. However, there was serious disagreement with this at the staff meeting with some people feeling that this action would put the focus on D.C. and SNCC rather than on Mississippi and the MFDP. The question was resolved by SNCC saying that it would engage in such action if requested to do so by the MFDP--and the MFDP has asked us to engage in this action.

Finally, in some areas SNCC organizers see direct action as the first way to crack open a community. They argue that direct action by SNCC and by young people in the community opens the way for later dialog with adults in the community and ~~xxxx~~ proves to local adults that there are people who want to bring change to their communities.

4. SNCC's relations with SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Conference) and Martin Luther King.

Selma provides a good focus for a discussion of the differences between SNCC and SCLC. Several things need to be said. (1) SNCC took the position that leadership ought to emerge from the community rather than be focused around one person who wasn't from the community (Dr. King); (2) SNCC was primarily interested in bringing focus to the problems and lives of local people rather than bringing focus around Rev. Reeb (no one talks about Jimmy Lee Jackson who was killed in Marion) and the Northern whites who went to Selma; (3) SNCC initially opposed the march, fearing for the safety of those who would march--especially fearing what would happen to them after the press and SCLC would leave Selma; (4) SNCC, at least the SNCC people on the scene, also opposed the way the march was stopped. Writing in the Thursday, March 11 Washington Post, Robert E. Baker reported, "The peaceful confrontation between civil rights marchers and Alabama State troopers in Selma on Tuesday was worked out in advance by Federal officials.... (emphasis added)". Such working out in advance means that decision-making is inevitably taken out of the hands of local people. Those involved in working out the confrontation, according to the Post, were LeRoy Collins, John Doar (Asst. Atty General, Col Al Lingo and Dr. King; (5) SNCC is concerned, in Selma, ~~at the fact~~ that the Dallas County Voters League remains a middle-class operation and that it has not opened to the disenfranchised Negroes of the County. The SNCC staff in Selma has been pressing this point. Some SCLC people have too, but not SCLC as a whole; (6) SNCC has, for a long time, been critical of the fact that SCLC comes into a community, brings a lot of attention to it, then leaves. This happened in Albany, Georgia and other places as well. The experience with this approach indicates that nothing is left in the community: no movement, no new local leadership, no on-going program. SNCC people have been raising this point with SCLC for several years; (7) SNCC is deeply committed to the idea of internal democracy in the staff and in the community organizations it develops and works with. SCLC has a very different structure. Internally, Dr. King has the last word. He listens to his aides and the advice of others and then makes his decision. This is the classic form of "charismatic leadership". Since no real permanent organizations are built in the community, the question of internal democracy in community organizations is not really relevant to SCLC's work in the community.

On re-reading, let me clarify #1. Obviously, Bob Moses is as much an "outside agitator" as Martin Luther King. What is different is that leadership roles move into the hands of local people.

Waveland: Work-Study Institute, Feb.-March, 1965. Notes by Jane Stenbridge about a class held by Stokely Carmichael, and other related notes.

The most important class was "Stokely's speech class." He put eight sentences on the blackboard, with a line between, like this:

I digs wine	I enjoy drinking cocktails
The peoples wants freedom	The people want freedom
Wheresinsover the policemens goes they causes troubles	Anywhere the officers of the law go, they cause trouble
I wants to reddish to vote	I want to register to vote

Stokely: What do you think about these sentences? Such as -- The peoples wants freedom?

Zelma: It doesn't sound right.

Stokely: What do you mean?

Zelma: "Peoples" isn't right.

Stokely: Does it mean anything?

Milton: People means everybody. Peoples means everybody in the world.

Alma: Both sentences are right as long as you understand them.

Henry: They're both okay, but in speech class you have to use correct English.

(Stokely writes "correct English" in corner of blackboard.)

Zelma: I was taught at least to use the sentences on the rights side.

Stokely: Does anybody you know use the sentences on the left?

Class: Yes.

Stokely: Are they wrong?

Zelma: In terms of English, they are wrong.

Stokely: Who decides what is correct English and what is incorrect English?

Milton: People made rules. People in England, I guess.

Stokely: You all say some people speak like on the left side of the board. Could they go anywhere and speak that way? Could they go to Harvard?

Class: Yes - No. Disagreement.

Stokely: Does Mr. Turnbow speak like on the left side?

Class: Yes.

Stokely: Could Mr. Turnbow go to Harvard and speak like that? I wants to reddish to vote.

Class: Yes.

Stokely: Would he be embarrased?

Class: Yes...No!

Zelma: He wouldn't be, but I would. It doesn't sound right.

Stokely: Suppose someone from Harvard came to Holmes county and said, "I want to register to vote." Would they be embarrassed?

Stokely: They way you speak  
 Milton: It's inherited. It's dependent on where you come from. The people at Harvard would understand.  
 Stokely: Do you think the people at Harvard should forgive you?  
 Milton: The people at Harvard should help teach us correct English.  
 Alma: Why should we change if we understand what we mean?  
 Shirley: It is embarrassing.  
 Stokely: Which way do most people talk?  
 Class: Like on the left.

(He asks each student. All but two say "left". One says that southerners speak like on the left, northerners on the right. Another said that southerners speak on the left, but the majority of people speak like on the right.)

Stokely: Which way do television and radio people speak?  
 Class: Left.

(There was a distinction made by the class between northern commentators and local programs. Most programs were local and spoke like on the left, they said.)

Stokely: Which way do teachers speak?  
 Class: On the left, except in class.  
 Stokely: If most people speak on the left, why are they trying to change these people?  
 Gladys: If you don't talk right, society rejects you. It embarrasses other people if you don't talk right.  
 Hank: But Mississippi society, ours, isn't embarrassed by it.  
 Shirley: But the middle class wouldn't class us with them.  
 Hank: They won't accept "reddish". What is reddish? It's Negro dialect and it's something you eat.  
 Stokely: Will society reject you if you don't speak like on the right side of the board? Gladys said society would reject you.  
 Gladys: You might as well face it, man! What we gotta do is go out and become middle class. If you can't speak good English, you don't have a car, a job, or anything.  
 Stokely: If society rejects you because you don't speak good English, should you learn to speak good English?  
 Class: No!  
 Alma: I'm tired of doing what society say. Let society say "reddish" for a while. People ought to just accept each other.  
 Zelma: I think we should be speaking just like we always have.  
 Alma: If I change for society, I wouldn't be free anyway.  
 Ernestine: I'd like to learn correct English for my own sake.  
 Shirley: I would too.  
 Alma: If the majority speaks on the left, then a minority must rub society? Why do we have to change to be accepted by the minority group?

(lunchtime)

Stokely: Let's think about two questions for next time: What is society? Who makes the rules for society?

The class lasted a little more than an hour. It moved very quickly. It was very good. That is, people learned. I think they learned because:

- people learn from someone they trust, who trusts them. This trust included Stokely's self-trust and trust, or seriousness, about the subject matter.
- people learn more, and more quickly from induction rather than deduction
- people learn when they themselves can make the connection between ideas; can move from here to here to here to there
- people learn when learning situations emphasize and develop one single idea - which is very important to them personally
- people learn when they can see what they are talking about. He used the board.

Among other things, they learned these: That is, they themselves concluded:

- there is something called "correct English" and something called incorrect English.
- most people in the country use some form of incorrect, or broken English
- it is not embarrassing to these people themselves
- it is made embarrassing by other people
- because it is embarrassing to them
- they are a minority, the people who use correct English
- they decide what is correct English
- they make that important and use it to shame people and keep them out of society.
- they make that a requirement for jobs and acceptance
- they decide what is acceptable to society
- by shame
- but not everybody can be shamed
- not Mr. Rurnbow, for example
- the main thing is to understand what people mean when they talk
- that is not the main thing to society

---

I recorded the whole class because it is a whole thing - one thing. That is why people learned. At least, that is why I learned.

I think the best way to write about Waveland is to tell about that class because that was what the Waveland Institute was about. Some other classes were good and some were bad. Vicki Levy and Phyllis Cunningham came and we all talked about sex. That was good because what we talked about was important and Vicki was free to talk about it freely, as was most of the class. No one seemed to assume that sex was anything but great! Hurray! Jeanette's class was good when the kids got to talk freely about the Atlanta staff meeting and they had plenty that needed to get out.. and needs to be heard. My class was good because I talked about myself and my hang-ups, which made them able to do that - or begin to. About shame. About guilt.

Morty's class in math was good, I hear, because heris very dynamic and because the kids were tired of words by that time. Carole Merritt was good when she talked, but she had to handle administration and, in the case of guest speakers, retreat. She should teach.

Audio-visual was good because it is better to see things. The kids didn't like to see films about poverty and hunger. They liked story movies. They like Casey and Mary and Emmie's filmstrip on FDP. I like Viva Zapata. So did they.

The opposite of Stokely's class was Zinn's. He started with three words on the board: Freedom, Education, Power. It took a long time to kind of start over with specifics. He also had way too much material and lectured too much. He had a lot to give and he wanted to, but he wasted himself. I did that, too. We didn't know. I think we learned a lot.

I don't want to make conclusions or proposals. I think Stokely's class can stand on its own. Not only that, I think it is better than anything I could say. Just two things: he spoke to where they were at, and they were at different places, and the places changed during the movement of the discussion. Secondly, he trusted them and he trusted himself...and they trusted him.

I think the primary hang-up was not the staff's lack of knowledge of concern, but the lack of freedom to put it across. Self-trust. Self-love or something like that. I think we have to be pretty damn free to teach anyway. Or to learn?

J stembridge

# S NCC \* BENEFIT

SUNDAY APRIL 25

NOURSE AUDITORIUM - 2:30 P.M.

SNCC FREEDOM SINGERS - S.F. PREMIERE  
OF "IVANHOE" - IVANHOE DONALDSON  
IN PERSON (he's working in Alabama now)

as far as fund raising goes - it seems to open it/them up for other things. ....anyhow, check all arrangements for the 26th-30th period with Danny, since he's taking care of that; and talk to me about press and the San Francisco program..more later.  
LUFF  
NORMA

...The above was set at the last council meeting (in case you weren't there)... the Freedom Singers will be here April 18 - from the 18th to the 25th, we'll keep them busy with press things - from the 26th to the 30th, they can visit the campuses and the groups, etc. BUT BUT BUT - no BIG money raising things should be arranged for them during the week after the 25th, or we won't get people out to the Sunday show - try and set up things for them that are more

RE: FOSNCC OFFICE

ABOUT SUN. BENEFIT PUBLICITY.....

*file  
Bay  
Area  
H*

Enclosed are copies of news releases and radio spots that went out yesterday (a handbill was also enclosed).....The radio spots went to the larger SF-Berk-Oakland stations only....I'll be sending you copies of everything that goes out.

Suggestions: 1. If any of the small local radio stations might be amenable, you could copy the spots (or rewrite them) and get them out.

2. Since it's impossible to list all the FOSNCC offices on each press release, or to break it down - it would be a good idea to call the local papers and, telling them that they already have copy - give them the local address for tickets.

In general about the publicity: the next releases will be specifically on the Freedom Singers, with an enclosure of the reprint of the write-up in Variety....the next after that will center around "Ivanhoe" .....We're having a critics screening of "Ivanhoe" on the 19th or 20th in S.F.....The Freedom Singers will be on Spectrum 74-KCBS, KQED-TV and KPFA - also, Ivanhoe may be too, but that's not worked out yet.....We're trying for features in the two Sunday papers....The last press release and a second set of radio spots will deal with Carmen McRae (who, since the Council Meeting), agreed to do the Sun. Benefit as well as the other two she is already doing.....

Please call or write with any suggestions....

Norma Whittaker  
SNCC MA 6-4577

INTER OFFICE MEMO  
August 27, 1965

BAY AREA COUNCIL MEETING.  
~~THIS COMING COUNCIL MEETING WILL  
NOT TAKE PLACE. NEXT MEETING~~  
Saturday, Sept. 11, 10:00 a.m.

1. SNCC's Haight Ashbury interne project is making headlines in the neighborhood newspaper every week. The stories are inaccurate, but we're evidently causing some sparks to fly. Five people are working full-time in the neighborhood. Tom Ramsay, Roy Ballard, Danny Brown, Ray Jones and JoAnn Oiman. Budget is paid for totally by organizations in the community. The project will soon move to a \$3600 per year budget. Participating organizations are the Mt. Hebron Baptist Church, the Tree of Life Missionary Baptist Church, the Hamilton Youth Center, the Howard Presbyterian Church, St. Agnes Catholic Church and the Haight-Ashbury Neighborhood Council. \$100 a month comes from H.A.N.C. and Howard. St. Agnes is considering putting \$100 a month into the budget.
2. The Bridgeforth Foundation (now called the Community Research and Education Fund--CREF) is in the works. Papers are in for non-profit, tax-exempt incorporation. We have the promise of a building that will be used as a combination office and school for organizers. Also, Harry Brill will be doing research work for us. Watch for his first piece in the coming issue of The Movement.
3. Mike Miller is not the Michael Miller who has a horrible article on Berkeley in the current issue of Esquire. But speaking of the press, SNCC has been favorably treated in recent issues of the Saturday Evening Post and the Wall Street Journal (?)!
4. The SNCC Mike Miller will leave August 30 to join with 40 Presbyterian ministers and SNCC staffer Tom Ramsay in an extended seminar at Asilomar with Saul Alinsky. Report on the seminar at the Sept. 11 Council meeting.
5. The Movement will be ready on Sept. 4 and will be shipped out to the FOSNCC groups. The coming issue of The Movement includes a lengthy feature report on the Watts revolt, with pictures, on the scene reports, etc.
6. The first planning meeting for the conference (see last inter-office memo) took place last Monday night and took responsibility for moving ahead on the conference. Enclosed is a report on the work of the committee.
7. Plans are moving ahead for a broad legal-political defense organization which will handle the court costs and trail work for everything from massive civil disobedience to rent-strike cases and so forth.
8. SNCC's name is being used (and abused) by a variety of people and organizations. If this is going on in your area, you should call the people doing it and ask them why they use SNCC's name without asking SNCC. (See the coming Movement for more.)

NOTES ON FIRST PLANNING MEETING FOR CONFERENCE  
Mike Miller, recorder.

The following comments, suggestions, etc. were made regarding the conference proposal: (1) that the 1:30 Sunday panel be dropped or altered. As it stands now, it is imposed on the rest of the content of the conference; (2) the Sun, a.m. panel be changed so that there would be some debate on it. An example was someone who has received "services" from an agency like Youth Opportunities Center to go along with a representative from the War on Poverty; (3) the point was made that there ought to be time for reports back from the workshops. The alternative is that recorders take down what goes on in the workshops and that the material be sent out to the conference participants; (4) it was the general opinion of those present that a major aim of the conference would be to bring together people from the different movement organizations, like tenant unions, welfare rights groups, unemployed groups, and so forth. In particular, interest was expressed in bringing together people from Chinatown and the Spanish speaking community along with Negro groups.

The following responsibilities were taken for contact work:  
Jeannette Harris: Welfare Right Organizations (Elly Harowitz);  
Fred Thalheimer: Yerba Buena Tenant Union (Mike Sharon);  
North Beach Tenant Union and Chinatown contacts (Mike Sharon);  
Mission Tenant Union and general activity (Rev. Dave ?);  
Pat Thalheimer: Marin City activities (Rev. Don Schilling);  
Brenda Howard: Hayes Valley tenant union (Helen Ferguson);  
Claire Gordon: E. Oakland Parish activities (Rev. Barry Blum, ?);  
Chinatown (Bruce Gordon);  
Nina Pivnick: Hunters Point activities (Ira Henderson);  
Danny Benson: Peralta Improvement League (Paul Booth); Oakland  
Direct Action Committee (Mark Comfort); Youth For Jobs (Sugar);  
Richmond activities (Ellen Estrin);  
Mike Miller: Sunnydale Housing project (Mrs. Riccetti); Committee  
For the Poor (E. Paul Alto ?); Farm Workers Association (Cesar Chavez); Haight-Ashbury (Tom Ramsay, Danny Brown); Freedom House;  
Fred Thalheimer will also contact ILWU about organizing efforts in Chinatown (Will LeBlanc, Brian Heron).

Brenda Howard volunteered to be secretary to the committee and serve as contact person for the work of the committee.

It was agreed that the committee members would get in contact with "staff" people we know of working with the different groups we hope the conference will reach. The contact work will be done between now and the next committee meeting which will be on Sept. 13, at 8:00 p.m. at Howard Freeway Plaza, Oak & Baker Streets. The hope is that we can bring someone from the movement groups or someone from their staff to the next meeting.

It was agreed that final content of the conference program would be left to a conference committee composed of representatives from the different groups (WRO, Tenant Unions, Parish groups, etc.). Our committee's role is to make initial contact and to present the initial idea.

Brenda Howard, committee secretary: MA 1-3520 (work); HE 1-4423

INTER OFFICE MEMO  
October 6, 1965

Bay Area Council meeting agenda  
Saturday, October 9, 1965, 10:00 am

Agenda:

1. Report on farm worker strike in Delano.
2. Report on East Bay meeting of Oakland "peoples organizations".
3. Report on South of Market urban renewal (3,000 elderly people, 5,000 blue collar jobs, 250 minority families).
4. The Movement & The Key List Mailing.
5. New developments in MFDP. Post-challenge activities.
6. Fund-raising plans. SNCC is asking all Northern support groups to try to project fund-raising plans and to try to anticipate income for the rest of the year.
7. Knoxville workshop on the South and organized labor.
8. Poor Peoples Corporation follow-up (if we receive information from the PPC).
9. Report on discussions for SNCC Conference in the Bay Area.
10. Blood drive for ILWU Pensioners (and SNCC gets \$7 a pint).

INTER OFFICE MEMO.

1. The Delano strike is still on. Cesar Chavez, of the Farm Workers Association, again asks for money, food and bodies to walk the picket lines. FWA's address is 102 Albany; Delano, California.
2. A number of community based groups are getting together in Oakland to discuss ways of working together on problems like welfare, police brutality, unemployment, housing, etc.
3. The South of Market urban renewal project is another example of urban renewal attacking the interests of the poor. We've been talking with small businessmen, elderly folks, some civil rights people about a project organizing some 3,000 elderly people, mostly men, in the South of Market area.
4. There will be a small conference in a couple of weeks at Highlander Research Center. Purpose of the conference is to discuss organized labor and the South. The conference is being planned by Walter Tillow, Mendy Samstein and others--some in SNCC, some not. Mike Sayer, now here in S.F. after two years on SNCC staff in the South, would like to go to the conference and will bring a full report back to us. He needs about \$100 to cover round-trip fare. IF EVERY ONE WHO RECEIVES THE INTER-OFFICE MEMO WOULD CONTRIBUTE, WE COULD RAISE THIS MONEY VERY EASILY. PLEASE SEND YOUR CONTRIBUTION IN--MARK IT "KNOXVILLE TRIP".

IF YOU WISH TO CONTINUE RECEIVING THE INTER-OFFICE MEMO, THIS IS YOUR LAST CHANCE TO LET US KNOW. USE THE ENCLOSED BUSINESS REPLY ENVELOPE. IF YOU DON'T WANT TO RECEIVE THE MEMO, WE DON'T WANT TO SPEND THE MONEY TO CONTINUE SENDING IT TO YOU. THE MEMO MAILING LIST IS NOW OVER 100--AND THAT COSTS MONEY!

# THE PACIFIC DEMOCRATS and NEW AMERICA CLUB

invite you to

Sample the scene in the Haight-Ashbury...

An evening of fun and music...

At a comfortable club...

To hear the best jazz in town...

ALL FOR \$1.00 DOOR CHARGE...

Which will benefit two of our favorite causes!

TUESDAY, OCT. 12,

hear John Handy...  
and his Freedom Quintet

listening - eating - drinking

at the

BOTH / AND  
C L U B

350 DIVISADERO (between Oak & Page)

San Francisco

9:00 PM - 2:00 AM

50% proceeds to  
JACK MORRISON FOR SUPERVISOR  
CAMPAIGN

50% proceeds to  
SNCC (Student Non-Violent  
Coordinating Committee)

labor donated

October 8th, 1965

To: Northern SNCC offices and friends

From: New York SNCC, Elizabeth Sutherland

Last May, a book of letters written by 1964 summer volunteers was published: LETTERS FROM MISSISSIPPI, edited by Elizabeth Sutherland.

It had excellent reviews. What a book. Wow!

The book sells at a retail price of \$4.95. SNCC gets copies at \$1.03 per book. This is a nice margin of profit.

The New York office has been selling the book at a steady clip, and sending the enclosed card with any letters that go out from the office.

The paperback edition cannot be published before May, 1966 because of the contract with the reprint house. So at this time, nobody can get the book except at the (high) price of \$4.95.

Would you like to try selling LETTERS? If so, let the New York office know and we will make billing arrangements with McGraw Hill, the publisher.

Are you also selling THE MOVEMENT? This is an even easier book to sell, because the paperback edition costs only \$1.95. Copies from Atlanta in this case. We have found the demand unlimited — a small but steady sale continues. This book was also edited by Elizabeth Sutherland, but her name doesn't show in it because she was modest then. What a book. Wow!

Winter is coming. People read books. Start pushing.

LETTERS — Elizabeth — New York  
THE MOVEMENT — Cynthia — Atlanta



Berkeley Unified School District  
Dan Freudenthal  
TH-1422 Ext. 211  
June 3, 1966

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Dr. Neil V. Sullivan, Berkeley Superintendent of Schools, and John Miller, vice-president of the Berkeley Board of Education, returned from the White House Conference on Civil Rights, held June 1 and 2, with a "great feeling of frustration."

"We wanted to know what the Government could do to enforce civil rights," said Dr. Sullivan. "We wanted to tell the President what we need. Instead the burden was passed down to the mayors, the human relations commissions, the school superintendents, the civil rights organizations and the people."

Both Dr. Sullivan and Mr. Miller felt that the Conference, to which 2500 people from all over the U.S. were called, was an effort "to recreate the President's domestic image, damaged by his emphasis on spending for the war in Viet Nam." They called it a "public relations affair."

The Conference, they said, was "overstructured and air-tight, censored against controversy". The recommendations on civil rights action, printed and sent to those invited two weeks before, were repeated verbally, and expected to be accepted as written. Only pressure from the delegates brought a chance for a few to speak for three minutes and often only for 30 seconds.

"The White House does not seem to be aware that our minority people can and want to speak for themselves," said Dr. Sullivan.

"I did get a chance to make clear, when I got my three minutes, that we want Title VI, which withholds Federal funds from school districts that do not desegregate, enforced by the Department of Justice. Title VI is not being enforced across the country. Integration is only token, if that."

Dr. Sullivan reported that the entire 2500 went on record—"Let's get on with Title VI."

Miller said "The Administration acted as if the Civil Rights Act did not exist."

Among the 2500 attending, many of them Negroes, there was a sense of desperate urgency. They had to walk through picket lines in front of the Sheraton Park Hotel--pickets shouting "Watts! Philadelphia! New York! Rochester! Washington!"

But inside the Conference headquarters little chance to express the urgency was given. Viet Nam kept coming up and getting slapped down.

"I was among those who wanted to talk about Viet Nam," said Dr. Sullivan, "because the war is bleeding from our schools the funds we need, even lunch money for the children."

The impact of the universal frustration of the 2500 conferees, Dr. Sullivan and Mr. Miller agree, will make civil rights activists more aggressive.

John Miller wanted to talk about the poverty and unemployment in West Oakland. He did get a chance to talk to Dr. Robert Weaver, Secretary of Urban Affairs, and asked him to send Federal officers to Oakland to enforce training and employment in BART's construction. He told him that when he--as candidate for State Assemblyman, 17th district--goes shaking hands in West Oakland, he's asked to put a quarter in the hands for a little food. Dr. Weaver replied that he knows all about the situation, has good men there, and "will see what can be done."

Miller was also told, when he asked why the FBI doesn't take a more active part, that the FBI is afraid its men will be outnumbered. Dr. Arnold Trebach, director of the Human Rights Program at Howard University demanded that J. Edgar Hoover be replaced.

Both the President and the Vice-President addressed the Conference and, as Dr. Sullivan put it, "said all the right things." But they took no time to listen to the 2500 people--professionals, businessmen, civic and grass-roots leaders. Nor will the President get the brief remarks of those allowed three-minute speeches. He will get only the report on the recommendations earlier structured by the organizing committee.

"If the President really wanted to know what we think and what we want, he didn't find out," Miller summed up.

The frustration and discouragement Dr. Sullivan and Mr. Miller brought home was general, they believe. Miller said his many friends from earlier days in the South and when studying law at Howard University felt even more frustrated than he did. Dr. Sullivan said his fellow educators at the Conference were deeply discouraged.

"They told me that integration progress is not as reported," Dr. Sullivan said.

"Liberal educators from the South predicted a return to the 'separate but equal' dual system.

How were those attending the Conference selected? The press wanted to know.

"They probably invited me because the Berkeley schools have pioneered in integration," was Dr. Sullivan's reply.

John Miller believes he was elected because he is Board vice-president, a Negro, and was active on the Hadsell de facto segregation committee.

Miller, interviewed by the Washington Evening Star during the Conference, told the Washington public that racial barriers in Berkeley have been broken down by busing children from overcrowded mainly Negro schools to space in other schools.

"But Berkeley," Miller was quoted as saying, "is an unusual city."

"We are slightly ahead here," Dr. Sullivan summed up. "What we have done in our recent busing move is only token integration, we are aware, but most cities haven't even done that."

Asked for his prediction about the June 7 school tax election, Dr. Sullivan said he is optimistic.

"We have had a most supportive press," he said. "Never have our schools experienced such overall support."

Cathy, FYI. Wife

Bond itinerary for San Francisco Bay Area June 1-June 4, 1966

Wednesday, June 1

- 2:30 Press Conference with Scheer, Truehaft in Oakland for Bay Area press.
- 6:00 Dinner with activists and staff in Haight-Ashbury project.
- 8:00 Meeting with Black Arts Repertory Theater West people
- 9:00 Meeting with Negro community people in Haight-Ashbury project.

Thursday, June 2

- 10:00 Meeting with SNCC staff in Bay Area
- 1:00 Lunch with Dick Liebes, Research Director, Bldg Service Employees Union.
- 3:00 KPFA Radio (KPFA is the Bay Area Pacifica Affiliate)
- 4:00 KQIA Radio interview (KQIA is one of the two major Negro stations in the area.)
- 5:30 Meet with Paul Albert; Executive secretary; National Conference for New Politics.
- 7:00 Speak to campaign workers for Mark Comfort. Comfort is a radical candidate for the 15th AD Democratic nomination. Comfort is a Negro and works with gangs, tenant unions, etc.
- 8:30 East Bay Friends of SNCC public meeting; 1024 Cedar St.; Berkeley.

Friday, June 3

- 9:00 Meet with You Goldblatt; Secretary-Treasurer, International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU).
- 10:30 Meet with Curtis McCain; Business Agent, Local 6 ILWU and civil rights activists in his local.
- 12:30 Reception at the No-Name Bar in Sausalito with the Marin Friends of SNCC.
- 4:30 Press conference with Carl Stokes, Dick Gregory, Carleton Goodlett to support Goodlett who is running for Governor (seeking Democratic nomination).
- 5:30 Meet with local C.E.C. Negroes who think they're radical (??).
- 8:00 Nourse Auditorium rally with Goodlett, Gregory, Bond, et al.
- 9:00 Marin FOSNCC reception at Heliport (Marin office).

Saturday, June 4

- 10:00 Bay Area Regional Council of Friends of SNCC to talk with Julian about developments in the South.
- 12:30 East Palo Alto rally in Negro community
- 3:00 Pete Seeger Concert for Phil Drath (1st CD Demo candidate).
- 5:30 SF FOSNCC Cocktail Party for Julian
- 8:00 Scheer-Truehaft meeting in Oakland

BAY AREA FRIENDS OF THE

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Regional Office

1449-14th Street  
626-4577

INTER-OFFICE MEMO

There will be a regional meeting on Saturday morning, July 30, 1966, at 10:30 sharp.

The attendance at the last meeting was excellent and I think we got a good start towards renewing contact between the Friends of SNCC groups and the regional office. PLEASE COME -- the meeting will not last all afternoon.

The agenda proposed is as follows:

1. Fundraising: Friends groups to give reports and to include plans for future efforts and reports of activities held since last meeting. Mostly we're interested in how block power forums turned out -- those that were held; that is, PLEASE BRING IN FINANCIAL REPORTS IF YOU HAVE NOT ALREADY SENT THEM.
2. Regional office will give a report on its financial situation.
3. There is a proposal to set up an area wide entertainment committee which will write to top performers and see if they will perform for SNCC. Then there will be coordinated area wide efforts to make each concert a big success. And, the concerts can be spread throughout the area.
4. Since we didn't get around to discussing SNCC activities, Mike, Terry, and Danny will give brief reports. Comments will include: Watts, Philadelphia, the Free D.C. Movement, and the Afro-culture program and cultural organizing.
5. Further comments on the Movement by Terry.
6. SNCC-NFWA relationship. We're asking Gene Boutilier to come.
7. SNCC-Presbyterian relationship.

Ruby Doris Smith-Robinson, SNCC executive secretary, was in town last week, so there's some current news from the South.

Do you think it possible that Friends of SNCC march together on August 6th in the Peace march?

HQEE TO SEE YOU ALL SATURDAY !!!  
\*\*\*\*\*

Excerpts from the most recent teletape of the Watts line reports. The teletape tapes will be available in the office for you to look at. Just ask.

July 7, 1966

West Point: Mrs. Dora Adams

The West Point office has planned an Afro-American culture program for the youths between the ages of 14-20. The program began on the 27th of June, 1966 in the down stairs area of the MFDP center.

We hope to accommodate 160 people during the month of June and another 100 during the month of August. We will discuss the meaning of music and its background, painting, sculpture, etc.

They are also planning to take trips to the museums, and show pictures, and prepare African food. The purpose of this is to create a feeling of black consciousness so that we will be able to accept and appreciate our history.

July 8, 1966

Cordele, Georgia: John Battiste

On Sunday, June 26, 1966, a group of 35 to 40 students were taken to the Veterans Memorial State Park. Shortly after their arrival at the State Park, they were brutally beaten and chased into various parts of the Park by white hoodlums. Gaston was arrested for malicious assault on a police officer's car. He was handcuffed and brutally beaten.

Children were scattered all over the Park. When reports came back that some had been

SHITTA-000 BHTTAS 1970 1-2-1966

shot, a group of young men and I used a SNCC car and drove to the State Park with rifles. We went into the Negro section of the Park and searched throughout the woods for the children. We were unable to locate any of the kids who had been reported missing.

Meanwhile, back in Cordele, a group of people circled throughout the community obtaining the names of those who went to the State Park that Sunday afternoon.

We returned to Cordele and found about 400 Negroes...facing a group of about 250 whites...including the city police. We asked for police assistance in finding the missing children...

After the mass meeting, a search party was gathered along with the State troopers. They went into the park and searched. By 11:00 that night, everyone had been located...

On Tuesday, Negroes began to talk about arming themselves against the whites...

On Wednesday, a curfew was put on the town. Anyone violating this curfew would either spend 90 days in jail or pay a \$300 fine.

Throughout the Negro community on Wednesday night, street lights were broken out and windows were smashed...

...There has been no heckling when Negroes returned to the Park.

July 9, 1966

Atlanta, Georgia:

Yesterday at 5:00 PM, members of the star service station...began picketing because their employer failed to meet the demands of overworked and underpaid Negro workers.

Harold Myers, a spokesman for the employees said that the service station is almost totally patronized by black people. He said the attendants are "underpaid and overworked".

Picketing is underway every hour of the day...The employees have vowed to continue as long as necessary.

Dr. King...Stokely Carmichael...Rep. Julian Bond and many others have given their support to this movement to further the interest of the overworked and underpaid employees of the Georgia Freedom movement.

July 10, 1966

Grenada, Mississippi:

Bob Smith led a demonstration of 50 to 60 people at the jail today. The police beat two people...One person was arrested. There are currently about 43 people in jail. They are charged with "obstructing traffic". Demonstrations will continue. There are about 6 SNCC people in town. They plan to engage in voter registration. Bob Smith says that the community is not supporting them because SCIC is flashing so much money. The town lumps all civil rights people together...

Holly Springs, Mississippi:

Seven black girls ranging from 12 to 17 years of age, were "kicked" out of the Holly Theater in Holly Springs, Mississippi on Saturday by the manager of the theater. Upon leaving the theater, the girls were then heckled by local white youths.

SNCC field worker and local civil rights workers are holding a meeting with the mayor this morning to discuss the incident.

Jackson, Mississippi:

Lawrence Guyot of the MEDP announced from his Jackson headquarters today that the MEDP is filing suit against the State of Mississippi and petitioning the U.S. District Court to postpone the cut-off date for the eligibility to vote in the November elections. That date was the 7th of July. They want it extended to early October. Ben Smith is the attorney of record.

The SNCC office in Little Rock has been forced to shut down because of a lack of money. Staff is now working out of their apts.

July 12, 1966

John Batiste, SNCC field secretary in Cordele, Georgia, was taken into custody Monday, July 11, by the agents of the Georgia Bureau of Investigation, and forced to go to the Atlanta Selective Service System induction center. Batiste had left Cordele the preceding Wednesday to visit his father who was very ill. He was due to report to his local draft board in Cordele on Monday, July 11, at 7 in the morning. Batiste was returning from his father's home in South Carolina. He was taken into custody at the Atlanta bus station by FBI agents and taken to the induction center. Batiste filed for conscientious objector status in 1961. For the last five years he has attempted, unsuccessfully to be granted CO status by the SSS. Last night he left the induction center and conferred with draft specialists and a lawyer. He refuses to be inducted and expects to be arrested for not taking the oath which is required of all newly inducted soldiers. John Batiste at one time attended a seminary in preparation for the Catholic priesthood.

July 11, 1966

Report from Virginia:

There are now about 25 to 30 students--mostly white--working in eight counties of the black belt fourth Congressional District. The summer effort began about the first week in June, and managed to register about 300 Negroes before the books closed June 11th. Workers are now conducting political education classes geared to the coming November elections, and will be trying to beat the Byrd Machine.

...Freedom schools are being held in four counties.

...would like help of experienced SNCC organizer(s) and would like SNCC to recruit from black colleges in Virginia.

...has questions about what students can really do with just a summer commitment, and would like to talk with SNCC about this.

They are concerned about the project being almost all white. Whiteness of project makes it difficult to get local Negroes on staff. There is a general lack of knowledge about community organizing, and most of the students are "out wandering around the counties". They want SNCC to help with this...

July 14, 1966

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania:

SNCC worker Barry Dawson was arrested along with seven other picketers at the Federal Post Office and charged with "disorderly conduct", "breach of the peace", and "trespassing". The picketers from CORE, SNCC, and the NAACP were protesting job discrimination...

July 14:

There will be a rally in Philadelphia, Pa., Sunday, which will be used to kick off a community organizing campaign. SNCC chairman, Stokely Carmichael, will address an estimated 500 to 1000 people at the "Down South-Up South" rally,

Washington, D.C. on Free D.C.

There are 35-50 volunteers in the D.C. office working in the community...

30-40 people meet every week to discuss the direction of the movement. There's a mass meeting tomorrow night...around the issue of home rule.

The people in D.C. don't know about the right to vote. The home rule committee is meeting on the hill talking about home rule. We talk about the right to vote.

\* \* \*

FOKKC

TO: FRIENDS OF SNCC...FREEDOM SINGERS.....MILDRED FOREMAN...IVANHOE, BETTY G.  
FROM: NORMA  
ABOUT: SCHEDULE FOR FREEDOM SINGERS & IVANHOE DONALDSON

file  
SF  
FOS

MONDAY APRIL 19

- 12 noon - Univ. of Cal. Medical Center - S.F.
  - one-hour concert in lounge of Milberry Union
  - contact: Greg & Lee Goddard, BA 1-0999
  - meet Greg Goddard at 11:45 a.m. at semi-circle in front of main entrance to the hospital (Parnassus Ave. between 2nd & 3rd Avenues).
  - LUNCH on campus after concert
  - (there's a "no fund collecting" rule on campus, so they will hand out pledge envelopes)
- 3:25p.m. - Downer Jr. High School - Richmond (East Bay)
  - schools is on Stanford st. down from 23rd in Richmond
  - school meeting in classroom
  - contact: Mike Scott, BE 3-8634
  - meet Mike Scott in main entrance at 3:15 p.m.
- 8:00p.m. - College of Marin - Marin County
  - Concert in Olney Hall (Room 96)
  - Contact: Hal Aigner, 455-8241
  - SUPPER on campus
  - admn. charge of \$1.50 & .75
  - meet Margaret Block & Marty at Olney Hall at 6:30 p.m.

TUESDAY APRIL 20

- 11:00a.m. - Appointment at KQED-TV (525 Fourth St., S.F., SU 1-8861)  
with producer Buzz Anderson to set up show to be taped tomorrow.....(Not necessary for all Singers to go to the meeting unless you want to).
- 12 noon - 2:00 p.m. Synanon House Lombard & Sansome, S.F.
  - LUNCH & then short concert and seminar with Synanon people
  - contact: John Peterson, 362-6778
  - no money involved
- 4:00p.m. - Univ. of Pacific - Stockton (check with Norma on the time for this...the concert is for 200 kids from So. Stockton alums)
  - late afternoon or evening concert (don't have details as I type this)
  - contact: Stan Stevenson, 462-7314 or 464-2068, Stockton
  - Stockton is 1 1/2-2 hr. drive - take Hwy. 50 into Stockton, Hwy. 50 turns into Eldorado, keep going on Eldorado to Alpine, left on Alpine to Pacific - Univ. is 2 blocks down Pacific - meet Stevenson at Anderson Y Center on campus.
  - SUPPER on campus

Freedom Singers

WEDNESDAY APRIL 21

- 12 noon - Lunch with the Press/at The Jabberwock, 2901 Telegraph Ave., Berkeley.
  - lunch is prior to appearing at the Jabberwock on Friday
  - contact: Bill Ehlert, Mgr. Jabberwock, 845-9619
- 3:20 p.m. - Mission High School - 18th & Dolores, S.F.
  - school rally in main auditorium
  - no fund collecting on campus, so students will be outside high school doors collecting
  - contact: Gail Graham, MA 6-2776
  - meet Gail Graham in main entrance to school at 3:10
- 5:00-7:00 p.m. - Tape Show at KQED-TV, 525 Fourth St., SF, SU 1-8861
  - half-hour program called "Where Is Jim Crow" - will probably be telecast at 8 p.m. tonight.
- Evening - leave for Placerville (3 hour drive)

THURSDAY APRIL 22 - all day in Placerville & environs - this is being handled by Frank Soracco

FRIDAY APRIL 23

- Morning - travel back to San Francisco
- 12 noon - Univ. of Calif. Rally - Berkeley
  - contact: Larry Knop, 527-1295
  - meet Larry Knop at Ludwig's Fountain in front of Sproul Hall at 11:45
  - LUNCH on campus
  - campus SNCC will sell tickets to Sunday benefit at rally
- 6:00 p.m. - SUPPER in Berk., c/o Judy Hartman, 3382 Dwight Way, Berk. 843-0574
- 8:15 p.m. - The Jabberwock, /2901 Telegraph Ave., Berk.
  - contact: Bill Ehlert, 845-9619
  - SNCC gets 40% of the admission plus donations

SATURDAY APRIL 24

- 1:30 p.m. - Freedom House (Tenant's Union), 1258 Fillmore, S.F.
  - Freedom House will have ~~new~~ decorated truck & P.A. system - they will drive around the Fillmore inviting people to join the Freedom Singers at a park in the Fillmore and sing with them (there'll probably be other speakers on the program at the park as well).
  - contact: Mike Sharon, 567-5314 or WA 2-5256
  - no money involved - Park & Recreation wouldn't let them collect money in a city park (for this anyway)

more Saturday on next page.....

SATURDAY APRIL 24 (continued)

- 6-7 p.m. - Arrive at Fred Hirsch's house, 170 N. 11th St., San Jose, 292-6161 for "Dining....Dancing.....& Prancing"  
Featuring SNCC Freedom Singers.....Dinner 5:30-8:20  
and party afterwards at home of Mary Gaines, 498 N. 2nd St., San Jose.
- door donation of \$1.50 includes dinner

SUNDAY APRIL 25

- 11:00 a.m. - IVANHOE & F.S. take part in service at Howard Presbyterian Church, Oak & Baker, S.F.
- LUNCH with church people after service
- 1:30 p.m. - Arrive at Nourse Auditorium, Van Ness & Hayes (Hayess Street entrance, S.F. ) for BENEFIT PROGRAM
- 2:30 p.m. - BENEFIT: (probable order of program)  
CAREEN McRAE  
"IVANHOE"  
Intermission  
IVANHOE DONALDSON  
appeal for funds by Assemblyman Willie Brown (who will also MC)  
SNCC FREEDOM SINGERS
- Admission of \$2.50 & \$1.50 plus collection
- 7-8:30 p.m.- SNCC people meet with Ivanhoe, probably at the Sun-Reporter, 1380 Turk, SF
- 8:30 ----- party for us (our own), probably also at Sun-Reporter  
----women bring goodies (solid), men bring goodies (liquid)

MONDAY APRIL 26

- 10:00 a.m. - IVANHOE - press conference in S.F. (not set yet)
- 12 noon - IVANHOE - Univ. of Calif., Berk.  
- seminar in Haviland Hall  
- contact: Mike Austin 657-2423 or TH 5-6000X434
- 1:00 p.m. - IVANHOE & FREEDOM SINGERS - KPFA, 2207 Shattuck Ave., Berk.  
- tape two separate radio programs  
- contact: Bert White at KPFA, 848-6767
- 3:00 p.m. - IVANHOE & FREEDOM SINGERS - KCBS, Sheraton-Palace Hotel, SF  
- on Spectrum 74 show live - show runs from 3:10-3:55 p.m.  
- contact: Jim Eason at KCBS, YU 2-7000
- 7:15 p.m. - IVANHOE - KQED-TV, 525 Fourth St., SF  
- tape half-hour show "Where Is Jim Crow" with Buzz Anderson, SU 1-8861  
- through at TV station by 8:45 p.m.

more Sunday on next page.....

ALVARADO HIGH SCHOOL

REHEARSAL

REHEARSAL (continued)

7:30 p.m. Concert for Youth For Jobs (Outward)

- contact: Roscoe Proctor, 843-2728 or 651-9299

THURSDAY APRIL 27

- 12 noon - Univ. of San Francisco - concert  
- contact: Vince O'Connor 751-7660  
- meet Vince O'Connor at 11:30 a.m. at desk at Phelan Hall (take Fulton & Clayton entrance to Univ.)  
- LUNCH on campus
- 1:30 p.m. - Gunn High School, Menlo Park (780 Amastadero St.)  
n - school meeting in auditorium  
- meet Charles Stewart at 3:15 p.m. in school entrance hall  
- contact: Charles Stewart, 322-9093 or 422-5521  
- no fund collecting rule on campus, so students will collect outside doors  
- SUPPER in Palo Alto (Charles will arrange)
- 7:30 p.m. - Concert at Kelly Park Rec. Center (East Palo Alto)  
- contact: Charles Stewart  
- collection

WEDNESDAY APRIL 28

- 1:00 p.m. - San Jose State College - outdoor rally - San Jose  
- MEAL on campus  
- college is at 7th & San Antonio in San Jose
- 3:30 p.m. - Cedar Alley Coffee House, S.F.  
- concert  
- contact: Allan Ullard 474-9832  
- meet Ullard there at 8:15 p.m.  
- Cedar Alley is an Cedar Alley which runs between Post & Geary off Larkin  
- arrangement is that they take first \$10 plus 40¢ a head - we get balance of \$1.50 admission price plus donations

THURSDAY APRIL 29

- 12 noon - Concert at San Francisco State College, 1600 Holloway, SF  
- meet Jeff Freed at 12 at SNCC office in Hut T-20 on campus  
- contact: Jeff Freed, JU 4-5215X5 or JU 5-7560  
- .50 admission  
- LUNCH on campus
- 6:00 p.m. - SNCC at the home of Norma Poole, 159 Alvarado, Berk., 841-318
- 8:00 p.m. - House Party  
- at home of Bernie & Ruth Burns, 1660 Franklin, BERK., 843-7979  
- collection plus money from liquor, etc.

m

Interoffice memo.  
from: Mike Miller  
re: miscellaneous developments

*file*  
Bay Area SNCC Council  
Agenda.  
Meeting, July 24, 10:a.m

Council Agenda.

1. Discussion of new FOSNCC groups and the development of new regional offices. Mike Miller
2. Report on farm worker/strike in Visalia (to be covered in The Movement). Terry Cannon rent
3. Discussion of the Poor Peoples Conference. Danny Benson.
4. Discussion of work in E. Oakland with gangs. Ron Bridgeforth.
5. Fund-raising activities: reports on projected activities. Betty Garman called today (Wednesday) to say that they are in desperate need of funds and that Atlanta would like to have some assessment of how much can be expected in the next two months.
6. Discussion of The Movement. Distribution problems, FOSNCC and The Movement, etc. Terry Cannon.

Interoffice notes.

1. FOSNCC groups or already existing groups that will take on FOSNCC activities are springing up all over the place: Santa Rose-Sonoma; Santa Cruz-Watsonville; Monterey-Carmel. I've been traveling to these areas and will have a report on what's going on and what we can expect from them.
2. 350 people, over half of them farm workers, marched from Linell labor camp to Visalia to protest farm worker housing rent increases. The housing is operated by the county public housing authority, supposedly on a non-profit basis. In the last two years profit was over \$130,000. Cannon, Bridgeforth and Benson were there from SNCC.
3. Terry, Ron and I joined with Jimmy Garrett of So. Cal. SNCC staff as panelists at a recent "school" for the United Steelworkers of America (AFL-CIO). We had a hot session with trade unionists about the unions and the civil rights movement. We were invited (and had our way paid) by the UCLA Institute of Industrial Relations.
4. "Poor Peoples Conferences" are being organized in a number of places around the country. The idea is to bring together in day or two-day meetings the new leadership emerging in such things as tenant unions, welfare rights organizations, and so forth. Danny Benson is interested in organizing such a conference in the Bay Area.
5. The Movement is receiving enthusiastic response but, at the same time, is causing problems in the FOSNCC, especially around distribution, mailing costs, etc. Creative ideas to help with the solution of these problems are needed.
6. FUNDS DESPERATELY NEEDED IN THE SOUTH. PLEASE KEEP ACTIVITIES UP AND LET OTHER GROUPS KNOW OF GOOD IDEAS THAT YOU MAY HAVE.

Meeting at St. Mary's College, San Mateo, Calif. 7/24/68  
- concert in school auditorium  
- no fund collecting, use of campus  
- collect outside doors

St. Mary's College, San Mateo, Calif.  
- concert (theological seminar)  
- contact: Rick Fomer, 376-8361  
- arrangement is 60% for SNCC, 40% for other

STURDY APPL 51  
ALL BY - BDEEP

TO: FRIENDS AND SUPPORTERS OF THE STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE  
FROM: Mike Miller, Regional representative  
RE: RECENT SNCC NATIONAL STAFF MEETING AND SUBSEQUENT NEWSPAPER STORIES

Snick is again in the headlines with a number of exaggerated or distorted stories about its recent national staff meeting and changes in leadership. The following points may help clarify some of the issues that have been raised (a more detailed statement should soon be available and can be obtained from the local SNCC office by request):

1. SNCC has always been interested in the development of independent Negro power in the South. This interest goes back to 1961 and the first organizing efforts in Albany, Georgia and Southwest Mississippi. John Lewis, Chairman of SNCC for the past several years, has always called for the development of "black pockets of power" in the black belt (Counties with over 50% Negro population) of the South.
2. The third parties formed in several counties of Alabama are a new form of this independent organizing. It should be noted that in Alabama it is legally possible to form a third party on the county level. Thus, in black belt counties there is a possibility of Negroes being elected to the seats of county government through their own political party. (The fee for Negroes to file as candidates in the Democratic Party primary was \$500 in Lowndes County. Average Negro income is about \$1200.) John Hulett, Chairman of the Lowndes County Freedom Organization, whose symbol is the black panther, recently said that whites could join the Freedom Organization if they wanted to. He also said that his interest is in establishing independent power for Negroes and that the form of this power would vary with the local situation.
3. It has been SNCC's experience in the South that the remnants of an inferiority complex still exist in sections of the Negro community. To deal with this problem-- which is best summed up by the well known ghetto phrase, "If you're black stay back; if you're brown, stick around; if you're white you're right"--SNCC has decided that more attention must be paid by the organization to issues of culture and identity in the Negro community. To that end, there will be an increased effort to develop materials dealing with Negro history and the American Negroes' heritage in Africa. The development of a "cultural base" now becomes an important aspect of the SNCC program.
4. SNCC's refusal to participate in the forthcoming White House Conference on civil rights is based on the organization's feeling that the Conference will be just another talk session with no action forthcoming. It is also based on a disagreement with one of the basic assumptions of the conference. This assumption was made explicit when Conference Chairman Ben Heineman said that the Conference was concerned with how to assimilate the Negro into American culture. Two remarks can be made about this: (1) it is SNCC's explicit purpose to change aspects of American culture; (2) SNCC is opposed to that kind of integration that leads to the denial of cultural uniquenesses and contributions of different ethnic and racial groups to the country. The full text of the SNCC Statement on the White House Conference on Civil Rights is available from the local SNCC office.
5. The change in SNCC leadership is probably best understood as a desire on the part of the staff to have as chairman someone who comes out of independent County organizing in the black belt and who can give this direction to the whole organization. Stokely Carmichael worked for about one year with the Lowndes County Freedom Organization. John Lewis, SNCC's third national chairman (he was preceded by Marion Barry and Charles McDew), was elected to the new 10 man central committee of SNCC with the highest number of votes cast for the Committee.
6. Given the big press play to SNCC's new "Nationalism", it is interesting to note that Jack Minnis, who is white, was also elected to the 10 man committee. Further, the staff approved the idea of beginning work in poor white communities and Minnis will be investigating the possibilities of white community projects in Tennessee.



MEMO TO: Key Bay Area Friends of SNCC  
FROM: Mike Miller, SNCC Regional Representative  
RE: THE ORGANIZATION OF SNCC IN THE BAY AREA

*file SF*

The purpose of this memo is to outline some of the problems that I see in Bay Area Friends of SNCC. Let me first try to outline the model and then let's see where it works and doesn't work. The model is of autonomous Friends of SNCC groups around the Bay Area, deciding on how and what they will do within the framework of SNCC National policy. These groups are serviced by the staff which operates out of the regional office. Coordination and communication is accomplished via (1) Council meetings with representatives from the Friends groups; (2) The Bay Area Newsletter; (3) Minutes and memos from the Regional Office. Standing and special Bay Area committees are created around on-going problems and particular issues or organizational needs.

What happens? The groups in the area are tremendously different. Some have a structure and personnel; some don't. Some communicate regularly with the Regional Office; some don't. Some regularly attend Council meetings; some don't. Some have many contacts in the community; some have few. Some have excellent workers; some don't.

I would like to make some suggestions to help remedy these differences in organization and to remedy some of our own internal problems.

- (1) Each Friends of SNCC group should have a ~~volunteer staff of workers~~ <sup>Board</sup> who will at least serve to open avenues of communication into community organization. San Francisco is strongest on this.
- (2) Each Friends of SNCC group should have a volunteer staff of workers who will execute program. East Bay is strongest on this.
- (3) Each Friends of SNCC group should have people specifically responsible for the following areas of activity: a) finances; b) newsletter; c) political pressure; d) speaking tours; e) special programs; f) house-parties; g) publicity; h) recruitment of volunteers; i) speaker's bureau; j) ?????  
These people would relate directly to the Bay Area office. For example, the newsletter committee would work with Jeannette Harris in preparation of the newsletter. The publicity committee would work on Bay Area publicity with Norma Whittaker.
- (4) Both staff and board would be represented in the Bay Area Council, which would make decisions regarding the organization.
- (5) The Bay Area office has to improve its relations with Friends of SNCC groups by a) getting more regular communication to them; b) meeting more frequently with staff and board people in the different Friends of SNCC groups; c) establishing an internal weekly news-bulletin with information and ideas from the different Friends groups.
- (6) We ought to have some more regional activities which will bring people from the different Friends of SNCC groups together. The Conference did this for the West Coast. We might begin to think of what kinds of things we'd like to do in the Bay Area along this line.

QUESTION TO BE CONSIDERED AT THE BAY AREA STAFF MEETING OF SNCC

ORGANIZATIONAL:

- 1) How do we coordinate the dissemination of literature?.. It would seem that a large amount of the available literature is concentrated in one area.
- 2) How can we best coordinate activities between groups in matters of joint sponsorship,.., and is joint sponsorship a more efficient way of planning an event.
- 3) Would it not be more informative if a brief report was submitted to an office, then compiled and put in the news letter that would be sent to the heads of each Friends of SNCC group.... every ten days.
- 4) How is a Speaker's Bureau to be set up .. should not one individual in each group be responsible for handling the mechanics of this operation?
- 5) For purposes of better information should not each organization's chairman have the addresses and phone numbers of both offices and homes of the officers in the other groups?

PHILOSOPHICAL

- 1) The Ga yden question... how do we solve such situations in the future?
  - 2) Can we justify the practice that information as to policy, or events is only available to a small group of individuals.. especially if such information affects others?
  - 3) What guidelines should we use in interviewing individuals who desire to go South?
  - 4) Should we start putting more emphasis on pushing our movement over the heads of the established community leadership or groups?
  - 5) Should the representatives of each group have a stronger voice in the policies of the Regional Office of SNCC?
  - 6) Would we be hurting ourselves if we sponsored or acted more directly in poignant matters concerning us? (i.e. - organization of demonstrations in regard to the Southern Movement; a new emphasis and reevaluation of our efforts pertaining to political pressure. )
- Misc. 1.) Plan.. the setting up of collection and information tables during Christmas in major Bay Area shopping areas.

Compiled and submitted by  
Jeff Freed , Chairman  
S.F. State SNCC

file  
SF  
FOS

ORGANIZATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS INTERESTED IN:

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE  
MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY  
COUNCIL OF FEDERATED ORGANIZATIONS  
GENERAL INFORMATION ON THE SOUTHERN FREEDOM  
MOVEMENT

RE: INADEQUACY OF MASS MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ABOVE.

FROM: WINE WILNER, RAY ARFA REPRESENTATIVE, STUDENT NONVIOLENT  
COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Despite the fact that the above organizations have all issued and  
continue to issue press releases, analyses, program reports and  
other materials on the Southern freedom movement, it is almost  
impossible to find out in the mass media what is going on in the  
South.

Enclosed is a sample of what comes into our office regularly. We  
believe you will be interested in this material and in the contin-  
uous flow of important information that comes into our office.  
To make this material available on a regular basis to you, we would  
like to establish a KEY LIST MAILING--a list of people who would  
receive a bi-weekly mailing including releases from MFDP, COFO, SNCC,  
and material of general interest and reprints of articles from such  
magazines as The New Republic, The Nation, Commonweal, and so forth.  
Because of our limited resources, we are asking people who are  
interested in being on the KEY LIST to send us \$10 earmarked for the  
purpose of receiving the KEY LIST MAILING. If there is sufficient  
demand for the KEY LIST MAILING, we will start sending you mailings  
within two weeks. If there is not such a demand, we will return your \$10.

Following is a list of some of the topics and areas of interest that  
will be covered in the KEY LIST MAILING if there is demand for it:

- MFDP Congressional Challenge
- MFDP Summer Project in Mississippi
- Administration attempts to weaken MFDP
- COFO Freedom Schools
- COFO Community Centers
- COFO Federal programs
- COFO and the "War on Poverty"
- FBI inaction in the South
- Justice Department inaction and action in the South
- Southern Community power structure reports and studies
- Mississippi Student Union reports and conventions
- SNCC "Black Belt" organizing
- SECC field reports about organizing in the Black Belt
- SNCC and other civil rights organizations (CORE, NAACP,  
SCLC, etc.)

Our idea is to send the material with an accompanying one page  
summary of contents. The one page summaries could serve as an  
index to topics covered and issues discussed in the KEY LIST MAILING.

We look forward to hearing from you--and to any remarks you might have  
regarding this proposal.

Estimated cost per year of the KEY LIST MAILING:

20 pages per issue 26 times per year @ \$10 per year.

Per mailing, per year, based on 200 subscribers:

Paper...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	\$2.10
Stencils, ink, repairs.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	.25
Envelopes	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	.25
Stamps..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2.60
Misc. materials...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	.10
Labor...	..(based on 1/4 typist @ \$25/week)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6.50

10.70

We hope that there are 200 of you out there who are interested  
in receiving the KEY LIST MAILING.

DEADLINE FOR SUBSCRIPTIONS TO THE KEY LIST MAILING IS:

ENCLOSED IS A BUSINESS REPLY ENVELOPE FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE.

February 25, 1968

JUSTICE DEPARTMENT ACTIVITY

In Dallas County, Alabama

The Justice Department has been active in litigation and investigation in the state of Alabama since passage of civil rights legislation in 1957 and 1960 and has brought some action under the Civil Rights Act of 1964. A culmination of this activity occurred on January 15, 1965, when the U.S. brought suit against the state of Alabama (defendants being the state and its Secretary of State) to prevent use of a difficult literacy test instituted in September, 1964, as one of the state's voter registration requirements.

The government contends that the new test violates the educational requirements for voting of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. This suit is similar to statewide suits pending against Louisiana (two such suits) and Mississippi. Previously, individual suits have been lodged against boards of registrars in various Alabama counties, contending discrimination of one variety or another. The government's current suit is seen to be applicable to all of Alabama's 67 counties, and, if ever ruled on favorable, would enjoin the state from engaging in any act which would deprive Alabama citizens of their right to register and vote. Whatever the promise of this new suit, it might be instructive to view the last few years of Justice Department activity in strife-torn Dallas County, where voter registration activities had been conducted by SNCC since 1962, to determine the Department's actual accomplishments in coming to the relief of Alabama's citizens. A brief tabulation follows:

U.S. v Victor E. Atkins, et al Suit was filed against Dallas County Board of Registrars on April 13, 1965. The Justice Department had first to get a court order to examine records of registrars after delaying tactics by the Board. An injunction was sought to prevent further discrimination in voter registration by the registrars. Meanwhile, new registrars were appointed so the U.S. District Court denied granting an injunction on grounds that the new board had not engaged in discriminatory acts.

The court did enjoin against the board's not allowing persons to reapply after failing the registration test. The Justice Department appealed the case and the District Court was instructed by the Appellate Court to issue an injunction against the registrars' rejecting applicants for minor errors when otherwise qualified, against using tests without first submitting to the court the answers by which the test was to be graded, to stop using oral tests, and to give persons the reason for their rejection. This relief was

granted on November 2, 1963, thirty months after litigation was started. Judge Cameron, federal judge who sat on the panel which heard the appeal, concurred with Judge Thomas's earlier remark that "The whole country should be proud of the job now being done by the present Board of Registrars of Dallas County."

U.S. v Dallas County, et al: Complaint was filed by the Justice Department on June 26, 1963, against the County, Sheriff Clark, the State District Solicitor Blanchard McLeod, and Dallas County Solicitor Henry Reese. This was an attempt to get federal district Court to enjoin conduct of these officials from intimidating potential Negro registration applicants. Judge Thomas refused to grant relief, which would have, among other things, prevented Sheriff Clark and his agents from attending voter registration meetings. Appeal of this decision by the Justice Department on June 27, 1963, failed.

This injunction was to have been preliminary to a hearing, which was then postponed by the District Court to an unspecified date because of unrest in Selma. The Justice Department succeeded in getting a hearing, but only after first requesting a writ of mandamus from the appeals court. The threat of this writ possibly forced the District Court to set a date for the hearing, and the Appellate Court then had no necessity to issue the writ. On October 15, 1963, before Judge Thomas, the hearing was held. Judge Thomas then denied the request for an injunction on March 19, 1964. The Justice Department has the case on appeal.

U.S. v McLeod, et al: Filed by the Justice Department November 12, 1963, naming as defendants Blanchard McLeod, the state District Solicitor; Sheriff Jim Clark; State Circuit Judge James Hare; M.H. Houston, Clerk of the Circuit Court; the Foreman of the Circuit Court Grand Jury; and the Dallas County Citizens Council's officers. The Justice Department sought to enjoin these persons from conduct intimidating persons attempting to register and asked that the County Grand Jury be temporarily restrained from requiring Justice Department personnel to appear until a court hearing could be conducted about this procedure. This was shortly after the Justice Department had become embroiled in controversy with the state, having to do with voter registration demonstrations and an incident whereby Martin Luther King was transported in a Justice Department rented car from Birmingham to Selma. It was a clear attempt to investigate and embarrass the Justice Department.

Federal Circuit Judge Thomas refused to issue an order restraining the defendants' harassment techniques. On November 13, 1963, the Court of Appeals reversed Judge Thomas's decision, and thereby prevented the Grand Jury of Dallas County from calling up such persons as Burke Marshall and John Doar, who were busily engaged in doing the business of their office.

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Incidentally, a letter of Burke Marshall's (see Congressional Record, Feb. 7, 1964, page 2425) reveals that such Justice Department activity hardly warranted harassment by Alabamans. Marshall explained the function of the Justice Department's man-on-the-scene Henderson, who was later sacked from the King car incident:

"Mr. Henderson has been particularly valuable to the U.S. in keeping this Department advised as to the scope and nature of planned demonstrations. On each of such assignments, the local FBI agents were aware of Mr. Henderson's presence and, I believe, the local sheriff and the Chief of Police are also aware of his presence. To date I have received no complaint about Mr. Henderson's handling of his assignments. On the contrary, it has happened that local law enforcement officers have sought and obtained information from Mr. Henderson in their preparation for handling tense situations."

Judge Thomas issued the court order as directed by the Appellate Court on November 14, 1963. From December 5-18 hearings were held before Thomas's court to resolve the matter of U.S. v McLeod, et al. On March 19, 1964, Judge Thomas ruled against the Justice Department, dissolving the previous injunction. The Justice Department, asked Judge Thomas that a temporary injunction be granted pending appeal. This was denied on March 30, 1964. The case is now on appeal.

State Circuit Judge James Hare issued an injunction during July, 1964 against demonstrations by all groups in Selma. The Justice Department asked Judge Thomas to overrule Hare. This move was combined with the following two suits.

U.S. v. Clark, et al.: On September 2, 1964, former Attorney General Kennedy filed suit against Sheriff Clark, his deputies and posse, State Solicitor McLeod, State Judge James Hare, County Judge Reynolds, and the City of Selma. The Justice Department asked for a three judge panel to hear the arguments and issue an injunction against the defendants on the grounds that

"the defendants have used their official posts to maintain and enforce racial segregation in public facilities and accommodations to preserve white supremacy."

and that

"throughout their respective tenures in office the defendants have engaged in a pattern of conduct with the purpose of preventing desegregation of public accommodations and of interfering with the exercise by Negroes of their right to vote."

U.S. v Warren County et al.: Also filed by the Justice Department on September 2, 1964, was this suit against five Selma restaurants for violation of Title II of the Civil Rights Act dealing with discrimination in public accommodations.

-4-

On December 7, 1964, hearing on U.S. v Warren Co., et al was conducted in Selma before a three judge panel which included Judge Thomas. On December 8, 1964, the hearings were completed. Briefs must be filed by both sides by mid-February, and the court is expected to rule within the next few months.

This history of Justice Department activity spotlights the legal state of affairs in Selma and Dallas County: the impotency of the courts to relieve an inevitable situation produced by cases not yet ruled on that remain tied up in the federal court system on appeal. Congressman Resnick's (NY) recent remarks in the Congressional Record seem well founded:

"As early as 1961, soon after the passage of the 1960 Civil Rights Act, the Justice Department filed suit against the Board of Registrars of Dallas County. Four years and five more Federal suits later effective relief is yet to be forthcoming, and the first voting referendum is yet to be appointed. The extraordinary concentration of the legal resources of the Justice Department has been to no avail."

Sheriff James Clark, with three federal suits pending against his brutal actions, continues to outrage the nation. And the lines of applicants continue to queue up so that Negro citizens may have their brief, futile encounter with the Dallas County Board of Registrars.

The Justice Department has broken their activities down to a fine science, as displayed by this statement included by the Department in January, 1964, during a hearing before the House Appropriations Committee:

"During the fiscal year over 30,000 records were photographed in 11 Alabama counties. Some 31,000 applications in 12 Alabama counties were processed of which 23,000 were analyzed to determine whether cases should be filed. Some 10,000 were processed in cases where the Division has received favorable judgments or concluded successful negotiations. In six Alabama counties, voter registration records are photographed at regular intervals and must be processed on a continuing basis. Since the close of the fiscal year, records have been photographed in an additional 14 Alabama counties."

Perhaps we need to charge the Justice Department with something more than a mindless mechanical approach to a vital problem. On January 21, 1965, Judge Thomas was petitioned by NAACP lawyers to issue an injunction against Sheriff Clark's repressive acts. Thomas granted this relief on January 23, saying:

"Under the guise of enforcement there shall be no intimidation, harrassment, or the like, of the citizens of Dallas County legitimately attempting to register to vote, nor of those legally attempting to aid others in registering to vote, or encouraging them."

On the scene was U.S. Deputy Marshall Fountain, policing the Federal Judge's ruling for the Justice Department. He chose to enforce the ruling to its strictest letter, even denying registration drive leaders the right to speak to applicants in line or bring them food and water. Inspection of the statement of Judge Thomas's rule given above indicates this Justice Department man's sudden zeal for enforcement exceeded the bounds of the court order. There were no complaints from Sheriff Cark, at whom the injunction was aimed.

And there have been no complaints from him since then.

Last minute memo to SNCC Chairman--from Mike.

*file Bay Area*

1. I will be leaving for New York this coming Sunday night and will be gone for about a week. I'll be stopping in at N.Y. SNCC and in Washington MFDP trying to pick up information and find out what's going on so I can bring a full report back to you. If there's anything you want me to particularly be looking for, let me know.
2. Regarding the vigils we spoke of for Sunday, January 3. I have some general suggestions which you can do what you like with. (1) for the vigil to be a success, you need no great number of people, but you should have some name people to join the regulars; (2) in case you do get press coverage, it would be good if you decided before the vigil took place who the group spokesmen would be; the spokesmen should be well informed on the Challenge and the fairness resolution; (3) you may want to combine the vigil with an open meeting--some of the people who come down could make some remarks about the MFDP and their support for it; (4) you should try to get some kind of phone tree going for the vigil--as a way to turn people out--and as a way to begin to develop a rapid means of communication.
3. MFDP Challenge. Latest news is that William Fitz-Ryan will soon hold a press conference announcing support for the challenge and for the fairness resolution. Washington reports that they have little support in the Congress for the thing now. This means that heat has got to be placed on Congressmen, if even to neutralize them. THE REPORT IN THE PAPER THAT ALL THE LAWYERS NEEDED FOR THE TAKING OF DEPOSITIONS HAVE ALREADY BEEN RECRUITED IS UNTRUE. If lawyers in your area would like to go to Mississippi after the beginning of the year, for a minimum of \$ a week, they should contact Atty Ed Stern in San Francisco at 421-7616. Also ongoing work will be needed on the Challenge since at some point the thing will again come before the House of Representatives.
4. Interesting news from Mississippi. Negro farmers contested elections in the Agricultural Stabilization Committees (ASC). These Committees are locally elected and perform administrative functions under the Dept of Agriculture. Especially important is the fact that they determine cotton allotments and that cotton is the major cash crop in many sections of Mississippi. Negro candidates won the top three seats in one community. In other areas they won one and two seats. The Dept of Agriculture seems to be taking a good attitude ~~xxxxxxx~~ regarding communities and counties where there is a dispute regarding the election. One elected Negro has already had reprisals taken against him. His landlord doubled his rent (he is a tenant farmer). But he's sticking it out.
5. PLEASE TRY TO FIND US A THERMOFAX. THIS IS SOMETHING THAT WILL BE TREMENDOUSLY HELPFUL FOR YOU. MANY THINGS COME INTO THIS OFFICE THAT I WOULD LIKE YOU TO SEE. IT IS IMPOSSIBLE FOR US TO TYPE THEM UP AND REPRODUCE THEM BY DITTO OR MINEO. IF WE HAD A GOOD PHOTOCOPY MACHINE, WE COULD GET THESE MATERIALS OUT TO YOU RIGHT AWAY. MAYBE SOMEONE WITH A FANCY OFFICE COULD BUY ONE AND DEDUCT IT AS A BUSINESS EXPENSE AND NOT EVEN KNOW THE DIFFERENCE???
6. We should have reports on trucks to Mississippi and the specifics of the adopt a worker and adopt a freedom school or community center program by the next Council meeting.

CAMPUS TRAVELERS REPORT  
360 Nelson Street  
Atlanta, Georgia

The campus traveling program for this year just got started a couple of weeks ago with four travelers working in six states. Mike Simmons - Virginia and North Carolina; Willie Ricks - South Carolina; Bob Smith - Mississippi; Issac Allen - Arkansas and Tennessee.

During these two weeks, only two of the travelers were able to begin work. Their reports are included herein. With Ricks, the lack of a car and money prevented him from going to South Carolina. Bob has been busy in Mississippi with the ASGS elections.

Both Issac and Mike, after two weeks of traveling, are very enthusiastic about the program. They both agree, however, that the program, because of the small number of people who are interested in campus traveling, should be cut down to include only about three or four states.

There have been only two meeting of the campus travelers. We have not yet sat down and drawn up a list of objectives for the program. We felt that the travelers should first visit the campuses for a while and feel the program out before drawing up a list of objectives. This should be done very soon and will be sent out to the staff.

Jeanne Breaker - Coordinator

Report of Meeting with Students  
at Tennessee A&I  
Issac Allen

Monday, November 15th, a meeting was held between myself and seven students who had expressed a desire to try to correct some of the iniquities at their school. We talked about problems at the school and some of the most obvious were:

1. Unsanitary conditions in the cafeteria
  - A. Crowded condition
  - B. Manner in which food is served
2. Dissatisfaction with library service
  - A. Many of the books are outdated
  - B. Students are not allowed to look for their own books, instead they have to consult the card catalogue and show in written form what they want to the librarian who then goes and get the book. The atmosphere is not conducive for curious -type student - too restrictive.
3. Girls are not allowed to smoke outside the building.
4. Students not allowed to relax on lawns or sit on the steps too long.
5. Students are not allowed to practice jazz on pianos or use any of the college equipment to practice jazz. Musical director say this creates wrong kind of atmosphere and that students have been using Fisk University for these reasons.

After a discussion for solution of these and other problems, the idea of a "Club Week" was presented by two students. This club week would have booths sponsored by various clubs to stimulate interest in whatever the club was pushing. Also they would serve as information devices. It is thought that this alone would stimulate interest on the campus, and if channelled the right way, could involve more students in the working of the school. It was pointed out that the student body was actually nothing and that they really had no voice in the school politics. Out of this we came to the idea of a "soap-box" approach to student



involvement.

The idea is to get at least five people who are interested in at least five different topics (Vietnam, Congo, Tenn. A&I, etc.) who are not necessarily well-versed, but have solid feelings and ideas about what they chose to speak on actual soapboxes (well, orange-crates anyway). This would, hopefully, cause a lot of commotion and would draw a positive reaction from the audience, like debates, etc. A follow-up would be something like a meeting to further discuss these issues (the subject of which would be decided later). This I think, would be a very sound initial attempt at arousing student interest. A meeting was scheduled for the following Wednesday, the 17th, which I was unable to attend because I left town on Tuesday. I am awaiting a report.

SNCC was started by Southern Negro college students and has expanded to encompass students across the nation. Now we have reached a point where Northern students know more about SNCC and what we are doing than southern students. This would appear that there is a definite need to establish communication with students all over the south to inform them of the Movement and of the role which they, as students, can play.

Before going into methods of organizing students, a few things should be mentioned. One is an observation that I made while working on campuses for the past two weeks. There is a definite parallel between a Southern Negro community and the white power structure, and college students (especially Negro) and their relationships with the administration.

In a Negro community in the South you find people accepting laws which they don't like and didn't have a part in making. Although they dislike the laws, there is fear and/or apathy that stop them from doing anything about that. In southern colleges you find the same situation. Students must adhere to laws that they feel are unfair. Yet there is fear and apathy that prevent them from doing anything about their situation. This, to me, in part explains the unconcern which we find in Negro college graduates. They get accustomed to accepting rules and laws while in college and carry this into their lives after graduation. I know there are many other significant factors involved in this apparent lack of involvement of Negro college students -- but, this is one which should not be overlooked.

Mike's report 2

This leads into ways of going about organizing college students. The manner in which I have done this is to go on a campus and talk about SNCC and the movement. This type of conversation eventually leads into the problems of the particular college where you happen to be. From there students want to know how they can go about attacking the problems of the campus. Most students are also concerned about local matters and methods of going about solving problems.

My goal at this point is to have conferences on each campus that will lead up to a state conference that will eventually lead up to a south-wide student conference. It is hoped that by having the conferences made up by and for the students, there will be commitments made by them to take part in the movement at some level (not necessarily SNCC).

Some activities which have just started on Virginia campuses are as follows:

St. Paul College - There is a group of students who are attempting to organize their campus around antiquated rules and regulations of the college. Since the town (Lawrenceville) is so small, their protest may include citizens of the town.

Virginia State - Petersburg, Va. - Students are in the process of setting up a conference concerning civil rights and other political issues. This is planned for late December or early January. It is hoped that some SNCC people will attend the conference. More information on this will follow.

Virginia Union, Richmond, Va. - At this campus, students are doing many things. They have begun to attack problems on the campus. They haven't just stopped there. They want to organize a SNCC chapter on campus and try to attack some of the problems of the Richmond community.

One thing which students have been talking about in Richmond is attacking the lack of a compulsory school law in the state of Virginia. An attempt will be made to mobilize Richmond students and students at nearby colleges around this issue.

Mike's report 3

The things mentioned are just a few ways that I feel a student can become involved in the struggle. It is hoped that some ideas for the campus travelers will come out of this staff meeting. It is my belief that the need to do <sup>something</sup> about the entire Negro campus situation is urgent and should be done by SNCC.

It has  
 appointed to manage in direct cooperation with  
 some of the government officials

70  
 70

63-65  
 Sept

If any of these groups could get together I shall  
 and just discuss the problem we are facing with  
 Black Muslim  
 NAACP  
 CORE  
 SCLC  
 BRAM Legal  
 SMLC

Barber 3,485 Negro Register

60 people water in Alabama

Barber 31 1/2 mb  
 main

Alabama

- (1) Wilcox
- (2) Louder 84 So Negro - 2000 Register
- (3) Hale (1) 1st obj is to get control of the Courthouse  
 (2) term (Vigil) Solidarity, Civil Judge - Sheriff  
 Jun system
- (4) Barber (3) Power
- (5) Green
- (6) Bell
- (7) Wall
- (8) main

Local 1966  
 State 1968  
 Natl 1972

2 Staff  
 3 Man-alation  
 70 Paper, Publ, media, Postage  
 Workshops

6 ed to go People  
 1 legal

St Home Dist

CONFIDENTIAL

Memo to Northern offices  
 From Margaret Lauren

Re: The MFLU

The Northern office has been disturbed by the lack of information about the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union and by rumors of mismanagement of funds and factions within the union. We have also felt a need to have a clearer picture of what it is the Union needs and what the northern staff can do to fill those needs.

Week before last I went over to the Delta to see what the story was. I did not talk to the Chairman of the Union, but I did talk with several local people in the Delta and several members of the SNCC staff.

I don't think it is necessary to go into a long description of the kind of life that most of the people in the union have lived. You know about the poverty and squalor, the hungry stomachs, the crowded, cold houses, the despair that comes from not knowing where your next meal or your children's next meal is coming from. We assume you know how it feels, perhaps, to have lost your 30¢ an hour job because of the movement activity and have no prospects for ever getting another one.

The MFLU began last spring at a Freedom School meeting near Greenwood, Miss., when farm workers decided they would strike for a decent hourly wage, unemployment compensation, time and a half for overtime, and other things that enable people to live a decent life in return for their labor. SNCC workers Bob Weil and Mary Sue Galletely were working on the union last spring, along with Liz Fusco, who at that time was on the CORE staff.

The workers' approach was to let the local people run their own union. This meant raise all their funds, do their own organizing and communications work and in short--sink or swim. Problems involved in obtaining food and housing and clothing for the people who went on strike were turned over directly to the local people and Bob and Mary Sue provided them with names of people to write to in the north and ask for support.

Local people wrote their own letters, did their own fund raising and press work. The Northern Office in Atlanta was specifically asked not to interfere or to raise supplies and money for the union because these workers wanted to give the local people a chance to develop and learn to carry on the union after they left. We agreed.

The local people also did their own bookkeeping.

The strike was not a success, the local people say, although many workers stayed away from the fields and many maids stayed out of the white folks' homes last spring.

The Union was never chartered under the laws of the state or any other laws.

In addition to this, apparently no system of acknowledging contributions to the union was ever set up and few receipts were ever sent out. One labor union in the north sent several thousand dollars down, but there is apparently no accounting for it.

Last summer a "freedom garden" was cultivated to help raise money for the winter. However, people who worked in the garden needed food and it was distributed among them.

This fall the union people decided that in order to survive, they would have to go back to the fields and help harvest the cotton crop, and people have done so. Of course, many folks don't have any hope of going back to work and are unemployed.

Just as the people were going back to work in August, the Delta Ministry of the National Council of Churches of Jesus Christ distributed

\$30,000 worth of food and clothes collected by the National Student Association.

The Delta Ministry established welfare committees through their own movement contacts to distribute the food and clothes which were different from welfare committees local union people had set up to distribute food and clothes. Each community where the Delta Ministry has distributed the food and clothes has been split into factions. Some communities were already split over the distribution of food and clothes which the union had handled and were then split again.

My impression of the labor union was rather discouraging. People are still suffering, but they have not begun working together because of divisions and factions within communities over who gets what food and what money. In some towns people on one end of town won't have anything to do with people in the other part of town. It is important to remember that this is not the first time welfare programs have disrupted communities of very poor and oppressed people.

The Northern office feels that we should ask people in the north to send food and clothing to the Delta despite the condition of the union structure because there is such a desperate need for it. At a union meeting in Shaw last Friday, October 22, local people also asked that people in the north be contacted about sending toys for the children at Christmas. We feel it is also important that northern groups, when sending supplies like this down to the Delta, make sure that boxes go to each community directly (see list of locals in Oct, 28 FOS mailing) and not just to the union headquarters. We are going ahead with promoting these drives in the north. But we feel that people who work in the northern offices should have an understanding of what the union is doing at this stage.

We also feel there is a need for a staff person to work directly with the MFLU who can help straighten out the books, work on getting information out to northern supporters, and coordinate a fair distribution of food, clothing and other resources. soon.

file

Bay Area Friends of

# STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

OCTOBER 1964



## MFDP EXPLAINS ITS STAND

On August 29, Aaron E. Henry, Chairman of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party delegation to the National Democratic Convention, then concluded in Atlantic City, released a "Position Paper," which stated in part:

The participation of the MFDP..... focused the attention of the World on the problems of the Negro People in Mississippi. This participation rejected the issue of White America telling Negroes who their leaders will be, and this participation also rejected the idea of tokenism that White America is using all over the Country to silence the Negro demands for freedom.

..... We..... came within one vote in the Credentials Committee of winning all we went to Atlantic City for, and that was to be seated as the Democratic representatives from the state of Mississippi. It took the personal hand of President Lyndon Johnson to keep this vote from our grasp. It was not that the President was against us, however, he took the position that he would lose the states of Texas, Arkansas, Tennessee, and Georgia, in addition to Mississippi and Alabama, if the Convention voted to seat.... the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. Thus the issue within the Administration was purely political .....

[To] Senator Hubert Humphery and Mr. Walter Reuther who tried to get the Miss. Freedom delegation to accept the Credentials Committee's report (the compromise?) that seated the all-white, racist, disloyal delegation from the state of Miss. and refused to seat us, a delegation pledged to support the Democratic Party ticket with all we have, we say, we are truly sorry that you could not come up with a proposition that our delegation in good conscience [could] accept. We admit to not being politically oriented. Our orientation is based on morality and rightness. This is the only way we know how to fight, and we pray for the day when

CONTINUED PAGE TWO

## LOCAL AFFAIRS

The East Bay Office is not collecting any more clothes or books. So far this year over \$1,200 was spent shipping these things South. (And there's still 2000 lbs. of books presently stored in the office to be sorted, packed and shipped.) The South would prefer having the money.

BAY AREA FRIENDS OF SNCC  
SENT SOUTH THIS YEAR

\$26,186.  
11 cars } FROM JAN. TO AUG.  
6300 lbs. of clothes }

.....

JOE RAUH (Freedom Democratic Party attorney) to speak on panel on Mississippi October 17, 2:00 p.m. at Marines Memorial Auditorium in San Francisco; \$1.00 general; \$.50 students.

## BAY AREA FRIENDS OF SNCC CONFERENCE

Discussion of the early populist movement and its lessons for us, of the Federal Government and the South, of activities of Friends of SNCC groups, and major addresses by Robert Moses, Director of the Mississippi Summer Project will be the main events of a forthcoming SNCC Conference.

The Conference will take place in San Francisco on November 13, 14, and 15. Registration: \$3.00 (general), \$2.00 students. Send to SNCC, 584 Page Street, San Francisco. Full details in the November Newsletter.

politics will embrace, without reservation, these two factors, so that we will not only walk in the same direction, but we will walk that way together.

Our delegates will be happy to speak all over America for the National Democratic Party in our effort and promise, regardless of the outcome of our fight in Atlantic City, that we would come home and work for the election of the National Democratic Ticket. We ask now for your assistance in relieving local harassment by local White Officials so that this can be done.

In the meantime let us work together from now until 1968 to make sure that by then the National Democratic Party will have purged itself of all evils pertaining to race, religion or national origin of Americans who are seeking the opportunity to participate .....

#### FOR SAFETY AGAINST MISSISSIPPI LAW & ORDER

Denied federal protection from the established lawlessness of Mississippi, the civil rights movement there has had to develop its own. A "Security Handbook" minutely itemizes safety measures for staff, volunteers and local residents. Its instructions on travel read: "a. When persons leave their project, they must call their project person-to-person for themselves on arrival at destination point. Should they be missing, project personnel will notify the Jackson office.... (Care should be taken at all times to avoid, if possible, full names of persons travelling.).....

b. Doors of cars should be locked at all times. At night, windows should be rolled up as much as possible. Gas tanks must have locks and be kept locked. Hoods should also be locked.

c. No one should go *anywhere* alone, but certainly not in an automobile, and certainly not at night.

d. Travel at night should be avoided unless absolutely necessary.

e. Remove all unnecessary objects from your car which could be construed as weapons. (Hammers, files, iron rules, etc.) Absolutely no liquor bottles, beer cans, etc. should be inside your car. Do not travel with names and addresses of local contacts.

f. Know all roads in and out of town. Study the county map.

g. Know locations of sanctuaries and safe homes in the county.

h. When getting out of a car at night, make sure the car's inside light is out.

i. Be conscious of cars which circle offices or Freedom Houses. Take license numbers of all suspicious cars. Note make, model and year. Cars without license plate should immediately be reported to the project office.

#### SUMMER VOLUNTEER SEES MISS. FEAR

At the end of his first week as a voter registration worker in Hattiesburg, Larry Spears wrote his church members:

"As people talk and as I notice my own reactions, fear here is an everyday problem. It is a constant of a Negro's life in Mississippi. Sometimes it is amorphous and general. Sometimes it is clear and specific. But it is constant. There is general fear for one's self, one's home, and one's family, the fear of physical injury or death and economic destruction in the form of a job lost or threat of a job lost. And there are specific threats and examples of violence intended to frighten although the threat is small in itself.

"Monday night rifle shots were fired into the engines of two cars used by the project in Hattiesburg. The incident itself was small and the damage could be repaired. However, it was done while people walked in the streets, from a car without license plates. The implication for the Negro community was clear in its reminder that neither property nor persons are immune to this violence if these people so decide. This incident... tended to reinforce individuals in individual fears. There is also the natural human tendency to prefer the tentative safety of today to the increased tension of a potential-filled tomorrow with which we must deal.

"In fairness to Hattiesburg, there has been a general tone of moderation expressed by the leading citizens and by the police primarily because of the national publicity focused on very blatantly violent acts. Mississippi is very publicity sensitive and because of the national attention this summer there is a measure of safety here. This cannot be said as easily for state officials or for other areas of the state".

#### NOTES OF A MARIN SOCIAL WORKER ON MISSISSIPPI COLLEAGUES

David Fogel, member of the Board of Directors of the Golden Gate Chapter of the National Association of Social Workers (NASW), made a 9-day tour of Mississippi visiting colleagues for the Mississippi Summer Project. From his extensive, penetrating report, the following are a few of his observations:

"I felt that Social Workers whom I had met so far were like Germans in the 1930's. They personally wouldn't do any of those atrocious things, but they did turn a deaf ear to the 'Closed Society.'

"In Mississippi white Social Workers have mixed caseloads (Negro and White), but Negro Social Workers have only Negro cases.... Negro members of NASW haven't attended a meeting since the Supreme Court decision in 1954.

"The Federal Government workers are under strict administrative orders that they may not attend segregated meetings during work hours. The State Department of Welfare Workers and other State workers are under penalty of imprisonment if they attend integrated meetings at any time, even in their private homes.

"There are no licensed day-care Centers serving the Negro Community in Greenwood, but at the time of the 1960 U.S. Census there were 1554 children from three to five years of age in Greenwood, and 888 of them were non-white. The James Chaney Memorial Day-Care Center proposes to serve a total group of about 100 children. I can testify to the fact that their plans are sound, as well as their budget estimates. They now have the problem of raising \$60,000 as quickly as possible.

"One bit of irony...: In the North there is a prevalent feeling that 'although it may not be so nice to think about it, there are very real reasons why we wouldn't walk into a Negro neighborhood at night.' In Mississippi, the only place white COFO workers felt any safety was in the Negro rural or urban ghettos. We were protected by the Negro community because we had a meaningful relationship and reason for being there. Why not, around the corner from our own houses, in the North?"

#### COMMUNITY CENTERS SHOW VARIETY OF RICH PROMISE

Community centers, an integral part of Mississippi Summer Project, were origin thought of as adult education centers. As turned out, though, more and more child attended them to make up for what they were being taught in Mississippi's inferior public schools. Those centers that had real vita responded to the different needs the different localities expressed, some shaping programs that will continue year-round.

In Greenville a journalism course, led by art history major from Oberlin, founded *Freedom Gazette*, a weekly publication of center. In Holly Springs a registered nurse started a future-nurses club for teenage girls with steps being taken to develop cooperation from local doctors and midwives. Some students in this center have written an original *Sons of Freedom*, which is based on the life of Medgar Evers. About 20 aspiring actors taking part in the production, scheduled to be performed in several Delta towns. The Cladale community center probably has the leather-craft class in the state. That state when a volunteer doctor on a visit to the center learned of this interest and, on his return he raised money to buy the necessary equipment.

The lack of adequate facilities is a common problem. In Holmes County the people are solving it by building their own structure - to include a hall seating 150 persons, a library, a kitchen. They are contributing their labor. Hartman Turnbow, a member of the permanent center board, sees the possibility of organizing a local farm cooperative operating out of center.

Residents of the small Negro town of many are also building their own center. Harmony farmers and homesteaders saw hammer, their wives jointly cook the dinner. Once the shell is up, the town's teenagers help with the interior planning and painting.

In Greenville even sympathetic whites contributing to the building fund for a modern hexagonal structure, designed by Charles Askew, a Negro architect from Philadelphia. This center completed will house a large auditorium, classrooms and an office, at the cost of an estimated \$15,000.

## THE MURDER OF A COMMUNITY

Today, tomorrow or the next day, another mob may explode in McComb, Mississippi. Bombings of Negro homes, churches and businesses have become part of living in McComb, and surrounding Pike County, since the summer volunteers left in August. There were 9 bombings in less than a month (August 27 - September 24). It's an accident that no one has been killed yet.

From August 15 to September 9, the Burglunder market was bombed; over 20 city, county and state police officers - virtually every law enforcement agent in the county - raided Freedom Houses; McComb Chief of Police George Guy threatened the entire COFO (Council of Federated Organizations) staff with arrest for distributing leaflets promoting voter registration; a COFO worker was arrested inside the courthouse on loitering charges; and another COFO worker who went to bond him had a gun pulled on him by the jailer, who told him, "Black boy, I ought to kill you right now."

On August 23 McComb police began a crackdown on local Negro business establishments patronized by civil rights workers. Several were raided.

On August 28 a bomb exploded on the lawn of Willie J. Dillon's home. The Dillon children have been attending the Freedom School and Mr. and Mrs. Dillon have been participating in the Freedom Democratic Party. After the bombing Mr. Dillon was arrested and convicted on charges of tapping electricity and running an unlicensed garage. Sheriff Warren later told Mrs. Dillon, "If you don't operate with us and not COFO, there will be a lot more happening to you."

On September 2, three COFO workers were beaten, one badly, in broad daylight in downtown McComb. In the course of three days, 6 bombings occurred in the county. A mother whose daughter had tried to integrate a grade school was ordered to leave the county. A newspaperman with reliable contacts in the white community has reported that there's a plan to "get" COFO workers Dennisweeney, Jesse Harris, and Mandy Samstein.

After firing a Negro policeman, apparently for insufficient cooperation in this program of terror, the McComb police recently put on the force a

Negro bootlegger known to have served time in the penitentiary, to have shot two persons and to have seriously beaten at least three others, including a local NAACP official. Rumor has it that he's on the police force to handle COFO workers.

All these incidents and more were documented in a letter to Burke Marshall, head of the U.S. Justice Department's Civil Rights Division. To date (press-time) Mr. Marshall has not answered. There are only four FBI agents in McComb, considerably less than the summer peak of sixteen.

September 22 the home of Mrs. Aleyaenne Quinn was dynamited. Her 9 year old daughter and 5 year old son were injured. Mrs. Quinn is active in the Freedom Democratic Party. "People learn the news quickly - it's Mama Quinn's house. It couldn't be worse. Everyone loves Mama Quinn... She is a figure of strength. She can't be intimidated. Three years ago she was one of the first to welcome Moses [SNCC worker Bob Moses] and lead him... her support..." (excerpts from notes by a SNCC field secretary in McComb).

No arrests have been made in the murders of Chaney, Goodman and Schwerner, the volunteers killed early this summer.

The SNCC worker quoted above concludes his report: "And where is the Federal Government? But no, the local police must handle the situation... And so the police stride in. The Negroes crowd in the street, brooding, anguishing. To the police this is a mob. So they tell the press: '3000 Negroes gather in the streets.' Yet the entire Negro population of McComb is just over 3000. This doesn't matter. Cover up the real story. Paint a picture of rioting Negroes. Play on Northern fears. This is what the press will pick up.... And so the story of the murder of a community goes untold."

If you want to help stop this murder: write or wire President Johnson telling him (1) that one of the reasons you support him is that you expect him to send protection to civil rights workers in Mississippi and (2) stressing that the election campaign cannot make the nation and the Government forget Mississippi. (If you're working in the President's campaign, tell him where and what you are doing.) Also, ask your local Congressman what he is doing to get Federal protection to McComb.

labor donated

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Bay Area Friends of The

# STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

NOVEMBER 1964



## M.F.D.P. GIVES LIVE LESSON IN DEMOCRACY

The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP), late in September, issued a report explaining its role and plans much more fully than the "Position Paper" released earlier (and reported in last month's Newsletter). Because the MFDP cannot be successful "without pressure from the rest of the country", it is important that friends of SNCC everywhere understand what it does and why. That's why this report is reprinted below, with a minimum of cutting imposed by space limitations.

On its challenge to the National Democratic Party Convention, the key points of the report are:

"Many friends of the FDP have expressed concern and confusion as to why the FDP delegation at Atlantic City refused to accept the decision of the Credentials Committee. (That decision gave Dr. Aaron Henry and Rev. Ed King votes as Delegates-At-Large, required that the Regular Democratic Party of Mississippi pledge support to Johnson-Humphrey in November, and provided for a committee to work on requiring that at the 1968 convention all delegates be chosen through processes which do not exclude Negro registered voters.)

"In analyzing why the FDP did not accept this compromise, it is important to understand first what the FDP delegation represented... The FDP delegation was not simply an 'alternative' delegation chosen by Negro instead of white Mississippians. The FDP is not a Negro party, but an integrated party, open to all whites. It grows directly out of the civil rights movement in Mississippi. It came to Atlantic City demanding, not simply that Negroes be represented, but that racism

be ended - in Mississippi and in the Democratic Party.

"Moreover, the conditions under which the FDP delegation was chosen were certainly unique. Though the FDP delegation was chosen according to the laws of Mississippi, its role was only partially political. This is so because simply to take part in the political process of the state makes the Negro in Mississippi automatically a rebel against the segregated society. This means that he is in immediate and grave danger of losing his job, his home, and possibly his life... This... means that they are literally gambling their lives against the right of being seated in Atlantic City.

"The third thing that must be understood is that the FDP had the support that it needed to win the fight at Atlantic City. Within the Credentials Committee there was sufficient support to get the FDP's demands on the floor of the Convention... On the floor, there was sufficient support to force a roll call vote. Once a roll call was allowed, most observers agreed that the FDP would have been seated. What prevented this was the most massive pressure from the White House, through the mediation of Hubert Humphrey... This kind of dictation is what Negroes in Mississippi face and have always faced, and it is precisely this that they are learning to stand up against.

"The specific reasons for the rejection of the Committee's decision follow:

1. Supporters of the compromise argued that the two seats would have great symbolic value. But 68 symbols would have been a lot better than two. We must stop playing the game of accepting token

• CONTINUED NEXT PAGE COLUMN 2

## LOCAL AFFAIRS

"Mississippi Freedom Project - Stanford" is a new organization recently formed by volunteers returned from the Mississippi Summer Project and other students on the Stanford campus. Its purpose is to (1) interest and recruit students for civil rights work in the South; (2) raise funds for the on-going Mississippi Freedom Project; and (3) develop campus programs to prepare students for civil rights work. These programs will include Negro history, the curricula of Freedom Schools and first-aid and health education programs for Southern communities.

The new group was launched last month at a campus meeting addressed by Dr. Aaron Henry, chairman of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. Dr. Henry emphasized that "for the Mississippi Negro, the civil rights movement is more than a matter of dignity, more than a matter of being allowed to buy a hamburger at a lunch-stand or to rent the bridal suite at the Waldorf-Astoria. It is purely and simply a matter of survival."

Officers of the Stanford group are: Judy Walborn, chairman; Chris Wilson, administrative assistant; Carolyn Egan, secretary; and Geoff Smith, treasurer.

Mid-Peninsula Friends of SNCC begins with a party at the home of Clarence Heller, 98 Faxon, in Atherton. Be there on November 7, Saturday, at 8:00 p.m. - - and join.

## BOARD MEETING -

Any interested person is invited to attend a San Francisco Friends of SNCC board meeting on Tuesday, November 10 at 8:30 p.m. at 584 Page Street, San Francisco. John Dearman will assume the chairmanship.

## LAST CALL:

Registration for the westcoast Friends of SNCC conference, November 13 to 15, in San Francisco, is still open. Deadline: November 9.

Mail or take your registration form to the regional SNCC office,

584 Page Street, San Francisco 94117, with \$3.00 fee (\$2.00 students).

## CAN FREEDOM GET TO POOR WHITE FOLKS?

This summer the freedom movement took the first stumbling step toward organizing the white poor in Mississippi. Even though the surface hasn't been scratched, this trial made sharply evident the urgent need, despite fantastic difficulties and dangers, to develop a full-scale program, in poor white communities.

Bruce Maxwell, staff worker in the White Folks Program, calls it "a near impossible task" that "both politically and in human terms, the freedom movement has no other choice but to develop ... (emphasis added)". His frank and informative report builds up a compelling case.

"Politically, the freedom movement cannot succeed as a Negro movement ... (because) a solid black vote can never be a political majority of the state or the South." A little over 42 percent of Mississippi and about 20 percent of the South is Negro. Moreover, a racial political order would "create nothing less than a racial war among the people ... Hopes for human rights would suffer a destructive blow if race were to block the possibility of the South solving its problems of poverty."

In human terms, he shows, from the U. S. Census of Mississippi, that "the white poor (is) chained to the Negro at the bottom of the economic ladder." Of the state's population earning \$2,000 and less in annual family incomes, 28 percent are Negro and 13 percent are white. "Almost one-third of the really poor folks in the state are white."

On these grounds Maxwell challenges those "who share the dream of an interracial movement of the poor, to establish programs in white communities in twenty counties by the end of next year." He proposes that "The movement must go to them and help them develop their own leadership rather than demand that the moderates and the liberals fight their political battles for them. The greatest thing about the freedom movement in Mississippi (and what the rest of the country should consider very seriously) is that the people themselves are voicing their own political needs." (emphasis added)

In order to get going on the job Maxwell projects, the White Folks Program must have "an influx of volunteers in February" — people with rugged guts and an express understanding of the conditions peculiar to white southern poverty and hostility. With sustained leadership and competent personnel, matching Maxwell's determination, the freedom movement can succeed where "the populist movement and the labor movement both failed": to resolve the issue of race.

● CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE

recognition for real change and of allowing the opposition to choose a few 'leaders' to represent the people at large — especially if ... the opposition is all white and the people are all Negro. If the people are going to be heard in this country, then we must make the country talk with and listen to them, and not a handpicked committee. The people sent 68 representatives that they chose in open convention. The delegation could not violate that trust.

2. The first provision of that compromise was that the Regular delegation would be fully seated and recognized. The FDP did not go to Atlantic City to vote for a proposal which would recognize the Regular party as the Democratic representative in Mississippi. The FDP came to unseat the regulars because they don't represent the people of Mississippi ...

3. The compromise made pretense at setting up means of challenging delegations in 1968 from states which interfere with Negro participation in the party. But the Credentials committee, in private talks with the FDP delegation, said that it would not guarantee a single registered voter added to the lists in the next four years. Less than 6 percent of voting-age Negroes are now registered in the state ...

4. Some supporters of the compromise argued that the FDP was representing all Negroes in the country and the two seats offered would mean a lot to them in the Northern cities, where rioting has been taking place. But the 68 persons came to Atlantic City to represent the Negroes of Mississippi and not the country as a whole ...

5. The compromise ... offered the FDP nothing in the way of permanent recognition, patronage, official status or a guarantee of participation in the 1968 convention. The compromise was a completely one-shot affair; the FDP is not.

6. The committee set up to review such matters for the 1968 convention has no official status or power with regard to the 1968 convention. It may look good on paper, but its strength lies there on the paper and nowhere else.

7. ...The compromise was not designed to deal with the issues raised by the FDP in challenging the regular delegation. The FDP delegation came to Atlantic City to raise the issue of racism, not simply to demand recognition. It could not accept a token decision which had as its goal the avoidance of the question of racism.

"Finally, it must be understood that the FDP delegation ... came demanding full rights, for themselves and for 1,000,000 other human beings. They would have accepted any honorable compromise between reasonable men. The test was not whether the FDP could accept 'political realism', but rather whether the Convention and the National Democratic Party could accept

the challenge presented by the FDP. The Convention and the National Democratic Party failed that test."

On its plans for the future, the MFDP report continued:

"Under the impetus of the Convention Challenge at Atlantic City, the Freedom Democratic Party has undergone great growth and solidification throughout Miss..."

"The main effort of the FDP in the next six weeks will be a Freedom Vote ... held October 31 and November 1 and 2 ... open to all people, Negro and white, registered or unregistered, who are at least 21 and residents of Mississippi ..."

"The FDP is also supporting the Johnson-Humphrey ticket in the regular election November 3 ... the only major group in Mississippi (to do so) ..."

"The FDP is supporting Johnson and Humphrey because it recognizes the importance of a Johnson-Humphrey victory in November; and because it believes, despite Atlantic City, in the ultimate ability of the Democratic Party to meet the challenge of the FDP and eliminate racism from its ranks. It also knows that support for Johnson will help in its fight against the Regular Democratic Party because of the latter's opposition to the candidates and platform of the National Party."

"But since 94% of Mississippi's Negroes of voting age still are not registered, the FDP can only offer token support for candidates in the regular election ... The importance of the Freedom Vote is that it gives to Mississippi's disenfranchised Negroes the chance to participate in politics and indicate their political preferences."

"The FDP hopes to have more votes cast for its candidates in the Freedom Vote than are cast for the opposition candidates in the regular election. In this way, the Freedom Vote will show, not only that Mississippi's Negroes would vote if they were allowed to do so, but that the outcome would be radically different. It would also show that Negroes under such circumstances would be elected to public offices in Mississippi, if the Negro half of the state's population were allowed to vote."

"The 1964 Freedom Vote will lead to further challenges on the national level. In January, the FDP will attempt to have the Mississippi representatives to Congress unseated, on the grounds that they were chosen through a discriminatory voting procedure. The FDP will show through the Freedom Vote that some, at least, of the regular candidates would not have been elected if Negroes had the right to vote. If this effort fails, the FDP will ask the Democratic caucus to strip all Mississippi representatives of their seniority in Congress. This will also be done on the grounds of voting discrimination, and on the grounds of regular party disloyalty..."

## TEEN-AGERS GIVE MISSISSIPPI A FREE PRESS

Most Freedom Schools have student newspapers. The average editor and writer for these papers is about 13—15 years old. Their articles give news and opinions not likely to appear in the established Mississippi press.

In the McComb "Freedom Journal" a 15-year-old thanked the Freedom School for enabling "me to know that I can get along with the whites and they can get along with me without feeling inferior to each other."

Two young students in the Holly Springs Freedom School collaborated on an article describing their home town: "The working conditions are bad. The wages are very low. The amount paid for plowing a tractor all day is three dollars ... The white man buys most of the supplies used for the annual crops, but the Negro contributes all the labor. In the fall of the year when the crop is harvested and the cotton is sold to market, the white man gives the Negro what he thinks he needs, without showing the Negro a record of the income the white man has collected for the year. This process of farming has become a custom. This way of livelihood is not much different from slavery."

In the Mt. Zion "Freedom Press", a girl wrote that she attended its Freedom School because "I want to become a part of history also."

The August 22 issue of Shaw's "Freedom Flame" ran a lead story describing

the integration of the public library: "After several days of non-violence workshops, three of Shaw M.S.U. (Mississippi Student Union) students went to the public library here in our town. The three students were Eddie Short, James Johnson, and Willie Wright, along with two summer volunteers Grace Morton and Mel Fahnestock. They checked out recent novels and books on sports and electronics. After 20 minutes James Johnson left the library followed by four policemen. Ten minutes later the others left with the two volunteers followed by more police, while Sheriff Capps and other groups of police and a number of bystanders watched with appalled and confused expressions."

Students of the Palmer's Crossing (Hattiesburg) Freedom School drafted their own "Declaration of Independence," which declares to begin with: "In this course of human events, it has become necessary for the Negro people to break away from the customs which have made it very difficult for the Negro to get his God-given rights." Following a simple and eloquent statement on the sovereignty of people over government and a list of 17 grievances, the declaration concludes: "We, therefore, the Negroes of Mississippi assembled, appeal to the government of the state, that no man is free until all men are free. We do hereby declare independence from the unjust laws of Mississippi which conflict with the United States Constitution."

## Freedom Here Too SNCC Tells UC

On October 2, while students were fighting for free speech on UC's Berkeley campus, Bay Area Friends of SNCC gave them support in a public statement censuring the University's anti-free speech regulations. Issued by twelve local SNCC leaders, the statement read:

"We the undersigned members of the Bay Area Friends of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, are deeply concerned over the University of California's new regulations limiting free speech on the University's campuses."

"We regret the University Administration's attempts to separate discussion of issues from participation in social action. Is it the University's position that a student can discuss conditions in Mississippi but not urge his fellow students to go to Mississippi as volunteer civil rights workers? Will the University allow on the campus recruitment for community service abroad but not at home?"

"Regarding the issue of fund-raising, we note that funds are raised on the campus for aid to underdeveloped countries abroad. Will this be allowed while fund-raising for Mississippi community centers and freedom schools is denied? Student groups at dozens of colleges and universities across the country raise funds for Mississippi on their campuses. Can we allow our own great State University to deny its students the same right?"

"Rather than seeking to stifle student protest, we should encourage it. We may disagree with a particular student group in a particular action it might take, but how insignificant such disagreement is when compared to the significance of the fact that students of the '60's will never be spoken of as a silent generation."

The statement was signed by: Mrs. Robert Lauter, John Dearman, Rev. Thomas Dietrich, Rev. William Grace and Dick Lynden (of S. F. Friends of SNCC); Dorothy Weller (of San Jose Friends of SNCC); Mrs. Gail Brown, Gene Opton and Mrs. Marvin Shirob (of East Bay Friends of SNCC); Mrs. Donald Gillis and Mrs. Mary B. Moore (of Marin County Friends of SNCC); and Jeff Freed (of S. F. State College Friends of SNCC).

## MOSES TO LEAD REGIONAL CONFERENCE

Robert Moses, director of the Mississippi Summer Project, will be the main speaker at the November 13—15 regional SNCC conference in San Francisco.

A SNCC field secretary and director of the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO), Moses first went into Mississippi in 1961, with five people, working in Pike, Humphreys and Amite Counties, where he initiated the voter registration movement in the State.

Bob Moses is 29 and holds an M. A. in philosophy from Harvard University. He left a teaching job in New York City to become active in the movement.

### ✓ for your information:

SNCC: The New Abolitionists, by Howard Zinn, Beacon Press, \$4.95. Inquire at your bookstore or order from East Bay Friends of SNCC.

"Upside-Down Justice", an excellent pamphlet documenting the Albany (Ga.) cases, the U. S. Justice Department's prosecution against civil rights leaders. Order from the National Committee for the Albany Defendants, 532 Mercer Street, Albany, Georgia, enclosing a contribution.

## Conference Plans Roll On

The Western Regional Friends of SNCC Conference is moving ahead with plans and support. Workshops on political support for SNCC will be led by Willie Brown, Jr., Assemblyman to be from San Francisco and by Mervyn Dymally, Los Angeles Assemblyman. The workshop for social workers will be led by Dave Fogel, Director of the Marin County Juvenile Hall and recently returned from Mississippi. Professional fund-raisers from the Bay Area will be leading special workshops on fund-raising for SNCC.

Registrations are coming in from Los Angeles, Boulder, Seattle, Sacramento, Portland, San Jose and around the Bay Area. WHERE IS YOURS?

### Where Are Your Blue Chip Stamps?

Your blue chip stamps are not coming in fast enough. Do you know what they mean to SNCC? About 3,000 books of stamps will get a bus or a truck. Transportation is one of the most important lines of communication. SNCC has all kinds of communicating to do: Staff and volunteers have to get places, from one end of Mississippi to the other, to keep freedom on the move. Contributions of food, clothing and books have to be trucked from the

North to southern distribution centers. In fact, it's because of the lack of motor vehicles that the Mississippi Project has had to call a halt to donations of books and clothing for the time being. If Friends of SNCC make a full-fledged campaign of collecting blue chip stamps from neighbors, people at work, relatives, and friends — a mass of stamps will add up to the autos, buses and trucks that SNCC needs. Civil rights moves faster on wheels.



# DAY BY DAY IN MISS.

The "Running Summary of Incidents" is a log of everyday events in the various towns of Mississippi, recorded by the Mississippi Summer Project, from June 16 through August 26. Here are a few sample days, exactly as noted in the 26-page summary:

July 31 — "Shaw: Three white volunteers made to leave Negro high school cafeteria where they had been invited to a fund-raising supper. They were warmly received by students and supervising teacher, but were told by principal they must first secure permission of superintendent to enter school. One volunteer called this an 'excellent demonstration of the fact that not only Negroes but whites also are not free in Mississippi.'"

Aug. 2 — "Greenwood: Local resident arrested today while in his front yard. He reported that police car drove by, an officer made obscene gestures, the Negro laughed, the car backed up, and the Negro was arrested for profanity. Bond: \$50."

Aug. 3 — "Clarksdale: White Church of Christ minister and white summer volunteer refused admission to white Church of Christ. Church members felt they were 'exploiting the church.'"

Aug. 4 — "Shaw: Negro schools closed indefinitely following student boycott. This was triggered by Negro principal's request that three white volunteers leave cafeteria where they'd been invited for school fund-raising dinner last Friday. Students declared boycott of cafeteria, asked Student Union to assemble their grievances, then called a general boycott of the schools which was supported by 75 per cent of students. The Union called the boycott 'because

of the inadequate education we're getting.' Its demands included up-to-date texts, a well-stocked library with Negro history materials, workshops and laboratories, foreign languages and other courses needed for college entrance. Principal relayed these requests to white school superintendent, then notified students schools would be closed. Heavily armed sheriff's deputies in helmets soon arrived on scene."

Aug. 12 — "Charleston: 24 Negro citizens attempted to register at Tallahatchie Co. Courthouse here yesterday. Approximately 93 armed whites gathered. Cars and trucks with guns prominently displayed were double- and triple-parked in front of courthouse. Potential registrants were able to take test quickly as registrar is under Federal injunction to cease discrimination. Sheriff also under Federal injunction restraining him from intimidating Negro applicants."

Ruleville: Students at local Negro school organizing to force teachers to register to vote. Only one is registered. They are also pressing to improve school conditions, and to stop practice of students financing school's operations. Classes reportedly have class field days when students go out in field and pick cotton to raise money for school."

Aug. 18 — "McComb: After series of bombings and intimidation, first South-west Mississippi Freedom Day was peacefully conducted here today. 25 potential Negro registrants went to courthouse, 23 of whom permitted to take test. Registrar processed one applicant every 45 minutes. Police and FBI agents were at Pike Co. courthouse in Magnolia throughout day.

(Of Pike County's 35,063 Negro voting-age citizens, 207 (3%) registered, as contrasted to 9,989 registered whites representing 82.1%). Over 200 local Negro citizens attended mass meeting here last night to protest terrorist activities brought against Negro citizens and voter registration workers in this hardcore area."

"Yazoo City: Two local Negro citizens today filed applications for cards at local library here without incident. Police talked with two 'politely' and later contacted mother of one."

Aug. 19 — "Natchez: Owner of house rented by SNCC workers here has indicated he does not want to rent it to civil rights workers for fear of bombing. Company holding house's insurance indicated it does not want to continue the policy on the house.

Aug. 23 — "McComb: Local white citizen held for 3 hours last night by five heavily armed, hooded white men. He is described by McComb SNCC spokesmen as 'poor; his friends are all Negroes and he lives in Negro neighborhood.'"

Aug. 25 — "Moss Pt.: Owner of local laundromat here refused to desegregate facilities when presented with petition by local Negro citizens. He reportedly stated that he realized Negroes constituted 80% of his business, but that whites would refuse to wash there if partition removed. He reportedly told Negroes that 'Communists are behind this whole thing,' and that 'Negroes and whites had a good relationship in Moss Pt. until few months ago when COFO workers came in.' (On Aug. 26, six Negroes arrested for urging fellow citizens not to patronize the laundromat.)

## STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE



Bay Area Friends of The

### M FDP Congressional Challenge of All Mississippi Representatives - and SNCC Campaign

At the Regional SNCC Conference in San Francisco November 14-15 discussion of possibilities of reducing Mississippi's representation in the House of Representatives via enforcement of the Fourteenth Amendment Section 2 was enthusiastically received, and we have now received details from Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party and National SNCC on the specific congressional challenge which FDP will make to the seating of ALL the Mississippi representatives on the grounds that Negroes were unconstitutionally denied the right to vote in the primary and general elections of 1964.

FDP will challenge and contest the seats of all the Mississippi representatives pursuant to Title 2, United States Code, Sections 201 through 226. This statutory challenge was filed by giving notice in writing to the Mississippi members of the House and members-elect on December 3, 1964. Under these statutory provisions relating to contested elections, all those served must answer the notice, either admitting or denying the facts alleged by FDP, and serve a copy of the answer upon the contestant within 30 days.

The statute provides that in all contested election cases there shall be ninety days allowed for taking testimony. This testimony may be taken at two or more places at the same time.

The testimony will be taken in Mississippi in January and February and Friends of SNCC groups should give publicity to the challenge and urge public figures to go to Mississippi for taking of testimony on the denial to all but a token number of Negro citizens of Mississippi of the right to vote for representatives in 1964.

Before the testimony begins however, a resolution will be introduced in the House of Representatives on the opening day of Congress, January 4, 1965, asking that the challenged Mississippi members not be seated or sworn in until the House rules on the election contest after all of the evidence is in.

Northern Friends of SNCC groups must begin immediately to make appointments with their congressmen in each district

over the Christmas holidays, circulate petitions to the constituents of each congressman asking the congressman to support the resolution and the challenge, form delegations of citizens to see the congressman personally and urge him to support the resolution delaying the seating and swearing in of the Mississippi representatives.

The grounds of challenge in this case are so fundamental, and the figures of the Mississippi FDP's election so clearly indicative of the flagrant denial of the vote to Mississippi's Negroes, that those claiming seats in the House of Representatives from Mississippi on the basis of the 1964 elections should not be allowed to sit pending the outcome of the congressional challenge.

A fact sheet on the statutory challenge and information on the resolution to delay the seating of the Mississippi representatives on opening day of Congress will be available at each of the West Coast Friends of SNCC offices. Friends of SNCC groups should call public meetings to explain, dramatize and publicize the congressional challenge and the resolution not to seat the Mississippi representatives. As many members of each community as possible should become informed and write or visit the congressmen in addition to the SNCC delegations.

Returned summer volunteers should accompany SNCC delegations and other groups to visit the congressmen. A list of the California congressmen, by district and party follows:

- 5 Burton (D); 7 Cohelan (D); 9 Edwards (D); 18 Hagen (D); 34 Hanna (D); 2 Johnson (D); 4 Leggett (D); 15 McFall (D); 8 Miller (D); 3 Moss (D); 16 Sisk (D); 37 Van Deerlin (D); 14 Baldwin (R); 1 Clausen (R); 6 Mailliard (R); 38 Martin (R); 12 Talcott (R); 13 Teague (R); 35 Utt (R); 36 Wilson (R); 11 Younger (R). All of the above except for Martin, Utt and Wilson voted for the passage of the Civil Rights Bill of 1964. To all those congressmen who voted for the Civil Rights Bill it should be pointed out that the seating of Mississippi representatives is inconsistent with the 14th and 15th Amendments and the Civil Rights Bill. **NEXT PAGE**

### LOCAL AFFAIRS

● In the East Bay, a group of musicians is presenting five evenings of chamber music. Each concert will be devoted to different aspects of the chamber music repertoire. The first concert of sonatas and ensemble music for flute, cello and clarinet will be performed by Lucia Yates (flute), Phyllis Luckman (cello), Eugene Turitz (clarinet) and (pianists) Jean Margen, Sharon Polk and Claire Shallit. It will take place on Saturday, January 23, at the home of Jean and Sheldon Margen, 1521 Hawthorne Terrace, Berkeley (turn left 4 blocks east of Oxford on Cedar). Guests are invited to arrive at 8:00 p.m. Refreshments will be served and the program begins at 8:15 promptly. The concerts will benefit SNCC, donations are from \$1.00 to \$25.00 for each.

The following four Saturday evening concerts in the series will take place on January 20 - string quartets and duos of flute, cello, violin, and bassoon - at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Luckman, Freedwood, Mount Ave., Oakland; Jan. 27 - trios for violin, cello and piano - at the home of Ephraim & Barbara Kahn, 2709 Claremont Blvd., Berkeley;

April 17 - ensemble music for flute and strings and woodwind quintet - at the home of Mr. & Mrs. Robert Sticular, 842 Mendocino, Berkeley; May 29 - a recital of violin sonatas - at the home of Justin Shapiro, 39 Domingo, Berkeley.

For information and reservations, call the East Bay Friends of SNCC, 655-9545 or Phyllis Luckman, 652-9821.

● In the Mid-Peninsula, beginning with the New Year, all people will be personally contacted by the newly established Friends of SNCC chapter, from new headquarters at 180 University Avenue in Palo Alto.

● Regionally representatives from the local Friends of SNCC to the Newsletter committee will meet early in 1965. Watch the inter-office MEMO for meeting date. In the meantime local chapters might consider suggestions for improving the Newsletter. Suggested so far: each representative take on the assignment of reading a southern newspaper or national periodical and abstracting or reviewing civil rights items for the Newsletter.

### SNCC FILM FOR RENT OR SALE

Church groups, civic clubs, trade unions, business groups, schools, political clubs and discussion groups can rent or buy "A Dream Deferred", a film that shows the daily life of millions of Southern Negroes and SNCC's work with them in voter registration, community centers and freedom schools. It should be on the agenda of all programs concerned with social justice. The film may be rented or purchased from Bay Area Friends of SNCC, 584 Page Street, San Francisco. Rental: \$10. Sale: \$60.

### FRIENDS OF SNCC IN YOUR AREA



Bay Area SNCC Newsletter is published monthly by Bay Area Friends of SNCC, 584 Page Street, San Francisco

- EAST BAY ..... 655-9545
- SAN FRANCISCO ..... EV 6-1478 or MA 6-5129
- SAN FRANCISCO STATE COLLEGE .... JU 4-5215, Extension 6
- RICHMOND ..... BE 4-1015
- MARIN COUNTY ..... 388-1770
- SAN JOSE ..... 251-6372
- STANFORD ..... 321-5638
- MID-PENINSULA ..... 326-1043
- LAFAYETTE - Don Sanford, 1658 Foothill ..... YE 5-3061
- BAY AREA REGIONAL OFFICE, 584 Page Street, S. F. MA 6-5129

CONTINUED

Reference materials for study: 1961 United States Commission on Civil Rights Report on Voting, tables on Mississippi by counties, pp. 272-277; 1963 U. S. Commission on Civil Rights Report, statistics on Mississippi voter registration, p.34 and list of suits filed by United States Department of Justice in Mississippi on discriminatory registration and election practices, under 42 United States Code Section 1961(a), pp. 43-49. Also pertinent:

The United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit took judicial notice of the fact that "Mississippi has a steel-hard inflexible, undeviating official policy of segregation" in *U.S. v. City of Jackson*, 318 F. 2d 1 (1963).

## ELECTION RESULTS IN THE SOUTH ANALYZED

On November 15 the Southern Regional Council released a report on "What Happened in the South?" in this year's election, giving figures on the number of Negro registered voters and the impact they had on the election results nationally and locally. The Council's Voter Education Project has been working for the past two years, in cooperation with civil rights groups, to accelerate Negro registration throughout the eleven southern states.

"The results of this concentrated drive are pointed up in the report by that 'Between 1952 and 1962, Negro registration increased from 1,008,614 to only 1,386,654. From 1962 to Fall, 1964, it rose to 2,164,200.'" Spread over the entire South, this increase in the actual number of Negro voters registered is not world-shaking. But the contrast of a 56 percent jump in two years with a 37 percent "normal rate of increase" over a span of ten years is striking.

The report states that this increased Negro vote "was responsible for election of many local and state office holders ... including some Negroes. The latter included two justices of the peace, a member of the school board and a member of the county board of revenue in Macon County, Alabama; a second Negro senator in Georgia, in a district where the majority of voters are white; a member of the state House of Representatives and a county judge in Shelby County, Tennessee. It was responsible also for adoption of a constitutional amendment in Arkansas which sets up a permanent voter registration system for the first time, and eliminates the poll tax in all elections, not just federal elections as required by the Twenty-Fourth Amendment."

In Alabama and Mississippi, where "only relatively small gains were made" in the number of Negroes who went to the polls, the report reveals there were

political upsets that may have repercussions beyond state lines. "In Alabama ... voters were not able to vote for the Democratic (presidential) candidate, but chose between the Republican candidate and a slate of unpledged electors controlled by Governor George Wallace. Governor Wallace was left with the Alabama Democrats in the shambles of a Republican sweep which, in the election of five freshmen Republican congressmen, destroyed nearly a century of seniority for three conservative Democratic congressmen, and put the GOP in charge of ten county courthouses. Probably only in his battles against school desegregation has Governor Wallace served better the cause he was against."

In Mississippi, the report continues, the "U.S. House victory of a conservative Republican unseated one of the Democrats' ultra-conservatives of long-standing, Representative W. Arthur Winstead (opposed by Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer in the Freedom Party campaign), an irony repeated in several of the southern upsets."

From these and other election results reported, the Southern Regional Council makes a few general observations:

1. Effective Negro registration and participation in elections is the best assurance that race will be eliminated as a politically profitable issue, ... and that all the southern states will be freed from the threat of demagogic appeals to racism.

2. Continued efforts to achieve the basic constitutional right of the ballot for Negroes is essential in all eleven states, and is most notably needed in those two states where the Negro electorate is most restricted. (Alabama & Mississippi.) This is not for the advantage of any one political party over the other, but necessary for healthful self-government in the South and the nation.

4. In the pragmatic terms of politics, Democrats and the nation's majority owe a greater debt to the Negro electorate in the South than has so far been acknowledged...."

### Freedom is a crime in Mississippi

Since the beginning of October, eight people have been arrested in Belzoni, Mississippi, for Criminal Syndicalism, with bail set at \$1,000 each.

The Criminal Syndicalism bill was passed by the Mississippi legislature in the spring, along with other bills designed to thwart the Summer Project. Now that national attention is somewhat averted from the state and the program that grew out of the Summer Project, the local police are using the bills passed in the spring, to intimidate local people and workers involved in the movement.

## West Coast Conference—OVER 750 CONVENE

SNCC's first westcoast conference, held on November 14-15 in San Francisco, drew over 750 people into a weekend of discussion and program planning.

Bob Moses, SNCC staff worker and director of the Mississippi Freedom Project, was the center of the conference, serving as the main speaker, panelist and resource person. Among local figures who participated in conference workshops were Assemblymen Willie Brown and Mervyn Dymally; political analyst Hal Dunleavy; jazz columnist Ralph Gleason; attorneys Peter Franck, Joe Grodins, Jim Herndon and Ed Stern; fund-raiser Lou Stein; political leader Nancy Swadish; businessmen Hal Light and Gus Ravetz; and community leaders Sue Bierman and Naomi Lauter.

Moses spoke of the freedom movement in Mississippi as an avenue for people "to determine their own lives." He described how Freedom schools and the Freedom Democratic Party are giving people the organizational means to do this — and "the sense of community" that is growing out of their participation.

On the possibility of organizational allies, Moses asked, "What group can Negroes ally with?" Organized labor, the group usually named in answer to this question, he challenged as "part of the establishment" and only concerned with its own members, not giving any concern to people who are not working.

A panel of lawyers, including former Justice Department Attorney Thelton Henderson, Ann Ginger, Fay Stender and law student Al Katz, was critical of the Federal Government's handling of civil rights in the South. They agreed that legislation exists, and was already on the books before the recently enacted Civil Rights Law, to provide protection for civil rights workers and local Negro citizens who are active in the movement.

The conference concluded with consideration of a Negro-white alliance developing in the South. The Populist Movement, which in the 1880's and '90's had shown promise of nurturing such an alliance into a powerful force in southern politics, served as the background for this panel discussion.

The next Newsletter will carry detailed reports of the conference discussions and Bob Moses' observations. In the meantime, workshop papers, along with information on SNCC activities, are available from the Bay Area Regional office: 584 Page Street, S.F. (MA 6-5129).

Send your **Blue Chip Stamps**, being collected in a drive to get autos and trucks for the Mississippi Project, to **BOX 210, MILL VALLEY**

## THREE VIEWS OF MISSISSIPPI ● ● ●

(Interviewed by a young New Zealander, Florence Jones, in Gulfport)

### A FRENCH JOURNALIST

"No, I don't like this country," said a French journalist. "There's something terribly wrong about America. All Americans including the poor, have refused to wake up and face the daylight. They're still asleep, dreaming the American Dream. In this country there are millions of the poor. Now in France there are also millions of the poor; but the poor there know that if there are so many of them poor in a rich country when times are good, then there's something wrong with the system. So they vote to change it — probably vote Communist, or something like that. At any rate, they protest. But the poor people in this country present a pitiful sight: they still believe in the system. They're convinced that if they're not rich, or if their son doesn't grow up to be President, then they've failed personally. Or, if that idea of personal failure is too hard for a poor Southern white to accept, then it's because there's a conspiracy against him, of Communists, Jews, Catholics, Negroes and Damn Yankees. Don't you laugh. That's what he seriously believes. You go and get talking to the crowd of poor whites round any country store in any part of this state, and you'll hear somebody swearing to Almighty God that Mississippi is being ruined by Lyndon Johnson, Martin Luther King and Khrushchev. And these same poor crazy brain-washed people keep on voting for the likes of Ross Barnett to preserve their state from the Communist invasion!" There they are living on beans and grits in a shack with one window and voting to keep the cotton magnates in office!"

I guess you've discovered how the Nigrus are scared stiff to demonstrate. Martin Luther King pulls off a miracle every time he gets a sit-in or a wade-in or something of that order down here in the South, and you can't over-estimate the importance of leadership in the Civil Rights Movement. Now the people in this town are too scared even to try to find out whether a number of these hotels and restaurants along the beach are open to them. I know myself of quite a few white businessmen along the Coast for whom the Civil Rights Bill was a god-send: they wanted to integrate their clientele, and they dared not have said such a thing in public or they'd have been ostracized by the whole town. But the Government has now obliged them to admit Nigrus, and secretly, they couldn't be more grateful. Only, since the Bill was passed no Nigrus has appeared wanting to be served. They're too scared. This is a liberal town, as towns in Mississippi go, and they know it, and yet they've been held down and knocked about for so many centuries, that when the opportunity comes to assert something like equality, most of them would miss out on it.

### A SOUTHERN LIBERAL

"Well, how do you Civil Rights workers find the Gulf Coast?" said one of those rare men, a native-born white Mississippian who is a liberal. "I imagine you find it much easier to work here than in the Delta. No Negro has ever been forced away from the poll at gunpoint in this town, and some white employers have even encouraged their Nigrus to vote, so long as they vote for the candidate they're told to vote for. Quite traditional here, you know, for a candidate to buy up a few thousand votes, and the Nigrus can do with the money as well as anybody else. Of course the money's taken away from them ten times over, as soon as their candidate gets in to office. No sheriff in this town retires with less than a fortune: he spends a few hundred dollars to get himself in,

and his salary's not so high. So how does he make the money but by graft, and mostly it's the Nigrus who pay him off. This is a dry state, you know. Very fortunate for the administration. Sometimes they close down the colored nightclubs and bars and leave the white bars open, just for spite. Another time the mere threat to do that gets the right sort of money from the bar-owner. Maybe slavery is over, but the Nigrus are still being bought and sold. In fact, they buy and sell each other. And, you know, there are shops in this town which refuse to comply with the Civil Rights law — still won't serve Nigrus at the lunchcounter — and the Nigrus are still buying their goods in that store! I'm glad you people are down here to teach them what their own best interests are.

I guess you've discovered how the Nigrus are scared stiff to demonstrate. Martin Luther King pulls off a miracle every time he gets a sit-in or a wade-in or something of that order down here in the South, and you can't over-estimate the importance of leadership in the Civil Rights Movement. Now the people in this town are too scared even to try to find out whether a number of these hotels and restaurants along the beach are open to them. I know myself of quite a few white businessmen along the Coast for whom the Civil Rights Bill was a god-send: they wanted to integrate their clientele, and they dared not have said such a thing in public or they'd have been ostracized by the whole town. But the Government has now obliged them to admit Nigrus, and secretly, they couldn't be more grateful. Only, since the Bill was passed no Nigrus has appeared wanting to be served. They're too scared. This is a liberal town, as towns in Mississippi go, and they know it, and yet they've been held down and knocked about for so many centuries, that when the opportunity comes to assert something like equality, most of them would miss out on it.

Now you can help them to see all this, and I can't. If I were so much as to show myself on the street in the Nigrus ghetto over the railroad track, the Uncle Toms would make sure that the white community knew about this, and my friends would start to eye me, and pretty soon, if I made a habit of it, I'd have no business left.

You might think that the Nigrus has a hard time of it, and so he has: poor living conditions, poor education, poor everything. But his chief grievance is that he doesn't have Freedom; and I tell you that the liberal white in this state has less freedom than he. If I were to come out with my true sentiments in public, I'd have to arm myself to the teeth, and even then I wouldn't be safe sleeping in my own house at night. The

Klan's more anxious to keep me toeing the line than it is to keep the Nigrus down. Now I may despise the Klan, because the rank and file are ignoramuses, but I can't afford to despise the White Citizens Council which is a perfectly respectable body of citizens doing the same job by more subtle means. That White Citizens Council represents the prevailing sentiment in this town, and public sentiment won't tolerate any deviation. James Silver was quite right to call his book on Mississippi "The Closed Society".

Things have reached such a stage here that not only 'Socialist' but also 'Liberal' and 'Moderate' have become dirty words. One of the newspapers the other day indicted a Southern senator for what it called "the worst form of Moderation"! And where semantics have gone haywire, you can be sure that the mentality of the community has gone haywire too. If any single person was so fanatically opposed to change as is the state of Mississippi, he'd be recognized as a pathological case.

So I'm asking you, when you've come down here to work for the Nigrus people who invited you to help them, to remember that there's just as much to be done for the whites who didn't ask you, and even abuse you for coming. You must tell the Nigrus that the whites, in denying them Freedom, have lost it for themselves also, and their only chance now is that the Nigrus, when he wins his freedom, will have learned this lesson from the past and will be magnanimous.'

### A NATIVE SON RETURNED

(Newsweek Associate Editor Frank Trippett, born and raised in Aberdeen, Mississippi, returned after five years to report on his home state. These are his words, excerpted from Newsweek.)

Everywhere in Mississippi the economic overtones of white supremacy are as audible as they are insistent ('Now, my neighbor's maid,' says a Sunday-school teacher, 'gets \$15 a week, but of course that's for seven days').

The Baptists put up their first church in Mississippi in 1791 and led all other fundamentalist denominations in providing the theological myths that prop up the racial mythology. In Jackson, I heard that the Citizens Councils these days were helping the schoolteachers of Mississippi explain God's policy to third and fourth-graders by giving them this script to read:

'We do not believe that God wants us to live together. Negro people like to live by themselves. Negroes use their own bathrooms. They do not use white people's bathrooms. The Negro has his

CONTINUED NEXT PAGE