5th Anniversary Celebration

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

SNCC

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

SUNDAY, JANUARY 51st, Z30

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

Jon Hendricks
+ Company - JAZZ

A PLAYFUL PLAYLET

by ART HOPPE

Nourse Auditorium, Hayes St. at Van Ness, San Francisco

donation → $250 general $150 student → from any friends of SNCC office,
or from the Bay Area Office, 584 Page St, S.F., MA 6-9577

Labor donated
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 centers, and the massive voter-registration programs which produced the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party.

MORE
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 "SNICK"

THERE WILL BE A 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

SNCC
584 Page St., S.F.
Ma 6-4577
Jan/65

TIME: 10 sec.

NOTE: SNCC IS PRONOUNCED "SNICK"

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

SNCC CHAIRMAN JOHN LEWIS WILL ADDRESS THE AFRICAN AND AMERICAN FREEDOM LOYALTY COMMITTEE. THE COMMITTEE WILL PRESENT THEIR RURAL SATIRICAL SKITS, AND COLUMNIST ANDY RICHARDSON WILL PRESENT A "LULUKE "FUDDLE" ELEGY" EXCLUSIVELY FOR THIS EVENT.

GET TICKETS FROM SNCC AT 584 PAGE ST., SAN FRANCISCO, PHONE MA 6-4577.
FOR INFORMATION ONLY

NOTE: SNCC PRONOUNCED "SHICK".


... 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 behalf of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDF) to collect evidence of the denial of Negro voting rights in the State. The evidence is being collected as part of the MFDF'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
SNCC BENEFIT

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 nonviolent sit-in attempts of February 1, 1960 in Greensboro, North Carolina.

The program will include performances by "The Committee", Jon Hendler and Company, and a "playful play it" by Art Hopp. 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, 664 Page St., San Francisco, phone Market 6-4577.

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 3.
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
13. 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.

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**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
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 HUD PHA. More info at later date.

SF & S. CCC: 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 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 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 people'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 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 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.
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!

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.
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 "ogiZ1, 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 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 statewide 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 statewide 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 in the area of June 15 to come to Washington, D.C. around June 15 and again 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 filling 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 aid 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 Wimpey, 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).

Mike Miller

Mike Miller

mb:MM
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 be 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 dittod proposal and report which Mike read. The idea will be to sell 10,000 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 thousand 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 or so 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 Power and Structure. In Butte Walk Better, Georgia the power structure was able to buy off the Negro leadership.

San Jose is holding their preliminary meeting for volunteers today. Only 10 of them went to the 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 intern with people in this area or up the coast.

V. Local Groups
1. This week at USF picture displays are needed.
2. Care 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 tickets be sold?
4. Cars for Mississippi--There will be door to door selling of tickets by High School students.
5. Mike Miller said that they will be able to do all this.
6. Local groups should be able to act and plan.

VI. MFDP--Johnnie Mae Walker, Lawrence Guyot, Theresa Del Rosso. 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.

Questions: What 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-Bumprey 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 SNCC--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 because they have no control.

Tom Ramsey--It’s a problem of politics (out 10 congressmen) vs. people (e.g., gaullists support ad Johnnie Mae Walker is primary concern).

IV. Summer Projects continuing

Cons 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 Plaquemines 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 want to recruit people yet say 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 Regional. 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.
WASHINGTON, D.C. — The first day of hearings attorney General Joe Patterson tried to have the marshal clear the courtroom, when Harry Stennis reminded him they were not in charge and that under the law we had every right to hold those as public hearings. Mr. Patterson made no further offer.

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 Witnesses

Public hearings are also being held throughout the state with mainly favorable witnesses testifying. Some of the cities being covered are Gulfport, Hattiesburg, 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 when the notary public, Hercules Jones, was intimidated by the white community and therefore did not show up for the hearings.

BASILAND SHARMS FDP ON SENATE FLOOR

To a total audience of Senator Stennis, and Mr. Fannin, who was practicing officer, Senator Eastland took to the floor on February 3rd with a vicious smear attack on the communists, bastards and our prevaricators who are behind the challenge to the Hins, Congressmen. The dialogue often went something like this: Mr. Eastland, "I know of several instances in which members of the group were appallingly, and the Public Health Service had to take change." Mr. Stennis, "Yes, I heard of that." Mr. Eastland, "I know of an instance in my hometown in which a Negro woman had her husband up because of his attention to one of these white girls. I call that prejudiced." Mr. Fannin, who was presiding officer, "That is absolutely correct." Mr. Eastland, "I am absolutely correct."

State Officials and White Citizens Council

Richard Hoeper, Director of Public Relations for the Mississippi Association of White Citizens Council, 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 broadcasts.

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 Citizens 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.
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 our 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 di-
rect 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 ac-
tion 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 that poor local adults that
there are people who want to bring change to their communities.

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 posi-
tion 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 con-
frontation 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 Dos, Atty General, Col Al King and Dr. King;
(5) SNCC is concerned, in Selma, streaming across the Delta, the
County Voters League remains a middle-class operation and that it
has not opposed the disfranchised 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) SCLC has, for a long time,
been critical of the fact that SCLC comes into a community, brings
a lot of attention to it, than 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 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 de-
cision. 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 Stembridge 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 dig wine
I enjoy drinking cocktails
The peoples wants freedom
The people want freedom

Whores answer the policemen
Anywhere the officers of the
police cause troubles
I law go, they cause trouble
I want to reddish to vote
I want to register to vote

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

Zelman: It doesn’t sound right.

Stokely: What do you mean?

Zelman: "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.)

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

Stokely: Does anybody know use the sentences on the left?
-Class: Yes.

Stokely: Are they wrong?
-Zelman: In terms of English, they are wrong.
-Stokely: Who decides what is correct English and what is incorrect
English?
-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 embarrassed?
-Class: Yes...Not.
-Zelman: We wasn’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?
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 of seriousness about the subject matter.
- people learn more, and more quickly from induction rather than deduction.
- people learn more, and more quickly from learning situations emphasize and develop one single idea – which is very important to them personally.
- people learn when they see what they are talking about. He used the board.

Among other things, they learned theses. 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 not 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 should forgive those people who speak like the left.
- they decide what is acceptable to society.
- they make that a requirement for jobs and acceptance.
- it is made embarrassing by other people.
- it is not embarrassing to these people themselves.
- it is made embarrassing by other people.
- most people in the country use some form of incorrect, or broken English.

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 roads 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 he is 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?

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S N C C • B E N E F I T


O F " I V A N H O E " — I V A N H O E D O N A L D S O N

IN PERSON (he's working in Alabama now)

S N C C • B E N E F I T

SUNDAY APRIL 25

N O R S E A U D I T O R I U M — 2:30 P.M.

OF " I V A N H O E " — I V A N H O E D O N A L D S O N

IN PERSON (he's working in Alabama now)

...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
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 NA 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 1130 Sunday panel be dropped or altered. As it stands now, it is included in the rest of the content of the conference; (2) the Sun. and 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 in order to get 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, etc.; (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:

- Brenda Howard: Welfare Right Organizations (Elly Haravitz);
- Fred Thalheimer: Berkeley Tenant Union (Mike Sharon);
- North Beach Tenant Union and Chinatown contacts (Mike Sharon);
- Mission Tenant Union and general activity (Rev. Devé ?);
- 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);
- Anna Pivnick: Hunters Point activities (Ira Henderson);
- Danny Schmidt: Peralta Improvement League (Paul Booth); Oakland Direct Action Committee (Mark Eskrin); Youth For Jobs (Sugar);
- Richmond activities (Ellen Estrin);
- Mike Miller: Sunnyside Housing project (Mrs. Riccietti); Committee for the Poor (E. A. Also ?); Farm Workers Association (Cesar Chavez); Heights-Abury (Tom Ramos, Donny Brown); Freedon House; Fred Thalheimer will also contact ILCW about organizing efforts in Chinatown (Will LeBlanc, Brian Howl).

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 will be done between now and the next committee meeting, which will be on Sept. 13, at 8:00 p.m. at Howard Foods, 1328 Third Ave., 3rd & Baker Streets. The hope is that we can bring starting from the different 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 (WHO, 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 Bay List mailing.
5. Model 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 FPC).
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 Highland Research Center. Purpose of the conference is to discuss organized labor and the South. The conference is being planned by Walter Pillow, Mondy Sanstein 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 THE 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,
John Handy... and his Freedom Quintet

at the
BOTH/AND CLU 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 $2.95. Copies from Atlanta in this case. We have found the demand unlimited -- a small but steady sales continue. 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
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 doesn't 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," Dr. Sullivan said. "But in other schools they have been broken down by busing and were active on the Radessold de facto segregation committee.

"But Berkeley," Miller was quoted as saying, "is an unusual city." Miller believes he was elected because he is Board-vice-president, a Negro, and was active on the Radessold 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." Miller said his optimism about the June 7 school tax election, Dr. Sullivan is optimistic. "We have had a most supportive press," he said. "Never have our schools experienced such overall support.

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"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," Dr. Sullivan said. "But in other schools they have been broken down by busing and were active on the Radessold de facto segregation committee.

"But Berkeley," Miller was quoted as saying, "is an unusual city." Miller believes he was elected because he is Board-vice-president, a Negro, and was active on the Radessold 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." Miller said his optimism about the June 7 school tax election, Dr. Sullivan is optimistic. "We have had a most supportive press," he said. "Never have our schools experienced such overall support.
BAY AREA FRIENDS OF THE  
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Regional Office  
449-14th St.  
626-4577

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 Boutillier 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?

GOOD 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 downstairs area of the NDSP-center.

We hope to accommodate 180 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 taken to jail a number of us went to the jail and saw them.
That's the end of the page. It contains various news clippings about civil rights events and activities. Here is a summary:

- SNCC field secretary John Batiste was arrested in Cordele, Georgia, on July 11, 1966, for refusing to be inducted into the military.
- A demonstration was held in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on July 14, 1966, with SNCC worker Barry Dawson arrested among other picketers at the Federal Post Office.
- A Freedom school was opened in three counties with SNCC working in the community.
- There were reports of picketing at the Federal Post Office in Philadelphia.
- SNCC and the Catholic Church are working on voter registration drives.
- SNCC field secretaries are working on voter registration drives in counties.
- SNCC and SNCC volunteers are working to register new voters in various counties.
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SCHEDULE FOR FREEDOM SINGERS & IVANHOE DONALDSON

MONDAY APRIL 19

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Contact</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12 noon</td>
<td>Lunch with the Pres/At The Jabberwock, 2901 Telegraph Ave...</td>
<td>S.F.</td>
<td>Larry Knop, 527-1295</td>
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<td>3:20 p.m.</td>
<td>Mission High School - 18th &amp; Dolores, S.F.</td>
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<td>2:00 p.m.</td>
<td>School rally in main auditorium</td>
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<td>6:00 p.m.</td>
<td>Concert in Olney Hall (Room 96)</td>
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<td>7:00 p.m.</td>
<td>LUNCH on campus</td>
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<td>8:00 p.m.</td>
<td>Meet Larry Knop at Ludwig's Fountain in front of Sproul Hall at 11:45</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Lunch with the Jabberwock</td>
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<td></td>
<td>The Jaberwock, 845-9619</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Contact: Judy Hartman, 3382 Dwight Way, Berk. 845-9619</td>
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<tr>
<td>5:00 p.m.</td>
<td>Meet Gail Graham in main entrance to school at 3:10</td>
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<td>7:00 p.m.</td>
<td>Meet Margaret Block &amp; Marty at Olney Hall at 6:30 p.m.</td>
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<tr>
<td>8:00 p.m.</td>
<td>Concert in Olney Hall (Room 96)</td>
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<td>9:00 p.m.</td>
<td>Meet Larry Knop at Ludwig's Fountain in front of Sproul Hall at 11:45</td>
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<tr>
<td>10:00 p.m.</td>
<td>Lunch with the Jabberwock</td>
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<td>11:00 p.m.</td>
<td>Meet Larry Knop at Ludwig's Fountain in front of Sproul Hall at 11:45</td>
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<td>12 noon</td>
<td>Freedom House (Tenant's Union), 1258 Fillmore, S.F.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1:30 p.m.</td>
<td>Freedom House will have decorated truck &amp; P.A. system</td>
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<td>The Freedom Singers will drive around the Fillmore inviting people</td>
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<td>to join the Freedom Singers at a park in the Fillmore and sing with</td>
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<td>them (there'll probably be other speakers on the program at the park</td>
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<td>as well).</td>
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<td>Contact: Bill Ehlert, 845-9619</td>
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<td></td>
<td>No money involved - Park &amp; Recreation wouldn't let them collect</td>
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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

SATURDAY APRIL 24

1:30 p.m. - Freedom House (Tenant's Union), 1258 Fillmore, S.F.

- Freedom House will have 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 21 (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 5:30-8:30 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 (Hayes Street entrance, S.F.) for BENEFIT PROGRAM

2:30 p.m. - BENEFIT: (probable order of program)
- CARSON 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

7:30 p.m. - SNCC people meet with Ivanhoe, probably at the Sun-Reporter, 1380 Turk, SF - 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 5-6000 X 434

1:00 p.m. - IVANHOE & FREEDOM SINGERS - KFKA, 2207 Shattuck Ave., Berk. - tape two separate radio programs - contact: Bert White at KFKA, 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 - KOED-TV, 525 Fourth St., SF - tape half-hour show "Where Is Jim Crow" with Buzz Anderson, SU 1-8661 - through at TV station by 8:45 p.m.

more Sunday on next page........
Interoffice memo,
from: Mike Miller
re: miscellaneous developments

Bay Area SNCC Council
Meeting, July 24, 10:30 a.m.

Council Agenda.
1. Discussion of new FOSNCC groups and the development of new regional offices. Mike Miller
3. Discussion of the Poor Peoples Conference. Danny Benson.
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.

Interoffice notes.
1. FOSNCC groups or already existing groups that will take on FOSNCC activities are springing up all over the place: Santa Rosa-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. Canton, 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.
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 Hulet, 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

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 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 newsletter 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 newsletter 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 Gacyden 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
SF State SNCC
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Cost</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Paper</td>
<td>$2.10</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stencils, ink, repairs</td>
<td>25</td>
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<td>Envelopes</td>
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<td>Stamps</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Labor</td>
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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.

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:

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<th>Item</th>
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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"
- FAP 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
- SNCC field reports about organizing in the Black Belt
- SNCC and other civil rights organizations (CORE, NAACP, SCLC, etc.)
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 suit against the Civil Rights Act of 1960. A continuation 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 test not only violates the educational requirement for voting of the Civil Rights Act of 1960. This suit is similar to scores of suits pending against Louisiana (two such suits have already been appealed). Previously, individual suits have been brought against boards of registrars in various Alabama counties, containing discrimination of one variety or another. The government is now seen as applicable to all of Alabama's 67 counties, and, if ever ruled on favorable, would enjoin the state from using any act which would deprive Alabama citizens of their right to register and vote. Whatever the outcome 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 SORD since 1962, to describe the Department's annual accomplishments in coming to the relief of Alabama's citizens. A brief outline follows:

U.S. v. McLeod, et al. Suit was filed against Dallas County Board of Registrars on April 13, 1964. The Justice Department had filed a suit 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 registration. Meanwhile, new registrars were appointed to the U.S. District Court denying an injunction on grounds that the new board had not engaged in discriminatory acts.

The court did adjudge against the board's not allowing persons to reappraise after failing the registration test.

The Justice Department appealed the case and the District Court was instructed by the Appeals Court to issue an injunction against the registrars' rejecting applicants for minor errors than otherwise qualified, again 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 reasons 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."
Incidentally, a letter of Burke Marshall's (see Congressional Record, Feb. 7, 1964, page 2625) 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 for 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 the exercise of 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.

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 status 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 not 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 finite science, as displayed by this statement included by the Department in January, 1966, 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 11 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, harassment, 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 ruling 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 Caárk, at whom the injunction was aimed.

And there have been no complaints from him since then.
Last minute memo to SNCC Chairman--from Mike.

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 a 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 where 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 FALSE. 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 Ed Sturn 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 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 THERMOPHAX. 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 MIMEO. 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.
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 SCS 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 Brecker - Coordinator

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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. Unsantitary conditions in the cafeteria
   A. Crowded conditions
   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 gets the book. The atmosphere is not conductive 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 Teak" 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
Issac's report 2

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.

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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.

But two inter-related 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 got 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 on involvement of Negro college students -- but, this is one which should not be overlooked.
This leads into ways of going about organizing college students. The manner in which I have done this is to go on 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. Since the town (Lawrenceville) is so small, their protest may have included 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. - 't 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.
CONFIDENTIAL

Memo to Northern offices
From: Margaret Lauren
Re: The MFLU

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 Galletty 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 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 FCS 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 MFU 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.
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
- 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.
NOTES OF A MARIN SOCIAL WORKER ON MISSISSIPPI COLLEAGUES

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

"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 'Close the Schools' argument."

"In Mississippi white Social Workers have mixed caseloads (Negro and White), but Negro Social Workers have only Negro cases. Negro workers have been barred by local White Officials so that this can be 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 Mississippi. The Greenwood area was not included in the 1960 Census. 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 overt, it is there.' In Mississippi the opposite is more nearly the case."

Residents of the small Negro town of many are also building their own center. Harmony farmers and homesteaders saw hunger, their worst enemy, as a great opportunity. Once the shell is up, the town's teenagers will help with the interior planning and painting. In Greenville even sympathetic whites contributed to the building fund for a hexagonal structure, designed by Charles Askew, a Negro architect from Philadelphia. This center completed will house a large tourism, classrooms and an office, at the cost of an estimated $15,000.
THE MURDER OF A COMMUNITY

Today, tomorrow or the next day, another old man or child in McComb, Mississippi, Bombing of Negroes and brutality seem to become part of living in McComb, and surrounding Pike County, and the summer volunteers 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 Burglum germarket was bombed; over 20 city, county and state police officers - virtually every law enforcement agent in the county - raidied Houses. ccb Chief of Police George Guy threatened to arrest and prosecute anyone who attacked any person or property. He has been taken off the force.

On August 23 McComb police began a crack-down on thefts and loitering charges. 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. The local NAACP official. Rumor has it that he's on the police force to handle COFO workers.

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

On September 2, three COFO workers were arrested, one badly, in broad daylight in downtown McComb. In the course of their arrest, the police broke into the courthouse on loitering charges; for one COFO worker who went to bond him it had a gun pulled on him by the jailer, who told him, "Black boy, I ought to kill you right now."

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On September 2, three COFO workers were arrested, one badly, in broad daylight in downtown McComb. In the course of their arrest, the police broke into the courthouse on loitering charges; for one COFO worker who went to bond him it had a gun pulled on him by the jailer, who told him, "Black boy, I ought to kill you right now."

On August 23 COFO workers began a crack-down on thefts and loitering charges. 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. The local NAACP official. Rumor has it that he's on the police force to handle COFO workers.

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Get Your Registration in NOW for the Regional SNCC Conference: Nov 13-15 at Benjamin Franklin Junior High School in San Francisco.
The "Running Summary of Incidents" is a log of everyday events in the various towns and counties of Mississippi through the Mississippi Summer Project, from June 16 through August 26. There are a few samples from the Zodiac page summary:

July 31 - "Sherri: Three white volunteers made to leave Negro high school cafeteria where they'd been invited to a fund raising dinner last week. The Negro principal said that police can drive by, an officer made obnoxious gestures, the Negro laughed, the car backed up, and the Negro was arrested for profanity. Bond: $50."

Aug. 2 - "Greenwood: Local resident arrested today while in his front yard. It's reported that police can drive by, an officer made obnoxious gestures, the Negro laughed, the car backed up, and the Negro was arrested for profanity. Bond: $50."

Aug. 4 - "Clarksdale: White Church of Christ minister and white summer volunteer called to be expelled from the church. The minister is a member of the Church of Christ. Church members fear that they will be expelled from the church."

Aug. 12 - "Charleston: 24 Negro citizens attempted to register to vote at Tallahatchie Co. Court House yesterday. Approximately 93 armed whites gathered. Cars and trucks with guns prominently displayed were double parked in front of court house. Federal registrars were able to take test quickly as registrar is under Federal injunction to cease discrimination. Sheriff as well under Federal injunction is charging him from intimidating Negro applicants."

Ruleville: Students at local Negro school organizing to force teachers to register to vote. They are also pressing to improve school conditions, and to get Negro students financing school operation. Classes reportedly have class free 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 Southern Mississippi Freedom Day was peacefully conducted here today. 25 potential Negro registrants were on hand when permitted to test vote. Registrar processed one applicant in record time of 45 minutes. Old Negro was from Pike Co. courthouse in Magnolia throughout day."

At the Regional SNCC Conference in San Francisco November 14-15 discussion of methods of reducing Mississippi's representation in Congress will be high on the agenda. The last round of congressional elections brought a gain in seats for Negro citizens in the House of Representatives. SNCC Film for rent or sale. 200 local Negro citizens voted in Mississippi's last congressional election. This is a significant increase from the last congressional election in 1964. The increase shows that Negro citizens are becoming more involved in the political process.

MDFP Congressional Challenge of All Mississippi Representatives - SNCC Campaign

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SNCC FILM FOR RENT OR SALE

Church groups, civic clubs, trade unions, businesses, groups, schools, political clubs are invited to show SNCC’s film in their areas. The film may be rented or purchased from SNCC, 584 Page Street, S.F. MA 6-5129. The film is available on 16 mm, 8 mm, and 35 mm formats. The film is titled "Mississippi Summer Project, from June 16 through August 26. There are a few samples from the Zodiac page summary:

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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 in local and state races, particularly in Alabama and Mississippi. 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 South. The project has been very successful, with Negroes registering in large numbers following the events of the civil rights movement.

The report states that Negroes contributed to both the democratic and non-democratic parties in the South, and that they have become an important part of the political landscape. It also notes that the participation of Negroes in elections has increased significantly in recent years, with the number of Negro registered voters increasing from 1,008,614 in 1952 to 1,266,763 in 1962, and to 1,366,646 in 1963.

The report finds that the Negro electorate has become a politically significant force in the South, and that they have played an important role in local and state races. It notes that the number of Negro registered voters is not the only factor that has contributed to the success of the Negro electorate. The report attributes the success of the Negro electorate to the efforts of civil rights groups, such as the NAACP, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the Mississippi Freedom Project, which have worked to register Negroes and to educate them about their rights.

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