

COMPARE KENNEDY & MALCOM X
from
THE WOODLAWN OBSERVER, SEPTEMBER 22, 1966

More than any other figures of our time, John Kennedy and Malcom X have had a crucial meaning to our youth. And now that Malcom's Autobiography and increasing numbers of books are coming out in paperback, more of us will be trying to understand these men and what they mean to our time and to us.

A few days ago, a young Negro editor, on a Chicago TV program, was asked what Negro leader had influenced him most. A roomful of young Negroes, watching the program, blurted out: "He's going to say, 'Malcom'! Rogit on TV!" And he did, true to the sensed rapport of his audience.

Ossie Davis said about Malcom: "Malcom was our manhood, our living black manhood!" To some degree, that was also the significance of John Kennedy---but with enormous differences.

Malcom X stands, above all, for a cutting through---a brutal slicing through the fog of America's picture of itself. He was equally brutal to both black and white. He laid bare, as no other modern American has, the demonic side of our country, and the emptiness of our great white words. And he told black people that being black was immensely more valuable than to HAVE white.

For those who were not convinced by his remarkable public statements, his life story cannot be put down. Malcom's autobiography is an odyssey from the pit of self-hatred (complete with "konk," zoot suit, drug and alcohol addiction) to the pinnacle of self-regard, natural pride and openness to all men, black or white.

He wrote about his life, his crime, his confusion, his growth his change with a startling honesty. So much of what we read about public figures and public events is pap, that reading his Autobiography is, for many people, a shock, a fist in the belly. That honesty in Malcom is the root of the rapport between him and our youth. He tells it like it is in the bowels of America: that all the slogans about freedom and democracy have covered up the most demonic system of economic exploitation in the Western world, and the most debilitating psychological paralysis---for both black and white---anywhere on the globe.

Of course, when a person---in either public or private life---"tells it like it is", we expect things to start happening. We expect changes to take place when the old illusions break down. And that is where Malcom's career was cut short. He could never decide whether he should be an organizer or a leader, and usually wound up trying to be both, which is impossible. Even if he had lived longer, his organization would not have amounted to much unless he solved that problem.

But the changes which Malcom wrought are working now, in the pride of the new generation, in the increasing clarity among thousands of Negroes about this country and about what is necessary to change this country. In fact, the mood which Malcom in large part precipitated is the matrix out of which the "black power" slogan arose.

For Malcom spoke primarily to black people, about their own identity and their own community, about controlling their own communities economically and politically. He blistered the confusion of white liberals, and he tried to bring the national leaders of the civil rights movement back into touch with their roots in the ghettos.

John Kennedy shared Malcom's youth, a certain lived wisdom, a clear public recognition of power and its uses, and, to some degree, a public, masculine honesty.

More than any President since FDR, Kennedy tried to educate the public about great national issues---at least to the degree that it was politically expedient. That required a self-assurance and self-honesty that neither Truman nor Eisenhower had. Kennedy spoke openly of power, and told the country that the Presidency should use its power to fullest advantage. This attempt to mobilize the country on certain issues has left the public with a fairly clear picture of Kennedy's Presidency in the public mind---far more than about Truman, or Eisenhower, or certainly Johnson.

But there were great limits to that honesty in Kennedy---and hence to our clarity about him. While we may feel Malcolm's full story is right out there on the public record, in all its mire and change, the full record of any American politician, especially the President, is never made public. For example, the kind of deals the Kennedys had to make to succeed in the jungle of Massachusetts politics. Or the real reasons why the Justice Department and the FBI were so impotent in the South for most of his term. We will never know the full story there. Yet, just as we were thrilled at Malcolm's courage in "telling it like it is," the public also saw that quality in Kennedy when he stood up to the Russians during the Cuban missile crisis, and when he forced the steel companies to rescind their price increase. On some issues, where the politics were right, Kennedy showed real guts. Another parallel between Kennedy and Malcolm is that they gave their audiences a sense of history. Malcolm drove Negroes back to their roots, and declared that black people could change their future. Kennedy recalled for the nation our Revolution, and the place of that Revolution, at least ideologically, in the revolt against colonialism. Both men had the effect of stirring a generation, already showing signs of real discontent with things as they were, to political action. The young people, both black and white, who rallied to Malcolm and Kennedy, have come away far more sophisticated about the uses of power in America, and about the American identity, than were our parents.

Finally, of course, they were both cut down by assassination in their prime. And just as there is increasing mystery about Kennedy's assassination, there is a lot more to Malcolm's death than has been told. But here we come to a crucial difference. All the books (including Sorensen's) and films about Kennedy have the man as a glamor figure, nearly a God, glowing with some extraordinary magic. Why? Tom Wicker, head of the Washington bureau of the New York Times, puts his finger on it: "It cannot be that we merely mourn our youth, symbolized in his. Youth always flies and men learn, as inevitably as death, how wasted it is upon the young...It cannot be that hope or laughter or belief died that day with him..Nor can it even be said that he exemplified so many things so many of us wish for ourselves---elegance and wealth and charm and wit and courage and intellect. He had no more of these than many others---but, in him, they were made brilliantly visible by the Presidency... And perhaps that must be our answer, that Kennedy was so sharply illuminated against the dullness of our personal skies. We saw him clear, and we watched in horror when the darkness enclosed him too."

Kennedy died primarily to white America; Malcolm died to black America. Kennedy's death has resulted in a sharp loss of mobilization and idealism among the young generation of whites. They simply do not regard Lyndon Johnson as a hero. Kennedy was so much that young white America wanted to be, to throw off its personal dullness, its lack of depth, its lack of courage and clarity. Kennedy's brief reign was not sufficient to lure white America to genuine self-clarity and self-regard. So the younger generation of whites have, for the most part, simply fallen back into "the dullness of our personal skies."

Malcolm's death, on the other hand, called forth an enduring response from the young generation of Negroes. His excoriating challenge to be truthful remained long after the initial dismay and outrage. If anything, the outrage of his death has mobilized.

has propelled more and more young people to follow his example of self-honesty and public clarity. The difference in response to the two deaths lifts up the great psychological difference between whites and blacks in America. Young whites have seemed to wither on the vine since Kennedy's death. Young blacks have seemed to grow from their roots since Malcolm's death.

Currently, that growth centers about the controversy over black power. And it is interesting, to T.W.O., that Stokely Carmichael's latest definition of the term uses "self-determination," which has been T.W.O.'s central word for six years.

It is interesting, also, that there is more and more grappling with the organizational issues of "black power". For "black power" must come to mean more than some shout thrown at white folks who can always go back to the suburbs. It is rapidly bringing us to work out the painstaking, back-breaking, dirty organizational details without which there can be no power, since there is no power among poor people without the machinery to deliver their numbers consistently in the right place at the right time.

The enormous patience required of young Negroes in putting together that kind of organizational machinery of "black power" requires more than a temporary escape from "the dullness of our personal skies" that John Kennedy represented. It requires the utmost in self-honesty and clarity about America that a man can muster---the pride in discovery of a man's ancestors, the brutalizing knowledge of what America has done to black people, the certainty that black manhood requires our mobilizing to change America.

November 26, 1966

Dear Sisters and Brothers,

The enclosed material is a letter and a proposal for a National Anti-Draft Program sent out sometime ago to Black People across the Country who are concerned with the menace of the Draft to Black people.

The proposal though dealing with SNCC as an organization specifically attempts to speak to the drastic need for a National Anti-Draft Program for Blacks.

Yours in trust,

8/9/66

Dear Bros. and Sisters,

Some of us in and around SNCC are alarmingly aware of the need for a Black Anti-Draft Program. Realizing how the draft is taking more and more of our Bros. from the Freedom Struggle and from our Black Communities, we sense the urgency of our having begun yesterday.

We know if the pattern continues (and we have no reason to believe that it will end) that the country has devised a way of killing two birds with one stone, i.e. brutalizing and murdering people of color around the world and exterminating the Black men of this country in the process. We are the ever-growing army of mercenaries that this country will send to the slaughter year after year to continue the slaughter of our Bros. in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

These things we know you know, and we know that the rage within you is growing as ours is.

In that the peace movement has not offered (nor do we expect) it to) any viable program of resistance to the draft for Black men, WE MUST. We must begin toward building a resistance which will prevent this country from dealing with each Bro. as an individual and cause them to know that the induction of each Bro. will bring the fury of the Black Community down on their heads.

Some of you are already engaged in such activity. We feel that the time has come to Nationalize our resistance. In that way, we can combine our strength into a forceful unit.

We have some ideas and plans that we have already begun to use here in Atlanta that we would like to discuss with you.

We feel that the urgency of this matter necessitates our coming together as soon as possible to begin to outline a program for a National Anti-Draft Program.

Because of the urgency, we would like to propose two possible meeting dates; the last Saturday in the month or the first Saturday in September.

As you know, the October Draft Call is going to be 46,000 men. We have very little time.

PREAMBLE

It is time SNCC took position on the fdraft as it effects Black people in this country. While we can oppose the draft and the war in Vietnam on moral grounds or organizational grounds, on the grounds of extreme atrocities, and/or on legal grounds, necessity dictates that we oppose it also on the grounds of the survival of the organization and the survival of us as a people. It is obvious to any person in SNCC that the best way to break up the organization would be to draft all the young men who are of draft age and send them to Vietnam and have them shot. If the country is able to get away with busting up SNCC by drafting its young members and also by drafting young Black people in general, the pattern will be clearly set for our

destruction as a race in this country. We will become the mercenaries of the future. We will be the ones who will fight all foreign wars. There will be no one here to carry on effective protest and we will be slaughtered both home and abroad.

SNCC as an organization has no choice but to take the position opposing the war and opposing the draft. The only debatable point is HOW. In other words, how can you oppose the draft and at the same time remain an organization that is effective in organizing our people and leading agitation?

I would like to offer a few suggestions for a program to end the draft. The first point I would like to make is that the organization is not strong enough to make a frontal attack on the draft, that is, I don't think the organization should come out and say, "We oppose the draft" for whatever reasons that we might think of. This approach, I believe, would lead the power structure to act to destroy us before we gain momentum. So I think that we must approach this in terms of certain acceptable American concepts.

For example, the way we were able to bring down many of the barriers in Miss. was to talk about the right to vote. Well that wasn't the issue really; it was the right to organize. Since we cannot approach the opposition to the draft on a frontal level, we must work to develop a high level of consciousness about the draft in the Black Community.

The draft is destroying our people and we want to get this across to the people through whatever program we have without opposing the country directly, wherein we could be charged legitimately with treason or even worse, being un-American.

The following are a few ideas that I think can be used to develop consciousness in the Black Community that would lead to opposition to the draft.

The first is what I call the Freedom of Choice Plan. This plan would on the surface, be a petition to allow Black people the freedom to decide where they fight for their freedom. Whether they decide to fight in this country or in any foreign country such as Vietnam. What it would consist of would be the collection of names from all over the country of young fellows of draft age who would petition the country to allow them to fight in this country for their freedom. This would be similar to the Freedom Registration Forms in Miss. wherein the people were required to sign a form indicating that they wanted to register to vote and they became freedom registered.

It didn't mean anything except it began to make them think and when the petitions were presented at the Democratic Convention, they were turned down and the people became more conscious of how the country operates. The same thing could happen with the draft Freedom of Choice Plan wherein the names could be submitted to Congress, having representatives from all over the country to attend for the submission.

When the Congress turns it down, the people become more conscious and more determined to act for themselves. One other thing that the young fellows who sign the petition could do would be to stage some kind of protest when any one of the group was drafted. For example, if you had 500 people in Atlanta sign this petition and if they had the agreement that anyone signing was drafted, the others would stage some type of protest, you would have a very explosive potential which would cause the draft in the country a considerable amount of work.

Another idea would be an across the country march to get the Congress to exempt Negroes from the War in Vietnam. We can say that such a thing would be so dangerous that the fellows would prefer to die on the high-ways of their own country protecting the right to walk on these high-ways (which in fact does not exist) than to die in Vietnam.

There could be joint marches from all over the country that would coincide on a certain day and arrive in Washington with the petitions. Perhaps as the March was progressing, it would stop in cities to get

petitions to take to Congress.

This is a variation of the first idea on a local level. The person upon receiving his notice of induction could go down to the draft prior to the scheduled induction and pass out leaflets to the prospective inductees, dividing the groups because leaflets would be material that declares the racist nature of the war and that Black people should not be a part of it. That person would probably be arrested; whereupon, he would remain in jail until his date for induction has passed. He could then be released. Each time induction is scheduled, this process is repeated.

In all cases, it is important that the person has a group on the outside which is actively backing him so that if he is arrested on phony charges, there would be a group to agitate and bring the issue out to the public. They could picket the jail or selective service, etc.

Another idea would be to relate the draft to the Third World, Africa in particular. That is the young fellows who have been drafted could decide to sit-in on the South African Embassy or the American Embassy in Washington and demand that the US break off relationships with the Union of South Africa because it is a racist country or demand that the US take its nuclear bombs out of South Africa because they are the bombs that are going to be used to kill Black people. He could also express a desire to help the guerillas in South Africa or South America. This would put the country in a spot and it would not be in direct opposition to the War in Vietnam (its not even a war yet - legally). But it would be effective in asking the country to withdraw its support of South Africa.

POSSIBLE PROGRAMS OR ACTION

- I. Make a call for Black men who return from Vietnam to use the knowledge gained in the armed services to fight for LIBERATION of their own people in this country.
- II. Have a Congressman introduce a Bill exempting Black people from the War in Vietnam.
 - a. This can be done by getting petitions from young Blacks of draft age stating that they do not want to go in the Army.
- III. Send letters to Foreign Contacts.
 - a. We could use contacts made on our tours across the waters to get sympathy.
- IV. Petition Congress
 - a. There are many arguments which can be used, i.e. injunctions to get draft boards from drafting Black people because more Black people are on the front lines in proportion to their numbers.
 - b. Draft Boards don't represent poor Black people who make up the bulk of the cannon fodder.
 - c. Draft Boards are acting illegally because they are drafting men to fight in an illegal war.
 - d. Civilians should not have to respond to a draft being called by the military/industrial complex in this country and not the Congress.
- V. Petition the UN
 - A. An attempt should be made to make the Black anti-draft struggle international.
 - a. Arguments which can be used
 - 1. Charge country with Genocide
 - 2. Charge country with making Colonized people kill other colonized people.
 - 3. Use Nuremberg Trials as the basis for a case.

PROJECT REPORT
CLAY COUNTY, MISSISSIPPI
November 1966

Organizations

- I. FDP
- II. Council of Community Organizations

Programs

Political

- I. Primary
- II. General Elections
- III. General Elections - 1967 -
How to organize for: Block and road captain
idea - leadership conference

Economic

- I. Co-ops (Una, White Station, West Point)
- II. Insurance Company
- III. Restaurant
- IV. Finances - Fundraising

Staff

One of the major problems that we are faced with is that there is no county-wide organization here. There have been two attempts to form an organization that the entire Black Community would feel a part of and responsible to. These two organizations were the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party and the Council of Community Organizations. The MFDP, formed in the state in 1964, has fallen apart on a state-wide basis mainly because it didn't have any programs that appealed to the Black communities of the state. The other problem is that the staff personnel that were organizing in the various communities weren't creative enough to set up programs that would appeal to the people or that would meet the needs.

The reason that the MFDP has failed here on a county level is that its state-wide reputation hasn't been good at all. It must be noted here that the MFDP has failed in all of its efforts beginning with the Convention Challenge and ending with the running of independent candidates in this year's election. In other words, the MFDP hasn't given the Black community a victory since it has been alive.

Although the local community here has made a few important gains, however abstract, the people haven't been able to relate them to any organizational efforts. All of the "credit" has gone to a few individuals, John Buffington, Dora Adams, or the "freedom riders". It might be pointed out here that I think that we are at a loss as how to create organizational loyalty or an organization of, by and for the people.

The Council of Community Organizations, the most recent effort to bring the Black community together, has also been a failure. The COCO was the organizational result of the Selective Buying campaign which started in November of 1965. It made a few gains, as was expected, in the line of jobs for Black people in the downtown stores of West Point. Another result of the Selective Buying Campaign is that it has opened up a line of communications, insignificant as it might be, between the Black and white communities. A bi-racial committee was also formed, which will more than likely fail as have other Committees of this nature. We, the staff, are now making an effort to help the Black members of the Committee to ways that they might force the Committee into doing a little something. One is that we are trying to show them the necessity of their taking the lead on the Committee, in both direction and leadership. The other is making the white people realize that they are the problem and not the Black community.

One of the members of the Committee (white) is John Bryan, Jr., of Bryan Brothers Meatpacking Company, who hires a substantial number of Black people and who has done everything in his power (and he has a hell of a lot of it) to keep the union out of his plant thus stopping the economic advancement of a large segment of the Black community.

Where are we? Two organizational failures and one on the way (Bi-racial Committee). What do now? Well, there are a couple of things that we can and must do especially in the light of the coming elections in 1967. One is that we are planning a Leadership Conference to be held in late January or early February where we will invite all community leaders for a weekend of evaluation of Movement activities and gains and formulating direction and organize block by block and road by road finding one person on each block and road who will be responsible for getting out information on voting, elections, welfare, etc. It is hoped that we will be able to pay each block or road captain a small subsistence for carrying out his responsibilities if this becomes necessary.

Political Programs

There have been two political events (Democratic Primaries - June 7, and the General Election - November 8) that let us know where we stand politically here in Clay County in terms of the 1967 election. If the elections were to come tomorrow we would get the shit beat out of us. In the Primary and the General Election out of the 3,000 eligible Black voters only about 600 went to the polls. This number was received by the Black candidates on the ballot. The number of spoiled ballots and Black people who voted for white candidates hasn't been taken into consideration. It might also be pointed out that there was little effort on our part to really get out the vote.

We knew that Whitely and Drummond had no chance of winning so we took this election as an opportunity to see that the local communities could do on their own. The turn-out was poor but those who voted did well. The Black candidates did give the Republican candidates a hell of a race and Drummond beat Alexander for U. S. Representative in Clay County but the fact still remains that Eastland beat the shit out of us state-wide and locally. This lets us know that we have a tremendous job ahead of us in preparing the Black community to take the local elections. We have to somehow make the Black community realize its political potential. We have a massive voter education job ahead.

One hope of the leadership conference, mentioned in the organizational report analysis, is that we can set up a central group that would set the tone for the rest of the Black community and that it would respect and follow. The block and road captains would also have to be one of this caliber since we don't expect full organizational participation from the community. I think that is too much to hope for.

A political education handbook has been drawn up for Clay County and we hope to begin political education classes in each of the five beats soon. We also plan to continue having Voter Registration drives. We have applied for two Voter Registration and Education grants, one from the Southern Regional Council and the other from the Voter Registration and Education League funded by the AFL-CIO and run by the NAACP. Neither group has agreed to fund us but we got our most hopeful response from the SRC. The coordinator of the VR&E League was supposed to have met with us on the first of November but didn't show up for the meeting. SRC is supposed to give our proposal consideration in the spring when they will again begin to fund projects.

One important factor is that we have to register all eligible Black voters because we are only 55% of the population (according to HEW) as opposed to the old figures of 51% and this gives us a slim voting majority. This means that every vote will count. Right now we have approximately 3,000 Black people registered to vote out of 4,500 eligible. As I stated before, we plan to have more massive voter registration drives but we haven't set up any definite dates for them yet. One of the biggest hold-ups is that we don't have the kind of money that it takes to carry on an effective drive.

In terms of candidates for the 1967 elections, we plan to run candidates in three out of five for offices of beat supervisors, justices of the peace and constable and a Black candidate for sheriff. He is a very capable person and has a good reputation in the Black community. At present he works for Bryan Brothers Meatpacking Co. and was THE leader in the Union election. Right now he is organizing the Black workers (the Union lost) in the plant to protect themselves against being fired for some of the stupid reasons that folks have been fired in the past. He is really a crack organizer. Another man, the father of the candidate for sheriff, wants to run for beat supervisor. One other person expressed an interest in running for beat supervisor from the strongest beat we have in Clay County.

Economic Programs

In keeping with the concept of Black Power, several Black owned, operated and controlled businesses have been established in Clay County on a cooperative basis. Presently there are three cooperatives set up under the auspices of the Poor People's Corporation. They are located in two rural communities and one in West Point.

One co-op, located in Una (a rural community and the best organized in Clay County) did make dresses but has switched to making stuffed dolls. It has recently moved into a new building built partly from money raised in New York and partly from money raised in the community when they ran short of funds. \$100 was raised to buy an acre of land and another \$600 was raised to complete the new building. The co-op works about 15 women. The future of this co-op looks good although Mrs. Oberia Holliday, the leader of the group has been offered another job which she may take. This will be a serious blow to the group but one which I feel they will overcome.

The other group is located in White Station, also a rural community. They have had their share of problems and it took a lot of patience on the part of the staff to stick with them so they wouldn't give up. Their problem was that they couldn't afford to purchase candle molds so they had to use milk cartons instead which were bought in Jackson by the PPC and which were too expensive. They finally solved the problem by purchasing disassembled cartons from a dairy in Columbus and by telling them that they were making the candles to raise money for the church. The man agreed to put the cartons together for no charge. This group works five women.

The other group is located in West Point and is a woodwork group. The make wood earrings, pendants, cuff links, etc. They are being trained by a woman from California recruited by the PPC. They recently had a two-day sale of items made by the group and the items went over extremely well in the community. It might be noted that this is the only group that has been successful in marketing their goods in the community. At present this group works nine people and is looking for some more people. They have recruited three people already but they don't feel that this is enough to start a new group in basic design course that each member is required to take. This group is doing very well and producing fantastic stuff. They have a contract to make wooden Nativity scenes for the Delta Ministry who bought them power tools (band saws and electric sander) which the group will pay for with their first sets.

Two more communities are interested in setting up co-ops but the PPC isn't ready to fund any more groups because of their lack of funds. It might be pointed out here that all of these groups have been important to the political programs and activities we have engaged in. Number one, it gives us a strong base of operation in the community and it seems that people are more responsive to the political programs and activities in the communities where those groups exist.

The Amalgamated Meatcutters Union has made two attempts to get in the Bryan Brothers Meatpacking Plant here in West Point and has failed each time. There were several men and women in the plant who were out on the limb and who are in danger of being fired for their activities. They have further endangered themselves by moving to organize the workers in the plant without a Union. Realizing that this group is very important to us, we thought it might be helpful if we could come up with some ideas that would help them.

After looking over the situation, we thought that the most important thing to them would be something that would secure their jobs or give them security in the event that they were laid off. The idea that we came up with was an insurance company that would offer membership to industrial workers.

The insurance company will work like this. For a fee of two dollars a month, a member is guaranteed free legal assistance to get his unemployment benefits if qualified; money to buy food stamps for 60 days; legal aid to any one fired on the grounds of race, creed, color; union or civil rights activities; a cash of kind donation to any person who is sick for over 20 days and who is under the care of a physician. Upon first payment, each member is entitled to legal assistance for the above mentioned. After 60 days, a person qualifies for food stamps. After 90 days, a person qualifies for \$30.00 cash benefits for rent, gas and light and water (not mentioned above). After 120 days, a person qualifies for the sick pay (amount to be decided upon on the basis of family size). If a husband and wife are both members of the insurance policy and both are working then the woman gets only half the cash benefits of the policy.

There are approximately 603 Black industrial workers in Clay County. If we could get 350 people to join at \$2.00 per month in one year we would have a treasury to the tune of \$4200. The idea has been presented to the group from Bryan Brothers which totals 301 and has been accepted and agreed to present it to the rest of the Black industrial workers. The group thought that it would be good to have a board of directors elected by the membership. It was also suggested that once the treasury was strong enough that the body might vote a portion of the money to be invested in another business such as a credit union.

In light of the financial situation that the Black Power concept has put us in and the fact that in order to carry on and work effectively, we knew that there had to be something created that would give us a constant income. After doing some fundraising in the local community, we found out that the people were willing to give money if they felt that they were getting something in return. The first thing that we thought of was a business of some sort and since beer and whiskey has become legal in Clay County, we decided that it might be profitable to open up a restaurant. One that was different from all the others in the area.

We presented the idea to the MFDP Executive Committee who went for the idea and we went to work immediately, taking sheet rock and scraps of wood to remodel the FDP Center that was previously used for meetings and whose second story is the used clothing store belonging to the FDP. What the restaurant will offer that the other places don't offer is mostly color, different music and different food. The place will be managed by Mrs. Lessie Boyd who used to be the office secretary but left for a job with CDGM and other personal reasons. The restaurant will be controlled by a board of directors selected by the FDP Executive Committee. Each member of the Board has agreed to invest \$80.00 and receive 4% on that money. The profits will go to pay the bills created by the Movement and some will be put back for the 1967 elections. If the business seems to catch on, then consideration will be given to buying a liquor license and remodeling the upstairs and turning it into a night club. Everybody in the community seems to be anxiously awaiting the opening of a "nice" place for the Black community.

Financial Status

Presently, we are scuffling to stay alive, as I am sure most of the projects are. Considering that we were some \$2600 in debt when Northern financial support fell off, it has been doubly hard for us. If we have been even with board when the change came, then we would not have too much trouble surviving since we have had several fundraising events that have been relatively successful. These included a tag day (give a contribution and get a tag saying FDP TAG DAY), a banquet (Marian Wright spoke) and a raffle (the prize was a portable record player). These three events raised us a little over a

thousand dollars. We thought that we had better give the community a little rest and there haven't been any other fundraising affairs since but we figure that it is time.

To deal with the problem of finances and fundraising, we set up a four-man Finance committee which includes Florida Henderson, a student at Mary Holmes and who works with us full time, Carolyn Tillman, a local resident and a student at Mary Holmes; Henry McFarland, a local resident and high school senior who has been working with us for about a year and a half; and Robert Bell (John Bell's brother), a high school senior who has been working with us for about two or three years. Their responsibility is to plan fundraising events and see that bills get paid.

Until the businesses get on foot and start to profit, we just have to continue to beg, borrow and steal.

Staff

John Buffington	Project Director
Ike Coleman	Assistant Director
Florida Henderson	Staff worker and student at Mary Holmes Junior College
Carolyn Tillman	Staff worker and Student at Mary Holmes
Mrs. Dora Adams	Office Manager and FDP Executive Sec'y
Eddie Brooks	Staff worker
Kent Hudson	Staff worker (leaving after Christmas)
Terry Williams	Staff workers (Office secretary last summer; now at student at Mary Holmes)
Catherine Webb	Instructor at the Woodcraft Co-op

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file Elizabeth [1966?]
FOR YOUR INFORMATION. From Andy

Prathia Hall just returned from Cleveland where she participated in a memorial for Bruce Klunder. Mrs. Hamer and John Lewis had spoken Wednesday night at a CORE rally and on Thursday Prathia was in a symposium with John Morell from NAACP, Andy Young from SCLC and J. Moore from NCC and various local CORE people. In his speech Andy said that SCLC has been marching around the South for several years for a hotdog, while they should have listened to their brothers in Mississippi (SNCC) who had been emphasizing the right of people to have political power. Later there was a press conference in which Andy stated that he has been thinking a lot about the difference between SCLC and SNCC and has come to the understanding that SCLC has been a non-violent direct action organization while SNCC has been a political action organization. Thus the concepts of leadership of the two groups has differed - SNCC stressing the development of strong indigenous leadership to protect against political bossism, while SCLC has stressed a tight group of decision-makers from the top. He felt that SNCC's concept was correct when it comes to political action, while SCLC's concept is better for direct action campaigns.

Later a reporter from the Cleveland Plain Dealer was interviewing Andy re SCLC-SNCC conflicts and the Newsweek article. Prathia said Andy gave the strongest defense of SNCC she has ever heard, to the point where the interviewer stopped taking notes, apparently not planning to print it. Andy told him to put it all

in the record. Andy said he had been in the movement for 5 or 6 years, and had never heard anyone in SNCC or SCLC advocate the violent overthrow of the government. He said it is only when SNCC talks about political power and Dr. King about economic power that these red accusations begin. Since Dr. King has the peace prize, it is difficult to call him a communist without being ridiculous, so people attack SNCC. He said that all these reports are no accident. They are being leaked by the old line civil rights leaders who like to sit in their offices in N.Y. and Washington and who don't like having their power threatened. For them a new bill every 3 years is good enough, but it is not when you are working in Alabama or Mississippi. The old line leaders regard SNCC as young upstarts, so they leak these stories. He said the young SNCC workers represent the highest of American ideals. When they see the close collusion between Southern whites and the FBI and sometimes the Federal District Courts and decide they don't want to live that way, they are called communists.

Prathia is going to write all this up in more precise form, but I thought you all would be interested to see that Andy Young has been sticking by us.

July 18, 1966

J-Cup is a group of young "cats", about 18 to 23 who have been active in such things as rent strikes and other community actions in Jersey City. They also did most of the leg work in organizing people for the protest around the anti-poverty program. Now they are quite ~~xxx~~ turned on by the black power concept and are thinking about doing some political organizing. What they have in mind is building a ghetto based political party. They also are talking about some action around police brutality, more rent strikes, welfare union, some action at a local chemical plant which employs a lot of blacks for slave wages and in which people work in horrible conditions -- e.g., they get all kinds of exposure to various chemicals, and this has caused much illness among many people. (Incidentally, one of the members of J-Cup told me that he was wondering whether he should start some protest action or simply blow the joint up. He was quite serious too, and if people are interested in moving into that area it might be wise to get a demolition expert in the area.)

The group is made up of a number of youths who were at one time members of a street gang and who now, for some strange reason, want to get some other kind of motion going -- like the things mentioned above. They are receptive to the heaviest kind of action imaginable and in fact, there is question whether or not SNCC can move into their circle and begin to work with them on any meaningful level, in terms of where they are at. As usual, the cats are most violent and don't believe in too much talking. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ They are basically an action oriented group. In the last couple of weeks they have been holding meetings with other youth from the community, discussing such things as black power and the kinds of activities the kids want to see going on in the community.

The cat who kind of leads them is Isiah, who appears at first sight to be quite hip and who commands a large following from the group. He has been kind of active in some movement activities through the church based community center, and there are obviously other things in his background which give him a certain bit of political sophistication. He was brought up in the ghetto and is well known by everybody.

J-Cup has been offered some money by the National Council of Churches, but they didn't have too much specific information as to what the strings attached might be. They are supposed to meet with somebody from the Council next Monday to talk about the money. Also, they want to begin some kind of training in the art of self-defense.

Al Fertilla
Bill Mahoney
New York City

For more informatin:
449 14th St.
San Francisco
626-4577

5/67

SNCC SAN FRANCISCO OFFICE RAIDED

SAN FRANCISCO --- The Bay Area Regional Office of the Student Nonviolent Corrdinating Committee was raided in the early hours last Monday morning by unknown parties. The office at 449 14th Street houses the SNCC office and the national office of THE MOVEMENT, the West Coast montly newspaper affiliated with SNCC.

The raiders entered by an outside window and broke the lock on a door in order to enter the office. They stole the subscription list of the newspaper and escaped with confidential files containing SNCC reports and correspondence. During the raid they strewed the address stencils of THE MOVEMENT over the floor. Also taken was a list of international contacts and the names and addresses of persons working for SNCC and THE MOVEMENT in the Bay Area.

On the previous Friday, two volunteers for a church group with offices in the same building reported that a "middle-aged man" had tried to enter the building through a window. Their screams drove him off.

"We are sure," said Terence Cannon, Field Secretary for SNCC and an editor of THE MOVEMENT, "That the same person waited until Sunday evening, when no one was around, to enter and raid our offices."

"SNCC has come under extreme attack from the FBI and the House Armed Services Cpmmittee for its opposition to the Vietnamese War," Cannon explained. "Rep. Mendel Rivers wants to do away with the First Amendment in order to put Stokely Carmichael in jail. J. Edgar Hoover is trying to link us with so-called insurrectionary groups. This climate of oppression has led directly to this raid. It was clearly carried out by persons who want to know who we are, fear what we are doing, and wish to intimidate who we know."

August 27, 1968

Some days ago I wrote a letter to Max and I have also had occasion to talk to some other brothers across the country in the last few weeks who also believe that we must at some time, and soon, draw some clear political distinctions inside the black movement even if these distinctions come at the expense of unity. In fact, I believe that the best thing that could happen in the movement at this stage is some disunity on clear political grounds so that the movement could prepare itself for the long haul ahead. The fact is that political differences do in fact already exist, but if they are not clarified politically, they are going to appear personal and the movement will degenerate accordingly. It should also be clear that the clarification of political differences by no means implies that there should be disunity in action, particularly on questions of defense against the common enemy.

Already in Africa serious political leaders are coming to the conclusion that they cannot keep talking about "our African brothers" so generously, because some Africans are neo-colonialist puppets and conscious agents of the world counter-revolution and others are neo-colonialist simply because their political actions and inactions make them this even when they are trying to be revolutionists. In either case, African revolutionary leadership and African students particularly, are being forced to begin the hard task of making clear that in reality there are very, very few African leaders who are for the armed revolutionary struggle that now is developing in Africa and which is necessary and inevitable. Most African leaders are afraid of this struggle because as it develops, they will cease being big men with little cotton (or cocoa, tea, spice and copper) patches but will have to become a part of a united Africa. And only when there are Africans who are willing to sacrifice and struggle for a united Africa and against the old colonialist and new neo-colonialist powers and are also ready to fight some Africans in order to establish this totally united Africa so as to be able to use all the mineral and natural wealth of Africa for all Africans, will Africa ever be anything but a moral force in the world because of their past culture. A totally powerless people who continue to function within the framework of the balkanization created by Western imperialism will never be free and will always remain fertile ground for the return of full colonialism.

As long as black people in the United States continue to wallow in this "get-together" spirit that just makes them feel good without working out the disciplined apparatus for the struggle to take power and to make the man who has power impotent to use his power against us, everyone who goes to these gatherings where a facade of unity is presented, is potential cannon.

fodder to be used by the Man as an agent against the revolution. Out of an illusory unity which consists only in the emotional renewal of old acquaintances and the making of new ones without the acceptance of a line (and I do mean a line as serious as the party line of revolutionary communist parties of the type we have witnessed in Asia, a line which is adopted and implemented and violated only if one is ready to risk denunciation and expulsion from the movement) eventually comes the disillusionment and demoralization which makes these brothers ripe for recruitment by the enemy. On the other hand, if an organization has an agreed-upon line that has to be carried out, even an agent inside the movement can be used. But as long as blacks are not ready for a line, they are also not ready for the long struggle ahead.

A strategy for fighting the enemy must be worked out by a serious and elected committee which is itself accountable to the organization for:

- A. implementing this strategy
- B. reporting developments and results to the organization
- C. and periodic reviews of the strategy

Accountability of leadership and political education of cadres must become the policy of the black revolutionary movement, particularly because we live in a country where the "cult of personality" is like racism, a part of the air which we breathe.

A political organization of politically conscious and politically educated cadres must be structured to carry out the program and we must stop talking about the brothers on the street as if they are going to provide spontaneously the revolutionary leadership that is required. The brothers on the corner often do and will continue to do revolutionary actions, but they are not conscious revolutionists and it is time that we stopped romanticizing them as such. A conscious revolutionary has an ideology and political concepts based upon methodology for evaluating society and for developing a strategy of struggle, and he is constantly developing a program on the basis of theory and educating himself and the brothers on the street through struggle. The black movement in the U. S. A. must learn the lesson which has been learned in Asia and which is now being learned in Africa that the best revolutionary soldier is the politically-educated and politically-conscious revolutionary soldier. There are conscious revolutionaries and there are people who do revolutionary things and the distinction (non-antagonistic) has to be drawn between the two. All blacks are not revolutionaries, although

blacks are the force for revolution because of the systematic oppression to which they are subjected. We cannot afford to confuse conscious revolutionists with the revolutionary acts of blacks, because by doing so, we are neglecting the development of the necessary conscious 24-hour a day revolutionary inside an organization which projects strategy and relates to the potential revolutionary on the corner, bringing him into the conscious revolutionary organization only when he accepts the line of the organization. Those who do not remain just what they are, militants, potential revolutionists, anarchists, rebels, etc. As the counter-revolution mounts from the grass-roots, as it is now doing, particularly in the police force, the factories, etc., there is going to be increasing self-organization by blacks at the grass-roots level, but this only makes more, not less, necessary the building of a conscious revolutionary organization.

In addition, there are still those who just want to go back to Africa, and we must begin to make clear that these romantics are not a part of the black revolution in the U. S. and are in fact, no different from the Hungarians, for example, who ran to the U. S. A. when Hungary was in revolt. In this connection, the three and five-stage proponents are not essentially different from the integrationists in the sense that both are evading the necessary revolutionary struggle for power. The revolution is neither integration nor separation. It is the struggle for power to govern over all things and over all the people in a particular society, including white people in this society. I want to emphasize this government over white people because only we black people can create the revolutionary changes that will create the new society, without which this country, and all inside, including blacks, are doomed. Not to understand this, at this stage, is to evade the real counter-revolution and the objectives of revolution.

For all these reasons and on all these questions, I believe that the lines have to be drawn at this conference. Otherwise, at best, the conference will be just another cultural black show - or, what is more likely, since the political differences actually do exist, it will degenerate into a conflict of personalities or cults.

Black people in the U. S. A. must come to grips with the fact that they are the only people in the world who are a colonial people inside an economically advanced country and that, therefore, their revolution must be unique and must create a new culture. In fact, a revolution always creates a new culture. No one but no one is ever the same after a revolution as be-

fore, and black people particularly cannot remain the same as they are because that too is the reason why they are still in chains. When they take power, they will be different people, from what they were before, and from what any other black people ever were. Everyone who undergoes a revolution is different from what he was before the revolution. If the Black Power Conference does not come to grips with this question, black power is going to become the powerlessness of little cults.

I am not telling you what you should do, but I am saying what I believe is the responsibility of leadership at this stage. As for myself, I remain a person of ideas and not a leader, and I have no desire to lead. However, I do have respect for my ideas and I do believe they should be seriously considered and evaluated by those who are in positions of leadership, and I have therefore to emphasize that I believe the biggest weakness of the black movement today is that it is still operating on emotions, and "I think" and "I feel" and "the brothers are ready" and "black is beautiful" but is yet not operating on the basis of scientific ideas which can be developed and tested.

I therefore believe that your contribution at this conference can be a very serious one if you are ready to draw some lines on some serious questions. Why are the Back-to-Africanists, the three and five state separatists, the integrationists, at this conference? What is the basis of their unity with those who are struggling for Black Power? Is it only the superficial unity which rests on "Black is Beautiful" but which will evade the actual struggle for power as it develops? History has shown that few of them will carry out any kind of action that takes struggle, and that those who have most recently come to the separatist position have, in fact, given up any revolutionary perspective and are in fact demoralized that the revolution is taking so long. They are just waiting for the brother on the corner to erupt on a hot day next summer, but they intend to do nothing this winter, fall, or spring, but wallow in their demoralization. They live by abusing others in the movement - first King, then each other, and seeing who can out shout the next and doing the most over-ground talking about underground organization. They are not ready for the long, hard serious work of studying the enemy, plotting strategy, developing and ideology; in fact, they are not ready for anything at all except applauding the "baddest" speakers. But if you can applaud 20 speakers, 19 of whom are in all likelihood completely or nearly completely wrong, then something is wrong with the movement itself - dead wrong. You remember how in Kalamazoo Stokely was wrong, dead wrong, but how many people applauded? Obviously there are a lot of

people in the movement whose positions are dead wrong, and it is time someone had the courage to say it, even if it busts wide open the facade of unity. It is better to start from scratch with a serious few than with many assorted persons who are all going in different directions and who are therefore bound to split at the moment of crisis, just when you need the maximum strength and unity. Better fewer but better.

Out of a scientific analysis of the social forces inside the country must come strategy for the economic struggle for power, the political struggle for power and the social struggle for power. Now I doubt that this can happen in any Conference. Only a membership which accepts in advance the need for a line and has had an opportunity in advance of a gathering to study an analysis and proposals can arrive at a program. Such a membership would be coming to a Convention and not a Conference. In other words, they would be members prior to the Convention and ready at the Convention to accept a line adopted by the Convention.

It would seem to me therefore that the Conference could be used as the occasion at which to call for a Convention in the spring for those, and only those, who are ready for a disciplined organization. Those who can indicate in some firm manner that they are ready for such an organization would be presented with a body of ideas by, say, Christmas, which would then be the basis for a Convention in the spring, with delegates attending with full authority to speak for their organizations and to accept the policies arrived at by the Convention.

At the same time, I would say that I am not coming any more to this type of gathering and that if the movement is not ready for convention-type meetings, then it must just continue on its hit-and-miss, sporadic way until it finally is pushed to the realization that that is what is necessary or else degenerates - because there is no guarantee that just because black (or indeed any other color of) people have all the reason to revolt, they must have a successful revolution. In fact, people in much worse conditions of oppression in other countries (e.g. India) are not even at the stage of revolt which blacks have reached. The success or failure of the black revolution depends, I believe, on the ability of blacks to put forward a revolutionary line. There has never in history been a successful spontaneous revolution, and the idea that blacks in America constitute an exception to this rule is one of our chief weaknesses.

(5)

We could benefit from a day of talking. I would like it, very much; we may have a contribution to make to each other. If possible, let us have it.

Jim Boggs

JAMES BOGGS, was born in Marion Junction, Alabama, forty-eight years ago. After graduating from Dunbar H.S. in 1937, Boggs took the first train North, bumming his way through and finally ending up in the auto plants in Detroit.

Mr. Boggs, a revolutionary theoretician, has been exploring the concept of Black Power in relation to the cybercultural revolution since 1963 when his book "The American Revolution: Pages from a Negro Worker's Notebook" appeared. He is one of the original members of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Triple Revolution.

in the organization of welfare recipients.

7. \$20,000,000 to establish a National Black Labor Strike and Defense Fund.

8. The establishment of the United Black Appeal (UBA). The UBA will be funded with \$20,000,000. The UBA is charged with production of more capital for the establishment of cooperative businesses in the U.S. and in Africa.

9. We call for the establishment of a Black University to be funded with \$130,000,000 and to be located in the South.

SUPPORT THE "BLACK MANIFESTO"

For the complete text of the "Black Manifesto" see page 3 of the accompanying newspaper, "Nommo".

For rides to the church and for information call 778-3352.

(OTHER SIDE)

(OTHER SIDE)

in the apartment were the same 2 1/2 sticks that were shown in the "picture". On cross examination, the chemist testified that the dynamite was made by the Dupont Company, and that he as a specialist could not identify these 2 1/2 sticks. (the ones supposedly seized) from any others. (Note on trial by press: The police department has released to the press a story that the two detonating caps they claimed to have found matched the 2 1/2 sticks of dynamite taken—the serial numbers were the same. According to the Police chemist, there are no serial numbers on the dynamite.)

TESTIMONY OF JOHN JENKINS

Jenkins testified that he had been a dynamite blaster all his life. He lived on Arlington Street; some people moved into the basement of the place where he lived and brought up a package of dynamite from the basement to get rid of it. He said he planned to throw it in the river. Then he met his friend Winston Early and they got drunk. They took the dynamite to some place on Comack (Sp.?) Avenue. He was drunk, so he doesn't know what happened to the dynamite after that.

RAID AT 909 N 16th STREET

A Negro detective testified. The cops went up to the 2nd floor. There were two apartments up there. He began to search the front apartment first (about 10 police were up there searching). The other police searched the second apartment. After they searched the 2nd apartment and after he has searched the front apartment (he, the Negro cop) went to search the 2nd apartment (already searched by other cops). Carole West and Eugene Dawkins were in one room of that apartment, the detective went into the living room. He looked under the heater and noticed a package under the couch, the package is supposed to have 2 1/2 sticks of dynamite in it.

Holt, on cross examination, pointed out that this detective must have been better at finding dynamite than the other cops, because the other cops had ALREADY SEARCHED THAT ROOM AND FOUND NOTHING.

FORMAN'S SUBPEANA

The D.A. pointed out to the court that Forman was in the hearing room. The Judge wanted to know who he was, the D.A. said that he had subpoenaed Forman to testify if he wanted to since the papers said that he had evidence that the case was a "frame up". Forman's attorney (William Aikens) objected and said that the city would have to decide whether to call him as a witness or not; the defense did not have to subpoena its own clients. The city decided not to call him.

TESTIMONY OF WINSTON EARLY

(Note; the prosecution called Winston Early, and Cecil Moore DID NOT OBJECT. How can the state call a defendant as one of its own witnesses without objection from the defense attorney. After Holt's objection, Moore said something to the effect of if he wants to I'll offer him up.)

Early testified that there were eight sticks of dynamite and that he gave them to Dawson. On cross examination by Holt, Early testified that he was a friend of Dawson's and had known him for 12 years, and that he gave him the dynamite to destroy the dynamite.

SUMMATION

Both Holt and Moore emphasized that even if in fact possession of dynamite had been proven, no case had been made for intent. Therefore, there was no basis for conviction. Prosecution had not even made an attempt to prove intent.

Charges against Dawkins, West, and Brower, were dropped.

Dawson, Early, and Jenkins were bound over to the Grand Jury which will meet in September or October. Their bond is \$50,000 a piece.

REPORT: THE PRELIMINARY HEARING IN PHILADELPHIA ON AUGUST 22

The hearing was held at the Philadelphia City Hall, rm 453. The people were asked to assemble at 9:00 a.m. The defendants were: Eugene Dawkins, Carole West, John Jenkins and Winston Early, being represented by Attorney Cecil Moore. Barry Dawson was being represented by attorney Lea Holt. And, Jim Forman who had been subpoenaed to appear at the hearing was being represented by attorney William Aikens.

The Judge's name was Lee Weinrott.

The charge (except for Forman): Possession of Dynamite with intent to Damage Persons or Property

THE QUESTIONING OF DAWSON AND DAWSON'S STATEMENT

The first witness was Inspector Meers (head of the Civil Disobedience Division of the Philadelphia Police Department). He testified that he had himself participated in the raid at the SNCC office, and that simultaneously there were three other raids in the city of Philadelphia.

He said that he began questioning Barry Dawson about 1:15 or 1:30 a.m. (Sat. August 13) and the questioning continued for about an hour and a half. He stated precisely that the only people present were himself, Dawson, Assistant D.A. Wolff, and a detective (named Crawson). On cross examination, Holt asked Meers at what time he began questioning Dawson in the presence of his attorney. Then Meers said that Dawson's attorney had been present all the time. He said that Attorney Cecil Moore had been in and out during the 1 and 1/2 hour examination of Dawson. That of course flatly contradicts his initial description of the questioning. Later, Cecil Moore cross-examined Meers, and said, "Isn't it true that I got there about 3:30 or 4:00?"

Meers said that Dawson had given an oral statement during the questioning, and that he had identified a photograph (which they introduced) saying that 2 1/2 sticks of dynamite were in a paper bag that it (the photo) showed him carrying into the Philadelphia SNCC office.

THE PHOTOGRAPH

The photograph was very key to the prosecution's case. It showed Morris Ruffin, Barry Dawson, Milton Scott, and one other male (not identified in court), in front of the Philadelphia SNCC office.

Meers testified that the photo was taken by a white detective from a "fixed surveillance spot"—a school across the street from the office, and to the right.

The picture introduced in court was a large blow up. Holt on cross examination of the photographer finally managed to have the negative introduced. He got the photographer to admit that the photograph had been cropped. This severely damaged the photographer's veracity.

THE QUESTION OF THE WARRANT

On cross examination of Meers, Holt brought out that they had not produced the warrant for raiding the SNCC office at the trial. They claimed they had "left it with someone". They were very reluctant to produce the warrant that they had for 909 N. 16th St. (where dynamite was allegedly found), but they had to produce it since it was the basis for the seizure of the dynamite. Upon examining the warrant, the defense claimed that the entire search and seizure was illegal. An F.B.I. man testified that an informant whom he had used over 200 times had provided them with evidence upon which the warrant was drawn. The Judge's response to the challenge to the legality of the warrant was "that doesn't matter, there was dynamite, there's still dynamite out, that's all I need to know. This is just a preliminary hearing".

IDENTIFICATION OF THE SEIZED DYNAMITE

Meers testified that Dawson had said that the 2 1/2 sticks of dynamite they found

Bob Weil

CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS --

MOSS POINT SHOOTING 6 July, 10:10 p.m.

A 19 year old Negro girl, Jessie Stalworth, was shot in the left side through a window of the K.P. Hall of the Knights of Pythias in Moss Point, Jackson County. Miss Stalworth is in the Singing River Hospital, Pascagoula.

The shooting occurred at a voter registration meeting attended by 300 persons. It began at 7:30 p.m. and the shots were fired at approximately 10:10 p.m. as the meeting was closing with a singing of "We Shall Overcome." The shots were fired from a new, green Comet with 4 white boys inside.

The Deputy Sheriff of Jackson County, Thomas Palmer, had been assigned to the meeting. He was there until departure just shortly before the last song, "We Shall Overcome." No police were present at the time of the shooting. They were called immediately, but did not arrive until 8 minutes later and then failed to give protection. They drove away after hesitantly agreeing with a worker who requested him "to protect the people."

A second round of shots was heard, but no one was hurt nor was their source identified.

Several minutes after the 2nd shooting, a car with a white man and a white woman drove by. Stones were thrown by persons in the crowd moving in the area of the K.P. # Park Hall.

At about 11:00 p.m. a SNCC worker was forced to leave the Singing River Hospital and was told by the Assistant Chief of Police (?) that Martial Law had been declared. (A proclamation of Martial Law was not confirmed).

After the 2nd shooting, 2 cars of Negroes chased after the green Comet, to a Texaco station on Highway 63. At the station, E.J. Wiggins, driver of one of the cars chasing the Comet, got out of his car. He returned to his car when the whites aimed a shot gun at him.

A policeman arrived with a wrecker-truck and put Wiggins into a Highway Patrol car. LeRoy Williams, driver of the 2nd car, arrived

Bob Weil

at the station to see the police searching all the Negroes that came into the station and was himself searched, along with the passengers of his car, Le Mar Turnipseed and E.J. Hudson. William's car was ^{also} searched and a 22 pistol found on the front seat. Turnipseed identified the weapon as his.

Wiggins was put into a Highway Patrol car and Williams and E.J. Hudson into a City Police car, ~~and~~ ^{all} were taken to the police station.

The green Comet either drove off as the police arrived at the station or after they arrived. No attempt was made to chase it.

At the station a 16 year old boy, Fletcher Stalworth (no relation to Jessie) was kicked by a policeman.

Wiggins was arrested for attempted assault and profane language and Hudson and Turnipseed arrested for possession of ~~#####~~ concealed weapons.

Hudson has been released on \$100.00 bond. Turnipseed is still being held with a \$100.00 bond and Wiggins for \$500.00.

PARENTS LIST

Dale Gronemeier
Mr. and Mrs. Gronemeier
Bloomington, Ill.

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Mr. and Mrs. Guerreno
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Mr. and Mrs. Gross
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Mr. and Mrs. Guest
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Mr. and Mrs. Guinor
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Walton Hackman
Mr. & Mrs. Arthur K. Hackman
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Mr. Edward Wallace Hamer
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Mrs. Margaret Harrison
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RO 5-6603

x Dennis Hansen 2430 Kim Sacramento Calif GA 18136

x Irene Tall Dr e Mrs Martin Rubenstein 1509 Henry St Berkeley TH3 0549

~~Dr e Mrs Thomas Madeira Cottage Wilbur Hall Stanford Calif 325-9167~~

x Mrs Jack Duncan 1370 Joyce St Novato 892-3226

~~Mrs Mildred Smith 124 Roxbury St No. 7 Santa Clara 244 5940~~

x Anna Helenius (here) Susan 14 Mangrove Place SF Jo 3 9105

~~Edward Jones 2721 13th St Sacramento Ca 10878~~

check Dr. Evana Blum 480 Whisky Hill Rd Woodside Calif

x Sharon Anderson Mr e Mrs Robert Dawson 1037 Page St Berk.

Mr e Mrs Philips Eden 2132 Derby St Oak 848-8581

x Mr Phil Smaller 1525 1/2 Jefferson Ave Redwood City 368-9564

~~Barbara Jennings 3535 Spring Hill Rd Redwood City 254 4455~~

INCIDENT SUMMARY (CON'T)

January 28 - COLUMBUS, MISS. - Mike Higson arrested on charges of distributing leaflets without a permit. bond \$200
NATCHEZ, MISS. - The Freedom Democratic Party took the first depositions connected with the Statutory Congressional Challenge now in progress. SNCC staff workers Dorie Ladner and Janet Jermmott told lawyers incidents of harrassment and violence against civil rights workers and local citizens told of economic harrassments they had received after becoming involved in the movement.
BATESVILLE, MISS. - Chris Williams was arrested when he took several people to -he Panola County courthouse to register. He was charged with "wilfully going into and remaining in certain premises after being asked to leave." Williams had never entered the courthouse.

January 29 - ROSEDALE, MISS. - Bob Analavage and Larry Archibald were arrested in a Negro cafe after two police officers came in and told them to leave. They were charged with trespassing and taken to jail. The phone in the jail was left off the hook for several hours after the arrest making it impossible to contact the twc.

January 31 - COLUMBUS, MISS. - Ron Carver was arrested for parking his car more than six inches from the curb. Ron gave his keys to Ron Bridgeforth, who was with him at the time, and Bridgeforth drove away. There is a law in Mississippi which apparently states that when a driver is arrested his car is also impounded. Bridgeforth was consequently arrested on charges of grand larceny. Carver was taken to the jail, beaten, and then released. When the local F.B.I. was told that Carver had been beaten and Bridgeforth was still in jail, the agent replied that all he could do was phone the jail. The jailer refused to give his name and said that no one could talk with Bridgeforth.

INDIANOLA, MISS. - 100 pickets marched in front of a new ly built Negro library to protest the dedication of a segregated institution. Most were members of the MSU and FDP

ADDENDA

January 20 - COLUMBUS, MISS. - Voter registration teams stopped and questioned by police.
HATTIESBURG, MISS. - Cross burned in front of Negro school.

January 21 - COLUMBUS, MISS. - Negro students harassed by police and school officials in second attempt to desegregate public library.
CLEVELAND, MISS. - COFO worker arrested for driving without a "commercial license."
ABERDEEN, MISS. - James Ransom, a local Negro, was arrested while trying to obtain service at a segregated restaurant. Charged with disturbing the peace and held on \$500 bond.

INCIDENT SUMMARY -- AUGUST 14

McComb: A supermarket across the street from the church site of the McComb Freedom School and two blocks from the McComb Freedom House was bombed before 1:00 a.m. today. All the windows of the Burgland Supermarket on Warren Street were shattered and the walls and roofing damaged. The blast, which left a large hole in the ground, almost knocked down a voter-registration worker in the Freedom House two blocks away. It is guessed that the bomb was thrown from a passing car and landed relatively far from the store.

Immediately after the explosion, white SNCC staff member Mendy Samstein of 211 E. 18th Street, New York City, ran outside, jumped into his car, and was passed by a car with two white men in it. Samstein followed the car until he could record the license; he had seen the car before and found it listed on McComb SNCC's "suspicious car" list.

A veteran of the bombing of the Freedom House noted, "I don't know how much longer we can take these bombings."

Law student Clint Hopson was arrested for interfering with an officer as he worked his way through the crowd at the bomb site and spoke with one of the officers there. He was released on \$52.50 bail.

Local voter-registration worker Roy Lee was arrested when he returned to the scene of the bombing and was charged with inciting to riot, threatening the life of a policeman, cursing, and disorderly conduct. He is being held on \$900 bond. McComb SNCC spokesmen stated he was arrested for no apparent reason.

Natchez: A tavern next door to the Freedom House here was bombed tonight. The owners of the tavern, an integrated couple, live in a home attached to it. It is reported that fire broke out before the explosion went off. Natchez SNCC spokesmen report that police were at the scene at the time of the explosion, circulating through a crowd of several hundred spectators, stating that "the wrong place" had been bombed.

The firemen told one of the voter-registration workers there (whom they did not recognize), "Those outside agitators are in that house. The bomb was set for that house. They're here to stir up trouble. George Greene rents that place." Greene is a 20-year-old SNCC staff member working in Natchez.

The tavern is owned by Jake Fisherman and Evangeline Thornton. He is white; she, Negro.

Aberdeen: The Elkins theatre closed down today rather than integrate. There have been two integration attempts at the theatre, one August 6 and one August 11.

Aberdeen: Twenty-four voter-registration workers were made to wait outside the courthouse here last night as local Negro volunteer Leon Smith was tried for a traffic violation. When Smith's lawyer inquired of the judge why the workers were not permitted in the courtroom, he was told, "I don't hold trials for monkeys."

As the workers, three out-of-state volunteers and twenty-one local citizens, waited outside, a large group of whites--many with baseball bats--gathered. This morning local volunteer Sammy Bots, one of the group who tried to attend the trial, was fired without being given any reason by his white employer, one of the crowd outside the courthouse last night.

Aberdeen: Three local voter registration workers were given traffic tickets as they drove home from a registration meeting last night. This is the third time this week that this form of harassment has been used by local police.

Hattiesburg: Local Negro citizen Willie Mae Martin was re-arrested last night in connection with a charge of resisting arrest and interfering with a police officer last March. Billy McDonald, another Hattiesburg Negro resident, and Freedom Democratic Party chairman Lawrence Guyot were arrested at the same time, McDonald on the same charge as Miss Martin and Guyot solely for interfering. Because of legal misunderstandings, the three did not know they were scheduled to appear for a hearing to be held six months after their charge. Miss Martin and McDonald were assigned \$200 bond and 30 days imprisonment, and Guyot \$100 and 30 days. McDonald will be re-arrested imminently, and Guyot will return to Hattiesburg and turn himself in. It is considered doubtful that Freedom Democratic Party leader Guyot will be released before the Democratic National Convention to be held August 24-29 in Atlantic City.

INCIDENT SUMMARY -- AUGUST 14 (cont.)

Ruleville: A local attorney has informed voter registration workers here that any white volunteer staying overnight in the Negro section of Drew, a small town near here, would be arrested each time they stayed.

Columbus: Local voter-registration volunteer John Luther Bell was jailed at nearby West Point today on charges of larceny and disturbing the peace. He was arrested while canvassing for potential Negro registrants. Bell was one of three outstanding Freedom School students selected as a delegate to the Freedom School Convention held in Meridian August 8-10.

Hattiesburg: Freedom School teacher Sandra Adickes, United Federation of Teachers volunteer, was arrested today when she attempted to have six of her students check out books from a public library deemed for whites only. Miss Adickes, of 520 East 12th Street, New York City, went with the Negro youngsters to the library where they were refused applications for cards. They sat down at tables to read magazines; a short time later police chief Hugh Herrin walked in and announced the library was being closed. Everyone was made to leave the library, which Mayor Claude F. Pittman now states was closed for inventory. This is the second time this year it has closed for inventory. Miss Adickes and the students were followed by police from the time they left the library. They went to an integrated lunch counter, where the waitress said she would serve only the Negroes. The UFT volunteer was arrested outside the lunch counter and released under \$100 bond on a vagrancy charge.

Greenwood: The white women owners of a grocery store here fired with shotguns on a crowd of 75-100 Negro pickets today. Their "Happy Day" store has been the object of a civil rights boycott for the past several days. There were no injuries reported. Police arrived shortly after the shooting and dispersed the pickets.

Columbus: Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee Attorney Tom Connelly was arrested on charges of reckless driving today after a pickup truck was rammed into his parked car. Local white citizen Travis Hamilton ran his truck into Connelly's car, smashing the door, shattering the window, and injuring with flying glass Passenger and law student Richard Wheeler. Wheeler was cut on the arm. Connelly was released after several hours on \$110 bond.

As Connelly was being driven home from the District Attorney's office by summer volunteer Steve Fraser of 5 Second Road, Great Neck, New York, a University of Wisconsin student, their car was met by a highway patrol roadblock. Fraser was given a ticket for an improper license. He reported that the roadblock ended when their car left.

Canton: A bullet was fired at the Canton Freedom House at approximately 10:00 p.m. by a passing red Corvair; no injuries or apparent damage. Police came immediately upon being informed and were co-operative.

Indianola: Local white resident Joe Hopkins today drove up to the Indianola Freedom School while classes were in session, questioned a volunteer about the presence of a New York reporter and Attorney Andrew Goldman, fumbled with his rifle, and drove off. Previous to stopping at the Freedom School, Hopkins stated to the Negro family living next door to the Freedom School site that the civil-rights workers "better get out of there." He said, "I'm going to blow up that place." Two Negro citizens also told a summer volunteer that several white men planned to "shoot up the place" tonight. Local police stated they would patrol the area all night.

INCIDENT SUMMARY -- AUGUST 15

Jackson: Within a two-hour period -- between 10:30 p.m. and 12:30 -- a voter-registration worker was beaten over the head with a baseball bat outside the COFO office; a carload of one white and four local Negro voter-registration workers was shot at 8 to 10 times; four crosses were burned simultaneously; and a local student was shot by a white man.

White summer volunteer Philip Hocker, a Princeton student of 236 Wall Street, Corning, New York, was working on a pick-up truck across the street from the Lynch Street COFO office as three other workers--two Negro, one white--sat in a car behind him lighting his work with their headlights. A late model brown two-tone car doubleparked beside the car and truck and a young white man wearing bermuda shorts went up to Hocker, hit him on the back of the head with the bat, and continued to hit him after he fell to the street. At 10:45 Hocker was brought from the office to the Baptist hospital here, still bleeding about the head.

At 11:00 o'clock crosses were burning at Lynch Street and Terry Road (approximately three blocks from the office); at the Sun-N-Sands Hotel at which many Project lawyers, doctors, ministers, as well as national press correspondents stay; at Millsaps College; and at Valley Road and Highway 8C, site of a soon-to-be-integrated public school.

Nineteen-year-old white summer volunteer, Steve Smith, a State University of Iowa student, and four local Negro voter-registration workers were shot at 8 to 10 times by two white men in a car, as they drove through Jackson. They stopped when they saw a parked police car. The car with their assailants in it was still following them. The officer, after hearing Smith's statement, sent out a report over his radio that "we got some colored people who say some niggers were shooting at them." As soon as the Oldsmobile containing the attackers came close, the police drove off. The car was hit several times, in the oil filter and in the fan, with the rest lodging in back. A soft drink bottle and a brick were also thrown at the car by the same men. The brick hit the windshield, cracking it. The investigating plainclothesman found 5 bullets in the car.

Willie Gynes, 17-year-old local student, was shot in the leg, by a white man in a passing car, outside the location of a teen dance here. He is in the Emergency ward of the University Hospital here.

Meridian: Two local Negro voter-registration volunteers, Sam Brown and David McClinton, and SNCC staff member Preston Ponder were today fired upon while driving on Highway 11 in Jasper County. A shot hit and cracked the front window of the trio's car as they returned from investigating (for an upcoming Civil Rights Commission hearing) the beating several weeks ago of a school teacher and her mother.

Greenwood: SNCC staff member Jesse Harris was arrested today for disturbing the peace. The arrest was made under a warrant and was presumably in connection with a boycott currently in operation against several stores in Greenwood.

Greenwood: Twenty-one-year-old Greenwood Negro resident, Silas McGhee, the young man whose brutal beating led to the first arrests under the 1964 Civil Rights Act, was shot in the face tonight as he sat in a car outside Lulu's restaurant. McGhee, who was rushed to the University Hospital in Jackson in critical condition, was alone in the car when the shot was fired by a white man in a passing car.

McGhee was initially brought to the Leflore Hospital in Greenwood whose staff were reportedly unable to remove the bullet which entered through the left side of the face near the temple and lodged near the left side of the throat. Two SNCC staff members were refused admittance to the hospital as they were not wearing shirts; they had taken off their shirts to use to stop McGhee's bleeding.

Laurel: A voter-registration volunteer and three local Negro voter-registration workers were beaten today after sitting down for service at the theoretically integrated Kress's department store lunch counter. Ten whites approached as the four, Levellie Keys, James House, Larry McGill and Ben Hartfield, were being served. Two of the whites beat the group with baseball bats, and a

(over)

INCIDENT SUMMARY -- AUGUST 15 (cont.)

woman pulled a pistol on McGill. Hartfield was knocked unconscious.

SNCC staff member Fred Richardson had entered the store earlier, and was asked to leave as he was wearing a camera. Richardson was outside Kress's when the incident occurred and was himself beaten by whites who gathered at the scene when he called the police; his camera was taken by one of his attackers.

Police arrived at the scene, and warrants were sworn out against several of the attackers.

It was reported that the mother of McGill was also at the scene and yelled "Don't kill my son" to the woman who pulled a pistol. For this remark, McGill's assailant reportedly has filed an assault charge against the mother.

INCIDENT SUMMARY -- AUGUST 16

McComb: The McComb office was raided at 1:30 this morning by 24 policemen in five cars, representing the city police, sheriff's and deputies, and the highway patrol. The warrants were for illegal liquor; none was found but the officers spent a good deal of time reading letters and literature found in the office.

Jackson: A .38 calibre bullet was removed from Silas McGhee's head at University Hospital here this morning. McGhee's condition is no longer critical, although extensive plastic surgery will be required. The Justice Department is investigating the case; no arrests have been made as yet.

McComb (cont.): At the time of the raid, the workers had just returned from an evening of canvassing bars and restaurants in the McComb area, announcing rallies and Freedom Days. These were planned in response to a period of increased violence and harassment by the local white community; the latest act of violence in this intimidation campaign was the bombing yesterday morning of the Burgland Supermarket across the street from the McComb Freedom School site and two blocks from the McComb Freedom House.

Greenwood: Several hundred local Negro citizens gathered at the Friendship Baptist Church here to protest the shooting of Silas McGhee, the young man who has been brutally beaten several times as a result of integration efforts and who was shot in the head last night while sitting in a parked car. Approximately 100 of those who had gathered at the church came to the Greenwood SNCC office after the meeting. Police in full riot garb, with tear gas equipment at the scene, blocked off both ends of Avenue N, the street on which the office is located, until the angry crowd dispersed.

Philadelphia: A memorial service was held today for civil-rights workers James Chaney, Michael Schwerner, and Andrew Goodman who were slain here June 21 after inspecting the burned-out church site of a Freedom School.

Laurel: Twenty-year-old white summer volunteer David Goodyear, a Reed College student of 4111 S.E. Rural, Portland, Oregon, was beaten unconscious at a gas station here today, and his companion white summer volunteer Linnelle Barrett, 19, of 3014 Glenn Avenue, Los Angeles, was kicked and stepped upon. The two were outside their car at the gas station when two white men approached and asked if they were civil-rights workers. When they replied "yes," several whites milling around closed in and began beating them. Police came in three cars immediately after being notified. Within an hour after the incident, the police--on the basis of the license number--picked up the assailants' car. The gas station attendant closed the station and left before police arrived.

Two of Goodyear's teeth were loosened.

INCIDENT SUMMARY--AUGUST 17, 1964

Hattiesburg: Four voter registration workers, 3 white and 1 Negro, were arrested on vagrancy charges here as they left a public library which had refused them service. Susan Patterson, of 134 W. 15th St., New York City, N.Y., Ben Achtenburg, of 1028 W. 70, Kansas City, Missouri, National Council of Churches sponsored volunteer Tom Edwards of 508 N. Elmhurst Road, Prospect Hts, Illinois, and local civil rights worker Bill Jones were held on \$100 cash bond or \$250 property bond. Jones is Negro, the other three white.

Ruleville: Three local Negro youths were picked up by police here and held for ~~half~~ an hour for distributing announcements of tonight's production of In White America.

Laurel: Twenty-two year old white volunteer and Stanford senior Anthony Lynn, of 301 Ocean Ave., Santa Monica, California, was hit twice by a passing white citizen as he stood on a street corner here today. Lynn was with a local Negro citizen whom he had just accompanied to the courthouse to take a voter registration test. The incident happened on the street outside the courthouse. Lynn called the police and pointed out his assailant to them. The assailant denied everything; police had both file affidavits.

Gulfport: Eighteen year old Antioch student Steve Miller, of 359 Roosevelt, San Francisco, was beaten today by a passing white man as he left the Carnegie Library in Gulfport. Miller was badly beaten, sustaining severe bruises on the jaw, right temple, and head, and is suffering from amnesia. A county police officer arrived at the scene, but left without providing any aid for Miller. A taxi then refused to take him to the hospital when the driver was spoken to by one of Miller's companions. The civil rights workers arrived at the hospital with Miller approximately one hour after the beating, and were made to wait another two hours for the doctor.

The assailant walked by the police officer and commented "I got me one." Workers went to the city police, who refused to take action for lack of a complaint. A warrant was filed by one of the witnesses at whom the assailant had swung but not hit. Miller was not capable of filing a warrant. The Sheriff is investigating.

Indianola: Approximately 25 white citizens, some of whom were reportedly White Citizen's Council members, attended this evening's performance of In White America. Eight to ten helmeted police arrived in two cars, and said there would be no trouble. The play features an integrated cast of eight; it describes the suppressions and victories of the American Negro in his own country. The play is a documentary, written by Princeton professor Martin Duberman.

Winona County: White summer volunteer and Beloit College (Beloit, Wis.) student Tim Morrison, 20, of 120 Oakland Drive, East Lansing, Michigan, was arrested here this evening for a faulty driver's license and fined \$18.

Clarksdale: Franklin Delano Roosevelt, III, was arrested and fined for speeding while going 25 miles an hour in a 35 miles per hour zone. Roosevelt has been doing research on the project in order to bring aid to civil rights workers here.

INCIDENT SUMMARY -- AUGUST 18

McComb: The first Southwest Mississippi Freedom Day after a series of bombings and intimidation was peacefully conducted here today. Twenty-five potential Negro registrants went to the courthouse, 23 of whom were permitted to take the test. The registrar processed one applicant every forty-five minutes. Police and FBI agents were at the Pike County Courthouse in Magnolia throughout the day.

Of Pike County's 35, 063 Negro voting-age citizens, 207--or 3%--are registered, as contrasted to 9, 989 registered white voters representing 82.1% of the white voting-age population.

Over 200 local Negro citizens attended a mass meeting here last night in protest of the terrorist activities brought against Negro citizens and voter registration workers in this hard-core area. The meeting was held in St. Paul's Missionary Church, site of the McComb Freedom School and situated directly across the street from the Burglund supermarket bombed last Saturday evening.

McComb: An attempted house-burning was reported by SNCC spokesmen in McComb today. At 1:30 this morning, local Negro resident Vera Brown, whose daughter Dorothy is active in the civil rights movement here, woke up to the smell of smoke. A gasoline-filled jar was found smoking under the house. The bottle was removed and the conflagration smothered with little damage to the house. Mrs. Brown plans to go to the Pike County Courthouse to attempt to register to vote as part of today's Freedom Day.

Philadelphia: The always-present sentiments of violent suppression in this community are once again bursting to the surface. Shortly before 11:00 P.M. Saturday night (August 15) a car stopped across the street from the Freedom School headquarters here and the driver kept a single-barreled shotgun pointed at the office for approximately 5 minutes, left, and returned a second time. When two Freedom School teachers filed a warrant about the incident with the District Attorney, the official put on it that the party was a COFO worker who made \$9.64 a week, "lives off the people in the community, and has no other visible means of support." Freedom School coordinator Ralph Featherstone refused to sign the affidavit with the addition, while his companion, University of California at Berkeley student Walter Kaufman of 1123 Kieth Avenue, Madison, Wisconsin, did sign the complaint. The name of the man with the gun is known; action on the case is awaited.

Sunday night (August 16) a rumor began spreading that the office and the motel across the street from it, where workers eat, would be bombed. By last night the rumor was widespread; the woman at the motel was threatened and told workers she could not feed them any more. FBI watched the office all night; local police took no action.

This morning Deputy Sheriff Price, the officer who arrested James Chaney, Michael Schwerner, and Andrew Goodman, came to the office and took films of all the workers; he came by three times. He has reportedly been questioning local Negro citizens as to the workers' activities.

Today a local Negro citizen was beaten by a white man when he went into a store with a Negro girl. Philadelphia staff reports the man could be taken for white and was probably thought to be a project worker. He came to the office after leaving the doctor's office where he had treatment for injuries sustained during the beating. The man was frightened, and refused to contact local police. The FBI was contacted, and the man was questioned for approximately one-half hour. One agent was reportedly "very hostile."

Greenwood: Jake McGhee, younger brother of Silas, was arrested here this morning for a traffic violation. His mother, Mrs. Laura McGhee, was hit in the chest by the desk sergeant when she went to pay the fine. Mrs. McGhee hit the officer in the nose; the officer went for his gun. Greenwood staff members George Greene and Ed Rudd held the policeman's hand until another officer came in and calmed him down. Jake was fined \$100 for an improper license and impersonation, and a warrant was issued for Mrs. McGhee's arrest for assaulting an officer.

INCIDENT SUMMARY -- AUGUST 18 - cont'd

Jackson: A 17-year-old Negro from Columbus formally announced plans today to seek a state charter for a Mississippi Young Democratic Club. Melvin L. Whitfield of 1405 6th St. South, Columbus, Mississippi, assumed the presidency of the new Young Democratic group at their August 10 Convention in Meridian. He will represent the body, along with nine other Mississippi officers, at the meeting of the National Committee of the Young Democratic Clubs of America this weekend (August 21-23) in Atlantic City.

The group, thus far all-Negro, learned a few weeks ago that the existing Young Democratic organization in Mississippi has never been granted a charter by the national body.

The August 10 convention included representatives from approximately 25 Mississippi communities. A spokesman of the newly-formed group noted, "Our organization, in keeping with the principles stated in the constitution of the Young Democratic Clubs of America, is open to anyone who is between the ages of 16 and 40 who 'professes and demonstrates allegiance to the principles of the national Democratic Party,' regardless of race or creed."

Gulfport: The man who yesterday beat Antioch student and voter registration volunteer Steve Miller was today arrested and charged with assault. Gulfport resident James Robert Thomas has been released on \$200 bond. Thomas has only been charged with assault as the warrant against him was filed by Miller's companion Charles Wheeler who was not hit but only swung at. Miller is still in the hospital recovering from yesterday's beating in front of the Carnegie library here. Miller is suffering from amnesia as a result of his injuries; he will swear out a warrant when able.

Vicksburg: A bottle was hurled through the window of a barbershop here early this morning. The shop is owned by Mr. Eddie Thomas, Warren County Freedom Democratic Party delegate.

McComb: As white summer volunteer and Harvard student Marshall Ganz, 21, of 2621 Cedar Street, Bakersfield, California, drove back from the Pike County Courthouse in Magnolia, to transport potential Negro registrants, he was followed by four men in an unmarked pickup truck. When he stopped at a red light, one man quickly got out of the truck and began running at him. Ganz quickly drove off and was followed by the truck back to McComb. A passenger in the truck threw a bottle at Ganz' car which narrowly missed going through the window.

Natchez: A five-gallon can of gasoline, a bomb-like apparatus, was found under the Blue Moon bar here. The bar belongs to Mr. Jake Fisher, whose brother's bar was found bombed in Louisiana over the weekend.

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

Shaw: Three members of the Shaw Mississippi Student Union entered the town library today and successfully registered for cards. All three are Negro. When the three, Eddie Short, James Johnson, Jr., and Willie Wright left, they were followed by four police officers and watched by a number of bystanders.

INCIDENT SUMMARY -- AUGUST 19

Jackson: Three busloads of Freedom Democratic Party delegates and alternates to the National Convention, as well as FDP staff members, left from Jackson amidst hundreds of well-wishers late this evening. Four national network camera crews and a host of national newspaper and wire service correspondents surrounded the area with floodlights and mobile cameras as those bound for Atlantic City and the crowds bidding them farewell sang Freedom Songs and shouted good wishes for over an hour. The busses will arrive in Atlantic City at 8 a.m. Friday morning, and hold a press conference prior to the start of credentials committee hearings.

Jackson: At the conclusion of a three-and-a-half-day staff meeting held at Tougaloo College this weekend, Summer Project Director Robert Moses announced that the Mississippi Project would not end with the summer. Speaking at a press conference on the lawn outside the Tougaloo Student Union, Moses stated that 200 of the volunteers now in the state plus 65 SNCC staff and approximately 30 CORE staff would stay in the state throughout the year. This figure does not include those who will come down for a minimum stay of three months who have been applying for work during the year since the Summer Project began. Moses also noted that medical, legal, and ministerial groups have announced plans to place Mississippi operations on a permanent basis.

Natchez: The owner of the house rented by SNCC workers here has indicated he does not want to rent it to civil rights workers for fear of a bombing. The company holding the house's insurance has indicated it does not want to continue the policy on the house.

Meridian: Church burning reported in Collinsville.

McComb: Three potential Negro registrants in front of the Pike County Courthouse in Magnolia were told they would be arrested if they did not move. The three sat in their car for thirty minutes.

Ten minutes after this incident occurred white summer volunteer and Harvard student Dave Gerber of 6806 Brennon Lane, Chevy Chase, Maryland, was pulled over to the side of the road by the sheriff and arrested for speeding enroute from the courthouse to McComb. Gerber was released on \$22.50 bond.

Meridian: Local Negro voter registration worker Sam Brown was arrested on charges of disorderly conduct and resisting arrest tonight. He was released on \$50 bond.

McComb: Pike County Negro citizens organized a meeting for tonight and invited McComb project workers to attend. The Summer Project, the Freedom Democratic Party, and Federal Programs were discussed, and a citizenship class scheduled for next Tuesday. Those at the meeting, approximately 15, indicated they would go to the Courthouse after the citizenship class.

Philadelphia: Increased harassment and intimidation efforts continue at the Evers Motel headquarters of the Neshoba County mobile Freedom School here. Between 8:55 and 9:15 this evening two carloads and one truck of white men with rifles visible parked outside the headquarters on the outskirts of Philadelphia; Deputy Price was observed smiling as one carload of whites told him, "We're gonna get the job done tonight." While the carloads of whites parked or the occupants milled about in front of the office and other cars cruised in the area, threatening 'phone calls were received at approximate intervals of five minutes stating "Your time is up." 'Phone calls continued until 4 a.m. The new office opened Friday, August 14, with eleven workers, four of them staff members.

Jackson: At a press conference today Summer Project Director Robert Moses announced some specific program plans for the coming year. He stated, "Voter registration drives will be increased across the state. Campaigns will be intensified in Panola and Tallahatchie Counties where recent court orders have opened new possibilities for work, and in other counties where legal relief appears imminent. Also under consideration during the three day meeting were such new efforts as mobile libraries in rural areas, strengthening of the citizens band radio security system, development of permanent community center facilities, and an adult literacy program specially designed by SNCC for the Black Belt."

INCIDENT SUMMARY -- AUGUST 20

Canton: At 1:30 this morning a pick up truck drove into the driveway of the Freedom House here. A local Negro citizen who was in the Freedom House at the time stated that there was a "third light" inside the truck, in addition to the two headlights. When the truck's occupants noticed all the observers they quickly drove off, and were reportedly observed trying to put out a fire in the bed of the truck. When witnesses got to the street, they found a gallon jug, broken, with oily rags sticking out at the top.

Philadelphia: Neshoba County law enforcement has used a questionable building lease to try to evict COFO workers from the newly opened COFO office in Philadelphia. The office, located on Adkins Street near the Booker T. Washington High School, is the old Evers Hotel which has been entirely leased for use as a Freedom School and office base. At about 11 a.m. this morning Deputy Cecil Price, Sheriff Rainey, and District Attorney Walter Jones presented an eviction notice, indicating that the six COFO workers then in the office would be arrested if they had not left the premises by 1 p.m. The law officers claimed the building lease was invalid, and that old tenants still held the lease. Police, both city and county, appeared frequently at the office from about 1 p.m. to 3 or 4 this afternoon. It was reported police did have warrants for the arrest of the six workers on trespass charges. The former occupant of the building came to the office late this afternoon and agreed to terminate his hold on the building and to have all his property moved out within five days.

COFO workers indicated their determination to stay in Philadelphia despite legal or other types of pressure. According to 25 year old Washington, D.C., Negro and Philadelphia Freedom School coordinator Ralph Featherstone, a local Negro woman told one of the workers this morning: "If you all leave us now, they'll kill us. They'll pile our bodies one on top of the other."

Headquarters in Jackson stated additional staff had been moved into Philadelphia by late afternoon, and more would be sent as soon as needed, "to keep our pledge to the local people."

Today's legal harassment followed several tense hours last night as the Philadelphia office was surrounded by carloads of armed whites.

Following the eviction notice, local Negro citizens came to the office and provided "a fabulous dinner for us all."

Shaw: Herman Perry, Negro cotton farmer from Boyles, was elected President of the Bolivar Improvement Association at a mass meeting at the Church of God in Christ, in Shaw Wednesday night.

More than 100 Negro farmers and others were in attendance. The purpose of the association is to organize Negro farmers and others of Bolivar County for community planning and improvement. With widespread Negro unemployment and poverty in the area, the group is organizing to become eligible for federal aid. To avoid complete economic dependence, the group noted the need for some kind of industry to employ the large Negro population in the county.

The group grew out of a Summer Project Freedom School class in politics. A second meeting of the Association will be held in Shaw on September 3, at which time the question of what industry is to be brought into the area will be discussed, and by-laws will be drawn up for the association.

A mass meeting is scheduled for tomorrow evening in Shaw, to make plans for the school boycott and integration of public schools here.

Clarksdale: Medical Committee for Human Rights physicians Richard Moore and Les Hoffman were arrested for loitering while in their car outside the Freedom House here. Moore is a 28 year old practicing clinical psychologist of 235 E. 12th St., New York, and Hoffman is a 35 year old physician of 523 Palmer Ave., Mamaroneck, New York. They were released on \$16 bond each; trial is set for tomorrow.

PROGRAM OUTLINE FOR CAMPUS FRIENDS OF SNCC GROUPS

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is an organization which was founded by students, is staffed by students and recent graduates, and receives a tremendous amount of its support from students. In the past we have had strong, if sometimes erratic, support from colleges and universities in the North. We hope that in the course of the next school year we will not only see support efforts expand onto Northern campuses with which we have had little contact in the past, but will likewise see those which already exist become more active.

The material here is, unless otherwise noted, suggestive, and subject to any changes which particular college groups may need to make in order to fit the needs and potential of their campuses. It is our hope that Friends of SNCC groups on Northern Campuses will be as creative as possible in planning programs which will aid our efforts to implement the changes which are now occurring in the Black Belt South. For the first time in the history of the United States a social revolution is being led by students, and we hope that you, as students, will join us in trying to make democracy a reality in the South.

The link between Northern students and the Southern Movement is more than fraternal. Much of our field work in the rural South is done by Northern students, some 200 of whom have chosen to remain in Mississippi. Most of the Northerners whom we plan to recruit to work in the Black Belt during the Summer of 1965 will be students, but this recruiting will only be possible if campus Friends of SNCC groups begin laying the groundwork now. It is our hope that the next year will bring the formation of a concerned, informed, and active student public, willing to commit itself to continued support of the struggle which has been undertaken in the South.

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
8½ Raymond St.
Atlanta Ga.
Phone: 688-0331 area code 404

FUNCTION

There are four primary needs which must be fulfilled in the North and which all Northern campus groups should use as guidelines in planning their programs

1. Education--letting those on the campus know just what SNCC is, exactly what sort of programs we are engaged in at the moment, and what the current situation is in the South.
2. Fund and supply raising--the assurance that a steady stream of material and financial resources will come in from the North, enabling us to continue the work being done here on a regular rather than sporadic basis.
3. Northern Support--letters, phone calls, and telegrams to Congressmen, Senators, the President, and the Justice Department demanding that immediate action be taken to insure Justice in the South. Northern support includes demonstrationx specifically aimed at promoting action in the South by the Federal Government and arousing community support for SNCC's work here.
4. Recruiting--the gathering of volunteers to work for varying lengths of time on SNCC projects in the South, such as the Mississippi Sumer Project and the Mississippi Freedom Votes of 1963 and 1964. Recruiting is particularly important on campuses, since most of our volunteers are college students.

ESTABLISHING A CAMPUS FRIENDS OF SNCC GROUP

All it takes to start a support group is a small group of concerned and committed students, a mimeograph machine, a phone, and an address. In some areas, college students have worked with Friends of SNCC groups in their communities and then formed a separate Friends group on their campus. On campuses which are too small to support more than one civil rights group, it is possible to approach the existing social action or human rights group and suggest that it form a special fund raising committee for SNCC.

It is often helpful for a college or university Friends of SNCC group to have the endorsement of key members of the student body and faculty, particularly those who have had an active interest in civil rights. This should include all returned Summer Volunteers. It is good to have as many other student organizations as possible act as sponsors or at least endorse the SNCC group by resolution.

FUND RAISING METHODS

The field is limitless, but we can give several suggestions and a few guidelines.

Since it is unlikely that individual students will be able to give large amounts of money it is important that every student on campus be reached. This can be assured by assigning at least one person to every floor of every dorm fraternity, and sorority, and making that person responsible for getting a contribution from every one on the floor, selling a ticket for a benefit concert to everyone, or whatever the particular fund drive may involve. The one overriding advantage that campus based SNCC groups have over those in the community is that they can, in fact, reach every member of the student body if their efforts are well enough organized. This is a tremendously important basis on which to start and is one which should be taken advantage of.

1. Voluntary Poll Tax -- As a protest against the poll tax regulations in the South, a campaign can be organized to have every student donate a voluntary poll tax at student body and regular elections. This can be done very effectively by stationing people with collection cans at or near the polling places.
2. Mailings to faculty -- Direct appeals for funds, office and community center supplies can be sent, preferably under the signature of a faculty member.
3. Leafletting with collection tables -- Tables can be set up in front of the student union, post office or other regularly frequented place if regulations permit. SNCC records, buttons, books, and other materials can be sold on a regular basis.

4. Picnics, Hoots, and Jazz sessions -- Functions of all kinds can be given with a donation being asked for or tickets sold. A short talk on SNCC's work should, of course, be included.
5. Fund raising for specific items -- It is sometimes a tremendous help to have concrete information on SNCC's needs as a incentive for potential supporters. More often than not it is easier to collect funds for specific items than to simply ask for contributions to our work. The needs are many; here are a few.
 - Cars, jeeps, and buses -- In organizing a rural Southern town or county for voter registration it is imperative that transportation be available, both for staff to use and for carrying local people to the courthouse to register. Fast, dependable cars are needed; SNCC workers have often been chased on dirt roads at high speeds out of rural counties, and lives can be saved if cars are reliable. In addition, some of the cars are equipped with two-way radios for security. Jesse Harrison, SNCC transportation coordinator, estimates that 150 additional cars will be needed in the course of the coming year for use in the Black Belt.
 - Audio-visual equipment -- Equipment is needed for documenting our work and conditions in the South, and for bringing quality film programs to rural Negroes, who seldom see anything but out-dated second rate Hollywood films. Needed are 35mm cameras, 16mm projectors, darkroom equipment, and tape recorders, in addition to film and tape in large quantities.
 - Telephones -- SNCC maintains a national WATS line (Wide Area Telephone Service) in Atlanta and telephones in all field offices. Long distance telephone communication is essential for security and smooth operation, particularly for raising bail. SNCC's phone bill for the past nine months, including the national WATS, was \$19,000.
 - Adopt a SNCC worker -- SNCC field secretaries work for subsistence wages, usually \$9.64 a week. Including the cost of gas and auto expenses, office overhead, paper and supplies, the yearly cost comes to between \$1300 and \$2300. Likewise, many of those Summer Volunteers who have chosen to remain in Mississippi have to receive subsistence, and we simply do not have the funds

Construction of Community Centers--During the Mississippi Summer Project a community center program was begun with great success. Staffed by experienced social workers, nurses, librarians, and teachers, the centers bring to the Negro community many services which are normally denied in Mississippi. In many rural communities facilities cannot be found to house a community center, so one must be built. Construction costs from the ground up, including land, materials, and supplies, range from \$5000 to \$15000.

6. SNCC Weekends -- a massive fund raising and educational drive can be organized to include as many of the above as possible in one weekend.

SUPPLY DRIVES

Every community center in the South must be equipped with an adequate supply of materials--this includes sports and recreational equipment, paper, paints, arts and crafts materials, and enough books for an adequate library. SNCC field offices must also be supplied with paper, stencils, and office machinery, particularly typewriters and mimeograph machines. A drive can be organized to collect the materials themselves or to raise enough money to buy them and ship them south.

PHOTO EXHIBITS

The SNCC Photo Department can supply a selection of photographs taken by SNCC photographers taken in the field. An exhibit can be given with either an admission fee or a collection, and photographs can be sold.

SPEAKERS BUREAU

A bureau could be composed of returned Summer Volunteers on campus who would be available to speak to any College or community organization. Try to cover all fraternities, sororities, and other organizations of campus. The Friends of SNCC group can also give orientations on SNCC and train people to speak about our work. Several SNCC films are also available and can be used in conjunction with speaking engagements.

NORTHERN SUPPORT

A Northern SNCC group should be ready to move at any time, as there are many events in the South which call for immediate Northern Support. When James Travis was machine-gunned after a voter registration meeting in Greenwood in the Winter of 1963, demands for Federal Protection should have come at once from all parts of the country. When local Whites and police in McComb launched a massive effort to roll back the tide" in September of 1964, it is likely that the pressure put on the Government by concerned people in

the North did in part lead to action by the F.B.I. and Justice Department. The Federal Government is too often reluctant to challenge "local authority" unless it is sure that the country is behind it. Each Campus Friends of SNCC should have a ready system for spreading news to every member of the student body, as well as throughout the college community if it is not already covered by a Friends of SNCC group. The groundwork for mobilizing people must be laid through a good deal of educational work so that students have a prior knowledge of general conditions in the South and exactly how SNCC is trying to change them. In addition to a biweekly incident summary which we hope to mail to Northern groups every other Friday, the Atlanta SNCC office will notify as many groups as possible by telephone when particularly bad situations arise.

COLLEGE NEWSPAPER

Good relations with the campus paper are crucial to each of the four phases of Northern activity. Good coverage and editorial policy can in part be assured by having someone from the staff of the paper active in Friends of SNCC. In addition, a weekly newsletter should be mimeographed and distributed on campus.

RELATIONS WITH THE NATIONAL OFFICE IN ATLANTA

There are a number of services which we here in Atlanta can provide and a few demands which we must make.

1. It should be remembered that NO ACTION SHOULD BE TAKEN IN SNCC'S NAME UNLESS IT IS CLEARED WITH THE ATLANTA OFFICE, as this is where the responsibility ultimately lies. This holds equally true for COFO and the Freedom Democratic Party, who can be contacted at 1017 Lynch St., Jackson Miss., and 852 1/2 Short St., Jackson, Miss., respectively.

2. BY ALL MEANS KEEP US IN TOUCH WITH WHAT YOU ARE DOING, both before you do it and after. It will usually turn out that we have material which can be useful to you and you in turn will have ideas which we can pass on to other groups. We ask that each group send a report of its activities each month either to the Atlanta office or to a Friends of SNCC group if there is one in the area. The report should include accounts of activities carried out for that month (fund raising, education, northern support, recruiting), a statement of funds collected, funds sent to Atlanta, funds sent to the SNCC office in your area, funds kept for running expenses, activities planned, and any new contacts who will probably be active. Also send us the names of any interested people which you may run across at other colleges, particularly those which are not yet in contact with SNCC.

3. The Atlanta office will supply a list of Friends of SNCC offices around the country so that students can become active in their home communities during the summer.

MATERIALS AVAILABLE FROM THE ATLANTA OFFICE

1. Literature describing SNCC and its work. We can supply in bulk reprints from national magazines, as well as several brochures which we have prepared.

2. Books

SNCC, The New Abolitionists by Howard Zinn. A history and analysis of SNCC's work. Sells for \$4.95.
The Movement, with text by Lorraine Hansberry and photos by Danny Lyon and others. Sells for \$1.95.

3. Buttons

Small SNCC handclasp buttons. Sell for 50¢
One Man - One Vote buttons. Sell for 50¢

Records

The Freedom Singers Sing of Freedom Now--Songs of the Southern Freedom Movement. Sells for \$4.00.
We Shall Overcome--The Freedom Singers. Sells for \$4.00.

Posters

Large posters from photos by Danny Lyon--"Now", "One Man - One Vote", "Food For Freedom", "Is he Protecting You?", and "Come Let Us Build A New World Together"
Sell for \$1.00 each or \$4.00 a set (5).

Films

A Dream Deferred and We'll Never Turn Back--Two documentaries on SNCC's voter registration work in the Mississippi Delta. The films run for 30 minutes and 28 minutes respectively.
Streets of Greenwood--a documentary on SNCC's work in Greenwood, Miss., during the Summer of 1963. Runs for 20 minutes. Available after Dec. 1, 1964.
Ivanhoe--a full length film about SNCC Field Secretary Ivanhoe Donaldson, following him and his work from Virginia to Alabama and on to Mississippi.
Runs one hour. Available after Dec. 1, 1964.

When making requests for films, please give us alternate dates at least one month in advance.

It was a cool day in August beside the ocean. Atlantic City, New Jersey was waiting for the Democratic National Convention to begin. In that republican fortress history was about to be made. High on a billboard smiling out at the breakers was a picture of Barry Goldwater and an inscription "In your heart you know he's right." Later someone had written underneath, "Yes, extreme right." Goldwater had had his "moment" two weeks before on the other ocean. This was to be L. B. J.'s "moment", and we were to find out that this was also his convention.

The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party had been working rather loosely all summer. Money was as scarce as prominent friends. A small band of dedicated persons forged out of the frustration and aspirations of an oppressed people a wedge; a moral wedge which brought the monstrous political machinery of the greatest power on earth to a screeching halt.

The Freedom Democratic Party was formed through precinct, county, district, and state conventions. An attempt to register with the state was frustrated. But the Party was opened to both black and white voters and non-voters for the State of Mississippi had denied the right to vote to thousands. Ninety-three percent of the Negroes twenty-one years of age or older in Mississippi are denied the right to vote. To show to the Convention and to the country that people want to vote in Mississippi, we held a Freedom Registration campaign. In other words, a voter registration blank form from a northern state was used. Sixty-thousand persons signed up in less than three months. We presented our registration books to the Credentials Committee. Both the facts and the law were ably represented by our attorney, Joseph Rauh, Jr., who was also a member of the Credentials Committee.

No one could say that we were a renegade group. We had tried to work within the structure of the State Party. In fact, we were not only trying to be included in the State Party, but we also sought to insure that the State Party would remain loyal to the candidates of the National Democratic Party in November. We attended precinct meetings in several parts of Mississippi.

In eight precincts in six different counties, we went to polling stations before the time legally designated for the precinct meeting, 10:00 A.M., but were unable to find any evidence of a meeting. Some officials denied knowledge of any meeting; others claimed the meeting had already taken place. In these precincts we proceeded to hold our own meetings and elected our own delegates to the county conventions.

In six different counties where we found the white precinct meetings, we were excluded from the meetings. In Hattiesburg we were told that we could not participate without poll tax receipts, despite the recent Constitutional amendment,

outlawing such provisions.

In ten precincts in five different counties, we were allowed to attend the meetings but were restricted from exercising full rights: some were not allowed to vote; some were not allowed to nominate delegates from the floor; others were not allowed to choose who tallied the votes. No one could say that we had not tried. We had no alternative but to form a State party that would include everyone.

So sixty-eight delegates came from Mississippi--black, white, maids, ministers, carpenters, farmers, painters, mechanics, school teachers, the young, the old--they were ordinary people but each had an extraordinary story to tell. And they could tell the story! The Saturday before the convention began, they presented their case to the Credentials Committee, and through television, to the nation and the world. No human being confronted with the truth of our testimony could remain indifferent to it. Many tears fell. Our position was valid and our case was just.

But the word had been given. The Freedom Party was to be seated without voting rights as honored guests of the Convention. The Party caucused and rejected the proposed "compromise." The slow and now frantic machinery of the administration was grinding against itself. President Johnson had given Senator Humphrey the specific task of dealing with us. They were desperately seeking ways to seat the regular Mississippi delegation without any show of disunity. The administration needed time!

Sunday evening, there was a somewhat secret meeting held at the Deauville Motel, for all Negro delegates. The M.F.D.P. was not invited but was there. In a small, crowded, dark room with a long table and a black board, some of the most prominent Negro politicians in the country gave the "word", one by one. Then, an old man seated in a soft chair struggled slowly to his feet. It was the black dean of politics, Congressman Charles Dawson of Chicago.

Unsteady in his voice, he said exactly what the other "leaders" had said: 1. We must nominate and elect Lyndon B. Johnson for President in November; 2. We must register thousands of Negroes to vote; and 3. We must follow leadership, adding "we must respect womanhood", and sat down. With that a little woman, dark and strong, Mrs. Annie Devine from Canton, Miss. standing near the front asked to be heard. The Congressman did not deny her. She began to speak. "We have been treated like beasts in Mississippi. They shot us down like animals." She began to rock back and forth and her voice quivered. "We risk our lives coming up here...politics must be corrupt if it don't care none about people down there...these politicians sit in positions and forget the people who put them there." She went on, crying between each sentence, but right after

her witness the meeting was adjourned.

What nightmare were they having? Here we were in a life-death grip, wrestling with the best political strategists in the country. We needed only eleven votes for a minority report from the Credentials Committee. They had postponed their report three times; a sub-committee was working around the clock. If there had been a vote in the Credentials Committee Saturday we would have probably had four times as many votes as we needed, Sunday two times as many, and as late as Tuesday, we still had ten delegates committed to call for the minority report. We had ten state delegations on record as supporting us. We had at least six persons on the Credentials Committee itself who attended our caucus to help determine the best strategy. We had over half of the press at our disposal. We were the issue, the only issue at that convention. But the bleak leadership at the convention went the way of the "black dean's" maxim; "Follow leadership"--the word had been given.

The Freedom Party had made its position clear, too. They had come to the Convention to be seated instead of the all-white Party from Mississippi but they were willing to compromise. A compromise was suggested by Congresswoman Edith Green (D.-Ore.), a member of the Credentials Committee. It was acceptable to the Freedom Party and could have become the minority report: 1. Everyone would be subjected to a loyalty oath, both the Freedom Party and the Mississippi regular Party; 2. Each delegate who took the oath would be seated and the votes would be divided proportionately.

It was minimal: the Freedom Party would accept no less.

The administration countered with another compromise. It had five points: 1. The all-white Party would take the oath and be seated; 2. The Freedom Democratic Party would be welcomed as honored guests of the Convention; 3. Dr. Aaron Henry and Rev. Edwin King, Chairman and National Committeeman of the Freedom Democratic Party respectively, would be given delegate status in a special category of "delegates-at-large"; 4. The Democratic National Committee would obligate states by 1968, to select and certify delegates through a process without regard to race, creed, color, or national origin; and 5. The Chairman of the National Democratic Committee would establish a special committee to aid the states in meeting standards set for the 1968 Convention and that a report would be made to the National Democratic Committee and be available for the next convention and its members.

The "word" had come down for the last time. We had begun to lose support in the Credentials Committee. This came mainly

as a result of a squeeze play by the administration.

It was Tuesday morning when the Freedom Party delegation was hustled to its meeting place, the Union Temple Baptist Church. You could cut through the tension, it was so apparent. People were touchy and on edge. It had been a long fight; being up night and day, running after delegations, following leads, speaking, answering politely, always aggressive, always moving. Now, one of the most important decisions of the convention had to be made.

At about one o'clock, it was reported that a group from the M.F.D.P. had gone to talk with representatives of the administration and a report was given: it was the five point compromise. This was also the majority report from the Credentials Committee. There were now seven hours left for sixty-eight people to examine the compromise, think about it, accept or reject it, propose the appropriate action, and do what was necessary to implement it. The hot day dragged on; there were speeches and speeches and talk and talk--Dr. Martin Luther King, Bayard Rustin, Senator Wayne Morse, Congresswoman Edith Green, Jack Pratt, James Farmer, James Forman, Ella Baker, and Bob Moses. Some wanted to accept the compromise, and others did not. A few remained neutral and all voiced total support whatever the ultimate decision. But time had made the decision. The day was fast spent when discussion was opened to the delegation.

The administration had succeeded in baiting us into extended discussion and this was the end. We had no time to sift through over five thousand delegates and alternates, through ninety-eight Credentials Committee members who could have been anywhere in the ocean for all we knew.

The proposal was rejected by the Freedom Party Delegation; we had come through another crisis with our minds depressed but our hearts and hands unstained. Again we had not bowed to "massa". We were asserting a moral declaration to this country that the political mind must be concerned with much more than the expedient; that there are real issues in this country's politics and "race" is one.

One can logically move from this point to others. First of all, the problem of "race" in this country cannot be solved without political adjustment. We must consider the masters of political power at this point and acknowledge that the blacks are not trusted with this kind of power for this is real power. This is how our meat making and money making and dress making and love making is regulated. A readjustment must be made. One hundred counties where blacks outnumber whites in the South need an example for the future. The real question is whether America is willing to pay its dues. We are not only demanding meat and bread and a job

but we are also demanding power, a share in power! Will we share power in this country together in reconciliation or, out of frustration, take a share of power and show it, or the need for it, in rioting and blood?

The manipulation of power in our homeland is in white hands. The white majority controls the decision-making process here. At President Johnson's Coronation" in Atlantic City there were no blacks with power to challenge the position of the administration. Moreover, there was opposition by blacks to any attempt to wield power against the administrative position. There was no black group supporting us; they had no power; they could show no power. But they had positions of power. One would support that it is part of the system to give positions meaningless labels and withhold the real power. This is the story of the bond between our country and its black children.

In the South and North, the black man is losing confidence in the intentions of the Federal Government. The case of Byron de la Becwith is an example of what frustrates our people in this connection. The Klansmen freed in Georgia is another. Both can be explained but the emotions which they arouse in the Negro in this country cannot be explained away. The seating of the Mississippi Freedom Delegation could have gone a long way toward restoring the faith in the intentions of our government for many who believe that the Federal Government is a white man. Many Negroes believe that the government has no intention of sharing the power with blacks. We can see through the "token". We have had a name for a white man's Negro ever since any white man named one. We want much more than "token" position or even representation. We want power for our people. We want it out of the country's respect for the ideals of America and love for its own people. We need to be trusted, each for his own worth; this is why we are not chanting everlasting praises for the civil rights bill. We remember all the bills before. In fact, we remember the reconstruction period. This time, we will be our own watch dogs on progress. We will not trade one slavery for another.

Secondly, we refuse to accept the total responsibility for the conditions of race relations in this country. At the convention we were repeatedly told to be "responsible"; that Goldwater would benefit from our actions. We were told that riots in Harlem and Rochester and Jersey City and Philadelphia must stop. "Responsible" leaders have gotten up and called moratoriums in response to directives to be "responsible". The country is being hurt by the riots, we are told admonishingly.

Who can make jobs for people in our society? Who runs our society? Who plans the cities? Who regulates the tariff?

Who makes the laws? Who interprets the law? Who holds the power? Let them be responsible! They are at faults who have not alleviated the causes which make men express their feelings of utter despair and hopelessness. Our society is amous for its white-washing, buck-passing tactics. That is one reason the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party could not accept the administration's compromise. It was made to look like something and it was nothing. It was made to pacify the blacks in this country. It did not work. We refused to accept a "victory". We could have accepted the compromise, called it a victory and went back to Mississippi, carried on the shoulders of millions of Negroes across the country as their champions. But we love the ideals of our country; they mean more than a "moment" of victory. We are what we are--hungry, beaten, unvictorious, jobless, homeless, but thankful to have the strength to fight. This is honesty and we refuse to compromise here. It would have been a lie to accept that particular compromise. It would have said to blacks across the nation and the world that we share the power and that is a lie! The "liberals" would have felt great relief for a job well done. The Democrats would have laughed again at the segregationist Republicans and smiled that their own "Negroes" were satisfied. That is a lie! We are a country of racists with a racist heritage, a racist economy, a racist language, a racist religion, a racist philosophy of living, and we need a naked confrontation with ourselves. All the lies of television and radio and the press cannot save us from what we really are . . . black or white.

It is only now that a voice is being heard in our land. It is the voice of the poor; it is the tongue of the under-privileged; it is from the lips of the desperate. This is a voice of utter frankness: the white man knows that he has deceived himself for his own purposes yet he continues to organize his own humiliation and ours.

We have no political panaceas. We will not claim that responsibility either. But we do search for a way of truth.

Charles M. Sherrod

Bay Area Friends of The STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE



THE STORY OF COFO (PART ONE)

When the staff and volunteers of COFO, the Council of Federated Organizations, met in December to chart the future of the Mississippi movement, it was the largest single collection of civil rights workers ever gathered together (350) in Mississippi. Not only that, but they were working on the largest group of programs any civil rights drive in history has ever undertaken.

THE NAME IS OLDER THAN THE PRESENT GROUP

COFO as it is today began in a Clarksdale, Mississippi Methodist Church in August, 1962, but the name COFO goes back nearly two years before that meeting.

COFO was the name chosen by a group of Negro Mississippians who sought, in 1961, an audience with the then Mississippi Governor, Ross Barnett. Thinking that Barnett would turn down a meeting with representatives of the older, established civil rights organizations, they used the name COFO to negotiate the release of arrested Freedom Riders.

Among the organizers of the 'first' COFO were Medgar Evers, slain NAACP field secretary; Dr. Aaron Henry, State President of the Mississippi NAACP Branches; and Carsie Hall one of Mississippi's four Negro lawyers.

COFO BORN AGAIN

The group became inactive after that meeting. In January, 1962 Robert Moses, head of voter registration in Mississippi for SNCC, and Thomas Gaither, Mississippi CORE representative, wrote a memo proposing that the civil rights groups working in the state band together to register the state's Negroes. Moses has been working on voter registration in rural Mississippi since August, 1961. His experience told him that discrimination in Mississippi would only yield to an all-out unified attack by as strong a force as possible. COFO was revitalized.

A COFO proposal was submitted to the newly formed Voter Education Project (VEP) of the Southern Regional Council

in February 1962, under the signature of Dr. Henry, then, as now, state NAACP head and head of COFO (press rumors that he has withdrawn from COFO are false). VEP had announced that it would finance voter registration drives in the South, but it did not support COFO's plan until after the August meeting in Clarksdale.

THE FOUNDING GROUP

All of the full-time civil rights workers in Mississippi at that time were present at the Clarksdale meeting, except Evers, whose busy schedule kept him away. CORE's David Dennis (who replaced Thomas Gaither); SCLC's Reverend James Bevel; Moses and Foreman from SNCC, and the ten other SNCC workers then scattered throughout the Mississippi Delta.

The meeting renominated and elected Aaron Henry president and Carsie Hall, secretary. The Reverend R.L.T. Smith of Jackson was named treasurer and CORE's Dennis elected to the Executive Committee. Bob Moses became project director.

The following month a VEP grant enabled COFO to begin work in Bolivar, Coahoma, Leflore, and Sunflower counties where SNCC staff members already had done crucial ground work.

INTO THE DELTA

COFO moved next into Washington County. The entire staff came together again in February, 1963 for a concerted push in Leflore County after the near-

fatal machinegunning of SNCC Field Secretary Jimmy Travis. A food and clothing drive launched in the winter of 1962-63 sustained many of the Delta families victimized because of their participation in the vote drive. Support by Northern college campuses began to solidify.

THE FREEDOM VOTE

After Greenwood, workers moved into Holmes and Madison Counties and made inroads into other Delta areas. A state-wide Freedom Vote in the Fall of 1963, organized by regular COFO workers together with volunteers from Yale and Stanford put permanent civil rights workers in the city of Jackson and in numerous other counties.

THE WAR MAP OF MISSISSIPPI

Following the Freedom Vote the Mississippi staff, then numbering about 50 full-time workers, met in the SNCC office in November to make future plans. The state was divided along congressional district lines and a project head elected for each district. SNCC's Lawrence Buyot, now state chairman of the Freedom Democratic Party, was project head in the 5th District, based in Hattiesburg. SNCC worker Frank Smith operated in the 1st District from Holly Springs, CORE staff member Matteo Suarez directed activities in the 4th District from Canton. SNCC's McArthur Cotton reactivated voter registration in McComb - the site of SNCC's first Mississippi project in 1961 - and became 3rd District project director.

Continued in next issue

help • help • help • help • •

LAST MONTH WE ASKED FOR OFFICE EQUIPMENT - AND ARE STILL ASKING. WE ALSO NEED OFFICE VOLUNTEERS. IF YOU CAN REGULARLY COME INTO THE OFFICE, AT 584 PAGE STREET, PLEASE LET US KNOW.

WE NEED JOBS AND/OR ROOM & BOARD FOR RETURNED MISSISSIPPI VOLUNTEERS AND FOR LOCAL STUDENTS HELPING FULL-TIME IN SNCC WORK HERE

CONTACT SNCC: 584 PAGE STREET, SAN FRANCISCO MA 6-4577

MISSISSIPPI STUDENT UNION CONVENES

Negro Highschoolers Organize Themselves

"All the principals and almost all the teachers tell us we got to get an education and that means listening to Mr. Charley. They been talking to him for a lot of years and they been brainwashing us with that talk."

This was Roscoe Rones, the 17-year old president of the newly formed Mississippi Student Union (MSU), speaking to some 50 delegates at the December convention in Jackson. Delegates came from ten cities all over the state. Only a year old, the group was holding its fourth state-wide meeting.

HOW MSU STARTED

The MSU was founded last January by ten high-school students in Hattiesburg who wanted to participate in the Freedom Day Voter Registration drive sponsored by the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO). They did, joining in the Freedom Day picket and declaring a one-day boycott of classes in protest against "the system." Three months later, in April, over 200 students met at Tougaloo College (near Jackson) to organize the state organization.

The second convention was called in August in Meridian. There delegates hammered out resolutions touching on everything from integrated schools, housing and jobs to the paving of streets and sidewalks. COFO fathered the MSU, helping the students with meetings and other organizational work in the beginning. But by last summer MSU was on its own.

BARRIERS TO PROTESTS

At the Jackson convention a shy, unemployed high-school graduate from that city talked about the "system".

"We wanted to protest against the bad teaching at our school — the overcrowded classes, the old books, the lousy food. About 300 or 350 of us were involved in a demonstration and the principal told us that those who took part wouldn't be able to graduate. A few of us got arrested but the principal backed down.

"What's really bad is that I can only think of two teachers who really would discuss civil rights with us ... but never at school. They have to sign a paper about what organizations they go to and they got to be careful or they lose their jobs. Us students even have to sign a pledge when we register that we're not involved in no civil rights stuff."

FEAR BLOCKS LEARNING

Another former high-school student described the fear that permeates the whole school system. He told how his sister was expelled for a month for singing a Freedom song and how the principal threatened him with expulsion when he wore a civil rights shirt to class. In these situations, he said, "parents are afraid of their kids standing up to their

teachers. That's why you just can't learn about the truth in the schools down here. There's just about no one to tell it to you."

During the lunch break, a youngster from Starkville, who had been expelled in November for passing around an MSU petition in his school, talked about some of the problems he had experienced:

"My teacher told me that it would be good if I left town because of my work for the MSU. If I moved to a town 150 miles away from Starkville, the whites wouldn't go that far to burn it down, but my mother's house is right in town ... and she hasn't paid for it yet. I wouldn't want my family to get hurt. I don't care about me."

In the convention discussion delegates told what happened when they tried to register at white schools -- they were either ordered away or never received a reply. In the schools they're attending, when they asked for permission to publicize MSU meetings, they were almost always turned down.

THE BOYCOTT QUESTION

The main item on the agenda was the question of declaring a public school boycott against Mississippi education. A Jackson delegate posed the first objection to the proposal, noting that the schools in Jackson were much better than those in the rest of the state. Besides, she added, "We might lose what we already have if we join the boycott. And our principal told us that if any of us walk out of school we should just keep on walking and he'll give us some walking papers to carry along."

Another delegate against the boycott argued that parents would also be opposed to it. To that the Starkville delegate answered:

"We got to talk to parents because they don't understand. Some are like Uncle Toms and all they do is listen to the white man."

The Jackson delegate's strongest argument against the boycott was that most students in Mississippi didn't care. Most of the convention agreed and decided that at least 85 percent of the students in a school should be willing to sign a boycott petition before a call was issued. The state-wide boycott was voted down, leaving the issue to local affiliates to decide when they thought a boycott would be effective in their areas.

MSU'S WORK

This student convention reflected the everyday difficulties of getting an education in Mississippi. In some schools MSU members are regularly asking their teachers to discuss Negro history, civil rights and "what we're doing in South Vietnam." In some places MSU libraries

LOCAL AFFAIRS

IN THE EAST BAY the scheduled evening of concert music are underway. Each concert is devoted to different aspects of the chamber music repertoire. Guests are invited to arrive at 8:00 p.m. Refreshments will be served and the program begins at 8:15 promptly.

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

TICKETS ARE AVAILABLE for the last event in the San Francisco Concert Series - Budapest String Quartet, Sunday March 14, 3:00 p.m. Masonic Auditorium. \$4.50 for orchestra seats. Care Mrs. Stanley Wiener MO 1-5829 for tickets.

Anybody in San Francisco want to lend their house for a SNCC house-party? If "yes", call Mrs. Anselm Strauss OR 3-1085.

SCRIPTO'S \$500,000 CONTRACTS UNDER INVESTIGATION

ATLANTA - Scripto, Inc., presently under fire from Negro strikers and civil rights groups may lose 1/2 million dollars in federal contracts.

John Lewis reports that the General Services Administration (GSA), which handles purchasing for the federal government, was reviewing "all of the details" connected with two one-year contracts held by the large pencil company.

Ward McCreedy, Director of Contract Compliance, told Lewis in a letter that "a special review of the firm's compliance with its contract obligations for equal employment opportunity" is underway.

NEGROES ON STRIKE

More than 700 Negro workers at the company have been striking for more than a month. Union leaders vowed this month to continue the strike "until all Scripto employees are offered a wage rate which will bring them up to the maximum 'poverty level' (\$3,000 a year)." The 700 striking workers represent almost 100% of the firm's Negro employment.

have been set up. Members teach in Freedom schools, community centers and help register people to vote in the MFDP elections. In Meridian students protested against the expulsion of two pupils who had worn LBJ buttons to class and were successful.

After the convention Roscoe Jones said of the one-year old organization "... if we ever do get on our feet, we're going to show Mississippi that they've got a fight on their hands. Already some kids have been asking what is the best way for us to get our freedom and what should we do if we could be in the Governor's chair."

BEHIND HEADLINES IN SELMA, ALABAMA

Dallas County [Selma is its county seat] has long had a plantation economy and even today the county is 49.9 percent rural. Two-thirds of the rural population is Negro. Though some industry has come to the area, population growth is almost static. In fact, the Negro population of the county is declining - in 1950, Negroes comprised 65 percent of the population, today only 57 percent.

Median family income in Dallas County is \$2,846 (compared to \$3,937 for the state), but median family income for Negroes is only \$1,393. Median school years completed in the county is 8.8 (compared to 9.1 for the state), but median school years completed for Negroes is 5.8.

Only 1.7 percent of 14,500 voting-age Negroes (242 Negroes) were registered in the county as of September 1963 according to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. (Fewer Dallas County Negroes could vote in 1963 than in 1956, when 275 Negroes were registered.) But 63 percent of the 14,400 voting-age white (or 8,953 whites) were registered. (In the two adjoining Black Belt counties, Wilcox and Lowndes, none of the 11,207 voting-age Negroes were registered in 1962 according to the Civil Rights Commission.)

The first voting suit filed by the Kennedy Administration, in April 1961, was filed against the Dallas County registrar. "It sought an injunction against systematic discrimination against Negro registration applicants," according to Burke Marshall of the Justice Department.

Selma is the birthplace and stronghold of the Citizens' Councils of Alabama. The Dallas County council was organized in 1954 by Attorney General Patterson of Mississippi and is partly subsidized by the state and large industries nearby.

... In a full-page ad in the Selma Times-Journal, June of last year, the council said its 'efforts are not thwarted by courts which give sit-in demonstrators legal immunity, prevent school boards from expelling students, who participate in mob activities and would place federal referees at the board of voter registrars.' The ad asked, 'Is it worth four dollars to you to prevent sit-ins, mob marches and wholesale Negro voter registration efforts in Selma?' In October 1963, the Dallas County Citizens' Council was the largest in the state with 3,000 members. A lot of citizens must have thought the four dollars worthwhile.

(reprinted from "Black Belt, Alabama," by Jerry Demuth, in *The Commonwealth*, Aug. 7, 1964)

WATS REPORTS DECEMBER/JANUARY

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 16, 1964

NATCHEZ: Staff workers Eugene Rouse and George Bess were doing exploratory work in Fayette, Jefferson Co., 23 miles from Natchez. Due to unforeseen circumstances, they were forced to walk from Fayette back to Natchez. While on the road, they were continually harrassed and followed by white cars and the Highway Patrol, and near Selma, Mississippi, they were shot at (but not hit).

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 18, 1964

LAUREL: The phone in Laurel has been continually interfered with. For example after the recent arrests, the project director was unable to make calls for two hours. When she finally succeeded in reaching Foster's father, he was

so one got in to register. During the day, up to 350 people may have taken part in picketing the courthouse ... This is the first time there has ever been a picket line in this cotton-plantation county.

TALLAHATCHIE CO.: Fred went down to the Summer Courthouse to see about a traffic fine he owed. Since he couldn't pay it, he was put in jail. About an hour later Deputy Sheriff Jimmy Lee Newton came by, and Fred asked him three times if he could make a phone call. During the conversation, Fred said 'Yeah' and 'No' to the Deputy, who said he was accustomed to being called 'Yessir' and 'No sir'. He then accused Fred of jumping on him, and beat him on the head, arms, and legs with his billy club. Fred got out

WHAT IS WATS?

The WATS (Wide Area Telephone

Service) line is the heart of all SNCC security and communications. For a flat monthly rate, an unlimited number of calls can be dialed directly to any place in the country - or the state - depending on what line one uses. The Jackson office has a state-wide line, the Atlanta office has the national WATS line. Both run on a 24-hour basis.

A project worker can call in news of any incident, threat or major activity to the Jackson office. The WATS operator there takes down the details and relays it to Atlanta if the event is of national importance. In the case of a threat or incident involving Federal laws, Jackson will notify the FBI and the Justice Department. Atlanta uses its national WATS line to notify SNCC groups around the country.

so angered by the delay that he sent nasty telegrams to the President of the American Telephone and Telegraph Co. in NYC and the head of Southern Bell in Atlanta. As a result ... COFO is now obtaining a phone in its office, which the local phone company had previously refused to install.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 19, 1964

MERIDIAN: The trials of Freeman Corroft and Luke Kabat for contributing to the delinquency of minors (after they attempted to integrate the Toddle House (WATS 12/3) were held in County Court under Judge Harwell on Dec. 14. The two COFO workers pled guilty and were fined \$200 each, and the kids got off with a lecture by the judge not to be led around by COFO anymore.

Also the precinct boundaries in Meridian have just been changed, so it is necessary to re-register voters - that is, to tell them to go down and sign their names again. COFO is planning to run a candidate for the City Council election in May. The white community is apparently scared of the competition, because they are dismissing their high school students early and having them to out to tell white voters they have to register, calling it a 'social studies project.'

MONDAY, JANUARY 4, 1965

INDIANOLA: Residents of Indianola, Sunflower, and Ruleville, about 40-50 of them, attempted to register today. As soon as the first carload arrived, the courthouse was shut down, and remained closed for the remainder of the day, so

later that day when a worker from Greenwood paid his fine

MAYERSVILLE, ISSAQUENA CO. The minister and three deacons of the Moon-lake Church here voted not to allow any more civil rights meetings at the church. This decision was made by the four officers without consulting the congregation, which is very angry about it.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 5, 1965

WESTPOINT: Negro farmers from Mississippi's First Congressional District have received letters from their Congressman, Thomas Abernathy, for the first time

MONDAY, JANUARY 11, 1965

SELMA, ALABAMA: SCLC and SNCC workers are organizing Selma Negro voters. They have divided the town into 5 wards, are having ward meetings, finding volunteer block captains, doing canvassing, etc.

GULFPORT (VIA JACKSON): On Sunday, a civil rights sermon was given in one of the Negro churches here. After the sermon, twenty people went to All-bright and Wood drugstore, and were served After that they went to Tribblett and Day Drugstore, where they were refused service. This is the largest number of people ever to take part in civil rights activity here.

WEST POINT: 11 sets of parents were pressured by their employers to sign complaints saying that COFO led their kids into delinquency, but only one man, who works for the city, gave in. The rest are standing firm with the Movement

ON THE SPOT IN MISSISSIPPI

The following is part of a letter from Ned Opton, written in Palmer's Crossing, Mississippi. Ned is a Bay Area volunteer for SNCC.

"The Mississippi Delta, the northwest section of the state, is absolutely flat, incredibly fertile, hot, damp plantation country. There is no bare ground here; whatever is not planted to cotton is covered by dense woods or high weeds. Negroes are in a majority throughout this area, and perhaps half of them live or work on the plantations under conditions which are said to be as bad now, and probably worse, than during the Depression. The prevailing wage scale for day workers is \$2.00 to \$2.50 per 10-12 hour day, minus 50¢ for bus fare, and a man is lucky to get as many as 190 days of work per year. Those who live on the plantations under "employee" tenant-farmer, or sharecropping, arrangements, are just as poor. The economic situation is rapidly becoming worse, since machinery and chemicals have already reduced by about 80% the amount of hand labor needed to produce cotton, and more automation is on the way. Yet the whites still seem to be thinking exclusively in terms of preserving an unlimited supply of cheap labor. For example, a Jackson paper reported on August 14, 1964 that State Senator S.B. Wise of Jonestown told the 17th Annual Farm-Labor conference in Greenville:

"In addition, Negro labor tended to leave Mississippi as soon as a certain level of education was achieved." Wise said he thought white labor on the cotton farm might be the answer. 'We got to entice these people on our farm.'

Aside from seeing it that Negroes do not achieve the 'certain level of education' at which they tend to flee the state, two other principal methods are used to keep the people down on the farm. One is to keep them there by threats and physical force on the theory that people cannot run off without paying their debts (in a county where nobody works more than six months in a year, everyone is perpetually in debt.) The other method is to keep out information about the outside world. The people do not know what the outside world is like, or what they would do there, but they do know that they have no saleable skill except chopping and picking cotton.

Because Mileston seat of a Federal experiment in rural Co-ops during the depression is relatively independent of the white economy and pressures, it has been chosen for one of the more unusual efforts A Los Angeles group, principally Abe Osheroff, is building a Community Center with \$10,000 that Osheroff raised among his friends The Center, when and if completed will be 32 by 84 feet, will seat 200, and will contain a

kitchen, two indoor toilets, and sleeping quarters for 2-4 staff.

The big question is whether the Community Center will be completed. A volunteer's car was burned a hundred yards from here early in the summer..... there was an attempt to dynamite the building, but the local citizens' patrol spotted the attempt and scared the men into dropping the dynamite sticks in the road in front of the Center, where the explosion was harmless. Tension has increased markedly with the departure of most of the workers. The people here feel that it is only a matter of time, probably a short time, before the next attempt. The police in nearby Belzoni are a particular danger. Belzoni is the town where Rev. Less, one of Medgar Evers' predecessors, was lynched in 1955. I say the police because the local residents believe that it is the police, not the other whites, who constitute the real danger. For instance, last year when Hartman Turnbow, the local Negro leader, had his house fire-bombed and shot into, the thugs bounced over a ditch in making their escape from Turnbow and his 22 cal. pistol. The next morning the Sheriff's license plate was found in the ditch and returned to him.

Aside from the COFO project, the question in Mileston is whether the Negro farmers will be able to hang on. About ten years ago the whites instituted a policy of no longer permitting land to be sold to Negroes. Any Negro land lost to the whites through taxes or sale is lost forever. The Negroes guard their community with armed men and a road patrol all night every night. The sputtering two-way radio linking our bedroom with Greenwood and Belzoni was a comfort, not a nuisance. How long will people live in such a state? I don't know. Judging from the Delta's past, which for thirty years has been very like its present, it may be a long time."

"They that would give up essential liberty to obtain a little temporary safety, deserve neither liberty nor safety."
Benjamin Franklin

WE MOVE IN ARKANSAS

LITTLE ROCK - SNCC's activities in Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia grab most of the headlines and news stories. The state of Arkansas is also the scene of integration and voter registration work.

January 3 a new state-wide office was opened in Little Rock to coordinate activities throughout Eastern Arkansas. Under the direction of James O. Jones, 21 year old native of Arkansas, SNCC now has offices and projects in Helena, Pine Bluff, and Little Rock. Jones attended Arkansas A. M. and N. College in Pine Bluff until he was expelled in February 1963 for participating in a SNCC sit-in demonstration. Since then, he has been working for SNCC.

The Reverend Benjamin Grinnage is directing SNCC activities in the Pine Bluff area. He is a Methodist minister, who studied at Philander Smith College in Little Rock before joining the SNCC staff. The activities in Pine Bluff over the past two years have included integration of lunch counters, increased job opportunities for Negroes, and nearly doubling the number of registered Negro voters in Lincoln and Jefferson Counties.

"Outside of Pine Bluff and Little Rock there has not been much progress," Grinnage reports. "The pattern hasn't changed. Negroes still feel that they haven't any recourse because most of it has to depend on local law enforcement. The picture is comparable to Mississippi, except we can vote."

Did You Know That

SNCC has more than 200 full-time staff members working in Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia and Mississippi.

SNCC has been conducting a voter registration drive in Selma, Alabama, since February, 1963



one vote

FRIENDS OF SNCC
IN YOUR AREA



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

EAST BAY	655-9545
SAN FRANCISCO	626-4577
SAN FRANCISCO STATE COLLEGE	JU 4-5215, Extension 6
RICHMOND	BE 4-1015
MARIN COUNTY	388-1770
SANTA CLARA VALLEY	292-6161
STANFORD	326-6730
MID-PENINSULA	322-5521
LAFAYETTE - Don Sanford, 1658 Foothill.	YE 5-3061
SAN JOSE STATE	293-9684
BAY AREA REGIONAL OFFICE, 584 Page Street, S.F.	626-4577

THE MOVEMENT - REPORT

The Movement is now a year and a few months old. With practically no publicity outside FOSNCC channels the circulation has risen to almost 2000 individual subscriptions and about 5000 bulk subscriptions. It has a national reputation, is looked upon as a model for similar papers elsewhere and has a source of original and first-person news.

The major problem faced by the paper is circulation. We need 10,000 individual subscriptions to become financially stable and able to expand. It would be best if these were within the state, since this is a regional paper, not a national one. In fact, if we were to get 10,000 subscriptions nation-wide we should still work toward broadening our base of readership inside the state.

This summer there are the following staff members:

Terence Cannon, editor, SNCC staff

Mike Sharon, reporter, work-study

Bob Novick, reporter, work-study

Karen Koonin, LA Representative, work-study

Frank Cieciorka, layout and production, volunteer

Gerhard Gscheidle, photographer, expenses paid out Movement account
(some of them)

Ellie Isaksen, office assistant, volunteer

As a result we have more news than we can print. We could put out a 12-page paper with more extensive coverage if we had the money to do it. There are two ways to get that money: sell subscriptions and raise it from contributors. Subscriptions is preferable. I am working on some contributors.

This summer THE MOVEMENT will put out a promotional mailing to the

43,000 person SNCC national mailing list. I am told that this will produce 5,000 subscriptions. That's \$10,000 at \$2 per, which is half of what we need. It will cost us \$3,000 just to put the mailing out, so the net at best is only \$7,000. If we have to, we will borrow the \$3,000.

There are a couple of interesting things coming up in connection with the paper, assuming it survives:

1) A Watts paper, a subsidiary of THE MOVEMENT, written in cooperation with the Temporary Alliance of Local Organizations.

2) A Newspaper Syndicate, beginning with such papers as THE MOVEMENT, FLATLANDS, HUNTER'S POINT OUTLOOK, DEEP SOUTH PATRIOT. A common fund would allow the papers to share columnists, photographs, articles, perhaps a tele-type.

I don't think I have to emphasize how important THE MOVEMENT is to SNCC it is SNCC's only regular publication.

A definite timetable is tough to work out right now. It would look something like this.

AUGUST: SNCC national mailing completed
Watts paper started
Work begun on newspaper syndicate.

SEPTEMBER: 8,000 individual subscriptions
5,000 from SNCC list
2,000 present list
1,000 increase between July and Sept.

2nd Class Mailing Permit
Switchover to IBM mailing.

OCTOBER: 12-page paper

This is very optimistic.

WHAT FRIENDS OF THE MOVEMENT CAN DO:

1) Sell individual subscriptions. Get a receipt book and carry it with

you. There are many people who read the paper now and then but don't have a subscription.

- 2) Perhaps a Friends of SNCC group could organize a house party that would raise the money to a promotional mailing through the mailing list of an organization. The group would then purchase copies of the paper, stuff and mail them together with a cover letter that we would provide. (This is an important method: we have many lists but do not have the money, and often not the volunteers to put it out).
- 3) Could be combined with 2). Gerhard Gseheidie has prepared a color slide show of the Pilgrimage from Delano to Sacramento. This can be shown at house parties to raise money for the MOVEMENT photo department- and mailings. Staff members could come and talk about SNCC and the paper.
- 4) We need \$3,000 a year to go to 12 pages. Friends can find people or organizations to contribute sustainers of \$5, 10 or 25 or more each month toward the expansion.

This is sketchy. I would like to talk to people who are interested, in person. I couldn't come to the Council meeting: MOVEMENT staff people are in Los Angeles working out the Watts paper idea and building a MOVEMENT committee there

Freedom,

Terry Cannon

July 8, 1966

Rambling discussion of educational concepts and goals in community organization finally boiled SNCC'S educational job down to two levels:

1. putting the energies of sympathetic people to work -- they want to be involved but frequently don't know how to -- they need direction;
2. reaching beyond the bileral community, using the broad human appeals of Southern backwardness in education, law enforcement and voting rights, SNCC can create an image that will touch more people than other civil rights organizations.

For the first area, liberals, it was the workshop's consensus that SNCC has the responsibility of directing individual skills and time to do the job SNCC needs done. In this phase of education the workshop proposed that SNCC:

- a. set up a better system of communication, specifically starting with a letter to contributors and all persons on the mailing list defining current projects and asking for help, with a return postcard for each person to indicate what they can and will do to help; and
- b. include all Friends of SNCC and SNCC groups on the mailing list of the Bay Area Regional office and each local office -- so each one knows what the others' doing.

For SNCC contributors and the public generally, the importance of SNCC articulating its goals was underlined -- most people don't even know what the letters "SNCC" stand for. Subsidiary to this, minor but not unimportant in impact, was the recommendation that there be publicity on what SNCC's money goes for. This information can be particularly impressive in direct solicitations -- graphs on posters at collection tables, in letters, etc.

In its broad community education, the workshop saw SNCC utilizing all the communication media to get across the reasons for SNCC's concentration on the South (when there are local California problems). Specific proposals here were that SNCC films should be shown in every community in the state; that every community organization should be circularized offering a speaker

san francisco friends of the STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

583 PAGE STREET

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94117

MARKET 6-5129

August 10, 1964

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 Rev. William Shirley
 Herman Solomon
 Mrs. Anselm Strauss
 Harold Supriano
 Doris Thomas
 Rabbi Saul White
 Mrs. Stanley Wiener

SNCC Representative
Mike Miller

100

sincerely concerned about the South's lawlessness and denial of ~~civil~~ democratic rights.

Half of the members of this workshop agreed to continue as a working committee, with a meeting scheduled for next week, to dig more deeply into the questions and problems discussed above.

Recorded by

Jeannette Harris

Dear Summer Volunteer:

Your summer in Mississippi is almost over. If you are not planning to stay in Mississippi for the Fall, we know you will want to continue your efforts for the movement when you return to the North. If you are coming to the San Francisco Bay Area, we know you will want to consider some of the plans we have made here. If you are going to another area, we hope some of these ideas will be of help to you and that you will tell us of any other plans you might have that could be of help to us.

Bay Area plans include the following:

(1) Community hearings. Based on the Washington COFO hearings, we will be planning hearings in which you would serve as expert witnesses before a panel of community leaders in cities around the Bay Area. The press and public will be invited and there will be literature there on how to help the Movement.

(2) Fall conference. On the week-end of September 25-26-27 there will be a conference on the civil rights movement in the South sponsored by Bay Area Friends of SNCC. As many of you as can will be asked to lead discussions on the situation in Mississippi. We hope that several hundred people will come to the Conference.

(3) Speaking engagements. We will be setting up a speakers bureau to handle requests from organizations for speakers on the Mississippi Summer Project. For this to work effectively, we will have to know where you are, when you will be available, and so forth.

(4) Internship program. This is a program we are very excited about. For those of you who are planning to come to the Bay Area and would consider dropping out of school for six months or a year, this is a program that might interest you. Several ministers, community organizations and trade unionists have already indicated an interest in this program.

Enclosed are more detailed descriptions of each of these programs. We hope you will consider them and let us know as soon as possible what your decision is. We have enclosed a reply form and a business reply envelope.

Freedom,

Mike Miller

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Norman McGee
Rev. Ted McIlvenna
Eva Milton
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Al Myerson
Mrs. Frank Nichols
Charles A. O'Brien
Mrs. Cecil Poole
Earl Raab
Phil Rambo
Dr. Gerald Rosenfield
Norman Satir
Michael Schneider
Rev. William Shirley
Herman Solomon
Mrs. Anselm Strauss
Harold Supriano
Charles Thomas
Rabbi Saul White
Mrs. Stanley Wiener

SNCC Representative
Mike Miller
-100

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Freedom,

M. J. Miller

from SNCC; that an attractive pamphlet, with photographs, be produced telling what SNCC is and what it does; that photographs be use more widely and effectively; that SNCC's educational program draw on all the arts, dance, music and graphic, to get its story across; and that specialized programs be developed for specific groups, such as teachers, lawyers, social workers, ministers, etc. One of the suggestions for teachers was introducing a "pen pal" program between California and Mississippi school kids. This could be worked out with the cooperation of the CTA, AFT, the schools and the PTA. Another program suggested, this one for churches, was the establishment of a scholarship fund for Mississippi Negro students to attend California colleges and universities to get training in professions the Freedom Movement needs in the South, i.e., librarians, teachers, lawyers and the like. Los Angeles parents of Mississippi Project volunteers have recently started this program sponsoring, housing and providing tutorial service for Mississippi students.

The question of SNCC organizing on a precinct level was raised, but lightly because it seemed that Bay Area SNCC needed better organization at the top before it could consider work on such a direct, local level. But as a beginning in articulating objectives to the community at large, one of the workshops resource persons proposed that an immediate project in door-bell ringing could focus on a letter-writing campaign asking people to write their Congressmen to enforce section 2 of Amendment 14 (US Constitution), analysed by Ann Ginger in the morning symposium on "The Federal System in the South."

Among the general observations made that SNCC in this region might find valuable in expanding its educational perspective were:

SNCC's work offers an opportunity for emotional involvement, not just intellectual, and under this heading any number of people can be productive on collections of blue-chip stamps, food, clothing and other material needs SNCC has in the South; SNCC can create a public image completely different from other civil rights organizations -- its direct work has no local target, therefore it doesn't hit too close to home for the parochial folk who are

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Mrs. Reginald Major
Jerry Mander
Hon. Leo McCarthy
Curtis McLain
Norman McGee
Rev. Ted McIlvanna
Eva Milton
Mrs. Percy Moore
Al Myerson
Mrs. Frank Nichols
Charles A. O'Brien
Mrs. Cecil Poole
Earl Raab
Phil Rombro
Dr. Gerald Rosenfield
Norman Sotir
Michael Schneider
Rev. William Shirley
Herman Solomon
Mrs. Angelm Strauss
Harold Supiano
Doris Thomas
Rabbi Saul White
Mrs. Stanley Wiener

SNCC Representative

Mike Miller

100

Dear Summer Volunteer:

Your summer in Mississippi is almost over. If you are not planning to stay in Mississippi for the Fall, we know you will want to continue your efforts for the movement when you return to the North. If you are coming to the San Francisco Bay Area, we know you will want to consider some of the plans we have made here. If you are going to another area, we hope some of these ideas will be of help to you and that you will tell us of any other plans you might have that could be of help to us.

Bay Area plans include the following:

(1) Community hearings. Based on the Washington COFO hearings, we will be planning hearings in which you would serve as expert witnesses before a panel of community leaders in cities around the Bay Area. The press and public will be invited and there will be literature there on how to help the Movement.

(2) Fall conference. On the week-end of September 25-26-27 there will be a conference on the civil rights movement in the South sponsored by Bay Area Friends of SNCC. As many of you as can will be asked to lead discussions on the situation in Mississippi. We hope that several hundred people will come to the Conference.

(3) Speaking engagements. We will be setting up a speakers bureau to handle requests from organizations for speakers on the Mississippi Summer Project. For this to work effectively, we will have to know where you are, when you will be available, and so forth.

(4) Interne program. This is a program we are very excited about. For those of you who are planning to come to the Bay Area and would consider dropping out of school for six months or a year, this is a program that might interest you. Several ministers, community organizations and trade unionists have already indicated an interest in this program.

Enclosed are more detailed descriptions of each of these programs. We hope you will consider them and let us know as soon as possible what your decision is. We have enclosed a reply form and a business reply envelope.

Freedom,

M. J. Miller

SAN DIEGO REPORT

By John Gayden

In my opinion, the San Diego Friends group has suffered a manpower and fund raising shortage because:

1. The return of students to school. Many of these students wish to function with the San Diego Friends group, their problem being heavy school loads.

2. The definite lack of communication between the 3 persons on the executive board. Marjorie Poe, first vice chairman, has caused several problems that prevent the board from functioning properly.

A. Marjorie Poe has influenced the third member of the executive, Marjorie Miller, treasurer-secretary. This influence has prevented Marjorie Miller from attending meetings. This influence has also caused Marjorie Miller to lose communication with the chairman. Neither of these two girls, Marjorie Poe or Marjorie Miller, show an active interest in the leadership of SNCC's program in San Diego. As of Wednesday, October 7, their function on the executive board of San Diego Friends of SNCC has ended.

B. Marjorie Poe was involved in CORE's direct action at the Bank of America. The adverse publicity CORE received has to a great extent damaged the overall image of civil rights organizations in San Diego. Through previously mentioned lack of active interest and communication shown by Marjorie Poe, she was continuing to involve San Diego Friends of SNCC publicly. I personally do not believe as was discussed in the CORE-SNCC meeting that Marjorie Poe was uninformed about SNCC's policy on direct action and demonstrations.

3. The need of a central location. Nearly all persons spoken to also see the essential need for an office.

4. The need of a full-time staff person for the San Diego Friends of SNCC. This person is vital to the success and effectiveness of the San Diego program.

5. The basically Goldwater conservative trend of San Diego and its surrounding communities. Support in this area can be effectively received for SNCC's program by stressing education. Education is also the key word for effective fund raising programs. The feeling being that many persons will support SNCC from the Southern educational viewpoint, as long as their day-to-day existence is not threatened (such as by moving a Negro next door through demonstrations or direct action.).

6. CORE's actions that have many persons both in the white backlash and white liberal afraid. Liberals are concerned about the Black Nationalism being spread throughout this local

chapter. Parents are concerned about their youth being involved in the jailings and what they term "the deliberate breaking of the law." Because of the numerous militant actions and outspoken militancy of the local CORE leadership, it is essentially vital that the San Diego Friends use every possible means to inform the public of SNCC's fund raising and emphasizing the educational view.

The structure of the San Diego Friends of SNCC has been reconstructed. See chart contained within this report.

1. The steering committee: It must contain only those persons who actively will sell SNCC's program on campuses. This involves more students.

2. Sponsors: They should be only those persons who are willing to give some time to SNCC, such as in fund raising, advisory capacity, etc.

3. Blue Ribbon Committee: Outstanding leaders of the community who serve on this committee may by name 1) donate contributions periodically, 2) participate several time each year in high level fund raising activities.

May 5, 1964

Dear Senator Goldwater:

I was happy to have the opportunity to meet with you last month, and to hear, first-hand, your views on national issues.

Many remarks have been attributed to you, none of which have done justice to the matter of civil rights. I hope that some of these remarks do not reflect your true sentiment.

It was disturbing last month to hear your admonitions directed only to the victims to be nice and circumspect in protesting the illegal restraints we suffer. You failed to recognize those who practice racial and religious discrimination as the creators of America's greatest problem.

My sincere hope is that you will apply the power and charm which you have demonstrated across the country to the most pressing and embarrassing matter now confronting our nation. Your full support is needed to secure passage of the Civil Rights Bill now pending before Congress. You should proclaim to the world your opposition to all forms of racial and religious discrimination.

It is natural that you, a champion of individual freedoms, should recoil at restraints which operate to deny to certain of us, minority group citizens, the rights available to others. Whether these restraints be fostered by government, or by private conspiracy, they are un-American, immoral and destructive of our form of government.

Please accept my apology for declining your invitation to the Arizona meeting May 8th. I will certainly miss your good company, but I fear that my appearance would spread the false inference that I am supporting your campaign for the Republican nomination. We are both well aware that it is inappropriate for me, a known Democrat, to intrude into internal Republican affairs. I hope that you will invite me to your state again when the election is over.

Very truly yours,

Archie Moore
Archie Moore

MRS. LAURA SMITH

Fund Raiser

Monday evenings free

Activities:

Secretary for ACLU - not many contacts

Peace Information Center, 3465 University

Golden Hill Democratic Club

Secretary: Calif. and National League of Retired People

Very interested in developing the Negro community financially.

* good
Muriel Broadbaster

Tell M. Callahan *

Rev Phelps Grandson -

BE 25682
6402516

Pat Higgins

~~Helen Broadbaster~~

Tommy Barr III -
Joe Gaur - CY 86169 ph for capt
Ed Kat Davis H13

Roger, Majorie Duncan
Peggy & John Porters - HU 80689*
44824283

Sharon Fleming GL 46493

Floyd Jim 284 7022*

Bill Garish BR 42073

4500 Lasta Gibson 273 7639 ** 465 9485

Jane Noel JU 30276 *

Dr. Robert Hamburger GL 46642 **

Jillian Mackell 229 7014 **

San Diego Friends of SNCC
9435 St. Andrews Drive
Santee, California
October 5, 1964

Dear Friends:

This Thursday night, October 8, at 7:00 PM at the First Unitarian Church, 4190 Front Street, the San Diego Friends of the STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC - affectionately called "Snick") will host several civil rights workers who worked with SNCC's education and voter registration project in Mississippi this summer.

These people--students and professional men---will explain the social and economic structure which has led to the recent murders and bombings in Mississippi. They will also describe the Mississippi Freedom Project which SNCC has been conducting throughout the summer and with which more than 300 full time volunteers are involved presently.

Within the past few weeks some 10 churches and Negro homes have been bombed and the workers are facing ever increasing dangers and jailings. At this time of extreme tension in the South, it is vital that everybody fully understands the facts. It is equally important that everyone understands SNCC's program, for it is different than any other organization's, especially those working on the local level.

I most sincerely hope that you will take advantage of this program and that I will see you on Thursday--Mississippi Night in San Diego.

Sincerely,

Rogre Barkley

Chairman,
San Diego Friends of SNCC

San Diego

WAGOTC - 448-5273

Rogre Barkley

500 watts

80-10

AM-SSB-CW

CW speed 40 WPM

MRS. LAURA SMITH

Fund Raiser

Monday evenings free

Activities:

Secretary for ACLU - not many contacts

Peace Information Center, 3465 University

Golden Hill Democratic Club

Secretary: Calif. and National League of Retired People

Very interested in developing the Negro community financially.

YOUNG DEMOCRATS MEETING

WED OCT 7

~~10~~ 10 A.M.

ROOM 545

MARJORIE POE, STATE COLLEGE STUDENT, WILL SPEAK ON THE CIVIL RIGHTS STRUGGLE IN THE SOUTH. SHE PARTICIPATED LAST SUMMER IN THE MISSISSIPPI SUMMER PROJECT TO REGISTER NEGRO VOTERS, AND IS A MEMBER OF 'CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY' AND STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE.

Broadshatzen:

Van Deerlin office: X Robert Rhoades (campaign manager) 233-6267

Temple Solel: Robbi Goor
X Al Weinburg (chairman) res. 278-3102 bus. 298-6169

First Unitarian: Bertha Crowell

Cardine Center: Father Leo Davis 297-4115

Chruoh of the Brethren: X Claude Dadisman AT2-8269

X John Valman 297-1050 Friends group

Dave Neptune YMCA State College

X Zara Kalkey 582-5868 (home) will do something Nat'l Council
of Jewish Women 590 N. Vermont (Mrs. Nabell, field director)

X Viola McKern H09-3777 Sponsor Congregational Church

Lockridge 264-2023 Calvary Baptist
Dr. Hamttan Bethel Baptist

Rev. Clark Logan Hts. Baptist

C. Joliuson BE3-3296 Mt. Zion

*Rev. John Baxter H05-3011 res. 465-0469

Mt. Eue GO2-0071

*Tom Braden 722-8222

Darcy Cleary GL4-5637 (works with Helen Beardley)

*Kitt Davis 243-2349

Mrs. Ed. Deveral GL4-6388 KCBQ

Thos. Svenson 488-4591 Radio Broadcast

Roger Duncan

Sheran Fleming (materials) GL4 6913

xFloyd, Jim and Sherly 284 7022 (quit CORE)

Lolita Gibson 273 7639

Telephone credit
Contributory cans
Literature
shelving / furniture

Saturday Morning

Broadshatzer - 10 AM

When after Nov. 3 is a good time for
blue ribbon committee?

Casady's (?) Broadshatzer's

Lutz

Furgatch

John Johnson

Rabbi Coor (?)

Feldman (to act as a
laissez)

ask about Dr. Kimbrough

A ~~part time~~ full time worker could
initially be sent ~~rather~~ temporary.

Journal office opening

Rover Williams

San Diego Friends of the
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
9435 St. Andrews Drive
Santee, California

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Roger Barkley, Chairman
448-5273

Jahn Gayden, Coordinator from the National Student Nonviolent Coordinating
Committee (SNCC), stated today:

"The primary purpose of a "Friends of SNCC" group is to support SNCC in
the South by the collection of funds, food, clothing, office supplies,
blue and green stamps, books, etc.,--all which can be used in the rural
voting projects and in the development of the Southern Freedom Movement.

Friends of SNCC groups also aid in the recruitment of new workers, help
to publicize events in the South, help to build an informed Northern public
which can support, by fund raising and education programs, the Southern
Movement.

To the extent that Friends of SNCC groups do participate in local activity,
they are essentially limited to community development work analogous to
field work in the South. Friends of SNCC will provide assistance to local
movements and will aid in the development of indigenous organizations in
the ghettos of the North. Direct action, demonstrations, etc., will not
be in SNCC's name--though a local group aided by SNCC may well initiate its
own direct action projects and Friends of SNCC will individually decide
whether they will participate or not in such projects."

Jahn Gayden is on tour of California to assist and organize Friends of SNCC
groups.

He stated further that, "SNCC must win support of Californians for its
educational and voter registration drive in Mississippi."

In making a special appeal to all Americans, Gayden said, "The future of
America is being shaped through the unmerciful bloody beatings, killings
and intimidations that occur daily in Mississippi.

You can hear the truth about Mississippi from those who have lived and work-
ed there, and how you can help, Thursday night, October 8, 1964, 7:00 P.M.,
First Unitarian Church, 4190 Front Street, San Diego, California."

Los Angeles Friends of the
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

8501 South San Pedro Street, Los Angeles, California PL 0-9239

-3-

The need for a Hollywood Committee is essential. Since Los Angeles CORE has formed a Hollywood Committee ours must be a crash program, if SNCC is to intervene before CORE alienates a hell of a lot of people. (Maurine Murphy raised \$14,000 in six weeks)

I personally had a hand in giving Jimmy Garrett the green light with Marion. I talked to people who felt and still do that Jimmy is the best man for the job. But regardless to what you personally may feel or SNCC policy may be, one office with volunteers and one professional fund raiser holding several benefits per year is only a drop in the bucket in terms of the money that is here in Southern California, especially the Hollywood area.

To avoid as much duplication as possible for this committee to effectively continue work with Los Angeles SNCC is this groups intention. One.

One party, benefit, or whatever will be held to take care of office and salary expenses. This benefit will be held in name, fact, and publicity for that purpose. This will dispense any tampering with donations earmarked for Atlanta. This is successfully done in many SNCC offices as you know, across the country.

Hollywood Committee to Aid Mississippi Freedom Project:

Will only work with SNCC and I hopefully will have an opportunity to see both Marion and you before the SNCC convention to discuss how this group can become directly involved with SNCC, since its commitment is with SNCC.

I hope I have given you a thorough picture of my activities since I have returned to Los Angeles with SNCC.

This committee is working very well and effectively with Los Angeles SNCC and only National SNCC can alter this relationship. Please write soon. Marion never has, although we have talked many times.

Yours for freedom,

John Gayden

PROGRAM FOR LOS ANGELES FRIENDS OF SNCC

PURPOSE: The program for Los Angeles Friends Of SNCC has a three fold purpose: Education, Mobilization and Fund Raising. In the past, most of the activities of Los Angeles Friends of SNCC has been concentrated in a central office. This office has served as an information center, business office, base of operation, and mobilization for fund raising. However, Southern California is a well spread out area which has more than one center, and this calls for a broader base of operations. Added to this the events which transpired in Mississippi and the role SNCC played in the formation of COFO this past summer, the office functions have increased ten fold and its successes have been hampered by a lack of mobility which in turn has to do with a centralized office.

The result of these events calls for the need of a decentralized offices as to include the entire Southern California area. This decentralization is expressed in the establishment of a number of Friends of SNCC groups located in the area served. There must also be established specific groups to serve specific fund raising purposes. These will be outlined within this program.

It is hoped that this program will extend the avenues already opened by the Los Angeles Friends of SNCC and more than that, it will open entirely new avenues which will allow this group to aid those in the field who are struggling for basic changes in the South.

The Los Angeles Friends of SNCC will become Southern California Friends of SNCC working out of the already established Central Los Angeles office. From this base, there should be local Friends of SNCC groups in Hollywood, Santa Monica, Pasadena, Venice, Whittier, etc., and campus groups at UCLA, USC, Cal Tech, CSCLA, CSCLB, LACC and all other campuses. Each of these local Friends groups would have officers like Chairman, Secretary, Publicity Director, etc. and would conduct its own program of education and fund raising in its own area or institution and at times coordinating activities, particularly for larger functions. The local offices of Friends of SNCC would be responsible to the Southern California office concerning the national policy of SNCC in regard to initiation and supporting direct action and community involvement and channeling of funds to the national office. All funds must be channeled through the head office with a complete itemized account of expenditures and receipts.

The Friends of SNCC program is geared towards students and adults who are interested in the broad national SNCC policy, its program and work all over the south. An important part of the local friends groups would be the recruitment of volunteers and staff people to continue the work of SNCC.

MISSISSIPPI PROJECT COMMITTEE: This would be a Steering Committee composed of individuals who would work in specific areas conducting continuous fund raising drives. This group has to be creative in order to keep interest high. Its work would be in areas such as Hollywood, Beverly Hills, Brentwood, Pacific Palisades and much of its success depends on public relations and total utilization of the contacts we have in that area.

Church groups, Women's Clubs, Social Clubs, Men's Clubs, may be contacted; fashion shows, bazaars, outings etc. may draw participation. There are individuals in this area who, though they may not wish to be completely committed, may contribute funds or time (for specific programs). Many of the people have not been contacted.

Business men in this area may wish to contribute.

All funds raised through this Steering Committee must be channeled through the Southern California office. The funds raised here would go directly to the Mississippi Project.

MISSISSIPPI PARENTS COMMITTEE: This committee was formed at the beginning of the Mississippi Project and is composed of Parents and Friends of the student volunteers. It was formed to put pressure on the Federal Government for protection of the volunteers. It raised bail and funds for the project. This committee grew into a loosely coordinated National group. It is imperative that the Parents Committee continue to function. It could continue to raise funds for bail. It could adopt a project in a specific area, send operating funds, food, clothing and supplies for the workers in that area. This is being done in other areas of the country where Parents Groups have decided to continue. A special fund can be set up. If this Committee wished to adopt a project, it would wish to see results quickly. To this end, monthly newsletters, photographs and movies could be used.

EXECUTIVE AND SPONSORING COMMITTEE: The Executive Committee of Los Angeles SNCC meets at various times to consider the general policy in the local area. It is to this committee that the Administrative Director owes primary responsibility. Ultimate responsibility, particularly in regard to the National Policy, lies with the National office. This committee is composed of persons who have been and will continue to be committed to the goals and directions of SNCC.

The Sponsoring Committee is composed of well known and interested persons and organizations who wish to lend their names, positions, and/or time to SNCC which would add local prestige to the functioning of SNCC.

PUBLICITY AND COMMUNICATIONS: Press releases should be issued each week leading up to the event. Special features should be written for the Negro and sympathetic press. We have very good contacts with the Sentinel, the Eagle and the Free Press. We should, for instance, in these newspapers call communication the "SNCC Corner" or "COFO Corner". Letters to the editor can be written to the metropolitan newspapers.

Some television stations may use special features on SNCC. The use of television is vague because of its dependence upon the situation in the South.

The use of radio can be our best method of communication, if it is utilized properly. A member of Friends of SNCC, the staff, a returning summer volunteer or persons fresh from the field may often report on some radio station each week after we establish contact. This calls for one person who could commit a great deal of time to developing some rapport with members of the press.

HANDGUNS

George Prosser

As a fighting weapon, the handgun is inferior to the rifle in every respect--power, range, accuracy. In only one respect does the handgun have an advantage over the rifle, namely, concealability. For that reason it is suitable for personal defense at close range.

Because one's life may depend upon one's choice of a personal defense weapon, it is important that the merits of the various weapons be carefully considered and their characteristics analysed. There are only two types of handguns suitable for personal defense: revolvers and automatic pistols. Each has advantages. Let us consider what some of them are.

The automatic pistol, a more recent development than the revolver, has the advantage of larger magazine capacity, therefore greater firepower. This is the principle reason why it is chosen by the military. Also, it is clip loading. This feature enhances the firepower of the pistol, making it very quick to reload. A third advantage of the automatic pistol, from the military point of view, is ease of manufacture. Automatic pistols are much cheaper to produce than good revolvers, and their design makes them readily adaptable to mass production. Large quantities of standard parts are easily turned out, and these parts can be fitted to the pistol with a minimum of gunsmithing. The best automatic pistol ever developed for military use was the Colt .45, adopted by the U.S. Army.

Despite the advantage of automatics, they have never been used on a wide scale by the police. And for a very good reason, namely, their reliability is uncertain. There are several reasons for this. First of all, the automatic is totally dependent upon perfect ammunition. In case of a faulty cartridge, a loose primer, a misfire, the automatic is out of action until the slide is pulled back, the faulty cartridge ejected, and a new round chambered. This takes time, and it takes both hands. If this sort of a malfunction occurs at a critical moment, the consequences could be serious.

By contrast, if a misfire should occur with a revolver, all you have to do is to squeeze the trigger again, bringing another cartridge in line with the chamber, and fire.

Most automatics use rimless cartridges, and headspace is controlled by the front edge of the cartridge case resting on a shoulder in the chamber of the pistol. This headspace is critical to the proper ignition of the cartridge, and the cartridge case must be exactly the correct length. High quality ammunition, of uniform characteristics, is a necessity.

Revolvers, on the other hand, will digest nearly any ammunition of the right caliber. Revolver cartridges are rimmed, and since the headspace is con-

trolled by the rim resting against the back face of the cylinder, it doesn't matter if one cartridge is a little shorter or longer than another.

Automatic pistols are dependent upon the force of the explosion when they are fired to actuate the mechanism, eject the spent case, and chamber a new cartridge. If the ammunition used is not loaded uniformly, the mechanism will not function properly. If the cartridge is slightly underloaded, the weapon may not eject at all; if the cartridge is overloaded, it will slam the slide back with excessive force, eventually damaging the mechanism.

So you can see why the automatic pistol is clearly dependent upon uniform, high quality ammunition for proper functioning. Besides this factor, automatics require cartridges loaded with jacketed bullets because lead bullets will not function through the magazine. This makes the ammunition more expensive than revolver ammunition, and jacketed bullets wear out the barrel much faster than lead bullets do. The barrel life of an automatic pistol using standard jacketed bullets is about 5000 rounds; the barrel life of a revolver using standard, lead ammunition is about 100,000 rounds! Lead bullets, particularly those with flat noses, have more stopping power than round nose jacketed bullets.

We have spoken of the advantage of greater firepower with respect to the automatics due to the fact that the magazine carries 7 to 13 rounds, whereas the revolver carries only six. Also, extra magazines can be carried in one's pockets, if one thinks that they will be needed. This advantage is somewhat offset by the fact that it is more difficult to load an empty magazine than it is to load a revolver cylinder, particularly if the hands are stiff with cold, or if one is excited. Also, magazines are easily lost. An automatic without a magazine is a single shot handgun; the lips of magazines can be bent from misuse or abuse, and then they will not feed the cartridges. Finally, the button be inadvertently pushed just when you are getting ready to shoot it, causing the magazine to drop out of the gun at a critical moment.

Whenever the police investigate a gun battle or shooting incident, they invariably make a careful search of the area to pick up cartridge cases that may be lying about. These empty cases are quite valuable to the police, often enabling them to identify the caliber, type and make of weapon from which they were fired. Furthermore, careful laboratory analysis sometimes can help the police identify the particular weapon that was used in the shootout. It is a bad thing to leave empty cartridge cases lying about after a fight. In this respect. In this respect, as in so many others, the automatic pistol is much more dangerous than the revolver; the automatic ejects all of its cartridges on the spot, whereas the revolver does not. In the aftermath of an encounter with the enemy, you might not have time to search the whole area, and pick up all of your fired cases. In an all-out fight in which several combatants are involved, this factor might not matter very much, but in a lone encounter, es-

pecially at night, it might assume some importance.

Besides besides totally dependent upon perfect ammunition, all automatics regardless of make are inherently less reliable than revolvers. They are all prone to jaming due to poorly fitted parts, too much or too little lubrication, incomplete ejection of the empty case, dirt or trash getting into the mechanism. Good revolvers are immune to this sort of trouble; all you have to do is keep squeezing the trigger and they will continue to fire. The most reliable automatic pistol ever developed was the Colt.45. It was relatively reliable because the Government spent thousands of dollars and hundreds of man hours in the attempt to make it so. Ordinary commercial pistols, and especially those of cheap, foreign manufacture, have nothing resembling this sort of reliability.

To be ready to use instantly in an emergency, an automatic pistol must be carried fully loaded, with a round in the chamber, cocked, and with the safety on. A revolver can be carried fully loaded, with the hammer down, and be ready to fire instantly double action. It is perfectly safe to carry it this way. It does not have a separate safety and does not need one; the safety feature is inherent in the double action mechanism. The automatic is not nearly as safe to carry loaded, and is more likely to be fired when you do not intend to fire it.

All modern revolvers are double-action; the only exception is the old Single Action, a romantic holdover from the days of the frontier. Double action means that the revolver can be fired by first cocking the hammer and then squeezing the trigger, as with the Single Action; or the revolver can be fired by just squeezing the trigger--the hammer will cock and fire itself. With the hammer down, the revolver cannot be fired by accident. This is not true of the automatic. The fastest weapon in the world for repeat fire is the double action revolver, faster than any automatic. This has been demonstrated on many occasions.

The trigger pull on a revolver can be adjusted to anything from 2 1/4 pounds upwards, with perfect safety; automatic pistols are not safe with a light trigger pull, and the mechanism can become worn so that it will fire full automatic, which is exceedingly dangerous. The weapon cannot be controlled firing full automatic. Bullets will be flying all over the place, and finally the weapon itself will take off as if jet propelled in all likelihood.

The automatic has a slight advantage over the revolver in that it is flatter in shape, therefore a little easier to conceal. This advantage is offset by the fact that the automatic has poorer pointing qualities than the revolver.

The automatic tends to be muzzle heavy and will point toward the ground, particularly if fired from the hip or at night time. One must make a conscious effort to raise the muzzle. Whereas the revolver is a "natural" pointer and