



Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

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

688-0331

January 17, 1964.

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

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

Sincerely yours,

John Lewis, Chairman SNCC

"One Man, One Vote"

FEBRUARY

1ST

FREEDOM DAY ACTION

FOUR YEARS AGO ON FEBRUARY 1, 1960, four Negro students who believed that democracy is "by the people" as well as "for the people" sat in at a lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina. This day challenged America to a new birth of Freedom.

Hundreds of places of public accommodations have been desegregated; a few more jobs have been made available to those denied jobs before because of discrimination; and greater efforts have been made to give disenfranchised Negroes the right to vote in areas where they have been denied this right since Reconstruction. These concessions were possible because thousands of students from North and South have accepted the challenge. We have made Civil Rights a major political issue. The walls of segregation have cracked but have not crumbled. In the beginning we were mainly concerned with a hamburger and a theatre ticket but now we realize that we have to concentrate on demanding the right to vote and the right to a decent job. We are demanding fundamental rights, rights all must have to make this a true Democracy.

On February 1st, 1964 we are called upon to rededicate ourselves and to expand our efforts. Therefore, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee asks you to join together with all freedom fighters and to participate in a nation wide demonstration on the Fourth Anniversary of our movement.

We realize that the kind and degree of action in each community has varied during the past years but we are asking:

- (1) areas which have had no action to BEGIN
- (2) areas which have acted but have had no desegregation to RENEW their efforts
- (3) areas which have acted and had some success to EXPAND their efforts
- (4) areas which have "no problems" should HOLD sympathy demonstrations

In other words, everyone must MOVE AGAIN STARTING ON
FEBRUARY 1ST, 1964.

FEBRUARY 1ST FREEDOM DAY ACTION

ONE YEAR AGO on FEBRUARY 1, 1960, four Negro students who believed that democracy is "by the people," as well as "for the people," sat in at a lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina. This day challenged America to a new birth of freedom.

Hundreds of lunch counters have been desegregated in the South, because thousands of students, from North and South, have accepted this challenge. Sit-ins made Civil Rights a major political issue. The walls of segregation have been cracked but have not crumbled.

On FEBRUARY 1, 1961, we are called upon to rededicate ourselves and to expand our efforts. Therefore, the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee asks you to join together again and to participate in a nation-wide demonstration on the first anniversary of our movement.

We realize that the kind and degree of action in each community has varied during the past year, but we are asking:

- (1) areas which have had no action to begin.
- (2) areas which have acted but have had no desegregation to renew their efforts.
- (3) areas which have acted and had some success to expand their efforts.

In other words, everyone must move again on FEBRUARY 1, 1961.

THE SECOND PHASE

Because the sit-ins at lunch counters ^{and a lot in other} have won some victories, many people believe that the movement is over and its goals have been achieved. To illustrate the fact that the movement is aimed toward freedom in all areas, we feel it is necessary to expand the emphasis in 1961. As a first step, let us move from sit-ins at lunch counters to stand-ins at theaters. We hope that all areas will help us to begin this "second phase" by carrying out the following action on February 1st.

Civil Rights and Youth Employment THEATER STAND-INS

A line of students forms at the ticket window, and, one by one, each asks to purchase a ticket. Upon refusal, the person goes to the end of the line, which will continue to revolve in this manner. In the case of an integrated line, which is the most effective, the white person should ask if all citizens are admitted here. If the response is "no," the person should indicate that he prefers to wait until the theater is open to all and should also go to the end of the line. Obviously, the success of this method depends upon having as many people as possible in the line. The revolving line has proved effective in Austin, Texas, where University of Texas students have had as many as 200 people join their line.

Other suggestions for theater demonstrations, which may be done separately or jointly with the revolving line, are as follows:

- (1) Have whites buy tickets for Negroes.
- (2) Have whites sit in Negro sections in the theaters.
- (3) Have stand-ins in theater lobbies.
- (4) Have picket lines outside theaters.
- (5) Pledge cards -- Have students pass out cards to white theatergoers. The cards should say "I shall continue to patronize this theater if Negroes are admitted," and the persons should be asked to sign the card and return it to the theater.
- (6) Encourage writing to national offices of theater chains.
- (7) Establish lines of communication with theater management and attempt to keep them open for the duration of the protest.
- (8) The fact that segregation has no sensible or logical basis can be illustrated dramatically by having light-skinned Negroes pass for whites and enter the theater. Stubs should be collected and the theater management and publicity sources should be informed that such a number of Negroes have actually been admitted. Another method is to have a number of Negroes wear turbans or foreign attire and try to gain admittance. If successful, they should return the following day in regular dress, and if refused admittance, they should present their stubs from the previous day to the management and ask for an explanation of its policy.
- (9) The initial demonstration on February 1st should launch an economic withdrawal from all theaters which continue to segregate.

GROUPS WITH UNFINISHED BUSINESS

We realize that many groups are still working in areas other than theaters, but it is hoped that a united nation-wide emphasis can

be placed on the theaters on February 1st. It is understood that these groups will use their discretion as to the continuation of the theater protest in their local areas.

GROUPS OUTSIDE OF THE SOUTH

We know that many of the above suggestions are not applicable for student groups outside of the South. We stress, however, the essential significance of their actions in lunch counter desegregation and trust that they will again answer the challenge of the second phase. For example, students outside the South may picket local theaters which are related in any way to Southern theaters which segregate. (RKO and Loew's are national chains.) As in the case of the lunch counters, we are depending upon northern and western groups to use their initiative and creative efforts to make theater desegregation a truly national movement.

ACTIVITIES PRIOR TO FEBRUARY 1st

We urge that all campuses have activities prior to February 1st, (1) to point out the fact that February 1st is the anniversary of the student movement; (2) to rally interest and support for the anniversary demonstration. This might be done through chapel programs, mass meetings, marches on campus, and be each student wearing a card saying "FREEDOM DAY, FEBRUARY 1st."

IT IS ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY TO REALIZE THAT PRESS COVERAGE OR PUBLICITY BEFORE FEBRUARY 1st WILL SERVE ONLY TO LESSEN THE IMPACT OF THAT DAY'S ACTION. Groups should remember, however, to notify the press on the day of their action -- be sure to emphasize that this is a national demonstration and explain the meaning behind the move to the theaters.

CONTINUED ACTIVITIES IN FEBRUARY

We point out that February 12th (Lincoln's Birthday) and February 19-26, (Brotherhood Week), are also meaningful dates for our movement and offer opportunities for stepped-up activities.

WE ASK YOUR COOPERATION IN OUR FEBRUARY 1st PROGRAM AND ASK THAT YOU REMEMBER.....

IF STUDENTS OF OUR NATION AGAIN JOIN HANDS...

WE SHALL OVERCOME

we realize that some colleges will be on mid semester vacation on Feb. 1, but we urge

A
USE



That stand-ins and related activities
be started as soon as possible in
the second semester.

I THE SECOND PHASE. - - -

THE "SIT-IN" AND YOU

I FIRST PHASE

A. 1960 - "SIT-IN" ACCOMPLISHMENTS - number
MORE THAN HAMBURGER.

Change in minds
of men.

B. ~~PLACE 1960 IN WORLD PERSPECTIVE.~~

C. ~~DIFFERENTIATE "SIT-IN"~~
~~FROM WORLD SITUATION~~

II SECOND PHASE.

A. PURPOSE OF FEB 1, 1961
ENTERTAINMENT "STAND-IN"

B. TIE 1961 ACTION AS
RELATED 1960 ACTION

I Purpose (

II History

III

I 1st phase

A. 1960 sit-in accomplishments

B. 1960 in world perspective

C. Differentiate "sit-ins" from other
peaceful yet revolutionary

II 2nd phase

A. purpose of Feb. 1, 1961

B. tie 1961 action to 1960 action

C.

- A 2 -

(The Sit-ins + You)

① One year ago, February 1, 1960, a few students in Greensboro, N.C. ~~had~~ tried to quench their hunger in a restaurant which had to this time been known to be segregated. From the spirit of the first "sit-in", this type of hunger was destined to touch every thinking American in existence.

The Sit-ins and You

I First phase

~~One year ago~~, February 1, ~~a few~~ ^{four} students in Greensboro, N.C. tried to ~~quench~~ ^{satisfy} their hunger ~~in a restaurant~~ ^{at a lunch-counter} which ~~was~~ ^{is} known ^{of this movement} to have been segregated. From the spirit of the first "sit-in" came a ~~this~~ type of hunger. ~~These four students~~ were destined to touch every thinking American. ~~These four students~~ were joined by thousands more at hundreds of lunch-counters across the country. *

Effects As a result of the direct action of the students against the segregation of people because of color, over 500 lunch counters ~~throughout~~ ^{throughout} the south in more than 120 cities opened their doors to ~~men~~ ^{all} ~~regardless of race~~. At a major time in our country, the year of the presidential race, the student protests created a stronger political awareness, both nationally and locally, of the race issue.

QUOTES

Kennedy - Ben West - Hearstfield - Ellsner Reassure -
Mayor of Nashville

et al

- MORE -

(2)

① Unlike other student protests throughout the world, America is witnessing a peaceful Revolution which is based on Love and Brotherhood;

* Student action is in direct contrast to the shouts of southern segregationists that Negroes are satisfied with second class citizenship.

③ The victories of the movement have evolved from a spirit of brotherhood which the oppressed have for the oppressor. ② The force of non-violence is sweeping the South leaving in its wake the crumpled walls of man's inhumanity toward man. ④ The "sit-inners" have ~~shown~~ ^{expressed} a love for ~~the~~ ^{their} community and fellow citizens, but, at the same time, they have demonstrated an intolerance of the practice of segregation; ~~it is~~ it is toward the ~~linked~~ ^{practice} ~~principles~~ of segregation that action is directed instead of the segregator.

X X X X

First phase

~~The~~ February 1, 1960 marked the beginning of a revolution over the south. The struggle was in the form of a non-violent surge known to the world as the "sit-ins". Students throughout U.S. answered call and over 500 lunch-counters in ~~over~~ ^{more than} 120 cities have been desegregated.

C.R. became major issue in 1960,

Agenda

Action

- A.** Ads in newspapers
- B.** Purpose of Feb. 1st Action
- C.** Demonstrations on campuses
- D.** Marches
- E.** Possibility of new emphasis in movement with Stand-In at theatres
1. Report on findings
 2. Date
 3. Date to send out literature
 4. Approval of suggestions ^{Recommendations}
 - a. Revolving line - This has been done in Austin Texas and this is the way they did it.
 - b. Whites buy tickets for Negroes
 - c. Whites sit in Negro sections to be done separately or jointly with the revolving line. (Adapted)
 - d. Stand-in in lobby
 - e. Picket
 - f. Pledge cards
 - g. Encourage writing of national offices
 - h. ^{Negotiating with} approaching managers
 - i. Light and turbaned negroes
- F.** Students arrested last year returning to jail
- G.** Television program

Negotiation

5:15^{p.m.} - 8:25 (#7.92)

January 7, 1961

SNCC Nashville, Tennessee

Page I.

- A. Consider the Ad in newspapers and sending out a master copy. (Tabled for present time)
- B. Review ^{Purposes} mass line action
Expand our efforts
Begin Action
Larger degree of public understanding and support is needed.
- C. Campus demonstrations for those areas not already having action.
a. Button wearing @ Chapel Exercises
b. Banner carrying
1. the possibility of having an appeal to students on campus before Feb. 1st to point out that our anniversary is coming up. This will inform & deepen the understanding of the sit-ins before Feb. 1st. (Adapted)
All campuses, NS-East & West! If you plan not to have any demonstration in downtown on Feb. 1st, still have some type on-campus event.
- D. Recommend marches to be decided by local groups. (Adapted) Why? How? Where?

Page II.

E. National Theatre
Theatre Yearbook - Theatre Circuit
located in Libraries

The SNCC recommends that chains ^{in the North & West} which have any relationship to the Southern movie chains, that they picket these movie houses, which are segregated. Stand-ins at all movie houses in the South. Like Lomas & RKO's

This opens a new vista in the struggle for full first class citizenship. This area is more open & vulnerable to attack and there is greater need for the teaching of non-violence. Protection on the inside where sit-ins take place and not where everyone passes, etc.

Feb. 12th - Lincoln's Birth Day
Brother hood Week - Feb. 17th
Feb. 1st for Stand-in Action (Adapted)

Part III

If a area cannot do this on Feb. 1st
that they come back or continue
action on Feb. 12th & Feb. 17th,

* Send out by January 14th

The remaining ^{line} that is the most applicable in
most areas. Emphasize this*

~~When the policy presents~~
SNCC recommends that

Negroes not go theatres segregated
& we call on a complete boycott.
We ^{recommend} ~~suggest~~ that you try to negotiate at least a
week ahead of time of Feb. 1st, (Adapted)

We recommend that you do not try to
have an initial negotiating on Feb. 1st,
and it would be good to keep these lines
of communications throughout the
demonstrations. The initial demonstration
this should be an opening for a boycott.

Part IV.

In areas where action is pending &
the local groups seems it unfeasible
to go into this as a major nationwide
project, may resume their original
efforts.

* Emphasize that this should be kept as
Confidential of Feb. 1st as possible.

* Release the Ad (Newspaper) after Feb. 1st
and include the results in it. Some
positive aspects in it.

* Rec. that Feb. 1st is a date to remember &
only be general in school papers
editorials, accomplishments & it was a
mile-stone in Race Relations. You can
do this by button wearing, etc.

* Release press statement

What Feb. 1st has meant to America!
(Ad suggestion)

Send out Master Ad on Feb. 2nd

Part II.

- * SNCC will draw up the master Ad
- A. The nature of Non-Violence - Brief
 - B. Kennedy's Statement about students
 - C. Background
 - D. Klan Leaders Statement from Florida

7. Arrests are probable and this is a good time for us to renew struggling in jails as we move ahead in the struggle.

SNCC recommends:

Freedom Day for Buttons
Feb 1st

Frederick Douglass Birth day - Feb. 9th

AN EMERGENCY APPEAL TO SNCC SUPPORTERS

from John Lewis

for letters
Selma, Alabama
March 1965

Dear friend of freedom,

I am writing to you with an urgent call for help.

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is facing a crisis. In recent weeks, we have poured our manpower, energy and materials into Selma and Montgomery while maintaining the Mississippi Project and programs in other parts of the South. Alabama has drained our resources. Alabama has killed three brave people, this year alone. Yet we must continue the struggle there.

4.75 — We have been working on voter registration in Selma since the fall of 1962. Almost two years ago, we held the first "Freedom Day" in Selma, bringing ~~over 100~~ Negroes to the courthouse to register. Two SNCC workers were beaten and cattle-prodded that day when they tried to take food and water to the people waiting in line. All over the South, again and again, I have seen my fellow workers and local people with their heads cracked open by nightsticks, lying in the streets, weeping from tear gas, calling helplessly for medical aid. Yet we have continued the struggle.

There have been other appeals for help through the years as we expanded into Mississippi, Georgia, Arkansas, Virginia and Maryland. But none has been more urgent than this. The crisis situation in Alabama has underlined our needs:

1) Two-way radios, to save lives. Alabama has proven as oppressive and death-dealing as Mississippi. When we move from the larger towns into the rural areas, the danger increases.

2) Cars to transport workers quickly and efficiently.

3) Funds to pay medical bills for workers who are whipped and beaten on the front lines.

4) Funds to help take care of local Negroes who lose their jobs as a result of taking a stand for Freedom. They have no lack of courage and determination—but they must also eat.

5) Funds to support the 225 staff workers who organize and sustain the local movements in Alabama and elsewhere in the deep South. These workers live on subsistence pay; they stay with local people, share their hardships.

Selma is a beginning, not an end. Neither a new voting law, nor the momentary focus of the nation's conscience on any single city, will do the whole job. We know that, and are prepared to give our years—our lives, perhaps—for freedom and justice. Without your financial support, however, we cannot succeed. I appeal to you now, when our task has never been harder and our need greater, to send a contribution today.

our
Freedom,

John Lewis, Chairman
Student Nonviolent
Coordinating Committee

Please make checks payable to SNCC.

November 19, 1965

Thelonius Monk
c/o Harry Colomby
69-45 108th Street
New York, New York

Dear Sir:

Thousands of Americans, stirred by the events happening in the South, have demonstrated the past few years that they can no longer stand idly by while the rights of fellow citizens are being brutally trampled upon.

The ready cooperation of artists such as yourself in our very necessary fund-raising operations is a constant source of encouragement to us in our work.

We are planning to produce a fund-raising event in Atlanta, Georgia for our friends and supporters in this area. We would be particularly appreciative of your cooperation since we feel that your name connected with this event would facilitate the publicity and sale of tickets.

In this spirit, won't you please send us dates we can work with. In this way we would know when you are free and plan around that time.

We look forward to hearing from you soon.

Yours in Freedom,

John Lewis
Chairman of SNCC

JL/rdb

March 1964

Dear Friend:

"When I go down to places like Hattiesburg, I hope I'm saying something to parishioners and to people in general as well as to people in Hattiesburg." These words were spoken by Rev. Donald G. Morse, associate field director of the United Presbyterian Church in New York, after he returned from half a week of aiding the voter registration drive in that southern Mississippi town.

Rev. Morse and over a hundred other ministers and rabbis similarly moved and concerned have been in Hattiesburg in the past month, working closely with field secretaries from SNCC. The enclosed news release tells of their work.

When Rev. Morse was picketing at the court house, a local white yelled at him: "You shouldn't be doing that; you should be preaching the gospel!" A SNCC worker who was marching with the minister replied, "He is preaching the gospel!"

In preaching the gospel through social action, Rev. Morse and the other ministers and rabbis who have worked with him have brought faith and hope to many of the 14,752 Negroes in the county. But additional support is needed.

Ten ministers, two SNCC field secretaries and six other persons have been arrested and funds are needed for their defense. SNCC also has ten field secretaries working in the Hattiesburg area, helping organize the intensive voter registration activities. Their presence is invaluable but funds for subsistence wages, food, gas and office supplies are needed so they can continue working in the county.

The intensive activities in Hattiesburg are only a prelude to state-wide registration and education work SNCC plans on doing this summer--work which will include establishing Freedom Schools and community centers. The extent, and thus the success, of this work depends on support from persons like you.

William Penn said, "True Godliness does not take men out of the world but enables them to live better in it and excites their endeavors to mend it." We hope you will help us mend the world and help us to enable Negroes to live better in it.

Yours in the struggle,

John Lewis
John Lewis
Chairman

JL:jd

November 19, 1965

Dick Gregory
1151 E. 55th St.
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Gregory:

Thousands of Americans, stirred by the events happening in the South, have demonstrated the past few years that they can no longer stand idly by while the rights of fellow citizens are being brutally trampled upon.

The ready cooperation of artists such as yourself in our very necessary fund-raising operations is a constant source of encouragement to us in our work.

We are planning to produce a fund-raising event in Atlanta, Georgia for our friends and supporters in this area. We would be particularly appreciative of your cooperation since we feel that your name connected with this event would facilitate the publicity and sale of tickets.

In this spirit, won't you please send us dates we can work with. In this way we would know when you are free and plan around that time.

We look forward to hearing from you soon.

Yours in Freedom,

John Lewis
Chairman of SNCC

JL/fdb

PHONE 688-0331

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

6 Raymond Street N.W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30314

Date Dec. 9, 1965

Received of United Electrical Radio & Machine
Workers of America

Address 11 East 51 St.
New York 20, N.Y.

AMOUNT

\$	<u>380</u>
----	------------

Three hundred eighty — Dollars
100

CASH	<input type="checkbox"/>	CHECK	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> DRAFT	<input type="checkbox"/>	MONEY ORDER	<input type="checkbox"/>
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FOR C

Rec'd by mt

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FLATPAKIT © Moore Business Forms, Inc., Atlanta, Ga. - N

United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America

ELEVEN EAST FIFTY-FIRST STREET NEW YORK 22, N.Y. • PLAZA 3-1960



ALBERT J. FITZGERALD
General President

JAMES J. MATLES
General Secretary-Treasurer

ROBERT C. KIRKWOOD
Director of Organization

December 8, 1965

Mr. John Lewis, Chairman
Student Nonviolent Coordinating
Committee
360 Nelson Street, SW
Atlanta, Georgia 30313

Dear Mr. Lewis:

Enclosed please find check in the amount of \$350.00 which represents the second half of our contribution to the work of your organization. On September 28th we sent a check to you for a similar amount.

Wishing you and your organization success in your work during the coming year.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "James J. Matles".

JAMES J. MATLES

JJM:K
Encs.

THEATRE GROUP FOR SNCC

SUITE 803, 100 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10011

"SNCC has been second to none in the dangerous work of helping southern Negroes in their struggle" -- James Baldwin

Dear Friend:

Edward Albee

We assume that you back plays not only in the happy hope of large returns but for the satisfaction of being involved in a vital creative effort.

Theo Bikel

We ask you, therefore, to back us. We are SNCC -- the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, which came into existence four years ago, out of the first spontaneous student sit-ins that happened across the South.

Kermit Bloomgarden

Diahann Carroll

At present 150 young SNCC representatives -- Negro and white college students and recent graduates -- are at work throughout the deep South, where the struggle is most difficult and dangerous, helping Negroes to organize their own local civil rights groups and voter registration drives. SNCC workers share the life of the local Negro communities, living on weekly subsistence checks of \$9.64. They have been jailed, beaten, shot at. They stay.

Frank Corsaro

Ossie Davis

Ruby Dee

Jack Gelber

This summer SNCC will be deeply involved in launching a huge Peace Corps type of mission to Mississippi. All over the country, people are being recruited -- more than a thousand teachers, nurses, college students, technicians, artists and legal advisors, Negro and white. They will come to Mississippi, to communities that have been completely shut off from "the American mainland," to staff a wide range of programs, the most urgent of which are voter registration drives and Freedom Schools (everything from remedial reading to techniques of non-violent protest).

Lorraine Hansberry

Julie Harris

Lillian Hellman

Jean Kerr

The SNCC budget for the summer is \$200,000 -- considerably less than it costs to launch a single Broadway musical.

Walter Kerr

We ask you to help us meet our budget. Every dollar you send will be put to direct and immediate use. For example:

S. J. Perelman

Hal Prince

\$10 will supply school materials for two day-students for the entire summer...\$25 will pay the utility bills for one Voter Registration Field Office...\$100 will buy material for one home-nursing and baby-care class...\$400 will provide scholarship money for one southern Negro college student, enabling him to return to school after working in Mississippi for the summer...\$2,900 will meet the total expense of one Freedom School.

Muriel Resnick

Herman Shumlin

Kim Stanley

Shelley Winters

This request is urgent. Money is needed now. And we can offer you the hope of large returns -- a part in bringing basic American rights, at last, to many thousands of our fellow citizens.

Sincerely yours,

John Lewis

John Lewis
Chairman

Robert Moses

Bob Moses, Director
of the Mississippi Project

James Forman

James Forman
Executive Secretary

Please make your checks payable to SNCC

241 West 12th Street,
New York 14,
New York.

June 11th, 1964

President Lyndon B. Johnson,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President,

We, a group of citizens concerned with the increasing threat of violence and bloodshed in Mississippi, appeal to you to use now, and to the full, the administrative and executive powers which lie in your hands, to prevent the deaths and brutality which are sure to come to Mississippi this summer unless steps are taken to prevent them.

We urge that you make a declaration of intention that the United States Government will protect the rights and guarantee the personal safety of the people, Negro or white, residents or non-residents, in the State of Mississippi.

We address this appeal to you with a special sense of urgency, having listened, on June 8th of this year in Washington, to a score of Negro witnesses, men, women and children from Mississippi who reported to us incidents of brutality and terror we scarcely believed could happen in the United States. Not only were children beaten, people shot and men murdered for no other offense than seeking to vote and claiming their rights, but those who complained to police have themselves been arrested, beaten and jailed while the wrongs against them received no legal redress either from local police, the FBI, or the Department of Justice. These witnesses have experienced terror from unknown members of the community - shots in the dark, bombings of houses, beatings and reprisals, and the organized burning of crosses in 62 counties on one night. Sheriffs have joined in or instigated the beatings, and violence was practised by the police to whom complaints were made.

In some instances, FBI agents closely associated with the local police failed to fulfill their duty as officers of the Federal Government. The failure to prosecute those who committed violence, the prejudice and hostility evident in the courts, the absence of action on complaints to the FBI or even of answers to complaints made to the Department of Justice, have all constituted a form of lawlessness made even more shocking by the fact that it is practised by

President Lyndon B. Johnson

2.

those entrusted by the Federal Government to uphold the laws of the United States.

We have heard testimony from parents whose sons and daughters, within two weeks, will be among the thousand college students in Mississippi this summer to staff freedom schools, community centers and voter registration drives. We learned they had been warned that jail and violence awaited any person who dared to come to Mississippi to carry on the educational activities so needed in that State.

We are satisfied on the basis of the testimony that the State of Mississippi faces a crisis today which endangers the lives of its citizens, both Negro and white, and it is clear that the threats of violence and the preparations to employ violence are not only threats to human life but to the moral integrity of this country.

We ask you to assure the citizens of the United States, and particularly those who are threatening violence against their fellow citizens in Mississippi, that law and order will be guaranteed from this point forward. The protection which our Government provides to American citizens in foreign countries must surely be extended to all within the boundaries of the United States.

Among specific and immediate actions, we therefore ask:

1. That you assign a sufficient number of Federal marshals to protect the constitutional rights of the citizens of Mississippi.
2. That you instruct the Department of Justice to take the initiative in enforcing the provisions of the United States Constitution in the State of Mississippi.

President Lyndon B. Johnson

3.

3. That hearings by the Civil Rights Commission be held at the earliest moment in Mississippi and continued during the coming months, in order that the kind of testimony we heard on June 8th may be extended into a complete record of situations for which remedies must now be provided.

Harold Taylor, Chairman
of the panel of citizens.

PANEL

Dr. Robert Coles; Psychiatrist, Harvard University.
Noel Day; St. Mark Social Center, Roxbury, Mass.
Paul Goodman; Author, New York City.
Joseph Heller; Author, New York City.
Murray Kempton; Writer, New Republic, Washington, D.C.
Judge Justine Polier; Family Court, New York City.
Gresham Sykes; Exec. Director, American Sociological
Society, Washington, D.C.
Harold Taylor; Educator, New York City.

SUMMARY OF MAJOR POINTS IN TESTIMONY BY CITIZENS
OF MISSISSIPPI

TO PANEL OF:

JUNE 8, 1964

Dr. Robert Coles; Psychiatrist, Harvard University.
Noel Day; St. Mark Social Center, Roxbury, Mass.
Paul Goodman; Author, New York City.
Joseph Heller; Author, New York City;
Murray Kempton; Writer, New Republic, Washington, D.C.
Judge Justine Polier; Family Court, New York City.
Gresham Sykes; Exec. Director, American Sociological
Society, Washington, D.C.
Harold Taylor; Educator, N.Y.C. Chairman of the Panel.

MASSIVE RESISTANCE BY WHITE OFFICIALS AND CITIZENS TO VOTER REGISTRATION
BY NEGROES _____

Among tactics used to prevent Negroes from registering to vote are technical violations of court orders, threats through publication of registrants, economic reprisal, and violence.

In Forrest County, Mississippi twenty-two questions are asked of the registrant, and a registrar may require an applicant to answer questions on over 200 sections of the Mississippi code. In that same county, the first suit to compel registration was started in 1961. The case was heard in 1962, and a ruling given in 1963. The county requires that the names of applicants be published in the local paper for fourteen days before they are given consideration. In the meantime, applicants become the target for police action, and are subjected to economic reprisal and personal danger. Of 1,000 Negroes who have had the courage to face these conditions, only 150 have been registered.

One witness testified that after she applied to register to vote, the owner of the plantation where she had worked for eighteen years and where her husband had worked for 30 years, ordered the family to leave unless she withdrew her application. She fled that night.

A white student from Tougaloo College, active in voter registration, testified that while driving in a car with a Pakistani student she had been followed and then blocked by two cars. They had been forced out of the car and their lives threatened. After saying that the non-white student was an Indian, they had been permitted to proceed. The student believes killings by whites will occur this summer, and that only intervention by the Federal Government will prevent them.

A field secretary for Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee was shot in the back of the head and shoulder while driving home from a voter registration meeting. The three men who had shot at him from a passing car and who had been arrested were released on bond. The incident occurred early in 1963. The trial was set for November, was postponed, and has not yet been held. This witness urged that only United States marshals could prevent further tragedies.

One elderly man testified that after registering to vote his home had been bombed, shots had been fired through the window, and his house put on fire. After asking the FBI to investigate, he was charged with arson by the sheriff and arrested. He continues to be harassed and threatened.

POLICE BRUTALITY

Witness after witness testified to the brutality of the police against any man, woman or child who participated in the struggle for civil rights. They were marked for attack at times when they were not participating in any group action or demonstration.

Thus, a man active in voter registration was stopped on the highway at night by a hostile group of men with chains and guns who threatened beatings and death to him and his friends. The witness testified that beatings by police and State Highway Patrolmen were common.

A young man travelling from Cleveland through Ruleville on his way to Jackson was arrested and charged with violation of the local curfew. When he insisted he was only traveling through, he was hit in the ribs with a pistol and punched on the street by the police officer. He was told, "Nigger, you're lying" and was threatened with death. After a night in jail he was fined for violating curfew and driving past a non-existent stop light.

A middle-aged woman testified that on her way back from a student registration workshop, she had been arrested while sitting inside the bus for having asked where she could buy food at a bus stop. She was kicked by police on the way to the county jail. She was moved by the police from one cell and taken into another where the police gave two male Negroes

blackjacks and ordered them to beat her. Her skirts were pulled up by the police to expose and degrade her.

Two boys, aged thirteen and fourteen, testified to intimidation and bullying by police. One was arrested, imprisoned and had his arm twisted by the police when he participated in a school demonstration in June, 1963. The second, while participating in a NAACP silent march to the courthouse, had been beaten and kicked by the police and then put in jail.

A young worker for CORE testified that he was ordered out of Yagoo City by the police and gratuitously kicked by a police officer. His driver's licence had been taken, and the police had written across it the word 'agitator' before returning it.

A CORE worker testified he was hit on the head and across the face by a gun for having asked the police why his car was being held. He was then taken to jail and charged with resisting arrest and intimidating an officer. This young man was told by a City detective, who warned him that he would be killed if he did not leave town that night, that he was misleading "happy people". The next night, on his way to Jackson, he was stopped by police and kicked.

A young Negro woman was taken out of her home and whipped by the sheriff, after he had forced her to undress, on the charge of her employer that she had stolen some money. The white doctor to whom she went refused to treat her, and she had to go to a Negro doctor to get help.

A young boy, active in civil rights, had been injured in a demonstration during the summer of 1963. He was left on a stretcher in the hospital after the police had demanded he be discharged without medical care. When the nurse left the boy he was beaten and threatened with dogs by the police.

A woman active in a sit-in demonstration in CORE was beaten while police watched. She was then arrested and taken to the police station before she was sent to the hospital.

FALSE ARREST AND FALSE CHARGES AS HARRASSMENT

Persons active in civil rights are constantly subjected to false arrest, high bail bonds, unjust fines, and persecution for complaining against violence done to them.

One witness testified that the Chief of Police had entered her home while she was having coffee with her neighbor and arrested her on the charge of conspiracy not to buy in the downtown stores. She was handcuffed and held in \$2,000 bond. The case was later dismissed.

When a witness was denied use of the rest-room at a gas station where she had stopped to get gas, and was also refused change for the \$10 bill with which she had paid, she then threatened to report it to the police. She was told by the attendant that he did not cater to the Nigger trade. She was struck on the temple and in the face. Fifty minutes after having reported this to the Chief of Police he arrived at her home and arrested the complainant on the charge of disturbing the peace. She was denied the medical care she needed as the result of her injuries, was convicted and fined.

A CORE worker, driving home legally and correctly, was stopped by a Highway Patrolman, arrested for reckless driving, handcuffed, and kicked. A complaint to the Department of Justice, sent in November 1963, has never been answered.

THE ABSENCE OF EQUAL PROTECTION AND JUSTICE IN THE COURTS _____

Despite action by the Department of Justice against white men who had beaten five Negroes who applied to register, and despite the testimony of 43 witnesses to sustain the complaint, the case was dismissed by Federal Judge Clayton on the ground the evidence was insufficient.

When a witness who had been beaten by a gas attendant complained to the Chief of Police, she was arrested and fined. Although she took out a warrant against her assailant in June, 1963, he has never been brought to trial.

The trial of three white men charged with shooting a SNCC field worker early in 1963 has been postponed repeatedly, and still has not been held.

A man whose home was bombed and set on fire was charged with arson and held in jail under high bond. The charges were ultimately dropped.

THE F.B.I. AND DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE HAVE FAILED TO PROVIDE PROTECTION OR SUPPORT THE NEGRO OR WHITE AMERICAN IN THE STRUGGLE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS _____

A white man was beaten up for working in the civil rights movement. His face was swollen and bleeding. When he went to the FBI, accompanied by a well-dressed University Professor and by a lawyer, the FBI agent asked which of the three was the one who had been beaten up.

Witnesses testified that local FBI agents said they could not take action, but could only forward complaints. On complaints to the Department of Justice, not even answers were received. In March 1964, a complaint was filed with

the Department of Justice after students had been subjected to police brutality and after four students had been shot at on the Jackson State College campus for protesting the absence of a stop-light. To the date of the citizens' panel on June 8th, 1964, no answer has been received.

TESTIMONY ON THE F.B.I. _____

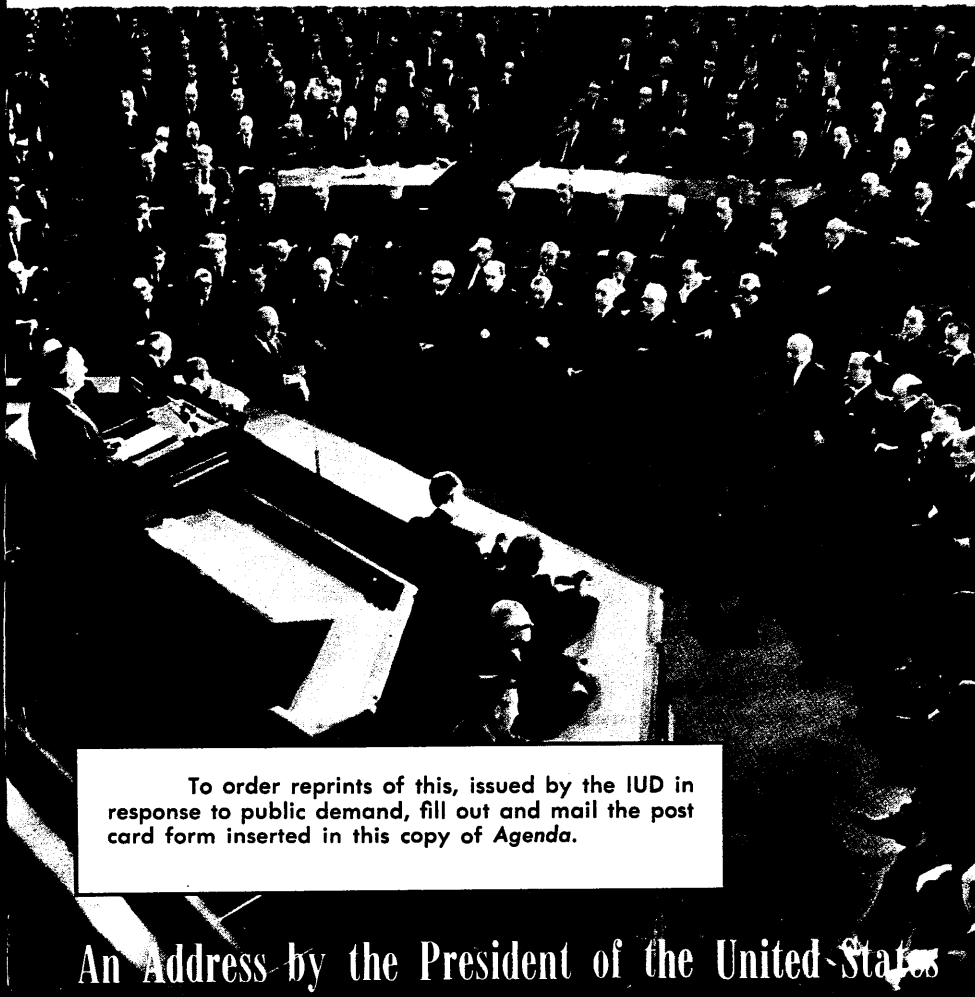
One witness active in the NAACP testified that although she had notified the Department of Justice of an assault in the summer of 1963, she had never received an answer.

One CORE witness testified that statements on police brutality were taken by the local FBI men, who claimed that the statements had been sent on to Washington. Since then, nothing has happened. Complaints made directly to the FBI or through the Council of Federated Organizations or to the Department of Justice have received no response.

A brutal attack by two white men on two Negroes, resulting in permanent injuries, was reported to the FBI. The FBI agent stated he could do nothing more than send a report to the Memphis office. The witness, one of the injured men, was told by the FBI to report the attack to the Sheriff, whose answer was "Your family's supposed to be dead". There has been no response to the complaint to the FBI made on February 5th, 1964.

One incident testified to at the hearing concerned a Negro who had been killed, when unarmed, by a member of the Mississippi legislature. A Negro witness to the slaying refused, when arrested, to perjure himself by testifying that the victim had been armed at the time; because he refused, his jaw was broken by jailors. After further threats, he was coerced into revising his testimony and gave a false statement at the trial to the effect that the victim had been armed. Later, he went to the FBI and told the true facts, and asked for protection. He was subsequently shot. His widow, testifying at the hearings, stated that the Sheriff had told her that her husband would not now be dead if he had not gone to the FBI.

A student from Tougaloo College testified to the constant burning of crosses at the College and to frequent shootings from passing cars - shots aimed at faculty houses, dormitories, etc. When the police and State Patrol were asked for help but gave none, efforts to get help from the FBI proved fruitless for three weeks. The FBI arrived, and expressed interest, only after a picture of the burning crosses had been published in the New York Times.



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An Address by the President of the United States

'We Shall Overcome...'

Remarks of the President
to a Joint Session
of the Congress

March 15, 1965

INDUSTRIAL UNION DEPARTMENT, AFL-CIO

815 Sixteenth Street, N.W.

Washington, D.C. 20006

WALTER P. REUTHER

President

JAMES B. CAREY

Secretary-Treasurer

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WALTER L. MITCHELL

PAUL L. PHILLIPS

WILLIAM POLLOCK

FRANK ROSENBLUM

LOUIS STULBERG

Introduction:

A Letter to the President From Walter P. Reuther



March 16, 1965

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. President:

As an American I feel deeply indebted to you for the message which you delivered to the joint session of Congress dealing with the question of the right of every American to register and vote and enjoy the full blessings of citizenship. This was without doubt one of America's finest hours and I wish to extend my sincerest congratulations and deepest appreciation for your inspiring and deeply moving presentation. Your words, Mr. President, and the sincerity and high moral purpose that prompted them have stirred the conscience of America and will strengthen our faith in democracy and will, I am certain, give renewed hope to the oppressed everywhere who yearn to be free.

I heard your message while on a plane returning from Selma, Alabama, where Mrs. Reuther and I had gone to participate in the memorial service for

Reverend James Reeb who had given his life to make brotherhood a reality. I understand that Selma, Alabama was the scene of the last battle of the War between the States that pitted brother against brother and neighbor against neighbor as our nation wrestled with the great moral question of human slavery. It has been a long and difficult road for American Negroes since Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. Today free men everywhere rejoice in the fact, Mr. President, that you have taken up the task of completing the historic work which President Lincoln began. I know that under your leadership America will find the way to make itself whole so that the children of former slaves may take their proud place in our free society as full citizens with all rights and responsibilities.

The essential right to equality and human dignity is, as you have often stated, a great moral issue which transcends politics or sectional differences. Your message has contributed much to raise the level of understanding of the simple truth that human freedom is an indivisible value and that no man can have it unto himself and that those who love freedom can make it secure only as they make it universal so all men may share in its blessings.

It is reassuring to know, Mr. President, that this historic task of bringing to fulfillment full citizenship for all Americans is in good hands. Each of us as Americans has the responsibility to respond to this challenge with the same human understanding and deep compassion that you so clearly conveyed in your message to the Congress. Under your dedicated and inspired leadership, I am certain that we shall overcome. To this end, I pledge my heart and my hand.

Kindest personal regards.

Sincerely yours,



Walter P. Reuther
President
International Union, UAW

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'We Shall Overcome . . .'

Remarks of the President
to a Joint Session
of the Congress
March 15, 1965



MR. SPEAKER, MR. PRESIDENT, MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESS:

I speak tonight for the dignity of man and the destiny of democracy. I urge every member of both parties, Americans of all religions and of all colors, from every section of this country, to join me in that cause. At times history and fate meet at a single time in a single place to shape a turning point in man's unending search for freedom. So it was at Lexington and Concord. So it was a century ago at Appomattox. So it was last week in Selma, Alabama.

There, long-suffering men and women peacefully protested the denial of their rights as Americans. Many were brutally assaulted. One good man, a man of God, was killed.

There is no cause for pride in what has happened in Selma. There is no cause for self-satisfaction in the long denial of equal rights of millions

of Americans. But there is cause for hope and for faith in our democracy in what is happening here tonight.

For the cries of pain and the hymns and protests of oppressed people, have summoned into convocation all the majesty of this great government of the greatest nation on earth.

Our mission is at once the oldest and the most basic of this country: to right wrong, to do justice, to serve man.



Here, meeting with President Kennedy and then Vice-President Johnson in August, 1963, are the men who provided the leadership in organizing the National Coalition of Conscience which paved the way for enactment of the Civil Rights Bill of 1964. L to r they are: Whitney Young, National Urban League; Dr. Martin Luther King, Christian Leadership Conference; John Lewis, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee; Rabbi Joachim Prinz, American Jewish Congress; Dr. Eugene P. Blake, National Council of Churches; A. Philip Randolph, AFL-CIO Vice President; President John F. Kennedy; Walter Reuther, United Auto Workers; Vice President Johnson, rear, and Roy Wilkins, NAACP.

In our time we have come to live with the moments of great crisis. Our lives have been marked with debate about great issues, issues of war and peace, issues of prosperity and depression. But rarely in any time does an issue lay bare the secret heart of America itself. Rarely are we met with a challenge, not to our growth or abundance, or our welfare or our security, but rather to the values and the purposes and the meaning of our beloved nation.

The issue of equal rights for American Negroes is such an issue. And should we defeat every enemy, and should we double our wealth and conquer the stars and still be unequal to this issue, then we will have failed as a people and as a nation.

For with a country as with a person, 'What is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?'

There is no Negro problem. There is no Southern problem. There is no Northern problem. There is only an American problem. And we are met here tonight as Americans, not as Democrats or Republicans, we are met here as Americans to solve that problem.

This was the first nation in the history of the world to be founded with a purpose. The great phrases of that purpose still sound in every American heart, North and South: "All men are created equal"—"government by consent of the governed"—"give me liberty or give me death." Those are not just clever words. Those are not just empty theories. In their name Americans have fought and died for two centuries, and tonight around the world they stand there as guardians of our liberty, risking their lives.

Those words are a promise to every citizen that he shall share in the dignity of man. This dignity cannot be found in a man's possessions. It cannot be found in his power or in his position. It really rests on his right to be treated as a man equal in opportunity to all others. It says that he shall share in freedom, he shall choose his leaders, educate his children, provide for his family according to his ability and his merits as a human being.

To apply any other test—to deny a man his hopes because of his color or race, or his religion, or the place of his birth—is not only to do injustice, it is to deny America and to dishonor the dead who gave their lives for American freedom.

THE RIGHT TO VOTE

Our fathers believed that if this noble view of the rights of man was to flourish, it must be rooted in democracy. The most basic right of all was the right to choose your own leaders. The history of this country in large measure is the history of expansion of that right to all of our people.

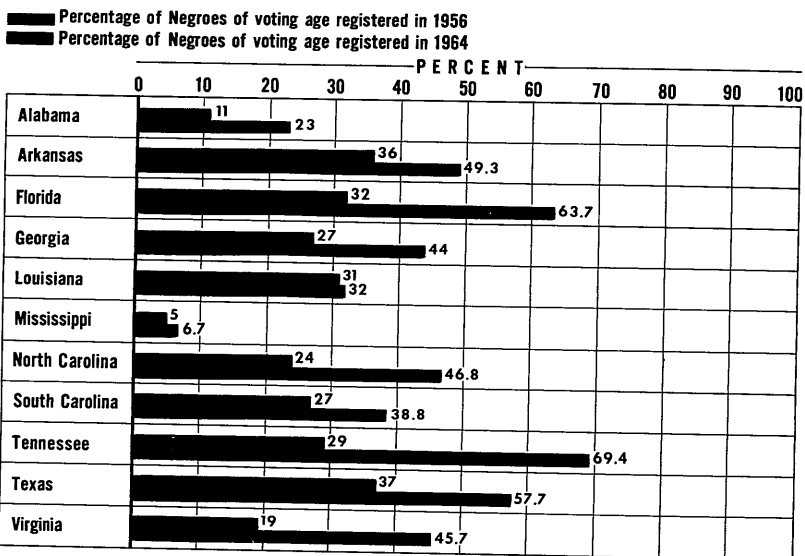
Many of the issues of civil rights are very complex and most difficult.

But about this there can and should be no argument. Every American citizen must have an equal right to vote. There is no reason which can excuse the denial of that right. There is no duty which weighs more heavily on us than the duty we have to ensure that right.

Yet the harsh fact is that in many places in this country men and women are kept from voting simply because they are Negroes.

Every device of which human ingenuity is capable has been used to deny this right. The Negro citizen may go to register only to be told

Estimated Negro Voter Registration in 11 Southern States in 1956 and 1964



Source:
1956 percentages - The Report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights: 1959
1964 percentages - Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council

that the day is wrong, or the hour is late, or the official in charge is absent. And if he persists and if he manages to present himself to the registrar, he may be disqualified because he did not spell out his middle name or because he abbreviated a word on the application.

And if he manages to fill out an application he is given a test. The registrar is the sole judge of whether he passes this test. He may be asked to recite the entire constitution, or explain the most complex provisions of state laws. And even a college degree cannot be used to prove that he can read and write.

For the fact is that the only way to pass these barriers is to show a white skin.

Experience has clearly shown that the existing process of law cannot overcome systematic and ingenious discrimination. No law that we now have on the books—and I have helped to put three of them there—can ensure the right to vote when local officials are determined to deny it.

In such a case our duty must be clear to all of us. The Constitution says that no person shall be kept from voting because of his race or his color. We have all sworn an oath before God to support and to defend that Constitution. We must now act in obedience to that oath.

GUARANTEEING THE RIGHT TO VOTE

Wednesday I will send to Congress a law designed to eliminate illegal barriers to the right to vote.

The broad principle of that bill will be in the hands of the Democratic and Republican leaders tomorrow. After they have reviewed it, it will come here formally as a bill. I am grateful for this opportunity to come here tonight at the invitation of the leadership to reason with my friends, to give them my views and to visit with my former colleagues.

I have had prepared a more comprehensive analysis of the legislation which I have intended to transmit to the clerks tomorrow but which I will submit to the clerks tonight but I want to really discuss with you now briefly the main proposals of this legislation.

This bill will strike down restrictions to voting in all elections—Federal, State, and local—which have been used to deny Negroes the right to vote.

This bill will establish a simple, uniform standard which cannot be used, however ingenious the effort, to flout our Constitution.

It will provide for citizens to be registered by officials of the United States government if the State officials refuse to register them.

It will eliminate tedious, unnecessary lawsuits which delay the right to vote.

Finally, this legislation will ensure that properly registered individuals are not prohibited from voting.

I will welcome suggestions from all of the members of Congress—and I have no doubt that I will get some—on ways and means to strengthen this law and to make it effective. But experience has plainly shown that this is the only path to carry out the command of the Constitution.

To those who seek to avoid action by their national government in their own communities, who want to and who seek to maintain purely local control over elections, the answer is simple:

Open your polling places to all your people.

Allow men and women to register and vote whatever the color of their skin.

Extend the rights of citizenship to every citizen of this land.

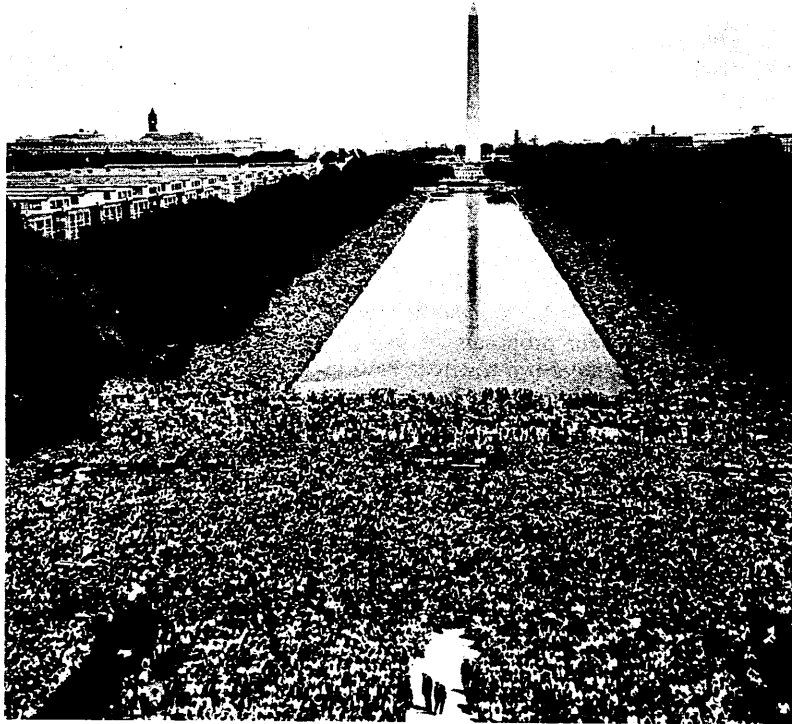
THE NEED FOR ACTION

There is no constitutional issue here. The command of the Constitution is plain.

There is no moral issue. It is wrong to deny any of your fellow Americans the right to vote in this country.

There is no issue of states rights or national rights. There is only the struggle for human rights.

I have not the slightest doubt what will be your answer.



The last time a President sent a civil rights bill to the Congress it contained a provision to protect voting rights in Federal elections. That civil rights bill was passed after eight long months of debate. And when that bill came to my desk from the Congress for my signature, the heart of the voting provision had been eliminated.

This time, on this issue, there must be no delay, or no hesitation or no compromise with our purpose.

We cannot, we must not refuse to protect the right of every American

to vote in every election that he may desire to participate in. And we ought not, we must not wait another eight months before we get a bill. We have already waited a hundred years and more and the time for waiting is gone.

I ask you to join me in working long hours, nights, and weekends if necessary, to pass this bill. And I don't make that request lightly. For from the window where I sit with the problems of our country, I recognize that from outside this chamber is the outraged conscience of a nation, the grave concern of many nations and the harsh judgment of history on our acts.

WE SHALL OVERCOME

But even if we pass this bill, the battle will not be over. What happened in Selma is part of a far larger movement which reaches into every section and state of America. It is the effort of American Negroes to secure for themselves the full blessings of American life.

Their cause must be our cause too. Because it is not just Negroes, but really it is all of us, who must overcome the crippling legacy of bigotry and injustice.

And we shall overcome.

As a man whose roots go deeply into Southern soil I know how agonizing racial feelings are. I know how difficult it is to reshape the attitudes and the structure of our society.

But a century has passed, more than a hundred years, since the Negro was freed. And he is not fully free tonight.

It was more than a hundred years ago that Abraham Lincoln, the great President of the Northern party, signed the Emancipation Proclamation, but emancipation is a proclamation and not a fact.

A century has passed, more than a hundred years since equality was promised. And yet the Negro is not equal.

A century has passed since the day of promise. And the promise is unkept.

The time of justice has now come. I tell you that I believe sincerely that no force can hold it back. It is right in the eyes of man and God that it should come. And when it does, I think that day will brighten the lives of every American.

For Negroes are not the only victims. How many white children have gone uneducated, how many white families have lived in stark poverty, how many white lives have been scarred by fear because we wasted our energy and our substance to maintain the barriers of hatred and terror?

So I say to all of you here and to all in the nation tonight, that those who appeal to you to hold on to the past do so at the cost of denying you your future.

SOUTHERN NEGRO VOTER STATISTICS

STATE	Total Negro Votes as of 11/1/64	Increase Since 4/1/62	% of Eligible Negroes Registered	% of Eligible Whites Registered	% Negro of Total Registered	% Negro of Voting Age Population	Presidential Winner & Margin 1964	Unregistered Negroes of Voting Age
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
ALA.	111,000	42,700	23.0	70.7	10.4	26.2	BG 213,625	370,000
ARK.	105,000	36,000	54.4	71.7	14.6	18.4	LBJ 70,932	88,000
FLA.	300,000	117,500	63.7	84.0	12.0	15.2	LBJ 42,599	170,000
GA.*	270,000	94,500	44.0	74.5	16.8	25.4	BG 94,027	343,000
LA.	164,700	13,000	32.0	80.4	13.7	28.5	BG 122,157	350,000
MISS.	28,500	4,500	6.7	70.1	5.2	36.0	BG 303,910	394,000
N.C.	258,000	47,500	46.8	92.5	11.7	21.5	LBJ 175,295	293,000
S.C.	144,000	53,100	38.8	78.5	17.0	29.3	BG 93,348	227,000
TENN.	218,000	67,100	69.4	72.9	14.4	14.9	LBJ 126,082	96,000
TEXAS	375,000	133,000	57.7	53.2	12.5	11.7	LBJ 704,619	275,000
VA.	200,000	89,900	45.7	55.9	16.0	18.8	LBJ 76,704	237,000
TOTAL	2,174,200	698,000	43.3	73.2	13.0	22.4	LBJ 369,164	2,843,000

Released 12/15/64 by Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

*Voting Age 18

This great, rich, restless country can offer opportunity and education and hope to all—all black and white, all North and South, sharecropper, and city dweller. These are the enemies—poverty, ignorance, disease. They are enemies, not our fellow man, not our neighbor, and these enemies too, poverty, disease and ignorance, we shall overcome.

AN AMERICAN PROBLEM

Let none of us look with prideful righteousness on the troubles in another section or the problems of our neighbors. There is no part of America where the promise of equality has been fully kept. In Buffalo as well as in Birmingham, in Philadelphia as well as in Selma, Americans are struggling for the fruits of freedom.

This is one nation. What happens in Selma or in Cincinnati is a matter of legitimate concern to every American. But let each of us look within our own hearts and our own communities, and let each of us put our shoulder to the wheel to root out injustice wherever it exists.

As we meet here in this historic chamber tonight, men from the South, some of whom were at Iwo Jima—men from the North who have carried Old Glory to far corners of the world and brought it back with-

out a stain on it—men from the East and West are all fighting together in Vietnam without regard to religion, or color, or region. Men from every region fought for us across the world twenty years ago. And in these common dangers and these common sacrifices the South made its contribution of honor and gallantry no less than any other region of the great Republic. And I have not the slightest doubt that good men from everywhere in this country, from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, from the Golden Gate to the harbors along the Atlantic, will rally together now in this cause to vindicate the freedom of all Americans. For all of us owe this duty; and I believe all of us will respond to it.

Your President makes that request of every American.

PROGRESS THROUGH THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS

The real hero of this struggle is the American Negro. His actions and protests, his courage to risk safety and even to risk his life, have awakened the conscience of this nation. His demonstrations have been designed to



Just after funeral services for the Rev. James Reeb, civil rights leaders gather on the steps of the Dallas County court house in Selma, Ala. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. holds one of the funeral wreaths. On the left is His Eminence, Archbishop Iakovos of the Greek Orthodox Church; on the right, Rev. Ralph Abernathy; and, just in back, UAW President Walter P. Reuther.

Black Star: Declan Haun

call attention to injustice, designed to provoke change, designed to stir reform. He has called upon us to make good the promise of America. And who among us can say that we would have made the same progress were it not for his persistent bravery, and his faith in American democracy.

For at the real heart of battle for equality is a deep-seated belief in the democratic process. Equality depends not on the force of arms or tear



gas but upon the force of moral right; not on recourse to violence but on respect for law and order.

There have been many pressures upon your President and there will be others as the days come and go. But I pledge you tonight that we in-

tend to fight this battle where it should be fought: in the courts, and in the Congress, and in the hearts of men.

We must preserve the right of free speech and the right of free assembly. But the right of free speech does not carry with it, as has been said, the right to holler fire in a crowded theater. We must preserve the right to free assembly but free assembly does not carry with it the right to block public thoroughfares to traffic.

We do have a right to protest, and a right to march under conditions that do not infringe the Constitutional rights of our neighbors. I intend to protect all those rights as long as I am permitted to serve in this office.

We will guard against violence, knowing it strikes from our hands the very weapons with which we seek progress—obedience to law, and belief in American values.

In Selma as elsewhere we seek and pray for peace. We seek order. We seek unity. But we will not accept the peace of stifled rights, or the order imposed by fear, or the unity that stifles protest. For peace cannot be purchased at the cost of liberty.

In Selma tonight, as in every city, we are working for just and peaceful settlement. We must all remember that after this speech I am making tonight, after the police and the FBI and the marshals have all gone, and after you have promptly passed this bill, the people of Selma and the other cities of the nation must still live and work together. And when the attention of the nation has gone elsewhere they must try to heal the wounds and to build a new community. This cannot be easily done on a battleground of violence as the history of the South itself shows. It is in recognition of this that men of both races have shown such an outstandingly impressive responsibility in recent days.

RIGHTS MUST BE OPPORTUNITIES

The bill that I am presenting to you will be known as a civil rights bill. But, in a large sense, most of the program I am recommending is a civil rights program. Its object is to open the city of hope to all people of all races. All Americans must have the right to vote. And we are going to give them that right.

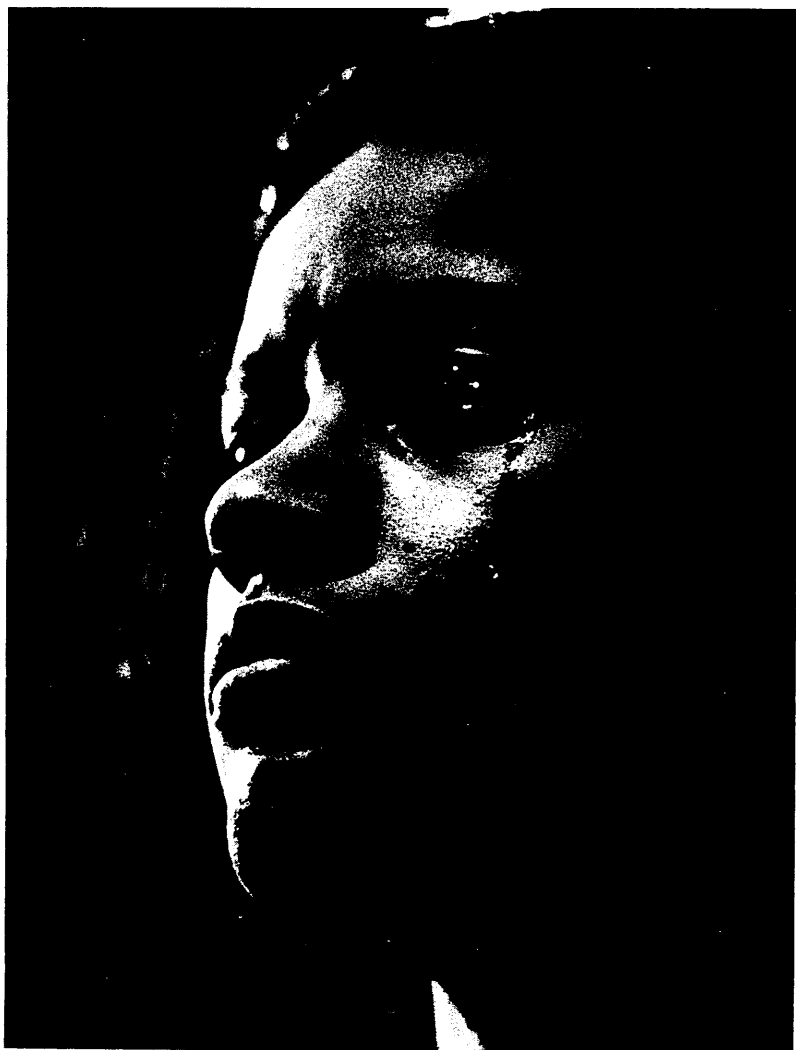
All Americans must have the privileges of citizenship regardless of race. And they are going to have those privileges of citizenship regardless of race.

But I would like to remind you that to exercise these privileges takes much more than just legal right. It requires a trained mind and a healthy body. It requires a decent home, and the chance to find a job, and the opportunity to escape from the clutches of poverty.

Of course, people cannot contribute to the nation if they are never taught to read or write, if their bodies are stunted from hunger, if their

sickness goes untended, if their life is spent in hopeless poverty just drawing a welfare check.

So we want to open the gates to opportunity. But we are also going to give all our people, black and white, the help that they need to walk through those gates.



Black Star: Flip Schulte

THE PURPOSE OF THIS GOVERNMENT

My first job after college was as a teacher in Cotulla, Texas, in a small Mexican-American school. Few of them could speak English and I couldn't speak much Spanish. My students were poor and they often came to class without breakfast, hungry, and they knew even in their youth that pain of prejudice. They never seemed to know why people disliked them. But they knew it was so, because I saw it in their eyes. I often walked home late in the afternoon, after the classes were finished, wishing there was more that I could do. But all I knew was to teach them the little that I knew, hoping that it might help them against the hardships that lay ahead.

Somehow you never forget what poverty and hatred can do when you see its scars on the hopeful face of a young child.

I never thought then, in 1928, that I would be standing here in 1965. It never even occurred to me in my fondest dreams that I might have the chance to help the sons and daughters of those students and to help people like them all over this country.

But now I do have that chance, and I'll let you in on a secret, I mean to use it. And I hope that you will use it with me.

This is the richest and most powerful country which ever occupied this globe. The might of past empires is little compared to ours. But I do not want to be the President who built empires, or sought grandeur, or extended dominion. I want to be the President who educated young children to the wonders of their world. I want to be the President who helped to feed the hungry and to prepare them to be taxpayers instead of taxeaters. I want to be the President who helped the poor to find their own way and who protected the right of every citizen to vote in every election. I want to be the President who helped to end hatred among his fellow men and who prompted love among the people of all races and all regions and all parties. I want to be the President who helped to end war among the brothers of this earth.

And so at the request of your beloved Speaker and Senator from Montana, the Majority Leader, the Senator from Illinois, the Minority Leader, Mr. McCulloch and other leaders of both parties, I came here tonight not as President Roosevelt came down one time in person to veto a bonus bill, not as President Truman came down one time to urge the passage of a railroad bill—I came here to ask you to share this task with me and to share it with the people that we both work for. I want this to be the Congress, Republicans and Democrats alike, which did all these things for all these people.

Beyond this great chamber, are the people we serve. Who can tell what deep and unspoken hopes are in their hearts tonight as they sit there and listen. We all can guess, from our own lives, how difficult they often find their own pursuit of happiness, how many problems each little

family has. They look most of all to themselves for their futures. But I think that they also look to each of us.

Above the pyramid on the great seal of the United States it says—in Latin—'God has favored our undertaking.'

God will not favor everything that we do. It is rather our duty to divine His will. But I cannot help believing that He truly understands and that He really favors the undertaking that we begin here tonight.



January 10, 1965

John Lewis

cc: Forman, ~~_____~~

Dear John:

Your letter to the staff bothered me a great deal. I don't know who told you about the October Atlanta staff meeting and the November Waveland meeting, but I want to let you know what I think.

About the chairmanship: All three workshops at Waveland agreed that there should be no chairman. One of the workshops suggested a ritualistic chairman who would preside over coordinating committee meetings, but that idea was rejected too. This happened because of a new position among the staff -- that structures be developed from functions, that offices emerge from functions. You were not deposed. The staff, many of them remembering your own dissatisfaction with an absentee role of figurehead, decided that one man should not have to be mediator with the country as a whole, but that several people could share that responsibility. You have been out of the country for some time, so actually, we did not have a chairman.

About the executive secretary: Jim opened the Waveland meeting with an appeal that his health and fatigue demanded he have several months leave. And the meeting closed with all the staff present agreeing on a three-man interim administrative group with co-equal powers. So, in fact, we do not have an executive secretary except in the sense that old name designations were kept.

About the Mississippi project director: Bob has been away from Mississippi for several months and has not been director of the state. The meeting at Nattiesburg went on without him as everything had been going along without him. This meant that others acted as "directors." It is a healthy sign when a movement or organization can get along and progress when you were in Africa or the North, when Jim was in England or Africa, when Bob was in the North or Africa.

One of the things that disturbs me about your letter is that for the first time, on paper, you have appealed to the staff to accept the definitions of us made by our critics. Further, you in effect said we must alter our definition of ourselves for the people who give us money. We have always said the people who give money cannot make policy. The Waveland meeting reaffirmed that position. One of the things that has made us different as an organization is that because we hold that position, we were able to do things and be more uncompromising than other groups.

It is important now that we do what we have done in the past with regard to our critics, precisely because we are undergoing internal change. We must explain the changes that are taking place, not deny them. We, who have worked for some time now to create dislocation and disruption (or to use your words, to destroy the system) cannot ourselves be expected to be placid, unchanging, stable. Stability and rigidity exist where there is fascism, dictatorship. Moreover, there is no reason to expect the American press to be any different from what it is showing itself to be. Because the press in this country is set up to deal with incidents, events and leader figures, it has managed mainly to distort our message all along, and will continue to do so.

For some time now the staff has been expecting massive red-baiting. Perhaps the intensity of red-baiting has picked up now and is worse than in the past. I can remember several junctures in the past where we were being attacked. It is time for another Dorchester meeting. We must get together as staff, decide our stand, and hold it. If, as some staff suspect, this is only the start, and the Congressional Challenge for example will bring powerful onslaughts, it is more important now that we seriously determine our course, and that as a group we decide what to do.

Your letter states that you have asked Betty and Julian to use their departments to dispel rumors. Most of the staff seem to feel that they are the ones to make decisions now, and that unilateral policy decisions are not democratic. To decide to dispel or deny rumors is a serious policy decision. In the past our stance has pretty much been that we will not try to correct statements, will not spend our time answering charges, but will decide our position and keep it. To engage in debate over Communism through the press is doing exactly what is wanted. A story can be kept alive a long time through denials and counter-denials. If we start trying to stop rumors now without having staff consensus on what our position shall be toward even such things as a Congressional investigation, we will limit our alternatives later.

You have spoken of our kinship with new African governments and movements. What surprises me is that you seem to go along with what is the equivalent of a "Western" attitude toward SMOG, and you have now -- according to your letter -- placed yourself in the position of African leaders who continually assure the West that their governments are "stable."

One last thing. I am not sure I agree with using the mails for setting forth what is basically a personal position unless it is done in the spirit of a working paper. This is particularly true for people who are in command posts with greater access to information and the broader perspective of the national office.

Sincerely,

Mary

Mary E. King

P.S. Sorry I did not get chance to talk to you about this in Washington. Casey, Emmie & I are in Nyasa learning basics of film strip & slide making, and raising equipment for a classroom in Miss. Hope you are getting a chance for some ^(time) the field of your choice.

M.

Honorable Jomo Kenyatta
Prime Minister of Kenya
State House, Nairobi, Kenya

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee extends hardest congratulations to you and the people of Kenya in these, your first hours of Victory. We realize the Independence which you are now celebrating is the culmination of 50 years of struggle which you, Mr. Prime Minister, have so gallantly led. The People of Kenya can take pride in the fact their Prime Minister has been an inspiration for All African Freedom Struggles. We Salute you. We wish you all good success in the difficult task which lies ahead. We know you will steer a swift and sure course for the People of Kenya and ~~all~~ of all Africa. As in the past, we know you will continue to speak for Freedom ~~everywhere~~ and dignity everywhere.

James Forman,
Executive Secretary,
SNCC, 8½ Raymond St. NW
Atlanta 14, Georgia

John Lewis,
Chairman

[1964 Ap. 17]

TO: ALL NEWS MEDIA
FROM: JOHN LEWIS, CHAIRMAN, STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)
SUBJECT: PROPOSED "STALL-IN" OF MOTOR VEHICLES ON ROAD TO WORLD FAIR

We of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee recognize the necessity to be consistent with principles of morality and not bow to the pressures of political expediency.

We are committed in our practice to the use of any tactic or strategy which is nonviolent, and which will dramatize the plight of numbers of Negroes in the ghettos of the North and in the South, so long as these actions do not endanger innocent lives nor cause the gratuitous destruction of property. We are not convinced that the planned "stall-in" violates any of these qualifications.

Therefore, upon reflection and in good conscience, I must withdraw my name, and that of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee from the list of Negro leaders who yesterday denounced the planned "stall-in" of motor vehicles on roads leading to the New York World's Fair.

After our Executive Committee meetings of April 18th and 19th, we shall issue a statement of SNCC's intentions towards the planned "stall-in".

For this reason, we cannot at this time in any way condemn the "stall-in", since we have not as yet carefully studied the plans, and sifted through the issues and possible implications. To summarily do so is to act irresponsibly, and would represent a betrayal of the people we represent and a repudiation of the tactics we traditionally use.

RELEASED: Washington, D.C.
April 17, 1964

John Lewis, Chairman
Student Nonviolent
Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

THIS STATEMENT IS TO BE USED IN ITS ENTIRETY OR NOT AT ALL.

November 18, 1963

Please make the following announcement:

John Lewis, 23-year-old chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, will be on campus for several days this week to speak with students, faculty, and other interested parties about racial problems.

Mr. Lewis has participated in nonviolent demonstrations protesting racial discrimination since 1960 when a student in Nashville. Since that time he has served as chairman of the Nashville Student Movement, been on the SNCC's Executive Council, was one of the original Freedom Riders, made one of the major addresses at the Washington March in August, and has been arrested approximately 30 times for refusing to comply with segregation practices. While at Allegheny, Mr. Lewis will make the following public appearances:

Wednesday - November 20 Ford Chapel 10:40 am

Subject: "Nonviolent Philosophy and Racial Revolution"

Wednesday - November 20 Thoburn Club 9 pm
(Dr. Devor's Home)

Subject: "The Church and Racial Discrimination"

Thursday - November 21 Ford Chapel 8:15 pm

Subject: "Civil Rights and Wrongs"

Thursday - November 21 Phi Gamma Delta Fraternity House Coffee Hour immediately following the lecture

Religious Activities Committee

He was our main contact (and an excellent one) because he's a business man (Chief Accountant, Mobile Oil, Ltd.), studied in the States, and knows many people in the government as well as the government influences.

First contact came with Dr. Robert E. Lee, an expatriot Afro-American dentist and a member of the newly-formed Afro-American Information Bureau...He is a militant, intellectual and activist. Through him we met Shirley Graham - Mrs. W.E.B. DuBois. For some three hours we discussed the possibilities of a strong link between the Rights Movement in the States and a direct contact with the African countries. Because of the high number of expatriot Afro-Americans in Ghana (just below 500) the country was perhaps the best informed on the continent. The purpose of the AIB was to keep the Ghana people informed about what was going on in the States and TO MAKE SURE THAT THE INFORMATION HIT THE PRESS. Mrs. DuBois is head of Ghana TV which is to begin in Jan. or Feb. 1965. She said that the AIB was also created to insure that the good situation which now exists continues and improves with time. She indicated that she would help in all and every way that she could.

Soon after we met Les Lacy an Afro-American who is studying and doing research at Legon, Ghana University. Like many of the members of AIB is a veteran with regards to demonstrations at the US Embassy. He personally spent a great deal of time with us while we were in Accra and did much to see that we got to meet people that would be most helpful to us. He, with a friend, took us on a tour of the University - a fantastic place!!!!

We had a chance to see some of the new suburbs outside of Accra - McCarthy Hill...seven miles outside of Accra overlooking all of the capital city (170,000pop.) as well as the sea. Also went to Tema, the newly-built harbor 18 miles outside of Accra. A terrific new, clean, modern community full of schools, garden-type apartments, office buildings, palm trees, and happy black faces. One of the following days went to Akosombo - sight of the Volta River Dam...a huge complex that promises to be the most important power source in West Africa.

On one of our trips to Legon, Ghana University, we met a Dr. Irvin and family - Afro-Americans from the west coast who were active with the 'Frisco or Bay Area friends of SNCC. They were quite interested in the trip and made it apparent that they would do all they could at the University in regards to informing students, etc. Also met Preston King (Albany, Ga.) and his wife. Because of his own involvement while in the States and of his family's now, he was very concerned with what was happening in the states. Being an intellectual and associated with AIB he has many of the important contacts that would be helpful - writers, journalists, influential intellectuals associated with AIB.

Met with students from St. Aquinas Secondary School at which Mrs. Kwabi teaches -- discussion for about 2-3 hours.

51964 Dec 14

THE TRIP

LIBERIA

Liberia was not part of our planned itinerary, but because of an Air Guinee cancellation, we were forced to spend two days in Monrovia.

On arriving in Monrovia we had no contacts and no specific plans. While checking at the USIS re: visas, entry requirements for some other countries, we met an Afro-American Political Affairs Officer, William Hicks. He was interested in our trip and gave us some excellent introductions. We made a twenty-minute radio tape for all (four) local radio stations and also for the Voice of America. We then went out to the Liberian Information Service and introduced ourselves around--most of the people seemed genuinely unimpressed. Before we left the city, we were able to make contact with people in the Liberian National Student Union and the Liberian Press Union. The Student Union, at the University of Liberia in Monrovia, is in the process of being reorganized and now has some 1100 students among the membership (it has been the most active of any group in a country almost entirely devoid of any political activity on any level.) The Press Union is a membership organization of all the radio stations, newspapers, magazines, and the informational services in the country. From all we could gather, a very conservative group of people. The head of the Union is the editor of the Liberian Star, Henry B. Cole, the largest paper in Monrovia.

We managed to get interviewed by two of the papers, the Liberian Star and the Liberian Age. We made a few contacts on our own by just walking up and talking to people and by Liberians mistaking us for Peace Corps people, and in this way learned a little more about the country,

The next day we did some research on Firestone and what they had been doing (or, in fact, not doing) in Liberia for the last two decades. The figures are astounding, to say the least.

The contacts we did manage to make in Monrovia seemed to be the best that can be made. Apparently, very little is going on there politically--and as far as we could ascertain, there are no political clubs or groups right (?) or left of even the least significance. It is really difficult at this time to imagine that a great deal can come from whatever exchange that can be initiated. This is not at all to say that people are not sincerely interested in what is happening in the States, but very often seem more concerned with defending Liberia against the verbal onslaughts of foreigners.

GHANA

On October 7th, we arrived in Accra from Liberia. We were met at the airport by relatives (Don's), Gus Kwabi and family.

Much of our time in Accra we spent at the African Affairs Bureau and the Pan Africanist Congress. Here at the offices of these militants...and nationalists...exiles from still dependent countries and South Africa built, began, sustained and continued revolutions against colonial, imperial and racist powers. Each time we appeared at these offices we were received warmly and enthusiastically and rarely could escape within two hours of our arrival.

We did also have the opportunity to go through the national archives and the CPP headquarters at our leisure--we were told that this was a rare occasion.

Finally, the day before we were to leave Accra, Julian Mayfield returned from Cairo and the Non-Allied Nations conference and we had an opportunity to meet with him at Preston King's house.

Mayfield is a writer, journalist, Afro-American expatriot who holds a great deal of respect in the government and has personal as well as business relationships with many of the people in Flagstaff House. He is also the spearhead of the AIB, if not the titled head.

We spoke with him for about two hours--was very much impressed with our reasons--the purpose of the trip. Suggested that this kind of thing should have been done long ago and saw that the AIB could work closely together.. He so much as said that if the information was gotten to him he could assure that it would get into the press and on the radio. Strongly urged that we route our trip so that we did not miss Cairo. This the most important single center on the continent and a similar Afro-American group had just been formed there- and contact with them seemed essential. He also pointed out that all of the nationalist and militant groups have their offices there in one building and contact with them should also be an essential mission of ours.

There were two factors that we had to deal with while in Ghana. The first was the fact that the Non-Allied Nations conference was taking place in Cairo at the time drawing most of the important government, party, journalist, and exiled freedom fighters away to Egypt. Even so, those that were left in Accra were wholly receptive and helpful to us and as soon as people arrived back in Ghana to put us in touch with them. In this regard, it seems we were exceptionally lucky and fortunate. The second thing we had to cope with--was that Malcolm X had just left Ghana some few days before we arrived and had made fantastic impressions. Because of this, very often peoples' first attitude or impression of us was one of skepticism and distrust. Among the first days we were in Accra someone said, "Look, you guys might be really doing something--I don't know, but if you are to the right of Malcolm, you might as well start packing right now 'cause no one'll listen to you." Among the first questions we were continually asked was, "What's your organization's relationship with Malcolm's?" We ultimately found that this situation was not peculiar to Ghana; the pattern repeated itself in every country. After a day of this we found that we must, immediately

on meeting people, state our own position in regards to where we stood on certain issues - Cuba, Vietnam, the Congo, Red China and the U.N., and what SNCC's role, guidelines, and involvement in the Rights Struggle was. Malcolm's impact on Africa was just fantastic. In every country he was known and served as the main criteria for categorizing other Afro-Americans and their political views. Only because we were able to point out quite directly SNCC's involvement in the Struggle, that is, programs, successes, John's involvement in the March (and the cutting of his speech) and the fact that we were on the Continent attempting to bridge the gap between Africa and the States were we able to gain the kind of respect and create the kind of interest that was vital to the trip.

Ghana was one of our most important stops on the trip. The AIB is well organized and seems to be structured so that they will be able to accomplish specific aims. Mayfield indicated that certain things would be especially helpful and important. A continuing flow of current information that they could count on and thus prepare and utilize their contacts with the national radio and press to the best advantage. Information could be in a form of press releases, but hopefully with some background to it so that a feature or interpretive article could be written (the bare facts would have already hit the press through the wire services). Also as many 8 x 10 slick photos that could be sent would be used. Scenes of violence are especially important and could be used for a number of different kinds of things. Mayfield himself is in the process of publishing a journal, The African Review which should start in Jan. 1965 and would also welcome material from the States. Mayfield, and similarly Preston King, because of their particular interests in the Movement (Mayfield was in Monroe, N.C. in 1960 and knows many people who were and are interested and active) are quite keen on utilizing the kind of contacts they have with the press, in government and government-related positions to make, as Mrs. DuBois said, a good situation better; by keeping the issue in front of the Ghanaian people (and the U.S.) all the time. (Mrs. DuBois is quite right in this regard in that the Government is quite free and active on their own about attacking the U.S.)

It is significant to point out that someone from the AIB checks on every Afro-American coming into Ghana through Accra to see who they are, what they represent and how they can be helped; re: housing, contacts, introductions, - or restricted from the same. It was gratifying for us when they gave us a small reception at the airport when we left Accra.

The African Affairs Bureau in Accra was a significant contact in that not only were they interested in SNCC and its activities and requested a continuing relationship with us, but gave us contacts of nationalist groups and parties throughout the continent. They publish a small journal of what is happening in African liberation movements and said that they would like to include some articles on the States, but have never had the material. This journal is sent to most of the important centers in the continent--Cairo, Southern Africa, Dar es Salaam, Lusaka,

etc. They also told us to check at their other offices about students from other countries - specifically, South Africa, who were coming to the U.S. so that we could introduce them to what was happening in the States.

Ghana is important to us for the same reason it is important to exiled nationals from still dependent countries; it is an activist country.

ZAMBIA

We arrived in Northern Rhodesia at 10:30 pm. Monday night, October 19th with 1 pound (\$2.81) between us. All of the hotels, pensions, rooming houses, YMCA's and most private homes were filled with people coming into Lusaka for the Zambia Independence Ceremonies. By chance, we met an old friend at the airport. He refused to listen to our dire predicament and insisted that we join him for drinks to celebrate our arrival and, of course, the coming independence. It was not until well after midnight that we would hear our plight. Within minutes he had us fixed up with an Asian family who ultimately agreed to adopt us.

One of the most important things, we felt, was to reestablish the contacts Don had with the United National Independence Party. We met Abed Muleunge, the regional secretary who showed us around the regional office and explained what kind of organizing they had and are now doing. Much of his work - youth organizing and training, building up the district and village leadership, political training and action seminars is very close to the kinds of things that SNCC is doing that we had much in common. Muleunge is also a veteran of many jails (as are most of the party workers)... He had spent over three years in jail for his work. He then took us over to the National party headquarters (just a few blocks away) and introduced us all around. Everyone was quite pleased to meet us and were especially happy that the U.S. Rights Struggle would be represented at the Zambian Independence. We were given tickets for the ceremonies, auto passes, (of course we had no car), invitations to some of the receptions as well as press cards. In all, they seemed extremely receptive and quite pleased that some Afro-Americans who were in some way active in the Freedom Movement and not part of the U.S. diplomatic corps or representing the State Department. In the following days we spent much of our time at the UNIP offices with the UNIP people.

A place where we ultimately spent many hours, smoking many cigarettes in heated discussions, debating the practicality of various kinds of daggers, learning where the best women on the continent were, and joking about the kind of white man that angered us most, was on "Nationalist Row"... a secluded second floor suite of offices belonging to the nationalist parties and groups in Southern Africa... South Africa, Mozambique, S. Rhodesia, Angola, Basutoland, etc. All of the people who operated these offices were white... intense, nervous people who knew the insides of many jails and the loneliness of being separated from family and friends; and who were, by the fact of Zambian Independence, more embittered toward the oppressors of their

country. We shared with them many similar feelings. The people were warm, always anxious to see us and eager to begin direct communication... as one brother said, "Let's join hands so we can all be free together." We learned a great deal - more than we knew we didn't know.

Munali Secondary School is the most famous boys' school in the country. Over three-fourths of President Kaunda's Cabinet, including himself, attended. We spent two days on the campus meeting students, making contacts, addressing small groups, discussing the Rights Movement, swimming (and watching Don's spells - sun-stroke).

Society in all of central and southern Africa before independence was stratified significantly into four basic communities; African, Coloured, Asian and European. Even though Independence has become a reality in some countries... Kenya, Tanzania, Zambia, the separation, difference in roles, economic status, and even political importance of each is still apparent. In Lusaka, the capital city of Zambia, these four communities are still separate and divided from one another... geographically and otherwise.

Because we lived with an Indian family, the entire time we were in Zambia, we had a strong inroad into the Asian community. We ate Indian food, had many Indian and Asian friends and learned much about the people and the community. Asians are businessmen. Most run and own small stores... clothing, groceries, cleaners, trading concerns; many are teachers, work for the Government or in banks. About half of the Asian population are recent migrants from Southern Rhodesia or South Africa and are strongly allied with the Africans and the policy of majority rule.

The Coloured community is the smallest minority in Zambia. Because they've been the outcast of both the African and the white, they are rather self-conscious and insecure people. We spent two days talking with and meeting the people in the Coloured community. They feel a close affinity to the Afro-Americans because of their mixed blood.

The Africans are the laborers. They do the heavy work in the copper mines (Zambia produces about 18% of the world's copper) and are now the government. They are above all others... proud.

THE INDEPENDENCE CEREMONIES

175,000 people packed into the Independence Stadium between 6-8 pm on Independence Eve, October 23rd. There were parades, marches, native dancing, singing, acrobats, planes flying overhead, bands, military exhibitions, everything. About 9:30 pm, the dignitaries began to arrive. The crown princess representing the commonwealth; Julius Neyerere representing Tanzania and finally Dr. Kenneth Kaunda, the president elect of Zambia. Then at 11:54 pm all the lights went out except for the spot lights on the two flag poles on the floor.

of the stadium. Dr. Kaunda and the queen's representative, the Duke of _____, walked out between the poles; the British national anthem was played and the British flag was lowered. A roar came from the crowd -- whites were cheerful and crying and slowly the new Zambian flag began to climb the other pole. The roar crescendoed for the full minute that the Zambian flag was going up, and as it hit the top the sky broke with fireworks, a woman broke from the stands, ran onto the field and embraced Dr. Kaunda's knees, people were screaming and embracing one another, Europeans crying and quiet, planes swooping low between the fire works displays and Julius Neyerere stood silent but with both hands raised high over his head. KWACHA, the freedom flame burned high on a hill nearby the stadium and runners began carrying freedom torches to all parts of the country. KWACHA, freedom had finally come to Zambia.

Rounds of receptions, exhibitions, dedications, football games, special ceremonies: met people from all over, saw much.....

Zambia was an important and significant stop on our trip. For the nationalists it is the closest free spot outside South Africa; it is the place where those fleeing from the terror and ruthless oppression of apartheid can first rest, walk the streets without fear, meet friends and receive aid from a people and a government who all too well know the evils and oppressions of white settlers and colonial rule. At the same time, it is also the point where dedicated and committed men left to return to South Africa: after being trained and drilled for many months sometimes thousands of miles away, this was the beginning of a long and dangerous journey. But most important, those Africans returning to South Africa were bringing new skills with which to keep the fight going...new knowledge of demolition, plastic bomb warfare or sabotage. This, that is Zambia, was their last refuge before entering a hell beyond description for any man who had the audacity to be born with a skin that was black. Because of these factors, the nationalists were anxious for news; eager for us to write and send aid or anything.....just to know that the effort and lives that they are expending are also being heard and supported. In many ways the Pan-Africanist Congress is not much different from SNCC (...was?)

They are poor, angry, frustrated, and almost powerless human beings fighting against governments and systems thousands of miles away. Whatever we do to help them will be a significant step in helping our own struggle here.

The Zambian government is young; the party officials are new and eager to be involved in as much as they can to help other black people become free. The people in the United National Independence Party are one of our best contacts. Because of knowing Don (1961) and because we came on our own (which meant more to them than we realized) they were greatly impressed and we can expect from what they say that SNCC will not be forgotten very soon in Zambia.

We left Zambia on BOAC's newest jet, the VC-10 (4 jets in the tail). Dr. Kaunda was on the same plane headed for Cairo. Thousands of people were at the airport that Saturday afternoon to see him off and wish him well. The plane was very late and arrived in Lusaka just at dusk. The big silver bird came floating in over the too-small airport with flaps down and blue-gray contrails billowing in the fading sun. Crowds...goodbyes to our friends, waving and cheering for Dr. Kaunda, the sunset on Zambia and we left for Nairobi. It was by far the smoothest and finest plane ride of the trip.

KENYA

Our first stop in Kenya had been on the way to Zambia. Tom Mboya had been at the airport in Nairobi meeting some officials who had been on the plane with us. We introduced ourselves, talked with him briefly and planned to meet him at his office the following day.

The first person we saw on arrival at our hotel was Malcolm X, who had just come in from Tanzania with Kenyatta. This was a chance meeting, but in many ways a very important meeting.

We spent the rest of that day and evening as well as a good part of the following day talking with Malcolm about the nature of each of our trips. At that point had been to eleven countries, talked with eleven heads of state and had addressed the parliaments in the majority of these countries. Although he was very tired he planned to visit five more countries. He felt that the presence of SNCC in Africa was very important and that this was significant and crucial aspect of the "human rights struggle" that the American civil rights groups had too long neglected. He pointed out (and our experience bears him correct) that the African leaders and people are strongly behind the Freedom Movement in this country; that they are willing to do all they can to support, encourage and sustain the Movement, but they will not tolerate factionalism or support particular groups or organizations within the Movement as a whole. It was with this in mind that he formed his Organization of Afro-American Unity.

Discussion also centered around Malcolm's proposed plan to bring the case of the Afro-American before the General Assembly of the United Nations and hold the United States in violation of the Human Rights Charter. The question was at that time (and ultimately was evident) that support from the civil rights voices in this country was not forthcoming and the American black community was too plinted to attempt such a move without looking like compoate asses and embarrassing out most valuable allies. We departed with Malcolm giving us some contacts and the hope that there would be greater communication between the OAU (the U.S. version) and SNCC.

We ran into a friend of Don's who took us through the University, the Nairobi A.C. (African Club), introduced us

to Kenyatta's daughter and some of the "intellectuals" around Nairobi. John met a reporter from Nashville who took his picture and promised to do a story on the trip.

The contacts made in Kenya were limited. We did not see anyone in the government due to an extended holiday for "Kenyatta Day". (Mr. Odinga was out of the city) and parliament just opening. Those contacts that were made were with interested individuals at the A.C. and a few people at the University. In general the political climate was not nearly as warm and people alert and aware as some of the other places we visited.

ETHIOPIA

On the morning of November 2nd, we arrived in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The sun was blazing, the temperature was a chilling 36 degrees (Addis Ababa is some 8000 feet above sea level) and the coronation celebrations for Emperor Haile Salassie were beginning for the thirty-second time.

After seeing some of the celebration we went to Africa Hall _____ the meeting place of Organization of African Unity. The building is almost the size of the United Nations and certainly as fine. WE also went out to the University, met a few people there, were taken to the University museum (housed in a former palace) and to one of the prominent secondary schools.

John went by the USIS office and made some radio tapes for the Voice of America with the promise that they would be distributed to all of the local radio stations as well. He also contacted and met the Ministers of Education and Information.

Like Kenya, our Ethiopian contacts are limited. The people at the university and at the secondary school were the most enthusiastic; however, they are individuals and not within the frame-work of any organization or political group. The ministers, although they showed genuine interest seemed quite detached, uninformed, not quite sure what to do about the proposals we made to them. the USIS people were interesting in that they wanted to use us to counter the impression that Malcolm had made the week before we arrived. It must be said that Ethiopia has the politically aware people and organs that we were seeking, but because our contacts were few and our stay was short (two days), we did not find them.

EGYPT

Cairo is a big, crowded, hustling metropolis. There are over 4 million people of all kinds of colors, speaking many different languages (most of which we did not understand). Julian Mayfield in Ghana has told us the first person to see was David DuBois; if not him, then to the Ghanian Embassy. After some three hours of carrying our suitcases all over the

the city from place to place, not understanding people and they not understanding us, being followed around by junk jewelers, shoe-shine boys, pimps, beggars, and an array of various kinds of hustlers we found Dave. He quickly got us a place to stay and took us out for dinner and drinks.

Dave is in Cairo working for the Egyptian government. He is a writer, journalist, and sometime interpreter. He is also an activist and serves as a very important liaison between the Ghanian and Egyptian governments...has Ghanian citizenship. He realized very quickly the kinds of people and contacts we wanted to make in Cairo, the significance that these contacts could have for both the Freedom Movements here in this country as well as the various Liberation Movements on that continent. He promised to do all he could to help us through the people and the contacts he knew and has. It is necessary to say here that without Dave's assistance we would have wasted a great deal of time in Cairo and could have never, in the week we were there, made the important contacts that we did.

Early the next morning (business begins at 7:00 pm) we went to the African Association; a plain, unidentifiable (except by address) four-story building, in the heart of the embassy neighborhood. Here in this building, provided by the government, every nationalist group, political party of a dependent country or Freedom Movement, no matter how small or from what country on the continent had a central office. This was the place where freedom fighters and exiled nationalists from across the continent gathered.

We spoke first with Mr. Ebrahim of the PAC because we had been in contact with RAC people in Ghana and Zambia. We talked for nearly three hours before he began to warm up to us. In the beginning he was very suspicious, said almost nothing and although interested, not quite certain how far he could trust us. One of his first questions was, "What is your organizations relationship to Malcolm X?" (Malcolm is most widely known and respected in Cairo.) Finally, Ebrahim passed us on to the nationalist group from Basutoland and told us to stop by before we left. We went through the same two hour lecture to the bearded, suspicious Basutoland Nationals and left feeling very depressed and too tired to see anyone else. On the way out, Ebrahim told us to call him in the morning and he'd try to set something up for us.

That night Dave had us over to meet some Egyptians and Afro-Americans. The discussion was mostly on SNCC and the Mississippi Summer Project and the Egyptian Government.

We called Ebrahim the next day, expecting nothing. He said he had arranged for us to address the entire African Association. We were surprised and flattered. (We later found out that Malcolm had been the only Afro-American who had previously been given this honor.) Fourteen different nationalist groups, parties, etc., were represented when we addressed the Association. They were an attentive, note-taking,

eager audience. We answered questions for 2 1/2 hours after which each group gave us literature and wanted us to sit down with them privately for dinner or drinks and more discussion.

At a party for the Liberation Ambassador we met some press people and Ghanaian officials who were immediately interested in our trip and wanted us to see them before we left Cairo. People in the Ghana embassy were so happy that we were impressed with Ghana that they immediately invited us over for more discussions.

The following days sandwiched between meeting the brothers at the African Association, we talked with newspaper editors, journalists and the Foreign editor of the very important Middle East News Agency, Mr. Ebrahim Hassan. Hassan said that any time we could cable information to him he could assure us that it would get into a majority of the 36 or so newspapers that are printed in Cairo. Also, if we could not cable information, that if we sent enough background material on a situation he could get an interpretive feature in these same papers.

One of the most significant afternoons was spent at the Afro-Asian People Solidarity Committee building which overlooks the Nile and all of Cairo, and is endowed with receptionists of the finest Cleopatra tradition. The Committee is an organization of 72 nations that meet, discuss, pass resolutions and attempts to influence governments, within the membership as well as out. Obviously, it is an organization representing people of the colored nations of the world. It has played very significant roles in assuring the independence of many of Africa's new nations, as well as establishing unity and policy for what is called the Afro-Asian block in the United Nations. Mr. Edward, assistant to the chairman of the Committee, was very cooperative in talking with us, providing us with answers to our questions and literature and also indicating that SNCC would be put on the Committee's mailing list.

We had an interesting, yet confusing meeting with the American Muslim Student Union. Dave had contacted this group with the idea in mind that because the group was composed of all Afro-Americans (or former Afro-Americans) they might be interested and even willing to support our work in some kind of way. The first problem came when we found out that many of the members were former Black Muslims. Although they were interested and had a certain respect for SNCC because, "at least it was doing something", they really didn't want to get involved in activity supporting us. They also had the expected negative reaction to non-violence. Finally, though, two guys jumped us and said that they didn't care what the Union's position was, they wanted to form a Cairo Friends of SNCC. There were some very long tedious volleys of "answering some basic questions" after which the entire matter was left up in the air. The session was good though and the Union wanted us to keep them informed so that, if nothing else, they can get the word out by mouth at the University.

Our last day in Cairo was spent at the University. We met students, talked with professors, visited the various buildings and strolled on the campus. The students were openly curious of us and many just walked up and started conversations -- in Arabic.

About three in the afternoon, we climbed on a bus and began the 45-minute ride to Gaza. We arrived just as the sun was beginning to sink. The desert sand was white and brilliant, and the dunes were rolling, almost sensual, with strange zig-zag lines formed by the wind. We rented our camels and began the long, bumpy ride toward the pyramids that loomed in front of us. Sitting on the camels next to the two tallest pyramids, we looked down at the sphinx and out across the endless sea of sand; dusk fell and the loudest noise was the breathing of the camels.

The ride back to Cairo was a silent one.

Cairo was the most important stop we made. It was so because Cairo is a center. Lines of communication reach from Cairo south to all parts and all peoples of Africa; they reach east to other Muslim countries and beyond; they also reach north to Europe.

Our best single contact is David DuBois. With his background as a writer and his sympathy for the Struggle here, he is willing to write articles for the newspapers, either first fun releases or background and interpretive features. With his contacts in both the nationalist and government circles, if he gets the material, we feel quite confident that he will do a great deal to keep SNCC in the public as well as the influential eye in Cairo.

The African Association, as previously indicated, gave us strong contact with 14 nationalist groups, parties, etc., all over the continent. The vast majority of these groups are eager to begin some kind of exchange -- many asked us if we could arrange trips for their people already in this country to tour and see what was going on in the American South. All of these groups put out monthly or bi-monthly publications and want to keep in touch with us as we do the same. Most of these groups are very much in line as SNCC -- very often broke, too few people with too much to do, and because of this, empathize with us. Individually, as well as together in the Association, these people can be very important to us. Last year on August 28, they staged a March on the American Embassy, assembled 1700 people from 19 countries and issued a statement in support of the Movement in this country. The statement was signed by given to the American Ambassador who was to see that it got in the press here -- needless to say, it was never heard of again.

The meeting with the newspaper editors, especially Mr. Mohammed Hakki of Al Ahram, should prove important if once again we can get them information on a regular basis. The Middle East News Agency will from all indications, do everything they can. It is important to note here that Dave has contact with most of the newspapers and the news agency and could not only serve as a middle man or someone to push things through for us, but at the same time, has and is writing for most of these papers.

Although our contact with the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Committee would be mainly informational, it seems obvious, that with an African Bureau in SNCC this kind of contact would be important. With the Committee too, are the significant facts that maintaining contact with the Committee, for within this one body,

72 nations - nations of colored peoples are represented and the import of their combined opinion - ascending or dissenting - must be recognized.

Egypt, Cairo is important because it is the center. It is perhaps, more important because it is not too much different from what was thousands of years ago; it was, and still is, the beginning.

PROPOSALS:

1. That SNCC establish an international wing - specifically, an African Bureau or Secretariat.

During the course of the trip we established contact with 19 different countries; 16 of which are on the continent of Africa. It seems eminently important that these contacts be utilized to their best advantage, not only for SNCC, but for the Movement as a whole. Although the "Civil rights leaders" have not yet recognized the necessity of a strong link between the Freedom Movement here and the various Liberation Movements in Africa, we in SNCC have been teaching what is called "Negro and African history" completely disregarding the potential of the many African embassies and thousands of African students already in the country. The growing importance of the Afro-Asian countries, their particular political and economic ideologies as well as their increasing influence in world opinion must be communicated to the people that we work with. SNCC and the entire Movement has a need to increase its scope. We have left publicity, interpretation of situations and the statements of position to chance as far as other countries are concerned. It seems needless to say that we, that is, Afro-Americans in this country, are not in such an advantageous position that we can leave these things to luck. With such a bureau, it seems clear that forces outside the country could be infinitely more effective in putting pressure on the U.S. Government, thus helping our struggle as well as their own.

2. That the function of the African Bureau or Secretariat be to maintain and increase SNCC's contacts with Africa specifically, but also with any other countries or groups of people in other countries who can be helpful to us and the Cause.

A great lack in the Rights Movement has been the complete failure to utilize the great number of African diplomats that are constantly in this country; in Washington and in New York. No move of the least significance has been attempted to involve the thousands of African students that study in the U.S. each year in any of the many projects we have. No attempt has been made to even make them fully aware of what is going on in the American South (although many Africans know more about what is happening than many Afro-Americans do.)

3. That the African Bureau or Secretariat should be closely tied to or linked with the present communications department of SNCC.

In view of the fact that much of the said bureau would be writing to and receiving communications from international contacts it would be advantageous to have both departments closely allied. The importance of an international mailing list that was sent out regularly from Atlanta that would include news releases, Student Voices, and any other SNCC publications is evident. Certainly keeping in touch with the African embassies by mail as well as by phone bears consideration. Also the informing our contacts in this country what kind of support or relationship we have with these new countries could have many ramifications with the press and government in this country.

4. That at least two people be assigned to work full-time with the African Bureau or Secretariat and that one of these two persons be available to travel between Atlanta, Washington, and New York.

Certainly there is enough to do right now in confirming the contacts already established as well as making new ones that two people working full-time would have their hands full. The necessity for one of these persons to be available to travel to the various embassies in Washington as well as to the missions and the U.N. sessions in New York is essential. This kind of job, that is, talking with these brothers and attempting to involve them more in what is going on in the South, is one that requires personal confrontation. It cannot be done, seriously, that is, by phone or by mail or by having four and five different people communicating with someone and, in SNCC tradition, telling them four or five different things.

Submitted Monday - December 14, 1964

by:
JOHN LEWIS, CHAIRMAN
DONALD HARRIS

MONROEVILLE, PA.

TIMES-EXPRESS

* 5 45

JOHN

DEC 17 1964

Richard

Civil Rights Worker To Speak At "Y"

Richard Momeyer will speak of his experiences in the Civil Rights Movement, at 8:30 p.m. Tuesday evening, December 29, at the Y.W.C.A., on Beatty Road. The public is invited.

Richard, the son of Mr. and Mrs. Glenn Momeyer, of 1133 Harvard Road, is a graduate of Gateway High and in June of 1964 graduated with honors from Allegheny College. He is at present doing graduate work in philosophy as a Woodrow Wilson Fellow at the University of Chicago.

Momeyer started working in the Civil Rights Movement when he went to Fisk University in Tennessee as an Exchange Student from Allegheny College. He has been actively involved and deeply committed in the cause since that time. Last summer he worked in voter registration for the "Student's Non-Violent Coordinating Committee" in South West Georgia.

Two other local students, Richard Atlee and Joanne Darkin, have been invited to participate.

Mrs. Herbert Feinberg is Chairman of the YWCA public affairs committee, sponsors of the meeting. She is assisted on her committee by the following: Mrs. Robert Parkinson, Mrs. J. A. Milnes, Mrs. Earl Hinebaugh, Mrs. R. Donald Spencer - chairman of the Monroeville Center YWCA Advisory Committee, and Miss Kathryn F. McCurdy, Director of Monroeville Center Y.W.C.A.



AFFIDAVIT

STATE OF GEORGIA

COUNTY OF FULTON

I, John Lewis, having personally appeared before the undersigned officers authorized to administer oaths, depose and say as follows:

- 1 -

That during the summer of 1958 I was employed by the Tennessee Baptist Association an affiliate of the Southern Baptist Convention and the Home Mission Board.

- 22 -

That I conducted vacation Bible School for several Baptist churches in Madison County (Jackson) Tennessee during stated summer.

John Lewis

Sworn to and subscribed before me this _____ day of _____
A.D. 1964.

Notary Public

12
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

ANNUAL SPRING CONFERENCE

MARCH 27-29, 1964

Over 300 participants took part in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee's fourth annual spring conference during Easter weekend, March 27 through 29, 1964. Participants from 17 colleges, and from 19 states and the District of Columbia gathered at the Old Gammon Theological Seminary in southeast Atlanta, Georgia. Five SNCC projects, eight affiliated organizations, nine Friends of SNCC groups and 16 other organizations were represented.

Since SNCC is greatly involved in voter registration projects throughout the South, and because this in an important election year, the conference had as its central theme, "Now--One Man, One Vote." The vote was discussed as a means of change as major speakers offered analyses of the social change presently taking place in the United States and of the directions in which the civil rights movement is going.

In the keynote address, Dean Clyde Ferguson of the Howard University Law School stated that, "...the emphasis in civil rights is shifting from negative measures, i.e., prohibition from acting in certain ways, to positive measures, i.e., affirmative actions designed to assure full opportunity in the society which we now know. For example, this shift in emphasis now means that such measures as the Manpower Retraining Act, Area Redevelopment Act, vocational and other kinds of technical education, Aid to Education and manpower utilization by private and public employers are all essentially civil rights issues."

Dr. Stanley Smith of Tuskegee Institute, in an address entitled, "The Vote in Social Change," stressed that voter registration and voting provide a power play to force the existing power structure to yield concessions. As an example, he cited the successful efforts of a Negro group in the predominantly Negro Macon County, Alabama, to secure a promise from the sheriff, a mayoral candidate, to appoint Negroes to positions in the sheriff's department if he is elected.

A symposium which included among its speakers Dr. Sinclair Drake of Roosevelt University, Dr. Howard Zinn and Mr. James Forman, dealt with the topic, "Federal and Local Power." Dr. Drake, in pointing out some of the fallacies of the usual historical treatment of Reconstruction state governments, called for a return to the spirit of cooperation between blacks and whites which prevailed during the Reconstruction period. While criticizing the federal government for the limited use of its powers in dealing with civil rights problems, Dr. Howard Zinn asserted that, "We need to know what we need, and who we want to do things." He went on to say that, "the term 'federal power' allows the passing of the buck" between the President,

1964 SPRING CONFERENCE - 2

the Congress and the Courts. It is important to focus on the President, because the President has had the power to protect civil rights since the Civil War. Legislation has no effect in the Deep South, "because the President of the United States has not used his power to make it mean anything.

Mr. Forman warned that the institutions which perpetuate segregation and state-led violence against Negroes are not controlled by a few fanatical backwoods, suspender-pulling, tobacco-chewing rednecks. Research shows that the Citizen's Councils, Chambers of Commerce, banks and industries, planters, courts and police are holding hands to keep control of what for them is highly profitable financially.

Dr. Vivien Henderson, while recognizing the great need for voter registration programs, emphasized the importance of the role that the economic interests of all parties involved in civil rights problems play in the solution of these problems. He urged that at least equal attention be paid to programs which would increase the opportunities for Negroes to compete in the national economic market.

BUSINESS MEETINGS:

Meeting of the following groups were held during the conference: Southern students, Northern students, Friends of SNCC, Fund raisers and SNCC's staff and executive committee.

According to a constitutional revision which went into effect during this conference, the executive committee now includes six staff members--three project directors and three staff elected at large--three members of the coordinating committee, three members at large elected by the coordinating committee, two advisers, the chairman and the executive secretary.

John Lewis was elected to serve another term as Chairman of SNCC.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Miss Ella Baker
Marion Berry
Julian Bond
Butch Conn
Cortland Cox
Jim Forman
Ben Grinage
Prathia Hall
Bill Hansen
Don Harris
Bernard Lafayette

John Lewis
Eddie McKay
Lester McKinnie
Bob Moses
John O'Neal
William Porter
Gloria Richardson
Gwen Robinson
Marian E. Wright
Dr. Howard Zinn

AFFILIATE GROUPS

Students for Equal Treatment
Cambridge Nonviolent Action Committee
Student Nonviolent Freedom Committee
Nonviolent Action Group
Student Movement for Human Dignity
Nonviolent Agitation Association for College People
Committee on Appeals for Human Rights

FRIENDS GROUPS

Madison, Wisconsin
Detroit, Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan
New York, N. Y.
Philadelphia, Pa.
Princeton, New Jersey
Chicago, Illinois
Newark, New Jersey
University of Illinois

OTHER GROUPS

National Urban League
Highlander Educational Center
Civil Rights Coordinating Committee (Harvard)
Cornell Liberal Union
United Federation of Teachers
Emory Council for Civil Rights
National CORE
Southern Regional Council
Carleton College Peace Group
National Student Association
Institute for Cultural Development
Committee of 100
Louisville Students for Social Action
Georgia Students for Human Rights
Athens (Ohio) Civil Rights Action Committee
Committee for Nonviolent Action

COLLEGES

Howard University	University of Illinois
Hampton Institute	Duke University
University of North Carolina	Stillman College
University of Tennessee	Morehouse College
Birmingham Southern College	Spelman College
Tougaloo College	Emory University
Fisk University	Harvard University
Talladega College	Cornell University
	Carleton College

Churchill Is Weaker

Story on Page 4

WEATHER

Fair, cold,
windy, 20s.

Tomorrow:
Fair, 20s.

SUNSET: 4:57 P.M.
SUNRISE
TOMORROW:
7:16 A.M.

New York Post

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DR. KING SLUGGED, KICKED IN ALA.

Story on Page 2



Associated Press Wirephoto

As The Blow Is Struck

Jimmy Robinson (a) completes his punch and the head of Dr. Martin Luther King
(b) strikes hotel counter in attack at Selma, Ala., today.

Mayor Bares McKeon 'Bribe' Details

Story on Page 3

Rev. King Is Slugged and Kicked in Ala.

Selma, Ala., Jan. 18 (AP)—A man wearing a National States Right Party uniform attacked Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. today when the Negro leader registered at a previously white Selma hotel.

The man, who previously had asked and obtained permission from Rev. King to attend a Negro rally tonight, waited at the edge of a small crowd while the integration leader and 11 other Negroes were registering, and then without warning he hit the Rev. Dr. King in the right temple and kicked him in the groin.

The assailant was arrested immediately by Selma's Public Safety Director, Wilson Baker, and taken to jail.

The man, at the time he talked to the Rev. Dr. King earlier on the sidewalk outside the county courthouse, gave his name as Jimmy George Robinson.

Has Slight Headache

After the attack, other Negroes grabbed the man, and Baker, who was standing on a stairway, rushed in, seized the man by the neck and hustled him outside.

Rev. King said later he had a slight headache but otherwise did not appear to be injured.

A short time earlier, other Negroes had integrated three downtown restaurants without disorder while scores of others lined up to seek registration as voters.

The Rev. Dr. King was attacked in the lobby of the century-old Hotel Albert on Selma's main street.

Manager Apologizes

The hotel is next to one of the restaurants which was integrated, and across the street from another.

The hotel manager, Robert Gay, apologized to the 1964 Nobel Peace Prize winner and said he would sign a warrant. Baker replied, "I'll sign one myself."

Outside the hotel, the man tried to lie down on the sidewalk and drag another officer with him. Baker picked the man up off the sidewalk and gave him to other policeman, who took him to city hall.

Hazi Also Seized

The Commissioner had promised before the integration test came today that he would tolerate no disorder and that anyone who violated the law would go to jail.

Robinson, of Birmingham, was charged with assault and disturbing the peace.

Robinson was wearing khaki pants and shirt, uniform of the

segregationist National States Rights Party, a white supremacist organization active in the segregation movement.

Early a white youth who claimed to be a member of the American Nazi Party was arrested while he was waiting at one of the restaurants.

A group of Negroes, a white minister from Maryland and his wife ate lunch at the Selma Del, one of the city's most popular downtown cafes and one which previously was charged by the Justice Dept. with racial discrimination for refusing earlier to serve Negroes.

The clergyman was the Rev. W. S. Causey, assistant pastor of the Warner Memorial Presbyterian Church at Kensington, Md.

Across the street, 12 Negroes in two groups were served lunch at Tim's Cafe.

Owner Angry

Otis Adams owner of the Selma Del, angrily told reporters he had no choice under the civil rights law.

"It's a hell of a thing when you can't run your own business," Adams said.

Earlier the Rev. King led approximately 200 Negroes to the Selma County Courthouse in the first step of the voter registration campaign.

There were no incidents. Baker halted the procession and instructed the Rev. King that Negroes could not walk in a column, two-by-two.

The Negroes obeyed Baker's command and split up into random groups before proceeding to the courthouse of this heretofore strictly segregated community.

Java Flood Toll Reaches 23

Jakarta, Jan. 18 (Reuters)—Twenty-three persons were reported dead today and 6,500 homeless after two weeks of floods and landslides in Java.



Associated Press Wirephoto

Shortly after this picture was made, showing the Rev. Martin Luther King confronting American Nazi George Lincoln Rockwell (1), the man behind Rockwell punched and kicked the Negro leader. Assailant was identified as Jimmie Robinson, a member of the National States Rights Party.

Court Turns on the Heat Under Welfare Unionists

By TED POSTON

Leaders of two Welfare Dept. unions today were ordered to show cause in Supreme Court tomorrow why they should not be held in criminal and civil contempt for continuing the 15-day-old strike.

Supreme Court Justice Levey signed the order against Joseph Tepedino and Mrs. Judy Mage, president and vice president of the independent Social Service Employees Union, and Alan R. Viani and Mrs. Anne Bowen, president and secretary of the AFL-CIO State, County and Municipal Workers, and 17 lesser union officials.

The four leaders had already been found "presumptively guilty of criminal and civil contempt" on Jan. 7 by Justice Saypol.

Jerry Wurf, international president of SCMW, immediately denounced Mayor Wagner as a "strikebreaker hiding behind the Condon Wadlin Law," and called upon the Legislature to repeal the act.

As Wurf talked to reporters at the Commodore Hotel press conference, Jesse Gray, Harlem rent strike leader, and 25 of his followers staged a 40-minute "Jam-in" at the Welfare Dept. headquarters at 250 Church St., curtailing all elevator service in the 16-story building until department officials agreed to meet the delegation.

Confer With Dumpson

After service was restored, Gray and his delegation rode up to the 14th floor office of Welfare Commissioner Dumpson for a brief conference. Gray said that Dumpson promised to send an investigator to several buildings on W. 117th and 118th Sts. to investigate charges that relief clients are suffering undue hardships because of the strike. Gray expressed strong support for the strikers, however, and threatened mass demonstrations unless the walkout is settled.

The city's new orders against the two unions and their leaders

Welfare investigator goes on hunger strike. Story on Page 17.

See Alvin Davis on Page 22.

were supported by an affidavit from Dumpson which said that, since Jan. 7, the strikers "have wilfully and continuously absented themselves from their positions as members of the Dept. of Welfare and have since that date been illegally on strike."

Backed by Dumpson

He added that "despite the mandate of the court embodied in a stay and its continuance, the defendants and each of them and the members of each of the defendants' union failed to report for duty since Jan. 4."

Earlier Dumpson had called a demand by the strikers for "a flat commitment" by the city not to enforce the Condon-Wadlin anti-strike law "an unreasonable request" that stalled week-end efforts by a citizens committee to end the walkout.

"You must remember," he told reporters at Welfare headquarters at 250 Church St., "the city is under obligation to en-

force the law, and this is the law."

At the same time, he promised to "be reasonable and give fair treatment to all strikers when they return to work. I have no need at all to be vindictive or punitive, and I won't be. Wherever I have discretion I will exercise it in the most reasonable fashion the law permits."

Dumpson, in a taped WCBS radio program, "Let's Find Out" had warned yesterday that private agencies might be needed to service some city welfare cases if the strike continues.

Union leaders had charged that the efforts of a citizens committee—reputedly composed of the deans of New York schools of social work—were thwarted yesterday by the city's insistence on enforcing the Condon-Wadlin Act to the extent that the strikers would lose two days pay for each day they were absent on strike.

A spokesman for the Mayor said Wagner had assured the mediators that "in applying the Condon-Wadlin Law, we would seek to be reasonable and humane in its application."

New Surgery for Barnes

Traffic Commissioner Barnes will undergo surgery tomorrow at University Hospital to correct the narrowing of an artery in his neck.

Barnes, 58, confined to Columbus Hospital since Jan. 11 for tests, was taken to University on Thursday after the neck condition was discovered. He was originally scheduled to undergo an operation today to correct an abdominal obstruction.

The abdominal operation has been postponed pending recovery from tomorrow's surgery, which his doctor decided should be performed immediately. He is expected to remain in the hospital for at least two weeks.

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Dr. King Is Attacked In a Selma Hotel

KING from First Page

safety director, Wilson Baker, and taken to jail.

The man talked to Dr. King earlier outside the county courthouse. He gave his name as Jimmy George Robinson.

After the attack, other Negroes grabbed the man and Mr. Baker, who was standing on a stairway, rushed in, seized the man by the neck and hustled him outside.

Earlier, other Negroes had integrated three downtown Selma restaurants without disorder while scores of others lined up to register as voters.

Dr. King was attacked in the lobby of the century-old Hotel Albert on Selma's main thoroughfare, Broad st.

The hotel is next to one of the restaurants which has integrated, and across the street from another.

The hotel manager, Robert Gay, apologized to the 1964 Nobel Peace Prize winner and said he would sign a warrant.

Mr. Baker replied, "I'll sign one myself."

Outside the hotel, the man tried to lie down on the sidewalk and drag another officer with him. Mr. Baker picked the man up and gave him to other policemen.

Mr. Baker, a former catcher for the Cincinnati Reds, is 6 feet plus and weighs 250.

He had promised before the test came today that he would tolerate no disorder.

Robinson, of Birmingham, was charged with assault and disturbing the peace.

NAZI ARRESTED

Earlier a white youth who claimed to be a member of the American Nazi party was arrested by police while waiting to taunt the Negroes at one of the restaurants.

A group of Negroes, a white minister and his wife from Maryland ate lunch at Selma Del, one of the city's most popular cafes previously charged by the Justice Department with racial discrimination.

Dr. King was accosted at the courthouse by George Lincoln Rockwell, head of the American Nazi Party and Robinson.

The white segregationists asked Dr. King if he would permit them to speak at his church rally tonight. Dr. King said each would be given 15 minutes.

heart burn?

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King's Vote Drive: Jail 67 Negroes

SELMA, Ala., Jan. 19 (UPI).—Sheriff James Clark arrested at least 67 Negroes today when they attempted to enter the courthouse in a voter registration drive launched by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

Dr. King immediately filed a petition with the U. S. Justice Department seeking to restrain Sheriff Clark from interfering with Negro voter registration under the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

Dr. King said there would be no further test today.

Sheriff Clark and his helmeted deputies began the wholesale arrests as a second group of Negroes converged on the courthouse while Dr. King sat in a car across the street.

Dr. King led one group on the courthouse earlier and then left when he was confronted by officers. The arrests were in sharp contrast to yesterday, when the Negroes were allowed to walk to the courthouse in groups.

More than 100 white spectators stood near the courthouse.

Turn to Page 9, KING

Vote Drive: Jail Negroes

KING from First Page

At one point the sheriff grabbed several Negro men and women and hustled them into waiting patrol cars, tugging at their coats.

Dr. King, who won the Nobel Peace Prize in November, said he did not plan to be arrested today.

SING 'ANTHEM'

During a lull in the courthouse activity a group of about 40 Negroes moved to the steps of the Federal Building across the street and began singing "We Shall Overcome."

City Public Safety Commissioner Wilson Baker said this amounted to unlawful assembly and threatened to arrest them. The crowd broke up.

Three integrationists were arrested and identified as members of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. They were Frank Soracco, white, of San Francisco; Lafayette Surney, Negro, of Ruleville, Miss., and John Love, Negro, of New York City. Mr. Love wore a gold ring in his ear.

Shortly before the Negroes began moving on the courthouse, a Municipal Court judge dismissed charges lodged against a member of the American Nazi Party who appeared in

blackface at a restaurant to harass Negroes during the integration drive yesterday.

HE GETS LECTURE

Judge Edgar Russell dismissed the charges of disturbing the peace but strongly lectured Robert A. Lloyd and said the self-styled Nazi was "actually a lit fuse ready to go off" when he appeared at the restaurant yesterday.

Lloyd, 20, of Richmond, Va., invaded the House chamber in Washington on opening day Jan. 4, his face blackened and dressed in stove-pipe hat and minstrel outfit, shouting, "I'ze the Mississippi Delegation."

His act was aimed at harassing the predominantly Negro delegation of the Mississippi Freedom Party, which was trying to unseat the official state delegation.

Judge Russell postponed until later today cases pending against George Lincoln Rockwell, leader of the American Nazi Party; Jerry Dutton, a Nazi Party member; and Jimmy George Robinson, a member of the National States Rights Party and the man who punched Dr. King yesterday.

Rockwell was arrested last night when he sought to speak at a Negro church rally.

Dr. King Attacked in Hotel



ASSAILANT of Dr. Martin Luther King struggles in grip of police at Selma, Ala. He was identified as Jimmy George Robinson, a member of the State's Rights Party. Dr. King was punched and kicked.

UPI Telephoto

Ala. Assailant Then Jailed

SELMA, Ala., Jan 18 (AP)—A man wearing a National States Right Party uniform attacked Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. today when the Negro leader registered at a previously white Selma hotel.

The man who previously had asked and obtained permission from Dr. King to attend a Negro rally tonight, waited at the edge of a small crowd while Dr. King and 11 other Negroes were registering, and then without warning hit Dr. King in the right temple and kicked him in the groin.

Dr. King said later he had a slight headache. Otherwise he did not appear to be injured.

The assailant was arrested immediately by Selma's public

Turn to Page 6, KING

THE INDEX APPEARS ON PAGE 2 TODAY

Swingtime in the Capital Tuning Up for Inauguration

The Big Week

By MILTON L. KAPLAN
Hearst Headline Service
Special to The Journal-American
WASHINGTON, Jan. 18.

The stars, supporting players and audience for America's greatest extravaganza gathered today in Washington, with warmup festivities under way in a city chilled and fearful of a crippling snow.

The President and Mrs. Johnson returned to Washington last night from a weekend at the LBJ Ranch in Texas over to relaxation before a round of celebrations to be climaxed by the inauguration and inaugural ball today.

The uncertain

Turn to Page 4

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Selma Vote: Jail Rather Than Alley

"We intend to enter by the front door. We have gone in the back doors from the alleys for too many years."

—Rev. Ralph Abernathy

Special to the Herald Tribune
SELMA, Ala.

Within hours of Rev. Abernathy's statement, 66 Negroes backed his vow, marching off to jail rather than be directed into the alley of the County Courthouse when they tried to register to vote.

Dr. Martin Luther King witnessed the arrests from a car parked across the street from the courthouse and quickly petitioned the Justice Department under the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to restrain Dallas County Sheriff Jim Clark from interfering with the registration effort. Dr. King is the chief strategist and tactician in the vote

More on SELMA—P 5

Arrest 71 Negroes in Vote Drive

United Press International

SELMA, Ala., Jan. 19—Dallas County Sheriff James Clark arrested at least 71 Negroes today when they attempted to enter the Dallas County courthouse in a voter registration drive launched by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

Dr. King immediately filed a petition with the United States Justice Department seeking to restrain Clark from

interfering with Negro voter registration under the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

He said the arrests were "unjust and unlawful." He filed the petition in the federal building across the street from the courthouse.

The integration leader, who won the Nobel Peace Prize in November, called the arrest of

Continued on Page 2

COMPLETE • Sports
• Markets
• News

Children's short Barbados vacation.

71 Negroes Seized In Dr. King's Drive

Continued from Page One

one Negro woman by Clark "one of the most inhumane things I have ever seen."

Woman Shoved

At one point, Clark arrested 30 Negroes who wanted to enter the courthouse by saying "you're all under arrest."

The arrest Dr. King referred to was that of Mrs. Amelia Boynton, a real estate operator and leading figure in the county voter registration drive.

Clark grabbed the woman by her coat as she stood in line outside the courthouse and shoved her toward members of his "citizens' posse."

Tensions rose, sharp contrast to yesterday when city police gave Negroes comparatively free rein so long as they cooperated by marching in small groups.

Dr. King witnessed the 71 arrests.

In filing his petition, he apparently set the stage for a major test of the civil rights law. Dr. King said there would be no further test of the voting office today.

Going to U.S. Court

Instead, he said, Negroes will answer questions on the voter registration form and take them to a federal court, asking that they be registered there because they could not get into the courthouse.

The arrested Negroes were taken to an upstairs room of the court house to await disposition of their cases.

Authorities said they could be charged with refusal to obey a lawful command of an officer. They had been ordered to stand in an alley, but they refused to leave the front of the building where they had lined up.

The mass arrests came when the second group of Negroes converged on the courthouse. Dr. King had led the first group but later withdrew to

watch the second group from a car across the street.

'Unlawful Assembly'

During a lull in the courthouse activity, a group of about 40 Negroes moved to the steps of the federal building and began singing "We Shall Overcome."

Public Safety Commissioner Wilson Baker said this amounted to unlawful assembly and threatened to arrest them if they did not disperse.

The crowd broke up as Clark and a group of his deputies marched across the street, leaving the courthouse grounds for the first time.

The first arrests of the day came when the sheriff and his men rounded up three members of a militant integration group and hustled them into patrol cars.

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Mrs. Amelia Boynton of Selma, Ala., is pushed along to jail by Sheriff Jim Clark during argument that broke out as Negroes refused to use alley entrance in order to register for voting. Associated Press Wirephoto

Negroes Won't Use Alley, Ala. Sheriff Arrests 62

Selma, Ala., Jan. 19 (AP)—A club-carrying Sheriff arrested 62 Negroes today when they sought to enter the County Courthouse through the front door to seek registration as voters.

Four others, including a Negro businesswoman and one-time candidate for Congress—Mrs. Amelia Boynton—were arrested earlier in the day as Negroes led by Dr. Martin Luther King continued their new civil rights campaign.

Dr. King went immediately to Justice Dept. officials here with a request for intervention in hope of getting some Negroes registered and a court order to prevent sheriff Jim Clark from interfering further.

The mass arrests came when Negroes in two groups refused to line up in the courthouse alley as the Sheriff had ordered. They remained on the sidewalk instead, and Clark took them into custody on charges of unlawful assembly.

Insisted on Alley

Clark told the Negroes that other applicants, both white and Negro, had arrived at the courthouse before the group led by Rev. King and already had formed a line inside the building. He said the Negroes who arrived later would have to go to the end of the line and enter from the alley. Sheriff's deputies guarded the front door and a side door of the courthouse.

Mrs. Boynton, who made an unsuccessful race for Congress in the Democratic primary last May, was arrested when she appeared at the courthouse to vote for Negroes seeking to register.

When Mrs. Boynton refused to go into the alley to join those in line, Clark seized her by the collar and shoved her along the sidewalk. Two deputies put her in a car and took her to jail.

Several other integration leaders, including a Negro College Professor, were among those arrested.

Prof. James Gildersleeve, a faculty member at the Lutheran

Academy in Selma, exchanged words with the Sheriff and walked around the corner, apparently leaving the courthouse. When he stopped by a side entrance, Clark first walked and then ran toward him. He grabbed Gildersleeve and put him under arrest.

Also among those taken to jail were Hosea Williams of Atlanta, director of voter registration for the Rev. King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference; and John Lewis, chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

While the Negroes were being arrested, the segregationist who attacked the group with his club in a

distributing handbills near the courthouse urging all eligible white residents of the county to register.

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67 NEGROES JAILED IN ALABAMA DRIVE

Dr. King Seeks Injunction
Against Selma Sheriff

By JOHN HERBERS
Special to The New York Times

SELMA, Ala., Jan. 19 — A group of Negroes who have been trying to register to vote refused today to return to a courthouse alley assigned to them and wound up in jail.

Sheriff James G. Clark arrested 62 on a charge of unlawful assembly and five others for "criminal provocation."

One of those arrested on the latter charge, a misdemeanor, was Mrs. Amelia Boynton, an insurance agent and local civil rights leader. When she refused to leave the sidewalk in front of the courthouse, Sheriff Clark grabbed her by the back of her collar and pushed her roughly and swiftly for half a block into a patrol car.

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was watching from a car parked across the street. He stepped out of the car, walked into the Federal building, which faces the courthouse, and asked the Justice Department to file for a court injunction against the sheriff.

Dr. King, who is leading a voter registration drive throughout Alabama, charged that the arrests were unlawful.

Continued on Page 18, Column 3

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Wednesday, January 20, 1965

New York Herald Tribune

Selma Vote: Jail Rather Than Alleys

(Continued from page one)

drive in this capital of the Black Belt.

When Negroes arrived at the courthouse Monday, they had been escorted by Sheriff Clark—in charge of registration lines—through the court building and out into the alley. They were told to take their place behind 40 white people who formed a line that extended from the registration office toward a door that opened on the alley.

If he had chosen to, the Sheriff could have permitted the registration line to wind around inside the courthouse, thus accommodating the Negroes. Instead, he ruled that they had to stand in the alley, and in the 45 degree cold.

The Negroes were then assigned numbers and told to wait until their turn came. None succeeded in registering.

Dr. King, in turning to the Justice Dept., also demanded the release of the 66 Negroes who were booked on charges of unlawful assembly and criminal provocation. Later in the day, charges against three of the prisoners were dropped. The other 63 all were released by evening in \$300 bail each.

Meanwhile, Jimmy George Robinson, the white segregationist who punched and kicked Dr. King when the Nobel Peace prize winner signed in at the Hotel Albert Monday, was sentenced to 60 days in jail and fined \$100.

Magistrate Edgar Russell, in imposing the maximum penalty on two counts of assault and disturbing the peace, said that Robinson would have to spend 167 days at hard labor if he failed to pay his fine. He then released him on a \$500 appeal bond.

Dr. King, who also said he plans to consult with President Johnson after the Inauguration, denounced the arrests as "unjust and unlawful" and announced a new tactic for bypassing local authorities. He said that in the future Negroes



COLLARED—Mrs. Amelia Boynton, a businesswoman and civil rights leader in Selma, Ala., is shoved along by her collar yesterday by Dallas County Sheriff Jim Clark. Mrs. Boynton was arrested during the Negro voter registration campaign.

would take their voter application forms direct to a Federal judge.

Yesterday, the first people to show up to register were whites, and as usual they entered the courthouse by the front door. When the

first Negroes arrived, after an 11 a.m. church rally, they were informed they would have to wait in the alley.

When they refused, deputies started to make arrests. Some of the deputies treated the demonstrators

roughly, grabbing them by their collars or their belts and "dancing" them to police cars.

Among those arrested were Mrs. Amelia Boynton, a former Congressional candidate; John Lewis, director of

the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee; John Love, project director for SNCC, and Hosea Williams, leader of Dr. King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference in Savannah, Ga.

Mrs. Boynton was grabbed by Sheriff Clark himself as she stood outside the courthouse. He rushed her toward an aid who took her by the collar of her coat and led her away.

Dr. King said the historic challenge of segregation practices in Selma Monday was a major breakthrough in the public accommodations fight in Dixie. In an interview yesterday, he called the integration of restaurants and hotels there "a glowing tribute to our nation."

Asked if he had slept well in his room in the 100-year-old Hotel Albert—for generations the social center of the Black Belt cotton empire—he said, "It was the most restful, deep and sweet sleep, with the most pleasant dreams, of my entire life."

"The fact that we slept here last night is a tribute to our present generation. It will have meaning and significance to future generations."

In contrast to the turmoil in Selma, Tuscaloosa, 60 miles away, remained calm as Negro rights workers led by comedian Dick Gregory desegregated six restaurants and lunch counters. There were no incidents, but two drug store counters and a drive-in restaurant posted signs saying they were closed yesterday in honor of the birthday of Gen. Robert E. Lee, the Confederate military leader.

All of the eating places visited were among the 15 accused last July in a Justice Department suit of refusing to serve Negroes. The case was the first filed by former Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy under the 1964 Rights Act.

Mr. Gregory was so elated he left a \$1 tip on a \$3.63 bill in one diner. "I couldn't think of a better way to celebrate Lee's birthday," he said.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 20, 1965.

67 NEGROES JAILED IN ALABAMA DRIVE

Continued From Page 1, Col. 8

and that the sheriff had been brutal.

"I met with two officers of the Justice Department and filed a complaint that is to be immediately sent to Washington," he told reporters later. "It was one of the most brutal and unlawful acts I have seen an officer commit."

Dr. King left Selma tonight after telling a rally of 800 Negroes that he would return at the end of the week to continue "plaguing Dallas County—creatively and nonviolently."

Project Announced

He announced plans to set up a "freedom registration" project whereby a team of college professors would be brought in to draw up registration requirements they consider necessary to meet constitutional requirements.

"Negroes will go in and sign up by the thousands," he said, "and these will be presented to the Federal courts to show that discrimination exists."

Those arrested were released tonight pending arraignment without having to post bond.

Sheriff Clark, who has become a symbol of aggression to Selma Negroes, has been named a defendant in previous Justice Department suits, now pending in the courts. One charges that he used his office to prevent compliance with the public accommodations section of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Yesterday, about 400 Negroes marched to the courthouse to register. Sheriff Clark directed them through the building and into an alley that had been cordoned off with ropes. The applicants stood there all day. The courthouse was closed to reporters. But it was learned



Associated Press Wirephoto

SHERIFF ARRESTS A RIGHTS LEADER: Sheriff James G. Clark, after grabbing Mrs. Amelia Boynton by her collar, pushes her hastily from the sidewalk outside courthouse at Selma, Ala., where Negroes sought to register.

that none of the Negroes took the written test prescribed by state law for registration. The registration board apparently used the day to test applicants

Normally, applicants wait in line in corridors and along the sidewalk. The lines form because only a few days in each month are set aside for registration.

When the Negroes refused to go into the alley today, Sheriff Clark arrested them for unlawful assembly. Those charged with criminal provocation were not trying to register, but they were leading the group.

In City Court, Jimmy George Robinson was fined \$100 and sentenced to 60 days of hard labor for striking Dr. King in the lobby of the Hotel Albert yesterday. Robinson, 26 years old, of Birmingham, is a member of the National States Rights party, a small segregationist organization.

Judge Edgar P. Russell dismissed a charge of disorderly conduct against Robert A. Lloyd, 20, of Richmond, who was found in black face and costume in a restaurant about to be integrated. Lloyd, a member of the American Nazi party, said he had intended to mimic Negroes when they arrived to eat.

Tuscaloosa Cafes Integrate

TUSCALOOSA, Ala., Jan. 19 (AP)—Six Tuscaloosa restaurants and lunch counters were quietly desegregated today by Negro civil rights workers led by Dick Gregory, the comedian.

There were no incidents as organized groups of Negroes fanned out through this university city of about 65,000. However, at one place, Johnny's Restaurant, the Negro group found that air had been let out of a tire on their car.

All of the places visited were among the 15 charged in a Justice Department suit last July with refusing to serve Negroes.

One restaurant owner today said the businessmen had decided at an earlier meeting to desegregate their places. "It's the only thing we can do," he said.

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Inside Report . . . By Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

The Extremists

THE NEW extremists in the cause of Negro equality are making moderates out of old-line integrationists and undercutting the Administration's civil rights bill.

They are demanding impossible gains from the civil rights battle about to begin in Congress. By interfering with the delicate strategy of President Kennedy's legislative lieutenants, they imperil the whole civil rights program.

More than that, at least one extremist in the inner councils of the civil rights organizations has accused the Justice Department of "sabotaging" and "selling out" the Negro. Not satisfied with the most far-reaching civil rights bill since Reconstruction, the extremists are intent on loading it down with unacceptable provisions.

Fortunately, the extremists seem to be only a fractional minority and the expectation is that the massive demonstration of Negro marchers here today will make that clear. Fortunately, too, the excessive and emotional demands of the extremists have put the moderates on guard, as the following story shows.

William Higgs, an extreme integrationist (though a white Southerner), recently asked the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, composed of 65 civil rights organizations, to take him in as a full-time member. He was refused, for the sound reason that he represented no civil rights organization.

Whereupon Higgs went to the leaders of the militant

Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, known as SNCC, and asked them to certify him as their agent. With his new credentials, Higgs became a regular participant in the closed-door sessions of the Leadership Conference, whose chairman is Roy Wilkins of the NAACP.

THE EXPLOSION came last Wednesday afternoon. Higgs got the floor and amazed the rights leaders with a brutal attack on Burke Marshall, Assistant Attorney General for civil rights. He charged that Marshall had "stabbed the civil rights bill in the back" by refusing to accept an amendment to the President's bill that would accelerate Negro voting registration.

This amendment would give the presiding judge of any U. S. circuit court of appeals the power to assign "friendly" U. S. district judges to voting-rights cases, and shift these "friendly" judges from one state to another. Higgs demanded that Wilkins and the leadership conference fight Marshall and the Justice Department, forcing them to underwrite the amendment.

Washington lawyer Joseph L. Rauh Jr., whose crusade for Negro rights once seemed extreme but now is moderate in comparison with the Higgses, arose in the hushed assembly of civil rights leaders to reply to Higgs.

"I would give you the same answer that Mr. Marshall gave," he told Higgs. "Judge-shopping" was a direct viola-

tion of the spirit if not the letter of the Constitution, he said.

Next to rebut Higgs was William Geohagen, Justice Department observer at the Leadership Conference, who suggested that charging Marshall with "sabotage" was a poor choice of words. Then Clarence Mitchell, long-time Washington agent for the NAACP, rebuked Higgs.

In the room not a word was uttered in defense of Higgs.

AT ANOTHER meeting several weeks ago, the leadership group was flatly informed that Rep. James Roosevelt (D-Calif.) would try a controversial parliamentary maneuver to get the Fair Employment Practices Bill to the floor of the House before the main civil rights bill. Word went back to Roosevelt that the maneuver would gravely endanger the main civil rights bill (which doesn't include FEPC).

Roosevelt instructed his agent at the meeting (Jay Forman of the House Labor Subcommittee staff) to inform the Leadership Conference that he intended to go ahead with FEPC anyway. Whereupon AFL-CIO lobbyist Andrew Biemiller, Rauh, and others directed him to tell Roosevelt that he was acting "outrageously," and that the Conference "resented" it.

Obviously, this kind of extremism hurts the civil rights bill. Extremism could undercut the battle for Negro equality.

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2 ALABAMA AIDES SPLIT ON ARRESTS

Continued From Page 1, Col. 4

force of men armed with nightsticks and cattle prods, was waiting at the corner of Alabama and Lauderdale Streets when the Negroes arrived at the courthouse under police escort.

For three days, they had been trying to get into the voter registration line without having to wait in an enclosure in the alley or go through the back door.

Sheriff Clark directed them today to the Lauderdale Street entrance. Leaders of the first wave of Negroes told him they wanted to go in the Alabama Street door, as had been customary for those seeking to register.

In a five-minute discussion that followed, Sheriff Clark told John Lewis, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, "You are here to cause trouble; that's what you are doing. You are an agitator and that is the lowest form of humanity."

"If you do not disperse in one minute or go in as I have directed you, you will be under arrest for unlawful assembly," the Sheriff said. He then counted off the seconds and led the Negroes off to jail as the crowd watched.

2 Men Carry Messages

A second wave arrived and went to jail. When the third surged across the street and stood on the corner, Sheriff Clark barked, "Captain Baker, they are blocking the sidewalk. Will you clear it?"

Mr. Baker, a native of North Carolina who was recently appointed by a new city administration, told the Negroes they could line up at the Alabama Street entrance if they did not block the sidewalk.

Sheriff Clark stopped them at the door as the line stretched for one and a half blocks around the courthouse.

For the next few minutes two unidentified men went back and forth between Mr. Baker and Sheriff Clark carrying whispered messages. Finally, the sheriff shouted, "You have one

minute to disperse or get in the voter registration line."

The Negroes did not move. "You are under arrest," the sheriff said. "Stay where you are."

Then they were taken to the county penal farm in yellow school buses, singing "We Shall Overcome."

Yesterday, the sheriff arrested 62 persons when they refused to wait in the alley. None of those participating in the demonstrations has reached the registration desk.

Although Dallas County is predominantly Negro, registration of Negroes is only about 300.

Except for activities at the courthouse, the city has taken over most phases of law enforcement involving racial questions, a task formerly performed by the sheriff and his posse of volunteer white men. Under Alabama law a sheriff has jurisdiction anywhere in the county in which he is elected.

Supported by Militants

Sheriff Clark is reported to be chafing over the way the city has handled racial demonstrations. Those arrested by the city have been whites accused of stirring up violence.

Sheriff Clark has the support of the more militant whites who have favored his policy of putting down Negro demonstrations through mass arrests. The Justice Department has accused him in a lawsuit of using his office to thwart compliance with the public accommodations section of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Some business leaders are worried about Selma's reputation and are seeking a change in the rigid white supremacy policy that has existed here since the Reconstruction.

The division, which showed no signs of being healed, has caused deep concern in the white community in this city of 28,000 population.

Dr. King left Selma last night for speaking engagements in the North. He told 800 cheering Negroes he would return here Friday.

He said that the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund was preparing a legal attack on Sheriff Clark and Dallas County and that the Justice Department was appraising the situation.

'Kiss Mama' to Close Sunday

"Kiss Mama" will give its 142d and final performance on Sunday night at the Actors Playhouse. Tom Pedi is starred in George Panetta's comedy.

2 Alabama Officials Clash Over Arrests In Negro Vote Drive

By JOHN HERBERS

Special to The New York Times

SELMA, Ala., Jan. 20—A rift in the white community over Sheriff James G. Clark's militant actions in dealing with Negroes attempting to register as voters broke into the open today while the sheriff was arresting 150 applicants on a charge of unlawful assembly.

Sheriff Clark and Selma's Director of Public Safety, Wilson Baker, stood 10 feet apart in front of the Dallas County Courthouse and glared at each other. They communicated through representatives.

The city administration and a number of business leaders had been trying to adopt a more moderate course in dealing with the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s direct-action campaign against voter discrimination. Sheriff Clark has angrily turned down this suggestion.

The hefty sheriff, surrounded by deputies and a special

Continued on Page 22, Column 1

NG PUNCHED, KICKED

White Assailant Seized in Dixie

By JOHN LYNCH

United Press International

SELMA, Ala., Jan. 18—A member of a white extremist organization today struck Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. a solid blow with his fist shortly after the integration leader was registered in a plush downtown hotel.

Dr. King, the 1964 Nobel Peace Prize winner, said he was struck one solid blow on the cheek, then another glancing blow, and kicked twice.

Dr. King's attacker was identified as Jerry Robinson, a member of the National States Rights Party, who had been watching King closely all day.

Robinson struck Dr. King after the Negro leader had registered almost without fanfare in the century-old Hotel Albert. Previous to the attack King and some 300 Negroes had successfully broken down the traditional segregation barriers of this city. They met little opposition from officials, a marked contrast to previous demonstrations in the cotton-cattle city.

Asks to Speak

Robinson had worked his way through a small crowd in the hotel lobby and then asked to speak to King.

"What do you want?" King replied.

Without saying another word, Robinson attacked the integration leader.

Robinson was standing at Dr. King's right and slightly behind him when he threw his first punch, a right-hand blow that caught Dr. King solidly on the right temple.

Robinson swung his right again and this time landed a glancing blow on Dr. King's right cheek. As he was being restrained and his arms pinned, he kicked twice at Dr. King. The integration leader said the kicks were aimed at his groin,

but missed and struck him lightly on the left thigh.

Robinson, a gaunt-faced man with a short stubble of beard, had been in the crowd all morning.

He had spoken once earlier to King, at the courthouse steps, where he had asked the Negro leader for permission for his party to address a Negro rally tonight.

Dr. King's associates swarmed on the white man and pinned his arms to his sides.

Two police officers standing nearby rushed into the crowd, grabbed Robinson and told him, "you are under arrest."

Manager Apologizes.

Dr. King immediately went to his room, where he took a pill. He said he had a slight headache from the blow.

The integration leader said the hotel manager, Robert Gay, apologized and said he would sign a warrant for Robinson's arrest.



United Press International Telephoto

Jerry Robinson is dragged from hotel after attacking Dr. Martin Luther King.

Bluefield State College
Bluefield, W. Va.
February 13, 1965

NEWS RELEASE

From: John Nettles, President, State Youth NAACP
Pat Austin, Chairman, Civic Interest Progressives at
Marshall University

The Bluefield and Concord chapters of the NAACP have acted in good faith in postponing the march on Bluefield scheduled for Feb. 13. We sincerely hope the "Y" officials respond to this decision equally. However, in the event that these responsible persons refuse to live up to their commitment, it will be necessary that demonstrations be immediately resumed to dramatize the issue that can no longer be ignored.

In a meeting today, leaders of NAACP college chapters at Bluefield State and Concord colleges and leaders of the Civic Interest Progressives voted to form a Confederation of Civil Rights Organizations throughout the state. The purpose of the organization will be to coordinate the movement against segregation and discriminatory patterns and policies in regard to employment, education, housing, medical services and public accommodations throughout the state.

In working toward the ultimate termination of racism in West Virginia, the two organizations, in cooperation with other

A WTOP EDITORIAL

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(This Editorial was broadcast on February 22 and 23, 1965,
over WTOP Radio and Television.)

This is a WTOP Editorial.

Any man who adopts hate as an article of faith cannot expect to avoid the consequences. So Malcolm X has been shot to death at a New York meeting of his Black Nationalist group. An apostle of extremism, Malcolm X became a victim of extremism. His death is cited by Roy Wilkins, among others, as a demonstration of the "futility of violence" in the civil rights movement.

It may also be the start of the final downfall of those Negro groups, including the Black Muslims, whose philosophies, if ever put into actual practice, would wreck the progress of race relations. The Negro extremists, like Malcolm X, had some eloquent grievances against society. Yet their solutions to those grievances smack of fraud, deception and humbug.

Furthermore, the citizens of the United States, no matter what their color, are not going to exhibit patience for any organization which uses assassination as an instrument of policy. In this connection, Chicago police are now guarding the home of Elijah Muhammad, the leader of the Black Muslim sect, to prevent any attempt on his life. Muhammad himself denies any knowledge of Malcolm X's murder, although the two men had become bitter adversaries.

Amid all the excitement, however, it should be remembered that the Black Muslims, the Black Nationalists and all similar groups are not representative of the principal and increasingly successful drive by Negro Americans for equality and justice. The extremist groups are a radical departure from the moderate organizations which have achieved so much in the civil rights cause. Malcolm X and Elijah Muhammad have been on the fringes of the effort. The real burden is being carried by much less flamboyant but much more effective men and women.

This was a WTOP Editorial, Jack Jurey speaking for WTOP.

ERAP NEWSLETTER

February 25, 1965

Ann Arbor, Michigan

COMMUNITY PEOPLE'S CONFERENCE

On February 19 through 21, 1965, a Conference of Community People was held in Cleveland to try to find ways to solve the problems that confront the poor people of America. Poor people who are fighting for change came from Mass., New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Kentucky, Miss., Ohio, Illinois, Michigan and California. The Conference is over, but I am still overwhelmed by the atmosphere and real sense of concern and love one had for another. This conference was not a conference of Negroes and whites, but truly a conference of community people. True, all kinds of people, but most important these were just equal and concerned persons together. The concern I spoke about was very evident right down to helping clean the Church on Sat. night.

By accepting the participants of the Conference for themselves, we could then focus on the basic problems we all face, Poverty! The one really great aspect of the "meeting of the mind" was that no one bothered or noticed what color hand they were shaking or what color face they were kissing.

The discussions that were held were on topics that are problems to the poor-not just to the whites or just to the blacks-but to Americans! The togetherness was very evident. Don't get me wrong, this conference was not all brain-storming, but was a happy time also. We got together at my home for a social time. This was needed too, for as the old saying goes "all work and no play makes Jack a dull boy".

The conference started a little late, but still turned out wonderful. Alonzo Brown, from Chicago talked on the problems the poor face. He was followed by Jessie Allen, from Newark who spoke on the reason the poor should

organize. In the middle of his presentation he called upon Fannie-Lou Hamer to lead us in song, which broke a lot of us up. I, in turn talked about the need for all the poor, regardless of color or creed, to organize. By that time, it was time for lunch, but we wanted to talk, so talk we did for about 45 minutes in small groups. After lunch, we then gathered together to talk about whether we wanted to march on Downtown Cleveland. A few negative replies were made, as it was very cold and snowy. One man from Baltimore, David Smith, said that we would have to march eventually so way not now. An ovation was raised. So march we did. The March was to protest the inadequacies the poor has had to suffer across the nation. We marched across the Detroit-Superior bridge to a monument on Public Square in Downtown Cleveland. The length of the March was about a half mile. We rallied around the monument and Mrs. Hamer led the group in songs such as "Go Tell It On the Mountain". We had excellent T.V. coverage.

The afternoon of Saturday we had specific topics which were discussed-- The War on Poverty, Urban Renewal, Public Housing, Employment, Welfare, Organizational problems, education and others. Mrs. Hamer spoke at the dinner that night. Her talk was very touching, moving, and powerful. Some of the things she said was that all races and all poor have to organize together. The powers that be will always try to keep us fighting among ourselves, if they can so that is the reason we have to keep together. There was a tremendous amount of feeling all during her talk.

On Sunday there was Church Service at which Rev. Paul Younger, a Minister at large for the poor of the Inner-City Protestant Parish in Cleveland, preached a really terrific sermon on "God-given Power". The content of the sermon was that man should have dominion over the Earth, not just the few influential men that have power across our nation, but for all men to have power and dominion over their lives regardless of the amount of money they have in the bank. At dinner that afternoon, a person from each city at the Conference stood up and very spontaneously told their feelings about the previous day. The feeling was that each city had to go back to their homes and to continue to organize and they also told how impressed each of them were that all different people from various backgrounds could get together and really understand and love one another without thinking about the superficial differences. The emotion was very strong. Opinions had changed overnight for many of the people involved. Good-byes were made with tears flowing down many cheeks, hopes were expressed for another Conference soon! Addresses were copied down many times in order to keep up the friendships that were made during this wonderful week-end. Finally the bus carrying the Newark, Camden, Pa., New Brunswick, New York, Roxbury and Baltimore people left, and you felt like a real part of you had left. Dreams are forming in many people's minds about the next time all of us can get back together again.

Lillian Craig,
Cleveland Conference Committee

DUDLEY ST. REPORT

Dear Friends,

2-17-65

First, we want to tell you we're glad to be among you. The ever-present question in the neighborhood of "Who are you and what are you doing here?" can be dealt with now with less ambiguity and more honesty: "We are from SDS. We would like you to join with us in building a democratic, inter-racial movement of the poor for political and economic change..."

In an attempt to think through what we are doing in more depth than is possible in the confusion of office activity or in the time-limited staff and volunteers meetings, we held a workshop the weekend of February 6-7. Originally we were planning a retreat to New Hampshire with participation limited to staff and volunteers. But after a good bit of debate we decided to have it in Roxbury at a large home owned by the Episcopal Diocese, in order that particularly interested community people could join us. A few did. We did several observer-participants from other organizations, the director and a student volunteer from the Washington Street Action Center, and Vernon Giffard. Noel Day, the coordinator of the three action centers in the Boston Community Union, was out of town.

Even a general description of the discussion would be too lengthy for this report, but we can list some of the decisions made.

1. We want political power within the Boston and Massachusetts political systems, as against a utopian island around Dudley Street built through self-help. Therefore, no building our own day care center, playgrounds, neighborhood center, and no direct, personal services. No clearer idea of how to achieve political power was in evidence after the discussion than before it.

2. If we expect community people after an initial contact with an organizer to be moved to joint action with their neighbors, we must give them reason to respond to the organizer. It is not enough to say, "What are your problems? Mrs. Jones next door has the same problems. Wouldn't you like to come to a meeting with several of your neighbors to discuss what to do about these problems?" Our reluctance to introduce issues or suggest methods of action in the past -- even when we did have some ideas -- has not contributed to the development of a movement centered around the Dudley St. Action Center. It has gotten a few neighbors together at small meetings to gripe and to feel as powerless as before. We decided, therefore, that we should have a good idea of what we want to do before we knock on someone's door, especially a strange door, or before we call a meeting. We believe that our four months of listening has given us a pretty good idea of what issues are uppermost on people's minds, so we wouldn't be trying to organize around irrelevant issues. As for program we decided to do more systematic research on Boston schools, urban renewal, housing code enforcement, the welfare system, Action for Boston Community Development--our War on Poverty Agency -- employment, and city and state politics. Much of this research is being done by the volunteers, but as the organization grows and our involvement expands into a larger number of issues, it becomes more and more necessary for program development and strategy to come from the staff and a few community people, that is, people who are in constant touch with the situation.

3. Organizing block groups went to the bottom of the priority list in organizing objectives. The blocks in the neighborhood have only between 10 and 20 families living on them, so that even a high percentage participation produces groups too small to be effective in doing most things they have been trying to do. But when block or other small groups appear meaningful, they will be encouraged. And organizers will continue to be responsible for certain blocks.

4. Regular block meetings on most blocks, and the volunteers' meetings we

had been having in Cambridge will both be discontinued in favor of a periodic neighborhood meeting -- probably every two weeks. The first of these will be held tonight. In addition, we will continue the welfare mothers' club, and encourage the formation of other special interest groups.

5. Organizing will expand out of the twelve block area to which we have been limiting ourselves, with special emphasis being given to white and mixed blocks.

6. Local fundraising should be for both Dudley Street and Washington St. Action Centers. Additional volunteers recruited by SDS should also be shared.

7. More attempt should be made to keep channels of communication open with civil rights and social service organizations.

It is our expectation that our impact on the neighborhood and the entire city will now begin to increase considerably. In addition to our coordinators working about 40 hours a week each and a group of student volunteers putting in anywhere between 0 and 12 hours a week -- all living in Cambridge -- we now have three full time staff organizers who will be living at our new headquarters. We have rented a first floor apartment which will double as office and living quarters for John Mendeloff and Mike McClatchey, and will probably take the vacant apartment on the second floor of the same building for Elaine Plaisance. Barbara and Dick Skillin, who were there before us, are also working full-time, now without pay.

Pat Hammond
Dudley St. Action Center

APPALACHIA

Reprinted from "Voice for Jobs and Justice" , February 12, 1965

200 PICKETS CLOSE DOWN LETCHER COUNTY MINE

Hazard, Ky. February 16.

Yesterday 200 pickets mostly from Perry County closed down the Elkhorn - Jellico Coal Company's mine at Camp Branch in Letcher County. Fifty-two of the mine's workers signed UMW membership cards, and no one crossed the picket line. After all the cards had been signed and the mine closed down, four carloads of State Police arrived and took down the license numbers of all the cars belonging to the pickets.

Today the picket line went to another large mine on Camp Branch owned by the Southeast Coal Co. Eleven carloads of State Police followed the picket line. According to one of the pickets, "The State Police took orders from the mine superintendent and forced all the miners to cross the line and go to work".

The State Police kept tear gas guns, automatic rifles, carbine rifles, submachine guns, and sawed off shotguns pointed on the pickets. None of the pickets showed guns. There were no shots fired.

Ashford Thomas, one of the picketers was taken into custody by the police for two hours but no charges were brought against him and he was released.

A REPORT ON THE PICKET LINE by Walter Gamble, R.R. 1, Box 456, Hazard, Ky.

The State Police checked each car before we started the line and also after the line was started. No charges could be made, so they followed us all the way to the picket line. The police signaled us off the road and were giving order how for us to park and in the process of this lecture the other members of the police force had come to the scene with every make of gun from a pistol to a tommy gun and had us surrounded.

The superintendent of the mine was giving the State Police orders which was carried out to the fullest extent.

The Police would not let us talk to the miners. They were assembled in line between the mines and our picket line.

We even agreed to form a committee composed of three to enter and talk to the men. The police would not agree to this.

AN INVERSION OF DEVELOPMENT reprinted from the Whitesburg "Mountain Eagle"

It is one of the great ironies of the century that President Johnson's Appalachian development program is to be the vehicle by which Frankfort and Washington bureaucrats will consign tens of thousands of mountain families to perpetual poverty, with no hope for themselves or for the areas in which they live.

We don't believe for a moment that President Johnson ever intended it this way. But this does not change the situation. Acting upon advice of a group of state and federal bureaucrats who knew little and cared less about the area, the President has asked Congress to approve a bill that simply substitutes the image of a program for development itself. Worse yet, the program as drafted

and as it will become law simply will accelerate the rape of mountain resources for the benefit of the wealthy few and to the neglect of the area's poverty-ridden population.

Our disgust with Congressman Carl D. Perkins and with Senators John Sherman Cooper and Thruston B. Morton for allowing such a thing to happen is total. They have done Kentucky a disservice that is virtually unequalled in the state's history.

For as the development program currently is being shaped up, every single county in Eastern Kentucky will have to compete for dollars with Pittsburgh, Pa., Charleston and Huntington, W. Va. and dozens of other large, wealthy and politically powerful centers of wealth. It is an unequal competition, one Eastern Kentucky cannot win.

Worse even than that, the law itself requires that federal funds be spent on those areas where the return per dollar invested will be the highest. This means simply that as a matter of law the funds will be directed to the metropolitan centers of Appalachia, to the apparent total exclusion of almost all of Eastern Kentucky. (It is similar rules on other federal programs which have helped put Eastern Kentucky in its present-day misery. We don't have flood control because economically we are not worth saving, etc.).

And there are alarming reports that the Appalachian Development Commission plans a deliberate course of investing its funds in what it calls "growth centers". We have heard it said that a "growth center" will be a mountain town with one of the former UMW hospitals. Another report is that a growth center will be defined as any Appalachian city with 10,000 population or more.

Either definition would be grossly unfair to 90% of the problem counties in Eastern Kentucky. The 10,000 population test automatically would exclude everything in the mountains of Eastern Kentucky except Ashland (located in a county with one of the highest per capita incomes in the state) and possibly Middlesboro. The hospital criterion also would exclude all but six Kentucky counties. And either definition would exclude from development funds the problem counties of most Appalachian states.

As a matter of fact, if a "growth center" is the best place to spend Appalachian development funds, it would make sense to spend the entire one-billion dollar appropriation in California since California is the growth center of the nation. And to do so would make just as much sense as to concentrate the funds in a select handful of mountain counties. California is no farther away from Lee and Letcher and Owsley and Martin and Wolfe counties in Kentucky than are Ashland, Ky. and Pittsburgh, Pa.

The whole idea, in fact, is an inversion of development -- a system under which funds will be denied counties needing them most and poured into places needing help the least.

As if the situation were not bad enough, along has come word that Kentucky is about to be "left at the post", in the words of the Louisville Courier-Journal, in the matter of getting first crack at the money.

Courier-Journal Washington correspondent Richard Harwood reports that while several other states have plans ready for spending the money to be made available by the Appalachian bill, Kentucky has no plans, except for highways. Harwood quotes John Whisman, Governor Edward Breathitt's man in charge of Eastern Kentucky, as saying Kentucky has no detailed plans as yet for taking advantage of the Appalachian subsidies and that it would "be a mistake" for

Kentucky to develop plans of that sort until an "overall regional plan" is produced by the 11 states included in the Appalachian area.

Whisman has been in charge of planning for Eastern Kentucky's development for almost 10 years. He has not stated how many more decades will pass before he completes a plan.

Meanwhile, Pennsylvania Governor William Scranton says his state is ready right now to start spending money...that detailed plans have been drawn up to take advantage of the Appalachian bill. Harwood also quotes a federal official as saying about a half dozen states "will be lined up at our door when the bill is passed. Pennsylvania is one, Tennessee is another. They'll be ready to spend the money and they'll get it".

But not Kentucky.

MINE WORKERS WANT UNION CONTRACT

United Mine Workers of America
Local Union 8280 District No. 30
Leatherwood, Kentucky
February 11, 1965

Dear Sir:
Mr. Delegate:

I'm writing you this letter concerning the membership here at Leatherwood, Ky. The members of local union 8280 have been out of work ever since Blue Diamond Coal Company canceled their contract and closed down their Number 1 mine on April 27, 1964 at Leatherwood, Kentucky.

We have not worked any since that time. The members have drawn out all their unemployment compensation, and they do not have any way of supporting their families. The company will not sign a contract so we can go back to work, so for the past four weeks we have had a picket line around Blue Diamond Number 1 Mine trying to get a contract, and we are intending to hold that picket line there as long as we can hold out.

We, the members of local 8280, are asking for your support from the members to help us while we are trying to get a contract back at our mine where we worked so long. If this mine goes down Perry County is gone.....

Yours truly,
BOYD COUCH
Recording Secretary
Local Union 8280
Box 14
Delphia, Kentucky

BALTIMORE REPORT

In spite of U-JOIN's criticisms of the Baltimore anti-poverty plan the Baltimore city council passed Baltimore's proposed program without one dissenting vote. On the final day people hardly knew that the poverty program had been raised as a question before it was passed. U-JOIN has been waging a constant battle to improve the Baltimore program by (1) testifying at public hearings on the local war on poverty (2) involving the poor in criticizing the program (3) drawing up an alternate plan that was presented to the city council (4) circulating a petition in the proposed action area which was presented to the city council with between 800 and 900 signatures (with the petitions still being circulated) (5) and by becoming involved in a local group called the Anti-Poverty Action Committee.

Our fight with the war on poverty has brought us a fair amount of publicity, a lot of criticism, and a fair amount of respect in the liberal community. While gaining a great deal of respect in the liberal community (for what that's worth), the same liberals have criticized us for openly attacking the program before it was passed by the city council and have accused us of being rather reckless. The liberals of course have been telling us that we would be more effective if we were working inside the program rather than pressuring from the outside because we possessed skills that were badly needed by the anti-poverty program. What we have gotten out of our attack is that we will be asked by the people who run the program to refer community people to them since they are having a hard time finding poor people who are capable of filling some of the lower positions in the Baltimore war on poverty.

Our involvement in the Anti-Poverty Action Committee has brought about what could develop into a large split in the Negro community over the local war on poverty program. The group is composed of Baltimore Urban League, N.A.A.C.P., Interdenominational Ministers Alliance, C.O.R.E., several political clubs, several Negro sororities, U-JOIN, and several block councils from around the city with pretty much the split occurring between U-JOIN, political and neighborhood clubs on one side and the established Negro leadership minus C.O.R.E. on the other. The left wing faction has control of the group at this time with the ministers threatening to leave the group because of a motion passed by the committee to send a telegram to Senator Shriver requesting the holding up of all federal funds until the mayor reconsiders the eleven man board he has just appointed to run the anti-poverty program. The position on the board rests on the fact that the board is not representative of the poor community. That is that there are no people on the board who are poor or with whom the poor can identify. However, stopping the funds looks very doubtful at this point.

We have been working and organizing around slum housing, and we have been working with a man named Ashby who is being evicted from his house because he has too many people living in the house. Mr. Ashby's problems didn't begin until he complained about the holes in the floor that his kids were falling through and the case worker almost fell through one of the holes. We have been trying to rally people around Mr. Ashby. Our organizing has been expanded to now include a nearby public housing project with Goucher college girls having begun the organizing in the projects around our petition on the war on poverty. There has already been one meeting in the projects and at present Joan Berezin and Shoshana Arai are along with a Mr. Brahm who lives in the projects, drawing up a prospectus for the housing projects. Charlie is back and Shoshana Arai has joined the staff so that brings the full time staff to seven having lost one of our community staff people at least temporarily.

LIFE WITH LYNDON IN THE GREAT SOCIETY

A couple of weeks ago we commented on the financial dealings between Capt. Dillon's banking firm, Dillon, Read & Co., and the government of the Republic of South Africa. Intrigued by that connection, we looked further into the business affairs of Douglas Dillon and his family. We found that Mr. Dillon has not only aided the government of South Africa by floating their bond issues in this country through the family investment banking firm but that the Dillon family is heavily involved in the economy of South Africa.

The vast fortune of the Dillon family appears to be centered in the investment bank, Dillon, Read & Co., an investment fund (in effect, a holding company), United States and Foreign Securities, Inc., and in various foundations -- including the Bertha Dillon-Susan Douglass Foundation, and the Dillon Fund.

One of the larger American operators in South Africa is Charles Engelhard of New Jersey. Engelhard Industries, Inc., controls vast gold and diamond and other metals deposits in South Africa, and a number of metal processing plants in N.J.. Engelhard Industries, Inc. is owned (80.05%) by Engelhard Hanovia, Inc. We have no information on the ownership of the latter. Charles Engelhard is chairman and president of Engelhard Industries.

One of the ways Engelhard raises capital funds for his operations in South Africa is through an investment firm called American-South African Investment Co. Ltd. In 1958 Dillon, Read & Co. sold \$33 million in the shares of American-South African, the money being used to invest in the properties of Engelhard Industries, Inc., in South Africa.

American-South African is operated by what is called an investment advisory firm, South African Investment Adviser (proprietary) Ltd.. The advisory firm "will investigate opportunities for investment and make recommendations as to acquisition and disposition of portfolio assets; furnish office space; provide accounting, statistical and clerical services and pay salaries of officers, etc." for American-South African (Moody's, 1962).

South African Investment Adviser, Ltd. is owned 50% by Engelhard Development Co. (subsidiary of Engelhard Industries, Inc.) and 50% by Dillon, Read & Co. Thus the investment banking firm of the Secretary of Treasury owns one-half interest in the firm which operates one of the principal sources of capital for Engelhard Industries in their South African operations.

On the board of directors of American-South African Investment Co. are to be found: Frederic H. Brandt, who is chairman and a director of Dillon, Read & Co.; Kingman Douglass, who is vice-president of Dillon, Read & Co. and also a director of Engelhard Industries (Secretary Dillon is married to Anne Douglass); J.B. Baldwin, who is vice president of Keswick Corporation, wholly owned subsidiary of the Dillon-controlled U.S. and Foreign Securities; and J.F. Fowler, Jr., another Dillon, Read vice president.

New York Counsel for American-South African Investment is the law firm of Shearman & Sterling. G. M-P. Murphy, a partner in that firm is also on the board of American-South African. C.C. Parlin, senior partner in Shearman & Sterling is on the board of the Dillon's U.S. and Foreign Securities. Parlin is also secretary of the two Dillon foundations mentioned above, both of which list their addresses as Shearman & Sterling, 20 Exchange Place, New York, N.Y.

When Dillon was appointed Sec't. of Treasury by Kennedy in 1961, he selected as his General Counsel for Treasury, Robert H. Knight, then a partner in Shearman & Sterling and since returned to that firm from Treasury.

Thus the Dillon banking house is heavily represented on the American-South African board, as is the Dillon law firm, and the Dillon holding company. Five of the eleven directors of American-South African are clearly Dillon men.

If, at this point, the question arises -- what has all this to do with the American civil rights movement? -- the answer lies in the fact that the Dillon interests in this country are quite similar to those in South Africa. Which is only to say that American finance and industry are pretty much the same, wherever they're found.

Following is a list of some of the securities owned by the Dillon holding company which involve the racist South of the U.S. :

- 40,000 shares of American Cyanamid -- plant at Jackson, Miss.
- 35,000 shares of Hercules Powder -- plant at Hattiesburg and Greenville, Miss.
- 25,000 shares of Olin Mathieson -- plant at Gulfport, Miss.
- 44,000 shares of Middle South Utilities, parent of Miss. Power and Light.
- 15,000 shares of General Electric -- plant at Jackson, Miss.
- 32,472 shares of International Paper -- plants at Natchez and Moss Point, Miss.
- 20,000 shares of Johns-Manville -- plant at Natchez, Miss.
- 25,000 shares of Westinghouse Electric -- plant at Vicksburg.
- 18,900 shares of Standard of Calif. -- refinery at Pascagoula.
- 130,000 shares of Louisiana Land and Exploration Co. which has substantial oil holdings in Miss.

These investments have a minimum total market value of \$20,000,000. Clearly Mr. Dillon and his family are heavily involved in the economy of the racist South, just as they are in the economy of racist South Africa.

Can we seriously expect Lyndon to act effectively against racism and poverty, when the perpetuation of both is in the interest of his cabinet members, and when the elimination of both requires his cabinet members to act contradictorily to their own material interests? If we can, then we must ignore the whole history of big business and politics.

On January 17 Lyndon announced that \$101 million of war-on-poverty money has been allocated. A total of \$22,670, .02% of the allocations, actually went to poor people in the form of small business and farm loans. The balance, 99.98%, went to the poverty warriors themselves. A typical grant (no loans to the warriors -- only the poor must repay) was the one to the Systems Development Corporation of Santa Monica, California. This corporate poverty warrior got \$85,000 to "operate a computer based information processing and retrieval system".

It's a Great Society, Lyndon's is. Pity more people don't qualify to get in it.

Jack Minnis
SNCC Researcher

ERAP LITERATURE LIST

Please use the order blank at the bottom of the page. Prices are in parentheses.

Authors who are SDS members are in capital letters. Especially recommended papers are asterisked (**).

I. The American Economy

- ___ (10¢) The Ad Hoc Committee: The Triple Revolution**
- ___ (10¢) Ray Brown: Our Crisis Economy**
- ___ (10¢) ROBB BURLAGE: The American Planned Economy
- ___ (10¢) ROBB BURLAGE: The South as an Underdeveloped Country
- ___ (15¢) ROBB BURLAGE: This is War?***
- ___ (15¢) Eugene Feingold and TOM HAYDEN: Politics 1964 -- Corporatism and Crisis
- ___ (10¢) KEN Mc ELDFOWNEY: Readings in Poverty
- ___ (5¢) Bernard Nossiter: The New Folklore of Capitalism
- ___ (15¢) Nyack Conference on Unemployment and Social Change: Working Papers**

II. Strategy and Tactics of Economic Change

- ___ (10¢) RICHARD FLACKS: Taking Goldwater Seriously
- ___ (5¢) NICK EGLESON: The Survey and Community Organizing
- ___ (10¢) AL HABER: Students and Labor
- ___ (10¢) Warren Haggstrom: The Power of the Poor
- ___ (10¢) Bob Heifitz: Eastern Kentucky: A Draft Program
- ___ (75¢) Tom Kahn: The Economics of Equality**
- ___ (10¢) William H. Kock: The "Dual Approach" -- An Alternative in Community Development
- ___ (5¢) STEVE MAX: Movements and the Political Arena
- ___ (10¢) Jack Minnis: The Care and Feeding of Power Structures**
- ___ (5¢) KIM MOODY: Organizing Poor Whites
- ___ (10¢) PAUL POTTER: Research and Education in Community Action Projects
- ___ (10¢) Nicholas Von Hoffmann: Finding and Making Leaders
- ___ (10¢) CARL WITTMEN AND TOM HAYDEN: An Interracial Movement of the Poor?***

III. Case Experience

- ___ (10¢ each) Reports on ERAP Summer Project Activity: Baltimore, Boston, Chester, Chicago, Cleveland, Newark, Philadelphia, Trenton
- ___ (10¢) CONNIE BROWN: Cambridge, Maryland: A Case Study
- ___ (10¢) ANDREA COUSINS: Harlem: the Neighborhood and Social Change
- ___ (10¢) NOEL DAY: The Freedom Movement in Massachusetts
- ___ (10¢) RICHARD FLACKS: Chicago: Organizing the Unemployed**
- ___ (10¢) DICK GREENBERG: Problems Relating to Unemployment around Hazard, Ky.
- ___ (5¢) C. CLARK KISSINGER: The Bruns Strike
- ___ (10¢) Charles Lebeaux: Life on A.D.C.: Budgets of Despair
- ___ (10¢) DANNY POPE, ALAIN JEHLIN, EVAN METCALF, CATHY WILKERSON: Chester, Pa.
- ___ (5¢) CATHY WILKERSON: Rats, Washtubs and Block Organization.

BASIC MATERIALS: ___ SDS Introductory Brochure ___ ERAP Recruitment Brochure
___ ERAP Applications for Community Work ___ Constitution ___ SDS Bulletin
___ SDS Literature List ___ The Port Huron Statement-1962 (25¢ appreciated)
___ America and the New Era (25¢ appreciated)

SEND TO: Economic Research and Action Project, 1100 E. Washington, Ann Arbor
Name.....School and year.....
Address.....
I am ___ am not ___ an SDS member. I would like to contribute ___ toward
the work of ERAP. I would like to work with ERAP ___. I am ordering
the checked material: Total: _____

Statement by John Lewis, Chairman
Staff meeting February 1965

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

E. H. ...

LIFE WITH LYNDON IN THE GREAT SOCIETY, Vol. 1, No. 7

The New York Times reported the Selma affair last Tuesday: The "peaceful confrontation" just outside Selma between the freedom marchers and George Wallace's mad dogs "was worked out in advance," with Lyndon as the mediator.

"Both sides knew that the marchers would turn back after a prayer session and that there would be no use of nightsticks and tear gas....Most of the marchers, however, were unaware of the plans and prepared for the worst." (Emphasis added)

Such is the stuff of which peace prizes and presidents are made in the land of the free and the home of the brave.

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Lyndon assured the black folk of Selma, and their supporters everywhere, that he's going to make Congress pass another piece of paper, which can be put on top of the other pieces of paper Congress has passed.

Those pieces of paper that Lyndon and the Congress are so fond of passing have writing on them and they are called civil rights acts. Ho hum.

*

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*

Lyndon has been troubled about the pollution of the rivers in the U.S. He is backing an obscure bill in the Congress that's called the Clear Water Act, or some such.

The bill is just now taking shape and it is hard to say what it will provide for. However, it's pretty sure that it won't provide any way to curb the real polluters of the rivers.

The New York Times ran a story the first of this month which talked about river pollution. Material for the story had been gathered in Georgia, so the culprits in Georgia were the ones mentioned. They have their counterparts in every state in the nation.

The writer of the story mentioned one source of river pollution as being the sewage poured into the rivers by city sewage systems. He seemed to have no qualms about naming the cities involved. But when it came to the other big source of pollution, he was more delicate.

He described two plants at Savannah, Georgia, which are responsible, he said, for as much pollution as would be caused by cities of 810,000 and 130,000, respectively. (The total population of Savannah, at latest count, was about 150,000). The plants dump waste chemicals into the river. The writer described the first plant as a "paper-bag plant" and the second as a "can" factory. (This omission of the names of the corporate malefactors gives rise to the suspicion that they or their affiliates buy some advertising.)

Union-Bag Camp Co. (225th largest U.S. company) has a large bag plant at Savannah, and Continental Can Co. (36th largest U.S. firm) has a large can factory there. The plants were located there, partially at least, because the Savannah River provides a cheap and easy means of disposing of plant wastes. The wastes can be dumped into the river, and, from there, carried out to the sea. Of course this means that not only is the river polluted with chemicals, but the stuff is carried downstream into the Atlantic, where it pollutes bathing areas, kills fish, etc. But the busy executives of these companies cannot be bothered with such trifles. And they are busy.

The two top officers of the Union-Bag Camp Co. are the Camp brothers, Hugh and James. In addition to their duties at Union-Bag Camp, they are officers of tax-exempt family foundations which are devoted to providing "parks, playgrounds, recreation facilities.... (Directory of Foundations)

Obviously it is cheaper to put up a few thousand tax-exempt dollars now and then to buy some swings and slides for playgrounds, thereby keeping bright the image of the civic-minded corporate executive, than it is to spend the profits of the company in devising means to dispose of plant wastes without polluting the rivers and beaches.

The president of Union-Bag Camp is Alexander Calder, who is also a director of Citizens and Southern National Bank, the New York-controlled collesus which stands a-stride banking in Georgia. The top man at C & S is Mills B. Lane, Jr., ardent backer of Governor Sanders and Lyndon. He has not been heard to utter a word condemning Union-Bag Camp for polluting the rivers. Neither, of course, has Sanders or Lyndon.

Continental Can has two directors, Sidney Weinberg the New York investment banker, and Paul C. Cabot, of the Boston Cabots, Harvard, First National of Boston, etc.,

who were signers of the pro-Lyndon advertisement which appeared just before last fall's election. Since Lyndon is so close to these two, couldn't he get them to agree to stop polluting the rivers with their can factory in Savannah? And if they wouldn't agree, couldn't Lyndon get laws passed that would tax these companies for whatever it costs to clean up the mess they make of the rivers? Theoretically he could do either. But we know that's not the way things work. We know the Cabots and the Camps and the Lanes and the Weinbergs don't get presidents elected and then permit them to pass such laws.

We know what Lyndon will do. He'll get Congress to pass a "Clear Water Act" which either will use our tax money to find a way to dispose of plant wastes for these and similar industries, or which will use our tax money to clean up the mess these industries are making. There is, of course, a third possibility. Lyndon may just make the Clear Water Act a pure pork-barrel deal, which does nothing about the plant wastes, or cleaning them up, but merely puts some more of his chums on the public pay roll. Under Lyndon's type of government these appear to be the only alternatives. Take your choice.

* * *

Lyndon's Public Housing Authority announced on February 24 that it has given the City of Montgomery, Alabama, \$40,000 to begin planning a program for 500 new low-rent homes in Montgomery. Lyndon, are you sure there won't be any racial discrimination in this housing program? Did Governor Wallace promise, Lyndon?

* * *

Still another corporate beneficiary has shown up for Lyndon's tax ruling making monopoly triple damages deductible from taxable income. United Fruit Company has been sued by O. Roy Chalk's (he also runs the Washington, DC transit company) International Railways of Central America. Chalk charges that when United Fruit owned International (prior to 1962) it refused to permit other companies to ship products over the 795 miles of track International owns in Guatemala and El Salvador, and that United Fruit thereby deprived International of \$75 million in freight tariffs. The reason United Fruit didn't want other companies to ship

on Internation was that United Fruit wanted to monopolize banana production in Central America. It couldn't always keep others from growing bananas (despite the fact that it owned, and largely still owns, the Guatemalan government), but it could keep others from getting their production to market if it owned the only railway.

Chalk is suing United Fruit for \$75 million. If he is awarded triple damages, he'll get \$225 million from United Fruit. The company will have to pay one-half of that from its treasury and the other half, \$112 million, will come out of U.S. tax funds.

* * *

Two U.S. oil companies and one that is foreign-owned have been awarded a three-year contract to supply fuel for South African Airways. The contract involves \$21 million. The U.S. companies are Standard of New Jersey (in which the 7 Rockefeller Foundations own nearly 8 million shares valued at around \$325 million) and Socony Mobil Oil Co. (in which the same 7 Rockefeller Foundations own 602,000 shares valued at around \$25 million). The foreign company is Shell Oil, which is partially owned in Great Britain and partially owned in Holland with the Royal Family of Holland owning a heavy share. (When a Holland princess recently married one of the wedding gifts from the family was a hefty block of Shell stock).

This kind of lucrative trade between U.S. corporations and the racist government of South Africa is what makes the American idealists who call for an economic boycott of South Africa appear just a bit ridiculous to Lyndon and his big business friends. There's been talk, as we mentioned earlier, that Lyndon might appoint David Rockefeller to Treasury.

Incidentally, Monroe J. Rathbone, recently retired Chairman of Jersey Standard, not long ago received the "Man in Management" award of Pace College. In his acceptance speech at the Waldorf-Astoria in New York, Monroe listed the qualities he said he believed essential for business managers. Heading the list was what he called "ethical standards" or "to use an old-fashioned term, honor."

Yes, Monroe, there is a Santa Claus, and an Easter Bunny, too.

* * *

Lyndon's war on poverty rolls on, though the warriors seem to be making more war on one another than they are on poverty.

The mayor of Paterson, New Jersey is disturbed because the poverty general in that city is scheduled to receive \$1,000 per year more than the mayor's salary. Says the mayor, "I can't accept the idea that a man selected to head an operation within a city should get a larger salary than the mayor of that city." The mayor, at last word, was still pouting and trying to eke out an existence on his \$17,000 a year. We understand there was not one dry eye in the ghetto when word of the mayors plight got around.

The poverty loot for Louisiana has had to be suspended because Lyndon has "discovered" that Shelby Jackson, who was to have been one of the top poverty executives in that state, has a segregationist background. If Lyndon had any kind of contact at all with the people, he could have found that out in front. He could have asked any Negro in the State. Shelby has been spouting his race hate in public at every opportunity since he was first elected State Superintendent of Education many years ago.

Trouble in Alabama poverty too. The state poverty general, Claude Kirk, appointed by the honorable Wallace, refused to attend a series of poverty workshops in Birmingham. Jack Conway, former head of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department, was to be a main speaker and Kirk said that represented a "left-wing" takeover of Alabama poverty. Kirk, apparently, has not heard that the whole AFL-CIO long ago earned their championship spurs in the game of red-baiting.

Alabama has grants of \$134,000 for "technical assistance" in "planning" the war, and \$570,401 for "adult education." We suppose Lyndon extracted a solemn promise from Governor George that none of the poverty money would be used to buy clubs and whips and tear gas to use against Negroes. And if there is anyone in the country who can promise more solemnly than Lyndon, it's George. Of course, Lyndon has a remarkable ability not to discover that such promises are not being kept.

Well, he's buay, Lyndon is. Busy building the Great Society.

* * *

March 10, 1965
Jack Minnis

SNCC had been hard at work in Selma for over two years. It believes that no organization has a right to enter any community and make the decisions; it holds rather that since local residents will in the long run bear the consequences, they should be the ones to make the decisions, with SNCC's function being merely to help in whatever way it can. Some of the young SNCC workers reportedly felt that King was gaining fame by moving into a town, creating a brief sensation, then leaving with no permanent gain registered for the local Negroes.

I

This resentment had been reported in a rash of newspaper reports and columns. Their number increased a few days after Selma when violence erupted in Montgomery and a mounted sheriff's posse used whips and billy clubs to disperse hundreds of students, including some SNCC workers. That night a mass meeting was held in the Beulah Baptist Church in Montgomery. There was a feeling in the warm night air that the worst might happen. Militant Jim Forman did nothing to quiet the mood in a fiery speech calling on Pres. Lyndon Johnson to halt police brutality in Alabama. Only the night before, the President had made one of the most dramatic speeches in the history of his office, calling for a strong voting rights bill and the end of police brutality. But Forman glowered with distrust born of long disappointment. "Did Pres. Johnson mean what he said?" he cried. To "make sure," Forman called for a massive demonstration in Washington to "tie up every street and bus and commit every act of civil disobedience ever seen—because I'm tired of seeing people hit."

The next speaker was Martin Luther King, Jr., who had rushed to Montgomery that afternoon when he got wind of the volatile feelings developing there. A militant speech was called for, and King delivered. "I'm not satisfied as long as the Negro has a nagging sense of nobodiness," he said. "I'm not satisfied as long as the Negro sees life as a long and empty corridor with a 'no exit' sign. . . . The cup of endurance has run over." But his call was not for a "massive demonstration" in Washington; it was for people to march, "nonviolently and peacefully," to the Montgomery county courthouse.

King's strategy worked: everyone went home to bed, and the next day the pent-up tensions were worked off in a six-hour demonstration. However, the conflict of tactics there revealed, with King the winner, lent more fuel to the talk of division in the organizational ranks of the nation's Negroes. And the comment in the press proliferated.

Is there a split? No, says John Lewis: "There have been normal disagreements

in tactics, but no split." After all, he reasons, how can there be a split between groups that have never pretended to act as one? It is unfortunate that such disagreements, an inevitable part of any revolution, are suddenly getting so much publicity. Lewis points out that he himself is a voting member of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's board of directors, and that he or someone representing him has been in on every major decision made in the Selma voter drive. Moreover: "As I have said many times to Dr. King, I am not going to engage in any public discussion of organizational problems. S.C.L.C. is not the enemy—George Wallace and segregation are the enemy." Adds Ivanhoe Donaldson, SNCC's influential administrative assistant: "Within the movement we are a family. Arguments take place in any family. They don't mean disunity."

II

One of the charges leveled most frequently at SNCC is that at times when the drive has been making strong headway the group has proved itself too militant, too uncompromising, even irresponsible. In a way, of course, this is something the organization cannot control, since by its credo it welcomes anyone interested in working for freedom. Explains Lewis: "SNCC is not a membership organization, so a lot of people wear SNCC buttons although they are not on the staff. And when they do something inconsistent with the nonviolent movement, we get the blame." SNCC's antipathy to anything as bourgeois as an organization chart, and all such a chart implies, is in sharp contrast to the attitude of S.C.L.C., which freely distributes copies of its very formal organization chart, with all sorts of lines running to and from all sorts of boxes listing names and titles. If SNCC should ever get up an equivalent, the result would resemble a bowl of spaghetti.

Lewis denies the further charge that SNCC demonstrates only for the sake of demonstrating. "I don't condone incidents where people provoke, where they try to antagonize," he says. "Maybe we can get a staff to adhere to that attitude, but there is no way to be certain that all others who join a demonstration will control themselves. I don't know; maybe I'm getting cynical about going to jail." The young man smiles; he has been in jail 37 times. "Maybe I'm getting tired, or old, or conservative, but I don't think so. I believe we are at a point where we must be militant but at the same time we must be statesmen. Radical, yes, but with a sense of diplomacy."

Jim Forman is much more militant; for him, diplomacy can go hang. Actually, this is SNCC's problem: it doesn't

give a whistle for the niceties. It is concerned only with attacking serious ills. When a battle is won, a law passed or a concession gained, the rules of the game call for a breather, sometimes a Thank You—even from most liberals. Not from SNCC! It knows much is still to be done. Thus Jim Forman had no time to compliment Lyndon Johnson on his memorable voting rights speech.

Such apparent ingratitude has alienated many people, including quite a few liberals. SNCC is really saying little today different from what it has said since it was founded in 1960. But is its attitude in fact a deficiency? Perhaps its critics find it offensive because it is militant to the point of searing the sensibilities like a branding iron—which is considerably less comfortable than being pricked by a pin.

SNCC has done the dirty work for the past five years. Its small staff (currently 209 in number) has been the catalyst spurring group after group of southern Negroes to work together as a unit in the striving toward freedom. It has seen so many apparent gains melt into no change at all for the local Negro that it has lost patience with all calls to "be reasonable" or to "go a little slower." This means that SNCC is exasperating, infuriating—and brutally realistic. Its realism is so straightforward that it actually becomes complex—too much so for many northern white liberals to abide. The result is that certain columnists fall back on the "communist" charge. That cliché has been resorted to by, for instance, Rowland Evans and Robert Novak in their syndicated column. In what is for them a surprising outburst, they have written: "SNCC and its leaders aren't really interested in the right to vote or any attainable goal, but in demanding the unattainable as a means of provoking social turmoil."

Not interested? Yet it was SNCC that came to Selma back in 1962, that installed a full-time office there in January 1963. By October of that year, when it sponsored the first Freedom Day in the Black Belt and 500 Negroes turned out to try to register at the Dallas county courthouse, it had ten staff members living and working in Selma. Despite incredible harassment, ever present danger and beatings worse than any the police inflicted in the heavily publicized encounters of the past three months, SNCC persisted. The result: four separate federal voting suits instituted against Dallas county. Evans and Novak could not be more wrong about SNCC's stake in winning voting rights.

As for the "communism" charge, that is too easy to make. In a tactic smacking of the House Un-American Activities Committee, SNCC's detractors level the charge but offer little proof. Because SNCC is so loosely organized it is entirely possible that some communists have

CHRISTIAN CENTURY
CHICAGO, ILL.
W. 38,000

COMM. ON EVANS-NOVAK

MAY 12 1965

R. Fuller

Special Reports

Tension, Not Split, in the Negro Ranks

† SHORTLY after noon on Tuesday, March 9, John Lewis, short, stocky chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), stood up to address an overflow throng in Browns Chapel A.M.E. Church in Selma, Ala. Never before had the old church seen such an audience. There were hundreds of local Negroes, of course, but crowded into the balcony, in the aisles, all over the floor around the podium were college professors and students, ministers, priests and rabbis, people from all walks of life and all parts of the nation. Thousands more were milling about in the bright sun outside, all waiting for the word—to march or not to march to Montgomery. Two days before, on Sunday, such a march had been brutally turned back by state troopers; it was to protest the tear gas, the billy clubs, the bull whips, the cattle prods used on that occasion that this mass of concerned citizens had assembled in Selma.

Lewis, his head still throbbing from a clubbing by troopers on Sunday, told the crowd that for him there was no

choice—he *must* march, because no one had the right to deny American citizens their constitutional right peacefully to seek redress of grievances. It was one of his best speeches in months; his eyes blazed and his gestures became violent as he moved to his climactic point. Then suddenly, incongruously, the audience burst into applause and the TV lights poured a blinding white bath over the rostrum. Lewis' shoulders slumped and his lips tightened as he waited for the tumult to subside. He did not need to turn around to know what had happened behind him. The experience had become familiar in the past two months: Martin Luther King, Jr., had just entered the room!

Lewis bravely went on with his talk, but he must surely have known that he might just as well have stopped the moment the Baptist minister who heads the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (S.C.L.C.) entered the room. For it was on King's decision that most of the undecided would act.

As it turned out, that decision was indeed to march. But, unknown to the

potential marchers, King had come to the church after agreeing to end the march following a peaceful confrontation with the troopers. Although the decision turned out to be one of relief to many who had come to Selma to make their witness that day, others considered it a shameful retreat. Among those who so looked on it were James Forman, executive secretary of SNCC, plus many SNCC workers and many other people who look on the lively organization with philosophical sympathy. A few were already angry; they felt that King had chickened out by remaining in Atlanta when the Sunday march was attempted. Others held simply that King had no business making "deals with the enemy."

The events of that Tuesday brought into the open a resentment that had long bubbled among some of the students. It stemmed from the feeling that King and his S.C.L.C. were johnnies-come-lately in Selma, yet were running the show, getting all the credit at the expense of SNCC.

Such resentment is understandable.

climbed aboard. But there is no evidence that they influence policy. And even if they were present, SNCC is so overwhelmed by the job at hand, so lacking in money and time that it finds itself unable to run security checks on all the people who drift in and out of its voter campaigns.

III

SNCC will continue to be militant, to upset liberals as well as conservatives. It knows too well the pitfalls that accompany politeness. Besides, why bother? Has not Barry Goldwater been able to say, even after all the evils were again dramatized at Selma, that we already have plenty of voting laws on the books?

The significant question for the entire civil rights movement remains: Is SNCC too militant to live with Martin Luther King's S.C.L.C.? Headlines and columns notwithstanding, the evidence is against a Yes to that question. Philosophically the two groups are almost identical; the differences lie in tactics; and the tactics, while different, are often amazingly complementary. For instance, S.C.L.C. is now working feverishly to launch SCOPE, a huge new program in which thousands of college students will spend the summer in dozens of southern communities, organizing and educating Negroes to vote and engage in political action. Ironically, this is virtually the same program SNCC has been operating for the past five years.

Furthermore, if all the pulling and tugging in Selma could not shatter cooperation between the two groups, it is not likely that anything can. SNCC worked in Selma for 29 months, then saw Dr. King roar in and get the glory. Yet Ivanhoe Donaldson can acknowledge: "S.C.L.C. was able to do here what we weren't able to do. What did it was King's image — the fact that he is a minister, that he has the church behind him. The churches mobilized, which was what brought national attention. We switched to the role of supporting the drive. SNCC often has to operate under a blanket provided by other organizations in order to get an air of respectability it doesn't command by itself. S.C.L.C. doesn't need to do that."

Says John Lewis: "I don't think there is any attempt by S.C.L.C. to discredit SNCC. The last three months our whole relationship with S.C.L.C. has been an education to me. We have had a chance to sit down and really talk with each other. When people aren't acquainted they become suspicious of each other. Neither organization has reason to be suspicious of the other." And from Ivanhoe Donaldson: "We don't have to worry about our relationship with S.C.L.C. We have to worry about things like what the press is doing lately: it is confusing people who want to support both organizations."

ARLIE SCHARDT.

Indonesia Today

II. The Outlook for the Churches

† INDONESIA has a larger Christian populace than any other nation outside Europe and the Americas. Protestant adherents alone are estimated to number about 5 million, over 5 per cent of the total population; Roman Catholics number 3.5 million and are rapidly multiplying. The churches, both Protestant and Catholic, are largely the fruit of a single century's enterprise on the part of dedicated and resolute Dutch and German missionaries.

Thirty-five autonomous Protestant churches, most of them regional in character, are knit into the vigorous and effective Christian Council of Indonesia, which in some respects functions as a united church; indeed, in the early years of independence from missionary tutelage following the end of World War II it was hoped that the council might become such a church.

On my visit to Indonesia in January I was privileged to visit for the first time the two regional churches which lie at opposite extremities of the vast archipelago which stretches like a jeweled girdle over 3,000 miles along the equator. The two are among the largest, strongest and most remarkable churches to be found in Asia. At the extreme northern tip of the island of Sulewesie (formerly Celebes) in the east I visited the fabulous Church of the Minehassa, whose nearly half a million members constitute over 80 per cent of the area's population — perhaps the closest approximation to "Christendom" to be found anywhere. At the opposite end of the arc, in northern Sumatra, I observed the even larger and hardly less remarkable Batak Christian Protestant Church, with a membership of around 800,000; lesser bodies bring the Christian population of that island close to 1.5 million.

I

Now entirely under Indonesian leadership, the Protestant churches of the nation rest on solid, securely built foundations. They are characterized by enormous vitality and confident optimism. If there is some slackening of evangelical conviction and thrust among the original Western sponsors of the world Christian mission, such loss of nerve finds no parallel, no echo here.

As is common among the "new nations" of Africa and Asia, the Christians in Indonesia share the enthusiasms and hopes of their people. In this enthusiasm I see a parallel to the contagion arising in the 19th century West from geographic, political and economic expan-

sion (now disdained as "colonialism") — a contagion that was one among many factors contributing to the unprecedented "great century" of Christian outreach and growth.

Indonesian Christians find themselves today in a uniquely favorable position, a position that determines both their peculiar opportunities and their special perplexities and temptations. One of the touted "five principles" of Pres. Ahmed Sukarno's "guided democracy" is belief in God, along with the need for religion in national life. Amid a national population predominantly Moslem, not only are all religions recognized and assured freedom to worship and propagate, but they are actually favored by the government. Religious instruction is required in all the schools; just now the Protestant churches are wrestling with the problem of how to provide their share of teachers for the public schools. The armed forces have asked for 500 Protestant chaplains, and since the churches are unable to supply them they are talking of setting up their own chaplaincy training program.

In fulfillment of the principle that all major cultural groups are to have representation in the National Assembly, Protestants are accorded six seats in that body. The second vice-president of the republic is a Protestant layman, a distinguished physician whom I first met 26 years ago when, as a brilliant young intern at the Dutch mission hospital in Bandung, he was being schooled in English in preparation for his role as secretary of the section on the Ministry of Health and Healing at the World missionary conference in Tambaram. Through the years I have met him at various world church gatherings. Far from that separation of church and state which is the goal of many Asian churches, one finds in this overwhelmingly Moslem nation an intimate interlocking of church and state, with many privileges and advantages accruing to the churches.

In return, loyalty on the part of the churches is assumed. The "principles" of a typical Christian theological college are defined thus: "a. The Principles of Truth, Life and Faith as Revealed in the Old and New Testaments; b. Pantjasila (Five Principles of the State) as the base and the Manifesto Politik as the aim of the Republic of Indonesia." And the college's aim is plainly set forth: "To help guide men and women into a high standard of living both morally and intellectually, having the welfare of the Indonesian nation in mind and

March 12, 1965

PROPOSALS FOR FEDERAL ACTION

In 1957, 1960 and again in 1964 the Congress of the United States passed legislation designed to end the exclusion of Negro Americans from the voting rolls. Unfortunately, as Selma bears witness, this legislation did not achieve its intent. Delay, intimidation and harassment keep millions of Negro Americans from registering to vote and thus from full citizenship. The brutality of local police in Selma and elsewhere in the South necessitates a change in federal policy. The government must assume its proper responsibility for the protection of its citizens exercising rights granted to them by its constitution.

We believe that the following steps must be taken immediately to protect Negro Citizens in Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and other Southern States. They must also be taken out of respect for the decent opinions of mankind.

1.) An executive order should be issued by the President explicitly instructing the Justice Department to actively protect the civil rights of all citizens by vigorously enforcing Title 18, Sections 241 and 242 of the U. S. Code.

2.) The Justice Department should reverse its present policy and require F.B.I. agents and Federal Marshals to make on-the-spot arrests when they see the civil rights of citizens being violated, pursuant to Title 18, Sections 3052/3 of the U.S. Code.

3.) That immediate steps be taken to protect persons peacefully demonstrating to secure basic constitutional rights.

4.) Adoption of an adequate voting rights measure which must at least include:

a.) Provision for the immediate appointment of Federal Registrars in all areas where Negroes are discriminated against.

b.) Elimination of the poll tax, literacy tests, and all other impediments to free use of the ballot. (Include only age, residence and sanity).

c.) Elimination of slow court proceedings under the existing law.

d.) Coverage for state and local as well as for Federal elections.

e.) Provisions for the enforcement of the Second Section of the 14th Amendment by reducing the number of representatives in Congress of those states denying the rights to vote.

John

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

March 25, 1965

Office of the White House Press Secretary

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE CABINET

I want to make one thing unmistakably and indelibly clear to every Department, every Agency, every office and every employee of the Government of the United States.

The Federal service must never be either the active or passive ally of any who flout the Constitution of the United States.

Regional custom, local tradition, personal prejudice or predilection are no excuses, no justification, no defense in this regard.

Where there is an office or an officer of this Government, there must be equal treatment, equal respect, equal service -- and equal support -- for all American citizens, regardless of race, or sex, or region, or religion.

Public service is a public trust. I would call upon every Federal civilian employee to remember that he bears a high and solemn trust to the Constitution under which he serves. If all about him -- neighbors, friends, fellow townsmen, even family -- falter or fail in respect for the Constitutional rights of others, the public servant in the service of his country has a duty to protect, defend and uphold those rights by word and deed.

The Federal service asks no conformity -- no uniformity of thought and no unanimity of vote. But where Constitutional rights are concerned, the country can ask no more -- and accept no less -- than uncompromising devotion to the Constitution itself.

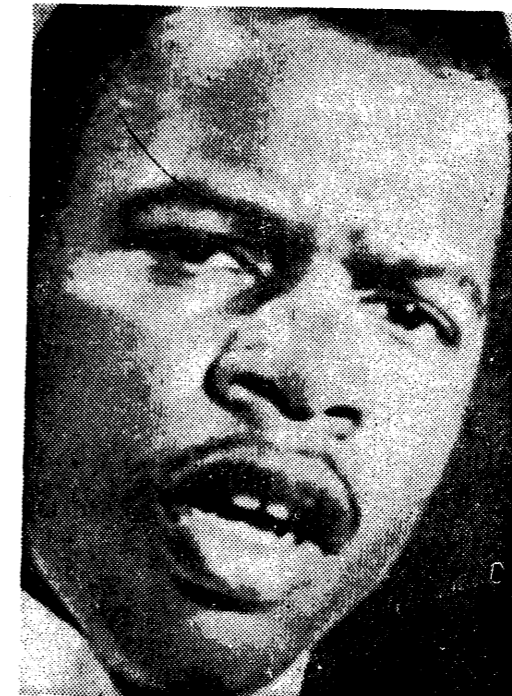
I am asking the heads of each Department and Agency to communicate this to every office and officer, whatever their rank or position, of the Federal service and to take all appropriate measures to assure full compliance with the spirit of the law that governs and guards us all.

#

New York Herald Tribune

Sunday, May 23, 1965

SNCC's Lewis: We March For Us...and For You



Associated Press

John Robert Lewis

What direction is next for the civil rights movement in the United States? John Robert Lewis, chairman of the militant Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, has written for the Sunday Herald Tribune an analysis of where civil rights stand in the nation now and where he and SNCC feel that the next moves must be made -- in the institutions of America and in the hearts and minds of all Americans.

By John Robert Lewis
ATLANTA.

More and more, the movement must become politically oriented. We must see the march from Selma to Montgomery not as a civil rights march, not as a march for integration, but as a march for political freedom. Negroes are not asking a white society

for a gift of freedom; Negroes are demanding, from a reluctant society, total freedom, now.

I have faith in the impoverished, oppressed, disenfranchised Negroes -- the victims of political evils in an oppressive economic structure which in order to sustain itself must perpetuate racism. Negroes have been for a long time that segment of our population which has waited for America to redeem herself. They are the folk who tilled the soil, laid the track, built the buildings.

There are also the disinherited white, as well as the

disenfranchised Negro; the robbed American Indian as well as the exploited Oriental and the socially segregated Jew: all minorities. They, the little people, are raising serious questions that must be answered and issues that must be resolved: questions and issues not of a civil rights nature per se. They are saying, "I wanna vote. I wanna job." This means they want to determine their own economic and political destinies.

Selma was not the beginning. Selma was not the first place in this country where Negroes were disenfranchised, brutally beaten, and killed

"... In 1960 we were demanding the right to eat a hamburger at any lunch counter. It took us three years to discover that we could not afford the hamburger and that we needed money. Money means economic power..."

while trying to exercise their Constitutional rights: rights and laws that were in fact established by Congress.

Seeing a need for a change in the then existing status quo, Congress declared, "the right of citizens of the U. S. to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the U. S. government or any state on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

That was the 15th Amendment to the Constitution. An

enforcement legislation of 1870 provides a penalty for violation of the 15th amendment, together with the re-enactment of the civil rights bill of 1866. Less than 100 years later, Congress legislated another civil rights bill, which is, in fact, meaningless. In 1871 and 1872 Congress passed legislation on a voting bill giving federal supervisory power over congressional elections. Less than 100 years later there is another voting bill before Congress which, unless seriously amended, will become another meaningless piece of paper. In 1948 Congress passed another in a series of laws making in a felony to "deprive and/or conspire to deprive a citizen of the U. S. of any constitutional rights." It seems to me that the right to vote is but one of those basic rights of which millions of negroes are being systematically denied.

Last year's Civil Rights Act (1964) states: "No vote registrar may use different standards for negroes and/or whites in literacy tests."

I wonder how long will this government find it necessary to legislate rather than to enforce the laws in existence. On March 15th, President Johnson recognized that "a century has passed, more than a hundred years since equality has been promised, and yet the negro is not equal. A century has passed since the day of promise and the promise is unkept. The time of justice has now come. I tell you I sincerely believe that no force can hold it back. It is right in the eyes of man and god that it should come."

In 1960 we were demanding the right to eat a hamburger at any lunch counter. It took us three years to discover that we couldn't afford the hamburger and that we needed money. Money means economic power. In order to get and to

maintain economic power we have to bargain. Bargaining means political power. So it took us three years to understand that political power insures the stability of economic power. Every segment of our society must be creative enough to find a role it can play in order for us to assure economic and social justice for all Americans.

People everywhere must make themselves politically aware. They must gain for themselves on every level the same political education that we are hoping will gain in the South: for people all over our country are politically asleep. If they weren't so apathetic, such conditions provoking riots in our Rochesters of the north, and massive street demonstrations in our Selmas of the south, would scarcely be permitted to exist. What hasn't

been made clear to most Americans is that this is their problem too. Only when all Americans see the relevance of these issues to their lives will meaningful political activities contribute to their own well being.

At this point it can be asked, justifiably, what is meaningful political activity? What are the issues and problems internally confronting America today? Aside from the obvious economic and political injustices, there are the triple-threat problems of unemployment, underemployment and unemployables. Give-away Federal programs—aid to education, medicare for the aged, MDTA, the inadequate war on poverty—all provide a mere band-aid for the gaping wound of economic injustice. The problems are so tremendous that individual civil rights organizations cannot handle these problems. Citizens of the country must mobilize and apply pressure to the government to get them to deal with these problems realistically.

SNCC's method of applying pressure will continue this summer by organizing additional freedom schools and community centers in southwest Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama, Arkansas, and through the South. Our organizing efforts will include voter registration, political education and support for the Mississippi

Freedom Democratic party. We believe an interracial democracy can be made to work in the delta and bayous of our southland as well as in the ghettos and slums of our northern cities.

People ask what will happen in Chicago and in Harlem this summer. When will the next Selma take place? The civil rights movement cannot give an answer. The lack of concern on the part of the American public and the lack of concern and courage of the federal government breed bitterness and frustration.

Where lack of jobs, intolerable housing, police brutality, and other frustrating conditions exist, it is possible that violence and massive street demonstrations may develop. Which leads me to attempt to deal with the question about whether the movement is headed toward violence. The movement itself is not headed toward violence. It is an established fact that the movement's activities are all nonviolent in character.

However, we must recognize that the American society—to disagree or to dissent—can mean intimidation, harassment, ostracism, economic reprisals, assassination. We have witnessed the murder of many people during the past few years: Herbert Lee, Medgar Evers, Louis Allen, 6 children in Birmingham, President Kennedy, 3 civil rights workers in Mississippi, Jimmy Lee Jackson and others in Alabama this year . . . to name a few.

Remember, this violence was not perpetrated by civil rights workers: that seems to be a fact that escapes most of the people who direct such questions. The question of preventing or controlling violence should be directed to law-enforcement agencies, local, state and federal. Bona fide investigations of the hate groups and prosecutions of the guilty should be urged.

On the other hand, it seems to me that the civil rights movement should, in the north and south, create pockets of political power. In order for the Negro to keep his political power, assuming he will have it and assuming he will get the vote, there must be grass-roots political organization through housing projects, neighborhoods, housewife organizations, the churches, the social clubs, etc. The Negro must not assimilate into the structure, but rather remain the conscience of both political parties: i. e. keep people in office who know about the unpaved streets, the inadequate educational facilities, the lack of jobs, the meaningless federal programs.

Finally, we must keep in mind the principles to which we all subscribe: the principles of economic, social, and political justice. These principles of economic, social, and political justice. These principles are only words if they are not implemented into action and a way of life involving these principles. Further, the principles and history behind the civil rights movement have no meaning except in terms of reality. Reality now is what happens in the streets of Selma, Ala., and McComb, Miss., and hundreds of Negro communities, north and south, where fear and deprivation form an integral part of daily life. If the government cannot answer our questions and help us to solve some of these problems, I can only see many long, hot summers ahead.

*is a violent society

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
360 Nelson Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS



207 Mass. Ave., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036 phone 234-4722 • New York address: 20 West 40th St. New York 18, phone BRyant 9-1400

TO: Cooperating Organizations

FROM: Arnold Aronson, Secretary

MEMO No. 68
July 12, 1965

THE VOTING RIGHTS BILL PASSES: A HOUSE VICTORY IN WHICH WE CAN SHARE

That the House was able to pass a strong voting rights bill this past Friday is, of course, the result of many factors. We hope it will not sound immodest if we cite the effective cooperation of the groups in the Leadership Conference and our close working relationship with House members who directed the fight for the measure, as significant elements in the impressive victory. Not a single good feature of the bill was lost. Not a single weakening amendment, even the minor loophole proposed in the "Boggs amendment," was added to the measure. What the House finally approved by a vote of 333 to 85 was the House Judiciary Committee bill, H.R. 6400, whose adoption the Leadership Conference has been urging for many weeks. Hats off to Chairman Celler, Jim Corman, John Lindsay, Mac Mathias, Pete Rodino, Byron Rogers, and a host of others, including Speaker McCormack, Majority Leader Albert, and the Democratic Study Group's whip system operated by Moe Udall, Don Fraser and Bill Phillips.

The Bill's Not Yet A Law

House passage, unfortunately, is not the final step. The differences between the House bill and the version the Senate approved on May 26 may necessitate a conference between the two bodies. We shall inform you of the next developments as soon as we know them. We ask only that the splendid support we in Washington received last week continue until the President finally signs the Voting Rights Bill into law.

How The Leadership Conference Helped

The task force the Leadership Conference marshalled in support of H.R. 6400 was composed of the regular Washington representatives of our cooperating organizations supplemented by many out-of-towners who worked with us during the four days the bill was before the House. Our suite in the Hotel Congressional was headquarters for a vigorous operation that sent delegations of constituents to call on Congressmen and volunteer messengers to alert them each time a vote came up in the House.

It was from our suite that we sent "spotters" to sit in the House galleries and watch the way the voting went. As we have observed before, this is not an easy thing to do. The House was meeting, for most of the time, as a "committee of the whole" and there were no roll-call votes during that phase of the session. The best occasion for observing who was voting how was during the teller votes - when Congressmen march up the center aisle between two tellers appointed by the chairman and are counted as they go by. Difficult as it is to recognize a member from a

"Cooperation in the Common Cause of Civil Rights for All"



SNCCS

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1965

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ARMED DION CHURCH	NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE
ALPHA KAPPA ALPHA SORORITY	NATIONAL COMMUNITY RELATIONS ADVISORY COUNCIL
ALPHA KAPPA ALPHA FRATERNITY	NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC MEN
ARMANDATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA	NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC WOMEN
ARMANDATED MEAT CUTTERS AND BUTCHER WORKMEN	NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES — COMMISSION ON RELIGION AND RACE
AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION	NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN
AMERICAN ETHICAL UNION	NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS	NATIONAL COUNCIL OF SENIOR CITIZENS, INC.
AFL-CIO	NATIONAL COUNCIL ON AGRICULTURAL LIFE AND LABOR
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE	NATIONAL FARMERS UNION
AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS	NATIONAL FEDERATION OF CATHOLIC COLLEGE STUDENTS
AMERICAN NEWSPAPER GUILD	NATIONAL FEDERATION OF SETTLEMENTS AND NEIGHBORHOOD CENTERS
AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE	NATIONAL MEDICAL ASSOCIATION
AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION	NATIONAL NEWMAN CLUB FEDERATION
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH	NATIONAL NEWSPAPER PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION
B'NAI B'RITH WOMEN	NATIONAL STUDENT CHRISTIAN FEDERATION
BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS	NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL	NEGRO AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL
CHRISTIAN FAMILY MOVEMENT	NORTH AMERICAN FEDERATION OF THE THIRD ORDER OF ST. FRANCIS
CHRISTIAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH	NORTHERN STUDENT MOVEMENT
CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN SERVICE COMMISSION	PHI BETA SIGMA FRATERNITY
CITIZENS LOBBY FOR FREEDOM & FAIR PLAY	PHI DELTA KAPPA SORORITY
COLLEGE JOB NATIONAL STAFF	PIONEER WOMEN
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY	PRESBYTERIAN INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
COUNCIL FOR CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTION — UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST	RETAIL, WHOLESALE & DEPARTMENT STORE UNION
DELTA SIGMA THETA SORORITY	SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY	STATE, COUNTY, MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES
FRONTIERS INTERNATIONAL	STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
KADASSAH	TEXTILE WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA
HOTEL, RESTAURANT EMPLOYEES & BARTENDERS INTERNATIONAL UNION	TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA
IMPROVED BENEVOLENT & PROTECTIVE ORDER OF ELKS OF THE WORLD	UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS
INDUSTRIAL UNION DEPARTMENT — AFL-CIO	UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST ASSOCIATION — COMMISSION ON RELIGION AND RACE
INTERNATIONAL LADIES GARMENT WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA	UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST FELLOWSHIP FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE
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NATIONAL ASSOCIATION REAL ESTATE BROKERS, INC.	WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM
NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION, USA	WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE
NATIONAL BAR ASSOCIATION	WORKMEN'S CIRCLE
NATIONAL BEAUTY CULTURISTS LEAGUE, INC.	YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION OF THE U.S.A.
NATIONAL CATHOLIC SOCIAL ACTION CONFERENCE	ZETA PHI BETA SORORITY

provision was an adaptation of the "Title III" or "Part III" provisions of earlier civil rights bills and the Voting Rights measure would have benefitted from its inclusion.

A Negligible Amendment That Was Added

The one amendment added to the House bill was proposed by Rep. William C. Cramer (R., Fla.). It is similar to a provision already in the Senate bill and prescribes criminal penalties for giving fraudulent information on voting registration. In the opinion of Conference attorneys it has little effect on the bill.

What Happens Now?

As we face the likelihood of a Conference on the House and Senate bills, we in the Leadership Conference reaffirm our preference for the House version. It contains a flat ban on the use of the poll tax as a requirement for voting in state and local elections; it gives Negro applicants direct access to Federal examiners without presenting the sometimes harrowing possibility that they may have to apply first to local registrars; it provides for poll watchers and extends protection to civil rights workers who aid and urge people to vote.

The Senate bill has two good features that the House did not adopt, notably the provision to enfranchise Puerto Ricans and a provision that would extend application of the law to states and counties where the total number of registered voters in any racial group is less than 25 per cent of those eligible to vote.

As soon as the picture becomes clearer we will advise you of the next steps we must take. Meanwhile, anyone who spoke to a Congressman, sent a wire, wrote a letter, sat in the gallery and watched, or engaged in any of the hundreds of chores that make up the work of the Leadership Conference, can claim a share in the success that attended House action on the voting rights bill.

NOTE TO WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVES: We shall notify you of our next meeting. No date as yet.

THE
WHITE HOUSE
CONFERENCE
ON
EDUCATION



JULY 20-21, 1965
WASHINGTON, D.C.

July 12, 1965

seat high above his head, spotters were often able to tell which way their Congressmen were voting and they were quick to register their disappointment when they found them voting wrong. We also believe that for members who happened to glance up from the floor, the sight of men and women and a few youngsters, all wearing the blue and white label of the Leadership Conference on their lapels, was a constant reminder of the national sentiment for ending voting discrimination once and for all.

For Conference participants, each day began with a meeting in the hotel at which intelligence gathered in various interviews was exchanged. Each evening after the House recessed, a few Conference representatives met with the members who led the floor fight for the bill and discussed strategy. The final outcome testifies to the usefulness of our work.

Substitute Bill First Test

The critical moment for the voting rights bill came on the very first vote. This was on the question of the total substitute to H.R. 6400 offered by Representatives William M. McCulloch (R., O.) and Gerald R. Ford, Jr. (R., Mich.). It was a measure we have opposed as being weaker than H.R. 6400 and its defeat on a teller vote, 215 to 166, was a heartening indication of how the voting was to go from then on.

"Boggs Amendment" Defeated

One of the most dramatic incidents during the voting was the eventual defeat of the "Boggs Amendment." Rep. Hale Boggs, the Democratic Party whip from Louisiana, was given a well-merited ovation during debate when he broke with Southern tradition by openly acknowledging there was discrimination against Negro voters and by announcing his intention to vote for the bill "drastic though it may be." He was, incidentally, one of 23 Southerners who voted for it. In spite of his zeal, Mr. Boggs then went on to try to make the bill somewhat less drastic by offering as an amendment a provision already in the Senate bill to let voting districts obtain exemption from the Act through the courts if they can show that 50 per cent of their Negro voters are registered and there is no likelihood of discrimination within their boundaries. The Leadership Conference opposed the amendment because, among other things, we felt the Attorney General's authority to terminate the use of Federal examiners was more than adequate. At first the Boggs amendment was adopted by a teller vote of 123 to 77. But during the interval between its adoption and the taking of a roll-call vote that evening, Leadership Conference participants pointed out to many House members the troublesome nature of this amendment and it was good to see it finally defeated by a vote of 262 to 155.

Two Good Amendments That Were Not Adopted

Two amendments that Conference attorneys feel would have improved the bill were rejected by the House. One was the provision, already in the Senate bill, that would enable Puerto Ricans who are literate in Spanish to qualify to vote even though they cannot read or write English. The House adopted this on a teller vote and then rejected it on roll-call.

It also rejected, by a slim margin, an amendment offered by Rep. John Lindsay (R., N.Y.), that would have afforded greater protection to those exercising their constitutional rights of free speech and assembly in connection with voting. The

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON EDUCATION MR JOHN LEWIS

PANEL PREFERENCES

CHAIRMAN
STUDENT NONVIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE
6 RAYMOND ST
ATLANTA GA

10:15 A.M. TUESDAY, JULY 20

SECTION TOPIC

- 1-A The World of Work:
Jobs, Dropouts, and Automation
- 2-A Improving Quality:
Teacher Education
- 3-A The Case for Partnership:
The Role of the States
- 4-A World Responsibility:
*Overseas Program and Foreign
Students*
- 5-A The Special Student:
Educating the Talented
- 6-A Extending Opportunities:
School Desegregation
- 7-A Innovation:
Higher Education

MY CHOICE FROM THESE SEVEN PANELS
IS NUMBER _____

AND CHOICE ...

2 P.M. TUESDAY, JULY 20

SECTION TOPIC

- 1-B The World of Work:
*Skill Obsolescence and
Re-Education*
- 2-B Improving Quality:
Assessment of Performance
- 3-B The Case for Partnership:
Planning for Diversity
- 4-B World Responsibility:
International Affairs Programs
- 5-B The Special Student:
Educating the Handicapped
- 8-A Higher Education:
Research and Graduate Education
- 9-A The Urban Community:
Community Extension

MY CHOICE FROM THESE SEVEN PANELS
IS NUMBER _____

AND CHOICE ...

5	8	4		
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LUNCHEON RESERVATIONS

(@\$) _____ TUES. _____ WED.

10:15 A.M. WEDNESDAY, JULY 21

SECTION TOPIC

- 6-B Extending Opportunities:
Pre-School Education
- 7-B Innovation:
*Elementary and Secondary
Education*
- 8-B Higher Education:
Undergraduate Education
- 9-B The Urban Community:
Can Urban Schools Be Managed?

MY CHOICE FROM THESE FOUR PANELS
IS NUMBER _____

AND CHOICE ...

**THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE
ON EDUCATION**

July 20-21, 1965

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Every child has the right to as much education as he has the ability to receive. I believe that this right does not end in the lower schools, but goes through technical and higher education—if the child wants it and can use it.

I want this not only for his sake, but also for our nation's sake. America badly needs educated men and women. And America needs not just more education, but better education.

Nothing matters more to the future of our country. Not our military preparedness—for armed power is worthless if we lack the brain power to build a world of peace. Not our productive economy—for we cannot sustain growth without trained manpower. Not our democratic system of government—for freedom is fragile if citizens are ignorant.

Thomas Jefferson once said, "If we expect a nation to be ignorant and free, we expect what never was and never will be." Our nation's school systems were founded on that proposition.

Today, forty-one million students are enrolled in our public schools. Four million more will enter by the end of this decade. But that is not enough. One student out of every three now in the fifth grade will drop out before finishing high school—if we let him. Almost a million young people will quit school each year—if we let them. And over one hundred thousand of our smartest high school graduates each year will not go to college—if we do nothing.

This cannot continue. It costs too much: we cannot afford it. The whole nation suffers when our youth is neglected.

Lyndon B. Johnson

In calling the White House Conference on Education, President Johnson said: "All of us can benefit from a lively exchange of views on the major problems confronting our schools and colleges. We need to pool our best ideas about how to stimulate and enrich the nation's adventure in learning."

Accordingly, the Conference program has been designed to promote maximum discussion among panelists and audience participants. As indicated on the following pages, the Conference has been divided into nine sections, each of which is headed by a vice chairman. Each of the vice chairmen is in charge of two panels in the same general area of interest. Seven panels will meet on Tuesday morning, seven on Tuesday afternoon, and four on Wednesday morning.

The vice chairmen will begin each panel session by summarizing a background paper prepared in advance by a consultant who has been working with him. Joining him on the platform, in addition to the consultant, will be a questioner and five panelists. We are counting on their discussion to trigger questions from the floor and to encourage audience participation. Small group discussions immediately after each panel Tuesday will provide further opportunity for active participation in the Conference.

Summaries of all panels and small group discussions held on Tuesday will be distributed to conference participants Wednesday morning. Summaries of the Wednesday morning panels will be available at the general session on Wednesday afternoon. All panel discussions will be tape recorded.

There is no requirement for participants to stay within one section throughout the Conference. But it is essential that everyone indicate his preferences for Tuesday morning, Tuesday afternoon, and Wednesday afternoon.

On Wednesday afternoon, the vice chairmen will present brief summaries of the discussions in their sections to the President. Later, an issue of *American Education* will be devoted to highlights of the two-day session.

The purpose of the Conference is to examine critical issues in education on which the nation should focus its attention. No specific recommendations or legislative proposals are expected to be adopted by the Conference as a body. Instead, we hope that vigorous discussion of the issues will foster enlightened action by all those responsible for shaping the future of American education.

JOHN W. GARDNER
Chairman

ABOUT THE CONFERENCE...

PROGRAM OUTLINE

Tuesday, July 20

- 9:00 a.m. Opening General Session
Presiding: Chairman John W. Gardner
Welcome: The Hon. Anthony J. Celebrezze,
Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare
Address: The Hon. Francis Keppel, Commissioner,
U.S. Office of Education
- 10:15 a.m.—12:30 p.m. First Panel Sessions (7)
- Lunch Small Group Discussions
- 2:00 p.m.—4:15 p.m. Second Panel Sessions (7)
- 4:30 p.m.—6:00 p.m. Small Group Discussions
- 8:30 p.m. Vice Chairman, Consultants and Summary Writers
Meet to Prepare Digests.

Wednesday, July 21

- 9:00 a.m. Second General Session
Presiding: Chairman John W. Gardner
Addresses: Jerrold Zacharias, Professor of Physics,
Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
Ralph W. Tyler, Director, Center for Advanced
Study in Behavioral Sciences, Stanford, Calif.
- 10:15 a.m.—12:30 p.m. Third Panel Sessions (4)
- Lunch Presiding: Chairman John W. Gardner
Introduction of the Speaker:
The Hon. Anthony J. Celebrezze
Address: The Hon. Hubert H. Humphrey,
Vice President of the United States
- 2:00 p.m. Final General Session
Presiding: Chairman John W. Gardner
Reports of the Vice Chairman
- 4:00 p.m. Chairman and Vice Chairmen Report to the President
- 5:00 p.m. Reception for Participants, The White House

10:15 a.m. Tuesday, Panel Discussion 1-A

Jobs, Dropouts and Automation

Chairman: Whitney M. Young, Jr.

Consultant: Eli Ginzberg, Professor of Economics, Columbia University

Questioner: Judge Mary Conway Kohler, New York

Panelists: Samuel Shepard, Assistant Superintendent of Schools, St. Louis, Mo.

Joe L. Otero, Superintendent of Schools, Taos, N.Mex.

Grant Venn, Superintendent of Schools, Wood County, W.Va.

Daniel Schreiber, Director of Project on School Dropouts,

Daniel Schreiber, Director of Project on School Dropouts,
National Education Association, Washington

Monsignor William McManus, Superintendent of Schools, Diocese
of Chicago

2 p.m. Tuesday, Panel Discussion 1-B

Skill Obsolescence and Re-Education

Chairman: Whitney M. Young, Jr.

Consultant: Mrs. Joan Bowers, Human Relations Commission, Evansville, Ind.

Questioner: Lawrence M. Rogin, Director of Education, AFL-CIO

Panelists: W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary of Labor

Leon P. Minear, State Superintendent of Public Instruction,
Salem, Ore.

Stephen J. Wright, President, Fisk University

Harold F. Clark, Professor of Economics, Trinity University,
San Antonio, Tex.

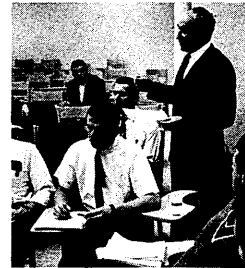
G.H. Rathe, Jr., Director of Education, IBM Corporation, Armonk, N.Y.



EDUCATION AND THE WORLD OF WORK

Vice Chairman: WHITNEY M. YOUNG, JR., Executive Director,
The National Urban League, New York

Summary Writer: Louise Kapp, Director of Information
National Committee on Employment of Youth, New York



IMPROVING THE QUALITY OF EDUCATION

Vice Chairman: HAROLD B. GORES, President, Educational Facilities
Laboratories, New York

Summary Writer: Barbara Krohn, Managing Editor, Washington Education
Association Journal, Seattle

10:15 a.m. Tuesday, Panel Discussion 2-A

Teacher Education

Chairman: Harold B. Gores

Consultant: Norman J. Boyan, Associate Professor of Education, Stanford

Questioner: Harold Howe, Executive Director, Learning Institute of North
Carolina, Rougemont

Panelists: Paul W. Briggs, Superintendent of Schools, Cleveland, Ohio

Lindley J. Stiles, Dean, School of Education, University of Wisconsin

Elizabeth Koontz, President, National Education Association

Department of Classroom Teachers, Price High School, Salisbury, N.C.

Adron Doran, President, Morehead State College

Theodore R. Sizer, Dean, School of Education, Harvard University

2 p.m. Tuesday, Panel Discussion 2-B

Assessment of Educational Performance

Chairman: Harold B. Gores

Consultant: John I. Goodlad, Director, University Elementary School,
University of California at Los Angeles

Questioner: Stephen K. Bailey, Dean, Maxwell Graduate School of
Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University

Panelists: Hedley Donovan, Editor-in-Chief, Time Incorporated, New York

Jack Arbolino, Director, Advanced Placement Program, College
Entrance Examination Board, New York

Thomas W. Braden, President, California State Board of Education

William Carr, Executive Secretary, National Education Association

Donald W. Dunnan, Superintendent of Schools, St. Paul, Minn.

10:15 a.m. Tuesday, Panel Discussion 3-A

The Role of The States

Chairman: Terry Sanford

Consultant: Nicholas A. Masters, Staff, Joint Committee on Organization of the Congress

Questioner: Richard C. Lee, Mayor, New Haven, Conn.

Panelists: Richard J. Hughes, Governor of New Jersey

Eugene Power, President Elect, Association of Governing Boards of State Universities and Allied Institutions, Ann Arbor, Mich.

James B. Conant, President Emeritus, Harvard University

John D. Millett, Chancellor, Ohio State System of Higher Education

J. W. Edgar, State Superintendent of Schools, Austin, Tex.

2 p.m. Tuesday, Panel Discussion 3-B

Planning for Diversity

Chairman: Terry Sanford

Consultant: Christopher Jencks, Fellow, Institute for Policy Studies, Washington

Questioner: Albert H. Bowker, Chancellor, The City University of New York

Panelists: Edmund J. Gleazer, Executive Director, American Association of Junior Colleges

Lee A. DuBridge, President, California Institute of Technology

Father Paul C. Reinert, President, St. Louis University

Dean McHenry, Chancellor, University of California at Santa Cruz

Willa B. Player, President, Bennett College, Greensboro, N.C.



THE CASE FOR PARTNERSHIP IN EDUCATION

Vice Chairman: TERRY SANFORD, former Governor of North Carolina

Summary Writer: Frederick Dashiell, Professional Assistant, Urban Project, National Education Association



EDUCATION FOR WORLD RESPONSIBILITY

Vice Chairman: O. MEREDITH WILSON, President, University of Minnesota

Summary Writer: Theodor Schuchat, Editorial Consultant, Washington

10:15 a.m. Tuesday, Panel Discussion 4-A

Overseas Programs and Foreign Students

Chairman: O. Meredith Wilson

Consultant: William Spencer, Associate Dean, Graduate School of Business, Columbia University

Questioner: John Stalnaker, Chairman, Board of Foreign Scholarships

Panelists: Kenneth Holland, President, Institute of International Education

Father Theodore M. Hesburgh, President, University of Notre Dame

Mabel Smythe, Principal, New Lincoln School, New York

Arthur Hummel, Acting Assistant Secretary of State for Cultural and Educational Affairs

Harold L. Enarson, Academic Vice President, University of New Mexico.

2 p.m. Tuesday, Panel Discussion 4-B

International Affairs Programs

Chairman: O. Meredith Wilson

Consultant: William Rogers, Director, World Affairs Center, University of Minnesota

Questioner: John Gange, Professor of Political Science, University of Oregon

Panelists: William Marvel, President, Education and World Affairs, New York

John Howard, Director of International Training and Research, Ford Foundation

Mrs. Ruth Miller, Executive Director, Philadelphia World Affairs Council

Father Joseph McCloskey, Head of Social Studies, Cardinal O'Hara High School, Chicago

Elizabeth Wilson, Director of Curriculum, Montgomery County Schools, Rockville, Md.

10:15 a.m. Tuesday, Panel Discussion 5-A

Educating The Talented

Chairman: Lawrence A. Cremin

Consultant: Miriam L. Goldberg, Associate Professor of Psychology and Education, Teachers College, Columbia University

Questioner: James Gallagher, Professor of Education, University of Illinois

Panelists: Charles Brown, Principal, Newton High School, Newtonville, Mass.

Sister Mary Corita, Chairman, Department of Art, Immaculate Heart College, Los Angeles

Albert Barouh, Teacher, Joseph Pulitzer Jr. High School, Jackson Heights, N.Y.

Ben Shahn, Artist and Teacher, Roosevelt, N.J.

Philip I. Mitterling, Director, Inter-University Committee on The Superior Student, University of Colorado

2 p.m. Tuesday, Panel Discussion 5-B

Educating The Handicapped

Chairman: Lawrence A. Cremin

Consultant: Samuel Kirk, Director, Institute for Research on Exceptional Children, University of Illinois

Questioner: Nathaniel L. Gage, Professor of Education, Stanford University

Panelists: Frances P. Connor, Professor of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University

Leonard W. Mayo, Executive Director, Association for Aid to Crippled Children, New York

Hugo Schunhoff, Superintendent, California School for the Deaf

George E. Gardner, Psychiatrist-in-Chief, Children's Hospital, Boston

Mary Switzer, Commissioner of Vocational Rehabilitation



EDUCATION OF THE SPECIAL STUDENT

Vice Chairman: LAWRENCE A. CREMIN, Professor of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University

Summary Writers: Lassor Blumenthal, Free Lance Writer, New York/(5-A) and Charles Silberman, Fortune Magazine, New York/(5-B)



EXTENDING EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

Vice Chairman: JAMES E. ALLEN, JR., Commissioner of Education, State Department of Education, Albany, N.Y.

Summary Writer: Marvin Reed, Editor, New Jersey Education Association Journal, Trenton

10:15 a.m. Tuesday, Panel Discussion 6-A

School Desegregation

Chairman: James E. Allen, Jr.

Consultant: Thomas F. Pettigrew, Associate Professor of Social Psychology, Harvard University

Questioner: Adam Clymer, Reporter, The Baltimore Sun, Washington, D.C.

Panelists: John H. Fischer, President, Teachers College, Columbia University

John W. Letson, Superintendent of Schools, Atlanta, Ga.

Kenneth B. Clark, Professor of Psychology, City College of New York

Neil V. Sullivan, Superintendent of Schools, Berkeley, Calif.

Nick Garza, Principal, Eleanor Brackenridge Elementary School, San Antonio, Tex.

10:15 a.m. Wednesday, Panel Discussion 6-B

Pre-School Education

Chairman: James E. Allen, Jr.

Consultant: J. W. Getzels, Professor of Education, University of Chicago

Questioner: Martin Deutsch, Director, Institute for Developmental Studies, New York Medical College

Panelists: Julius Richmond, Director, Project Head Start

George B. Brain, Dean, College of Education, Washington State University

Mrs. Vivian Couzzens, Teacher, Bancroft Elementary School, Washington, D.C.

Alberta L. Meyer, Executive Secretary, Association for Childhood Education International, Washington

Sister Margaret Louise, St. Joseph's College, Brooklyn, N.Y.

10:15 a.m. Tuesday, Panel Discussion 7-A

Innovations in Higher Education

Chairman: Ralph W. Tyler

Consultant: Lewis B. Mayhew, Professor of Education, Stanford University,

Questioner: Edward H. Levi, Provost, University of Chicago

Panelists: Victor Butterfield, President, Wesleyan University,
Middletown, Conn.

Daniel Bell, Professor of Sociology, Columbia University

Father Charles J. Lavery, President, St. John Fisher College,
Rochester, N.Y.

Alvin C. Eurich, President, Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies

Albert Kitshaber, Professor of English, University of Oregon

10:15 a.m. Wednesday, Panel Discussion 7-B

Innovations in Elementary and Secondary Education

Chairman: Ralph W. Tyler

Consultant: Dwight W. Allen, Associate Professor of Education, Stanford

Questioner: Frank Brown, Principal, Melbourne, Fla., High School

Panelists: Harry Levin, Professor of Psychology, Cornell University

Richard D. Batchelder, President-Elect, National Education
Association, Newton High School, Newtonville, Mass.

John B. King, Executive Deputy Superintendent,
New York City Schools

Marion Cranmore, Principal, Burns Park Elementary School,
Ann Arbor, Mich.

Sister Jacqueline Grennan, President, Webster College, St. Louis, Mo.



INNOVATIONS IN EDUCATION

Vice Chairman: RALPH W. TYLER, Director, Center for Advanced Study
in Behavioral Sciences, Stanford, Calif.

Summary Writer: Ned Hubbell, Director of Information,
National School Boards Association, Evanston, Ill.



HIGHER EDUCATION IN TRANSITION

Vice Chairman: MRS. MARY I. BUNTING, President, Radcliffe College

Summary Writer: John Chaffee, Jr., Education Editor,
Boston Herald & Traveler

2 p.m. Tuesday, Panel Discussion 8-A

Research and Graduate Education

Chairman: Mrs. Mary I. Bunting

Consultant: John Walsh, News Department, Science Magazine, Washington

Questioner: Neal O. Hines, Assistant Director, Committee on Governmental
Relations, Washington

Panelists: Hubert Heffner, Associate Provost, Stanford University
Logan Wilson, President, American Council on Education

Harry Ransom, Chancellor, University of Texas

James Shannon, Director, National Institutes of Health

Leland Haworth, Director, National Science Foundation

10:15 a.m. Wednesday, Panel Discussion 8-B

Undergraduate Education

Chairman: Mrs. Mary I. Bunting

Consultant: Donald R. McNeil, Special Assistant to the President,
University of Wisconsin

Questioner: Harry D. Gideonse, President, Brooklyn College

Panelists: Samuel M. Nabrit, President, Texas Southern University
Barnaby A. Keeney, President, Brown University

R. Nevitt Sanford, Director, Institute for the Study of Human
Problems, Stanford University

George Shuster, Assistant to the President, Notre Dame University

Stephen Robbins, President, U.S. National Student Association

2 p.m. Tuesday, Panel Discussion 9-A

Community Extension

Chairman: Sidney Marland, Jr.

Consultant: Roald Campbell, Dean, Graduate School of Education,
University of Chicago

Questioner: Edward C. Banfield, Professor of Urban Government, Harvard

Panelists: Russell I. Thackrey, Executive Secretary, Association
of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges

Robert B. Binswanger, Executive Director, The Pace Association,
Cleveland, Ohio

Fred H. Harrington, President, University of Wisconsin

Walter M. Garcia, President, Modesto Junior College, Modesto, Calif.

Paul J. Misner, Superintendent of Schools, Glencoe, Ill.

10:15 a.m. Wednesday, Panel Discussion 9-B

Can Urban Schools Be Managed?

Chairman: Sidney Marland, Jr.

Consultant: H. Thomas James, Professor of Education, Stanford University

Questioner: Philip M. Hauser, Professor of Sociology, University of Chicago

Panelists: Samuel M. Brownell, Superintendent of Schools, Detroit

Melvin Barnes, Superintendent of Schools, Portland

James Stratten, Member, Board of Education, San Francisco

David Selden, Assistant to the President, American Federation of
Teachers, Chicago

T. Joseph McCook, Superintendent of Schools, Springfield, Mass.



EDUCATION IN THE URBAN COMMUNITY

Vice Chairman: SIDNEY MARLAND, JR., Superintendent of Schools,
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Summary Writer: Oscar Jaeger, International Union of Electrical Workers,
Washington

VICE CHAIRMEN-AT-LARGE

JAMES B. CONANT

President Emeritus, Harvard University

Honorable EDMUND G. BROWN

Governor of California

Honorable JOHN B. CONNALLY

Governor of Texas

Honorable RICHARD J. HUGHES

Governor of New Jersey

Honorable JOHN H. REED

Governor of Maine

Conference Director: Lyle M. Nelson

Program Design: Information Staff, U.S. Office of Education

STATEMENT BY HONORABLE FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, JR.

CHAIRMAN

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION

before the

General Subcommittee on Labor

July 21, 1965

Gentlemen:

I was pleased to receive and accept your invitation to appear here today. I have followed with interest your very ambitious schedule this session and I know it is true to say that under the forceful and effective leadership of Chairman Powell, no Committee of the Congress in recent sessions has been more engaged or successful in promoting needed social gains than the Committee on Education and Labor. Also, I know I speak for many Americans when I commend you on your work and accomplishments this session.

My fellow Commissioners and myself, along with those contributing legal services to the Commission, have studied closely H.R. 9222. I look forward to our discussion and your questions on this Bill. But first, Mr. Chairman, since your subcommittee was in effect the birthplace of the legislation which established the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, I would like to tell you briefly of our activities since my fellow Commissioners and myself were sworn to duty on June 1.

We are temporarily located at 1730 K Street, N. W. and expect to remain there for a few weeks until our permanent quarters at 1800 G Street, N. W. are made available. Our staffing of top policy-making positions has proceeded slowly because of the close review being given to the highly qualified persons recommended to us. This task is now nearly completed and my colleagues and myself are very proud of both the dedication and talent which we have been able to gather around us.

Four task forces headed by Vice Chairman Holcomb and Commissioners Jackson, Hernandez and Graham have moved us well along the road in the areas of initial responsibility. Procedural Rules and Regulations have been published; planning for the President's national conference is under way; a research program is being developed and proposals for record keeping, and reporting systems are being studied. Posters and other publications have been designed and drafted and consultations on future relations have been held with the directors of 32 State human rights agencies. In addition, our budget was prepared and testimony on it has been given before the appropriate Senate subcommittee. A 4-day seminar for 65 field representatives recruited temporarily from several state

Cabinet

Honorable Dean Rusk
Secretary of State

Honorable Henry H. Fowler
Secretary of the Treasury

Honorable Robert S. McNamara
Secretary of Defense

Honorable Nicholas deB. Katzenbach
Attorney General

Honorable John A. Gronouski
Postmaster General

Honorable Stewart L. Udall
Secretary of the Interior

Honorable Orville L. Freeman
Secretary of Agriculture

Honorable John T. Connor
Secretary of Commerce

Honorable W. Willard Wirtz
Secretary of Labor

Honorable Anthony J. Celebrezze
Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare

Executive

Honorable Charles L. Schultze
Director, Bureau of the Budget

Honorable Gardner Ackley
Council of Economic Advisers

Honorable Robert Sargent Shriver, Jr.
Director, Office of Economic Opportunity

Honorable Buford Ellington
Director, Office of Emergency Planning

Honorable Donald F. Hornig, Director,
Office of Science and Technology

Independent Agencies

Honorable William G. Colman
Executive Director, Advisory Commission
on Intergovernmental Relations

Honorable William J. Driver
Administrator of Veterans Affairs

Honorable Milton Eisenhower, Chairman
Commission on Presidential Scholars

Honorable John A. Hannah
Chairman, Commission on Civil Rights

Honorable Leland J. Haworth
Director, National Science Foundation

Honorable E. William Henry, Chairman
Federal Communications Commission

Honorable Lewis B. Hershey
Director, Selective Service System

Honorable John W. Macy, Jr.
Chairman, Civil Service Commission

Honorable S. Dillon Ripley
Secretary, Smithsonian Institution

Honorable David Rockefeller
Chairman, President's Commission
on White House Fellows

Honorable Carl T. Rowan, Director
United States Information Agency

Honorable Harold Russell
Chairman, President's Committee on
Employment of the Handicapped

Honorable Glenn T. Seaborg
Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission

Honorable Frederick Seitz
President, National Academy of
Sciences and National Research Council

Honorable William Walton
Chairman, Commission of Fine Arts

Honorable Robert C. Weaver
Administrator
Housing and Home Finance Agency

Honorable James E. Webb
Administrator, National Aeronautics
and Space Administration

HOST COMMITTEE

itself has only a limited control over the compliance procedure.

Title VII in its present form places a major emphasis on the role of the Commission as a conciliator. This is as it should be, for intelligent, patient, understanding conciliation is an absolutely vital part of the job of achieving equality of opportunity in employment. But to divorce the conciliation function from the enforcement function, as Title VII has done, seems to me a questionable decision. Education, conciliation, and enforcement should not be viewed as alternative means of effecting compliance; they serve to complement each other. The experience of the State and local agencies, and the experience on the Federal level of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, demonstrate that conciliation is most successful when the parties know that effective machinery for enforcement is readily at hand. Mr. Theodore Kheel, a distinguished labor relations arbitrator, in a report prepared for the President's Committee spoke of the Committee's enforcement and voluntary programs as follows: "Enforcement and persuasion are not separate and distinct, nor incompatible, but related parts of the same program. They are opposite sides of the same coin. Both are necessary and indispensable to the other."

Discrimination in employment is a wrong to the individual victim; it is also a wrong to society. Fair employment legislation should not only offer effective redress to the individual; it should establish and protect the public right to seek enforcement. The enforcement provisions in H.R. 9222 are the type which the States have found necessary to make their laws effective. For that reason alone they merit the serious consideration of this committee. While no one can state with any assurance what the Commission's experience will be with the enforcement procedures of Title VII and while we intend to use our present authority as wisely and effectively as possible, I must say in all candor that it seems likely that some stronger enforcement authority in the Commission will be necessary to achieve the progress toward equal employment opportunity which The Congress expects and the nation demands.

Now I would like to identify several provisions in Title VII and H.R. 9222 which, from the Commission's study of the statute and very brief experience, appear to deserve consideration relative to possible future amendment.

For example, clarification of the Commission's reporting and record keeping powers with respect to persons under the jurisdiction of State and local agencies. Section 709(d) of Title VII in its present form apparently assumes State reporting and record keeping requirements which do not in fact exist.

Also, you may want to give consideration to clarifying, limiting or deleting the exemption provision in Section 702 for educational institutions. Not only is the scope of the term "educational institution" rather vague, but it is hard to find compelling justification for the special treatment which the section

and Federal agencies has been conducted and these persons stand ready to assist the Commission during the next few months while our own field staff is formed. Also, a program to insure the prompt handling of complaints has been developed. And finally, in addition to the leadership they have provided in these areas, the Commissioners have participated in employer, union and civil rights conferences in many sections of the country securing first hand the thoughts and suggestions of leaders in these fields.

Now let me turn to the business at hand, H.R. 9222. While it is not yet possible to draw from the experience in action of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, we have done considerable research into the problems encountered and accomplishments made by State FEP Commissions during the past 20 years.

As you know, New York and New Jersey enacted the first modern State fair employment practices laws in 1945. Since then 31 States and some 80 local governmental units have enacted legislation in this area. These laws have differed, both in coverage and enforcement procedures. From the body of experience developed in the "social laboratories" of the States, we can get some idea of what can be expected from the Federal law.

One point on which there is surely general agreement is that there is a need for statutory procedures to compel compliance. Of the 33 State laws presently on the books, 23 have always provided enforcement procedures. Of the six States which initially relied exclusively on voluntary procedures, four have since amended their statutes to provide enforcement powers. The history of the Kansas Commission seems to be a case in point. Under the initial state statute, action was confined to investigation and confidential mediation which, during the first 8 years, proved ineffectual. As a result, the statute was rewritten to enable the Commission to hold public hearings and to issue cease and desist orders in addition to ordering the respondent to hire or reinstate a complainant with or without back pay. Similar experiences in Wisconsin, Colorado, Indiana, Baltimore and Cleveland also indicate that on the state and local level voluntary programs have generally been ineffective.

Among those states with enforceable fair employment practices laws there is a substantial preference for administrative enforcement. While 5 States merely make employment discrimination a criminal offense, the laws of 27 States provide for enforcement through administrative agencies. Such agencies have powers of investigation and conciliation, and also authority, where conciliation fails, to hold public hearings, and, where appropriate, to issue cease and desist orders enforceable in the courts.

Title VII differs markedly from the State statutes I have discussed; it is in some ways unique. While Title VII provides a procedure for enforcing compliance, the principal enforcement weapon is lawsuits by aggrieved individuals. Lawsuits by the Attorney General are provided for certain aggravated cases. Thus, unlike the comparable State commissions, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission

extends to the employment policies of these institutions.

Further, it appears that additional consideration should be given to the matter of employment discrimination based on sex. As you know, the sex provisions in Title VII were added to the Civil Rights Bill on the floor of the House. Debate on the amendment was in fairly general terms. As a result legislative history is lacking as to the application to particular situations of the general principle of non-discrimination on account of sex. While the Commission has the initial responsibility for interpreting the statute as it stands, and we will bear that responsibility to the best of our ability, we would welcome such clarification as Congress may choose to give of its intent with respect to sex discrimination. I would suggest that attention be focused on three particular areas of difficulty: The relationship between Title VII and State or local laws and regulations respecting the employment of women; the status of private retirement and pension plans which provide different terms or benefits for men and women; and the relationship between Title VII and the Equal Pay Act.

I know that as the Commission's experience grows, other areas of mutual concern in addition to those touched on above, will be identified. In this regard I want this Committee to know that the Commission is ready to cooperate in every possible way.

I hope our appearance here today proves of some help to you in your deliberations on H.R. 9222. On behalf of my fellow Commissioners and myself, thank you for your courtesies.

Confidential

Bond/Lewis

MEMO Re: ACRAP

August 6, 1965

To: Sellers, Breaker, Minnis, Tillinghast, Wright, Heifetz, Lauren, Washington, S. Johnson

From: Garman

ACRAF is the Artists Civil Rights Assistance Fund. It was established perhaps 6 months ago by a various people in the entertainment and creative arts field as a tax-exempt foundation which would grant funds to projects of the Southern movement. Most of the people involved in its establishment were concerned primarily with aiding the more militant section of the movement -- namely SNCC, FDP and related activities. The funds must go to educational and cultural endeavors.

The first chunk of ACRAP money came from contributions by artists of the proceeds of their February 19 concerts, work, etc. (that is, a sculptor would have donated his wages for Feb. 19; a concert artist, the proceeds of his concert, etc). Since that time probably 90% of ACRAP funds have been given to ACRAP because SNCC existed -- and because our people, in various places, knew that ACRAP would be friendly to our requests and that it was a place for tax-exempt funds to be collected. To date approximately \$13,000 has been received from the Broadway Answers Selma benefit (\$8,000 was received sometime in July from which \$3,000 and some change was to be paid to an ad agency for our share of the advertising; whereupon another \$8,000 was to be forwarded to ACRAP from the Anti-Defamation League which collected the Dway Ans Selma money). An additional amount of \$7500 was sent to ACRAP by individual donors at a SNCC party in LA. Another \$3,000 (approximately) came from SNCC connected sources in NY. As I recall the first sum from artists' wages came to something over \$10,000.

ACRAF money has been spent on 1. administrative costs which are ~~fixed~~ fairly low (don't know what that means) and 2. grants -- the following ones have been made:

May-July

- \$3,250 to Kunstler, Kinoy, Connolly for legal work in Montgomery, Alabama. \$250 a week for 3 months/ plus \$250 for expenses with actual expense vouchers. Requested by James Forman.
- \$2,500 To the Albany Nursery School run by Wendy Roberts, who made the request.
- \$7,500 To the Residential Freedom School. Requested by Judy Richardson. (H.B. This money is to be placed in a Residential Freedom School account and funds are to be allocated according to the real bills to the school).
- \$2,500 Grant to the Free Southern Theater. Applicant same.
- \$3,750 Grant for the purchase of specialized research books -- annotated codes, legal manuals, etc. Requested by Jack Minnis. Money will be paid out directly to publishers of these books.
- \$2,500 To the American Publishers Freedom Books Committee, a group which will obtain books for freedom schools and staff education programs from publishers. The Committee services all requests

page 2 Memo on ACRAP. August 6, 1965

The ACRAP Board also decided at its July meeting that three large projects would receive particular attention and that special fund raising efforts would be made to aid the financing of: Radio Tougaloo, Free Southern Theater and an educational institute. (An application for this Institute was received from James Forman, total \$\$, \$15,000).

There are several problems connected with ACRAP...first, we have, in the past, seen it as a SNCC front. It is not that. It is an independent foundation which we have used as a place to send tax-exempt money. But as you all can see from the list of grants, certainly only a small percentage of the funds have gone to priority SNCC fund needs (a value judgement on my part). Some of this problem may be solved by the fact that we now have our own tax-exempt fund -- the Fund for Educational and Legal Defense, Inc. (FELD, Inc.) which received its tax-exemption on July 23rd, 1965. (see below). I have two suggestions to make:

1. That some procedure be established for reviewing SNCC applications to ACRAP. That is committee review proposals and submit those to ACRAP which are a. priority and be seen most likely to be looked upon with favor by the ACRAP board. That no individual be allowed simply to submit a proposal without it first being looked over by this committee. The idea here is not to stop proposals and programs from being funded but simply to make judicious decisions as to what proposals go where for financing.
2. This same committee should review proposals which are to be funded by FELD, Inc. and likewise would perhaps decide that a particular project could be funded outside of both FELD, Inc and ACRAP... another foundation, for example, depending on the nature of the proposal. This committee would also stimulate fund raising for FELD, Inc. and would work closely with the five principals for FELD (Killa Baker, Julia Rettyman, Elizabeth Sutherland, Mike Standard and Carita Bernsahn) on these matters. This committee should be comprised of (at least): the Northern Coordinator or someone from that section; several people concerned directly with SNCC program, etc.)

SPECIAL NOTICE -- Mike Standard, the attorney who obtained the tax exemption for FELD, Inc. will be in Atlanta August 14 to explain problems and procedures relating to a tax-exempt fund and its operation. (There are certain crucial problems relating to the way in which the tax exemption was obtained and the way in which we must function to keep it.) Please do not circulate information about FELD until after this meeting. All people receiving this memo should be prepared to meet with Mike at 10 am, Saturday, August 14th in the conference room.
Betty Garman

[1965 Aug 18]

From: Mathew Ahmann, National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice; James Farmer, Congress of Racial Equality; Lawrence Guyot, Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party; John Lewis, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; Steven McNichols, U.S. Student Association; John Pemberton, American Civil Liberties Union; Robert Spike, Commission on Religion and Race; William Strickland, Northern Student Movement.

To: All friends and supporters of the Mississippi Challenges.

The enclosed statement explains the current status of the challenges to the five Congressmen from Mississippi which are now before the House. For the reasons outlined in the statement, we, the undersigned, feel that it is of utmost importance that these challenges be brought to a vote during this present session of Congress. This can be achieved with the united efforts of all interested organizations and groups.

We have, therefore, come together to plan a cooperative program of national action to ensure that the House fulfills its constitutional responsibility during this session. We invite you to join with us in planning and working toward this objective.

The enclosed statement is being circulated for signatures to organizations that have previously expressed support of the challenges. We invite you to join with us in issuing this statement and to attend a planning meeting of all supporters of the challenges to be held at 3:00 P.M., Wednesday, August 25th, at the First Congregational Church, 10th and G Streets, N.W., Washington, D.C. We will report in detail on the challenges and discuss plans for a national program of support. Because of the urgency, we request that you reply to MFDP, 926 Pennsylvania Avenue, S.E., Washington, D.C., by the enclosed post card as soon as is possible.

August 18, 1965

STATEMENT IN SUPPORT OF THE MISSISSIPPI CHALLENGES

For nearly a century, illegal, unconstitutional and inhuman measures have been used by the state of Mississippi to prohibit Negroes in that state from exercising the ballot. Over 430,000 Negroes of voting age were excluded from voting in the general elections of November 1964 by which the present Mississippi House delegation was sent to Congress.

The citizens of Mississippi, working through the MFDP, have challenged the seating of these Congressmen. They are asking the Congress to declare the Mississippi seats vacant and to call for new elections.

On July 29, the Honorable John McGormack, Speaker of the House of Representatives, placed the challenges before the Committee on House Administration by referring to it the notices of challenge, the contestees' replies, the Brief of Contestants, and three volumes of printed evidence collected by lawyers for the contestants in support of the challenges. The only document still outstanding is the brief of the challenged Congressmen.

The Clerk of the House ruled that the Mississippi Congressmen had thirty days beginning on July 29 to file such a brief. This means that by August 30 all procedural requirements will have been met by all parties, and that the way will be clear for a decision by the Congress.

Should the challenged Congressmen fail to file their briefs in due time, it will not affect the fact that the Negro citizens of Mississippi have met all requirements and that the responsibility of the Congress is to examine fully and to vote on the challenges.

WE FEEL THAT FULL AND IMMEDIATE CONGRESSIONAL ACTION ON THESE CHALLENGES IS CALLED FOR BECAUSE:

- A. Any question concerning contested elections is regarded by the Congress as being of highest privilege, taking precedence over most matters. In establishing this by rule and precedent, the Congress recognized that the very nature of an election contest is such that any failure to give it speedy action, any delay, serves to thwart the intent of the procedure. To allow members, the validity of whose elections is in question, to continue sitting indefinitely with no settlement of the charges is to nullify the mechanism for ensuring that only legitimately elected persons serve in Congress. It is therefore essential that the Congress act on these challenges in this session.
- B. This issue goes to the very heart of those principles of democratic representation upon which the honor and integrity of the Congress and the political rights of the people of this country rest. It deserves the full and prompt attention of the House of Representatives.
- C. The sacrifices and aspirations of the Negro people of Mississippi and their continued and enduring faith in the processes of American democracy demand that these challenges be fully examined and brought to a vote in this session of the Congress.

- D. The House alone has the constitutional responsibility to decide contested elections brought before it. Therefore, only the House can decide upon the validity of the elections held last November in Mississippi. Now that the constitutional and procedural requirements have been met, the House must not shirk this responsibility and obligation.
- E. Whatever effect the Voting Rights Bill may have in the future, the inescapable fact is that the sitting Mississippi House delegation was elected under a system that ruthlessly and unconstitutionally excluded over 90% of the Negro citizens of Mississippi from the ballot. These are the elections that are being contested.
- F. For the House to fail to deal openly and seriously with these challenges is to encourage those Southern forces opposed to Negro voting to disregard the Voting Rights Bill and to invite continued political exclusion of Negroes in the South.

We therefore call upon the Congress to move to bring these issues to a vote as soon as the challenged Congressmen's time to file their brief has elapsed.

We pledge to act in support of the people of Mississippi in their efforts to bring this issue to a vote during this session.

August 16, 1965

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

EXECUTIVE STAFF MEETING

HILTON INN

AUGUST 26 - 28, 1965

ATTENDING:

M. L. King, Jr. (Presiding)
Andrew Young
Randolph Blackwell
C. T. Vivian
Hosea Williams
Bernard Lee
Gwendolyn Green
James Bevel
Fred Bennett
Stanley Levison

Junius Griffin
Jimmie Collier
James Orange
Carol Hoover
Ed Clayton
Dorothy Cotton
Charles Love
Walter Fauntroy
Ann Kindberg
Eric Kindberg

Albert Sampson (2nd day)

MEDICAL COMMITTEE

Before the regular meeting was begun, representatives from the Medical Committee were present to get a sense of direction relating to the recruitment of doctors to work closely with the movement - specifically with persons participating in demonstrations whose salaries are so low they cannot get medical care. Rev. Young suggested that our relationship to the committee be similar to that of the Incorporated Fund; that we acquaint the committee ahead of time of our plans and program thereby, allowing the members time to determine needs. A meeting of the Field Staff and the Medical Committee is scheduled for August 31st.

The regular session was called to order by the President. The Reverend Fred Bennette led the group in prayer.

PURPOSE

This meeting was called, the President said, to discuss and think through anew our programmatic thrust in the light of recent developments in the North. We have made certain contacts on the Northern Tour and many are desirous of having us help in their communities in a long-range program. We need therefore, to discuss our resources - physical and financial - Dr. King concluded.

James Bevel suggested that for clarity he would have the group look at where we are and where we're going. We need to look at our whole investment of staff, time, goals and etc. (as in SCOPE - the Northern Tour)

SCOPE

Hosea Williams gave a brief assessment of the SCOPE project. The project effected the results he envisioned, Mr. Williams said; the most important being that so many Negroes have been aroused and motivated as a result. He reported that the project to date has spent one-hundred-sixty-five-thousand (\$165,000) dollars to date. The best counties operated with from five to ten workers; some states were exposed for the false images present: Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Virginia for example.

PAGE TWO
EXECUTIVE STAFF MEETING (CONT'D)

They have black belts with all the resulting problems of that of Alabama. Report by states:

North Carolina All offices closed. SCOPE team is doing documentary work. First time in Bertie County people have come together for a common purpose.

South Carolina Reported that many efforts were thwarted by NAACP. An exchange program between Allen University and Brandeis is planned.

Georgia First time har-core areas of Georgia were pierced. 29% are now registered.

Florida Worked in northwest section; the need is for organization.

Alabama Work very successful. SNCC staff reported to have preferred that SCLC raise funds and let their staff do the work. Mr. Williams reported that SNCC does have excellent staff in Alabama.

In conclusion, Mr. Williams suggested that we should continue working in many places where it was begun this summer; otherwise, we will not receive full benefit from the investment already made - that it is now possible to elect Negro public officials in many communities and that the projects' ultimate goal is to remove racism from the body politic.

He stressed our need as an ethnic group to learn the art of running for public office. We have many dedicated persons who needed experience and this summer's project provided it. We can now build on this experience creating better SCOPE chapters in the future. A full statistical report will be ready by September 1st covering dollars spent and number registered.

Finally the group stressed the need to thoroughly evaluate to determine whether we get the best results for the resources allocated - how few are registered on large budget and thousands are registered on a very small one. Some suggestions were that communities in motion require less funds, that differences in situations must be considered, that it does not necessarily take a movement to register voters; that it is proper now to determine whether our successes are due to some technique we're using or some other forces; that we need to look at all experiences of all groups and organizations working and arrive at some conclusions.

Andrew Young suggested that it is perhaps too soon to discuss or assess the summer project. We need to do all related bookkeeping and gather all other facts before conclusions are drawn. Mr. Levison suggested a sheet with columns showing dollars spent, number registered and leadership involved. Mrs. Gwen Green stated that we will never be able to put on paper all Summer Community Organization and Political Education (SCOPE) Project has produced as for example: the willingness of white people to come and work and the inspiration afforded in communities across the south by their very presence.

PERSONNEL & RESPONSIBILITY

Dr. King stressed the importance of team spirit as a basis for beginning to solve some problems we face. He also exhorted the staff not to make

PAGE THREE
EXECUTIVE STAFF MEETING (CONT'D)

major decisions, pronouncements, hold press conferences, etc. without clearing with the proper persons. Nothing should be said that gives the impression erroneously of being a policy statement. The President should especially be informed it was agreed, as he bears the burden of responsibility for the image of the movement. All must work to preserve the image and integrity of the organization.

The question of integrity, of proper handling of confidential matters and loyalty to employers needs attention. An example of mishandling was discussed.

The need for identification cards, especially for Field Staff, was expressed. This will be done.

Randolph Blackwell related his concern for our public image. Whether present rumors are valid or not, he is concerned with our social image and with social consequences. He cited several instances of such rumors and/or misconduct. With all the good SCOPE produced there are structural and staff problems that need attention. A well-planned-post-project-evaluation meeting is indicated; Willie Bolden, Ben Clark, and others must be brought into the mainstream of SCLC; all staff must learn to operate in a fashion not to diminish the dignity of other workers; effort must be made to remove the impression of empire building (SCOPE against SCLC so all departments know we are one organization). There was a consensus that there is a need to unify SCLC. Mr. Blackwell proposed that the entire Board of SCLC should have evaluated the SCOPE Project. Perhaps we are holding Mr. Williams responsible for what we should have checked and debated initially.

The President concluded this discussion of staff relationships and problems by proposing that we seek ways to send all summer workers back to their communities with devotion to SCLC and a new understanding of the movement. A new perspective can be given to people who can be of value to the movement in the future.

Reverend Young added the suggestion that we need professional help in understanding ourselves. Free service has been offered by the Medical Committee.

NORTHERN TOUR

As background related to our proposed northern efforts, Dr. King gave the rationale for the recently completed Northern Tour. As he spoke around the country, he said, he realized that teeming millions of Negroes hovered in ghettos, frustrated and unable to articulate or understand the casual basis for their frustration. They needed leadership. In the South, we always had segregationists to help make issues clear. He saw in the North the failure of the Negro to see himself as somebody. As a result of the March we began receiving invitations to come North to help. Though we were not ready to mount a major movement, we felt the need to go to assess, to inspire, to give Negroes a sense of hope. This ghetto Negro has been invisible so long and has become visible through violence. Dr. King continued, "Not the way, but one way", one man was heard to say. In the North we have heard much about the validity of violence. It has become a challenge to the

PAGE FOUR
EXECUTIVE STAFF MEETING (CONT'D)

nonviolent movement. Chicago is on fire with a nonviolent movement. They want us to come in September. We must not ignore their call. We must find the real issues and examine our structure to determine what we can do. On the heels of the Los Angeles riots, we must do a soul searching and profound analysis to properly chart our course, the President concluded.

The question was raised as to whether we will transform the North by staying in the South broadening our voter registration drives, thereby, continuing to call attention to the problems which will reverberate in the North.

Reverend Young responded that the country holds Dr. King responsible for almost everything that happens and through him his organization. Because we planned some special projects does not mean we abdicate responsibility to others - other areas wanting freedom.

Some conclusions and suggestions coming out of this discussion were as follows:

That we analyze the movement to see and understand what has happened.

That we must not get involved in what cannot be attained.

That the real need in the North is to get over to the people the power of nonviolence.

That to create "creative tension" leadership is needed with the ability to sustain. (the problem in the North is a bankruptcy of leadership)

That we must be careful not to amass people without establishing creative tension.

That we begin now (after analysis suggested by Bevel) the groundwork and training necessary on which to build a movement.

That when we move in the North all our resources (staff and financial) should be directed there to do basic citizenship and nonviolent training.

To the question of how we begin to build a movement, Bevel strongly urged that Negroes in the North learn to "pick up their souls". Once this is done creative energy will dictate necessary action. Once people love themselves, they will move against evil, he concluded.

Other Questions Raised:

Should we build a movement around acceptable issues such as the school boycott in Chicago? (Walter Fauntroy suggests that the school situation should not be dealt with in isolation but in relation to total social dynamics operating in the plight of the people.)

Do people come to a sense of worth through action or training?

Should we build a thorough movement doing all the necessary groundwork and not work for a short victory?

People are convinced of the validity of "all, here and now". How do we deal with this fervor for "Freedom Now"?

Are we qualified to give leadership in the North in nonviolence as in Birmingham?

What would be our purpose for going into a community to solve the problems within it or to raise the issues to the level where the whole nation had to deal with it?

Should we select one city? Training and action simultaneously?
Bevel suggested that training must be done first, that time, money and energy must go into workshops just to reach people so that as they begin to move they communicate love to white people who will be watching. The question of alliance is extremely important in the North, he added. We must concentrate on bringing white people along.

Dr. King and others suggested that the movement pulls people out, helps them regain their souls and that we make a mistake to wait. We have brought about growth in the press and white people as the movement grew and developed. We cannot expect such allies in the beginning. The present mood dictates that we cannot wait. We must, however, commit ourselves to the whole long-range program.

It was further suggested that we work in several cities simultaneously; that we set up an office in each and assign two staff persons. \$75,000 should be set aside for this purpose, it was proposed. Mr. Levison warned that the experience of running an office in a big city will be different; that staff manning such an office must be the most experienced, mature and well-informed we have as they become our spokesmen there. The press would seek them out, he said.

As we go North, we must be involved in the total life of city. In Chicago, we should build a nonviolent movement under the direct action program already underway, Reverend Young stated. In other cities, we should offer service to leaders already on the scene, as Rev. Hoover in Cleveland.

It was the final consensus that we move beyond one city or one issue and attempt to get at the heart of the problem (distribution of wealth). We must however, use a concrete, live issue within a community in order to do this.

A great deal of discussion was given to working our relationship with Coordinating Council Of Community Organization (CCCO) the local organization in Chicago. One problem was that it is not in touch with the masses. We must work closely with them stating frankly the situation as we see it out of our experience.

The question of timetable of activities was discussed and preliminary activities proposed:

Two days of exploratory meetings with Chicago leadership around the last of September or first of October.

Meetings with working staff.

Plan workshops and workshop materials; set goals for workshops; include white people.

Draw up "blueprint for our city" in workshop.

Need effective public relations program to dispel the "myth" of the efficacy of violence.

Need some kind of tabloid espousing the nonviolent philosophy - for Chicago now and other areas in which we will work.

Have intensive training in nonviolence for our staff.

Much discussion was given to the mood of the Negro in the ghetto now. That the President signed a public works bill for three million dollars for Los Angeles after the riots might be viewed as proof for many Negroes that violence does work. It was the consensus that we must deal with this feeling and accept the challenge to prove that nonviolence is the way. Mr. Levison suggested that we must move into such areas, specifically Chicago, with a nonviolent movement immediately with a set of demands that would improve the lot of people living in such areas.

It was finally decided that:

1. Because of the condition of oppression that Negroes are facing in the North, it is absolutely necessary for SCLC to move in on a supportive basis.
2. We will do intensified work in the North, using Chicago as a pilot project, and later outline specific program in consultation with local leadership.
 - a. Andy Young will meet with Mr. Raby on Thursday.
 - b. Young, Bevel and Fauntroy will meet with Chicago leadership after Labor Day.
 - c. Andy Young will go to Los Angeles on September 8th.
3. We will allocate funds for the conduction of nonviolent leadership training workshops. Proposed communities for workshops are:

Los Angeles (especially the Watts area)	Brooklyn
Chicago	District of Columbia
New York	Cleveland
Newark (Patterson, Elizabeth)	Detroit
Philadelphia	

Reverend Young suggested we accept the general idea of workshops and set specific schedule as we had resources.

4. We will initiate a massive education campaign to reach all Americans through printed materials.
5. The following staff will be assigned to Chicago:

Ann Kindberg	Jimmie Wilson
Eric Kindberg	Lynn Adler
James Orange	Dianne Bevel
Charles Love	Ben Clarke
Jimmie Collier	Al Lingo
Jimmie Webb	

It was suggested that all staff sit in regularly on some lecture on social philosophy, etc.; also that local organizations should help take care of staff and workshop expenses.

The wisdom of announcing our going North was discussed; also what we can do to ward off much of present criticism.

It was decided that the WCLC should begin to serve areas such as Watts.

The SCOPE name is a barrier. Should be changed to Voter Registration and Education Project. Voter Education Program in the South for the coming period was submitted by Hosea Williams. (Copy Attached)

The Voter Registration Program was discussed at length. The question of whether we give concentrate in one area or generally across the South was raised. Some felt every man should work with a team, others that three persons should be assigned to each area to thoroughly organize; others that entire team should work together for a month and then take specific assignments.

We were warned not to spread ourselves too thin as this is a critical year for us in terms of number registered we produce and we must be able to document claims. Also, we should work where we get the best mileage.

Letters of thanks should go to all SCOPE workers from Hosea Williams and from Dr. King; also to request their participation next year. Mr. Williams will now call on SCOPE National Advisory Committee to meet to evaluate the project and plan for next summer.

ADMINISTRATIVE MATTERS

The President requested Reverend Abernathy, Reverend Young and Mr. Blackwell to secure a comptroller immediately and to plan some control for interum period. He stated that we must structure so that the possibility of the misuse of funds is impossible.

Regarding salary raises, Dr. King requested that Reverend Young and Mr. Blackwell set up a reasonable salary scale from which we can work and present at next meeting. They should work out percentages and suggest whether maximum or minimum or no raise should be given. There probably

should be an organizational chart showing categories. Reverend Young proposed that an independent organizational study firm might do a more thorough and effective job.

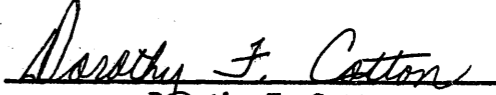
A Personnel Committee was set up to serve as a review board regarding hiring and firing. Those assigned are Blackwell, Young, Williams and Cotton. Mr. Blackwell suggested that one person should be in charge of general office staff to be effective and that Executive Staff needs to be defined.

Special Retreats planned at Frogmore, South Carolina for nonviolent workshops:

September 9th and 10th - Executive Staff
September 12th - 16th - Field Staff and Field Secretaries

The next meeting is scheduled for Thursday, September 2nd at 1:30 P.M. in the Conference Room.

Respectfully submitted


Dorothy F. Cotton

Typographical Errors

Page 2	1st paragraph	hard-core
Page 3	7th paragraph	causal basis
"	" "	visible through violence...cont'd
Page 4	" "	create
Page 5	4th "	into a community
"	6th "	power
"	7th "	big city
"	10th "	to our working relationship
Page 6	2nd "	with
Page 7	7th "	whether we concentrate

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

CCR Special Publication—Number 4

August 1965

"In our system, the first right and most vital of all our rights is the right to vote. Jefferson described the elective franchise as 'the ark of our safety.' It is from the exercise of this right that the guarantee of all our other rights flows.

"Unless the right to vote be secured and un-denied, all other rights are insecure and subject to denial for all our citizens. The challenge of this right is a challenge to America itself. We must meet this challenge as decisively as we would meet a challenge mounted against our land from enemies abroad."

*President Lyndon B. Johnson
Message to Congress
March 15, 1965*

The United States Commission on Civil Rights is a temporary, independent, bipartisan agency established by the Congress in 1957 to:

- Investigate complaints alleging that citizens are being deprived of their right to vote by reason of their race, color, religion, or national origin;
- Study and collect information concerning legal developments constituting a denial of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution;
- Appraise Federal laws and policies with respect to equal protection of the laws;
- Serve as a national clearinghouse for civil rights information;
- Investigate allegations of vote fraud; and
- Submit interim reports and a final and comprehensive report of its activities, findings, and recommendations to the President and the Congress.

VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1965

signed by the
President of the United States
on August 6, 1965

- Suspends literacy tests and other devices (found to be discriminatory) as qualifications for voting in any Federal, State, local, general or primary election in the States of Alabama, Alaska, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Virginia and at least 26 counties in North Carolina.
- Provides for the assignment of Federal examiners to conduct registration and observe voting in States and/or counties covered by the Act.
- Directs the U.S. Attorney General to initiate suits immediately to test the constitutionality of poll taxes because the U.S. Congress found that the payment of such tax has been used in some areas to abridge the right to vote.
- Extends civil and criminal protection to qualified persons seeking to vote and to those who urge or aid others to vote.

This publication is issued by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights as part of its clearinghouse function. It discusses the coverage, administration and other subjects covered by the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The Act is printed on page 10.

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 is the fourth bill to be enacted by the U.S. Congress since 1957 that attempts to safeguard the right of every citizen to vote, regardless of his race or color. The previous three legislative measures attempted to secure the right to vote through court cases initiated largely on a case-by-case, county-by-county basis. These cases, brought either by the U.S. Attorney General or an individual, did not adequately meet the dimensions of the problems of racial discrimination in voting.

The 1965 Act provides new tools to assure the right to vote and supplements the previous authority granted by the Civil Rights Acts of 1957, 1960 and 1964. It is intended primarily to enforce the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States which provides in Section 1:

"The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

The law has two central features:

1. Provision for suspending a variety of tests and devices that have been used to deny citizens the right to vote because of their race or color.
2. Provision for the appointment of Federal examiners to list voters in those areas where tests and devices have been suspended.

In this Act, the term "voting" includes all action necessary—from the time of registration to the actual counting of the votes—to make a vote for public or party office effective.

VOTER REQUIREMENTS OUTLAWED BY THIS ACT

No State or political subdivision (counties, municipalities and parishes) covered by the Voting Rights Act may require the use of any test or device as a prerequisite for registration or voting.

Tests or devices included in this Act are those which require:

1. A demonstration of the ability to read, write, understand or interpret any given material.
2. A demonstration of any educational achievement or knowledge of any particular subject.
3. Proof of good moral character.
4. Proof of qualifications through a procedure in which another person (such as an individual already registered) must vouch for the prospective voter.

COVERAGE

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 states that no person shall be denied the right to vote in any Federal, State or local election (including primaries) for failure to pass a test if he lives in a State or political subdivision which:

1. Maintained a test or device as a prerequisite to registration or voting as of November 1, 1964

and

2. Had a total voting age population of which less than 50 percent were registered or actually voted in the 1964 Presidential election.

If the above two factors are present, the State or political subdivision is automatically covered by the 1965 Act. If an entire State meets these qualifications, all of its counties come under the provisions of the Act. If only one county in a State meets them, the single county is subject to the requirements of the law.

States covered by the Act include Alabama, Alaska, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Virginia, and approximately 26 counties in North Carolina.

Cessation of Coverage

A State or political subdivision may be removed from coverage by filing a suit in a three-judge District Court for the District of Columbia. The State or political subdivision must convince the court that no test or device has been used for the purpose or with the effect of denying the right to vote because of race or color during the five years preceding the filing of the suit.

However, if there has been a previous court judgment against a State or political subdivision determining that tests or devices have been used to deny the right to vote, the State or political subdivision must wait five years before it can obtain an order from the District Court for the District of Columbia removing it from the coverage of the Act.

A judgment may be obtained more quickly if the Attorney General advises the court that he believes that the tests have not been used to discriminate on the basis of race or color during the five years preceding the filing of the action. He may also ask the court to reconsider its decision anytime within five years after judgment.

Changes in Voting Laws

When a State or political subdivision covered by the Act seeks to change its voting qualifications or procedures from those in effect on November 1, 1964, it must either obtain the approval of the U.S. Attorney General or initiate a Federal Court suit. If the Attorney General objects to these changes, or if they have not been submitted to him for his approval, the new laws may not be enforced until the District Court for the District of Columbia rules that the changes will not have the purpose or the effect of denying the right to vote because of the race or color of any person.

FEDERAL EXAMINERS

Once it is determined that a political subdivision is covered by the Act, the U.S. Attorney General may direct the U.S. Civil Service Commission to appoint Federal examiners to list voters if:

1. He has received twenty meritorious written complaints alleging voter discrimination, *or*
2. He believes that the appointment of examiners is necessary to enforce the guarantees of the Fifteenth Amendment.

The times, places and procedures for listing will be established by the Civil Service Commission.

Authority of the Examiners

The Federal examiners will list (that is, declare eligible and entitled to vote) those who satisfy state qualifications that have not been suspended by the Voting Rights Act. Examples of valid qualifications would be those of age and residence.

The examiners will prepare a list of qualified voters and send the list each month to State authorities who must register them—that is, place their names in the official voting records. This list must be available for public inspection. Each person on the examiner's list will be issued a certificate by the examiners as evidence of eligibility to vote in any Federal, State or local election.

No person listed by the examiner will be entitled to vote in any election unless his name has been sent to local election officials at least 45 days before that election thereby allowing the State election machinery to run without complication.

Enforcement of Action by Federal Examiners

At the request of the Attorney General the Civil Service Commission may appoint poll watchers in counties where Federal Examiners are already serving to observe whether all eligible persons are allowed to vote and whether all ballots are accurately tabulated.

If anyone who is properly listed or registered is not permitted to vote in any political subdivision where examiners are serving, a complaint may be made to the examiners of this denial within 48 hours after the polls close. If the examiner believes that the complaint has merit, he must inform the Attorney General immediately. The Attorney General may seek a district court order that provides for the casting of the ballot and suspends the election results until the vote is included in the final count.

Challenge of Listed Persons

A formal objection challenging the qualifications of a person listed by the Federal examiner may be filed (at a place to be designated by the Civil Service Commission) within ten days after the list of qualified voters has been made public and must be supported by at least two affidavits. The validity of the challenge will be determined within fifteen days after filing by a hearing officer appointed by the Civil Service Commission. The U.S. Court of Appeals may review decisions of the hearing officer.

Until the final court review is completed, any person listed by the examiner is still eligible and must be permitted to vote. If a challenge is successful, the name of the registrant will be removed from the examiner's list.

Withdrawal of Federal Examiners

Examiners may be withdrawn from a political subdivision when the names of all persons listed by the examiners have been placed in the official records and when there is no reason to believe that persons in the subdivision will be prevented from voting.

The removal may be accomplished by action of:

1. The Civil Service Commission after it receives notification from the U.S. Attorney General, *or*
2. The District Court for the District of Columbia in a suit brought by a political subdivision after the Director of the Census has determined that more than 50 percent of the nonwhite voting age population in the subdivision is registered to vote.

A political subdivision may petition the U.S. Attorney General to end listing procedures and to request that the Director of the Census conduct a survey to determine whether more than 50 percent of the nonwhite voting age population is registered.

POLL TAXES

The Act contains a Congressional finding that the right to vote has been denied or abridged by the requirement of the payment of a poll tax as a condition to voting.

The U.S. Attorney General is directed to institute suits against Alabama, Mississippi, Texas and Virginia which require the payment of poll taxes in order to determine if such taxes violate the Constitution. While a suit is pending, or upon a finding that the poll tax is constitutional, persons registered or listed for the first time in areas covered by the Act need only pay the tax for the current year. The poll tax may be paid up to 45 days prior to an election regardless of the timeliness of the payment under State law.

VOTING SUITS

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 gives new enforcement powers to the courts in voting cases. When the court finds that there has been a denial of the right to vote in a suit brought by the U.S. Attorney General, the court must:

1. Authorize the appointment of examiners by the Civil Service Commission unless denials of the right to vote have been few in number, they have been corrected by State or local action, and there is no probability that they will reoccur.
2. Suspend the use of tests or devices in an area where it has been proved that at least one such requirement has been utilized to deny the right to vote because of race or color.

When examiners have been authorized by court order, they may be removed by an order of the authorizing court.

LANGUAGE LITERACY

If a person residing in a State where tests or devices have not been suspended has completed at least six grades in an "American-flag" school (a school in the United States or its territories), his inability to speak the English language shall not be the basis for denying him the right to vote. For example, a person who completed six grades of school in the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico but who now resides on the mainland of the United States would satisfy literacy requirements.

CRIMINAL AND CIVIL PENALTIES

Public officials or private individuals who deny persons the right to vote guaranteed by the Voting Rights Act of 1965 or anyone who attempts to or intimidates, threatens, or coerces a person from voting are subject to criminal penalties. It is also made a crime to attempt to or to intimidate, threaten or coerce anyone who urges or aids any person to vote. Criminal penalties are provided for applicants who give false information about their eligibility to vote or who accept payment to register or vote in a Federal election. The U.S. Attorney General is also authorized to bring action for injunctive relief to restrain violations of the Act.

For Further Information Contact:

U.S. Civil Service Commission
1900 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20415

or

U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20425



An Act

To enforce the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act shall be known as the "Voting Rights Act of 1965".

Sec. 2. No voting qualification or prerequisite to voting, or standard, practice, or procedure shall be imposed or applied by any State or political subdivision to deny or abridge the right of any citizen of the United States to vote on account of race or color.

Sec. 3. (a) Whenever the Attorney General institutes a proceeding under any statute to enforce the guarantees of the fifteenth amendment in any State or political subdivision the court shall authorize the appointment of Federal examiners by the United States Civil Service Commission in accordance with section 6 to serve for such period of time and for such political subdivisions as the court shall determine is appropriate to enforce the guarantees of the fifteenth amendment (1) as part of any interlocutory order if the court determines that the appointment of such examiners is necessary to enforce such guarantees or (2) as part of any final judgment if the court finds that violations of the fifteenth amendment justifying equitable relief have occurred in such State or subdivision: *Provided*, That the court need not authorize the appointment of examiners if any incidents of denial or abridgement of the right to vote on account of race or color (1) have been few in number and have been promptly and effectively corrected by State or local action, (2) the continuing effect of such incidents has been eliminated, and (3) there is no reasonable probability of their recurrence in the future.

(b) If in a proceeding instituted by the Attorney General under any statute to enforce the guarantees of the fifteenth amendment in any State or political subdivision the court finds that a test or device has been used for the purpose or with the effect of denying or abridging the right of any citizen of the United States to vote on account of race or color, it shall suspend the use of tests and devices in such State or political subdivisions as the court shall determine is appropriate and for such period as it deems necessary.

(c) If in any proceeding instituted by the Attorney General under any statute to enforce the guarantees of the fifteenth amendment in any State or political subdivision the court finds that violations of the fifteenth amendment justifying equitable relief have occurred within the territory of such State or political subdivision, the court, in addition to such relief as it may grant, shall retain jurisdiction for such period as it may deem appropriate and during such period no voting qualification or prerequisite to voting, or standard, practice, or procedure with respect to voting different from that in force or effect at the time the proceeding was commenced shall be enforced unless and until the court finds that such qualification, prerequisite, standard, practice, or procedure does not have the purpose and will not have the effect of denying or abridging the right to vote on account of race or color: *Provided*, That such qualification, prerequisite, standard, practice, or procedure may be enforced if the qualification, prerequisite, standard, practice, or procedure has been submitted by the chief legal officer or other appropriate official of such State or subdivision to the Attorney General and the Attorney General has not interposed an objection within sixty days after such

Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Judicial remedies.

79 STAT. 437.
79 STAT. 438.

submission, except that neither the court's finding nor the Attorney General's failure to object shall bar a subsequent action to enjoin enforcement of such qualification, prerequisite, standard, practice, or procedure.

SEC. 4. (a) To assure that the right of citizens of the United States to vote is not denied or abridged on account of race or color, no citizen shall be denied the right to vote in any Federal, State, or local election because of his failure to comply with any test or device in any State with respect to which the determinations have been made under subsection (b) or in any political subdivision with respect to which such determinations have been made as a separate unit, unless the United States District Court for the District of Columbia in an action for a declaratory judgment brought by such State or subdivision against the United States has determined that no such test or device has been used during the five years preceding the filing of the action for the purpose or with the effect of denying or abridging the right to vote on account of race or color: *Provided*, That no such declaratory judgment shall issue with respect to any plaintiff for a period of five years after the entry of a final judgment of any court of the United States, other than the denial of a declaratory judgment under this section, whether entered prior to or after the enactment of this Act, determining that denials or abridgments of the right to vote on account of race or color through the use of such tests or devices have occurred anywhere in the territory of such plaintiff.

An action pursuant to this subsection shall be heard and determined by a court of three judges in accordance with the provisions of section 2284 of title 28 of the United States Code and any appeal shall lie to the Supreme Court. The court shall retain jurisdiction of any action pursuant to this subsection for five years after judgment and shall reopen the action upon motion of the Attorney General alleging that a test or device has been used for the purpose or with the effect of denying or abridging the right to vote on account of race or color.

If the Attorney General determines that he has no reason to believe that any such test or device has been used during the five years preceding the filing of the action for the purpose or with the effect of denying or abridging the right to vote on account of race or color, he shall consent to the entry of such judgment.

(b) The provisions of subsection (a) shall apply in any State or in any political subdivision of a state which (1) the Attorney General determines maintained on November 1, 1964, any test or device, and with respect to which (2) the Director of the Census determines that less than 50 per centum of the persons of voting age residing therein were registered on November 1, 1964, or that less than 50 per centum of such persons voted in the presidential election of November 1964.

A determination or certification of the Attorney General or of the Director of the Census under this section or under section 6 or section 13 shall not be reviewable in any court and shall be effective upon publication in the Federal Register.

(c) The phrase "test or device" shall mean any requirement that a person as a prerequisite for voting or registration for voting (1) demonstrate the ability to read, write, understand, or interpret any matter, (2) demonstrate any educational achievement or his knowledge of any particular subject, (3) possess good moral character, or (4) prove his qualifications by the voucher of registered voters or members of any other class.

Use of tests or devices prohibited; Declaratory judgment proceedings.

62 Stat. 968.

Publication in Federal Register.

"Test or device."

79 STAT. 438.
79 STAT. 439.

(d) For purposes of this section no State or political subdivision shall be determined to have engaged in the use of tests or devices for the purpose or with the effect of denying or abridging the right to vote on account of race or color if (1) incidents of such use have been few in number and have been promptly and effectively corrected by State or local action, (2) the continuing effect of such incidents has been eliminated, and (3) there is no reasonable probability of their recurrence in the future.

(e) (1) Congress hereby declares that to secure the rights under the fourteenth amendment of persons educated in American-flag schools in which the predominant classroom language was other than English, it is necessary to prohibit the States from conditioning the right to vote of such persons on ability to read, write, understand, or interpret any matter in the English language.

(2) No person who demonstrates that he has successfully completed the sixth primary grade in a public school in, or a private school accredited by, any State or territory, the District of Columbia, or the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico in which the predominant classroom language was other than English, shall be denied the right to vote in any Federal, State, or local election because of his inability to read, write, understand, or interpret any matter in the English language, except that in States in which State law provides that a different level of education is presumptive of literacy, he shall demonstrate that he has successfully completed an equivalent level of education in a public school in, or a private school accredited by, any State or territory, the District of Columbia, or the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico in which the predominant classroom language was other than English.

Sec. 5. Whenever a State or political subdivision with respect to which the prohibitions set forth in section 4(a) are in effect shall enact or seek to administer any voting qualification or prerequisite to voting, or standard, practice, or procedure with respect to voting different from that in force or effect on November 1, 1964, such State or subdivision may institute an action in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia for a declaratory judgment that such qualification, prerequisite, standard, practice, or procedure does not have the purpose and will not have the effect of denying or abridging the right to vote on account of race or color, and unless and until the court enters such judgment no person shall be denied the right to vote for failure to comply with such qualification, prerequisite, standard, practice, or procedure: *Provided*, That such qualification, prerequisite, standard, practice, or procedure may be enforced without such proceeding if the qualification, prerequisite, standard, practice, or procedure has been submitted by the chief legal officer or other appropriate official of such State or subdivision to the Attorney General and the Attorney General has not interposed an objection within sixty days after such submission, except that neither the Attorney General's failure to object nor a declaratory judgment entered under this section shall bar a subsequent action to enjoin enforcement of such qualification, prerequisite, standard, practice, or procedure. Any action under this section shall be heard and determined by a court of three judges in accordance with the provisions of section 2284 of title 28 of the United States Code and any appeal shall lie to the Supreme Court.

Sec. 6. Whenever (a) a court has authorized the appointment of examiners pursuant to the provisions of section 3(a), or (b) unless a declaratory judgment has been rendered under section 4(a), the

62 Stat. 968.

Appointment of examiners.

Attorney General certifies with respect to any political subdivision named in, or included within the scope of, determinations made under section 4(b) that (1) he has received complaints in writing from twenty or more residents of such political subdivision alleging that they have been denied the right to vote under color of law on account of race or color, and that he believes such complaints to be meritorious, or (2) that in his judgment (considering, among other factors, whether the ratio of nonwhite persons to white persons registered to vote within such subdivision appears to him to be reasonably attributable to violations of the fifteenth amendment or whether substantial evidence exists that bona fide efforts are being made within such subdivision to comply with the fifteenth amendment), the appointment of examiners is otherwise necessary to enforce the guarantees of the fifteenth amendment, the Civil Service Commission shall appoint as many examiners for such subdivision as it may deem appropriate to prepare and maintain lists of persons eligible to vote in Federal, State, and local elections. Such examiners, hearing officers provided for in section 9(a), and other persons deemed necessary by the Commission to carry out the provisions and purposes of this Act shall be appointed, compensated, and separated without regard to the provisions of any statute administered by the Civil Service Commission, and service under this Act shall not be considered employment for the purposes of any statute administered by the Civil Service Commission, except the provisions of section 9 of the Act of August 2, 1939, as amended (5 U.S.C. 118i), prohibiting partisan political activity: *Provided*, That the Commission is authorized, after consulting the head of the appropriate department or agency, to designate suitable persons in the official service of the United States, with their consent, to serve in these positions. Examiners and hearing officers shall have the power to administer oaths.

53 Stat. 1148;
64 Stat. 475.

Duties of examiners.

Sec. 7. (a) The examiners for each political subdivision shall, at such places as the Civil Service Commission shall by regulation designate, examine applicants concerning their qualifications for voting. An application to an examiner shall be in such form as the Commission may require and shall contain allegations that the applicant is not otherwise registered to vote.

List of eligible voters.

(b) Any person whom the examiner finds, in accordance with instructions received under section 9(b), to have the qualifications prescribed by State law not inconsistent with the Constitution and laws of the United States shall promptly be placed on a list of eligible voters. A challenge to such listing may be made in accordance with section 9(a) and shall not be the basis for a prosecution under section 12 of this Act. The examiner shall certify and transmit such list, and any supplements as appropriate, at least once a month, to the offices of the appropriate election officials, with copies to the Attorney General and the attorney general of the State, and any such lists and supplements thereto transmitted during the month shall be available for public inspection on the last business day of the month and in any event not later than the forty-fifth day prior to any election. The appropriate State or local election official shall place such names on the official voting list. Any person whose name appears on the examiner's list shall be entitled and allowed to vote in the election district of his residence unless and until the appropriate election officials shall have been notified that such person has been removed from such list in accordance with subsection (d): *Provided*, That no person shall be entitled to vote in any election by virtue of this Act

unless his name shall have been certified and transmitted on such a list to the offices of the appropriate election officials at least forty-five days prior to such election.

(c) The examiner shall issue to each person whose name appears on such a list a certificate evidencing his eligibility to vote.

(d) A person whose name appears on such a list shall be removed therefrom by an examiner if (1) such person has been successfully challenged in accordance with the procedure prescribed in section 9, or (2) he has been determined by an examiner to have lost his eligibility to vote under State law not inconsistent with the Constitution and the laws of the United States.

SEC. 8. Whenever an examiner is serving under this Act in any political subdivision, the Civil Service Commission may assign, at the request of the Attorney General, one or more persons, who may be officers of the United States, (1) to enter and attend at any place for holding an election in such subdivision for the purpose of observing whether persons who are entitled to vote are being permitted to vote, and (2) to enter and attend at any place for tabulating the votes cast at any election held in such subdivision for the purpose of observing whether votes cast by persons entitled to vote are being properly tabulated. Such persons so assigned shall report to an examiner appointed for such political subdivision, to the Attorney General, and if the appointment of examiners has been authorized pursuant to section 3(a), to the court.

SEC. 9. (a) Any challenge to a listing on an eligibility list prepared by an examiner shall be heard and determined by a hearing officer appointed by and responsible to the Civil Service Commission and under such rules as the Commission shall by regulation prescribe. Such challenge shall be entertained only if filed at such office within the State as the Civil Service Commission shall by regulation designate, and within ten days after the listing of the challenged person is made available for public inspection, and if supported by (1) the affidavits of at least two persons having personal knowledge of the facts constituting grounds for the challenge, and (2) a certification that a copy of the challenge and affidavits have been served by mail or in person upon the person challenged at his place of residence set out in the application. Such challenge shall be determined within fifteen days after it has been filed. A petition for review of the decision of the hearing officer may be filed in the United States court of appeals for the circuit in which the person challenged resides within fifteen days after service of such decision by mail on the person petitioning for review but no decision of a hearing officer shall be reversed unless clearly erroneous. Any person listed shall be entitled and allowed to vote pending final determination by the hearing officer and by the court.

(b) The times, places, procedures, and form for application and listing pursuant to this Act and removals from the eligibility lists shall be prescribed by regulations promulgated by the Civil Service Commission and the Commission shall, after consultation with the Attorney General, instruct examiners concerning applicable State law not inconsistent with the Constitution and laws of the United States with respect to (1) the qualifications required for listing, and (2) loss of eligibility to vote.

(c) Upon the request of the applicant or the challenger or on its own motion the Civil Service Commission shall have the power to require by subpoena the attendance and testimony of witnesses and the

Observers at elections.

Challenges to eligibility listings, hearings.

Procedural regulations.

Subpoena power.

production of documentary evidence relating to any matter pending before it under the authority of this section. In case of contumacy or refusal to obey a subpoena, any district court of the United States or the United States court of any territory or possession, or the District Court of the United States for the District of Columbia, within the jurisdiction of which said person guilty of contumacy or refusal to obey is found or resides or is domiciled or transacts business, or has appointed an agent for receipt of service of process, upon application by the Attorney General of the United States shall have jurisdiction to issue to such person an order requiring such person to appear before the Commission or a hearing officer, there to produce pertinent, relevant, and nonprivileged documentary evidence if so ordered, or there to give testimony touching the matter under investigation; and any failure to obey such order of the court may be punished by said court as a contempt thereof.

Poll tax.

SEC. 10. (a) The Congress finds that the requirement of the payment of a poll tax as a precondition to voting (i) precludes persons of limited means from voting or imposes unreasonable financial hardship upon such persons as a precondition to their exercise of the franchise, (ii) does not bear a reasonable relationship to any legitimate State interest in the conduct of elections, and (iii) in some areas has the purpose or effect of denying persons the right to vote because of race or color. Upon the basis of these findings, Congress declares that the constitutional right of citizens to vote is denied or abridged in some areas by the requirement of the payment of a poll tax as a precondition to voting.

(b) In the exercise of the powers of Congress under section 5 of the fourteenth amendment and section 2 of the fifteenth amendment, the Attorney General is authorized and directed to institute forthwith in the name of the United States such actions, including actions against States or political subdivisions, for declaratory judgment or injunctive relief against the enforcement of any requirement of the payment of a poll tax as a precondition to voting, or substitute therefor enacted after November 1, 1964, as will be necessary to implement the declaration of subsection (a) and the purposes of this section.

(c) The district courts of the United States shall have jurisdiction of such actions which shall be heard and determined by a court of three judges in accordance with the provisions of section 2284 of title 28 of the United States Code and any appeal shall lie to the Supreme Court. It shall be the duty of the judges designated to hear the case to assign the case for hearing at the earliest practicable date, to participate in the hearing and determination thereof, and to cause the case to be in every way expedited.

(d) During the pendency of such actions, and thereafter if the courts, notwithstanding this action by the Congress, should declare the requirement of the payment of a poll tax to be constitutional, no citizen of the United States who is a resident of a State or political subdivision with respect to which determinations have been made under subsection 4(b) and a declaratory judgment has not been entered under subsection 4(a), during the first year he becomes otherwise entitled to vote by reason of registration by State or local officials or listing by an examiner, shall be denied the right to vote

62 Stat. 968.

for failure to pay a poll tax if he tenders payment of such tax for the current year to an examiner or to the appropriate State or local official at least forty-five days prior to election, whether or not such tender would be timely or adequate under State law. An examiner shall have authority to accept such payment from any person authorized by this Act to make an application for listing, and shall issue a receipt for such payment. The examiner shall transmit promptly any such poll tax payment to the office of the State or local official authorized to receive such payment under State law, together with the name and address of the applicant.

SEC. 11. (a) No person acting under color of law shall fail or refuse to permit any person to vote who is entitled to vote under any provision of this Act or is otherwise qualified to vote, or willfully fail or refuse to tabulate, count, and report such person's vote. Prohibitions.

(b) No person, whether acting under color of law or otherwise, shall intimidate, threaten, or coerce, or attempt to intimidate, threaten, or coerce any person for voting or attempting to vote, or intimidate, threaten, or coerce, or attempt to intimidate, threaten, or coerce any person for urging or aiding any person to vote or attempt to vote, or intimidate, threaten, or coerce any person for exercising any powers or duties under section 3 (a), 6, 8, 9, 10, or 12 (e).

(c) Whoever knowingly or willfully gives false information as to his name, address, or period of residence in the voting district for the purpose of establishing his eligibility to register or vote, or conspires with another individual for the purpose of encouraging his false registration to vote or illegal voting, or pays or offers to pay or accepts payment either for registration to vote or for voting shall be fined not more than \$10,000 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both: *Provided, however,* That this provision shall be applicable only to general, special, or primary elections held solely or in part for the purpose of selecting or electing any candidate for the office of President, Vice President, presidential elector, Member of the United States Senate, Member of the United States House of Representatives, or Delegates or Commissioners from the territories or possessions, or Resident Commissioner of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. Penalty. Applicability.

(d) Whoever, in any matter within the jurisdiction of an examiner or hearing officer knowingly and willfully falsifies or conceals a material fact, or makes any false, fictitious, or fraudulent statements or representations, or makes or uses any false writing or document knowing the same to contain any false, fictitious, or fraudulent statement or entry, shall be fined not more than \$10,000 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both.

SEC. 12. (a) Whoever shall deprive or attempt to deprive any person of any right secured by section 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, or 10 or shall violate section 11 (a) or (b), shall be fined not more than \$5,000, or imprisoned not more than five years, or both.

(b) Whoever, within a year following an election in a political subdivision in which an examiner has been appointed (1) destroys, defaces, mutilates, or otherwise alters the marking of a paper ballot which has been cast in such election, or (2) alters any official record of voting in such election tabulated from a voting machine or otherwise, shall be fined not more than \$5,000, or imprisoned not more than five years, or both.

Injunctions, etc. (c) Whoever conspires to violate the provisions of subsection (a) or (b) of this section, or interferes with any right secured by section 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 10, or 11 (a) or (b) shall be fined not more than \$5,000, or imprisoned not more than five years, or both.

(d) Whenever any person has engaged or there are reasonable grounds to believe that any person is about to engage in any act or practice prohibited by section 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 10, 11, or subsection (b) of this section, the Attorney General may institute for the United States, or in the name of the United States, an action for preventive relief, including an application for a temporary or permanent injunction; restraining order, or other order, and including an order directed to the State and State or local election officials to require them (1) to permit persons listed under this Act to vote and (2) to count such votes.

(e) Whenever in any political subdivision in which there are examiners appointed pursuant to this Act any persons allege to such an examiner within forty-eight hours after the closing of the polls that notwithstanding (1) their listing under this Act or registration by an appropriate election official and (2) their eligibility to vote, they have not been permitted to vote in such election, the examiner shall forthwith notify the Attorney General if such allegations in his opinion appear to be well founded. Upon receipt of such notification, the Attorney General may forthwith file with the district court an application for an order providing for the marking, casting, and counting of the ballots of such persons and requiring the inclusion of their votes in the total vote before the results of such election shall be deemed final and any force or effect given thereto. The district court shall hear and determine such matters immediately after the filing of such application. The remedy provided in this subsection shall not preclude any remedy available under State or Federal law.

(f) The district courts of the United States shall have jurisdiction of proceedings instituted pursuant to this section and shall exercise the same without regard to whether a person asserting rights under the provisions of this Act shall have exhausted any administrative or other remedies that may be provided by law.

Listing procedures, termination.

SEC. 13. Listing procedures shall be terminated in any political subdivision of any State (a) with respect to examiners appointed pursuant to clause (b) of section 6 whenever the Attorney General notifies the Civil Service Commission, or whenever the District Court for the District of Columbia determines in an action for declaratory judgment brought by any political subdivision with respect to which the Director of the Census has determined that more than 50 per centum of the nonwhite persons of voting age residing therein are registered to vote, (1) that all persons listed by an examiner for such subdivision have been placed on the appropriate voting registration roll, and (2) that there is no longer reasonable cause to believe that persons will be deprived of or denied the right to vote on account of race or color in such subdivision, and (b), with respect to examiners appointed pursuant to section 3(a), upon order of the authorizing court. A political subdivision may petition the Attorney General for the termination of listing procedures under clause (a) of this section, and may petition the Attorney General to request the Director of the Census to take such survey or census as may be appropriate for the making of the determination provided for in this section. The District Court for the District of Columbia shall have jurisdiction to require such

survey or census to be made by the Director of the Census and it shall require him to do so if it deems the Attorney General's refusal to request such survey or census to be arbitrary or unreasonable.

SEC. 14. (a) All cases of criminal contempt arising under the provisions of this Act shall be governed by section 151 of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 (42 U.S.C. 1995).

Criminal con-
tempt proceed-
ings.
71 Stat. 638.

(b) No court other than the District Court for the District of Columbia or a court of appeals in any proceeding under section 9 shall have jurisdiction to issue any declaratory judgment pursuant to section 4 or section 5 or any restraining order or temporary or permanent injunction against the execution or enforcement of any provision of this Act or any action of any Federal officer or employee pursuant hereto.

(c) (1) The terms "vote" or "voting" shall include all action necessary to make a vote effective in any primary, special, or general election, including, but not limited to, registration, listing pursuant to this Act, or other action required by law prerequisite to voting, casting a ballot, and having such ballot counted properly and included in the appropriate totals of votes cast with respect to candidates for public or party office and propositions for which votes are received in an election.

"Vote" or
"voting."

(2) The term "political subdivision" shall mean any county or parish, except that where registration for voting is not conducted under the supervision of a county or parish, the term shall include any other subdivision of a State which conducts registration for voting.

"Political sub-
division."

(d) In any action for a declaratory judgment brought pursuant to section 4 or section 5 of this Act, subpoenas for witnesses who are required to attend the District Court for the District of Columbia may be served in any judicial district of the United States: *Provided*, That no writ of subpoena shall issue for witnesses without the District of Columbia at a greater distance than one hundred miles from the place of holding court without the permission of the District Court for the District of Columbia being first had upon proper application and cause shown.

Subpenas.

SEC. 15. Section 2004 of the Revised Statutes (42 U.S.C. 1971), as amended by section 131 of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 (71 Stat. 637), and amended by section 601 of the Civil Rights Act of 1960 (74 Stat. 90), and as further amended by section 101 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (78 Stat. 241), is further amended as follows:

(a) Delete the word "Federal" wherever it appears in subsections (a) and (c);

(b) Repeal subsection (f) and designate the present subsections (g) and (h) as (f) and (g), respectively.

Repeal.

SEC. 16. The Attorney General and the Secretary of Defense, jointly, shall make a full and complete study to determine whether, under the laws or practices of any State or States, there are preconditions to voting, which might tend to result in discrimination against citizens serving in the Armed Forces of the United States seeking to vote. Such officials shall, jointly, make a report to the Congress not later than June 30, 1966, containing the results of such study, together with a list of any States in which such preconditions exist, and shall include in such report such recommendations for legislation as they deem advisable to prevent discrimination in voting against citizens serving in the Armed Forces of the United States.

Armed Forces,
voting rights
study.

Report to
Congress.

Appropriation.

SEC. 17. Nothing in this Act shall be construed to deny, impair, or otherwise adversely affect the right to vote of any person registered to vote under the law of any State or political subdivision.

SEC. 18. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as are necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act.

SEC. 19. If any provision of this Act or the application thereof to any person or circumstances is held invalid, the remainder of the Act and the application of the provision to other persons not similarly situated or to other circumstances shall not be affected thereby.

Approved August 6, 1965.

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The Christian Century

AN ECUMENICAL WEEKLY

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Options at the Fourth Session

An Editorial

Is Roman Catholicism Reformable?

Rosemary Ruether

New Wine in New Wineskins

Reader's Response from E. Stanley Jones

Morality, Moralism and Vietnam

William Henry Harris

prohibited attempts in California to deal with the ghettoization of Negroes by legislation. By invalidating the Rumford act white Californians convinced Negroes and other racial minorities that whites are indifferent to the frustrating problems of colored people. The state thus left Negroes to the bad counsel of despair, and some of the Negroes in Los Angeles took that counsel and acted accordingly. It is now imperative that whites prove in deeds that they do care. Protestant leaders working with the Southern California-Nevada council of churches are moving in the right direction.

Shooting at the Klan but Wounding the Negro

† LAST SPRING we recoiled in alarm when the House Un-American Activities Committee announced that it would investigate the Ku Klux Klan and possibly other ultra-right organizations. Despite our total repudiation of everything the Klan preaches and practices, we feared as an even greater danger the extension of H.U.A.C.'s unconstitutional processes and undemocratic methods in widening areas of American life. We suspected that H.U.A.C. — chaired and dominated in its membership by southerners — would gain respectability among liberals by attacking the Klan and would then focus its newly gained power in destructive ways on the civil rights movement in the south. This fear was shared by Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which in a meeting in Baltimore early in April adopted the following declaration:

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference is opposed to the House Committee on Un-American Activities investigating Klan-like groups. We call upon the President of the United States to form a presidential commission, comparable to the Warren Commission, to fully investigate the present crisis in law enforcement and the nation's pattern of violence. Such a commission should be assisted by a select committee of the Congress. In urging this course we wish to make it absolutely clear that such investigation should be concerned only with overt acts and not thought processes. We further urge the Department of Justice to prosecute those guilty of acts of violence, terror and intimidation. Be it resolved that we call upon all sections of the civil rights movement as well as all civic, fraternal and religious organizations to join with us in recommending this course of action to the President and to Congress.

On the assumption that H.U.A.C. will proceed in early October with its investigation of the K.K.K. despite these protests, the clergymen whose names are listed below (titles and institutions for identification only) have recently championed King's denunciation of H.U.A.C.'s impending investigation and have supported his plea for a trustworthy presidential commission. The signers of this petition are:

Ralph Abernathy, treasurer, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Jerald C. Brauer, dean, University of

Chicago divinity school; Balfour Brickner, director, Commission on Interfaith Activities, Union of American Hebrew Congregations; Daniel M. Cantwell, chaplain, Catholic Council on Working Life, Chicago; William S. Coffin, Jr., chaplain, Yale University; Joseph Fletcher, Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Massachusetts; A. Raymond Grant, bishop, Methodist Church, Portland, Oregon, area; G. G. Grant, S.J., professor of philosophy, Loyola University, Chicago; Roland B. Gittelsohn, rabbi, Temple Israel, Boston; Harry Halpern, chairman, Commission on Social Action, United Synagogues of America; Charles U. Harris, president and dean, Seabury-Western Theological Seminary; Vladimir E. Hartman, executive director, Capital Area council of churches, Albany, New York; Wolfe Kelman, executive vice-president, Jewish Theological Seminary; John M. Krumm, rector, Church of the Ascension, New York city; John Wesley Lord, bishop, Methodist Church, Washington, D.C., area; John A. Mackay, president emeritus, Princeton Theological Seminary; Henry W. Malcolm, Protestant counselor, Columbia University; Robert J. Marx, director, Chicago federation, Union of American Hebrew Congregations; John L. McKenzie, S.J., professor of history, Loyola University, Chicago; Uri Miller, president, Synagogue Council of America; Malcolm E. Peabody, Episcopal bishop of Central New York (Ret.); James A. Pike, Episcopal bishop of California; Howard Schomer, president, Chicago Theological Seminary; Fred L. Shuttlesworth, president, Alabama Christian Movement; Rockwell C. Smith, dean and professor, Garrett Theological Seminary; James R. Smucker, minister, Northeast association, United Church of Christ; Wyatt Tee Walker, vice-president, Negro Heritage Library; James M. Webb, general secretary, Connecticut council of churches; Jacob J. Weinstein, rabbi, KAM Congregation, Chicago; Anthony S. Woods, S.J., chaplain, St. Thomas More Society.

Unless the protests of these individuals are joined by many others, there is grave probability that H.U.A.C. will add the civil rights movement to that long list of individuals and organizations it has unconstitutionally intimidated and harassed.

Johnson Ends Strike Threat

† TWO YEARS AGO an ancient, female guide in a Rome museum of art stood us before the bust of a Roman emperor and asked, "Who is that?" Our instant reply was: "Lyndon B. Johnson." Two tourists in a letter in the August 27 issue of *Time* magazine confirmed our recollection that the emperor was Vespasian. If President Johnson is Vespasian redivivus he need not be ashamed of that fact. *Encyclopaedia Britannica* says of the emperor (the Roman one): "To the last, Vespasian was a blunt soldier, with strength of character, and with a steady purpose to establish good order and secure the prosperity and welfare of his subjects. . . . Much money was spent on public works and the restoration and beautifying of Rome — a new forum, the splendid temple of peace, the public baths and the vast Colosseum being begun under Vespasian. The roads and aqueducts were repaired, and the limits of

Comment on This Issue

As the fourth, probably the final, session of Vatican Council II gets under way, **Rosemary Ruether** warns that if tentative steps toward reform are to lead to more than peripheral changes, her church must face up to the validity of its claim of inerrancy. She submits her article "not in a spirit of intramural carping" but in the conviction that until the questions she raises — "really the central issue dividing the branches of Christianity" — are honestly faced, Protestants cannot look on Roman Catholic ecumenical efforts as made in good faith. A teacher at Immaculate Heart College in Los Angeles, Professor Ruether received the Ph.D. (in classics and history of Christian thought) at Claremont Graduate School in June, spent August with the National Council of Churches' Delta Ministry in Mississippi. She has contributed treatises on Roman Catholic thought and practice to three volumes: *Contraception and Holiness*, *The Generation of the Third Eye* and *What Modern Catholics Think About Birth Control*.

William Henry Harris adds his voice — and a strong one it is — to the many others being raised in the academic community, despite the opprobrium cast on them by many public officials, appealing for a frank, unbiased and realistic reassessment of the American stance in southeast Asia. A Quaker, a graduate of Boston University (Ph.D.) and of its school of theology, Mr. Harris spent two years in India as a Fulbright scholar and has traveled extensively through southern and eastern Asia. He has been a member of Southern Illinois University's faculty since 1956, is now a professor of philosophy and chairman of the campus Asian studies committee.

E. Stanley Jones, who answers questions and implications stemming from R. Pierce Beaver's "Christian Ashrams in India" (July 14) certainly needs no formal introduction to Century readers — except perhaps to note that, at 81, he recently spent several months visiting and speaking at ashrams new and old established by him in Africa, India and southeast Asia.

Paul Schlueter, a member of the English faculty at Southern Illinois University, contributes a composite review of what amounts to a small shelf of books based on the lives of eight people — from Pierre Teilhard de Chardin to Fr. Charles Coughlin. A new book on 16th century Protestants in England is reviewed by **Carl S. Meyer**, professor of historical theology and director of graduate studies at Concordia Theological Seminary (Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod) in St. Louis.

The General Conference of the largest of the Mennonite bodies in the United States is reported by **Paul Erb** of the church's Board of Education. A report on the annual meeting of the General Conference Mennonite Church, second largest of those groups, appeared in the Century for August 18.

Rex Mathias, our news correspondent (since 1960) for Australia, reports this week from a new address. Formerly director of the Methodist Federal Board of Education, with offices in Melbourne, he is now pastor of the Methodist National Memorial Church (a General Conference appointment) in Canberra, Australia's Washington, D.C.

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The Christian Century

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the *pomerium* extended." A striking parallel, to say the least. We hope, however, that Johnson will not push it too far; and this wish stems — strange as it may seem — from Johnson's speedy use of extraordinary presidential power in preventing the steel strike. Not that we wanted a steel strike, but we doubt the wisdom — as the *Pittsburgh Catholic* put it — of linking bargaining proceedings in basic industries "to the disposition of the President and his reading of the state of the nation. A third power would thus be introduced into labor-management relations so enormous as to void substantially the strength of the negotiating parties and diminish the will and resolve of the negotiators themselves." It is reassuring to have a President who knows how to break intolerable deadlocks and who is willing to grapple directly and personally with impasses which affect as steel does the nation's whole physical health. But the President should not by abrupt and pre-emptory action deprive industries and workers of their right to defy each other. The strong leader, however good his intentions, can by premature action create a weak people. This was one of the major fallacies of the imperial system and here President Johnson should let the parallel between himself and Vespasian end.

Arranged by the Defense Department

† THE VIEWS expressed by the clergymen's mission which went to southeast Asia in late June under auspices of the Fellowship of Reconciliation apparently were more threatening to the state department's official line on Vietnam than we had supposed. This, at least, is one conclusion which can be drawn from the fact that the U.S. department of defense subsequently sent its own interfaith "truth team" to Vietnam. This team was composed of Ben R. Hartley, editor of *Presbyterian Survey*, official publication of the Presbyterian Church, U.S. (southern); David White, editor of the *Jewish Digest*, Houston, Texas; and Father Daniel Lyons of Gonzaga University, Spokane, Washington. They were accompanied by the Rev. Calvin Thielman, a southern Presbyterian clergyman, whom members of the team described as President Johnson's personal envoy. It might not have occurred to us that this mission was designed to offset that of the F.O.R. if Mr. Hartley had not himself related the one to the other. In a prepared statement he said: "Before leaving Atlanta on August 14, I read a full-page *New York Times* ad signed by a team of ministers commissioned by the Fellowship of Reconciliation to travel to Vietnam to probe the morality of our nation's involvement there. They returned singing a tune essentially critical of government policy and appealing for early negotiations. How valid were

their criticisms and how realistic were their appeals for a negotiated peace?" After talking with Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, with General William Childs Westmoreland, commander of American forces in Vietnam, and with other such experts, editor Hartley concluded that the moral judgments of the F.O.R. mission are unreliable and irrelevant: "When the time came to return home, I wondered how anyone who has studied the problem in any depth could doubt the fundamental justice and basic rightness of our cause." We have not heard from the other members of his team, but it appears to us that Mr. Hartley returned from a conducted tour fully and conscientiously prepared to give an impartial, Christian account of the Vietnamese war from the defense department's point of view.

A.C.L.U. Attacks Capital Punishment

† THE American Civil Liberties Union has launched a nationwide campaign to abolish the death penalty throughout the United States. The A.C.L.U. bases this operation on its belief that "capital punishment is so inconsistent with the underlying values of a democratic system that the imposition of the death penalty for any crime is a denial of civil liberties." Specifically the A.C.L.U. sees in the irreversibility of the death penalty a denial of due process of law, since errors in judgment discovered after the penalty has been imposed cannot be corrected. It knows also that capital punishment as it is implemented in the United States results in a denial of equal protection of the law. In the past 35 years 53.7 per cent of all persons executed have been Negroes. That this discrimination is unjust is proved by a study of capital punishment in Ohio. In Ohio 78 per cent of all Negroes convicted of a capital crime were executed and only 51 per cent of whites so convicted were executed. In its campaign against this cruel, unusual, unnecessary form of punishment the A.C.L.U. fights one of the churches' battles for the dignity, the rights and the sacredness of irreplaceable human beings. It should not be left to fight that battle alone. One of the ironies persisting among civilized men is their pre-occupation with the extension of life on the one hand and their willingness to destroy life through capital punishment on the other. Every state in the union compels doctors to prolong human life whenever it is physically possible to do so, yet 38 of the states permit the killing of human beings as a penalty for their crimes against society. This irony deepens when we consider that it is Christian people who preserve as socially honorable this ancient and brutal form of retributive justice. The systems of justice operated by a Christian people should be the first to honor the commandment against murder,

MEMO

Issued Periodically by the United Presbyterian
Commission on Religion and Race
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Marshal L. Scott, Chairman, Tel. 870-2245
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NO. 24

September 27, 1965

PARISHFIELD STAFF CONFERENCE:
PAST SUCCESSES, FUTURE GOALS

Successes and frustrations of two years of CORAR operation, and some goals for the immediate future were aired in a conference of national and judicatory staff members at Parishfield, Michigan, September 15-17. Some highlights of the conference:

Federal Involvement in the North

The Rev. H.B. Sissel and the Rev. Charles Rawlings, both completing a summer's work for the federal government, discussed the Urban Task Force of the Community Relations Service and their views of church involvement in civil rights in metropolitan areas:

Mr. Sissel: "There are no overt obstacles remaining to civil rights in the North, and consequently no civil rights issue you can get hold of." But institutionalized racism -- "very subtle, very genteel and hard to deal with," remains. The federal government's program is "skimming off people from the top of the poverty level" into lower middle class status; below this level is an untouchable core of ghetto-dwellers who make up a potentially politically potent group. There is no one solution to institutionalized racism, but unless private agencies help find solutions, "a lot of people are going to be ground to bits."

Mr. Rawlings: Federal programs are a new kind of thrust in society "with as much or more impact" than the church has demonstrated. "The jig is just about up for the church in institutionalized work," due to transference of moral actions from the church to "the so-called callous institutions such as the federal government." Disagreeing with the statement that there are no issues to get hold of, he said there are glaring problems, but that answers now are being found in political, social and economic systems, rather than in highly organized street protests. These actions "may come as close to renewal as the church is going to come."

Two-Year Report on CORAR

The Rev. Gayraud S. Wilmore, Jr., executive director, reported on the commission's first two years. Some excerpts:

Prior to 1963 the predominately white churches were mainly involved in educational programs to combat racial prejudice and in pronouncement-making. With 1963 came the realization that massive resistance to school desegregation in the South and the increase of discrimination in employment and housing in the North had not been stemmed.

Five historic events in 1963 mark this change. (1) The dramatic commitment to interfaith cooperation at the national Conference on Religion and Race which met in Chicago in January. (2) The decision made at the Des Moines Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church in May to begin a "crash program" in race relations with the largest budget the church had ever given for this purpose. (3) The establishment of the Commission on Religion and Race of the National Council of Churches. (4) The arrest of Eugene Carson Blake, the outstanding Protestant spokesman, at an amusement center near Baltimore on July 4, and (5) the March on Washington in August where 40,000 church people participated in a magnificent display of solidarity with the Negro civil rights organizations.

RELIGION AND RACE MEMO NO. 24

2.

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The UPUSA commission hammered out a comprehensive strategy which described it as a coordinating agency for every program in the church touching upon race relations problems. The two key sections of this document dealt with setting our own house in order with respect to church policy and practice, and our witness to the world with respect to employment, housing, education, "social freedoms," and the right to engage in forms of direct action. It also adopted a desegregation policy statement on fair employment contracts for goods and services, open occupancy clauses in rental leases and investment practices.

It is important to stress the feeling of the staff that to fulfill the first mandate -- to correct our own practices -- we had first to fulfill the second -- our witness to the world. Our staff believed that no one could take the United Presbyterian Commission or any other predominantly white institution seriously if it were not to be found in the pitch of the battle going on in the South at that time. Not until we had broken with the stereotypes of church social action in the past could we, with moral authority, call upon the Church to turn the little screws and bolts in the machinery of church desegregation.

To date 12 fulltime field staff are related to the CORAR program. When one adds to these the interdenominational staff who are partly supported by CORAR several areas of major Negro population are covered by staff positions in the North and West. This proliferation of CORAR program through staffed judicatory commissions is certainly one of the most significant developments of these past two years. In a real sense the most effective work of CORAR is being done not by national but by local staff.

The desegregation of congregations and church economic practices were among the least effective programs of the two-year period. Judicatory visitation teams found much to be desired at the local level. Few presbyteries have instituted the careful policy and program review that has characterized the boards and the national commission. Almost nothing has been done about the desegregation of congregations.

The director listed a series of current trends and needs in regard to commission work. Among them:

Work in the South -- A southeastern staff coordinating group will work increasingly with the Southeastern Regional Council and the Delta Ministry.

Recent contacts with the Presbyterian Church U.S. indicate a readiness for new cooperation.

World-wide implications of racism impel us to move forthrightly on the South African question.

United Presbyterians must show good faith in internal economic and social practices, develop uniform implementation procedures and stronger board and agency support. The Board of Pensions and the Presbyterian Foundation must be confronted with their responsibilities.

An inter-agency meeting on cooperation with Negro denominations has been called for October 26.

The Roman Catholics have indicated a new readiness for intensive cooperation. An interdenominational meeting has been initiated.

The trend is toward a mandatory reduced budget for CORAR program. Financing of both national and judicatory programs must be seriously considered for the future. The downward trend of the Fund for Freedom must be arrested.

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The NCC commission and the Delta Ministry have not yet been able to develop the kind of unified staff operation which best utilizes the resources of the denominations. CORAR must continue, however, to work closely with both units of the NCC.

On the study of the inner nature of prejudice, an experimental program in the judicatories should be developed in 1966.

The CORAR staff has been unable to develop the precise knowledge of federal programs in employment, housing, education and poverty which is useful in counselling with judicatories. Needed is closer cooperation and communication as well as shared field services with National Missions staff and the Washington Office of Church and Society.

CORAR should push for broad recognition of the need for massive public works programs to deal with unemployment in the cities North and West; increased involvement of churchmen on the local level in governmental community action programs and other local-issue activities; and increased relations with Negro denominations in devising a metropolitan strategy for social witness and evangelism. We need to be sensitive to new opportunities for the church in the "Triple Revolution."

Inter-Faith Efforts in Fighting Discrimination in Housing

The Rev. Robert Christ, Chicago Presbytery CORAR director, and Eugene Callahan of the Chicago Conference on Religion and Race, reported:

The Chicago Conference, sponsored by Roman Catholic, Protestant and Jewish groups, has a fulltime director (Callahan) and began with a \$30,000 budget. Its philosophy: "We won't make statements; we'll see what we can do about the problems."

Some 16,000 real estate brokers were contacted, and good responses came from some. Efforts were begun to get an open housing committee made up of real estate brokers and mortgage bankers and the program appears to be succeeding. One man is encouraging Negro middle income families to move into "white" neighborhoods, using the presence of better schools in those areas as part of the persuasion.

"If you can get even a dozen realtors and mortgage bankers, you can make an open housing program work," said Mr. Callahan.

The conference has a good working relationship with the Chicago police department and is recognized officially by governmental agencies in the city. This has enhanced both the stature and operations of the conference.

The conference's economic committee made a list of all suppliers to all members of the conference and sent them letters outlining the conference buying policy. Six hundred companies have been notified of the denominations' fair economic practice policies. Replies received from the suppliers were sent to member churches.

Five laymen are making a survey of corporations in which Chicago Presbytery holds stock, and will write them asking about their investment policies.

Clergymen are brought together for seminars on housing, prices, and other relevant matters regarding business operations.

The conference also has drawn up an agreement requiring brokers to "show this property to any prospective purchaser" regardless of race or religion, and urges home-sellers to make the agreement a part of their contracts with realtors.

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A businessmen's advisory board also functions, keeping in contact with business leaders to tell them what the conference is doing and to work for the cooperation of business and industry.

It is important to have both denominational and inter-faith groups in operation to attack the total problem, the two men said.

Church Economic Practices and Employment Discrimination

The Rev. Robert Hoppe, Detroit Presbytery CORAR director, reported:

The presbytery has adopted an affirmative action policy requiring contractors with which it does business to follow fair employment practices and churchmen got the city's board of education to adopt it also. A committee of clergymen is working with the City of Detroit in this area. Only limited success has been gained in working with some unions on non-discriminatory practices. School board cooperation has been strong and two school construction projects were delayed because contractors could not show evidence of minority race employment. The city has not thus far implemented the affirmative action policy as it relates to goods and services.

The National Missions policy on the sale of manses has been put into force, requiring that churches sell manses on the open market under non-discrimination procedures.

Detailed report forms have been formulated to implement affirmative action policies in all these fields to assure that the policies are carried out. Procedures in the event of non-fulfillment are outlined.

"One of the principles of compliance is negotiation," Mr. Hoppe said. "The problems are tremendous; we are only now becoming aware of many of the complexities....we move in the direction we can move at the moment, in the best way available."

A committee on compliance counselling, made up of laymen, has been developed and trained in all compliance procedures. In addition, the Synod of Michigan has adopted the same affirmative action policy as the presbytery. In all the work, it is recognized that methods and steps may be different in each situation.

Project Equality

Developed by the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, this project has been operating in Detroit and now has been joined by Protestant, Jewish and Eastern Orthodox communions. It will become the Interfaith Project Equality.

The program is designed as an affirmative and educational move in three phases:

1. The decision to commit the hiring and purchasing functions of the church institutions in an affirmative way to help bring an end to economic exclusion for minority groups. Publicity is important in this step, to make religious, civic and business communities aware of it.

2. Business firms are asked to respond as to their own commitment. Criteria are furnished to help evaluate their policies and practices; as these responses are returned, they are analyzed in depth, in light of local and national factors, and evaluations are made. Firms responding affirmatively are listed as "preferred suppliers."

3. Now the program moves to ensure that those responding affirmatively are not paying mere lip service. Reviews are conducted in certain firms, and the conducting of these is well publicized, so that companies which may not be reviewed for some time nevertheless take action to put their own houses in order. This publicity also reaffirms that the church

(over)

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jurisdiction is following through on its policy of preferring to do business with equal opportunity firms. It stresses new contract awards or renewals with such companies, and while it does not mention firms dropped, this knowledge is obvious to the business community.

Similar programs are being prepared for use in construction, insurance, banking and real estate.

IN BRIEF.....

MEMO erred in the July 26 listing of the Rev. William Robinson of the United Church of Altgeld Gardens, Chicagi, as white; he is a Negro....

The 1965 Fund for Freedom receipts averaged only about four cents from each United Presbyterian, or an average of \$14.40 per church....

Synod CORAR directors will meet October 15-16 in Pittsburgh, to share program and strategy ideas....

Contributions for U.P. work in the Watts area of Los Angeles are coming into the CORAR office from churches and individuals....

r/r

Sept. 30, 1965

Statement by John Lewis

9/30/65

re/ acquital

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

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

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

clear that his committee's activities should have begun many months ago and that the almost total exclusion of Negroes from the Southern Democratic parties would not exist.

But more important than past inaction is what must be done for the future. Congressional Democratic primary elections for both the House and the Senate will be held throughout the South within the upcoming months.

In the State of Alabama the Democratic primary for federal as well as for almost all state and local offices is May 3rd, 1966. The last day for a candidate to qualify for the May 3rd primary is the last of February, less than five months away.

In the State of Florida the Democratic primary election is also on the 3rd of May and the remaining deadlines are quite similar to those in Alabama.

In Georgia the democratic primary election is September 14, for U.S. Senators and Congressmen and members of the state legislature. Both candidates and voters must qualify by the end of July to participate in the primary.

In Louisiana the Democratic primary for federal elections is August 6th with early June as the qualification date for both voters and candidates.

In Mississippi the Democratic primary elections for U.S. Senators (for instance , Sen. Eastland is the incumbent) and Representatives is June 7th. Candidates must qualify two months earlier and one may register to vote up to two weeks before the primary.

(1965 Oct 6)

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
360 Nelson Street, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

STATEMENT OF JOHN LEWIS, CHAIRMAN OF SNCC, BEFORE THE SPECIAL
EQUAL RIGHTS SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee:

I am appearing here on behalf of the SNCC and the hundreds of people with whom we work in response to correspondence from Chairman Lawrence.

We want to point out at the beginning that we are not a political party but a civil rights organization. However a great deal of our work has been in the political arena. Since 1961, when we first went into McComb, Miss. to work on Voter Registration, we have been actively involved in trying to secure the Vote for thousands of oppressed people in the deep South.

SNCC was asked to address itself to a number of questions dealing with exclusion of Negroes from party activities and elections in the Southern States. I would first like to say that the approximately 6 days notice given for a presentation of this type is far too little to prepare adequately the vast amount of material. Moreover, while our resources are such as to compile the relevant facts, SNCC feels that such a task is properly one that should be done by this committee and its staff. While we appreciate being invited to testify, we feel the committee should have investigators out in the field rather than asking heads of civil rights organizations to testify. Furthermore, it has now been over a year since the full Democratic Convention at Atlantic City directed the chairman to create this committee and this committee to begin to act. It is quite

Moreover, in the State of Mississippi where the regular Democratic Party has repeatedly proved its inability to accord equal rights and determination to suppress the rights of the Negro, the MFDP, which is the only real Democratic Party in the State, should be recognized and authorized to conduct the primary elections.

The DP and its governing body, the DNC, must realize that it is through the Democratic primary in the State of Mississippi that Senator James O. Eastland, perhaps the most powerful racist Senator to sit in the halls of Congress, has come to power. And, the National Committee must be fully aware that only by continuing to recognize the racist TDP of Mississippi can Senator Eastland continue to hold his seat and power in the Senate of the United States as a senior Democratic member.

Ladies and gentlemen, the time has come for the Democratic Party to stop a racist U.S. Senator dedicated to white supremacy from being nominated under the name of the Democratic Party. No longer should you tolerate the fact that a national disgrace bears the Democratic name.

It is you, ladies and gentlemen, who allow Senator Eastland and other racist politicians to wield their power precisely because you accept their use of your name.

Another example of this Committee's tolerance of racism within its ranks is the presence of Eugene "Bull" Connor as Democratic National Committeeman from Alabama. How can Negroes in that state feel welcome in the Democratic

In North Carolina the Democratic primary for Federal offices as well as large numbers of state and local offices is May 20th. Candidates must qualify two months earlier and one may register to vote up to two weeks before the primary.

The South Carolina Democratic primary election for Federal offices, Governor and state legislature is June 14th. The last day to register to vote is May 15th.

In Texas, the primary election for federal offices, Governor, and state legislature is May 7th. February is the last day to qualify as a candidate in the state primary.

In Virginia, the primary election is July 12th for federal elections and members of the state legislature. June 12th is the last day to register for the primary, and April 13th the last day to qualify as a candidate.

The above deadlines vividly demonstrate that large scale Democratic Party activity will be necessary in all Southern states in order to prepare for and conduct the many federal and state primary elections scheduled for in some cases less than six months.

The Democratic Party through the DNC must immediately require that all party machinery in these states be administered by persons chosen without regard to race or color. Therefore, the SNCC demands that the DNC NOW direct all Southern Democratic parties to hold new elections for choosing all party officials at all levels. These elections should take place not ^{sooner} than two months nor later than four months.

Party as long as the Democratic National Committee openly and gladly allows such racists within its ranks.

The Democratic Party should begin now to purge such racists from its ranks. The Democratic Party through the Democratic National Committee should go into every hamlet, every town, every county, and every state, and demand that persons who have no loyalty to the National Party and its ideals cease and desist from using the name of the Democratic Party. The DNC should use every legal remedy at its disposal.

We will never get rid of the specific instances of discrimination at the local level unless we start at the top. For as long as Governor Wallace or Governor Johnson and other racists are allowed to head the party or use the name of the party, there will always be discrimination at the local level because it is encouraged at the top.

Members of the Committee, while we stand ready to assist you in any way with carrying out the mandate of the Democratic National Convention of 1964, we must frankly say that action is long overdue, and you must move now decisively. Let us see an end to the growing philosophy within the Democratic Party of "go and sin no more."

October 6, 1965

1. Copy of complaints
- 2.

Emphasize the DNC's
responsibility to clean
up the Demo. party.

Robert Swann and Paul Salstrom

TOWARDS A NON-VIOLENT PEACEKEEPING CORPS

From the end of October to mid-December, the New England Committee for Non-violent Action in the United States is organising a training programme in non-violence, which it hopes will be a step towards the creation of an international non-violent peacekeeping corps. In this article, the directors of the programme, Robert Swann and Paul Salstrom, explain the proposed corps and outline some areas (South-West and South Africa, and the US South) where it might effectively work. One of their concrete proposals, of the greatest importance for the British peace movement and the world, is for a non-violent invasion of South-West Africa.

Weak and tender as would be any experiment in international conflict resolution at this stage of the American peace movement, it is possible that the experimental initiation of a "non-violent peacekeeping corps" is a vital, perhaps the most vital, pioneering effort we could be making vis-à-vis both the world peace movement and the American freedom movement. Unfortunately the current quiescence of the World Peace Brigade would necessitate that literal pioneering be undertaken anew in this field, but in the event we might find our path smoother where it retraces the World Peace Brigade's path of 1962-1964. In any case, we emphatically feel that a fresh approach is called for by recent developments; we shall try in some detail to spell out our reasons.

A world project

First, a non-violent peacekeeping corps would be potentially a genuine world project. In recent years, radical non-violent movements have begun to look at the world as a whole and to consider where the application of non-violent action could be most effective in solving

or dissolving - situations of injustice, tension, aggression and misunderstanding. In trying to serve such a function on a world scale, "we" as non-violent actionists would tend to represent in a sense a considerable segment of the world's population. For due to our radical objectives, the oppressed majority of the human race, although largely inarticulate and non-voting, would be inclined to sympathise with our efforts. Thus we could find ourselves, perhaps to our own surprise no less than that of observers, acquiring a power somewhat akin to that which Gandhi attracted in India, or akin to the power of the Southern freedom movement. For it is breadth - and depth - of constituency which basically accounts for the immensely greater power wielded in America by the freedom movement than by the peace movement. Civil rights is popular and powerful as an issue because it represents the aspirations of masses of people. Peace, as an abstraction, in America represents in general the aspirations of liberal or radical intellectuals only.

But we are convinced that in fact a non-violent world peacekeeping corps

could potentially develop more power than has existed in either the Indian or Southern Negro movements, simply because it would be relating to "the whole." That is, each individual volunteer of such a corps would represent in a given action not only himself, and not only his country or his particular race, but the human race as such. He would potentially speak in any non-violent action with the moral authority of the whole human race, and therefore he would speak with considerable power.

Conflict resolution

The second most important thing about the concept of a non-violent peacekeeping corps is that, unlike so much of the peace action in the US which can function only as dissent and protest, international action offers great opportunity for the taking of positive initiatives to affect tension situations. This applies whether the cause of the tension be social, economic or political. And again unlike typical anti-war protests, we expect it to be discovered that direct action for conflict resolution can usually result in immediate positive effects - just as during a series of sit-in demonstrations there is likely to be some degree of liberating result both within the segregation system and in the psychological state of the participants and observers. Such power to effect change in otherwise inflexible customs and institutions is not an accident. On the contrary, it is all but certain when a group - be it a local freedom organisation or a world corps - resolutely pursues a majority objective by using a minority method, provided the method chosen works to illuminate rather than obscure the issues and forces involved.

This final condition is met more than adequately by non-violent action practised in a spirit of openness and search for truth, for it brings hidden matters into the light of day and of direct confrontation. And in regard to the prior two conditions: (a) our objectives, being radical and anti-exploitative, do indeed resemble basically if not identically the objective of the majority of mankind; and (b) our method, non-violent action, is used by only a tiny minority of mankind, and therefore we should find ourselves able to initiate processes of creative change in situations in which the masses, for reasons psychological as well as political and economic, are unable to do so.

South-West Africa

Specifically, in today's world our objectives very emphatically coincide with those of the oppressed black man in southern Africa. Those who may concern themselves with initiating a non-violent peacekeeping corps may well find in 1965-1966 what the World Peace Brigade found as it began in 1962 - that the most important and opportune challenge for practitioners of international non-violent action is the dilemma of freedom forces in southern Africa.

In 1962 the United Nations decided to sanction against the role of the Republic of South Africa in South-West Africa; but the much discussed idea of attempting with non-violent means to implement that UN decision remains still untried. South Africa's government has no legitimate claim, legal or otherwise, to rule South-West Africa; yet it does and has

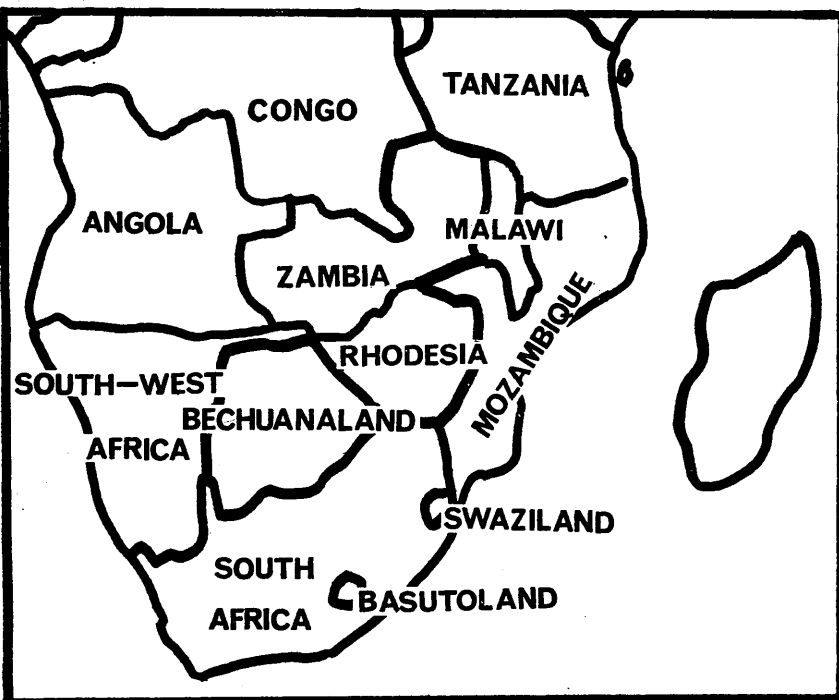
done so throughout the years since the League of Nations broke down. Proposed action on the part of a non-violent corps (or non-violent "army," if free or exiled Africans care to join en masse) attempting to nullify South African control could be expected to receive serious consideration again in the foreseeable future.

Such action could take the form of a non-violent "invasion" penetrating South-West Africa via Zambia and attempting to supplant South African authority - not alone of course due to direct confrontation or even the active or passive support of the black inhabitants, but primarily as a result of the mobilisation of world public opinion which these dramatic events would achieve. It cannot be doubted that non-violent "invaders" of South-West Africa would have the support of most of mankind, for here is a situation in which the UN has been frustrated by inability to enforce its decisions, even though the decisions were overwhelmingly backed both in the UN and by world public opinion.

Political non-violence

In the 1930s the ideal of radical movements tended to be international socialism. But in today's world, emphasis among radicals is shifting from the end (socialism or any other ideal) to the means - and the particular variety of means most in evidence must quite objectively be labelled "political non-violence." It is within this context that recently there seems to be developing in the USA, at various levels of the freedom and new left movements as well as among pacifists, interest in the idea of applying non-violence to international conflict situations. In the summer of 1965 Martin Luther King and James Bevel spoke in favour of such action being taken on the part of civil rights forces.

In the large supplement on non-



One of the projects suggested in this article is a non-violent invasion of South-West Africa. South Africa has been ruling South-West Africa for years without legal authority, and a World Court decision on the case is expected next year. A non-violent corps could attempt to enter South-West Africa, perhaps from Zambia, in order to arouse African and world opinion against South Africa.

Black man Burden
is ~~unpleasant~~
for both black
and white.

He writes with a sense
of simplicity

Black
The Black man might
forgive but he can never
forget it

CNVA AUTUMN PROGRAMME

The programme which Robert Swann and Paul Salstrom are planning will last for six weeks. Weekdays will be used for "workshops," study, physical training and work with the New England CNVA. Weekends will be for separate projects or discussions: theoretical study of non-violent resistance, study of UN peacekeeping operations and voluntary service, and discussion of how overseas programmes can take on a "political cutting edge." Among concrete proposals to be considered are that the groundwork of the World Peace Brigade be used to develop new freedom projects in southern Africa, and that countries contributing special forces to the UN should be urged to consider forming unarmed corps for these purposes, to receive training in non-violent techniques.

For information, apply to New England CNVA, RFD 1, Box 179B, Voluntown, Conn 06384, USA.



violence in *Our Generation Against Nuclear War* (June 1964), John Galtung noted a developing willingness on the part of scholars interested in peace research to concern themselves with non-violence. A 1965 "orientation" booklet issued by the Peace Research Institute in Oslo lists among its study projects three on non-military defence and one on non-military international peace-keeping.

US Peace Corps

Just as the sophistication of the growing body of peace researchers bodes well for non-violent peacekeeping, so likewise does the growing body of young Americans who have grown politically sophisticated by spending recent years in the freedom movement or Peace Corps. These young people represent a new factor. Whatever may have been the ideal originally motivating them to commit themselves, if it was then a politically naive ideal it is no longer. We can expect many of these young people to be interested in the kind of synthesis of community development, grass roots organisation for political change, and non-violent direct action which will constitute the overall plan of the programme this autumn. This synthesis is the key to our picture of how a non-violent peacekeeping corps should function.

Perhaps the most viable base upon which to superimpose tasks of non-violent peacekeeping would not be the network of the UN's service and development personnel, or even the UN's Emergency Forces (disarmed), but instead the American Peace Corps. And rather than merely regretting the fact that the Peace Corps is a government agency, we should consider working to attract its alumni to a "parallel" corps such as the non-violent corps herein envisaged. Freedom to be politically radical and non-aligned, and to use non-violent action as well as to practise on-going community development, could thus be offered to these youngsters - many of whom must be ready to respond to just such an opportunity.

By way of underlining this point regarding the relevance of the Peace Corps system and ideal to non-violent peacekeeping, we quote from the article by John Galtung cited above:

"In a disarmed world and also in a disarming world there will still be

conflicts. . . . Immediately relevant would be the training of the UN police forces in the soft techniques of establishing a situation where a conflict no longer feeds on itself but energy can be channelled into real conflict resolution. To mention some of these techniques: extreme courage (ability to be shot at without shooting back); low-level mediation (not merely between the highest UN officer and leaders of struggling factions); ability to physically go-between in a fight; rapid fact-finding (the fallacy of concentrating on an elite is to be avoided, and the ability to correct and stop rumours and act as channels of communication will be essential) . . . Two conditions often mentioned for efficient work as a third party of this kind are intimate knowledge of local conditions and a general image as an impartial servant of the parties in conflict . . . How does one get a numerous group of young people, who

know local conditions, are known for their service in the community, and have stayed there long enough to have really woven themselves into the web of friendly relations? There is only one good model available today: the American Peace Corps . . . One does not have to accept the whole idea of non-violence to include most of the skills referred to above in the curriculum of a peace corps."

If to some readers both we and Mr Galtung begin to seem too ambitious, it should be mentioned that probably working closely with the UN (or, alternately, paralleling the peacekeeping of the UN) cannot realistically be expected in the near future. It is nonetheless a vital long range possibility to keep in mind.

Objections

The major objection that most pacifists and anarchists have to the UN peace-

keeping force is that not only is it military instead of non-violent but it can be used by one or more of the big powers to support big power interests (e.g. in the Korean War). However, it is much less likely that this objection would be applicable to a non-violent corps. The essential question is: could a non-violent peacekeeping force really keep the peace? One of the major objectives of the autumn programme at New England CNVA will be to spell out the conditions under which this question can be answered in the affirmative. Another major question to be explored is that of financing and sponsorship. If the UN is not a likely sponsor for such a corps in the near future, how else might it be sponsored and paid for? Is it possible for a non-governmental, independent international group to carry the cost of such an undertaking? In short, is the concept of a "world peace brigade" financially viable in 1965 or 1966?

Possible projects for the proposed non-violent corps

1. Proposal regarding non-violent "invasion" of South-West Africa, covered above. Not practicable until the pending World Court decision expected in the summer of 1966 at the earliest.

2. In the light of the current direction of South African developments - that is, organised sabotage against the government internally and increased UN pressure externally - a major effort is perhaps in order which would use fully opportunities for offering non-violent training in Tanzania in preparation for non-violent direct action further south.

But it is clear that due to stiffening in the positions of both sides within South Africa, a sufficiently vigorous effort could be carried out by only one force, namely young people from the American civil rights movement. Figures such as Martin Luther King, James Lawson, James Bevel and Howard Zinn are probably already weighing the part which the Southern movement might be able to play in such an undertaking.

A selection could be made from experi-

enced volunteers of a group to journey to Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, there to concentrate on training African volunteers in non-violent techniques and learning from them about African politics.

The expenses of these Americans would probably have to be covered by a fund created through a special publicity campaign and fund appeal designed by the civil rights organisations. If desired, an international council could be formed to handle sponsorship and administrative tasks.

If a detailed proposal is to be constructed, it will have to set forth a concrete plan for how a corps of American youth with freedom movement experience could revitalise freedom forces inside South Africa, and by the same programme force a crisis in the world public's conscience which would lead to international trade sanctions of a decisive nature (such as on oil shipments to South Africa). The key statement of this non-violent programme could be distributed to a saturation point throughout the world, thus guarding against treachery on the part of the mass media when the chips are down.

3. Possibly the most rewarding specific idea for consideration by participants in the coming programme at New England CNVA would be that of mounting a project in the Southern US staffed essentially by Asians, Africans and Latin Americans. There are 60,000 foreign students in the US and in general their student visas allow them to work for up to six months in succession and to miss college for at least one term.

Such a project for them in the South, whether involving development and service alone or also non-violent action, could serve as a pilot "reverse peace corps," questioning the standard Western assumption that it is the problems of the so-called underdeveloped countries which most desperately require outside attention. (For perhaps the focus might

more appropriately be on the machinations of over-industrialised super-states which exploit and intimidate these more vulnerable countries.) Granted, there are immense development needs in "the third world"; but can they be considered urgent in the sense that the political problems of the US must urgently be tackled by liberals and radicals everywhere if the human race is to survive for another generation (and in the meantime if the rape of Vietnam is not to be repeated in multiples)?

Another consideration is that fruitful interaction between Southern movement activists and representatives of freedom movements abroad can probably best be achieved on the home ground of the former, in the South.

Specifically, we are proposing that the Appalachian region be the locale of this experimental "reverse peace corps" project. As realised by the organisers of the Appalachian Economic and Political Action Conference (AEPAC), projects in that region "could have wide repercussions since nine Southern states have large Appalachian areas." . . . and "all but three also have Black Belt areas where the civil rights movement is concentrating. The significance of simultaneous organisation in the Black Belt and Appalachian areas for future politics in these states is obvious." (Anne Braden in "The Southern Freedom Movement in Perspective," *Monthly Review*; July-August 1965.)

4. In lieu of spelling out in detail proposals for non-violent action to aid the achievement of a just peace in Vietnam, let it merely be recorded that there are a variety. One, which would supplement service work with a form of non-violent intervention, is the proposal from Todd Gitlin of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), calling approximately twenty young Americans to travel to North Vietnam and there rebuild one of the hospitals destroyed by American bombing missions.

Return to: NEW ENGLAND CNVA, RFD #1, BOX 197 B
VOLUNTOWN, CONNECTICUT 06384

I would like to participate October 30 - December 12

I would like to participate _____ to _____

Consider me registered for the following weekends:

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Nov. 12-14 _____ Nov. 25-28 _____ Dec. 10-12 _____

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November 1, 1965

TO: Washington Representatives and Heads of Cooperating
Organizations

A CORRECTION

The MEMO we sent you on personal security legislation contains an error.

On page 4, Part II, Corruption of State Law Enforcement Machinery and Advantages of Federal Prosecution

the first paragraph should read:

We cannot agree with Attorney General Katzenbach that unpunished murders are "the price you pay for the jury system." We believe that this is the price we are paying, not for the jury system as such, but for the aberrations of the system and our own refusal to make it function in a constitutional manner.

COOPERATING ORGANIZATIONS

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ALPHA PHI ALPHA FRATERNITY
AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA
AMALGAMATED MEAT CUTTERS AND BUTCHER WORKMEN
AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
AMERICAN ETHICAL UNION
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS
AFL-CIO
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
AMERICAN NEWSPAPER GUILD
AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE
AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH FOUNDATION
B'NAI B'RITH WOMEN
BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS
CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL COUNCIL
CHRISTIAN FAMILY MOVEMENT
CHRISTIAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN SERVICE COMMISSION
CITIZENS LOBBY FOR FREEDOM & FAIR PLAY
COLLEGE YCS NATIONAL STAFF
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
COUNCIL FOR CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTION — UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST
DELTA SIGMA THETA SORORITY
EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY
FRONTIERS INTERNATIONAL
HADASSAH
HOTEL, RESTAURANT EMPLOYEES & BARTENDERS INTERNATIONAL UNION
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Southern Negro who asserts his constitutional right to move forward in society.

Few of these acts of violence have resulted in prosecutions; in those that have, a minimal number of convictions have been obtained. The reasons for this brutal state of affairs are many; some of them are: the refusal of state and local officials and local juries to enforce state laws against violence; the election of state and local officials hostile to the rights of minorities--a direct result of the disenfranchisement of Negroes; the extent of the violence and its organized nature; the inadequate use of Federal statutes and Federal authority that do exist; and the lack of national consensus that the rights of minorities are as sacred as those of the majority. Put another way, the essential cause of continued unpunished violence has been the refusal of those seeking corrective action to recognize that the conditions that exist result from a complete breakdown of law and order based on an acceptance of an unconstitutional system of "justice" administered in the spirit of white supremacy. The Negro and those who seek justice for him are confronted in general in the South with hostile white police, hostile white prosecutors, hostile white judges and hostile white juries. The institutions of law (with few exceptions) follow a policy of lily-white employment, accept the philosophy of white supremacy, and operate under a double standard of justice based on the race of parties involved. Bluntly put, these institutions of law are the fellow-travellers of anti-Negro violence and can hardly be expected to mete out justice to the violent.

All this runs directly counter to the guarantee of the 14th Amendment and other provisions of the Constitution. But it will continue nonetheless unless new tools are forged for law enforcement in the areas of violent resistance to racial equality. Although law enforcement is an extremely sensitive area of federal-state relationships and one where legislation is difficult to perfect and enact--far more difficult for example than the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 where the Leadership Conference had its greatest legislative successes--the need for federal action is too great and immediate and the risks in the failure of law enforcement too dangerous to leave the present situation unaltered. This memorandum is intended to suggest some possible courses of action as a means of inviting proposals from all civil rights advocates which the Leadership Conference can then blend into legislation for enactment in the year 1966.

II

Corruption of State Law Enforcement Machinery and Advantages of Federal Prosecutions

We cannot agree with Attorney General Katzenbach that unpunished murders are "the price you pay for the jury system." We believe that this is the price we are paying, not for the jury system as such, but for the aberrations of the system and our own refusal to make it function in a constitutional manner.

The jury system as it now operates, both in state and Federal jurisdictions, depends for the selection of veniremen on the dis-

John Lewis - Wed 11/3/65

Agenda

- 1030 Bill Ferris will pick you up
- 1205 Luncheon for Measure For Measure
with sponsors - explain SNCC
position and calm their fears
of "Reds"
- 100 - Introduction at Democratic Party
Leadership Luncheon [?]
- 130 - Introduction on Assembly Floor
- 200 - Brief Meeting w/ Republican
Governor William Knowles
- 300 - Interview at WIBA w/
George Bukaylitch "Papa Hambone."
(→)

[1965 Nov 9]

You are cordially invited
to participate in
the presentation of
THE ELEANOR ROOSEVELT PEACE AWARD
of
The National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy
to
SENATOR GEORGE McGOVERN
at a
Testimonial Dinner
Waldorf Astoria Hotel

Tuesday, November 9, 1965
Reception at 6:30 p.m. - Empire Room
Dinner at 7:30 p.m. - Starlight Roof

\$15 per person

R. S. V. P.

530 Cocktail Party
at Prof Carl Smith's house
915 Arlington Place

730 - Reception at World Affairs Center

1030

Thurs morning

Plane leaves airport at

600

SENATOR GEORGE McGOVERN TESTIMONIAL DINNER

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Speaker

CONGRESSMAN WILLIAM F. RYAN

Master of Ceremonies

WILLIAM B. WILLIAMS

THE ELEANOR ROOSEVELT PEACE AWARD

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT was Honorary Chairman of the fifth anniversary dinner of the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy when she died in 1962. A peace medal had been prepared for presentation to the dinner's guest of honor.

SANE sought, and received, the Roosevelt family's permission to dedicate the award to Mrs. Roosevelt's memory.

SENATOR GEORGE McGOVERN is the recipient of the award this year for his outstanding courage and leadership in the campaign for a peaceful solution to the Vietnam conflict. He joins James J. Wadsworth, Norman Cousins, Clarence Pickett, Steve Allen, Dr. Benjamin Spock and Max E. Youngstein as a recipient of the Eleanor Roosevelt Peace Award.

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November 10, 1965

MEMO: Position of the Leadership Conference On Civil Rights
Regarding Enforcement of Existing Civil Rights Laws.

The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights deplores the inadequate enforcement of existing civil rights laws. In far too many instances, the great promise of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 is not being realized. The authority of earlier civil rights laws meant to protect Negro citizens is hardly being used at all. And laws that are not properly enforced are little better than none. For how can we urge respect for law when laws are administered in a manner that can only create disrespect for law?

The grave failures in enforcement are exemplified for us in such areas as these:

I. Administration of Justice - The glaring inequality of justice that confronts us today--on the one hand the severe penalties imposed on civil rights workers and Negroes accused of crimes and on the other, the shocking acquittals of their murderers--demonstrates not only the weakness of existing federal laws but also a failure on the part of the Justice Department to make full use of the powers it does have under these statutes. We feel the Department has proceeded with excessive caution in its use of the post Civil War civil rights statutes, 18 U.S. C.241, 242, 243, and other laws.

A good illustration of this is afforded by the Department's own statistics. Its report for 1964 shows 2,656 complaints, 27 grand jury presentations, 20 indictments and one conviction. Prosecution may be difficult, but we suggest it is an abdication of responsibility not to undertake prosecution wherever guilt appears beyond a reasonable doubt, even at the risk of failure to convict.

- more -

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WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM
WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE
WORKMEN'S CIRCLE
YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION OF THE U.S.A.
ZETA PHI BETA SORORITY

In regard to Section 243 (which makes it a criminal offense for jury officials to exclude from or fail to call persons to jury duty because of race or color), the repeated exclusion of Negroes from the selection of juries in many parts of the South is so well known that it is incredible to find there has been only one reported use of this statute and that, some seventy-five years ago.

The Department's limited use of U.S. Marshals and FBI agents to protect the constitutional rights of citizens further emphasizes the narrow view it takes of its powers; federal presence should be multiplied and Marshals and FBI agents should be authorized to make on-the-scene arrests for violation of federal law.

We believe there is authority in existing laws that has never been fully used. If the Justice Department feels these laws are insufficient, it has the clear responsibility to advocate additional legislation.

II. Voting - The Justice Department has proceeded much too cautiously in its use of federal voting examiners. Although only six percent of the eligible Negro population of Mississippi was registered to vote when the 1965 Act went into effect, only 13 examiners have been sent to that state. In spite of the many recorded instances of delay and harassment throughout the South, only 20 other examiners have been dispatched to the region. We deplore the Department's excessive reliance upon voluntary compliance in this as well as in other areas of enforcement. Such compliance must be suspect when it is offered by officials who, throughout the course of their careers, have worked to deny constitutional rights to Negro citizens.

It is apparent to us that so long as these officials control voting procedures, thousands of potential voters will refrain from registering through fear, distrust or lack of confidence that federal law has in fact changed conditions.

We demand a federal registrar in every county in which discrimination still exists. And this is many times the 32 counties which now have registrars.

III. Enforcement of Title VI - One of the most powerful weapons for the advancement of civil rights is the section (Title VI) of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, that prohibits discrimination in all federally-assisted programs; but this section is being used much too sparingly. Unnecessary delays are countenanced by the Title VI regulations a number of agencies issued last year. The Leadership Conference expressed its fears about these regulations when they were first made public. There has been ample justification for those fears since then.

The Office of Education provides a good example of an agency that has done too little with the Title VI provision. It has approved school desegregation plans that amount to no more than token compliance. One of the major deficiencies in its original guidelines, as pointed out by Roy Wilkins, chairman of the Leadership Conference, was its sanction of a "freedom of choice" plan in school districts. Evidence accumulates that Negro parents who attempt to exercise their "free choice" of schools for their children risk reprisals both for themselves and their children. As a result, more than one year after the Civil Rights Act took effect and 11 and a half years after the Supreme Court school decisions, less than 8 percent of the Negro students in the South, according to an Office of Education study, are presently going to integrated schools. Studies by private organizations indicate that even that figure may be too high. Title VI needs a revitalization before its too late.

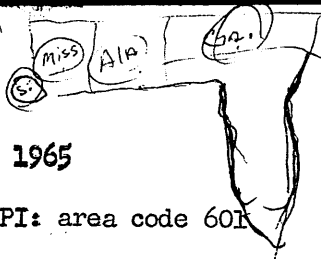
IV. Equal Employment and Enforcement of Title VII - Enforcement of the equal employment opportunity provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 has been far from effective. That law authorizes the Justice Department to file suits to secure equal employment opportunity. Yet 17 months after enactment of the law and nearly five months after its effective date not a single suit has been filed. The great promise of ending employment discrimination under the 1964 Act will become a mockery if the Justice Department hesitates to enforce this law in the courts. We believe that the statute itself needs to be strengthened by authorizing the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to issue its own cease and desist orders against employers who continue to practice job discrimination. But meanwhile, suits brought by the Justice Department are an effective means of enforcing the Act. Further delay means further defeat for job equality rights.

* * * * *

In all of the instances we have cited here, we find two basic weaknesses in the enforcement of federal civil rights laws: an excessive reliance on voluntary compliance in the face of massive evidence that most recalcitrants will move only when vigorous enforcement compels them to; and the tendency of administrative agencies to again place upon Negroes the burden of trying to win their rights through complaints and individual initiative instead of obtaining enforcement through broad-scale programs of affirmative government action.

We recognize that a century of discrimination cannot be ended overnight. But the pace at which we work to end it can be quickened. The vigor with which we act to end it can be greatly increased. What is needed now is a crusade of enforcement by the government to end, once and for all, the terrible injustices our laws are meant to correct.

REVISED WATS LIST, NOVEMBER 19, 1965



Mike Va.
N.C.

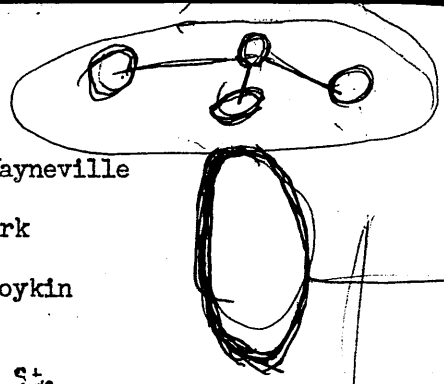
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Mary Lane
- ✓ Cleveland: 719 Lee St.
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- ✓ Hattiesburg: Box 961
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- Holly Springs: 100 Rust Ave.
252-2491
- Indianola: Box 30
9155 (thru op)
- Itta Bena: Box 281
254-7562
- ✓ Jackson: 852 1/2 Short St.
352-9611
- Laurel: Box 771
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- Lexington: 306-3d St.
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- Meridian: 513-25 Ave.
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- Vossburg: Box 278
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202-387-7445

MFDP: 926 Pennsylvania Ave. SE, Washington DC
202-546-4450

EASTERN SHORE, MARYLAND
Cambridge: CNAC, 622 Pine St.
301-228-4526 or 2040
Denton: 707 Gay St.

Virginia
VIRGINIA
Blackstone: Box 292, VSCRC
703-292-4498
Norfolk: c/o Willie Thomson, 662 Church St./Ocilla: 706-6th St.

NORTH CAROLINA
Enfield: 403 Bell St.
919-445-5686
Powellsville: Box 35

Raleigh: John Salter, 828 Newcomb Rd.
919-832-0363

ALABAMA

Selma: Box 572 (31 1/2 Franklin)
205-872-4801 or 1426
(Freedom House: 205-874-9135)

Montgomery: 908 High Street
205-264-9039

Tuskegee: TIAL, 300 Fonville St.
205-727-0190

Lowndes
Lowndes Co.: Box 232, Haynesville

Sumter Co.: Box 399, York

Hale Co.: Box 201, Greensboro

Wilcox Co.: General Delivery, Boykin

Lawyer: 400 S. Jackson, Montgomery
205-263-1349

ARKANSAS

Little Rock: 700 W. 9 St.
501-FR 5-9081

(Freedom Flat: 501-FR 5-1457
Hansen: 501-FR 5-0301)

Pine Bluff: 611 E. Harding
501-JE 5-4436

West Helena: 611 E. Panama Rd.
501-JU 5-3705

Forrest City: 114 Cox St.
501-ME 3-6692

GEORGIA

Albany: 229 1/2 S. Jackson
912-432-5532

Americus: 617 North Lee St.
912-924-9069

Baker Co.: c/o Albany

Cordele: 605--14th Ave. W
912-273-9806

Poulan: Mrs. R. King, Rt. 1, Box 105

John Purdie

TENNESSEE

Somerville: WTVP, Box 277
901-465-3218

524 West
Samana
799-8918

825-8372

Divinity School
Vanderbilt University
Nashville, Tenn. 37203
Tel. (615) 254-5411, ext. 6426
November 23, 1965

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE SOUTHERN TASK GROUP ON RACE, WCC

Subject: Proposed meeting on December 11, Saturday, 9:30 A.M.
Room 235, Divinity School Building, Vanderbilt

Dear Friends:

Tom Wieser and I have had several discussions about ways in which to carry our assignment to some kind of completion. We now propose that as many of the group as possible convene on the date listed above and do what we can to prepare the outline of a draft (or indeed the draft) of our report to the North American Working Group.

In preparation for this meeting I enclose several documents. My hope is that they will provide materials for discussion and that they, with the additions and corrections made in light of discussion, may serve as a part of our final report. But that remains to be seen.

The enclosures are:

1. A copy of the report sent to Dr. Hans Margull in which I tried to sum up our discussions to date.
2. An addendum to that report sent to the North American Working Group but not actually discussed by that group.
3. A copy of a proposal on theological education made by Thomas Wieser.
4. A copy of Thomas Wieser's report on conversations with the Delta Ministry staff.

We hope that Andy Young of SCLC and Art Thomas of the Delta Ministry can be with us. We are asking each of them to speak about the future, to indicate what they anticipate in the area of race. As you can see from the enclosures, we (Tom Wieser and I) think that the eschatological import of the racial revolution may provide one of the most important features of it -- in terms both of the movement itself and of Christian understanding of the movement.

We have no funds for travel this time. I hope that distant members who cannot come because of the travel costs involved will give us their blessing to proceed without them. But I hope that every one who can possibly come will do so. Let me know if you need accommodations in a nearby hotel. Meeting place is listed at the top of the sheet.

All good wishes,

Cordially,

Walter Harrelson
Walter Harrelson

Enclosure # 1

SOUTHERN TASK GROUP ON RACE

Sketch of Task

Preface: The following sketch of the task assigned to the Southern Task Group has been drafted by the chairman and revised by the secretary. Time did not allow for further discussion of its contents by members of the Task Group.

I. Origin of the Task Group

The Southern Task Group on Race was called into being to provide a further way for the North American Working Group to enter more deeply into the struggle for racial justice in the U.S.--at least in terms of reflection on the part of some persons involved, in various ways, in that struggle. Our aim was not to write a definitive paper on the new shapes of ministry that were emerging, or likely to emerge, as a result of the racial revolution. Rather, we were charged to take time from actual involvements in various forms of ministry in order to reflect together on fresh directions that seemed to be emerging in our own lives, and in the lives of colleagues whose work we knew rather well.

The product of such reflections then was to go to the North American Working Group and to become a part of that Group's efforts to deal with the subject of its study.

II. Questions and Observations that have emerged thus far

1. What has the struggle for racial equality done to existing church structures, in Negro congregations, in white congregations?

Southern Task Group on Race
Page 2

2. Is it true that denominations and interdenominational bodies have begun to emerge as significant forces of strength in part as a result of the freedom movement? If so, what does this suggest as to the renewal or modification of existing congregational structures?
3. What changes are occurring in community structures as a result of the freedom movement--structures outside the congregations and the denominations? Are local anti-poverty programs likely to reform community structures? Structures of the congregation? Of the denomination?
4. What activities of the members of this group have served to support or to qualify or deny the charge that the traditional structures of local congregations stand in the way of the Church's fulfilling her mission in the world?
5. What new structures for mission have emerged in our communities? What has happened to the nature of the mission as conceived and pursued within these new structures?

These questions, together with others, have been confronted in a variety of ways. It has been noted that among Negro ministers the local congregation has provided support for involvement in the freedom movement and that Negro congregations have had a concern for the life of their members in the world from very early days. The dichotomy between churchly and secular life, seen and felt by many white ministers and lay people, seems not to be so serious within Negro congregations.

Also noted was the fact that the freedom movement has modified the

polity of some of the "free church" or "pentecostal" Negro congregations. They have been drawn together by the racial revolution, have become more ready to send "delegates" to community agencies, and otherwise to take representative church and congregational government seriously. We can thus discern consequences of the racial revolution that may be of importance in ecclesiastical relations in the coming years. An analogous movement has occurred in some white congregations of more centralized polity: local ministers and congregations have been required to fight for relative autonomy to accomplish objectives not always approved by district or presbyterial authorities. The freedom to transcend the bounds of established polity, in short, has been claimed and is being claimed, whether or not such action may result in the straining of the structures of the churches.

Another fact impressed upon the task group is this. Confessional bodies in their national form and interdenominational bodies have suddenly emerged as spearheads of activity on the racial front. In this country it had been widely assumed that little more than pronouncements could be expected of these larger bodies. Instead, initiative has begun to be taken precisely by these bodies, to the considerable embarrassment of some ministers and congregations and some regional bodies of the churches. It remains to be seen whether such initiative can be maintained. But we have been much impressed by the emergence of such national confessional and interconfessional leadership.

Within the Negro congregations has appeared an astonishing readiness

on the part of denominational groups to join forces across the dividing lines of denominations. In local communities it has frequently happened that congregations and ministers who had formerly gone their separate ways have been drawn together in the struggle for racial freedom. Identification has begun to emerge on the basis of one's degree of involvement in this struggle, much less than on the basis of denominational labels. This seems to indicate that at the national level denominationalism has become stronger while interdenominational work has also thrived, albeit against bitter opposition, whereas at the local level (especially in Negro congregations) denominationalism has been tampered by participation in the racial struggle.

Another observation should be made on our group's critical appraisal of current structures of the churches for mission. No consensus has emerged. Negro members seem clearly to hold out more hope for the possibility of renewing and augmenting existing structures than do white members. This fact only underscores, we think, the failure of white congregations to move with decisiveness in this struggle and the wide extent of congregational support for the movement among the churches whose membership is primarily Negro. We must note in passing that the number of really interracial congregations remains shamefully small.

A final observation should be made. Members of the task group have given considerable thought to the question whether the freedom movement is marked by sufficient comprehension of the fundamental nature of Christian freedom, whether the articulation of the Gospel within the

movement is sufficiently clear and comprehensive to provide positive guidance for the participants and sufficient critical guidelines to enable the movement to avoid the idolatry and absolutism characteristic of any such movements. Our group finds it imperative to continue such reflection, although we are aware of the necessity to continue to act for the realization of the goals of the movement despite such dangers.

III. Recommendations

1. Ways should be found for participants in the struggle for racial justice to take time for reflection analogous to that in which we have sought to engage.
2. National denominational and interdenominational bodies should carry forward unrelentingly their support of the freedom movement, despite opposition, and making the fullest use of their power and influence upon political bodies and the populace at large.
3. Studies should be pursued to provide more definitive answers to such questions as those listed under II above. And the denominations should be prepared to act upon such findings, at whatever cost to existing structures.
4. The fact that we still have congregations that can be designated "white" and "Negro" is a clear measure of the sin in which we stand.

Enclosure # 2

ADDENDUM TO MEMO SUBMITTED TO
DR. MARGULL

It was not possible to meet on March 27, 1965 as planned. Later meetings also could not be arranged. Thus the Southern Task Group has had no meeting since January, and attendance at that one was slim.

My hope now is for one meeting, at least, prior to the end of December 1965, at which time we will attempt to complete a report and to bring up to date our thinking and report of activities and involvements.

One issue that I hope we can explore fully is this: what are the varieties of eschatological faith found just now in the freedom movement? My conversations with persons from the Delta Ministry and the observations of Tom Wieser following the visit that he, Harvey Cox, and Archie Hargraves made to the Delta Ministry make this question more urgent and more promising for me. I have in mind the following things, among others:

1. When the demand is made for "freedom now" and persons are not greatly interested in articulating long range goals, does this not mean at least that personal and communal freedom or wholeness have emerged in the midst of the struggle; that reconciliation has happened and continues to happen; and that to look for some goals, conceptualized and articulated, appears to deny the new life, the new freedom, the Shalom already being realized? Is this not the equivalent of a Christian refusal to plot the time or shape of the Parousia, the equivalent of a Christian insistence that what God has done and is doing in his world is so glorious, even in its hiddenness, that to make long range plans seems to be forcing God's hand, asking him to do more than he has done already? But what do we want God to do that he hasn't done already, for us, for all men, for the world?
2. Does the belief in radical democracy, insistence that "the people themselves must decide," point in this same direction? Does it witness to the connection between acts of decision by individuals and groups that embody and testify to the wholeness or freedom or Shalom spoken of above?
3. Does the ferment on college and university campuses testify to a similar determination on the part of students (and many faculty members as well) to live now, to act and decide now, to refuse to be treated as those preparing to live and insisting that now is the time to live, labor, suffer, decide? If so, the connection between the struggle for peace among the nations and for racial justice is evident. Both embody an eschatology prominent in Scripture: When the Holy appears among men, life and death here and now are at stake. Prudent calculations, carefully wrought plans for the future, distinctions between long range and proximate goals, casuistry, and the like, seem entirely pointless. Today is the time; now the acceptable hour.

Addendum, page two.

4. More and more I am concerned about mission and worship. If in the racial revolution, as in other aspects of our contemporary social revolution, such weight is placed upon life together in the midst of action, rather than upon rational articulation of long range goals, the quality of this life together, the character of decisions made in the here and now, becomes incredibly important. What can sustain such a life? What can make such moments of decision rich and broad and deep? Only I think modes of celebration full of mystery and passion and telling symbolic acts. Without cultus, can individuals or groups bear the weight of life together, without long range plans and the rational schemes that accompany them? I think not.

This might be, then, one of the most important structures for mission in the world: structures for celebration.

5. I wonder more and more if the term "structures" can serve us very well in our study of the racial revolution. It seems in our group almost always to lead either to a defense of or an attack upon "existing structures." Or when we seek to discern "new structures," we face such matters as those outlined above.

Our discussion of structures can still serve the perhaps useful purpose of reminding ourselves that, as Tom Wieser points out, freedom and order ~~must~~ invariably stand together. One thing that we might have to admit is that in a revolutionary situation order must be minimal, must be viewed with suspicion.

September 1965

Walter Harrelson

3. The Missionary Structure of Theological Education

There is a need to follow up the implications of the basic theological orientation which has begun to emerge in this study, with regard to theological education. Training in the practical fields has already been mentioned, but the implications go deeper. The notion of change must be applied to theological education as a whole. We cannot, of course, develop a blueprint, but we have a responsibility to bring to bear the implications of the study on theological education. The issue might be defined as to how theological education can acquire a basically missionary orientation, missionary in the sense in which the term has come to be understood in the study. This involves at least two dimensions:

- a) An orientation in terms of the mission of God, its end and purpose. In the context of theological discourse this can be called an eschatological orientation. Eschatology is not very popular in theology and theological education in America, (except in some quarters in the existential-subjective sense of Bultmann). It needs to be recovered if a missionary orientation is to emerge. It seems to me that there is here a special responsibility in behalf of the ecumenical movement, since the World Council has made a crucial contribution at this point through the report of the Theological Advisory Commission to the Second Assembly which is probably the theologically most important document to come out of the Council. Yet it has largely been ignored in the theological discussion.
- b) An orientation towards the world. In the academic sense this means an openness toward, and an open dialogue with, other disciplines. In the course of the study the dialogue with sociologists has become particularly urgent thus far. But other disciplines may become equally important.

Ways of dealing with this issue will necessarily have to be experimental. Possibilities of experimental courses, summer schools, etc., should be explored with individual seminaries, inter-seminary wise and in cooperation with the AATS. Another possibility would be to establish a small working group made up of representatives from various disciplines. But whatever the format, it would have to involve an interdisciplinary setting and would focus in the area of 'mission-history-eschatology'.

In view of such future steps the question arises as to the most suitable structure through which they can be carried out. Some of the things mentioned are more in line of a program or a project than a study. None of them, I believe, could very well be implemented by the NAWG as presently established. On the other hand, some of them point to implementation through existing structures in the NCC.

Another question concerns the relationship of the future shape of the study in the North American scene to the World Council development. However, the next stage will be implemented, it must be clear that we are fulfilling a mandate of the World Council.

Thomas Wieser

July 13, 1965

REPORT ON CONVERSATIONS WITH THE STAFF OF THE DELTA MINISTRY OF THE NCC, MAY 14-15, 1965

Three members of the North American Working Group, Harvey Cox, Archie Hargraves and myself, spent 24 hours with the staff of the Delta Ministry on a wide-ranging discussion on issues with which such a ministry is faced. The following is not properly a report on the discussion. I have no extensive notes partly because we were all often very much involved in the discussion and partly because extensive note taking might have inhibited the freedom of the discussion. I am recording here my impressions and some afterthoughts.

A great deal of the discussion revolved around the Movement. There was no attempt made to define the meaning of the term. It seemed to me that at times it referred generally to what is presently going on in Mississippi in terms of a ferment of change, and at times it referred more particularly to the common concern by which various groups (COFO, SNCC, FDP, NAACP) were bound together in working for change. There was a basic conviction that whatever was worthwhile doing in Mississippi had to be done within the context of the Movement, however understood. This strikes me as a highly significant example of the view, often expressed in the Missionary Structure discussion, that we have to let the world write the agenda for our work in mission.

The problems which were brought up were all flowing from this basic conviction about the Movement as the context of work. The following stand out in my mind from the discussion.

(a). The question of authority to make decisions. The aim of the Movement is to free the people who presently have no voice, the Negroes, to gain or to become a voice, to make, or to participate in, political and social decisions affecting their life. Working in the Movement would therefore involve a commitment to a sort of total democracy. For a particular situation this would mean that a worker cannot move in with a fixed plan, but that the plan or program emphasis itself (voter registration, freedom school, health, jobs, wages, etc.) must be decided by the people themselves. This approach, however, has implications for the structure of the groups in the Movement. Such implications evidently are widely debated. Many see the Movement endangered by centralized structures which tend to make decisions influenced by other concerns than those of the grassroots people. On the other hand, lack of structure leads to disorganization, sometimes leading to more arbitrary decisions than those resulting from a centralized structure.

I had the impression that this problem is a necessary dilemma of the situation, also for the work of the Delta Ministry, and should not be interpreted as a weakness of the Movement. In an afterthought, I wondered whether this does not pose concretely for the Delta Ministry the question of being a community of both

freedom and order. Could this be an opportunity to struggle in the context and for the sake of the Movement, for authentic community?

(b). The question of the explicit Christian character of the Delta Ministry. The question is not merely the traditional one which arises when Christians engage in cooperation with secular agencies in alleviating and overcoming human suffering and injustice. In the discussion the question developed two aspects referring respectively to the fact of secularization as evidenced by the Movement and to the particular problem of Christian existence in the South.

Discussion of the first aspect got us into lively debate on the possibility of a theology and an approach to mission without naming God or Christ. It was said that we cannot disregard or cut loose from the history represented by these names, that we must seek identity by appropriating this past. But must such appropriation include the retaining of the particular concepts and names? The discussion merely opened the question and ended inconclusively, but it was later suggested by Harvey Cox that a concrete situation such as faced by the Delta Ministry might be a more appropriate place to think through the issue of a secular or "Death-of-God" theology than the general level on which it is presently discussed.

The other aspect of the question concerns the fact that any overt Christian existence and image in the South today is burdened with, or discredited by, the attitude of the organized churches. The question seems almost unavoidable of whether God is not on the other side of the organized church in the South, and to answer it in the affirmative. In the face of the actual struggle it seemed almost ludicrous to insist on the (theologically correct) view that God cannot be identified with one side. But if the issue is to be drawn in this way, what is the meaning and the expression of Christian mission and commitment? The Movement has no use for the churches and sees them, especially the white churches, as part of the power structure which must be destroyed in the South. This forces the question of whether, as Christians working within the Movement, one can be anything but in opposition to (not only in tension with) the churches. Is the most positive that can be said with reference to the churches to be said under the rubric of loving one's enemies?

(c) The Projection of Goals: On the basis of the strong expression of the commitment to work for change and hence for a future, I had come to expect that one of the most promising aspects of our discussion would concern the direction of the Delta Ministry in terms of projections and goals, either for its work or the Movement. To my surprise, however, there was considerable reticence on the part of several of the staff to enter into a discussion of goals. While strong statements were made concerning the kind of changes which should take place, it was not thought necessary or even desirable to bring such hopes into a functional

relationship to the work. "Do we not hope for social change, do we not want this revolution to succeed and if so do we not need concretely to work out steps which might help insure its success?" Thus it was asked. "But can this revolution fail?", was the rejoinder. "Is this not a revolution of and about freedom and is not 'freedom now'? Can you plan for freedom? Is it not rather a matter of participating in this freedom and hence being with the people who emerge into freedom?" Here the discussion returned to the issue of placing the locus of decision among the people, since it is in this very act of deciding that their freedom emerges.

On further reflection it seems to me important to find out whether this view of the relation (or rather lack of it) of the expectation for the future to a plan of action and the setting of goals is a function of this particular situation and, therefore, reflects a particular ethos appropriate to the situation; or whether a more fundamental question is at stake here of Christian action and mission or action-in-mission. In the Missionary Structure Study we have yet to clarify the eschatological dimension of missionary action in relation to experimentation and research which we have come to see as important ingredients of such action. Experimentation and research require definite goals even if such goals are changed in the process. But how are these goals related to the hope on which missionary action is founded?

I would like to express our appreciation to the staff of the Delta Ministry for having taken "time out" for this conversation with outsiders which we obviously were. I hope that it would be possible to find ways to continue it. I realize that this cannot be done regularly. However, it might be done periodically. For in the case of this project, more than any other I know of, I feel that the term "ministry" refers not only to the service rendered in the situation in Mississippi but to the fact that it involves the church in facing fundamental questions concerning her missionary obedience. Hence the problem of how such questions are brought home to the church needs continuing attention.

Thomas Wieser
Secretary to the North American
Working Group

[1965 Nov 27]

I

Dear Charlene,

Please bear with me, for I am not a very good note-taker, nor minister, nor secretary! Here is hoping that you can make something out of this jumble!

START ↓

STAN:
WISZ
WISZ

Motion:

~~STAN:~~ People who want to go on the Russian trip can volunteer their names to Atlanta and names can be drawn out of a box at the next Executive Committee Meeting. Minutes of that meeting will be sent to everyone. (Carried by ~~affirmative~~ ^{no} ~~eyes~~ ^{pros})

Information on the trip can be gotten out to staff by Faye Bellamy in WATS reports, etc., especially to people not at this meeting.

Marion: MOTION: Minutes of this discussion (with Barry decision on Russian trip and the above motion) be sent to the entire staff no later than one week from today and, if there are any disagreements, they be directed to the Chairman and if the disagreements, concerning the decisions made are of substantial number, there will be provisions made for ~~reconsideration~~ reconsideration at the next Executive Committee Meeting. (3 PRO, MANY MORE CON)

II.

FRANK
Smith

REQUEST that discussion of brick factory
be put on agenda

CLEVE
Sellers

Sugg: that tapes be transcribed from last
Exec. Meet. to bring people's feelings
on Viet Nam.

Jim:
Fornan

Sugg: should not go back to people's
opinions of two months ago - just
cause confusion and people may
have changed their opinions.

SNCC policy, up until now, on Viet
Nam (anti U.S. action) was NO
FINANCIAL SUPPORT but, individual
support by individuals in demon-
strations, etc.

MOTION: a committee draw-up proposal
and return to room to present it
and have body vote on it - others
can go on to discussing other
things - MOTION NOT SECONDED

Sugg: as a body - we not get in-
volved in (Anti-US policy in Viet
Nam) but continue to support
it as individuals.

Cortland:
Sugg: SNCC take a stand against the
draft

DINKY: Sugg: ^{SNCC} Not take any stand on any-
thing on basis of non violence.

? ~~Moved and~~

B? Motion: SNCC policy on Viet Nam
be discussed (majority ayes)

Gwen Robinson Asked that Washington staff stay for
discussion, especially Marion due
to the fact that he might have
trouble with our decided policy
on Viet Nam.

~~Scott B. Talk of experience in Korea - racial
feelings involved, etc.~~

~~Gwen: The draft and the fight for freedom in
Viet Nam is a contradiction~~

- ~~1. Black men are going to and dying
So are poor Whites so that the
U.S. can keep the world in its pocket~~
- ~~2. Country is trying to make things
look so good inside (press,
etc.)~~
- ~~3. Men are going to have to leave
the Movement to go and they
can't stay out of college to
work with Movement - fear
of draft~~

~~We have to talk to the people about
the rotten country we live in -
The Monster we live in!~~

Howard :

III

?

Sugg: SNCC take stand on non-violence
but on basis of SELF-DETERMINATION

Bob

Fletcher: we should have much information
MOTION: Any final decision of policy
in Viet Nam should be so decided
that it represent the entire staff
MOTION SECONDED then withdrawn
until later

FRED: MOTION: SNCC Slogan of "ONE-MAN, ONE
VOTE" be changed to "SELF-DETERMINA-
TION" MOTION NOT SECONDED

S:

STAN: We haven't apposed some killing (people
killing, throwing Molotov cocktails, etc.)
Sugg: we not take an all out stand against
draft unless ^(SNCC) people are willing not to
go with DRAFT. Talked of person
feeling bad when have to make a
decision (FACED WITH DRAFT PERSONALLY)
and conflict if SNCC takes all out
stand without ~~an~~ assurance that
everyone will stick to it.

Janet: Peace issue is used as a "cover-up" -
The DRAFT is a personal decision
Talked of U.S. in Viet Nam as related to
U.S. policy in States. - (would like
to see Viet Cong win and kick U.S. ass -
perhaps a dictatorship might occur
but U.S. would be beat - have to take



TV

Gwen (cont) look so good inside (press, etc.)

3. Men are going to have to leave
the Movement to go - and people
can't stay out of college to work
with Movement ... They will
get DRAFTED.

We have to talk to the people
about how rotten this country is
- that we live in - the MONSTER
we live in -

HOWARD: Asked: What about Viet Cong coming to
U.S. (following from Janet's statement)

STAN: I would fight in U.S. with Viet
Cong

UPROAR - then it was decided
that Howard misunderstood
Janet's statement. -

FRANK: Be honest - I believe in protecting
own self with gun - Stokely has
been thinking of taking over howdies
Co. courthouse - I think he might
be thinking of guns, deputizing, etc.
WE here, aren't thinking of being killed
like we know we would be in South
Africa

WE have to relate U.S. war to employment
for example - U.S. employees many

That chance -

LESTER: Calls for honesty in discussion

COURTLAND: 1. Police in Harlem used same type of oppression as in Belt Hous
2. " Watts
3. ~~Miss~~ "Hypothetical situation"
Mississippi is a nation, Eastland is president, Delta wants land reform - GE had made treaties with Mississippi - people (wanting land reform) get help from SNCC group - etc. in the process of revolution, innocent people killed -
Example: of how people end up killing people they didn't want to kill (kill mother + child in process of killing new standing ^{hear})

Scott B Talk of experience in Korea - racial feelings involved - people (U.S. soldiers) getting killed by own men due to these feelings

Even: The draft and the fight for freedom in Viet Nam is a contradiction

1. Black men are going and dying so are poor whites so that the U.S. can keep "world in its pocket"
2. Country is trying to make things

I

LESTER: Agree with Janet
Would like to see SNCC come out with
statement against war in Vietnam
tying it up with black man's
fight

Charlie: We should do more
Cobb We know U.S. has to be in Vietnam
We know too much about this country
We know that if Johnson leaves ~~the~~
Vietnam tomorrow... that doesn't
clear up anything - can just
go somewhere else -
WATTS, Little Rock, etc are all
related to this

If we disagree with war, we
disagree with what allows
war - We are already doing
things against what allows
war in Vietnam

FRED: Talk - people did not go to Courthouse
in Miss. Because I gave them
answers but people were willing
to take a risk

We sold idea "one man - one vote"
but did not sell them on principle
Must change our slogan to
"SELF-DETERMINATION"

MARLON: WE NEED TO WORK OUT PROGRAM -
PROGRAMMATIC SUGGESTIONS -

people to build planes. Those people are happy — they have jobs because of Viet Nam. We have to talk about conflict. The UAS, EPSIL, etc. are having — because at last Saturday's march, they were "closed out" — It was "Respectable People's March" not supporting getting out of Viet Nam but talks in the U.N. specifically.

Gwen: MOTION: Have Educational Conference to educate people concerning Viet Nam with professors coming down ^(South) etc — MOTION SECONDED but more discussion wanted

JANET: Schwab
Want: 1. Resolution concerning Viet Nam
2. " " South Africa
3. " " DRAFT

We in SNCC are opposed to war in Viet Nam

- ? 1. Freedom —
- ? 2.

WINKY Support Janet but would like to see us say something about Rhodesia (bring it into this)
Sugg: SNCC persons go to U.N. and lobby —

VI

- due to ideological points
 - arrive at something we can all rally around (broad enuf)
 - people are different ages + various stages of development with different backgrounds
4. ^{It would a} Tactical mistake to shift focus on what we are doing
- continue to work for Peace but continue our work (I volunteered + was brain-washed + would not do so today)
 - Also - many people (war-mongers from these states) relate taking over court-house to peace mongers, etc.
 - Peace movement doesn't have grass-roots work going on - we can relate things to people where we work -

FRANK: People in countries where war is aren't allowed to make decisions about their life

- call it self-determination or free + open elections

Sugg: Conference in South talking about free + open elections - relate to war - Even go to Viet Nam (a delegation) and

JIM: Sugg: we should include statement
on the right to dissent

In the U.S. people can dissent on
domestic policy but the foreign
policy bit... always is mysterious
and government has to make
the decisions - government
withholds information

It is factually important

1. Support groups who support
us in the past - SDS, etc.

2. Not being drafted but important
to staff people -

70% - 80% of staff face this

It is an organizational
interest therefore: has

to be something relative
to draft in statement we
might make

VISTA + PEACE CORP exempt
from draft - yet people
working in this country
for democratic reforms
have to be up-rooted

Any resolution - primary focus
has to be hooked up with
the bend of work we have been
trying to do - expresses
opposition and gives leverage
- tie war in Viet Nam in with
what we are doing

3. Splits in Movement (history of)

ask for an investigation of the situations crying "I'm a human being too" - Let's not talk but DO

Courtland: WE GOT TO TALK ABOUT

1. hee got killed in Miss. fighting for Democracy
 2. People in WATTS getting killed fighting for ^{rights} Democracy
 3. Rhodesia, South Africa, Santo Domingo
 2. Only thing U.S. knows about Freedom is how to lie about it (after 5 years of work, we know this)
 3. Support some things Jim said
- Oppose to war in VN related to what's happening in this country

Marion: [Upon leaving] wanted assurance from staff that a statement be circulated to staff for comment before issuing -

Charlie Response to Dewar

There are students on campuses who used to be tied to us - they are in motion in a sense - around war in Viet Nam - either for or

talk about PEACE

John: DRAFT directly affects this organization

- more + more going to be drafted
- boys going over there brain-washed on democracy-etc.
- Raise questions

1. Number of men drafted / month
2. Relationship to number of Federal Registrars (Number)
3. U.S. - (what type will it bring?) in Viet Nam

Marilyn Consider some suggestions

1. Delegation to U.N
2. Relate problems - of U.S. to whole Viet Nam situation

John SNCC should sue Selective Service because it is so segregated

Gwen ^{Sugg:} SNCC have mass propaganda program incorporating the whole thing of the U.S. policy, etc.
I don't understand Charlie and Jim's last statements

Scott B. Watts - U.S. can't control "little people"
Rather than civil rights focus on human rights
Go to U.N. "tear it down" and

VIII

- How CAN WE DO SOMETHING WITH ENERGY SO IT WILL WORK

JANET CONCRETE THINGS

WE can do things - have multifrontal attack

1. Investigate Military bases set-up
- file suit

2. DRAFT - more than ~~not~~ having
- people going refusing
draft

Have people sign petition
saying they will not fight
in Viet Nam but on
call to fight in war
in NORTH + SOUTH

(Resistance League of SNCC)

3. Support COURTLAND

?
mechanic

SDS has a new idea -

they have a "draft card" that
says - "BUILD NOT BOMB"

JIM

Consider Black people

- who have been in Viet Nam, and
in service

- people get caught in traps
but experienced things there
and change ideas (on war, etc)

- not necessarily change focus on
what ^{we are} doing but continue on
making relationship →

- against it - it is very frustrating
- War is not going to end
 - What allows allows war is not going to end it
 - I feel we have something to give to those students
 - I feel war in Viet Nam will end when ~~the~~ people in country say it will end
 - SNCC won't organize entire country because it is physically impossible - among other things -
 - But - how can we get info to students as we gave them about situation in the South
 - It relates to a lot of things we do.
 - How do we deal with intensification of hostility toward SNCC (Nwabun. Evans) etc. Students face similar things -
 - Students protest from intellectual experience but don't have working concept. We have had some experience that maybe we can give them
 - Urge us to think How - how

IX

Viet Nam - Cuba - the people are waiting to hear from us

Courtland: Support person who spoke before Marilyn

Stu House: Support Courtland's ~~for~~ MOTION - and include

1. Opposition to draft
2. Relation to our work
3. Viet Nam - similarities to Afro-Am. situation
 - a. means ~~to~~ used to suppress rebellion
 - b. suppression of majority by minority
 - c. Degree of suppression
4. Right to dissent
5. Suppressed Afro-Am. made to fight suppressed Vietnamese
6. People who feel committed to fight war go fight it
7. Peace Corps men being deferred
8. Point out relation of war-mongers to racist congressmen
9. free + open elections in Viet Nam
10. Things now doing
(dealing with institutions that are allowing the war) in working to end the war
11. Demonstrate at U.N.
12. Own Peace Delegation to Hanoi + Saigon

between Viet Nam, etc. and
what is going on in U.S.

?

~~Government not.~~

Government we elect is not
responsible ~~for~~ us -

The whole contradiction is brought
out by facts of war -

Don't think getting rid of Senator
Eastland does ~~not~~ do away
with the problem - but may
give an emotional satisfaction.

Don't do away with people by
killing them - only another
will rise -

Must work toward construction
working toward a new society

Oppression + discrimination
causes problems, we have

The answer ~~was~~ ^{is} not killing

Example: Eastland being born
was accidental and how
can he get out of the bag

If you kill someone you don't
like, you have to continue
to kill all those you don't
like, then you become like
one of them

Marilyn Sugg: we should be named Student
Nonviolent Anticolonial Committee

X

is integrated ... everything will be OK -

Janeh We are not saying draft is OK if integrated but it would open whole arena of things - political things showing how the whole thing is

Dinky - Used it as a tool

Jim - Question concerning suit - uneasiness ... what will suit do? This has to be more defined, etc. Also ... what about proposals and so few here to vote on this from the body

Janeh We will circulate it to the entire staff

? All information covered in meeting be made available to staff

JANET MOTION:

1. Research done: Selective Service in country and file suit if things are found with intent to expose situation - This being just one arm of the whole exposure of War in Viet Nam

Janet Proposal

1. Committee of people get together tonight and write statement and pass out the statement to body
2. Lawyers contact, research be done and SNCC file suit against military bases
3. And that we pursue the petition "not going with draft" but be willing to work in country - movement

#

Casey The suit against the Selective Service is a good way of raising issue but - not good in itself (who really cares if Selective Service is integrated - its wrong)

Support: working with students drawing those interested in CR to war - etc.

Happy over suggestion of committee - SNCC can work in smaller groups better

Sugg: working in Committees at future meeting

#

Dinky: Sugg: working with SDS - on their draft cards

Ques: what about suit against Selective Service? Sounds like we think that if Draft Board

XI'

The Movement

- have educational program first
 - then develop program from there
- Get them together

Hetcher: Think we should do that

Things done or discussed at workshop should be brought to SNCC for programming

Develop: program -

Mrs. Ciwinka - Frank + I worked on Primer about a month ago relating SNCC to South Africa, Rhodesia, etc.

Given we must carry out proposals I'm going to see Howard Zinn when I get back to N.Y. -

Concerning this -
Volunteered to work on education program -

Motion voted on - PASSED!
MAJORITY AYE!

Bill Hall Must remember the fact with all this

"we have to meet the man" I try to bear with you and respect you - realizing I have a different background

... talk of college student and working
reduction of voting age -
- maybe, working with students

?

2. Get program people to sign petition against draft and say that they are willing to work in the Movement within the country

MOTION PASSED - MAJORITY AYES

Gwen: I understand Charlie now when he says it is frustrating to work with students

I attended a SDS meeting - students look to Gwen for suggestion for action

I tell them to work with the Peace Movement

Students are not satisfied just to raise money!

We must come out against So. Africa and Rhodesia
we have basis in South
must have research

MOTION: SNCC ~~is~~ has workshops in each and every area working (staff + community) to discuss work engaged in related to Viet Nam, South Africa + Rhodesia
Moved + seconded - not voted on

Stanley we should try to solidify militant groups connected with the

we can prevent the country
from continuing on ~~it~~ in
this way. (reducing
voting age)

John NSA is working on this.

Bill Along with Charlie's idea on
working with students - work
on reduction of voting age

FRED: NOTION: Have money appropriated
for tapes for workshops -
Tapes then be used in
educational program -
Have persons ~~or~~ responsible
for distribution of tapes
NO SECOND

TINA What about things noted on
last night -

PORTER: When is next Coordinating
Committee Meeting?

SOMEONE What about SNCC being investigated?

JIM. Eastland heads Senate Internal Security
Subcommittee

1. Investigate people involved
in social change
2. 17 people at U. of Wisconsin
received letters to be



Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

360 NELSON STREET S.W., ATLANTA, GEORGIA • 688-0331
100 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10011 • YUKON 9-1313

November, 1965

Dear Friend:

This letter brings a simple but heartfelt message: thank you.

As the holiday season draws near, we want to express our gratitude for your past support of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

In one emergency after another, we asked for help and received it—sometimes without having the time or resources to convey our appreciation. Aid was needed for the Mississippi Summer Project of 1964, for the Selma crisis of 1965—and it was forthcoming. Thanks to individuals like yourself, it has been possible for SNCC to continue the struggle for justice in the South.

But you may be less aware of our work as it goes on behind the scenes. We would like to offer you, as a supporter, this up-to-date report on some aspects of that work:

SNCC PROGRAMS: A REPORT FOR 1965

"When, in calmer times, men come to write the history of our raucous era; when they seek the cry that called a New Left, the rasp that twitched the nerves of Negro youths and the image that convulsed American campuses; when they try to set down in words once and for all the forces that pushed America to a desperate confrontation with herself, it seems likely that they will devote a considerable amount of attention to the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee which has emerged within the last year as a major force of the Freedom movement, to the dismay of many persons of power—not all of them white."

Lerone Bennet, in Ebony

Background

SNCC was founded in 1960 as a loose network of militant Southern Negro students who sought to find a new dignity by ending Jim Crow, primarily in public accommodations. Out of the sit-in struggle came an awareness that in many of the Black Belt counties of the Deep South, where Negroes often outnumber whites, the basic political structure must be changed. The right to vote was basic to this. By October, 1961, SNCC had taken on staff for a voter registration campaign; it had more full-time workers in the South than any other civil rights organization. Two years later, voter registration and direct action were SNCC's two main weapons in a frontal attack on segregation.

It may seem easy to say "register to vote." But before a Negro can take that walk to the courthouse,

he must conquer a century of fear and oppression. Therefore, the first task of a SNCC worker is to live in the community in which he works for as long as necessary; to listen and talk and persuade and gradually help that community achieve the confidence to begin creating its own organizations and programs. SNCC workers bring people ideas, information, and tools; they seek not to lead but to bring forth leadership. In turn, they receive information, ideas, and renewed commitment.

This, of course, is the job of an organizer and that is what SNCC has become: a band of organizers, of catalysts for the release of human energy and strength. On the national level, that energy has become pressure upon the federal government. It is no exaggeration to say that without such pressure as SNCC has mustered, there would not have been a Civil Rights Act in 1964 nor a Voting Act in 1965.

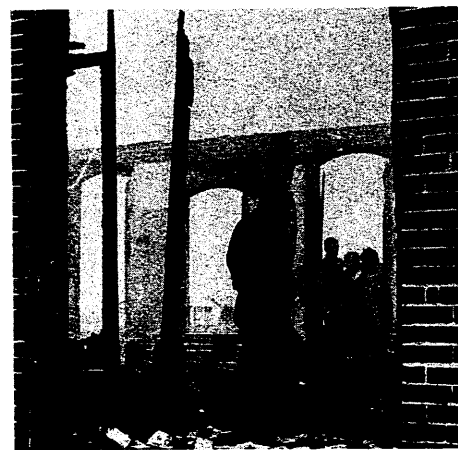
Political Organization

On the final night of the Selma-Montgomery march, Mrs. Viola Liuzzo was murdered by Klansmen in Lowndes County. SNCC's answer to her murder was to send Field Secretaries into that terror-ridden area, to organize people for political action. The murder of the young Episcopal seminarian, John Daniels, did not stop the newborn freedom movement.

A few months ago, not a single Negro was registered to vote in Lowndes County. Today, as a result of the Voting Act and SNCC's presence, 2000

have registered out of an eligible 5000 and Negroes have their own action group: the Lowndes County Christian Movement for Human Rights. Its activities include work on economic, social and educational problems as well as political participation.

This brief history of SNCC "shock-troops" at work has been repeated many times in Alabama, Mississippi, and Southwest Georgia—another Klan-infested area, where SNCC has been working for the vote since the fall of 1961. Across the South, SNCC has helped thousands to register. But there is no point in getting the right to vote—for racist candidates. More and more, SNCC has been urging Negroes to run for office while at the same time working to avoid the creation of black machines which would be as unresponsive to people's needs as the whites in power.



In Georgia, SNCC was active in the 1964 campaign to elect C. B. King of Albany to Congress. This year, Julian Bond—a SNCC staff member—ran successfully in Atlanta for the State Legislature.

In Alabama, local law provides that a group of registered voters in a particular county can select and run its own candidates for both county and state offices. By winning a certain number of votes, the group can become a political party of the county and eventually of the state. SNCC workers are therefore helping to

establish freedom parties in a number of the poorest counties with a view to creating a new Alabama political party from the ground up.

In September, 1965, SNCC workers in Arkansas helped 30 Negroes to run for seats on School Boards across the state. All but one were defeated. Contrary to popular impression, Arkansas has proven to be as dangerously racist as any area in which SNCC operates. SNCC workers believe that the Negroes would have won many of the contests if it had not been for intimidation and fraud, and they have submitted a special report on this to Washington. Meanwhile, Arkansas continues to be one of SNCC's most active and growing projects, with workers in 31 counties.

For the Southern farmer and share-cropper, the elections which affect his life most directly are those for the county committees of the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service (a branch of the Dept. of Agriculture). The ASCS committees strongly influence how much land a man may plant with certain crops, who gets loans, etc. In 1965, SNCC workers helped get Negroes on the ballot in Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, North Carolina and Arkansas. In Green County, Alabama, for example, Negroes were nominated this fall for 36 out of 40 available committee seats. As in the Arkansas School Board elections, Negro ASCS candidates have been frustrated by suspected fraud. But the experience of organizing for such elections can be the beginning of political participation.

The most concrete result of SNCC's organizing work has been the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. The MFDP was set up April, 1964, when it seemed clear that the total denial of Negro participation in Mississippi politics called for creation of a special organism—a "parallel structure." SNCC, whose roots in the state go back to 1961, threw its resources behind the new party and has continued to do so.

At the 1964 national Democratic convention in Atlantic City, the MFDP challenged the regular Mississippi delegation and in 1965 went on to challenge the seating of the five Congressmen. Although both efforts failed, they focussed national attention on Negro disenfranchisement as never before. And in late 1965, the MFDP drew up a new program which includes a crash voter registration drive—now under way in the 9 counties where there are federal registrars—and campaigns in the 1966 primaries for all five Congressional seats.

Primaries for state and national offices are also coming up in 1966 in Alabama, Georgia, and North Carolina. SNCC is drawing up a 4-year political program for these states and has also demanded that the Democratic National Committee carry out the mandate of the Atlantic City Convention to end exclusion of Negroes from party activity and elections in the South.

Jobs and Income

By 1965, the right to organize had been sufficiently established and enough restrictions on voting removed to free SNCC energy for dealing with the economic problems of the Southern Negro.

A crucial development was the birth of the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union. It began in the Delta last January when a number of tractor drivers and cotton choppers decided they had had enough of a plantation system which kept men perpetually hungry and in debt. The choppers were tired of working a 10 or 12 hour day for \$2.50 to \$3.00; the drivers, skilled workers, knew they should get more than \$6.00 per day. They simply stopped, and soon were joined by others.

By late spring over 1000 men had quit. Some were evicted and are still living in tents. Union members have been arrested. But small increases were won in some cases and the MFLU grew until today it has chapters in some 10 communities. The union now seeks to strengthen its organization and legal status, with a massive strike planned for the spring.

The idea of saying NO to economic slavery proved contagious. In McComb, maids at the Holiday Inn walked out. Cooks in a Cleveland cafe, some of them working 77 hours a week at 42¢ an hour, walked out. Bus drivers in Marshall City struck. The idea spread to Tennessee, where a Freedom Labor Union was born consisting mainly of tractor drivers and skilled workers in cotton gins; by October, it had 300 members.

SNCC worked closely with community people to build the FLU. In more urban areas, it has helped mount protest against job discrimination. In Natchez recently, SNCC helped to create a boycott of white-owned stores which devastated business in that city. Albany and Americus, Georgia have seen large demonstrations and boycotts this year against several white-owned stores in the Negro neighborhood to get Negroes hired. Negro women, who work as domestics for \$10 a week throughout the Black Belt, have also

been organizing; in Americus, 40 of them formed a maids' union and at least one got an increase. At a lingerie plant in North Carolina, SNCC workers are pressing for better working conditions. And on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, SNCC worked this past year with Negro employees of a crab canning factory as well as with migrant workers.

SNCC has not only sought to improve existing job conditions; it has also helped to create work that pays. In 1965, the Poor People's Corporation—an idea of SNCC staffer Jesse Morris—was set up in Mississippi to create and assist new light industry as well as independent farming. At its first membership meeting on Aug. 29, the Corporation made small loans to a new sewing firm created by women who were tired of working as maids; to an okra cooperative; to several new leather-working shops for which young people had been trained during the summer.

In Alabama and Georgia, SNCC has worked this year on such new enterprises as a quilting co-op, a credit union, a retail food market. Like the labor union and the Corporation, these could not be considered "SNCC projects" but they are almost always the result of SNCC presence.



Schools

Across the Black Belt, school integration has been little more than token. Facilities in the Negro schools usually range from bad to terrible. The schools fail to give black children either decent academic training or any knowledge of their own heritage; they are prepared only for the cotton field and the kitchen. SNCC has worked on all these aspects of the education problem.

In Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi and Tennessee, SNCC workers have helped people find the courage merely to apply for transfer of their children to white schools last fall. Parents who did apply have been evicted, had their homes shot into, and had crosses burned outside. In Tennessee, children were sprayed with disinfectant when they went to the white school and in Greensboro, Alabama, Negro pupils were turned back by whites with guns.

SNCC has helped people to pressure school boards for integration plans and in some cases succeeded. It has organized many boycotts of Negro schools to protest bad facilities—from books to bathrooms—and tuition fees, split sessions, failure to integrate.

The most dramatic of these took place last September in Forrest City, Arkansas, when a group of Lincoln High School students demonstrated against conditions and demanded total integration of the school system. A boycott began which was 90% effective. Over 200 students and SNCC workers were arrested. Some later went to Washington to petition the Office of Education but no action followed. They then set up a Freedom Center where they have been attending regular classes and plan to do so until conditions are improved probably by some form of federal pressure.

Workers in Arkansas maintain half a dozen other Freedom Schools which were established primarily to teach Negro history and other subjects not offered in the black schools. In Lowndes County, Alabama, a tutorial program is being set up which will emphasize academic needs but also include Freedom School techniques and material.

Schools have not been the only target for integration by SNCC this year. Restaurants and movie theaters have been tested; hospitals have been integrated. In Americus, Georgia, twenty of us were

arrested when we sought to attend services at "white churches." In Arkansas, SNCC workers who tried to integrate the cafeteria in the State Capitol were beaten.

* * * *

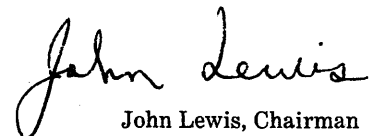
Violence and police brutality continue to be daily realities in SNCC's work. The unpublicized and mysterious deaths of local Negroes continue. The beatings and shootings, the bombings and church burnings, have not let up.

To inform the nation of these events and their causes, to maintain contact with the field, to service the needs of workers—all this calls for resources which often do not exist or are very expensive. SNCC has therefore created its own photo unit, research department, printing plant, and communication system. It maintains a central administrative staff in Atlanta as well as seven Northern offices to mobilize support and raise funds. Space does not permit description of SNCC's educational program for its own staff, nor its campus program, but these too are vital.

SNCC now has 150 full-time staff workers, and a program for 1966 which includes intensified political action, economic self-help projects, and school integration. Though many people here and abroad believe the problem of racism has been resolved by federal legislation, those working in the South know that it is only the beginning. Many months of struggle lie ahead.

A long winter has begun, and it is a cold one in the South. We are deeply grateful for your past support; we hope you may help us through this winter. Meanwhile, please accept our thanks and best wishes for 1966 as a year of progress, justice, and peace.

Yours in freedom,



John Lewis, Chairman

Conversation Between James Forman and John Lewis 12/9/65

The following things were discussed and must be done no later than today:

1. A notarized statement from the bookkeeper stating how much money the New York Office sent to Atlanta during the year 1964. The state should also include the fact that we authorized the administrative secretary of the New York office to disburse funds for the following: maintenance, loans and travel. This must be done because their books are being audited.
2. The response to the John Lewis letter is going well. The New York office is running out of some of the sale items. They need more of the Freedom New Mercury records. They want 2000 more letters shipped air express.
3. Wilson must get money (^{26 99}\$28.82) for A.B. Dick, to buy paper to print the letters. The money for the paper can be taken from the Student Voice account since we transferred \$7500 to that account for the Freedom Primer. We have to spend money in order to get money.
4. Marion Barry of the Washington office wants to have 4000 copies of the letter. There is some question about that.
5. The New York office needs by late tomorrow 400 copies of the Freedom Primer. Requests are piling up for the primer.
6. \$600 must be paid to Teaneck Camera Company for the other piece to the camera. *So that the large camera can be put to use*
7. \$70 should be taken from the SNCC bail account as soon as possible to get Peter Berger out of jail in Montgomery.

commitment to racial justice and equality. It emphasizes what labor knows from experience -- that the passage of good laws is not sufficient, that the laws must be vigorously and effectively enforced. The agencies responsible for administering the laws must be given the resources to discharge their responsibilities firmly. Where necessary, the laws must be strengthened through amendment.

But we also know that the work of the civil rights movement has just begun. We rightly demand of the government that every barrier to the Negro's full participation in the nation's political life be struck down. Once those barriers have fallen, however, it is our task to mobilize the masses of Negroes at the ballot box.

This is labor's task as well. For when the full political potential of the Southern Negro is realized, the face of Congress will be radically changed. The Dixiecrat politicians who have joined with conservative Republicans in opposition to labor's legislative demands will have to sing a different tune -- or find other jobs. Moreover, brothers and sisters, I submit to you that in the continuation and expansion of the Negro voter registration campaign in the South lays the foundation for labor's drive to organize the unorganized in the South.

The last two years have plainly demonstrated that the Negro-labor alliance is not a one-way street. Virtually the entire national Negro leadership has put its weight heavily behind the Congressional campaign for repeal of 14b, for a 2-dollar minimum wage, for extension of the Fair Labor Standards Act, and for other labor demands. They have testified before Congressional committees and their testimonies have been published and widely distributed by the Randolph Institute.

When the Negro leadership speaks out for labor's demands, they are not merely making a gesture in return for labor's support of civil rights. Rather we are bound together in a coalition of mutual interest.

Negro workers need and demand the repeal of 14b now! And they know why they want it. They know that repeal of 14b helps clear the way for unionization of the South. They know that repeal of 14b is a step toward economic security and better living standards. They know that repeal of 14b means greater dignity on the job - freedom from exploitation and intimidation.

And they know full well where the die-hard resistance to repeal of 14b is coming from. It is coming from the greedy profiteers and the reactionary politicians who have tried to block the Negro's advance every step of the way. That is why, in Oklahoma and other states, the Negro vote was decisive in defeating so-called right to work laws. And I can promise you, brothers and sisters, that throughout this land, the Negro revolution will join hands with labor in saying to the next Congress: Repeal 14b now!

And we say, too, that if there is any single step that will raise Negroes out of poverty, it is labor's demand for a national \$2 minimum wage. In this land of affluence, in the year 1965, two out of every three Negro families live in poverty and deprivation. In part, this fact reflects the astronomically high unemployment rates in the Negro community. But in most cases, the head of the Negro family is working -- forty hard hours a week. He does not need to be lectured about self-help. Give him a decent wage, and he will be able to help himself. He will be able to keep his family together, to educate his children, to contribute to the well-being of the community. And he will be in a stronger position to struggle effectively for the dignity and the rights which he has been denied.

Address by A. Philip Randolph

on

Civil Rights Resolution

Before Sixth Constitutional Convention, AFL-CIO

December 13, 1965

It has been two years since I last stood before this convention. These have been eventful and dramatic years for the Civil Rights Revolution. Indeed, the social and political landscape of the entire country has been changed.

We have won the passage of two historic pieces of legislation -- the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Thus, after centuries of slavery, segregation and discrimination, the American people have spoken out unequivocally -- not merely on behalf of the Negro but in the name of democracy itself. For when men are denied, on grounds of race, the elementary rights of due process and the right to vote, the moral foundations of that society are in doubt.

These victories are, first and foremost, the fruits of the struggle of the Negro people themselves. History will record that our gains, like those of labor, were not handed down from above but were wrested from reluctant hands through courage and sacrifice, often of limb and life.

Medgar Evers, William Moore, James Chaney, Michael Schwerner, Andrew Goodman, Lemuel Penn, Jimmy Lee Jackson, Mrs. Liuzzo, Reverend James Reeb, Jonathan Daniels, the four young girls of Birmingham -- these are but some of those -- black and white, Catholic, Protestant and Jewish -- who have made the ultimate sacrifice in the cause of freedom. President Meany, I request that this convention rise for a moment of silent tribute to the memory of these freedom fighters...

Brothers and sisters, we know that more than courage and determination were required to secure the civil rights legislation. Mass action had to be mobilized. The great Selma-to-Montgomery March, which captured the conscience of the nation and the attention of the world, generated the dynamism behind the Voting Rights Act of 1965. I am proud to tell you, brothers and sisters, that perhaps no single group was so distinctively and honorably present on that occasion as the representatives of the labor movement. President Meany sent Don Slaiman, Director of our Civil Rights Department, with a delegation that included, among others, Dave Sullivan, Robert Powell and Charles Zimmerman.

And so, on the very steps of the capitol of Alabama, labor's voice was raised high and clear in the name of freedom. President Meany, I participated in that historic event, and I can tell you that nothing so inspired the embattled Negroes of Alabama with courage and confidence as the visible and dramatic support of the labor movement in those glorious days.

Not only in Alabama but in Washington, the political power and skill of the Negro's allies were indispensable. The fact of the matter is, brothers and sisters, that the AFL-CIO -- under the able and forthright leadership of President Meany, Brother Reuther and the Executive Council -- did the yeoman's job of lining up Congressional support for the civil rights legislation of the past two years.

Special recognition is due to Andrew Biemiller who, working side by side with Clarence Mitchell, of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and Joseph Rauh, of the Industrial Union Department, coordinated labor's lobbyists on Capitol Hill. Without their tireless efforts, we might not have won the battle. Let these hard facts be properly noted by the hostile critics of the labor movement who profess sympathy for the cause of racial equality.

Brothers and sisters, the Resolution on Civil Rights which is before you is a commendable document which reaffirms labor's

This conference will give special attention to the problem of Negro family instability. This, brothers and sisters, is a major problem with deep historical roots. Under two centuries of slavery, the Negro family was systematically destroyed. The right of Negroes to marry is barely one hundred years old. Following slavery, a system of segregation was introduced which denied the Negro family, particularly the Negro male, even the rudiments of economic security. To this very day, many of our welfare laws encourage family desertion by Negro males.

I do not have to tell you how family breakups encourage delinquency, crime, school drop-outs, and many forms of destructive, anti-social behavior. But when all of this is said, the question remains: How do we strengthen the Negro family and the fabric of the Negro community?

Here again, I think the labor movement knows the answer at least as well as the sociologists and psychologists and other experts. The answer is jobs -- decent jobs at decent wages. We know that when the Negro unemployment rate dropped during World War II, so did the Negro rate of divorce, or illegitimacy, and other indications of family instability. And so, brothers and sisters, the answer to Negro family instability and to Watts is the enactment of labor's programs for full and fair employment.

The record of the last ten years will show that we cannot look to the private sector of the economy to achieve the goal of full employment. But we can meet that goal through expansion of the public sector -- through meeting the vast unmet social needs of the country. We can put the unemployed back to work by clearing our slums and rebuilding our cities, by building schools and hospitals, by modernizing and expanding mass transit facilities, by investing in flood control and by combatting air pollution. We can open new jobs for the poor by expanding our social services.

We can achieve full employment by tearing down the physical environment of poverty and building a great society in its place. It was with this concept in mind that I proposed, at the planning session of the White House Conference, a national Freedom Budget of 100 billion dollars. This is a feasible and realistic budget, which has the support of leading labor economists. We have the means; we lack only the social imagination and the political will.

This is, above all, an imperative budget if we are serious about building the Great Society. As President Meany has said, "We must not let money stand in the way." Either we decide upon massive social investments now, or we face the incalculably more costly alternative of social disintegration and violence. In the long run, it is the budget-balancers and the tight-money boys who will prove to be the most impractical. Let me say right here that the recent action of the Federal Reserve Board may do more to dry up job opportunities for Negroes -- not to mention whites -- than the most overtly racist discrimination.

Brothers and sisters, I cannot close without commenting on a great danger that may lie ahead. In times of war or international crisis, as you know, there is a tendency to divert attention away from crying domestic needs and problems. Even now there are those who would exploit the perilous situation in Vietnam for their own narrow political purposes. Already we have heard the reactionary voices of Senators Stennis and Russell and other segregationists. They call for a cut-back in the war on poverty; they would push the struggle for racial equality off the stage of history; they feel strengthened in their opposition to labor's struggle for industrial democracy.

These tendencies must be vigorously fought. As President Meany has said our efforts to resist Communist totalitarianism will require sacrifices and impose burdens. But those sacrifices and burdens must be evenly distributed.

A national \$2 dollar minimum wage, extended to millions now uncovered, would redress a shame of the nation. It would mean a revolution in Southern racial and economic relations. It would weaken the position of runaway plants that locate in the South in order to escape unionism and exploit a cheap labor market. In many Southern towns and cities, such companies become entrenched in the local power structures and fiercely resist civil rights efforts to change the status quo. The impact of a \$2 dollar minimum wage on the ghetto-entrapped Negroes of the North would be no less revolutionary.

In short: if the civil rights revolution is to have meaning outside of the South -- in the teeming slums of the cities, in the industrial centers of the nation -- the needs of the dispossessed Negro masses must be hitched to the economic demands of labor.

More and more, the Negro leadership recognizes that of all the mass institutions in the nation, the labor movement holds out the greatest hope for progress in the daily conditions of life in the Negro community. Yet they do not forget for one moment that labor's own house is not yet entirely in order, that segregated locals and discriminatory practices still exist in some unions. The eradication of these conditions, noted in the Resolution before you, must be high on your priority list in the coming year. We must not permit the existence of any barriers to expanded cooperation between labor and the civil rights movement; and we must not give any ammunition to labor's enemies.

The Civil Rights Department is to be congratulated for the vigor and effectiveness with which it has labored to eliminate the remaining discrimination in our ranks. Even before Title VII, the fair employment section of the Civil Rights Act, went into effect, the Department was hard at work preparing international unions to cooperate in obtaining compliance with the law. At the same time, the AFL-CIO has called for a strengthening of the enforcement machinery of Title VII.

But more than your congratulations, Don Slaiman and the Civil Rights Department need your active support. Union locals must be encouraged to utilize the valuable technical assistance the Department can provide.

Brothers and sisters, two years ago when I stood before you, I spoke of the impact of the technological revolution and its economic dislocations on the Negro community. I said then that large sections of the community, unskilled and uneducated, were being rendered economically obsolete and deprived of social dignity. I spoke of a growing underclass, lacking hope and leadership, bereft of any sense of a stake in the total society. And I said then that, if we listened carefully, we could hear the rumblings of that underclass.

I do not need to tell you that in these two years those rumblings have exploded into thunderous and wildly destructive violence, from the tenements of Harlem to the slums of Watts. That violence cannot be excused or defended, for it took a larger toll in life and limb than has the nonviolent movement in the South -- and with less to show for it. But it serves no purpose simply to denounce the riots without trying to understand their causes. For, of this much we can be certain; if those causes are not identified and uprooted, radically and finally, we will be courting disaster.

Let me say that I have been greatly encouraged by President Johnson's speech at Howard University and by the Department of Labor's study on the Negro family. Both move in the right direction of pinpointing the social and economic roots of the Negro's discontent. To further explore these roots, the President has, as you know, scheduled a special White House Conference, of which I have the privilege of serving as honorary chairman.

Sixth Constitutional Convention

AFL-CIO

Resolution No. 167

CIVIL RIGHTS

The passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 -- both strongly supported by the AFL-CIO -- represent major accomplishments in the continuing effort to abolish racial discrimination in this country. But much more needs to be done before equality is a fact in this land.

The impact of the Civil Rights Act is already apparent. Widespread desegregation of public facilities and accommodations is a reality in 53 cities of over 50,000 population in Southern states. Among the important new tools provided by the Act are Title VI which prohibits discrimination in all programs receiving federal financial assistance, and Title VII which establishes a national Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

But good laws by themselves do not automatically solve problems, as we in the labor movement know from our own experience. The passage of the Wagner Act enabled unions to expand organization and increase their effectiveness in representing workers. But the laws had to be backed up with hard work. The unions could not and did not sit back and consider their job was done by the law.

That is just as true of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Vigorous and effective enforcement by government is mandatory if these laws are to be useful tools for eliminating discrimination and opening opportunities for minority group citizens. We intend to see to it that there is effective and vigorous enforcement.

Education:

We take particular note of the situation with regard to education in the South. The United States Office of Education reports that the percentage of Negro children attending desegregated schools in the 11 Southern states has tripled this year. On the other hand, data compiled by the Southern Regional Council indicates that the increase from 1964 to 1965 may have only doubled. Even the 7.5 percent figure of the U.S. Office of Education, however, represents meager progress 11 years after the Supreme Court decision required public school desegregation.

There must be an accelerated pace of school desegregation. Already, children, who entered the first grade after that decision, are about to graduate from high school, having spent their entire school life in Jim Crow schools -- making a mockery out of that trail-blazing decision of the Supreme Court.

The U.S. Office of Education must not accept "freedom of choice" plans at face value. Frequently there is no free choice for Negro parents and children, who face threats and harassments if they select a previously all-white school.

We contend the U.S. Office of Education must be given sufficient funds to employ adequate staff and provide adequate services to obtain compliance with the law. Where local officials fail to comply, federal funds must be cut off in accordance with procedures outlined in the Civil Rights Act.

Equal educational opportunity must be a national goal. It is an achievable goal. We must make it a reality. The challenge of de facto segregation in the North must be faced. President Johnson has ordered the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights to undertake a study of de facto school segregation. We look to the Commission for positive recommendations to deal with this problem.

Randolph -5-

We must not place the heaviest loads on those least able to bear them -- the poor and dispossessed, black and white. We must not now dash their new hopes for a place in the sun. We must press forward the struggle for justice and democracy at home while we pursue it abroad.

In recent weeks, the Negro leadership has gathered together to discuss the objectives and directions of the civil rights movement during this difficult period of transition. They have concluded that we need to press forward on three major fronts. First is to achieve economic security for the Negro family through full and fair employment. Second is to see to it that the civil rights legislation is vigorously implemented. Third is to secure full protection of individuals in the exercise of the constitutionally-guaranteed rights. There must be an immediate end to the brutalization and murder of civil rights workers, and to a discriminatory jury system which makes a mockery of justice.

President Meany, the Resolution before us speaks forthrightly and directly to these concerns of the Negro leadership. Not coincidentally, but by indisputable social logic, the forces of labor and civil rights again find themselves on the same side of the struggle for justice.

Brothers and sisters, I urge the adoption of the Resolution on Civil Rights.

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B. In states where there is a FEPC, the Commission has recommended that the state agency make a similar agreement with the AFL-CIO and its affiliates.

To implement this effort, we urge all national officers assigned to this task to give prompt attention to the processing of complaints received under this procedure and to call upon the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department for aid and assistance.

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission has ruled segregated local unions and separate lines of seniority and promotion based on race are a violation of the Act -- a position exactly comparable to the AFL-CIO position.

We call upon all affiliates with the few segregated locals that remain in existence to merge such separate locals without delay and to adopt contractual clauses that will eliminate barriers to equal opportunity for promotion and seniority for all workers.

In keeping with the five-point program adopted by the Executive Council on August 4, 1964, we also call upon all affiliates and assigned national officers to develop and accelerate programs to eliminate discriminatory practices within their industry and union, utilizing and strengthening established machinery of collective bargaining:

- 1) by negotiating non-discrimination clauses in all collective bargaining contracts and utilizing these clauses in all stages of the collective bargaining procedure;
- 2) by sensitizing the collective bargaining machinery to the problems of eliminating discrimination and providing equal employment opportunities.

Voting:

The Voting Rights Act provides the means to end discrimination at the ballot box. Since its passage, over 166,000 Negroes have registered to vote in Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina and South Carolina, states covered in whole or in part by the Act. In the four months since the law became effective, the Justice Department has sent federal examiners into only 32 counties. That is just not good enough.

Congress has provided the means for the elimination of voting discrimination. If the 1966 elections are to take place without disenfranchisement of Negroes, the Justice Department must act promptly.

We urge the Attorney General to move without further delay to implement the will of this nation -- that all its citizens have a right to vote.

Equal Administration of Justice:

The administration of justice on an equal basis for all citizens is fundamental in a democratic society. Inequality in the administration of justice moreover can be a major barrier to the implementation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

After long and bitter years, in which Southern juries have denied simple justice to Negroes, there have now been two instances in which justice has been served.

But still the murderers of William L. Moore, Medgar Evers, four young girls in a Birmingham church, James Chaney, Michael Schwerner, Andrew Goodman, Colonel Lemuel Penn, Jimmy Lee Jackson, Reverend James Reeb and Jonathan Daniels remain unpunished. We insist that this mockery of our judicial system be halted.

But we insist the problem in education is too crucial for additional delay. What America needs and must have is high quality education in its schools, both North and South, on a basis of true equality.

To achieve that goal, we reiterate President Meany's proposal, made immediately after the Supreme Court's school decision: That the United States authorize a special multi-billion dollar school fund to aid affected communities to meet this challenge. North and South alike could benefit from this proposal.

We must not let money stand in the way of eliminating segregation and discrimination in education -- every place in America.

Housing:

A serious and important factor in the spread of de facto school segregation in the North is the discriminatory housing practices that have fostered huge Negro ghettos, which we have long deplored and against which we will continue to battle until we have achieved equality in housing.

Executive Order 11063, issued by the late President Kennedy, banning discrimination in federal and federally-assisted housing, brought the weight and prestige of the Federal Government into this vital area. But this is not enough.

We urge President Johnson to extend the 1962 Housing Executive Order to cover not only Federal Housing Administration and Veterans Administration insured mortgages but also mortgage activities of all federally-assisted or federally-insured bank and savings and loan companies and to insure its vigorous implementation. Certainly the money of all Americans must not be used to deny housing to millions of them.

Equal Employment Opportunity:

The establishment of a national Equal Employment Opportunity Commission under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 provides a new and vitally important tool to strengthen labor's program to insure fair and equal employment opportunity. Better job opportunities for minority workers will enable them to break out of the vicious circle that confines them to slum housing and their children to overcrowded, substandard schools. The new law as a declaration of public policy will help us to speed achievement of our policies of the AFL-CIO of equal opportunity on the job.

As we have told the Congress, Title VII needs strengthening. We intend to support legislation to strengthen this section. Until we achieve that improved law, we intend to make Title VII work.

In anticipation of the establishment of the Commission under Title VII, President Meany requested all international unions to assign an international officer to work with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and other government agencies to obtain intelligent and effective compliance with the letter and spirit of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission has adopted the following procedure in regard to complaints involving local unions and/or collective bargaining agreements of AFL-CIO affiliates:

- A. In states which do not have a FEPC, after initial investigation by a Field Representative and at the time a complaint is sent to the local union involved, a copy will be sent to the national or international office of the union and to the Civil Rights Department of the AFL-CIO.

STATEMENT ON 1966 BY JOHN LEWIS, CHAIRMAN
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE
Issued Dec. 30, 1965

The gains of 1965 can only be called lessons in the losses of '65. The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party presented an incontrovertible case to the Congress of the United States this year. Evidence amassed pointed to one fact: that the Negro in Mississippi has been brutally and illegally disenfranchised and that the present elected officials of Mississippi hold their offices illegally. There was only one just move the Congress could have made; it should have seated the MFDP and thrown the racists from Congress. Although the racist Mississippi Congressmen did not defend themselves, the overwhelming case of the MFDP was dismissed. Thus the recourse supplied by the Federal Government for redress of grievances was denied the MFDP. This was a bitter lesson for many of the hopeful Negroes who had traveled to Washington. They knocked on the door of government and asked to be admitted. They were told, in effect, that the United States Congress is not a place for black power. The MFDP was relegated to the back door which Negroes have long known in this southern land.

The goals of 1966 will be the same as in '65: immediate and complete freedom for the Negro population of the United States. But SNCC has learned from the experience of the MFDP. There will be more emphasis on local politics and gaining control of courthouses in towns of the Black Belt where Negroes form a majority. Because the Justice Department has gone into only 32 counties under the '65 Voting Rights Act out of the 600 which come under that Act, we do not expect much help from the Justice Department in our voter registration program.

It is useless to recommend further legislation when we have laws that are not being enforced. For example, there is no willingness on the part of the President, Congress or the Justice Department to see Title Six of the '64 Civil Rights Act enforced. The anti-lynch law is needed but we already have laws against violence, terror and denial of rights. Additional legislation merely lulls the people and makes them believe the problem of racism is solved. The problem and the scars of racism are so deep that they will take many years to remove.

We will make a continuous effort this year to organize those we've registered to vote in independent political blocs. We will organize the sharecroppers, domestics and Negro land owners. Perhaps SNCC will move into urban areas and organize block by block. This is necessary because the people we work with are moving to urban areas.

Some say the days of mass action are over. I do not think so. In 1966 we will see organized and unorganized masses of people acting. As long as the problem of racism exists, people will find means of demonstrating the problem. They will use whatever means they can to force the President, Congress, Justice Department and local elected officials to move.

We demand justice in our courts -- equal justice, for all men must be equal in our courts if there is to be justice in our land.

Fundamental to this goal is the total elimination of segregation and discrimination in our jury system. The right to trial by a jury of one's peers is basic to democracy. But a jury must consist of peers; it must not be "for whites only." Therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That the AFL-CIO facilitate and insure increased labor participation in the achievement of these objectives; we urge every affiliate to establish a functioning Civil Rights Committee. These committees are crucial in the implementation of labor's civil rights program: providing technical assistance to workers filing complaints under Title VII; establishing basic educational programs reaching the rank and file member; forming cooperative relationships with responsible civil rights groups, religious and other community organizations, for the purpose of obtaining compliance with existing civil rights laws, and aiding local labor leadership to resist Ku Klux Klan and John Birch Society infiltration.

For equal rights and equal opportunity to be meaningful, we must have a society of full opportunity. Therefore, the AFL-CIO and its affiliates participated with outstanding Negro leaders, scholars and experts in a recent national planning session called by President Johnson.

In outlining the need for this conference, President Johnson said: "We seek not just legal equity, but human ability -- not just equality as a right and a theory, but equality as a fact and equality as a result."

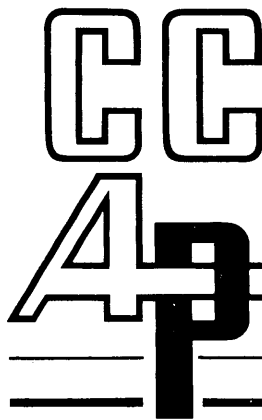
This has always been the goal of the AFL-CIO. We pledge ourselves to the achievement of national programs to meet the educational, housing and community needs of all citizens. Such programs will both meet the social needs of our country and its cities and create jobs urgently needed to insure employment opportunities.

Such measures, plus a higher minimum wage, extended minimum wage coverage, and the establishment of national standards for quality integrated education and training will aid Negroes and other minorities to translate legal rights into absolute equal opportunity.

America has made great progress in civil rights in the past two years. We are proud of our role in this worthy battle.

But too much remains to be done for any of us to pause for self-congratulations. The unresolved problems are many and great. They can be met; they must be solved; they will be conquered.

Our goal is true and absolute equality of opportunity throughout America. We shall not rest until we achieve it.



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Bulletin

CITIZENS' CRUSADE AGAINST POVERTY

207 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036



At the halfway mark, standout accomplishments of the 89th Congress include: **EDUCATION** — aid to elementary and secondary schools, including more than 41 billion dollars for poverty area schools . . . higher education construction money (doubled) and federal scholarships added for the first time . . . new subsidized student loan program and programs for expanding adult education, for improving teacher training, and for aiding small "developing" colleges . . . a National Teacher Corps, authorized to bring outstanding teachers to poverty areas (no money appropriated). **HEALTH** — Medicare . . . Regional medical centers . . . Construction of mental health centers . . . More aid to medical schools and students . . . A new administration on Aging within HEW . . . **ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND MANPOWER** — Expanded programs for public works and regional economic development including \$1.1 billion for *Appalachian Redevelopment* . . . continued 100% federal financing of the Manpower Development and Training Act . . . **ANTI-POVERTY** — Director of Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) permitted to override governor's veto; funds authorized more than doubled to \$1.78 billion for fiscal 1966 . . . **HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT** — Established new Department of Housing and Urban Affairs to coordinate housing and mass transit programs and focus on problems of cities . . .

(Continued on Page 4)

CCAP COMMISSIONS *IN ACTION*

Commission on Community Activity and Organization

Two major programs, one to train approximately 1,000 community workers to serve directly with the poor in urban and rural areas, and the other to establish the first nationwide information network of local grass-roots organizations fighting poverty, have been set in motion by the Crusade's Commission on Community Activity and Organization.



Commission whose chairman is Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, Stated Clerk of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. Vice-chairmen of the

(Continued on Page 4)

Commission on National Programs and Policies

Announcement of a series of "White Papers" in three major areas of poverty has been made by James G. Patton, chairman of the CCAP Commission on National Programs and Policies. Mr. Patton, President of the National Farmers Union, made the announcement following a meeting of the Commission in Washington.



The papers, he explained, will "explore and recommend" strategies to eradicate current "severe and chronic" poverty in the United States, anticipate the "new poverty" of the next 15-20 years and recommend programs and policies to attack it, and explore relations between domestic and international

(Continued on Page 4)

Commission on Public Information and Education

Richard W. Boone, Executive Director of the CCAP, announced that the Crusade's Commission on Public Information and Education, headed by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., will meet shortly to develop strategies to keep the nation's attention focused on the problems of poverty. Bayard Rustin, Director of the A. Philip Randolph Foundation is vice-chairman of the Commission.

In reviewing the actions of the Crusade to date, Walter P. Reuther, Chairman of CCAP,

commented: "There is no way to resolve effectively America's poverty problem unless the poor are provided a meaningful role and voice in anti-poverty efforts."

"We call upon all Americans to join us in raising our sights beyond the initial attacks of the nation's war against poverty. Bigger, bolder, and more imaginative thinking and actions are called for," Mr. Reuther said.



REACHING THE UNREACHED IN PHILADELPHIA: OPPORTUNITIES INDUSTRIALIZATION CENTER.

One of the worst segregated Negro slums in the United States can be found just a 10-minute ride from the new glass-and-steel downtown skyscrapers of Philadelphia. Six North Philadelphia wards are packed with 270,000 people who are faced with appalling destitution and social decay. Mayor James H. Tate described the area as the seat of "the most crime, tuberculosis, venereal disease, unemployment, and poverty" in the city. Yet it was here in January 1964, in an abandoned police station rented from the city for \$1 a year, that Reverend Leon Howard Sullivan, a civil rights militant, launched one of the most exciting and hopeful programs for the poor in the United States.

"We help ourselves!" was and remains the program's motto—and its philosophy.

It takes the form of the Opportunities Industrialization Center, the first enterprise of its kind in the Nation. From its inception, OIC has been designed to give Negroes new job skills and, of equal importance, to instill in them new attitudes of hope and confidence. In fact, what distinguishes this program from other job training efforts is its unceasing emphasis on attitude, motivation, and self-dignity.

Among accomplishments of OIC are the following: OIC has "graduated" its first 1,000 trainees in eight-week to one-year courses, in everything from power sewing and restaurant practices to electronics and sheetmetal work. In addition to technical subjects, courses are provided in basic reading, writing, arithmetic, speech, and personal grooming.

- Four out of five graduates were placed almost immediately in good jobs.
- OIC's attendance rate of 80% is as high as any of the best technical training programs in the country.
- Two thousand persons are now in training and 6,000 more are on waiting lists, including 300 whites.
- This is the first major training effort started and conducted by Negroes for Negroes which is aggressively reaching out to help poor and unskilled whites.
- Starting with no equipment, donations of over a quarter million dollars of the finest equipment have been made by Philadelphia industry—General Electric, Philco, IBM, and Bell Telephone, among others. These firms have also provided technical assistance, developed curriculum, and assigned training staff to OIC programs. This helps to account for OIC's effective placement record.

Movements modeled after OIC have started in Pittsburgh, Detroit, Portsmouth and Richmond, Virginia, Bucks County, Pennsylvania, and East Palo Alto,



California. Within the next 6 months, 10 more communities will start programs.

To begin the program, Rev. Sullivan received \$50,000 from an anonymous donor. A corps of Negro women also went door-to-door in their neighborhoods collecting small contributions which added another \$50,000. With the help of volunteer carpenters, plumbers, and painters, the rat-infested former jail was completely renovated and given a bright and cheerful appearance.

For dramatic effect, one cell was left in its original form. Support for the program spread like wildfire.

Many of the original instructors were volunteers. One of the training centers is a six-story office building donated by a Philadelphia philanthropist. From the outside has come recognition of OIC's service in the form of large grants. The Philadelphia Council for Community Advancement, supported by a Ford Foundation grant, gave \$200,000. The Labor Department's Office of Manpower, Automation, and Training made a grant of \$458,000 to expand OIC as a pilot project. The Stern Family Fund granted OIC \$51,000 recently to spread the word and help other communities develop similar programs. The Office of Economic Opportunity added \$1.7 million to train 4,000 in the next 12 months.

In contrasting OIC to other job-training programs, Rev. Sullivan explained that "people come in here without fear of being ridiculed or turned away and they see a job at the end."

He points out that the hardest task in the program is to eradicate the mentality of poverty which burdens most of the trainees.

The genesis of this program is as interesting as its operation. A few years ago the name of Leon Sullivan was a fighting word in Philadelphia business circles. In his effort to win more jobs for Negroes, he spearheaded an aggressive and well-organized consumer boycott against 29 top Philadelphia companies. With the aid of the powerful Negro Ministerial Association, he enlisted a quarter of a million parishioners in a systematic campaign of "selective patronage." The boycott succeeded in opening up jobs, but Negro leaders realized that under existing training programs, there would not be enough qualified Negroes to fill them. With this realization, OIC was born.

The lesson that appears most cogent from OIC's success is that white and Negro leaders in a community must sit down together and try to match up each other's requirements. Business in Philadelphia has shown that it was willing to turn to the Negro poor for skilled labor. OIC also demonstrates what an unemployed and unskilled labor force, when properly mobilized can do when backed by the entire community.

LOCAL PUBLIC HEARINGS REQUIRED ON ALL "CAP" FUND REQUESTS

Complaints have been made that the governing boards of local community action agencies have gone behind closed doors in reviewing community action proposals and requests for funding from private or community agencies. The Office of Economic Opportunity plans to require greater public exposure to and debate on these proposals.

The OEO policy statement will require the governing board of a CAP to hold public hearings on all local programs requesting federal funds. This policy arises from a generally unnoticed amendment tacked on this year to Section 202 of the Economic Opportunity Act. The change requires "provision for reasonable access of the public to information including, but not limited to, reasonable opportunity for public hearings at the request of appropriate local community groups. . . ."

Appeals Process For Organizations In "CAP" Communities

The Office of Economic Opportunity has recently announced a new policy under which an independent organization can appeal for separate funding when it becomes difficult or impractical to operate through the local community action agency administering anti-poverty funds.

OEO has attempted in the community action program to deal with a single "umbrella" agency within each community in order to mobilize and coordinate local efforts more effectively in a comprehensive, broadly-based attack on local poverty. This makes sense from a federal standpoint because administrative overhead of the antipoverty program will be reduced if the number of agencies with which OEO has to deal can be minimized. A coordinated and comprehensive program also aids the community in rallying broad citizen support behind its efforts and lessens duplication of effort and confusion.

But there are recognized dangers involved in forming such a monopoly—one which might eventually control virtually all community programs and services for the poor. To minimize the potential abuses of monopoly power and insure that novel and imaginative ideas are not suppressed, the appeals process was fashioned. Like involvement of the poor, it is also a procedural safeguard which will keep the community action agency responsive to its overall mission and sensitive to the needs of the people it is designed to serve.

To take advantage of the appeals process, the following steps must be taken by an organization desiring to participate in local anti-poverty efforts:

1. It should present its proposal, preferably in writing, to the director of the *local community action agency* or the person he designates to receive proposals. (The staff of the agency should be willing, if requested, to help prepare a budget and write the proposal in the form and with the details required by OEO.)

2. If the local CAP agency (a) refuses help in preparing the proposal, (b) if it causes unnecessary delays in deciding whether to process the proposal, or (c) if it refuses to consider or disapproves the proposal without an adequate explanation, the applicant organization can appeal directly to the Federal OEO for separate funding. (A record should be kept as evidence of all contacts with the CAP agency, showing dates, places, persons involved, and actions taken.)

3. The application and request for review must be filed with the appropriate CAP Regional Office of the OEO, together with a statement explaining why it is impossible or too difficult to operate through or together with the local CAP agency. (The Federal CAP Regional Office may be consulted in the development of these materials.) The explanatory statement must include:

- a. A description of the efforts made, if any, to combine the applicant's proposed activities with those of the existing community action agency.
- b. A description of the response to such efforts on the part of the existing community action agency.
- c. In the event that OEO agrees to fund the applicant's proposal separately, a description of what coordination, if contemplated, there will be with CAP activities.
- d. An explanation of the reasons why the applicant considers it necessary or desirable to provide funding directly. This should include a statement which distinguishes the proposed program from other funded and planned local CAP Programs and a statement of any considerations which make funding urgent.

4. Send an additional copy of the materials to the Director, Community Action Program, Washington, D. C. 20506, for his advance information.

5. The CAP regional staff of OEO may investigate the situation and even attempt to negotiate and resolve the differences.

6. After review, the regional CAP staff will make recommendations on the appeal. The final decision will be made in OEO headquarters in Washington.

Copies of Community Action Memorandum No. 9, dated November 1, 1965, which outlines this procedure may be obtained by writing the appropriate regional office of OEO or the Office of Economic Opportunity, 1200 19th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20506. CCAP will soon publish in greater detail its own instructions and interpretations of the OEO appeals process, which will be sent to all recipients of the *CCAP Bulletin*.

PERISCOPE ON POVERTY (Continued from p. 1)

Expanded public housing and urban renewal program . . . Improvement grants to low-income homeowners in rehabilitation areas . . . Rent subsidies for low-income families authorized (no money appropriated) . . . ALSO . . . Immigration Reform . . . A voting rights law suspending literacy tests in "hard-core" areas and providing for federal voting registrars . . . A \$4.7 billion excise tax cut . . . Constitutional amendment to override "one man, one vote" decisions stymied. Policy level "involvement of the poor" in poverty war under attack from Bureau of Budget . . . OEO counter-attacks . . . Allegedly, BOB's position stems from opposition of some members of Congress and big city mayors who want veto over program. Some mayors see support of organizations independent of City Hall as threat to their power and political security. Opposition of some key mayors expected to mount . . . Some efforts will be made to scuttle program entirely . . . Applications pending before OEO from Memphis and Atlanta seen as test cases . . . Watch for efforts to reduce federal matching from 90%/10% to 70%/30%, thus weakening "private, not for profit" CAPs and making it more difficult for

COMMISSION ON COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES (Continued from p. 1)

Commission are Monsignor George Higgins, Director of the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference and Rabbi Jacob Weinstein, President of the Central Conference of American Rabbis.

The Commission encouraged the Crusade staff to develop immediately a national information network listing "grass roots" anti-poverty groups with CCAP. There is no single national center currently providing war on poverty information to the poor or to the wide variety of groups working with them. Many of these local groups are currently unaffiliated with any regional or national organizations.

Initial plans for the training program call for establishing centers where community workers will be trained to work with the poor, helping them organize to participate more effectively in local anti-poverty programs. Additional details of the program are being developed for presentation to a meeting of Dr. Blake's group December 15th in New York.

Following the meeting, Dr. Blake declared: "Empty exhortation to our ideals no longer suffice. Human dignity and self-esteem are denied all of us, not just the poor, when our affluence ignores the continued misery of poverty and its waste of human potential."

The Commission also directed the staff of CCAP to design a program to enable the poor to establish community centers in rural poverty areas of the South. These centers would become rallying points for the poor to participate more effectively in anti-poverty programs such as Head-Start pre-school programs, voter registration, and adult basic education.

independent groups in poverty areas to run self-help programs. (See item in *Bulletin*) . . . Watch these programs for increasing involvement of the poor: San Francisco, Newark, Syracuse, Topeka, Pittsburgh, Guadalupe, Arizona and the South Barelais community in Albuquerque, New Mexico . . . OEO is announcing two significant new policies, one requiring public hearings on all local programs requesting federal funds and the second, a new "appeals procedure" through which groups in "CAP" communities can be separately funded. Both policies seen as tools to increase involvement of the poor. (See item in *Bulletin*) . . . CCAP Commissions meet and advance plans to train 1000 "workers with the poor", establish nationwide information network with grassroots organizations, support community centers in rural areas of the South, and develop major policy "White Papers" outlining current and future strategies for a stepped-up war against poverty. (See item in *Bulletin*) . . . California grape pickers continue most significant farm labor strike since 30's, need help. Cesar Chavez, leader of strike, turns down OEO migrant grant until strike is settled. Rumors heard that OEO being pressured to renege on approval. (See item in *Bulletin*).



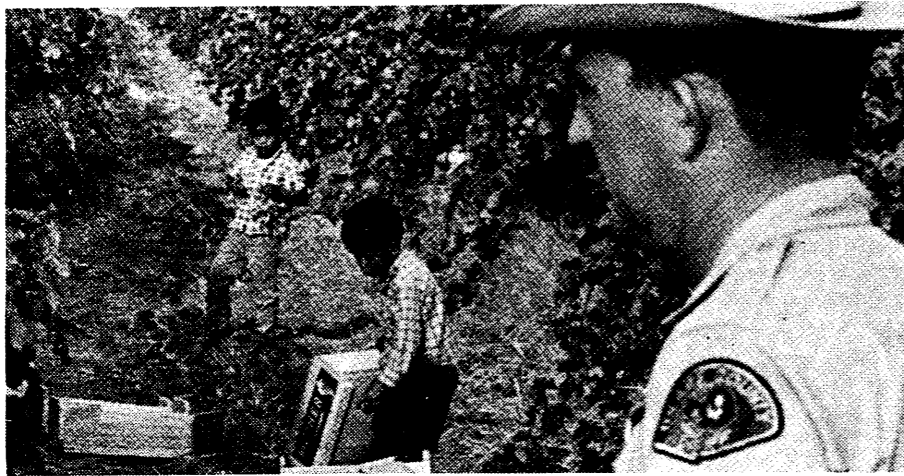
"Human dignity and self-esteem are denied all of us, not just the poor, when our affluence ignores the continued misery of poverty and its waste of human potential."

COMMISSION ON NATIONAL PROGRAMS (Continued from p. 1)

poverty and suggest possible future actions by the Crusade.

The Commission meeting was chaired by Mr. Patton. Miss Elizabeth Wickenden, social welfare consultant, served in her capacity as vice-chairman of the Commission. In attendance were many prominent persons representing labor, business, the academic world, and other groups.

Mr. Patton concluded the Commission's sessions by stating: "I hope that through this Commission we can set forth a few really big ideas which can move the war on poverty ahead by giant strides during the next decade. I hope we stretch our imagination and that of the Nation so that we stimulate a great dialogue about how to eliminate poverty."



Children, drafted as strikebreakers, work under the hard eyes of Tulare County (Calif.) patrolmen.

California Grape Strikers Hold Firm, Need Help.

Delano, California — Recently a minister, testing the validity of a court order against "shouting", started to read in a loud voice Jack London's definition of a strike breaker to a group of farm workers picking grapes in a field. Continuing after a warning, he was carted off to jail on charges of "disturbing the peace."

A few days later, a group of 44 workers, students, and ministers also shouted the word "Huelga," Spanish for "strike," from a picket line. They were also arrested, for failure to disperse and for trespassing.

Among those jailed were mothers, leaving about 87 children motherless for a few days.

These are a few of the incidents that have occurred in what is possibly the largest farm labor strike in the country since the 30's.

Since September 8, a strike directed against grape growers in northern Kern-Southern Tulare Counties, California has been underway, led by Cesar Chavez, director of the National Farm Workers Association, and organizers of the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee, AFL-CIO (AWOC).

The two organizations are demanding a raise from \$1.25 to \$1.40 per hour, a higher piece-work rate, plus recognition as collective bargaining agents for the grape pickers.

As farm workers, the strikers are not covered by labor laws protecting most Americans, such as the Fair Labor Standards Act, and the National Labor Relations Act which guarantees workers the right to organize and bargain collectively with their employers.

For the first time, farm workers have remained on strike for more than two or three weeks. Meanwhile, they are receiving increasing support from not only labor organizations but also from churches, civil rights groups, and students. Recently, OEO Director Sargent Shriver approved a long-pending grant under OEO's migrant program for Chavez' group. Chavez decided to postpone acceptance of the grant until after the strike is settled. (It has now been rumored that OEO is being pressured to rescind its previous approval of the grant.)

As the strike continued, it attracted greater attention. Strikers gathered in front of vineyards which employed strike breakers. The strikers shouted "Huelga" and appealed to the other workers for support in raising wage rates.

The growers turned to the Kern County sheriff and the courts for help. The strikers were enjoined from "shouting" even in uninhabited areas. The Northern and Southern California Councils of Churches and their agency, the Migrant Ministry, came to the support of the strikers, along with CORE, SNCC, ACLU and various labor, student, and other organizations.

Of the 1,000 families on strike, about 700 are temporarily working on other crops outside the strike zone but this work is scheduled to end soon. About 200 families, some with up to 14 children, are not working at all and are in desperate need of outside help. And in a few weeks, no work will be available locally for these workers, except for pruning of the vineyards that are being struck.

Chavez is seeking aid in the form of: funds to help families on strike to pay for their food, clothing, rent, and utility bills; used buses or other appropriate vehicles; a two-way car radio (to call for help in emergencies for strike groups scattered over a 400 mile square mile area); funds or credit cards for gasoline and additional office telephone lines; typewriters and mimeograph machines.

Persons and organizations ready to help should write:

National Farm Workers Association
102 Albany Street
Delano, California (or phone their office by calling Area Code 805, 8661 Delano.)

and/or

AWOC Strike Fund
Care of Valley Labor Citizen
479 North Fresno
Fresno, California 93701

Some Important Books and Articles on Poverty

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National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor. *Poverty on the Land*; A report on the public hearings held by the National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor, Washington, D. C., May 18-19, 1964. New York, 1965. (For single copies, write NACFL, 112 E. 19th St., N.Y., N.Y. 10003.)

U. S. Congress. House Committee on Education and Labor, Subcommittee on the War on Poverty. *Examination of the War on Poverty Program*. Hearings . . . 89th Congress, 1st session . . . on examination of the facts which have developed under the Administration of the Act. Washington, U. S. Gov't. Print. Off., 1965.

U. S. Department of Labor, Manpower Administration, Office of Manpower, Automation and Training. Seminar on Manpower Policy and Program. November 1964. *Cybernation and Social Change*, by Donald N. Michael. Washington

U. S. Office of Economic Opportunity. *Law and Poverty 1965*; report to the National Conference on Law and Poverty, Washington, D. C., June 23-25, 1965.

ARTICLES

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WOMEN JOIN TO FIGHT POVERTY

The National Council of Jewish Women is launching a nationwide woman-to-woman anti-poverty program. Challenging more fortunate women to act through communitywide inter-religious, interracial campaigns, the NCJW program emphasizes the need for new and expanded community services to help women trapped in poverty, as well as greatly strengthened legislation to protect them from exploitation. Catholic, Protestant, and Negro women's organizations that are affiliated with the National Council of Jewish Women in WICS (Women in Community Services) are expected to be among those participating in the program. The Council, whose president is Mrs. Joseph Willen, has its headquarters at One West 47th Street, New York, New York.

A Civilian Perspective. Yale Law Journal, v. 73, July 1964: 1317-1352. Copies also available upon request from U. S. Office of Economic Opportunity.

American Economic Review. *The Economics of Poverty*, v. 55, May 1965: 510-548. Contents: *Investing in Poor People: An Economist's View*, by Theodore W. Schultz. *Approaches to the Reduction of Poverty*, by Robert J. Lampman. *Poverty: The Special Case of the Negro*, by Alan Natchelder.

FRIEDMAN, Milton. *Poverty: A Direct Approach*. Context, a University of Chicago magazine, v. 2, Winter 1964: 1-3.

JENCKS, Christopher. *Johnson vs. Poverty*. New Republic, v. 50, March 28, 1964: 15-18

SEXTON, Brendan. *Realistic Vistas for the Poor*. The Progressive. October 1965: 30-33.

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WALINSKY, Adam. *Keeping the Poor in Their Place*; notes on the importance of being one-up. New Republic, v. 151, July 4, 1964: 15-18.



CITIZENS' CRUSADE AGAINST POVERTY

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WHAT THE NATION'S PRESS IS SAYING ABOUT THE POVERTY PROGRAM

(The following are excerpts from news stories and editorials commenting on published reports concerning a change in OEO policy relating to the role of the poor in the anti-poverty program.)

20 Part I—WED., NOV. 3, 1965 Los Angeles Times 2★

WITH 1966 ELECTIONS IN VIEW

Poverty War Changes Under Study

BY JOHN H. AVERILL
Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON—The administration, with an apprehensive eye on the 1966 elections, fears that its costly War on Poverty has become the most politically vulnerable of all of the Great Society's domestic programs.

'Million-Dollar Headache'
"We've learned that a \$100,000 grant to a community action project can cause a million-dollar headache," an authoritative source said. For this reason, he said, the project is being considered.

The Washington Post

Role of the Poor

White House Denies Poverty Policy Shift

By William Chapman
Washington Post Staff Writer

AUSTIN, Tex., Nov. 6—The White House did not order the Budget Bureau to seek a lesser involvement of the poor in antipoverty programs and the Bureau gave no such instructions.

Change of Emphasis

On Friday, however, top-ranking Budget Bureau spokesmen confirmed news stories saying that the Bureau had asked OEO to put less emphasis on policy-making

by the poor and more stress on employment of the poor in antipoverty programs. The Bureau is normally regarded as an executive arm of the White House.

Schultz said today

THE NEW YORK TIMES

WIDE POLICY ROLE FOR POOR OPPOSED BY BUDGET BUREAU

Antipoverty Agency Is Urged to Put More Emphasis on Jobs at Operating Level

By JOSEPH A. LOFTUS
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Nov. 4—The Budget Bureau, fiscal arm of the White House, has told the Office of Economic Opportunity that it would prefer less emphasis on policy-making by the poor in planning community projects.

"Maximum feasible participation" by the poor in the antipoverty program is called for by the law. In the bureau's view, this means primarily using the poor to carry out the program, not to design it.

This viewpoint was acknowledged today by a high Government source, who refused to be identified.

That source denied, however, a related report that the Budget Bureau had reduced by \$35 million the antipoverty program's

Voice of Poor On Antipoverty Deemphasized

By Eve Edstrom
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Administration is bowing to pressures from big-city political chiefs who oppose giving the poor an influential voice in the war on poverty.

Strong evidence of this came yesterday in the form of a proposal by the Bureau of the Budget for a major change in how the poor should be used in controversial community action programs.

In the Bureau's view, much more emphasis should be placed on hiring the poor for antipoverty jobs at neighborhood levels, and much less emphasis on...

Dissident Factions

The political establishments in city halls throughout the Nation are becoming increasingly fearful that local antipoverty programs—with their supply of patronage and Federal dollars—could fall under control of dissident political factions claiming to speak for the poor.

The Budget Bureau's position...

are sharply divergent on what this means. The Budget Bureau suggests the poor "should be doing, not talking," that their maximum involvement can come about by being paid to perform services for other poor people. However, many of the architects of the War on Poverty...

The antipoverty chief, who has crusaded for "maximum feasible participation" by the poor in War on Poverty decision-making, asserted: "The policy is today and will remain exactly what it has been from the very beginning."

No Change Order

In addition to the complaints of the mayors, many of them influential Democrats with political ties to the White House, local housing and urban renewal officials have protested that community action programs are inflaming the poor against them.

At a recent meeting of the...

Poverty War Changes Hinted

Humphrey Suggests Private Foundations Take Part in Projects

By Eve Edstrom
Washington Post Staff Writer
Vice President Humphrey suggested yesterday that private foundations should operate experimental war on poverty projects that "might be too hazardous for public agencies."

This reinforced widespread reports that the Administration wants to chart a less politically troublesome course for Federally financed community action efforts to combat poverty.

Humphrey, in speaking to newsmen at a seminar conducted by...

Shriver, Refusing to Shift, Backs Policy Role of Poor

Order to Change Denied
By JOSEPH A. LOFTUS
Special to The New York Times

Alarm Is Voiced Here
By FRED POWLEDGE

"Unfortunately," said Mr. Shriver, "the article gives the impression that the Bureau of the Budget's alleged position is official Government policy that is about to be implemented by O.E.O."

"Moreover, it seems to imply that such a policy has been enunciated by the White House. Frankly, no such change in O.E.O.'s policy has been directed or ordered by anyone in the Administration. Our policy is today and will remain exactly what it has been from the very beginning."

Mr. Shriver's phrase, "alleged position," thus avoided both a denial and an affirmation of the Budget Bureau's views.

Dr. Arthur C. Logan, chairman of the New York City Council Against Poverty, emphasized that he was speaking as an individual, said he felt the reported shift had "the most grave import for future effectiveness of the antipoverty program."

"I think that the single most important facet of the program is integral involvement of people in planning for the problems of poverty."

At issue is a definition that is contained in Title II Part A...

Poverty Scramble

The most confused element in the war against poverty remains the extent to which the people of the slums should have a controlling voice in developing community action programs to end their own poverty.

Sargent Shriver, chief of the Office of Economic Opportunity in Washington, keeps emphasizing that his agency intends to stand by the Federal law's requirement for "maximum feasible participation" of the impoverished in all such programs. The White House, under pressure from social work and community groups in many areas, has been at pains to spike reports that the Budget Bureau favors a retreat from the Shriver policy.

But the mayors of some big cities make no secret of their reservations about giving slum dwellers a bigger voice than the elected representatives of all the people in City Hall, in deciding how public funds should be spent to fight poverty. Not the smallest factor in their reserve is the fear that the establishment of militant action groups in slum neighborhoods will upset the political balance in their cities and thus jeopardize entrenched party organizations. Obviously, no programs for combating poverty are...

going to have much appeal unless the poor acquire some greater sense of self-involvement in overcoming their personal and social afflictions. Equally, no program can be independent of all the other forces in the munity if an integrated, over-all solution of school, job and other civic problems is to be the result.

Since so little real guidance has come from Washington on how balance can be achieved in setting up community programs and since most of the programs are moving with dismaying slowness, it is welcome news that a privately financed organization has been set up to train 1,000 community workers as guides in the antipoverty war.

Walter P. Reuther of the United Automobile Workers is chairman of this new Citizens Crusade Against Poverty, and his union has made an initial contribution of \$1 million to help finance it. This is an imaginative use of union funds to help the less privileged in American society. The roster of religious, civil rights, social work, labor and other leaders enrolled in the new group's policy-making bodies is broad enough to insure some helpful contributions in this muddled field.

The Washington Post

NOVEMBER 8, 1965

Poverty and City Hall

The war on poverty has become, in many cities, a war between people in the slums and the people in City Hall. The combatants on both sides are now trying to force President Johnson to choose between them. It is sometimes a choice between the big cities' Democratic party leaders and their most militant critics.

But it is more than a simple choice between "the poor" and City Hall. Who are the authentic representatives of the poor? So far, the Federal Office of Economic Opportunity has, in essence, picked them. But the men who claim to speak for the slums are typically men from the militant civil rights organizations and reform political movements, which are engaged in fierce competition among themselves for the new Federal funds. Economic opportunity for some means political opportunity for others, and Mr. Sargent Shriver is constantly being asked to decide which of many contesting claimants is to be the beneficiary of the power represented in the Federal money for local organization.

But the President is also aware that the original premise of his war against poverty is still true. Some city governments will not voluntarily make the changes necessary to widen the futures of the children of the slums. Federally supported community action is still essential to his purpose.

The Federal commitment to political reform in the cities turns out to be less sweeping than some of its partisans had hoped. But it is still far from negligible. The vague and obscure hints of the past few days apparently mean that the community action operations are to be limited in scale, but are not to be destroyed. The President does not wish to damage the poverty program, but neither does he wish to disrupt the sources of his support in the big cities. At the moment he evidently wishes to avoid any final decisions. As long as his intentions remain uncertain, he is clearly in a very strong position in dealing with the cities. The implicit threat of a large and radical community action program, financed from Washington, may turn out to be the only kind of good that will induce some City Halls to undertake substantial reforms themselves. It is a strategy worth exploiting.

The Washington Post

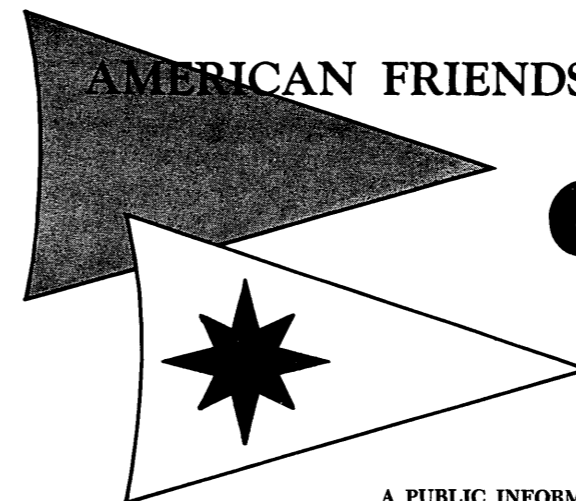
FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 12, 1965 PAGE A16

Political Poverty

Deprivation has many forms, and the lack of political power contributes powerfully to the hopeless and violent atmosphere of the slums. Poverty no longer commands a majority in city elections; its numbers no longer counterbalance the education and wealth of its happier neighbors. But the recent history of President Johnson's war against poverty also makes it evident that the Federal Government itself cannot carry out the sweeping political organization of the slums that its theorists envisioned.

If the Government cannot do it, then private citizens will have to accept the responsibility. The Citizens Crusade Against Poverty has been organized, under the chairmanship of Walter P. Reuther, to carry out the work of community organization that the Federal agencies cannot complete. Not beholden to public officials or to public money, the Citizens Crusade will not be subject to the inevitable political restraints that are already curbing the Federally-financed protest movements set up under the Economic Opportunity Act.

The Citizens Crusade means to keep the issue of poverty before the public attention, and it means to act both as critic and counselor of the Economic Opportunity Administration. Those are functions that no public agency can perform for itself, and they are essential to the effectiveness of the campaign on poverty. Genuine social reform can be carried through only by genuine political power. Where the Federal administrators are sharply limited in evoking it, the Citizens Crusade has the citizens' license to go as far as its supporters will follow.



AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

emphasis

QUAKER SERVICE IN THE SOUTHEAST

NOVEMBER - DECEMBER 1965

Volume II — Number 2

A PUBLIC INFORMATION SERVICE OF THE SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL OFFICE

William Channel Named Director Migrant Project

William W. Channel has been appointed Director of the southeastern region's Migrant Leadership Education Project, a one-year experimental program with east coast migrant laborers. The project was made possible by a \$98,685 grant from the U. S. Office of Economic Opportunity. Project headquarters will be located in the West Palm Beach area of Florida during the winter months.

William Channel has served in various posts with the Service Committee for 10 years. From 1955 to 1959 he was field director of the Israel Community Development Program and from 1959 to 1962 was field director of the Hong Kong Refugee Program. Since 1962 he has directed the International Services Overseas Refugee Program.

The project calls for three field workers who will find and work intensively with 15 seasonal farm laborers in the East Coast Migrant Stream. These will be chosen from 15 different crews and employed on a part-time basis. A portion of their time will be devoted as they migrate north to securing for members of their crews the rights and services which they need and to which they are entitled. The project will have as a long-range objective changes in state and local laws to bring into being adequate community services for migrants.

William Channel is a graduate of George Williams College, Chicago, and holds a graduate degree from the New York School of Social Work, Columbia University.

Program of Aid for Vietnamese Underway: Funds Are Needed

"There is a need to speak of the long-drawn agony which is overwhelming the voiceless men, women and children of South Vietnam. For the past 25 years they have been suffering through three wars. Their welfare and their future should constitute the beginning and the ending point of every consideration." This opening statement in an AFSC appeal for funds in recent paid advertisements in newspapers across the country reflects the Service Committee's concern with the deteriorating situation for the people of Vietnam.

The AFSC is responding in several ways to this plight.

A grant of \$5,500 has been made to three Vietnamese institutions active in social service. The National Voluntary Service of Vietnam which assists Vietnamese villagers received \$3,500. A \$1,000 grant was made to the Vietnamese Confederation of Labor which will use the funds in its programs at two community centers it operates in Saigon. The School of Youth for Social Service, a newly-established department at the Buddhist Van Hanh University will use a \$1,000 grant to purchase needed equipment or services.

A second effort will look into the needs of refugees in and around the city of Qui Nhon, Binh Dinh Province, in South Vietnam. The program's scope will include work in education, self-help, skill training and recreation. If possible similar services will be extended to refugees in North Vietnam. "There is no frontier to human need," Colin Bell commented.

The program is aimed at preventing the development of a "refugee men-

tality" among the 100,000 displaced persons now living near the city. Unoccupied and unproductive displaced persons become despairing and demoralized. Such is not only a vast human tragedy of itself but will pose a problem that will plague Vietnam for years to come. These conclusions were reported by members of the ASFC mission after their trip to Vietnam this past summer. More than one-third of the refugee population is between the ages of 3 and 17, making the need for education and recreation especially urgent.

A third recent action has been a \$20,000 grant appropriated by the board for exploration of program possibilities for young Americans to work with South Vietnamese youth organizations.

If and when Americans are allowed to enter North Vietnam, the board has appropriated \$10,000 for exploration by Service Committee staff of possible AFSC programs there.

Memorial Funds for Norman Morrison

Contributions in memory of Norman R. Morrison may be made to either of two funds: the Morrison Family Fund, for the general support of the family (including the education of the children), and the Norman R. Morrison Memorial Fund, for the furtherance of the ideals of peace and understanding for which Norman lived. Checks should be drawn specifically to the fund for which they are intended and sent to 5116 North Charles Street, Baltimore Maryland 21210.

AMERICAN
FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
SOUTHEASTERN REGION

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Executive Committee

Wilton E. Hartzler
Executive Secretary

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Harold Bosley Speaks in Florida on Peace Issues

The schedule has been announced for Harold Bosley's second tour of Florida cities under the auspices of the regional peace education program. He will speak at five "Conferences on Peace and World Order" during his five-day appearances from January 17 to 21, 1966.

Dr. Bosley is Senior Minister, Christ Church Methodist, New York City. A Nebraskan, he is a graduate of Nebraskan Wesleyan University and has a B.D. and Ph.D. from the University of Chicago.

During the past 20 years he has preached in many conferences of college students. He has been visiting professor of Church Ethics at Westminster Theological Seminary, Westminster, Maryland; he gave the Menden Hall Lectures, De Pauw University. He has preached in seminaries in Japan and Korea. He was a delegate to the second and third Assemblies of the World Council of Churches. He has recently returned from a summer's mission with other ministers to South Vietnam.

Dr. Bosley is the author of 12 books including *Main Issues Confronting Christendom* and *Doing What Is Christian*. His *He Spoke to Them in Parables* was the June, 1963 Religious Book Club selection. He has written numerous articles for religious publications.

The five Florida conferences will have as a major focus the responsibilities of the individual and the church in today's world.



These children consider a sharing project, one of many to be found in the Children's Program packets.

If You Were a Child In Hong Kong

If You Were a Child in Hong Kong is the title of a new 32-page picture-story booklet published by the Children's Program. In its pages young readers find games to play, songs to sing, a story to dramatize, riddles to guess and simple recipes to try. There is also information about school and home life, holiday observances and the kinds of work done by men, women, and children of Hong Kong.

Printed in two colors and illustrated with photographs and line drawings, this booklet is priced at 50 cents.

It is available from the Children's Program, AFSC, P. O. Box 1791, High Point.

Additional resources and materials for teachers and leaders of children ages 6 to 12 are available from the High Point office in eight seasonal packets. Packet material is designed to help leaders in planning for holiday events as well as other special times throughout the year. A Service Projects for Children Catalog is free and gives a listing and prices for these packets.

High Schoolers Attend U.N.-Washington Seminar

Four young people of the southeastern region attended the national High School Seminar, November 10-17. Held in New York and Washington, its theme was "Asia: Internal Themes and External Forces."

Larry Ledeen, Columbia, South Carolina, Anne Burnham, Chapel Hill, Gail Marshall and Patricia Williams of Asheville, North Carolina participated in the week-long seminar.

Discussion centered on questions of the possibilities of China's admission to the United Nations; role of the United States in influencing policies of Asian nations; China-Russian relations; the role of the United Nations in the settlement of the conflict in Vietnam.

The next High School Seminar is scheduled for April in Chicago on the city's role in the world.

An Appeal For the People of Vietnam, a statement issued by the AFSC Board of Directors, is available from the regional office. Single copies are free. Additional copies are one cent each.

Day Long School Affiliation Conference at High Point Office

Four students exchanged excited greetings in French and English at a School Affiliation Service Conference at the High Point regional office this fall. All are SAS exchange students and were among representatives of three of the five affiliated schools in North Carolina. The conference, the first in the region, was an exchange of ideas on ways to foster through SAS a more broadly educational program between partner schools.

One of the day's highlights was a panel of the four students commenting on their experiences in schools in France and in this country. Laura Armstrong, Needham Broughton High School, Raleigh, spent the last school year at Claude Debussy. "I think that though French students are slow to make friends, once they accept you, they're friends you can count on," she said. During the 1964-65 school term Molly Reynolds attended Sevres, an orphanage co-educational school, and this year is back at East Montgomery County High School. About the school she said, "The staff was kind to me and since all of the students were orphans, they discussed some of their problems with me. Maybe I helped them some."

Sylviane Leger, soft-spoken French girl from Claude Debussy is at Enloe

High School, Raleigh, this year. Both she and Jean-Pierre Lucas at High Point Central High School noted the friendliness of American students and the number of extra-curricular activities in American schools. Both have joined school club organizations.

Other sessions of the day included an interpretation of the purpose of SAS by Wilton E. Hartzler, SERO executive secretary, a film of School Affiliation activities in the Seattle region, and a discussion of successful school affiliation experiences in East Montgomery High School. Mary Ina Shamburger, volunteer for the school, shared ideas which East Montgomery has found workable. She and Molly showed Christmas cards students had received, a hand-woven cloth made at Sevres, vases Molly made while there and sketches which had been exchanged. The group listened to a record of the choir at Sevres singing Negro spirituals in English. East Montgomery is planning a video-tape to send to the school in the spring.

The day's discussion points to the value of exchanges of many kinds with partner schools in other countries. Exchange materials introduce the schools and communities to one another; they continue to provide contact in the

Car Needed

Our office needs a replacement for one of our staff cars. In 1963 two used cars were contributed. Both have given us good service, but repair maintenance has become too expensive for one of them.

Our experience with the cars leads us to appeal once again to our friends for the contribution of a car. The cars have been a great saving to us both in staff travel time and money. Their value to us far outweighs the original contributions.

Though we prefer a station wagon we can use any make or model so long as it has lots of good mileage in it and does not need major repairs. Tires and batteries are considered incidental.

The need is such that this will be better than a cash contribution. Do you have a car that you could give us? If so write to:

WILTON E. HARTZLER
P. O. Box 1791
High Point, North Carolina.



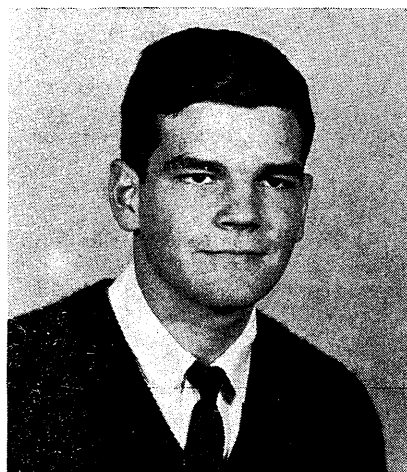
Exchange students discuss with Mrs. Algie Newlin, moderator, their experiences in partner schools in this country and in France.



Molly Reynolds and Mary Ina Shamburger show materials received by East Montgomery High School from its partner school, Sevres, France.

form of classroom projects, tapes, slides, school publications and letters. The long-range purpose is to develop understanding out of personal experience which will serve the cause of peace in the world.

Paul Palmer Joins Peace Program Staff



PAUL PALMER

Paul Palmer joined the southeastern regional staff as Peace Intern in the Peace Education program on November 1. His initial responsibilities include work with peace literature, with special attention to encouraging libraries to file materials on conscientious objection to war. Encouraging use of the program's films is another aspect of his responsibilities. As he is better acquainted in the region, he will compile a list of available speakers on peace issues in the region.

Paul Palmer attended Earlham College during the school year 1964-65. As a member of Hockessin Monthly Meeting, Hockessin, Delaware, he participated in many Young Friends activities. He was a member of a Quaker Youth Pilgrimage in northwest England and Ireland during the summer of 1963.

More Cuban Refugees Arriving In Miami for Resettlement

Cuba and the United States reached agreement on November 6, 1965, on an American airlift of 3,000 to 4,000 refugees from Cuba to Miami each month. It is estimated that from 200,000 to 300,000 Cubans may apply for the flights. These began in early December with priority given to close relatives of Cubans now in the United States. More distant relatives will come next and finally all others who wish to leave except for males of military age 15 to 26. Doctors and some others with special skills will not be allowed to leave until the expiration of a waiting period ranging up to one year.

Upon arrival in Miami, the refugees will receive emergency assistance and then be strongly urged to board a plane for resettlement in another part of the United States. The federal government will pay for the necessary transportation of the refugee to his final destination.

The successful reunion in the United States of long-separated families will not be an easy task. There will be adjustment difficulties, overcrowding and financial strain.

Friends can play a vital role by helping Cubans during this period.

If you have an interest and concern in sponsoring a Cuban refugee family in your community, contact the Southeastern Regional Office. A family, church school group, or a monthly meeting can undertake such a project. Sponsorship implies helping the family get located in a home in the com-

munity and assistance in helping an adult member of the family in securing a job.

The November 6 agreement on the movement of these refugees is a significant step in improving U. S. and Cuban relations. According to the *New York Times*, foreign diplomats are convinced that the Cuban Government hopes the conclusion of arrangements, "together with successful implementation, may eventually open the way for a further relaxation of tension between the two countries."

School Desegregation Progress in Carolinas

The extent of school desegregation for the school year 1965-66 in the two Carolinas varies widely. Some schools were desegregated only in selected grades; others opened all grades.

Last year there were 3,054 Negro students in desegregated schools in North Carolina; this year there are approximately 12,000 attending predominantly white schools. In South Carolina this year about 3,700 Negro pupils attend desegregated schools; for the school year 1964-65 there were 266.

On total the desegregation of public schools in both Carolinas remains low.

Some progress has been made in teacher desegregation in North Carolina. More than 200 Negro and white teachers are employed on desegregated teaching staffs in North Carolina this year. Last fall there were 48 Negro teachers on integrated staffs.

"Both sides are in danger of being entrapped by cliches rather than reality. It is easy in the United States to talk about peace with freedom, or in Vietnam about peace with justice. But unless the fighting is brought to a halt there will be neither freedom nor justice for war is the destroyer of both."

—STEWART MEACHAM
Peace Education Secretary
American Friends Service
Committee

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

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DRAFT

DEAR MR TSURUMI

THANK YOU FOR THE INVITATION TO THE PEACE CONFERENCE OF
TWO NATIONS.

OUR ORGANIZATION RECENTLY EXPRESSED A DESIRE TO TAKE
A MORE AVTIVE INTERNATIONAL ROLE BY COOPERATING WITH
THOSE GROUPS WORKING TOWARDS PEACE AND FREEDOM.

AS YOU MAY KNOW, SINCE WE TOOK OUR STRONG POSITION ON
VIETNAM, WE HAVE BEEN HAVING A GREAT DEAL OF DIFFICULTY
FINANCIALLY.

I WILL PERSONALLY MAKE A SINCERE EFFORT TO OBTAIN FUNDS
FOR THIS VERY IMPORTANT ENDEAVOR TOWARDS PEACE, HOWEVER
WE MAY NEED ASSISTANCE IN MEETING THE FULL EXPENSE.

THANK YOU AGAIN FOR YOUR INVITATION.

SINCERELY

JOHN LEWIS

[1965]

key key campus contact list - fall '65

claremont fos, mcallister center, claremont, california
 san francisco state fos, c/o associated students of s.f. state, 1600 holloway ave, san francisco, california
 stanford univ fos (randy ireson) box 2484, stanford u, stanford, calif
 eliot zashin & paul terrell, 2701 fulton avenue, berkeley, calif
 supa, 658 spadina avenue, toronto 4, ontario, canada
 yale civil rights council, box 404a, yale station, new haven, connecticut
 snfc, 213 n washington st, carbondale, illinois
 beth joffe, 6530 n newgard avenue, chicago, illinois
 central illinois fos, 801 s wright st, champaign, illinois
 purdue fos, mrs tina fishman, 323 west lutz avenue, west lafayette, indiana
 mark smith, jim dunn - 718 laurel st, des moines, iowa
 jean vanderwoot, grinnel college, grinnell, iowa
 mike theis, 114 1/2 s dubuque, iowa city, iowa
 students for racial equality, student activities office, college hall, amherst college, amherst, mass or fred aranow, 102b dorm, amherst college, amherst, mass
 brandeis civil rts group, brandeis u, waltham, mass -- adele smith, usen hall, rm 111, Charyn Sutton
 Harold MacDougell, 26 rogall st, cambridge, mass
 maggiopolan, 885 centre st, newton, mass
 young independents, r.s.o., u of mass, amherst -- victor aranow
 sandra jenkins, 534 albert ave, e lansing, michigan
 ann arbor (u of mich) fos, 2522 studt activities bldg, u of michigan, ann arbor
 gene pokorney, 1222 abel hall, 860 north 18th st, lincoln, nebr
 george kalbfleisch, dartmouth christian union, college hall, hanover, n hampshire
 ellen fishman, nyu fos, university christian foundation, 2 washington sq, n, nyo
 fos, s.u.n.y., buffalo, ny
 syracuse fos, 704 comstock, syracuse, ny
 marcia butman, raymond 429, vassar college, poughkeepsie, ny
 larry rubin, antioch college, yellow springs, ohio

key key campus contact list, fall, 1965, page 2

bill ninde, 518 high st, oxford, ohio
 joe gross, noah hall, oberlin college, oberlin, ohio
 mike malakoff, 5849 bartlett st, pittsburgh, pa
 harry wainwright, wesley foundation, 57 meadville st, edinboro, pa
 spac, swarthmore college, swarthmore, pa
 ruth jones, 314 s neville st, pittsburgh, pa
 eds, 1103 e 63rd st, chicago, illinois
 john allan, students for democratic action, memorial union, u of rhode island, kingston, rhode island
 ssoc, box 6403, nashville, tennessee
 univ of washington fos, box 243, room 208, ~~WASH~~HUB, u of wash, seattle, wash
 alicia kaplow, 923 W danton st, madison, wisconsin

 Mrs Whitman ---
 this was done in a moment of wariness -- there are probably dozens more who qualify to be called key key contacts -- maybe you can change the list once a month, it might be good for everyon's ego to have a change to be key key campus contact....anyway these people got forrest city proposal, open letter and my memo

eh

NEWS



475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK CITY 27 • RI 9-1214
(NIGHT: RO 4-2541)

[1965?]

THE PROTESTANT COUNCIL of the City of New York
the delegated agent of
Protestant Churches within Greater New York

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION:
REV. JOHN F. FISLER, RI 9-1214
or
DR. BENJAMIN PAYTON, 469-0981

**NEW YORK CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS CALL FOR
\$32 BILLION ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM**

An economic development program for equal rights, costing the nation annually an estimated \$32 billion, was declared "the essential next stage of the American movement for civil rights" by approximately 100 leaders of New York City civic, religious and civil rights organizations at a meeting today (Tuesday) regarding the 1966 White House Conference on Civil Rights.

A resolution adopted at the meeting said "that the major efforts in this whole process, bench-marked by the White House Conference, be devoted to the preparation of "An Economic Development Budget for Equal Rights in America;" one that establishes priority expenditures for jobs and job-training programs, housing and slum rehabilitation, health and welfare facilities and institutional needs for creating quality integrated education."

The meeting was convened by the Office of Church and Race of The Protestant Council in cooperation with the Commission on Religion and Race of the National Council of Churches. Dr. Benjamin F. Payton of the Protestant Council office served as coordinator; Dr. J. Oscar Lee of the National Council of Churches was Chairman.

Adopted at the meeting also was a resolution to strengthen the agenda of the White House Conference. "It is our position," said the resolution, "that the question of 'family stability' be stricken entirely from that agenda and be approached through an economic and urban analysis of needs in the critical areas of jobs, housing and quality integrated education. The analysis should deal with the extent to which Federal funds are being used to maintain segregation and other forms of discrimination in violation of Federal laws."

A third resolution called for another White House Conference in 1967 as a follow-up to the one now being planned for June 1966.

The meeting, held at the Brotherhood in Action Building, had plans for a metropolitan New York pre-White-House Conference on Civil Rights scheduled for April or

-- M O R E --

May, 1966, by appointing the following coordinating committee for this spring conference: the Rt. Rev. Msgr. Daniel Berrigan, Jesuit Fathers; Professor Albert Blaustein, School of Law, Rutgers University; Dr. Robert Browne, Professor of Economics, Fairleigh Dickinson University; Dr. Henry Clark, Union Theological Seminary; the Rev. Dr. Henri M. Deas, Pastor, Newman Memorial Methodist Church, Brooklyn; Dr. Dan Dodson, Professor of Sociology, New York University; the Rev. Dr. W. E. Gardner, President, Baptist Conference of Greater N. Y. and Vicinity; Dr. Anna Arnold Hedgeman, Commission on Religion and Race, National Council of Churches; the Rev. Dr. H. R. Hughes, Pastor, Bethel AME Church; Rabbi Edward Klein, The Free Synagogue; Dr. Charles Lawrence, Professor of Sociology, Brooklyn College; Dr. Charles Leber, Director of Urban Missions, Presbytery of New York; Dr. J. Oscar Lee, National Council of Churches; Dr. Seymour Melman, Professor of Industrial Engineering, Columbia University; Dr. Benjamin F. Payton, The Protestant Council.

Dr. Seymour Melman, Professor of Industrial Engineering of Columbia University, in a prepared address, spoke in support of the resolution calling for "An Economic Development Budget for Equal Rights in America." He explained the \$32 billion figure was his estimate and that this budget "must include: job training for the under-trained and underemployed, with industrial cooperation for training and placement; general improvement of the entire educational system; new dwellings for 9 million American families; medical facilities upgraded and expanded."

Also addressing the meeting were Dr. Robert Spike, Executive Director, Commission on Religion and Race, National Council of Churches; William Ryan, Ph.D., Mental Health Consultant, Massachusetts Committee on Children and Youth, Boston, Massachusetts and Dr. Payton.

The Moynihan Report, "The Negro Family: A Case for National Action," has been sharply criticized by Dr. Payton and others in the New York area. Dr. Payton, in a paper analysing this report, asserted that it "is flawed by the simplistic logic which holds it together, the inadequate empirical evidence it utilizes, and the erroneous premises upon which it is based. Although it has not even been made public yet, the report has already had an impact upon the civil rights movement and upon more general American politics that is quite deadening and utterly misleading." The White House Study group planning the 1966 conference is alleged to have been influenced considerably by this report. A delegation from New York will convey the thinking of New York leaders regarding the agenda for the White House Conference at a planning session scheduled for November 17 - 19 in Washington, D. C.

- end -

Text of Resolution attached.

~~Call Hall come!~~

~~NBC, CBS~~

~~Ask George Love who else has keys
to darkroom~~

~~Jim call on funeral~~

~~Ask Rufus Hinton to call Atlanta to
talk to Marcia new darkroom tech.~~

Statement by John Lewis (on
killing of Sammy Young)

2/4/66

We call upon the Pres. of the U.S. to make the presence and the forces of the federal govt visible in the state of Alabama. by ordering ~~the~~ federal marshalls to the following counties in Alabama: Macon, Green, Barbour, Lowndes, Dallas, Hale, Wilcox, Bullock, Marengo, Sumter, Perry, and all others where violence and terror is the order of the day. These fed. marshalls to have the power to make on-the-spot arrests in order to protect not just the civil rights but the lives and limbs of the Negro people and civil rights workers of Alabama.

If the fed. govt. cannot provide protection for people seeking civil rights guaranteed by the Constitution, then the people have no protection but themselves. We find it increasingly difficult to ask the people of the Black Belt to remain non-violent. We have asked the President for federal marshalls for over 3 years. If our plea is not answered, we have no choice.

2000 people demonstrated and marched today. Very Tom.
President of Tuskegee wants SNCC to come in.

CONVENTION CALENDAR

- JULY 25-28** — American Teachers Association, Hot Springs, Ark. C. J. Duckworth, national president.
- JULY 25-31** — National United Church Ushers Association of America, Inc., San Francisco, Calif. Leroy Johnson, president.
- JULY 28 - AUGUST 5** — National Urban League, Miami Beach, Fla. Eden Rock Hotel. Whitney M. Young Jr., executive director.
- JULY 31 - AUGUST 4** — Knights of Peter Claver, San Francisco, Calif. Shields G. Gilmore Jr., president.
- AUGUST 1-5** — National Beauty Culturists League, Inc., Washington, D.C. Dr. Katie E. Whickam, president.
- AUGUST 1-5** — National Dental Association, Inc., Chicago, Ill. Dr. William J. Walker.
- AUGUST 1-6** — National Convention of Gospel Choirs and Choruses, Inc., Chicago, Ill. Dr. Thomas A. Dorsey.
- AUGUST 1-6** — Sigma Gamma Rho Sorority, Inc., New York City. Mrs. Annie W. Neville, grand basileus.
- AUGUST 1-6** — United Mortgage Bankers of America, Inc., Denver, Colo. Dempsey J. Travis, president.
- AUGUST 3-6** — National Association of Real Estate Brokers, Inc., Denver, Colo. Q. V. Williamson, president.
- AUGUST 3-8** — Gamma Phi Delta Sorority, Chicago, Ill. Mrs. Kay Davis, supreme basileus.
- AUGUST 4-7** — National Bar Association, New Orleans, La., Royal Orleans Hotel. Theodore W. Coggs, president.
- AUGUST 4-7** — National Association of Barristers' Wives, Inc., New Orleans, La. Mrs. De Long Harris, president.
- AUGUST 7-11** — Iota Phi Lambda Sorority, Inc., Austin, Tex., Hotel Austin. Mrs. Ossie Ware Mitchell, national president.
- AUGUST 8-12** — National Medical Association, Cincinnati, Ohio, Netherland-Hilton Hotel. Dr. Montague Cobb, president.
- AUGUST 8-12** — Women Auxiliary to the National Medical Association, Cincinnati, Ohio, Hilton Terrace. Mrs. Marcus I. Tucker, president.
- AUGUST 8-13** — National Funeral Directors and Morticians Association, New York City, C. W. Lee, president.
- AUGUST 8-13** — Alpha Phi Fraternity, Inc., Chicago, Ill., Sheraton - Chicago Hotel. Lionel H. Newson.
- AUGUST 9-15** — Tau Gamma Delta Sorority, Inc., Pasadena, Calif., Arroyo Motor Hotel. Mrs. Eliza Hamilton, supreme basileus.
- AUGUST 10-14** — National Sorority of Phi Delta Kappa, Washington, D.C., Mayflower Hotel. Mrs. Mabel S. Bouldin, supreme basileus.
- AUGUST 11-15** — National Association of College Women, Los Angeles, Calif., Statler - Hilton. Mrs. Lillian W. McDaniel.
- AUGUST 14-20** — Improved Benevolent Protective Order of Elks of the World, Philadelphia, Pa., Sheraton Hotel. Hobson R. Reynolds.
- AUGUST 14-20** — Grand Temple Daughters I.B.P.O.E. of W., Philadelphia, Pa. Mrs. Nettie B. Smith, grand daughter ruler.
- AUGUST 14-20** — Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite Masons, Atlantic City, N.J. Dr. William J. Fitzpatrick, most powerful sovereign grand commander.
- AUGUST 14-21** — National Grand Chapter Order of the Eastern Star, Atlantic City, N.J. Dr. Julia C. Fitzpatrick, national grand matron.
- AUGUST 15-18** — Supreme Lodge, Knights of Pythias, Sacramento, Calif., Hotel Senator. R. A. Hester, supreme chancellor.
- AUGUST 15-20** — Ancient Egyptian Arabic Order Nobles of the Mystic Shrine, San Francisco, Calif., Hilton Hotel. Thomas Poag, imperial potentate.
- AUGUST 15-20** — Imperial Court - Daughters of Isis, San Francisco, Calif., Hilton Hotel. Mrs. Ercelle Harmon Moore, imperial commandress.
- AUGUST 15-20** — Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Inc., Los Angeles, Calif., Ambassador Hotel. Dr. Geraldine P. Woods, national president.
- AUGUST 16-19** — National Housewives' League of America, St. Louis, Mo., Locust St. YWCA. Mrs. Pearl L. Bell.
- AUGUST 16-20** — National Alliance of Postal Employees, Los Angeles, Calif., Statler - Hilton Hotel. Ashby G. Spivey, president.

After Year of Teaching

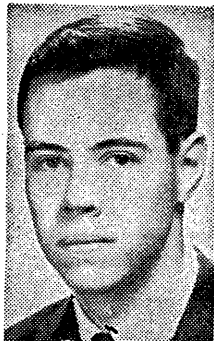
Peace Corps Volunteer Finds Life in Uganda Is Rewarding

By **BOB CUNNINGHAM**

Pictures of a happy and rewarding way of life are drawn by a Knoxville Peace Corps volunteer, stationed at Koboko, Uganda, in East Africa, in letters to his parents over the past year.

He is Arthur Almy Moore, 25, a son of Dr. and Mrs. Merritt H. Moore, Dr. Moore is head of the U-T department of philosophy.

Arthur joined the Peace Corps in January, 1965, and is rounding out the first year of a two-year stay at St. Charles Lwanga College, a mission school in the West Nile District. He is teaching chemistry, math and English. To get various items of equipment to improve conditions at the mission, he resorts to his own ingenuity and the aptitudes and willingness of the native helpers.



Mr. Moore

Arthur graduated from Beardon High School and from Knox College at Galesburg, Ill., and won his master's degree at the University of Wisconsin.

His letters reveal he is happy in his work and associations with the "boys" and the Catholic Fathers who run the mission school.

Before leaving Kampala, the Uganda capital, he wrote: "We took a two-day trip to Fort Portal to deliver medical kits and air freight to a couple of Peace Corps girls. The trip was something! The road was a narrow, twisty, dirt one that you might see back in the mountains at home. It would be suicide to drive over 45 mph on it! The dust was fantastic! When we arrived at Fort Portal and when we got back here, it looked like we had crawled across the Gobi desert!"

EVERY ONE HAS MALARIA

In a letter from Koboko, Arthur said: "In the evening it is so nice to sit and listen to the chanting from the church . . . I have been playing my guitar, reading and getting things going in school. There's very little time to be lonely."

In another letter: "Except for an attack of malaria and killing a deadly green mamba, it's been a fairly quiet week. . . . It's a myth that pills keep you from getting it (malaria). They do keep you from getting it as often or from having the dreadful chills and fever. Oh, well, everyone has it. I now have a mosquito net over my bed."

As to the "deadly green mamba," Arthur wrote: "I decided I had to kill it because I didn't know what it was. I was sorry because it was really a beautiful snake. One of the boys picked it up on a big stick and brought the snake end down hard on the ground. This shook him up considerably, and I walked up with a stout stick and smashed his neck. When he was dying he opened his mouth and showed two big white fangs. I felt a little ill. I cut off his head, mounted it on cardboard and put it in the library with the mouth wide open so the boys could see it."

VEGETABLES AND FRUITS PLENTIFUL

"The people in the northern region are very nice and quite fascinating," he wrote. "They live in round houses with mud walls and

thatched roofs. They store their food in little round houses on stilts. As you drive along you see men coming out of the bush with spears or bows and arrows. I don't know what they hunt. They really seem to live quite well . . . Most wells are covered with pumps. . . .

"We have all kinds of fresh vegetables, plus pineapples, bananas (running out of our ears) lemons, papayas, mangoes. We also have ham, cheese, salami, delicious Italian bread at every meal. We have electricity from 7 to 10 at night so I can read and study.

"This place looks like California. . . . There are low acacia trees, vines of bougainvillea all over. It is so beautiful! Here and there you find frangipani trees which are the most perfumy things I have ever seen. . . . They make any room smell like a boudoir."

COUNTRY HAS SOME LURES

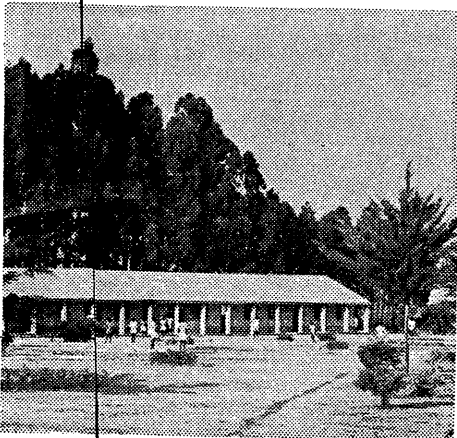
"I was told before I came here that Africa would get under my skin so I wouldn't want to leave. Well, I can feel it happening. I think it is mainly because the people are so psychologically healthy." . . .

"There is little spirit of competition. In fact, when a member of the community starts getting wealthy, he has to give a lot of it away or he will be ostracized. Also the school boys are very polite and gentle. You honestly never hear them talking smart or sassy. And they don't swear, ever! They don't even have swear words in their language. So it makes life pleasant, relaxing.

"We bought a parrot in Kampala and it's a lot of fun. So far it makes only an unbelievable assortment of noises. We're trying to teach it Italian and English at once. We'll probably end up with a schizophrenic parrot. Our pet crow is trying to talk and is much friendlier than that dumb parrot."

"We eat breakfast (including ham and eggs) at 7:30 a.m. and I work on lessons from 8 to 8:30. I am in charge of morning cleaning, so I go around like a policeman. Right now we are organizing the library, building a track and making gymnastic equipment out of eucalyptus trees. . . . I usually play volleyball. I am not so red hot, and the boys get a kick out of watching me stagger around.

"The sun has just set. The bells start ringing, all noise stops. The boys go to their baths and I to my guitar. . . ."



AFRICAN SCENE—Eucalyptus trees tower above a school house in Uganda where Knoxville Arthur A. Moore is a teacher.



a student at Compton College, Compton Calif. This year, was in the District last weekend for a family

Family reunion fetes who earned diplomas

WASHINGTON, an elegant educational air. The family reunion at the home of Ralph and Clara Sanderson, 1415 Holly St., Northwest, last weekend had The honoree was Mrs. Sanderson's father, Daniel Elmore of Compton, Cal.,

MORGAN PARK RESIDENT

George H. Banks, 73, Faith Baptist deacon

BALTIMORE
A Morgan Park resident for 24 years, Deacon George H. Banks, 73, 2333 Ivy Ave., died Friday at Provident Hospital.

Funeral services will be held today (Tuesday) at 6 p.m. at Faith Baptist Church, where he was a deacon.

Burial will be Wednesday at 1 p.m. in the family plot in Smithfield, Va.

Mr. Banks, who was retired four years ago, had been employed at the Bethlehem Steel Co. for 25 years.

and Hannah Banks. Surviving are his wife, Mrs. Victoria Banks, a retired private duty nurse; two daughters, Mrs. Anita Green, Los Angeles; and Mrs. Elsie Costen, of Baltimore;

Also, three sisters, Mrs. Alma Palmer and Mrs. Emma Hunnicutt, both of Newport News, Va.; and Mrs. McCall Crocker, of Portsmouth, Va.

A brother, McKinley Banks of Smithfield; two grandchildren, Albert Thaniel and Mrs. Artis Smalls, both of

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SUNDAY, JANUARY 16, 1966

Taxes for the War

IT NOW TURNS OUT LBJ is proposing to "raise" more taxes than his Wednesday night State-of-the-Union Message indicated.

He did ask Congress to cancel out the telephone and car tax reductions which took effect Jan. 1. (The car tax went down from 7 to 6 per cent and the phone levy from 10 to 3 per cent.) By renegeing on those tax cuts, Treasury Secretary Henry Fowler says the Government can pick up \$1,200,000,000 next year.

Mr. Johnson also said he would urge changes in the personal and corporate income taxes—but specifically said "without raising taxes."

FOWLER NOW TELLS Congress that while the income tax rates won't go up, a speedup in collection will add \$3,200,000,000 to the Federal revenue in 1967. This will be done by requiring "large" corporations to pay all their taxes virtually current with income. And individual withholding rates would be adjusted so practically all of the tax is collected in this manner.

This, of course, is a one-shot way to increase the Government's revenue. In 1968 and thereafter, the Government wouldn't be ahead anything, although it would get the money faster.

So by this and other tinkering with the law, the President figures to get \$4,800,000,000 more in revenue next year without actually increasing tax rates.

Thus far, so good.
This is a starter.

BUT HE STILL INTENDS to blossom out with bigger "Great Society" programs, all costing staggering sums. And his estimators optimistically think they can wind up the fiscal year 1967 with a deficit of what the President described as "only" \$1,800,000,000. (The word "only" is strangely

Two Wrongs in Georgia ^{1/16/66} *Knoxville News-Sentinel*

JULIAN BOND, the youthful Georgia Negro who admires draft-card burners, is about as wrong as anybody could be on this and other questions dealing with the Vietnam war.

But the Georgia House of Representatives is even more wrong in denying him the House seat to which he was elected.

Bond's opinions are extremely unpopular—in fact, they are obnoxious, in our opinion. As publicity director of SNCC, the left-tinged Civil Rights organization, he has been opposing Vietnam policy, urging Americans to avoid the draft and praising the "courage" of draft-card burners.

Nevertheless, he was elected to the House by a large majority. He is accused of no illegal action. In a representative system, he has every right to be seated.

Barring him from the legislature can only hurt the cause of democracy and help those who try to portray the U. S. as a country in which freedom of speech is a mockery.

The city revealed it is adding 500 doctors, lawyers and dentists to its personality tax rolls. When they get the bills, it will probably reveal something about their personality too.

Weaver in the Cabinet

AS THE FIRST HEAD of a new and potentially extremely important Government department, Robert C. Weaver faces both a challenge and an opportunity.

As the first Negro ever nominated to the Cabinet, his task—and his challenge—are doubly difficult.

His new assignment as Secretary of Housing and Urban Development will not be essentially much different from what he has been doing as director of the Housing and Home Finance Agency. The housing program is the heart of the fledgling department's activities. But his performance will have far greater impact.

As he nominated Weaver, President Johnson said "he is as well versed in the urban needs of America as any man I know." And Sen. Willis Robertson (D., Va.), who had opposed Weaver for the housing post, praised his fairness on racial issues.

We wish Weaver well. For we know, as he does, that America's urban needs are great.

Larry O'Brien is still LBJ's top lobbyist as well as top postman. But if he can't get the word to Congress any faster than he can get letters around the country, there won't be any ZIP in the Great Society.

A Question



SOMETIMES, had to spend a in a huge metro and glass and what it is to country. I becc growing things. days ago, in a a book by Ray S who wrote as a the name of D came across th and I realized separated long earth, grow g things.

Baker-Grays might have son many of us. He his successful t mid-passage, a' his "career," t farmer. "From a boy of 17, I

labor or management. And it surely does not advance the interests of the Nation.

I am confident that the overwhelming majority of private decisions in 1966 will be sound and responsible—just as I am determined that public decisions will be fully responsible.

If they are, the American economic miracle will remain in 1966 the single most important force in the economic progress of mankind.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

JANUARY 27, 1966.

DISCUSSION OF THE PRESIDENT'S ECONOMIC REPORT

(Mr. PATMAN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks, and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, today the President transmitted to the Congress his economic report for 1966, reporting on the Nation's remarkable record of expansion to full employment, the maintenance of sound wage-price policies to prevent spiraling inflation, and progress toward strengthening our balance of payments. The President presents a program for the year ahead that promises to make possible further economic progress along these lines at home, while carrying the increasing burdens of our commitments in Vietnam.

The President's economic report, delivered to the Congress today, is nothing less than a great State paper. I recommend a careful reading of this report to every Member of Congress, and to every intelligent citizen. It is the key to a better understanding of how our economy works and what we must do to make it work more effectively.

Thus, the President's annual economic reports, including the reports of his Council of Economic Advisers, play a great educational role in our society. They clearly and objectively summarize the economic progress we have made, they point up the problems our economy faces, and they provide relevant and illuminating analysis of economic issues.

These reports in past years hold words out of such terms as GNP, fiscal policy, productivity, balance-of-payment deficit, and many others. They have brought to many a new understanding of such concepts as the cash and the national income account budgets of the Federal Government, the relationship between balance-of-payment deficits and outflows of gold, the notion of "fiscal drag," and many others.

The economic reports of recent years, and the policies based on them, have taught us why recessions are not inevitable; why in time of slack an unbalanced budget may be appropriate; why prices will rise if wage rates advance faster than labor productivity; how tax cuts can increase Government revenues; and, this year, why fiscal policy must shift from stimulating the economy to restraining it.

These economic reports represent one of the great educational enterprises of our time, in an area of knowledge in which better public understanding is vital to our future.

In accordance with the Employment Act, the President's economic report is referred to the Joint Economic Committee of which I have the honor of serving as chairman during this 89th Congress, and of which I have been a member since its creation in 1946. The law requires our committee to study the President's report and to report to the Congress by March 1 our findings and recommendations on it as a guide to the other committees of Congress.

We plan to begin hearings at once, opening on next Tuesday at 10 a.m. in room AE-1, the Capitol, hearing testimony from the President's Council of Economic Advisers, led by its Chairman, Dr. Gardner Ackley. We will follow that with 7 or 8 days of hearings, with the witnesses including both Government officials and private individuals, as follows:

Wednesday, February 2, 10 a.m., room AE-1, the Capitol: Charles L. Schultze, Director, Bureau of the Budget.

Thursday, February 3, 10 a.m., room AE-1, the Capitol: Henry Hamill Fowler, Secretary of the Treasury.

Friday, February 4, 10 a.m., room AE-1, the Capitol: James G. Patton, national president, National Farmers Union.

Tuesday, February 8, 10 a.m., room 2128, Rayburn Office Building: W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary of Labor; Arthur M. Ross, Commissioner, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Wednesday, February 9, 10 a.m., room 1202, New Senate Office Building: Walter Reuther, chairman, AFL-CIO Economic Policy Committee.

Wednesday, February 9, 2:30 p.m., room 1202, New Senate Office Building: Elisha Gray II, chairman, Whirlpool Corp.

Thursday, February 10, 10 a.m., room AE-1, the Capitol: Neil H. Jacoby, dean, Graduate School of Business Administration, University of California, Los Angeles; Richard A. Musgrave, professor of economics, Harvard University; Robert Solow, professor of economics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Henry W. Briefs, chairman, Department of Economics, Georgetown University.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PATMAN. I am glad to yield to the distinguished majority leader.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I join the distinguished gentleman from Texas in his statement.

(Mr. ALBERT asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

ECONOMICS IN POLICYMAKING

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, the last few years have witnessed an upsurge in the importance of economics that has matched the upsurge in the economy. President Johnson has appointed outstanding experts from the economics departments of the great universities to positions of responsibility in the Budget Bureau, the Federal Reserve Board, the Department of Commerce, AID, as well as to his Council of Economic Advisers. And he has adopted the formula of invigorating purchasing power to speed the economy's progress when it was lagging. The rewards have been dramatic for the entire Nation.

The logic of the economists' recommendations was inescapable and really very simple. The way to make full use of a nation's productive capacity is to give consumers and businessmen enough spendable income to buy the goods and services we can produce. The way to head off recession is to keep a balanced prosperity. The way to maintain price stability is to keep demand within the bounds of productive capacity, not letting imbalances develop.

These simple principles have long been in our textbooks. Now that they are in our policies we have learned that they really work. The theoretical conceptions of social scientists have been turned into better living standards for all our citizens. These principles have brought us toward full employment. They have achieved their mission but now they have a new assignment. Today's job is to maintain the balance of the economy. With the pressures of defense spending there is no call for stimulus from the tax side this year. Indeed, there must be a measure of restraint and that is what the President has requested. Nobody can hope to come up with a definite judgment about what is just the right amount of restraint. The President himself points to all the uncertainties in his economic report. But the President has demonstrated that he can take the best technical advice and turn it into the best practical policies. We can wish him and his economic advisers continued success this year as we commend them for their contributions to economic progress over the past 5 years.

AUTHORIZING THE EXPENDITURE OF CERTAIN FUNDS FOR THE EXPENSES OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on House Administration I send to the desk a privileged report on House Resolution 665 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 665

Resolved, That, effective January 10, 1966, expenses of conducting the investigations authorized by section 18 of rule XI of the Rules of the House of Representatives, incurred by the Committee on Un-American Activities, acting as a whole or by subcommittee, not to exceed \$425,000, including expenditures for employment of experts, special counsel, investigators, and clerical, stenographic, and other assistants, shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the House on vouchers authorized by said committee and signed by the chairman of the committee and approved by the Committee on House Administration.

Sec. 2. That the official stenographers to committees may be used at all hearings, if not otherwise officially engaged.

Sec. 3. No part of the funds authorized by this resolution shall be available for expenditure in connection with the study or investigation of any subject which is being investigated for the same purpose by any other committee of the House, and the chairman of the Committee on Un-American Activities shall furnish the Committee on House Administration information with respect to any study or investigation intended to be financed from such funds.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to extend their remarks on the subject of this resolution.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, I want to commend the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. YATES] for having so cogently stated the case against the Committee on Un-American Activities. I think he has pointed out, as it has been pointed heretofore, that this committee does exceed its jurisdiction and does abuse the rights of witnesses who are called before the committee.

Once again we are asked to appropriate funds for a legislative committee which throughout its history has shown that it does defy the Constitution and has failed to produce significant legislation. In over 27 years of its existence, it has produced exactly four pieces of legislation, and yet during this period of time its expenses have skyrocketed. It is now asking to have \$425,000. If this is approved, it means the 89th Congress will have appropriated \$845,000 to this committee—almost a million dollars. Compare that with today's requests which will come up later for \$400,000 for the Committee on Education and Labor and \$300,000 for the Committee on the Judiciary. Certainly, the two committees I have just mentioned are committees that have very important legislative functions to perform, but they have not come before us with a request anywhere near as large as that of the request of the Committee on Un-American Activities. This committee has repeatedly been one of the biggest spenders in the Congress. In the 88th Congress only four committees received more than its \$660,000 appropriation. It spent more money than Interstate and Foreign Commerce, \$597,450; Education and Labor, \$475,700; Foreign Affairs, \$222,500; and Armed Services, \$150,000.

As for the committee's staffing, it has one of the largest staffs in the House of Representatives. During the period of the last 6 months of 1965, it employed a total of 56 people, the fourth largest staff in the House. It had a larger staff than such committees as Banking and Currency, 44; Judiciary, 38; and Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 37.

This money and this energy is not spent to promote legislation. It is spent to investigate and condemn ideas, ideologies, activities and individuals.

Mr. Speaker, I submit that the Legislature has no constitutional authority to act as a prosecutor or as a jury or as a court. Its function is to pass laws. This committee has constantly failed to do that.

If we look at the record of last year and the record of this legislative committee, there were 11,856 bills introduced in the House. An average of 593 bills were referred to each committee. Yet only 13 bills were referred to the Committee on Un-American Activities, the fourth most costly and the fourth most heavily staffed, and 10 of those 13

bills were identical. In other words, it had before it three legislative proposals and reported out one bill, the proposal to create a Freedom Commission and a Freedom Academy.

In the last analysis, the committee's inaction is really inevitable. It stems from the fact that the committee has no valid legislative function. The few bills that are referred to it properly belong within the jurisdiction of other committees. For instance, the two bills to amend the Subversive Activities Control Act, are almost identical with H.R. 5162. They all authorize the Federal Government to guard defense security systems. H.R. 5162 was referred to the Judiciary Committee; yet the bills to amend the Subversive Activities Control Act were sent to the Un-American Activities Committee. The bill to amend the Internal Security Act so as to provide closer court surveillance should also have been sent to the Judiciary Committee. Significantly, when a Freedom Academy bill was proposed in the Senate, it was appropriately referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Now one might wonder how so much money is spent. The committee would explain it away by saying the money is spent by a staff which must be very large and very, very careful to investigate every aspect of cases before the committee begins its hearings.

But the tragic truth is the committee is virtually never prepared to get information from its witnesses or to prove its charges.

In 1965 the committee held four hearings. Two of these—congressional testimony for the Freedom Academy and Miss Juanita Castro's description of Cuba presumably required little or no investigative work. The \$420,000 and 56-man staff must have all been used for what our colleague, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. ASHBROOK], last year described as "extensive, unheralded work in advance of hearings so that our every move will, on the one hand, protect all of those concerned while on the other conform to very definite constitutional requisites."

The investigation in Chicago to which our colleague, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. YATES], referred makes it clear that the investigators are unable to furnish proof of the committee's accusations and that the committee is uninterested in protecting witnesses against unsubstantiated charges.

Let me read an account of the committee's activity which appeared in the Chicago Daily News last May 29. I think this account is significant because it shows the methods of this committee:

On Thursday afternoon, Mrs. Laura Blough, 34, of San Francisco, was in the witness chair and already had pleaded the fifth amendment several times when Staff Counsel Alfred M. Nittle began:

"It is the information of the committee that you were contacted by Dr. Stanler and advised by him that you were one of the persons chosen to give up your identity and move to other areas in case Communist leaders were put away."

From there he went on to ask if Mrs. Blough was "aware that Dr. Stanler was one of those in charge of setting up the Communist Party underground" in the early 1950's.

Up to this point no single witness under oath had so much as mentioned Stanler's name.

Thus, he stood, identified as a Communist not in any testimony and not even in a statement of fact, but in a question.

There was no way for Stanler to know where the information came from, no opportunity to confront his accuser.

The treatment accorded Mrs. Hall and Mrs. Stanler was even more remarkable. They never were identified as Communists except by Nittle—and in questions, not statements.

That is from the Saturday, May 29, 1965, issue of the Chicago Daily News. That is the record of this committee.

The real purpose of such investigations, of course, is not legislation but propaganda. Though the committee later said that the hearings had produced useful material, almost all of it came from two witnesses, both of whom were, at one time or another, in the employ of the FBI. As for Dr. Stanler, the committee's staff, which is supposed to investigate all evidence so carefully before hearings commence, had not even tried to talk with him before he was subpoenaed.

Our colleague, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. POOL] stressed the propaganda function of the committee in a speech last spring which Mr. ASHBROOK read into the record. He said:

Our purpose in having Miss Castro speak to the committee was to put in public record reliable information refuting the propaganda spread by the Cuban Government and the American students who had visited there since the revolution.

Another aspect of the committee's propaganda function is its distribution of literature. In past years I have noted that these publications have been printed at great cost to the Government. It is interesting that this year the committee curtailed its publishing activities somewhat, receiving \$13,053 for printing expenses. I might note that the Committee on House Administration can take part of the credit for that achievement. Each of the five times funds were requested, the House Administration Committee recommended that there be printed precisely half as many pamphlets as the Un-American Activities Committee had sought.

Mr. Speaker, this year the Un-American Activities Committee altered its role somewhat by attacking the far right instead of the far left in its fourth hearing. Admittedly the investigation of the Ku Klux Klan makes for a cloudier case against the committee, since there is a clear need for effective Federal legislation to deal with violence.

But the proper forum in which to consider such legislation is the Judiciary Committee. The political beliefs of the Ku Klux Klan should not be the subject of a legislative investigation. What needs to be investigated are the Klan's criminal activities. As I said when this question was before us on last April 14, the goal should be the development of criminal laws to deal with those who are engaged in criminal acts to prevent civil rights activity. The Judiciary Committee has undeniable jurisdiction over civil rights legislation and Federal criminal statutes. It is no excuse to say that the

With the following committee amendment:

Page 1, line 1, strike out "1965" and insert "1966".

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. YATES].

(Mr. YATES asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, in the past I have voted to provide funds for the Committee on Un-American Activities. However, if there is a record vote, I propose to vote against the funds today. I have taken the position in the past that where the House has established a standing committee, that committee should be given the benefit of any doubts I might have. Obviously, if that committee is to function it has to have funds.

However, Mr. Speaker, after having observed the manner in which activities of the committee were performed in its hearings in Chicago last May I have changed my mind. If that was a representative sample of the way it conducts its hearings, I do not think the committee serves a useful purpose.

Mr. Speaker, I followed those hearings quite closely, and I would say in all candor I do not know what the committee intended to accomplish in Chicago.

Mr. Speaker, I read the long opening statement made by my friend, the distinguished gentleman from Louisiana, the chairman of the committee [Mr. WILLIS]. If there was any relationship between the statement that he read into the RECORD and what the committee tried to do, it was purely coincidental.

Mr. Speaker, when the committee left Chicago its purpose was still wrapped in mystery. If one may use Winston Churchill's classic phrase about Russia, "It was a riddle, wrapped in a mystery, inside an enigma."

The chairman said the committee was seeking factual information respecting the activities of the Communist Party. If any such information was received it was not apparent to the public.

The only testimony taken at those hearings that did not result in the fifth amendment being presented by several of the witnesses, was the testimony given by the committee's own witnesses. They testified to the effect that they had heard in conversation with another person that the witnesses called before the committee in Chicago had been members of the Communist Party.

Mr. Speaker, I do not know whether the information they furnished is true or not. But I do not believe hearsay statements give the type of information on which the committee should act in an important matter of this kind where a person's liberty may be at stake.

Mr. Speaker, the point I make is this: This was not new evidence to the committee. The information that was testified to by its witnesses was information the committee had had in its possession for many years. It has been in its files for many years. The hearings were a rehash in public of information the committee knew in private.

What, then, was the purpose of calling these hearings in Chicago? Was it to educate the public? Was this the purpose of the committee—solely that of exposure?

Mr. Speaker, if this were the purpose of the committee, as I understand the law as stated in both the Watkins case and the Barenblatt case, the committee exceeded its authority.

Mr. Speaker, the Supreme Court is clear on that particular point.

I shall not comment with reference to the conduct of the committee with respect to the treatment of the witnesses. This has already received the critical comment of the newspapers of Chicago. Let it suffice to say I believe there is much that remains to be done by this House in drafting a code of procedures for its committee, particularly this committee, which will protect the rights of witnesses who appear before it.

Mr. Speaker, we have talked about this over the years. From time to time there have been revisions in the rules of this committee, but they are not nearly adequate. Much remains that has to be done.

Mr. Speaker, I hope we will look into this question in order to protect the rights of witnesses who appear, particularly when those witnesses are faced with the possibility of going to jail as a result of testimony which they give or which they do not give.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I believe sincerely that there is need for a committee of this House to exercise supervision over matters of internal security. However, I do not believe that committee is the Committee on Un-American Activities. I believe it is the Committee on the Judiciary, which now has jurisdiction over matters of espionage and sabotage. I have filed a bill designed to transfer the jurisdiction of this committee to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. Speaker, the hearings of the Committee on the Judiciary are conducted with dignity and with decorum, without the explosiveness without the fanfare and the exhibitionism that have marked the hearings of this Committee on Un-American Activities over many years.

In my view matters of the kind that are being presented by this committee and over which it has jurisdiction, should logically and reasonably be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

It will be argued, Mr. Speaker, that this committee investigation of the Klan will be jeopardized. I believe the Ku Klux Klan should be investigated and I voted for its investigation. At the time the investigation was authorized, I said I thought the investigation should be made by the Judiciary Committee, as it should be because that committee has jurisdiction over the Federal Criminal Code. The hearings and any recommendations of this committee will have to be referred to the Judiciary Committee for its consideration. It would be well for that committee to take jurisdiction as quickly as possible.

Mr. Speaker, for the reasons I have advanced, I shall vote today against this appropriation.

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. PUCINSKI].

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I would like to congratulate my colleague, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. YATES] for his forthright statement. While I intend to vote for this appropriation, I do want to join my colleague and I do hope the House will join him in his plea for setting up a code of procedures for the House Un-American Committee. There is no question, if you look at what happened in Chicago and perhaps in other parts of the country, that this committee has trampled upon the rights of individuals and has tried to prejudice them before an iota of evidence was formally before them. I think the gentleman from Illinois has made a strong case for an effective code to regulate the hearings of this committee. I think the cause of trying to ferret out those who would subvert the best interests of America is very often seriously impaired by the unjudicious conduct of the committee in its public treatment of witnesses. We Americans pride ourselves in our strong belief in the spirit of fairplay and justice. No one in this Chamber could ever accuse me of being soft on communism but just as hard as I work to defeat communism wherever it threatens our existence as free Americans whether at home or abroad, I would never see our country adopt the gunshot tactics of those we fight. We have seen witnesses called before the committee in open session and cross-examined without benefit of learning who their accusers are.

I do hope that a code of procedure, one that will protect the dignity of this House and the rights of witnesses, is going to be approved by this House as quickly as possible. I am certain the American people agree that Congress should have an instrument with which to legislate against the subversion of those who would destroy our freedom but I think the American people want this done within the basic safeguards of our Constitution. There is not a court in the country that would tolerate some of the quasi-judicial conduct demonstrated before the committee.

It is my hope the committee itself would enunciate a code of conduct to protect the highest standards of this Congress and our Constitution. I am certain our fight against subversion and subversives would be more productive and successful.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. RYAN].

(Mr. RYAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, earlier this week we were advised that there would be no legislative business before the House this week, and certainly no controversial issues. Consequently, there are a number of Members I know who would have wanted to speak on this matter but who are not present today.

bases, I will not permit this question to be asked in any hearing.

Of course, one hears a great deal about the right of free speech and the denial of this and of that. Certainly there is no denial of free speech in our hearings. As a matter of fact, oftentimes—and the witnesses have a right to refuse to answer questions under certain circumstances, of course—some of them do not speak enough. We subpoena them, hoping they will fully exercise their free speech rights, telling us at great length all they know about the matter we are investigating. But they do not do it. They voluntarily curb the exercise of their free speech. We do not do it.

Certain things have been said on the floor today about a witness concerning whom my lips are temporarily sealed. I cannot answer about certain individuals at this time and I am not going to do it. But let me tell you that I have never been party to and have never engaged in preparing an investigation unless I believed, after very careful study, that something ought to be done and had the unanimous approval of the committee to undertake the investigation.

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WILLIS. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. YATES. The gentleman is responding to the question of the distinguished gentleman from Iowa, and has indicated that there was no unfair allusion to Communist membership in connection with the questions which were asked by the counsel for the committee of the witnesses who appeared.

Mr. WILLIS. I said that if any "fishing questions" were asked, that lawyer would be fired.

Mr. YATES. Then I suggest, if I may, with due respect to the gentleman, that he ought to take a look at the transcript of the record made in Chicago, and look at his counsel's questions.

Mr. WILLIS. I was there. I presided. I know the record.

Mr. YATES. There were times when the gentleman did not preside.

Mr. WILLIS. Oh, yes; I have heard about that. I have heard of a certain letter being circulated, saying that on frequent occasions I was not there. Does the gentleman know what happened? I was absent for several hours one afternoon because I had pneumonia. The rest of the time I stuck with it, even though I was sick the 3 days of the hearings.

Mr. YATES. I am not criticizing the gentleman for not having been there. I know there are times when a Member must leave a committee hearing. The point I was making is that the question to which I have reference may have been asked in the gentleman's absence.

Mr. WILLIS. Do you know that it was? Is there anything else you would like to ask?

Mr. YATES. Yes, I should like to ask another question.

Mr. WILLIS. Please, my friend, let us not—

Mr. YATES. Let us not get emotional?

Mr. WILLIS. That is right.

Mr. YATES. Let us be dispassionate and objective.

Mr. WILLIS. Yes.

Mr. YATES. Very well; let us try to get the facts. There is a reference in the proceedings, as reported by Chicago newspapers—I have not been able to get a transcript of the hearings, and therefore have not been able to verify this from the record—

Mr. WILLIS. Does the gentleman always believe everything he reads in the newspaper?

Mr. YATES. I thought I told the gentleman I could not obtain a transcript. Of course, I would much prefer to be able to get a copy of the transcript, so that I could verify it; but I was not able to get it. Therefore, for lack of other authority, I went to the newspaper.

The question I should like to ask the gentleman is whether or not the newspaper story is true. I leave that to the gentleman.

Mr. WILLIS. What is the newspaper story?

Mr. YATES. That the first question respecting membership of Dr. Stamler in the Communist Party was asked of another witness by your committee counsel, as to whether or not she knew or had heard that Dr. Stamler had been a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. WILLIS. I chaired the session at which that witness appeared. Did the gentleman read my colloquy with that witness? The newspaper story is not true.

Mr. YATES. Again, I tell the gentleman the record of the proceedings has not been made available.

Mr. WILLIS. That hearing was public. The transcript is available to anyone who wants to read it.

Mr. YATES. I would like to. I wish you would make it available to me.

Mr. WILLIS. Because we had quite a discussion. If I recall—and I am speaking from memory—and the people involved have good lawyers—and I do not want to half-quote or misquote or take anything out of context—but, as I recall it, the transcript will show that that witness was at first expected voluntarily to testify and had so indicated before, and then at the last minute she invoked the fifth amendment, which was all right with me. She had the right to do so.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ALBERT). The time of the gentleman has again expired.

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. WAGGONER].

Mr. WAGGONER. Mr. Speaker, I had not intended to take any time during the consideration of this resolution today, but charges have been made here that the committee chaired by my valued and esteemed colleague from Louisiana has trampled on the rights of certain individuals. I do not think I can let this go and not defend the gentleman from Louisiana, Ed WILLIS, and his committee. If there is a fairminded man in this House of Representatives it is Ed WILLIS. I do not think he would put up for 1 minute with any member of his

committee trampling on the rights of any individual for any reason.

Now, if being asked in closed or open hearings whether or not you are a Communist, or if you know or have heard whether or not another individual is a Communist is trampling on the rights of an individual, then the chips will have to fall where they will. Whoever the shoe fits will have to wear it. For the life of me I cannot understand why any American would be timid about answering such a question. It seems to me that only the un-American would be unresponsive. There is no timidity in me as far as being an American is concerned. I am proud of it. There is a great deal of difference between communism and Americanism. The responsibility of this committee is to seek out un-Americanism wherever they can find it. I support their efforts to do so. I said when we authorized the money to investigate the Ku Klux Klan that I was opposed to un-Americanism wherever it might be found. I reiterate that statement now, whether it be in the Ku Klux Klan, or in one of these left-wing groups who oppose American efforts in opposition to communism in Vietnam. I strongly advocate broadening this investigation to those leftwing groups. Then we will really find out whose ox is being gored.

Mr. Speaker, I support this resolution before us today.

Now I yield to my colleague from New York.

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, does the gentleman believe that any court would tolerate a question by counsel which incorporated a statement based upon hearsay in such a question? That is the issue, due process; the constitutional rights of witnesses.

Mr. WAGGONER. The question which was posed by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. YATES] to the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. WILLIS] earlier today did not necessarily involve hearsay. The question was "are you" or "do you know?" We all know that investigative procedures differ from due process in the courtroom.

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, may I reply to the gentleman inasmuch as he used my name?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. YATES. Mr. Speaker, may I have a half minute, so I can clarify the record?

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 second to the gentleman from Louisiana.

Mr. YATES. If the gentleman will read the remarks he has just made he will see that he justified the propriety for the committee to ask a question as to whether a witness knew or had heard that some other person was a member of the Communist Party. I think upon review, if the gentleman will look at it, he will see that he approved the use of hearsay testimony as evidence of the existence of a fact. When a congressional committee is allowed to accept gossip as truth, we have come a long way from our acceptance of and pride in the American system of justice.

Judiciary Committee was too busy to handle the investigation itself.

The goal of any investigation of the Klan should have been indelibly clear. It should be to come to grips with brutality and murder and to protect American citizens from acts of violence and physical injury, not from speech and propaganda. The investigation by the Un-American Activities Committee has blurred this goal. After years of ignoring the Klan, that it is now, in the view of the committee, "un-American" is irrelevant. The charge against the Klansmen is that they are murderers.

Mr. Speaker, this year the committee is asking more money than ever before to continue its traditional assault on civil liberties. The Chicago hearings once again demonstrated how wanton this assault can be. The Klan hearings can hardly be considered redemptive. It is time, as I have said on other occasions before the House, that we cease to underwrite the undermining of the Bill of Rights.

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, I rise once again to oppose the yearly appropriation for the House Committee on Un-American Activities—\$425,000, the largest appropriation in its 20-year history.

Continuously for the past two decades this House of Representatives, acting through this committee, has destroyed the lives and reputations of American citizens by publicly accusing them of conduct and associations the committee considers undesirable.

This is something the House of Representatives cannot do under the Constitution. This is a legislative trial proscribed in section 9, article I, as a bill of attainder.

It makes no difference if the victim is a Communist, a member of the Ku Klux Klan, or a member of any other organization considered subversive by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. In this country only the judiciary can punish and then only with a jury of 12 men, a lawyer, confrontation of accusers, and all the other safeguards that constitute due process.

The committee over and over calls witnesses and subjects them to publicity and exposure, in effect it convicts them of associations or ideas which are not crimes but which the committee feels are punishable regardless. Loss of reputation and job quickly follow as news of the latest House Committee on Un-American Activities trial is fed to the press.

I urge my colleagues to defeat this bill that will provide the House Committee on Un-American Activities with funds for still another year of attainder.

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. WILLIS].

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Speaker, every time the Committee on Un-American Activities undertakes an investigation, its members must expect some criticism, abuse, vilification and, sometimes, what are probably intended to be subtle threats, acts of harassment and intimidation. Our current investigation of the Ku Klux Klan organizations is no exception. As a matter of fact, in this

investigation, we have encountered even more than the usual degree of employment of such tactics. Speaking for myself personally I would like to give a few illustrations.

Even before commencing the hearings on October 19, 1965, I was warned that it was planned that Klan members in large numbers would descend on my congressional district in an effort to defeat me. On the opening day of the hearings, however, I told Imperial Wizard Robert M. Shelton, of Tuscaloosa, Ala., that I would welcome that move and I challenged and dared him to undertake this project.

On the first day of the hearings, in the wee hours of the morning, there were rappings on the door of my apartment here in Washington every few minutes. I called the police. I cannot, with certainty, say who the intruders were, but I can say that whoever they were, like thieves in the dark, they disappeared before the arrival of the police.

Later on, in my congressional district, during the recess of Congress, I was scheduled to make an address in a certain building on the campus of a small college. Again, I received advance warning that I would have "visitors" on the occasion. And indeed I did. While I was addressing a group of very fine young American citizens, about 20 klansmen appeared. They milled around the building and 2 or 3 of them entered the hall. What they said about me was not very pretty. In fact, what they said was so filthy, dirty, vile, abusive, obscene, and so downright vulgar that I cannot repeat their remarks on the floor of this House.

A few days later, in my little hometown, again in the darkness of night, klansmen appeared and distributed newspaper-size fliers with their fiery cross on the front page. Over 50 of them were strewn on my front lawn. I was taught to believe, Mr. Speaker, that the cross is a symbol of humility, something to bear and not to burn or throw around with intent to terrorize.

Every day the mailman brings to my office and my home more of such abusive and insulting literature which I personally consider to be silly and juvenile, but which is intended, I suppose, according to the workings of the little minds of klansmen, to intimidate me and make me tremble. Big deal.

Night and day my phone rings, and when I answer or when my good wife answers, we hear a click, meaning a hand-up, incoherent insults, or just loud breathing. Again I say, "big deal."

The point I wish to make, Mr. Speaker, is this: These low tactics have not shaken the resolve of any member of the committee. And the fact that we have not been diverted from the job assigned to us, and will not be, has paid off. Here is why:

The greatest strength of klanism in America has been its secrecy. In fact, Mr. Shelton calls himself the imperial wizard of the "invisible" empire. But is that not a silly title now? The committee has ripped this veil of secrecy. The "invisible" empire is no longer so invisible.

And what has been the result? I can assure the Members of this body that the number of Klan meetings held has dropped. I can tell you that attendance at the fewer meetings that are being held has fallen off, that Klan members, and not only members but also Klan officials, are quitting. The fear of the Klan that pervaded certain areas is being dispelled. Former klansmen and Klan officials are not only turning against the Klan, but some have come forward to testify freely, voluntarily, and under oath, and have given the committee firsthand information about the planning and carrying out of some of the ugly and repulsive activities in which Klans engage. I feel certain that more klansmen and former klansmen will be doing the same. It has taken fortitude, courage and "guts" for those who have taken this step to do this and then go back to brave the Klan. They have given the committee valuable information and have made a great contribution to their country and to this Congress by providing the facts on the basis of which the committee can recommend remedial and appropriate legislation.

I should like to conclude with this thought: My friends, I am an American citizen who hails from the South, and I am proud of it. But for the life of me I cannot conceive how joining, or believing in, radical, extreme, or hate groups of any kind, either on the right or on the left, can make me either a better American citizen or a better southerner. I know that all Members here, wherever they hail from, deep down in their hearts, feel the same way about it.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, as a vote of confidence, I do urge that the membership vote overwhelmingly to approve the budgetary requirements of the Committee on Un-American Activities for the year 1966, part of which is to be used to complete the current investigation I have mentioned.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WILLIS. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. An allusion has been made that the rights of citizens have been trampled upon by your committee. Will the gentleman address himself briefly to that allusion?

Mr. WILLIS. Of course, that is one thing we have to endure on the floor. I do not know of any such practice.

Let me say this: The members of my staff and the lawyers on the committee know as well as they live that if, as a "fishing question," they would ask a person, "Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?" They would be fired in 5 minutes. No such thing is permitted. I have told the staff this many times before. I have stated this in the course of our public hearings and on other occasions. If a person is asked, "Are you now, or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?" it means that we have documentary evidence or sworn testimony so identifying him or confidential information from a reliable source to that effect. Unless we have one of these

efforts of Chairman WILLIS, who has led this fight in spite of constant threats made against him by these masters of terrorist activities, deserve the highest praise. He has rendered outstanding service to those innocent citizens who have been persecuted and physically abused because of their desire to exercise the rights guaranteed them by our laws. He has torn off the mask of pseudo-respectability the Ku Klux Klan has sought to wear, and exposed them for what they are.

I feel that there are organizations in addition to Communists, their fronts, and the Ku Klux Klan, which must be looked into closely, as their continuing crusades of hatred and suspicion toward any and all who dare take issue with them, is an acid corroding the very principles upon which democracy depends most for its sustenance and support. For while the Ku Klux Klan masks itself in its best white business sheets and hides from the scrutiny of all upright men, there are other groups who foster fear, hatred, racism, intolerance, religious bigotry and violence, desecrating the very essence of America. I decry both the Communist and other extremist groups whose principles are essentially un-American. These people wrap the American flag round themselves like a bathrobe, demeaning and destroying the ideals of this banner of freedom.

I am referring to organizations such as the John Birch Society, masquerading under the sinister cloak of secrecy and conspiracy; daring to bruit about the idea that this type of secret group is necessary in a society such as ours. As well, the Birch Society's efforts to infiltrate legitimate political organizations in order to bend them to their will, or destroy them from within cannot be tolerated within a pluralistic society. Their goal of imposing their distorted view of life upon the American people must be thwarted. Their efforts to infiltrate and destroy the two-party system have been decry by some members of the Republican Party as individuals, although the Republican Party has yet to censure them by name. Their fostering of the idea that anyone who disagrees with them is a traitor, is an attack upon the right of free discussion and the right to disagree. The Birch Society's fostering of the conspiracy theory of history is an insult to the intelligent, inquiring mind. We know our external enemies. Let us now know those within our gates.

Let us make the same effort to explore and expose the Birch Society as we are doing with the Ku Klux Klan. Let us expose those who try to stampede large numbers of our citizens into accepting totalitarian means to questionable ends, in the name of freedom. Here the House Un-American Activities Committee can perform a useful service. I ask that we direct the committee—not away from the Communists and their tools—but also to other dangerous threats. It is here that we can perform invaluable service by ferreting out groups who would warp the tenets of a true democracy. Let us not forget the lessons of the very recent past so quickly. Extremism in the pursuit of

liberty is not a virtue. For extremism is a destroyer of liberty, not its preserver.

Let the House Un-American Activities Committee tear away the masks of the superpatriot, those of righteousness and selflessness that these false prophets don so adroitly. Let the committee act as it should—in the spirit of democracy—so that the greatest of our rights shall be guaranteed to the least of our citizens.

Finally, I feel that the House Judiciary Committee already has a mandate for this particular type of investigative activity. I hope that it will proceed along these lines as well.

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from California [Mr. REES].

(Mr. REES asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

[Mr. REES addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from New York [Mr. FARBSTEIN].

(Mr. FARBSTEIN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, in the early days of the first session of this Congress, I stood before you to oppose further appropriations for the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Once again we are requested, through appropriations, to sanction activities of this House standing committee, for which we are responsible.

I ask, as I have in the past, How long do we perpetuate the committee's dialog without a serious and responsible interchange of views on its record and role?

I protest the committee's practice of investigations which by their very nature are exercises in predestined futility aimed at exposure rather than legislation. This practice becomes even more shocking and unpalatable when the mere subpoenaing of a witness before the committee brands him as suspect and an aura of guilt immediately surrounds him—regardless of his possible innocence.

American citizens under our free democratic system have a time-honored and constitutionally guaranteed privilege to petition their Government. Today we are faced with actual cases where our citizens are exercising this privilege in many areas of national concern. Marches against administration policy in Vietnam, civil rights demonstrations, labor-management disputes, arms control and nuclear proliferation, peace demonstrations, are all areas where, as Americans, our citizens have a right to make known their views.

Yet we are asked to sanction—no, support—the Committee on Un-American Activities which could indict these same citizens as un-American. No one has yet defined in clear legal terms the words "un-American." Voices raised offering alternatives to national actions in this time of national and international de-

velopment and peril must not be silenced through fear of the "un-American" label. A belief in individual motives has been an important factor in the growth of our Nation. We should not lightly sanction any committee which through its repeated action would slur the motives of these individuals and groups by attaching an aura of guilt through mere congressional subpoenaing.

I ask my colleagues, Is to disagree to be un-American? The ability to disagree freely without fear is one of the characteristics which distinguishes this Nation from controlled societies. I protest any unwarranted intervention in my constituents' right to plead a cause freely and without fear of defamation.

For these reasons, I oppose the requested appropriation and ask that the Congress carefully review the mandate of the committee.

Mr. BURLESON. Mr. Speaker, the very existence of the Committee on Un-American Activities has had and will continue to have a salutary effect. The volume of legislation it produces is not a test of justification for its support.

This Congress has a responsibility to keep informed on un-American acts and intents in this country and this is our only machinery for doing so. Of course we have Federal agencies to investigate and prosecute subversive and seditious acts committed against our Government and I think a good job is done but the enforcement agencies do not and cannot fill the need of the Congress to be informed. In specifics the agencies are not supposed to act in this capacity.

This committee must be continued and the funds provided appear to be reasonable.

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, I am opposed to granting the increased appropriations for the House Committee on Un-American Activities. When many necessary and worthwhile domestic programs are expected to be cut back in this session of Congress, I do not see how we can justify an increase in funds for this committee.

My primary objection to the HCUA is that its principal activities are not aimed at legislation, but rather at investigating and exposing individuals or organizations.

The committee has been in existence since 1938. Its record of legislative accomplishment is minuscule. Only three laws have resulted from bills reported out by the committee—the Internal Security Act of 1950, the Communist Control Act of 1954, and a bill passed in 1962 to eliminate an error in the 1950 act.

This meager set of laws has had little legal effect. The Internal Security Act of 1950 has not resulted in a single organization or individual registering under its major provision—The Subversive Activities Control Act—nor has anyone been imprisoned for failing to register. The 1954 Act has been utilized only once, and then unsuccessfully.

But if the committee has accomplished little in its legislative function, it has been active in its investigative function. Unfortunately, the investigative work by the committee has not been

Mr. WAGGONNER. I think the gentleman will find hearsay evidence produces more investigative evidence leading to convictions and brings more people into the courtroom than anything else. I have heard in law enforcement work a good reliable informer is worth a dozen clues any day. A good American will, I believe, gladly provide any information he has involving anyone un-American.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 10 minutes to my colleague from Alabama [Mr. DICKINSON].

Mr. DICKINSON. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the House Committee on Administration and its Subcommittee on Accounts, I should like to state that the committee approved unanimously the resolution calling for \$425,000 for the next year's operation of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. I should also like to explain that the slight increase over the previous appropriation is merely to meet increases in costs caused by the Government-wide pay increase.

The Un-American Activities Committee has done a splendid job over the years investigating subversive organizations and persons allied with them so that the House would be in a position to legislate to meet threats to our way of life.

This year, while this committee has been investigating the Ku Klux Klan, the clamor of the claue of professional liberals against its continued operations has been stilled.

It would be my hope that if the next ox gored by the committee, say an investigation of the Black Muslims, is not as popular with the leftists, that they will, nevertheless, have the grace to remain silent as a tribute to the fact the committee has, and will, look into organizations of all creeds and colors which may jeopardize our Nation and its institutions. To many, the Communists, with whom we are fighting a war in Vietnam, are still the chief immediate danger to our internal security.

The Committee on Un-American Activities has, and is, serving the Congress and the American people well. I am sure it will continue to do so in the future.

I ask, therefore, that all Members of the House support this resolution which I have the honor to introduce.

At this time, at the request of my colleague from Alabama, I would like to yield to Mr. BUCHANAN.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Klan subcommittee and of the full committee, I think the RECORD should reflect that the minority side of this committee fully support the chairman's request, and joins in it.

Also I would like to state as a member of the Klan subcommittee, and other subcommittees, that the chairman has at all times conducted our hearings in my presence in a manner that is judicious, dignified and fair. This distinguished member of the House Committee on the Judiciary, and the chairman of four subcommittees of that committee, has set an example for dignity and fairness in congressional hearings in our day.

In seeking the necessary funds to complete the Klan investigation, the committee is simply completing an assigned task which the Congress overwhelmingly endorsed in its approval of appropriations for this purpose last year. In the balance of the requested budget are the funds necessary for the conduct of the committee's continuing work in the area of Communist subversion. Surely the Congress will once again reflect the tremendous support which this committee has among the people of our country, by voting to authorize this budget to permit the House Committee on Un-American Activities to fulfill its responsibilities to the American people in the field of internal security in 1966.

Mr. Speaker, I join in urging the adoption of this resolution.

(Mr. BUCHANAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DICKINSON. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, during the consideration of the sugar bill last year the question of the Foreign Agents Registration Act came up. That is the act under which the foreign sugar lobby is required to register.

In the course of the discussion of that bill I offered an amendment which I hoped would be accepted and would have the effect of eliminating this very unfortunate lobby.

But the response I received from the gentleman who is chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities was that my amendment was not the way to go about the improvement of the situation with reference to the foreign sugar lobby; that the correct approach was to improve the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

Mr. Speaker, it so happens that this act originated in the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Therefore, I would like to ask the gentleman, the chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, if as chairman of the committee or as a member of the Committee on the Judiciary, we can hope that there will be some action soon to improve the Foreign Agents Registration Act?

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FINDLEY. I yield to the gentleman from Louisiana.

Mr. WILLIS. I am answering as a member of the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. FINDLEY. Fine.

Mr. WILLIS. We did conduct hearings last year on that issue. As a matter of fact, this week I discussed the matter with the chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary, and we expect to move forward on that piece of legislation.

Mr. FINDLEY. May I ask the gentleman why the House Committee on Un-American Activities has not undertaken the improvement of the Foreign Agents Registration Act? If the committee would do so, it would certainly make this resolution all the more appealing to me.

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Speaker, if the

gentleman will yield further, the gentleman will have to ask the other body about this. That particular amendment to the Foreign Agents Registration Act was acted upon by the other body and it was sent to the House of Representatives for its action and then referred to the Committee on the Judiciary. That is the tenor of the amendments made to the act by the other body. The issue is different. Certainly, I imagine that my good friend would not intimate that whatever it is, the sugar lobby has nothing to do with communism. But, as I say, that is a different issue.

Mr. FINDLEY. I assume that the other body—

Mr. WILLIS. The tenor of the amendments proposed in the other body was along the line of the jurisdiction of the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. FINDLEY. I realize that, but the act itself originated in the Un-American Activities Committee, and I assume that the action by the other body would not preclude your committee from initiating legislation to reform the act.

Mr. WILLIS. It would not preclude it, no.

Mr. DICKINSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ALBERT). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alabama?

There was no objection.

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from California [Mr. BURTON].

(Mr. BURTON of California asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

[Mr. BURTON of California addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from New York [Mr. WOLFF].

(Mr. WOLFF asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, much has been said both for and against the activities of the House Un-American Activities Committee. Today we vote for an appropriation for future activities, not the past. In the future, the role of the committee must be more clearly defined, and a set of operating rules laid down so that some of its egregious infringements upon guaranteed rights of our citizens shall not again be inflicted.

I have said in the past and reiterate that I believe this Nation has the duty to protect itself against those ideologies, internal as well as external, which would destroy our way of life, and weaken our ability to protect ourselves from our enemies. We must be ever vigilant against the spurious indoctrinations of both extreme right and left as they seek to enforce their dogma upon the American people.

The current investigation of the Ku Klux Klan is a necessary and important piece of work. It must continue. This is why I support the appropriation. The

NAYS—24

Annunzio	Fraser	Ottinger
Brown, Calif.	Gilbert	Rees
Burton, Calif.	Green, Oreg.	Rosenthal
Diggs	Kastenmeier	Roybal
Dingell	Leggett	Ryan
Dow	Mackie	Scheuer
Duncan, Oreg.	Nedzi	Sivian
Farbstein	O'Hara, Ill.	Yates

NOT VOTING—109

Abbitt	Farnsley	Moorhead
Arends	Flynt	Morse
Ashbrook	Fogarty	Nix
Ashley	Foley	O'Brien
Baldwin	Fuqua	O'Neill, Mass.
Barrett	Gaiimo	Passman
Bell	Gibbons	Philbin
Bingham	Grabowski	Pool
Blatnik	Gray	Powell
Brademas	Grider	Price
Callaway	Grover	Purcell
Cameron	Gubser	Reifel
Carey	Hagen, Calif.	Reinecke
Chelf	Hansen, Wash.	Resnick
Clancy	Harvey, Ind.	Rhodes, Ariz.
Clausen,	Harvey, Mich.	Roberts
Don H.	Hathaway	Ronan
Cleveland	Hawkins	Roncallo
Clevenger	Helstoski	Roudebush
Collier	Jacobs	Secret
Conyers	Jarman	Shiple
Cooley	Johnson, Okla.	Shriver
Craley	Jones, Ala.	Skubitz
Cunningham	King, Calif.	Smith, Va.
Dague	King, N.Y.	Stephens
Dawson	Kluczynski	Teague, Tex.
de la Garza	Kunkel	Thomas
Dent	Latta	Thompson, N.J.
Derwinski	Long, La.	Toll
Devine	McCarthy	Trimble
Donohue	McClary	Udall
Edmondson	McMillan	Vigorito
Edwards, Calif.	McVicker	Watkins
Edwards, La.	Macdonald	Watson
Ellsworth	Mailliard	Weltner
Erlenborn	Matthews	Wilson, Bob
Everett	Mize	

So the resolution was agreed to.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

On this vote:

Mr. Toll for, with Mr. Conyers against.
 Mr. Passman for, with Mr. Bingham against.
 Mr. Pool for, with Mr. Edwards of California against.
 Mr. Roberts for, with Mr. Resnick against.
 Mr. Trimble for, with Mr. Hawkins against.
 Mr. O'Neill of Massachusetts with Mr. Ronan against.

Until further notice:

Mr. Fogarty with Mr. Arends.
 Mr. O'Neill of Massachusetts with Mr. Morse of Massachusetts.
 Mr. Philbin with Mr. Cleveland.
 Mr. Donohue with Mr. King of New York.
 Mr. Macdonald with Mr. Baldwin.
 Mr. Edwards of Louisiana with Mr. Harvey of Michigan.
 Mr. Long of Louisiana with Mr. Gubser.
 Mr. Cooley with Mr. Ellsworth.
 Mr. Teague of Texas with Mr. Clancy.
 Mr. Blatnik with Mr. Bell.
 Mr. Barrett with Mr. Bob Wilson.
 Mr. King of California with Mr. Grover.
 Mr. Jones of Alabama with Mr. Devine.
 Mr. Thompson of New Jersey with Mr. Cunningham.
 Mr. O'Brien with Mr. Don Clausen.
 Mr. Gray with Mr. Latta.
 Mr. Price with Mr. Rhodes of Arizona.
 Mr. Gaiimo with Mr. Shriver.
 Mr. Dent with Mr. Watkins.
 Mr. Chelf with Mr. Roudebush.
 Mr. Carey with Mr. Erlenborn.
 Mr. Jarman with Mr. Ashbrook.
 Mr. Helstoski with Mr. Collier.
 Mr. Kluczynski with Mr. Reifel.
 Mr. Matthews with Mr. Skubitz.
 Mr. Grabowski with Mr. Mailliard.
 Mr. Nix with Mr. Kunkel.
 Mr. Everett with Mr. Calloway.
 Mr. Fuqua with Mr. Dague.

Mr. Edmondson with Mr. Harvey of Indiana.
 Mr. Cameron with Mr. Mize.
 Mr. Ashley with Mr. Reinecke.
 Mr. Abbitt with Mr. Derwinski.
 Mr. McCarthy with Mr. Watson.
 Mr. Brademas with Mr. McClary.
 Mr. Thomas with Mr. Shipley.
 Mr. Secrest with Mr. Roncallo.
 Mr. Weltner with Mr. Vigorito.
 Mr. Udall with Mr. Hagen of California.
 Mr. Gibbons with Mr. Farnsley.
 Mr. Moorhead with Mr. McMillan.
 Mr. Stephens with Mr. McVicker.
 Mr. Purcell with Mr. Jacobs.
 Mr. Flynt with Mr. de la Garza.
 Mrs. Hansen of Washington with Mr. Dawson.
 Mr. Cooley with Mr. Clevenger.
 Mr. Grider with Mr. Hathaway.
 Mr. Foley with Mr. Powell.

Mr. SCHEUER changed his vote from "yea" to "nay."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The doors were opened.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

TO PROVIDE FUNDS FOR THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on House Administration, I send to the desk a privileged report on House Resolution 638 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 638

Resolved, That the additional expenses of conducting the studies and investigations authorized by H. Res. 19 of the Eighty-ninth Congress, incurred by the Committee on the Judiciary, acting as a whole or by subcommittee, not to exceed \$300,000 including expenditures for the employment of experts, special counsel, clerical, stenographic, and other assistants, and all expenses necessary for travel and subsistence incurred by members and employees while engaged in the activities of the committee or any subcommittee thereof, shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the House on vouchers authorized by such committee signed by the chairman of such committee and approved by the Committee on House Administration. Sec. 2. No part of the funds authorized by this resolution shall be available for expenditure in connection with the study of investigation of any subject which is being investigated for the same purpose by any other committee of the House, and the chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary shall furnish the Committee on House Administration information with respect to any study or investigation intended to be financed from such funds.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FRIEDEL. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Maryland for yielding.

I would like to take this opportunity to say that I have been deeply disturbed by the Supreme Court decision in the case of the two Federal judges who apparently are feuding in Oklahoma. I know nothing of the merits or demerits of this controversy.

But if the regional judicial council has been armed with the authority, for all practical purposes, to impeach a Fed-

eral judge, it is high time the House Committee on the Judiciary or some other committee of the Congress started an investigation to find out why this power has been delegated or whether the power has been usurped by the judicial council. I say again, Mr. Speaker, that I am deeply disturbed by the fact that this jurist, Judge Chandler by name, has been stripped of all judicial duties but retains the title of a Federal judge and still draws \$30,000 a year.

I see the distinguished chairman of the House Committee on the Judiciary on the floor. If the gentleman from Maryland would yield further, I would appreciate the gentleman from New York [Mr. CELLER] at this time to tell the House when the judicial council was armed by the Congress with the power to strip a Federal judge of his prerogatives. I had always supposed that under the Constitution, the impeachment of a Federal judge rested with the Congress of the United States, the House of Representatives preferring charges and the Senate conducting the trial. Can the gentleman help us on this and in his answer give assurance that the Committee on the Judiciary will do something about this situation?

Mr. FRIEDEL. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from New York, the chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary [Mr. CELLER], to answer the question asked by the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GROSS].

Mr. CELLER. The gentleman from Iowa raises a very interesting question. When we adopted the legislation setting up the judicial councils in the various circuits, it was done for so-called house-keeping purposes and to improve judicial administration of the work of the courts.

There is a dispute as to whether or not the judicial council has the powers that the gentleman from Iowa refers to; namely, to strip a judge of almost all his judicial functions by depriving him of any assignment of any cases whatsoever. All he has now is the salary he receives and the name of judge, but I want to say to the gentleman that the matter has been before the Supreme Court of the United States on an application for a stay and the Supreme Court refused the interlocutory order. Until the Supreme Court acts, I do not think it would be meet or proper for the Committee on the Judiciary to intervene. We have an unvarying rule in the Committee on the Judiciary not to infringe upon the powers of courts if there is a proceeding in a court and we usually like to have the proceeding take its usual course rather than have the Committee on the Judiciary intervene or exercise or express its particular judgment on the particular matter or transaction in the judicial branch.

I would say to the gentleman, we have this matter in mind but we are waiting for the Supreme Court to render its decision and then we can take whatever appropriate action that will be necessary.

Mr. GROSS. Has not the Supreme Court already sustained the action of the regional judicial council?

of the type that would assist in developing legislation.

Instead, the committee revives events that occurred decades ago, it publicizes information that has already been gathered in executive session. It spends day after day questioning witnesses who the committee knows will refuse to give any answers.

The HCUA has used methods which have outraged the communities where it has put on its hearings. The hearings conducted last year in Chicago followed the usual pattern of the committee. For 3 days the HCUA went through the motions of a public hearing, but only two witnesses testified and both of them were FBI informers, raking over material already in Government files. Three of Chicago's four daily newspapers, all of them normally Republican in their opinions, editorially condemned the committee's performance.

A congressional committee should not have as its primary concern the investigation and exposure of individuals. This is necessary not only to uphold our basic concepts of government, but for practical reasons. If there is a need to prosecute an individual, this should be done by law within constitutional limits with due process observed.

It is a legitimate function of Congress to be informed about the character and activity of the Communist Party or the Ku Klux Klan, or any other subversive organization.

But if this concern with subversive organizations is to result in useful legislation, the hearings and investigation should deal with such matters as the character of the organization and its activities, not merely in exposure which lies outside the authority of Congress.

As I have said in the past, I advocate transferring the activities of the HCUA to a subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee, where the results of hearings would be more likely to be directed toward legislation, rather than exposure for exposure's sake.

Because the committee has continued to harass individuals rather than pursue legitimate legislative inquiries, I feel that it would be a mistake for the Members of this House to grant increased appropriations for the activities of the HCUA.

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, the House of Representatives is again called on to express itself in approving or disapproving of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. We are asked to do this by means of a vote on a resolution providing for funds for current operation of that committee. This is not a new question for me and on each occasion in prior years, I have voted against the committee's appropriation. I do so again today. The reason I oppose the committee is because I fundamentally disagree with the purpose of the committee as expressed by its own activities over the years. Its proceedings have always been controversial and seem to have been partially responsible for the riotous behavior often attendant to its proceedings.

Having said this, Mr. Speaker, I wish to make it absolutely clear that I do not criticize the distinguished chairman of

this committee or its members. The gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. WILLIS], is well known to me through our association on the Committee on the Judiciary to be an individual of great competence and fairness, and I wish to make it clear my opposition to the House Committee on Un-American Activities is based on institutional rather than personal grounds.

Mr. Speaker, some day I would hope that the House of Representatives in its wisdom would confer upon the Judiciary Committee responsibility for occasional legislative activity in the field of internal security matters and would, having done so, end the life of the Committee on Un-American Activities. Once this is done, the more contentious questions involving the individual constitutional freedoms arising out of the committee's existence can be disposed of finally.

Mr. CALLAWAY. Mr. Speaker, I am indeed in favor of House Resolution 665 to provide operational funds for the House Un-American Activities Committee.

While the record shows that I am strongly opposed to unnecessary and unwarranted Government spending, I would under any circumstances consider the HUAC funds to be money well and properly spent. However, recent developments across the country have made me ever more aware of the need for this important committee. On the heels of all the recent anti-American and un-American demonstrations across the country, I was visited this week by an organization called the Committee To Abolish HUAC, who presented me with some literature stating their reasons for wanting to abolish the committee. Mr. Speaker, I was baffled. Nowhere among their various reasons—reasons such as "HUAC is unconstitutional"—did they seem to show the slightest interest in the committee's purpose: the protection of our people and our Nation through investigation of those who would bring us harm.

Events such as this, Mr. Speaker, make me ever more aware of our responsibility as representatives of the people to carry on the work of the House Un-American Activities Committee.

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time.

Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ALBERT). Without objection, the previous question is ordered.

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the resolution.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the "ayes" appeared to have it.

Mr. HALL. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Evidently a quorum is not present.

The Doorkeeper will close the doors, the Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members, and the Clerk will call the roll.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 299, nays 24; not voting 109, as follows:

Abernethy	Gilligan	Nelsen
Adair	Gonzalez	O'Hara, Mich.
Adams	Goodell	O'Konski
Addabbo	Green, Pa.	Olsen, Mont.
Albert	Greigg	Olsen, Minn.
Anderson, Ill.	Griffin	O'Neal, Ga.
Anderson,	Griffiths	Patman
Tenn.	Gross	Patten
Andrews,	Gurney	Felly
George W.	Hagan, Ga.	Pepper
Andrews,	Haley	Perkins
Glenn	Hall	Pickle
Andrews,	Halleck	Pike
N. Dak.	Halpern	Pirnie
Ashmore	Hamilton	Poage
Aspinall	Hanley	Poff
Ayres	Hanna	Pucinski
Bandstra	Hansen, Idaho	Quie
Baring	Hansen, Iowa	Quillen
Bates	Hardy	Race
Battin	Harris	Randall
Beckworth	Harsha	Redin
Belcher	Hays	Reid, Ill.
Bennett	Hébert	Reid, N.Y.
Berry	Hechler	Reuss
Betts	Henderson	Rhodes, Pa.
Boggs	Herlong	Rivers, Alaska
Boland	Hicks	Rivers, S.C.
Bolling	Herlong	Robison
Bolton	Hollifield	Rodino
Bow	Holland	Rogers, Colo.
Bray	Horton	Rogers, Fla.
Brook	Hosmer	Rogers, Tex.
Brooks	Howard	Rooney, N.Y.
Broomfield	Hull	Rooney, Pa.
Brown, Ohio	Hungate	Rostenkowski
Broyhill, N.C.	Huot	Roush
Broyhill, Va.	Hutchinson	Rumsfeld
Buchanan	Ichord	Satterfield
Burke	Irwin	St. Germain
Burleson	Jennings	St. Onge
Burton, Utah	Joelson	Saylor
Byrne, Pa.	Johnson, Calif.	Schlisler
Byrnes, Wis.	Johnson, Pa.	Schmidhauser
Cabell	Jonas	Schneebell
Cahill	Jones, Mo.	Schweiker
Callan	Karsten	Scott
Carter	Karth	Selden
Casey	Kee	Semmer
Cederberg	Keith	Sickles
Celler	Kelly	Sikes
Chamberlain	Keogh	Sisk
Clark	King, Utah	Slack
Clawson, Del.	Kirwan	Smith, Calif.
Cohelan	Kornegay	Smith, Iowa
Colmer	Krebs	Smith, N.Y.
Conable	Laird	Springer
Conte	Landrum	Stafford
Corbett	Langen	Staggers
Corman	Lennon	Stabum
Cramer	Lipcomb	Stanton
Culver	Long, Md.	Steed
Curtin	Love	Stratton
Curtis	McCulloch	Stubblefield
Daddario	McDade	Sullivan
Daniels	McDowell	Sweeney
Davis, Ga.	McEwen	Talcott
Davis, Wis.	McFall	Taylor
Delaney	McGrath	Teague, Calif.
Denton	MacGregor	Tenzer
Dickinson	Machen	Thompson, Tex.
Dole	Mackay	Thomson, Wis.
Dorn	Madden	Todd
Dowdy	Mahon	Tuck
Downing	Marsh	Tunney
Dulski	Martin, Ala.	Tupper
Duncan, Tenn.	Martin, Mass.	Tuten
Dwyer	Martin, Nebr.	Ullman
Dyal	Mathias	Utt
Edwards, Ala.	Matsunaga	Van Deerlin
Evans, Colo.	May	Vanik
Evins, Tenn.	Meeds	Waggoner
Fallon	Michel	Walker, Miss.
Farnum	Miller	Walker, N. Mex.
Fascell	Mills	Watts
Feighan	Minish	Whalley
Findley	Mink	White, Idaho
Fino	Minshall	White, Tex.
Fisher	Moeller	Whitener
Flood	Monagan	Whitten
Ford, Gerald R.	Moore	Widnall
Ford,	Morgan	Williams
William D.	Morris	Willis
Fountain	Morrison	Wilson,
Frelinghuysen	Morton	Charles H.
Friedel	Mosher	Wolf
Fulton, Pa.	Moss	Wright
Fulton, Tenn.	Multer	Wyatt
Gallagher	Murphy, Ill.	Wylder
Garmatz	Murphy, N.Y.	Young
Gathings	Murray	Younger
Gettys	Natcher	Zablocki

[Roll No. 3]

YEAS—299

Mr. CELLER. No, the Supreme Court merely denied a stay, leaving the matter before the judicial council. Judge Chandler had not received any notice, if I remember correctly, of the proceedings so that he could defend himself. The matter is resting there temporarily so that the council could provide a hearing after giving notice to the judge in question so that he could then come in and defend himself. As it was, he had no opportunity even to defend himself. I am not taking up the cudgels for the judge. I do not know what the details are, but I can tell the gentleman from Iowa that the Committee on the Judiciary will act as may be necessary and suitable in the premises. But I think we must and should wait until the Supreme Court takes final action in the matter.

Mr. GROSS. I appreciate the explanation made by the distinguished chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary and thank the gentleman from Maryland for yielding.

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the resolution. The previous question was ordered.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

PROVIDING FOR EXPENSES OF CONDUCTING STUDIES AND INVESTIGATIONS BY THE COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, I send to the desk a privileged report on the resolution (H. Res. 633) providing for the expenses of conducting studies and investigations authorized by XI(8) incurred by the Committee on Government Operations, and by direction of the Committee on House Administration I call up the resolution for its present consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. Res. 633

Resolved, That the further expense of conducting the studies and investigations authorized by rule XI(8) and H. Res. 110, Eighty-ninth Congress, incurred by the Committee on Government Operations acting as a whole or by subcommittee, not to exceed \$800,000 including expenditures for employment of experts, special counsel, and clerical, stenographic, and other assistants, which shall be available for expenses incurred by said committee or subcommittee within and without the continental limits of the United States, shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the House on vouchers authorized by said committee, signed by the chairman thereof, and approved by the Committee on House Administration.

SEC. 2. The official stenographers to committees may be used at all hearings held in the District of Columbia, if not otherwise officially engaged.

SEC. 3. No part of the funds authorized by this resolution shall be available for expenditure in connection with the study or investigation of any subject which is being investigated for the same purpose by any other committee of the House, and the chairman of the Committee on Government Operations shall furnish the Committee on House Administration information with respect to any study or investigation intended to be financed from such funds.

The resolution was agreed to.
A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

TO PROVIDE FOR THE EXPENSES OF THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the House Administration Committee, I send to the desk a privileged report on House Resolution 634 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. Res. 634

Resolved, That, effective from January 3, 1966, the expenses of the studies and investigations to be conducted pursuant to H. Res. 94 by the Committee on Education and Labor, acting as a whole or by subcommittee, not to exceed \$400,000, including expenditures for the employment of investigators, attorneys, and experts, and clerical, stenographic, and other assistants, and all expenses necessary for travel and subsistence incurred by members and employees while engaged in the activities of the committee or any subcommittee thereof, shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the House on vouchers authorized and signed by the chairman of such committee and approved by the Committee on House Administration.

SEC. 2. The official committee reporters may be used at all hearings held in the District of Columbia, if not otherwise officially engaged.

The Clerk read the committee amendments, as follows:

Page 1, line 11, strike out all language following "House" and insert a period.

Page 2, strike out lines 1 and 2 and insert the following language: "Of such amount \$36,000 shall be available for each of six standing subcommittees of the Committee on Education and Labor, and not to exceed \$184,000 shall be available to the Committee on Education and Labor. All amounts authorized to be paid out of the contingent fund by this resolution shall, in the case of each subcommittee, be paid on vouchers authorized and signed by the chairman of the subcommittee, cosigned by the chairman of the committee and approved by the Committee on House Administration; in the case of the committee, such amount shall be paid on vouchers authorized and signed by the chairman of the committee and approved by the Committee on House Administration."

Page 2, add:

"SEC. 3. No part of the funds authorized by this resolution shall be available for expenditure in connection with the study or investigation of any subject which is being investigated for the same purpose by any other committee of the House, and the chairman of the Committee on Education and Labor shall furnish the Committee on House Administration information with respect to any study or investigation intended to be financed from such funds."

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FRIEDEL. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. Can the gentleman from Maryland provide the House with some information with respect to the pending resolution? Would not the resolution give to the Labor and Education Committee for the 1st and 2d sessions of the 89th Congress more than \$1 million?

Mr. FRIEDEL. At the 1st session of

the 89th Congress \$640,000 was authorized, which included \$250,000 for the Ad Hoc Subcommittee on the Study of the Poverty Act.

Mr. GROSS. That was in addition to the \$640,000, was it not?

Mr. FRIEDEL. No, that was included in the \$640,000. This is just a nominal increase this year.

Mr. GROSS. So the amount is above \$1 million for the two sessions of Congress?

Mr. FRIEDEL. That is correct.

Mr. GROSS. Will there be filed and printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the traveling expenses of the committee, including the expenses of the chairman?

Mr. FRIEDEL. They have to file a voucher for everything they do with the House Administration Committee. They are printed in pamphlet form and available through the House Administration Committee.

Mr. GROSS. One final question. Did the chairman of the House Labor and Education Committee appear before your committee in support of the resolution, or was he too busy to appear?

Mr. FRIEDEL. Well, he was out of town, I understand, when this measure was brought up.

Mr. GROSS. The gentleman would not know whether he was in Puerto Rico?

Mr. FRIEDEL. I do not know where he was.

Mr. GROSS. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. FRIEDEL. You are quite welcome.

The amendments were agreed to.

The resolution, as amended, was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

TO PROVIDE FOR THE EXPENSES OF THE COMMITTEE ON HOUSE ADMINISTRATION

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the House Administration Committee, I send to the desk a privileged report on House Resolution 636 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. Res. 636

Resolved, That the further expenses of conducting the study and investigation authorized by H. Res. 13 of the Eighty-ninth Congress, incurred by the select committee appointed to study and investigate the problems of small business, not to exceed \$335,000 in addition to the unexpended balance of any sum heretofore made available for conducting such study and investigation, including expenditures for the employment of investigators, attorneys, and clerical, stenographic, and other assistants, shall be paid out of the contingent fund of the House on vouchers authorized by such committee, signed by the chairman thereof, and approved by the Committee on House Administration.

SEC. 2. No part of the funds authorized by this resolution shall be available for expenditure in connection with the study or investigation of any subject which is being investigated for the same purpose by any other committee of the House, and the chairman of the Select Committee on Small Business shall furnish the Committee on House Administration information with respect to

Mr. John Lewis

[1966 Jan?]

Dear John,

Your speech, it seems to me, represents one of those important mileposts in the maturing of a policy and strategy for victory for Negro freedom.

Will you please let us have a copy of your speech or notes for our news reports
Harold Jackson



Of One Noble Youth And Two Old Men

By JAMES E. JACKSON

Julian Bond Against Jimcrow and Jingoism

THEY RUMBLED and roared, they thundered and belowed, they would have the infidel shot at sunrise or hung from the tallest telephone pole. They were the white supremacist majority of the House of Representatives of the State of Georgia 'whopping-up' a lynching-bee against seating the youngest Representative-elect to that legislative body, the 25-year old Negro youth leader — Julian Bond of Atlanta.

The instant excuse offered for the latest call from Atlanta (Ga.) for crucifying civil rights crusaders and "stopping Communism" was the failure of Julian Bond to recant his principled opposition to the aggressor's role of the U.S. in Vietnam.

After a committee of the House composed a kangaroo court to review Bond's "loyalty and fitness" to occupy the seat he was elected to fill in the House, they voted 118 to 12 to bar him.

CAST AMIDST the hollering horde of Negro-haters and hysterical war-mongers, young Julian Bond conducted himself in that Georgia Arena like a modern-day Daniel in the Lion's den. He displayed the poise and dignity, the confidence and courage which has become the signature of the fearless fighter for freedom and truth that he is.

The allegiance of Julian Bond to the struggle of his people, to strike the chains of Jimcrow tyranny and oppression from their limbs, has led him to understand the relationship of the Negro freedom cause to the endeavors of all peoples to free themselves from foreign domination and domestic reaction.

He holds to the teaching of the great Frederick Douglass that "a blow struck for freedom anywhere is an advance for freedom everywhere."

He knows that war waged by the Government of the U.S.A. against a small people in a far distant land — Vietnam — is making a criminal of our nation in the eyes of the world, and diminishing democracy's virility at home. He knows the truth that neither Negroes nor any other Americans can be free so long as our Government engages in wars of aggression to oppress and enslave other peoples.

THE NOBILITY and heroism of young Bond is the fact that he **ACTED OUT** his convictions. He held to his convictions about the unjustness of U.S. intervention in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic, in the teeth of lynchers' threats on the one hand and the glittering blandishments and bribes promised if he would but recant on the other hand.

Julian Bond was elected from Atlanta's 136th Legislative District with the unprecedented landslide of 82 percent of all the votes cast. In denying Julian Bond his rightful seat in the House, the white supremacy Georgia legislators have interposed their racist will to nullify the democratic right of suffrage of almost 200,000 Atlanta citizens. That action of the Georgia Legislature is patently unconstitutional on the face of it. It must be reversed in the Courts and repudiated at the polls.

TOWARD THIS END, it is incumbent upon all who work for peace and an end to the war in Vietnam, for all who struggle alongside of the Negro people to secure equality and freedom, for all who have a concern for safeguarding and enlarging the democratic rights of all citizens to come to the aid of Julian Bond whose fight to take his seat in the Georgia legislature is a struggle which illuminates the issue of bringing about war's end in Vietnam and in advancing the cause of Negro freedom and the nation's democracy.

Their foul action and wild jingoism, such as Georgia hasn't known since the days of the Confederacy, on the part of the men of Georgia's State House, has nevertheless rendered a certain service, it must be noted. It has brought to the attention of our nation and the world the name and deeds of Julian Bond, a proud son of the Negro people, authentic hero of the young generation, ardent fighter against imperialist war.

A favorite song of the SNCC freedom fighters is "This Little Light of Mine, I'm Going to Let It Shine. . . ." How gloriously shines the light of example which Julian Bond has lit in the struggle against our Government's criminal war against the people of Vietnam!

January 16, 1966

Perilous Opportunism of Roy Wilkins & Geo. Meany

ROY WILKINS is to the Negro freedom movement what George Meany is to the labor movement.

Each is the titular head of the largest organized expression of the movement in his respective field — i.e., civil rights and labor.

Despite their lofty titular rank, these leading "heads" are, in a number of respects, actually the trailing tails of these powerful and objectively allied movements.

In the matter of program and ideology, particularly in the realm of foreign policy, they are indeed a serious drag on everything that is forward moving in these vital twin movements (Negro and Labor) which govern the pace of social progress in our country.

The leadership they give on questions of foreign policy can be counted upon to be backward and oftentimes utterly reactionary. In this respect what Victor Hugo said of the Bourbons fits them to a "T"; that is, "they have learned nothing and they have forgotten nothing."

In reference to such all-encompassing questions as policies of the government which will make for war and peace, they automatically adopt the standpoint of the Government. The world has undergone great changes since the times of Booker T. Washington and Samuel Gompers. In their days only a small portion of the people of Western European countries plus the U.S.A. played an important role in the political life of the world. The masses of mankind were "removed from politics."

The masses of the few imperialist countries were largely disfranchised and the overwhelming numbers of the world's population were under the sway of tyrannical oligarchies imposed by the bayonets of the Western capitals of empire.

In those days the Gompers-Booker T. line of uncritical support to the Government's policy in foreign affairs was based on two crudely opportunistic assumptions: one, that the Government would reward their loyalty to the "powers-that-be" with concessions on the "home front," and two, that the popular masses abroad, potentially sympathetic to labor and Negro people, were themselves too deprived and powerless to be of any real aid.

If such callous calculations found some support in the objective situation of the country and the world at the turn of the century, the world today indicts such opportunism even when using the most selfish standards of measure.

Today, for the trade union movement and the Negro freedom movement to support the Washington policies in foreign affairs as expressed in the criminal war of aggression against Vietnam and the bloody rape of the sovereign rights of the people of the Dominican Republic, would be to solidarize themselves with the worst enemies of labor and the Negro people at home and to isolate themselves from the overwhelming mass of the world's population, to divorce themselves from all the forces of social progress, democracy and socialism.

In recent pronouncements, Roy Wilkins of the NAACP, and George Meany of the AFL-CIO have singled out for attack, not those who sustain the savage war against the workers and peasants of Vietnam, but against those who demand that President Johnson act to end the war and take our troops out of that country. The crimes of the U.S. in Vietnam have left flaming villages and scarred and bleeding earth; and have stamped our national brow with the mark of Cain.

THE WORLD TODAY is distinguished by the fact that yesterday's bonded millions are everywhere engaged in the politics of revolutionary struggle to reconstruct the order of things political, economic and social. In all countries the best of the human race is deeply engaged in the struggle to secure the end of tyranny, exploitation, racism, to open the way to a peaceful, prosperous and happy life for all mankind. As never before in the history of the world there is a spirit of solidarity which links working people and fighters for freedom of all lands and climes in ever stronger bonds of mutual aid and fraternity.

To pursue a course which lends support to the enemies of the tides of humanity in revolutionary upsurge the world over, as a stratagem for wheedling some minor temporary concession, is to isolate the Negro and Labor movements from the mainstream of history. Wilkins and Meany mislead and weaken the great organizations they head when they raise their voices in anger against the crusaders for peace and take the side of the war hawks.

January 11, 1966

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Confederación Latino - Americana de Sindicatos Cristianos
Latin American Federation of Christian Trade Unionists
Lateinamerikanischer Gewerkschaftsverband Christlicher Gewerkschaftler
Confederacao Latino Americana dos Sindicatos Cristaos

RIGUELME 15 - TELEFONO 8247 - CABLES CLASC - SANTIAGO DE CHILE

June 2, 1966

JOSE GOLDBACK

Presidentes

EMILIO MASPERO

Secretario General

ALFREDO DI PACCE

Secretario Ejecutivo Tesorero

La CLASC tiene

Secretarias Ejecutivas

en las siguientes ciudades:

Buenos Aires - ARGENTINA

San José - COSTA RICA

Willemstad - CURAZAO

Pointe à Pitre - GUADALOUPE

Ciudad de México - MEXICO

Lima - PERU

Port of Spain - TRINIDAD

Caracas - VENEZUELA

Organizaciones afiliadas en:

ARGENTINA

ARUBA

BARBADOS

BELIZE

BOLIVIA

BRASIL

COLOMBIA

COSTA RICA

CUBA

CURAZAO

CHILE

DOMINICA

EQUADOR

EL SALVADOR

GUADALOUPE

GUATEMALA

GUAYANA BRITANICA

GUAYANA FRANCESA

HAITI

HONDURAS

JAMAICA

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PANAMA

PARAGUAY

PUERTO RICO

PERU

REPUBLICA DOMINICA

SURINAM

TOBAGO

TRINIDAD

URUGUAY

VENEZUELA

Mr. Terence Cannon
THE MOVEMENT
1316 Masonic Avenue
San Francisco, California
USA

Dear Mr. Cannon:

It does my heart good to read your fighting newspaper, THE MOVEMENT, which for us is the voice of a kindred spirit in the United States. (Jim Petras of Berkeley, who is doing research in Chile, loaned us your Dec. 1965 and Jan. 1966 issues.) Without a doubt there is much in common between you people and us of the Latin American Confederation of Christian Trade Unionists (CLASC).

The CLASC is a revolutionary, anti-imperialist movement to organize and unite the abandoned, voiceless masses in Latin America—the peasants and slum dwellers, as well as the city and industrial workers. We have affiliated organizations in all of the countries of Latin America, including the continent-wide Latin American Peasant Federation with headquarters in Mexico. We are the major trade union force in the Latin American peasantry and in at least two countries across the board. These are Ecuador and the Dominican Republic. In the latter country, our CLASC constituted the major organized grass roots component of the Constitutionalist Movement during the Santo Domingo crisis.

In our recent Continental Council at Medellín, Colombia, it was decided to "accentuate" contacts with sectors in the United States capable of understanding our position. And I can think of no sector more capable in this sense than yours.

We therefore would hope to establish systematic communications with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and like-minded groups in the U.S. As a starter, I trust you would be interested in receiving our CLASC Reports in English in exchange for THE MOVEMENT—by air mail. These CLASC Reports are documents giving our viewpoint on events in Latin America such as the Dominican Crisis, explaining our general positions on Latin American integration and worker participation in the centers of power, etc. We also have available studies of our movement by outsiders.

As we become better acquainted with each other through this exchange arrangement, perhaps we can move on to fruitful dialogue and possibly discover grounds for common action. I will begin sending you a CLASC Reports each month immediately upon receiving your affirmative reply.

Sincerely yours,

John O. Lehigh Jr.

CLASC
Rigueime 15
Santiago, Chile



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June 4, 1966

Director of Public Information
Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee
100 - 5th Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Sir:

We are a private company currently under contract with the United States Information Agency to produce an exhibit for Latin American audiences. The theme will be "Youth's Commitment to Action in the Americas."

The story line of the exhibit will portray American youths' involvement in political and social service projects: for example, the Young Democrats, VISTA, Crossroads Africa, or such programs as the Institue Nacional de la Juventud of Mexico, the Accion Popular of Peru, and the Accion Communal of Colombia. We want to show, ultimately, what is being done by North and South American young people to improve the condition of life in the Western Hemisphere.

Could you please send us the general descriptive material available on the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee? Although Scope described your organization as "less student-oriented than in years past" for the summer of 1966, we would appreciate material on the student aspect of your activities, rather than the organizational. ?

Because the exhibit will show these activities graphically we would be interested in photographs or diagrams of them. In case of photographs, we would naturally have to have a release from you before using them in the actual show.

Thank you very much for your cooperation. If you have any questions on the exhibit requirements please don't hesitate to ask me.

Sincerely,
Laura Haines
(Miss) Laura Haines,
Exhibits Research



Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

100 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10011 • YUKON 9-1313

June 7, 1966

Dear John -- head of the international education dept.--

Read the enclosed letter. We have had a few such requests in the past from the USIA and I cooperated. But I'm beginning to wonder if we want to let the government make propaganda for American progress using our materials. On the other hand, it's a way of getting exposure in foreign countries. Given SNCC's present attitude, our stand on the White House Conference, etc., my inclination would be to decline participation. But I wanted your thinking on it, and perhaps you should answer the letter. Or Mahoney. ~~if you are interested in this~~

Elizabeth

"One Man, One Vote"

BEHEIREN

Japan «peace for vietnam!» committee

No. 32, Akagimoto-machi, Shinjuku, Tokyo, Japan

Telephone : Tokyo 260-6746

Cable Address : JAPAXVIET TOKYO

Chairman : ODA, Makoto

Officers : ANAI, Fumihiko
FURUYAMA, Yoza
IIDA, Momo
KAIKO, Ken
KUBO, Keinosuke
MATSUMOTO, Ichiju
NASU, Masanao
TAKADO, Kaname
TSURUMI, Shunsuke
YOSHIKAWA, Yuichi

International relations
FUKASAKU, Mitsusada
MUTO, Ichiyo
TSURUMI, Yoshiyuki

Treasurer
TERAI, Minako (Miss)

June 6, 1966

Mr. John Lewis
Chairman
c/o SNCC, 360 Nelson St.
Atlanta, Georgia
U.S.A.

Dear Mr. Lewis:

As our Chairman, Makoto Oda, explained to you during his recent visit to your country, we decided to sponsor in August this year "Meet in Conference of Two Nations for Peace in Vietnam" in Tokyo, whose outline is explained in the enclosed prospectus.

This first Japan-U.S. transpacific peace meeting is going to be a very significant event in Japan, and the Japanese public is already actively expressing support to it.

This is to invite you cordially to the August Conference and to ask your cooperation in preparing for it.

On our part, we are busy in raising money for the Conference, and so far, we have been successful in raising fund enough to meet the expenses for holding the conference. However, it is still uncertain whether or not we can raise fund to cover the passage and stay here of all of the delegates from the United States. In fact, not a small difficulty is anticipated in respect to the financial aspect of the coming conference.

In view of this, we would like to know as soon as possible whether you can raise fund in your country for at least part of your travelling and staying expenses. We very much hope that you would cooperate with us in this matter and keep us informed of progress of financial activities at your end.

I again insist that you come to Tokyo to take part in the Conference of Two Nations. But in case you find it impossible,

draft

Dear sir

Because of our organizational disagreements with
the USIA's interpretation of the Negro movement
in this country , we feel we cannot cooperate
with this project.

Sincerely

John Lewis

cc: Lizdick Sutherland


Bill Mahoney

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

I urge you to send either Bob Paris or Julian Bond to our Conference.

Looking forward to your early reply,

Sincerely yours,


Yoshiyuki Tsurumi
Secretary
International Relations
Japan "Peace for Vietnam!"
Committee

Dear Mr. Lehigh ,

Your letter to Mr. Cannon concerning a desire to accentuate contacts with sympathetic organizations in the United States, reached us at a time when we ourselves are in the process of attempting link-ups with third-world revolutionary movements, especially on this continent.

We would be very interested in receiving your literature and regular mailings. Our staff has indicated the need ~~to become more aware of becoming more~~ of receiving communication that will help us be more aware of ~~developments~~ ~~with~~ of the struggles our brothers to the south are engaged in. ~~Anything you might send us~~ Anything of interest you might send us would be duplicated and circulated in our organization.

In addition to information, we are very interested in broadening our understanding of revolutionary movements on this continent through travel. We are especially interested in Latin American contacts involving community organizing -- by that we mean where workers for revolution move into the countryside or slums and undertake the building of movements where the poor and landless speak and act for themselves against elements of imperialism in their country. We feel that although the revolution in this country ~~is very different~~ takes on a different framework and atmosphere than revolutions to the south of us -- the enemy is often the same and the goals are also the same. We have much in common. ~~We~~

We have an international committee within our organization that will attempt to make contacts ~~with these~~ ~~sympathetic~~ ~~in~~ ~~Latin~~ ~~America~~ ~~hopefully~~ ~~resulting~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~meeting~~ ~~together~~ of those who are working towards the same kind of world.

Hoping to hear from you again.

Sincerely

~~Mary Varela~~ John Lewis
John Mary Varela

cc. Varela

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

CHAIRMAN JOHN LEWIS

John Robert Lewis is the only head of a civil rights organization elected by civil rights activists.

Lewis is 24 years old. He was born in Troy, Alabama. His mother is a laundress, and his father is a farmer and school bus driver.

He attended the public schools of Troy and Pike County, and was graduated from the American Baptist Seminary in Nashville, Tennessee with an A.B. degree in religion in 1961. He has done further study toward an A.B. degree in philosophy at Fisk University.

Lewis has been arrested 32 times. He was an organizer of the Nashville Student Movement and an original Freedom Rider. He was instrumental in continuing the rides after other civil rights groups withdrew their support contending the rides were "too dangerous." He suffered a beating from a mob when his bus arrived at Montgomery, Alabama on Mother's Day, 1961.

Since assuming SNCC's chairmanship, Lewis has visited and participated in SNCC projects in Mississippi, Arkansas, Georgia and Alabama.

He was a leader at the August 1963 March on Washington. His speech at that time kicked off SNCC's widespread use of the African slogan, "One Man - One Vote," which describes SNCC's Southwide program aimed at removing all barriers to the vote except age and residence.

Lewis is a board member of the Nashville Christian Leadership Conference, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the Fellowship of Reconciliation.



Staff meeting minutes Friday Afternoon - Mississippi

Courtland - Must develop young people - This our (SNCC) strongest contribution
is
Meely - Where/power from? Teach people where it is from and they can do as we do.

Hunter Morey - Unhealthy relationship - SNCC / FDP. SNCC created FDP. Mrs. Palmer thought SNCC cars to go to FDP, although untrue, this is her impression - a lot of unclearness. Need to clear up the relationship. Suggestion: No SNCC staff should be FDP leaders. SNCC ##### can give FDP a sum of money per year to pay staff.

Charlie Cobb - Not so sure if unhealthy to have FDP in SNCC. If so lose all but 3 or 4 of SNCC staff in Mississippi. People differ in what important. Somebody above usually runs on ##### intuition. Always no intuition that spring up around our work.

Myrtle - We are willing to take child out of crib but we want to tell when where to go - what it mean to lose something you created - how much responsibility feel for where the child goes.

Marion Barry - As for control - who to control it - Mississippi or SNCC.

Hunter - How do we teach control. Again give FDP money for salaries.

Scott B. Where does next year salary come from.

Jim - Should organizer be a part of the organization.

Doug - At some point we have to have clear cut idea on SNCC plans in Miss. and relationship to FDP because is causing split among staff.

Cynthia - FDP has already been given more money by SNCC than anyone else.

Dottie Zellner - One third of staff devoted to resource finding we have organized local groups Only contribution will be fundraising, etc. SNCC should consider becoming political party.

Myrtle, - Do we really think local people can function alone.

Courtland - Think its good that people want to give up SNCC for FDP. Should still pay folks because money is not essential element of control. Should help educate folk.

Jesse - Thinks SNCC will give \$10,000 to people who are already on SNCC staff. Thinks Atlanta office should not get involved in exchange of resources. Entire SNCC body should talk about relationship. Think money in long run be given right back to SNCC.

~~##### should become political party. Also think no FDP con-
should be paid by SNCC... it isn't good.~~

Marion* - Think we should take another look at our entire concept Think we, SNCC, are afraid of discussion of power. Think we should look closely at FDP as a thing we organized. Civil rights movement is not listened to because we do not have any power.

Scott B. Think we ##### have to broaden base and establish contacts outside the country. Vital issue is economy.

Ladner - Are we willing to exert

staff meeting - friday afternoon

Ladner - Are we willing to exert power on FDP. If we want power must begin somewhere. Unless we're willing to really to start, power discussion is irrelevant.

Ivanhoe - All time we've wanted to bring power to Negro ghetto and poor in general. FDP is political party and individuals can belong and also work for SNCC. Should become power wedge.
Why aren't we concerned with Freedom Force people. What they do.

Mike - If we're serious about power, then people like c. cox should come out of Alabama.

Ivanhoe - Think we should learn from experiences and then also be able to maintain victorious gained.

Marion - Is not talking about time ~~###~~ table, but rather concepts. Concept should be widespread and should be able to be pulled in when needed for extra energy.

(nc)

From: John Lewis, Chairman of SNCC
To : The Executive Committee of the MFDP
Re : The Relations between SNCC and the MFDP

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In the discussion, there was a strong feeling among both SNCC people and SNCC staff working for the FDP, that the FDP had always been independent of SNCC in principle and should become so in actuality. People also agreed (including Lawrence Guyot, who arrived late) that the MFDP was not the whole movement in Mississippi. The question of SNCC being "left" of the MFDP was raised; Charlie Cobb felt this meant that SNCC people did not want to see political participation reduced to choosing between "the lesser of two evils" in 1966.

The MFDP-SNCC problem was not unique, some said: it related to the basic nature of SNCC as a band of organizers. It would come up again in other states (such as Alabama) when other political parties initiated by SNCC developed. The problem was compared to that of a child becoming independent of its parents. A weaning process. At what point should SNCC withdraw? And if SNCC organized something which developed in a way that SNCC didn't like, what should SNCC do?

Guyot stated that the MFDP's goal was to build a state machine and eventually take over the Democratic Party in Mississippi. He outlined its present program: ASCS elections, running candidates in the 1966 state elections, organizing strong county executive committees, getting more federal registrars and having them become mobile, the reapportionment suit. The MFDP, he said, wanted its independence and intended to do its own fund-raising both in the North and in Mississippi. He indicated that if SNCC fund-raisers in the North objected to this, the MFDP would go ahead and do it anyway.

A proposal was made by Elizabeth Sutherland and adopted by the Coordinating Committee with certain changes:

1. All SNCC staff workers in Mississippi are to be given the option of transferring to FDP staff to work on FDP programs and be responsible to the FDP, unless the FDP Executive Committee objects to any individual. This does not preclude SNCC workers from remaining in or entering the state to work on other specific programs.

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<u>Statewide</u>	
Gas & Oil for 10 cars	800.00
TOTAL	<u>\$2,515 per month</u>

The above budget was submitted by Jesse Harris, based on figures obtained from the Jackson office, as the amount of support which MFDP would like to have from SNCC. Guyot pointed out that the MFDP was now \$8,000 in debt; that it had spent \$85,000 on the Challenge.

Cleve Sellers reported on the amount spent by SNCC in Mississippi in 1965: \$4817 per month. This included the staff payroll plus expenses for non-FDP programs such as the MFLU, the Poor's People's Corporation, photo work, etc. He said there were 22 SNCC cars in the state.

There was debate on SNCC's financial commitment to the MFDP having TOP PRIORITY, but it was felt that SNCC should support the MFDP in a specific way rather than by picking up bills. During the discussion on Sncc's role in Mississippi, Courtland Cox stated that our main contributions were time and energy. In the past, SNCC's method had been to develop individual organizers within SNCC; we have reached a plateau with this method because those organizers have developed their own interests. What SNCC should do in Mississippi is this: get young people to do the building, and put them on staff as soon as possible.



Staff Newsletter

 ① End

I AM GLAD TO BE HERE TODAY TO PAY TRIBUTE TO MR. MORFORD, WHO HAS WORKED FOR SO MANY YEARS TO HELP BRING ABOUT A RELAXATION OF INTERNATIONAL TENSIONS.

WE KNOW THAT FOR MANY OF THESE YEARS, AND EVEN TODAY, PUBLIC ENDORSEMENT OF FRIENDLY RELATIONS BETWEEN AMERICANS AND RUSSIANS IS AN UNPOPULAR STAND. ~~STAND~~. BUT BECAUSE I AM ALSO CONCERNED WITH PEACE, AND I FEEL THE NECESSITY FOR THIS WORK, I SALUTE MR. MORFORD FOR HIS ADMIRABLE CONTRIBUTIONS AND WISH HIM WELL FOR MANY MORE YEARS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE.

WE IN SNCC HAVE RECENTLY ACHIEVED A GREATER UNDERSTANDING OF THE PRESSURES AN ORGANIZATION CAN BRING DOWN ON ITS HEAD WHEN IT TAKES A FORTHRIGHT POSITION ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS. AS YOU KNOW, WE ISSUED A STATEMENT JANUARY 6 CONDEMNING THE



Staff Newsletter



U.S. GOVERNMENT FOR ITS BRUTAL ROLE IN VIETNAM, AND WERE IMMEDIATELY ~~CRITICIZED~~ ^{ATTACKED}, NOT ONLY BY THE GEORGIA PRESS AND LEGISLATURE, BUT EVEN BY A FEW NEGRO LEADERS. I AM HAPPY TO SAY, HOWEVER, THAT SUPPORT FOR OUR POSITION AND FOR JULIAN ~~SUPPORTS~~ BOND'S RIGHT TO SIT IN THE SEAT TO WHICH HE WAS LEGALLY ELECTED, HAS COME FROM ALL OVER THE COUNTRY. PERHAPS THIS MEANS THAT THE AMERICAN PUBLIC CAN BECOME INVOLVED IN DISCUSSIONS ABOUT THE POLICY WHICH THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT HAS ADOPTED IN THEIR NAME. WE HOPE SO.

MANY PEOPLE HAVE CALLED AND WRITTEN US TO ASK WHY A CIVIL RIGHTS ORGANIZATION WOULD TAKE A POSITION ON FOREIGN POLICY. I WOULD LIKE TO SAY A FEW WORDS ABOUT THIS TO GIVE YOU AN IDEA OF HOW OUR THINKING DEVELOPED TO THIS POINT. WE SOON FOUND IN THE ~~BLACK~~ ^{SOUTH} BELT THAT PROBLEMS OF DISCRIMINATION LAY MUCH DEEPER THAN THE "WHITE ONLY" SIGN — THAT BEHIND THIS SIGN WAS THE FACT

Staff Newsletter

MANY THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE WERE DEPRIVED OF THE RIGHT TO POLITICAL REPRESENTATION. NOT ONLY DID THEY NOT HAVE A RIGHT ~~TO~~ TO SIT AT A LUNCH COUNTER, BUT THEY HAD NO RIGHT TO SAY WHO WAS GOING TO GOVERN THEM, WHERE THEY WERE GOING TO WORK, HOW THEY WERE GOING TO BE EDUCATED, INDEED, HOW AND IF THEY WERE GOING TO LIVE. WE ARE FIGHTING FOR THIS ~~RIGHT~~ NOW IN THE BLACK BELT.

AND SINCE WE WERE INVOLVED WITH THE STRUGGLES OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY IN THE SOUTH, WE SOON COULD NOT IGNORE THE SITUATION IN VIETNAM. HOW COULD WE FIGHT FOR REAL AND FREE ELECTIONS IN ALABAMA AND MISSISSIPPI AND IGNORE THE U.S. ROLE IN VIETNAM TO DEPRIVE THE VIETNAMESE OF THIS RIGHT? HOW COULD WE REMAIN SILENT WHEN THE U.S. GOVERNMENT ~~SENT~~ ^{SENT} MARINE DIVISIONS TO VIETNAM AND SANTO DOMINGO TO PROTECT "FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY" ~~WHEN~~ ^{AND} WE HAVE YET TO SEE ONE FEDERAL AGENT PROTECT US OR ANY OF THE NEGROES WITH WHOM WE WORK?

Staff Newsletter

WHEN WE DID SAY THIS, MANY PEOPLE CHIDED US THAT ~~WE~~ ^{WE} SHOULD HAVE KEPT SILENT AND DEVOTED OURSELVES SOLELY TO CIVIL RIGHTS, THAT WE WERE "HARMING OUR CAUSE" AND "CONFUSING THE ISSUES." WHAT THESE ~~PE~~ PEOPLE WERE REALLY SAYING (EVEN THOSE WITH GOOD INTENTIONS) WAS THAT NEGROES ~~CAN~~ ^{ARE NOT ALLOWED} ONLY TO SPEAK ABOUT NEGROES.

BUT WE ARE AMERICANS, TOO, AND OUR GOVERNMENT'S ROLE IN VIETNAM HORRIFIES AND SHAMES US. WE WANT PEACE IN VIETNAM — WE WANT THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE TO RUN THEIR OWN COUNTRY — WE WANT THE U.S. SOLDIERS IN VIETNAM TO COME HOME NOW AND STAND WITH US IN THE BLACK BELT WHILE WE REGISTER TO VOTE. ~~THEY BELONG HERE!~~

WE HOPE THAT OTHER CIVIL RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS WILL JOIN HANDS WITH PEACE GROUPS TO BRING THIS TERRIBLE WAR TO A CLOSE. ONLY THROUGH A UNITED EFFORT WILL PUBLIC OPINION BE ABLE TO DETER OUR GOVERNMENT FROM THE COURSE THEY HAVE EMBARKED



Staff Newsletter



ON. AND AS WE JOIN HANDS WITH ALL OF YOU, WHO HAVE DEVOTED SO MANY YEARS TO TRY TO BRING PEACE TO THE WORLD, WE HOPE YOU WILL ^{CONTINUE TO} SUPPORT US IN OUR OWN STRUGGLE ~~TO~~ TO BRING DEMOCRACY TO THE NEGROES OF AMERICA. BOTH OUR STRUGGLES ARE REALLY ONE — TO CREATE A WORLD WHERE EVERY PERSON CAN LIVE A ~~A~~ LIFE OF DIGNITY AND FACE A FUTURE OF CONFIDENCE.

— END —

SPEECH

FOR JOHN LEWIS

[nd]

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To : The Executive Committee of the MFDP
Re : The Relations between SNCC and the MFDP

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Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
107 Rhode Island Ave, NW
Washington, D.C.
387-7445
for further information contact
Marion Barry

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
Statement of John Lewis on SNCC and Viet Nam

Recently, there has been a great deal of confusion and distortion about the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee's role in the Assembly of Unrepresented People.

While SNCC's commitment to principles of nonviolence in human relationships makes us opposed to organized war wherever it occurs, the major commitment of SNCC is the establishment, by nonviolent methods, of an interracial democracy in the South. Our programs of voter registration, community centers, Freedom Schools, and other community organizing are designed hopefully to bring this about. Moreover, all of our organizational and financial resources are committed to this effort.

We have not been asked, nor have we volunteered any organizational resources to the protests against the war in Viet Nam now taking place. While the Coordinating Committee, (the final decision making body of SNCC) has taken no formal position on the issue, our philosophical commitment to principles of non-violence is a matter of public record.

The moral and spiritual health of any democracy rests on the right and freedom of all its citizens to express their convictions on any and all issues. For this reason, we have done nothing to inhibit the expression of this right by members of our staff. Members of the SNCC staff, as individuals, can take positions on any issues of conscience that arise.

[nd]

Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee
360 Nelson Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

TESTIMONY OF JOHN LEWIS, CHAIRMAN OF STUDENT NON-VIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE BEFORE THE SENATE JUDICIARY SUB-
COMMITTEE ON THE APPOINTMENT OF JAMES P. COLEMAN TO THE
UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS FOR THE FIFTH CIRCUIT

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee,

I am John Lewis, Chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. After just having been released a few days ago after ten days in the Jackson, Mississippi, jail, it is with a troubled mind that I come before this committee to testify against the appointment of J. P. Coleman to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals. I cannot stress too strongly the opposition of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee to this appointment and I feel that most Americans would join us if they could foresee the results which would ensue from this appointment. Moreover this appointment is an affront and an insult to the Negro people of the South and to all Americans of good will.

Since 1954 our Federal judicial system has been the primary force in preventing a level of violence and bloodshed which the South has not witnessed since the Civil War. We know all too well Mr. Coleman's attitude regarding the 1954 Supreme Court decision, for it was he who said as late as 1963 that if he were elected governor there would be no further integration of the public schools of Mississippi

Since 1957 the Senate has passed a lengthy series of acts which purport to eliminate centuries of racial discrimination aimed at American Negroes. Now this same body is considering naming James Plemon Coleman to the branch of the United States Courts

which carries the heaviest load of civil rights litigation and holds a position of judicial power over the lives of millions of American Negroes second only to the United States Supreme Court. The results of this action may be predicted with certainty--a complete nullification of all the civil rights legislation which our Congress worked so hard to create.

Moreover this appointment can only result in the retarding of the growth of full citizenship for American Negroes, a policy which I feel neither this committee nor the United States Senate wishes to embrace. Furthermore if the United States Senate chooses to consent to this appointment then it goes on record as favoring the perpetuation of segregation, and all American Negroes will know once and for all just where this body stands on the racial issue. If this body wishes to eliminate or make ineffective past legislation, let it do so by outright repeal so that the American Negro knows where he stands. If this body wishes to ignore the years of suffering, of death, and of dingy prison cells that the Negro has had to face then let it confirm the appointment of J. P. Coleman. But on the other hand, if this body wishes to insure the enforcement of civil rights legislation then it has only one course of action to follow--refuse to consent to the appointment of J. P. Coleman, a vicious and clever segregationist.

If anyone in this room questions the truth of these charges, I direct his attention to the laws of the state of Mississippi which were passed during the period in which J. P. Coleman was governor of Mississippi and over his signature.

We of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee feel that

the record of James P. Coleman speaks for itself as a record of race hatred, prejudice and defiance of the United States Constitution, the Supreme Court and Congress. I would like to point out that as a United States judge, Mr. Coleman would be called upon to interpret the Constitution, laws of Congress and Supreme Court decisions. In light of his past actions can anyone question the result or the course that he would take?

I would like to make it crystal clear to this committee that we reject the argument that Mr. Coleman is the best that Mississippi has to offer. When is it that justice is based on the lesser of two evils? We also feel it is morally wrong for the President to appoint Mr. Coleman as a political pay-off for Mr. Coleman's work during the 1960 Kennedy-Johnson campaign. Furthermore we reject the argument that Mr. Coleman has changed his views. For during the 1963 gubernatorial campaign, Mr. Coleman's position was basically the same as his 1957 stand when he ran for Governor. Therefore we would rather see the seat remain vacant, for fair-minded judges from throughout America are now filling that vacancy.

Gentlemen, the issues are very clear—Negro citizens of this nation cannot and will not stand idly by while one of their major forums for seeking redress is eliminated. I feel obligated to put this committee and our nation on notice that the appointment of this outspoken segregationist is such a denial of justice that it may cause Negro citizens of the deep South, many of whom we work with every day, to lose faith in the judicial process. They may be forced, in the name of freedom, to carry on mass social dislocation and civil disobedience throughout the South. Gentlemen, the decision is yours. Thank you very much.

What's Wrong with the War in Vietnam? ^[ud]

I. KILLING IS THE SAME EVERYWHERE



Mother and brother cry for James Chaney, killed with Michael Schwerner and Andrew Goodman while working for civil rights in Mississippi.



"We have to convince the country that civil rights workers get killed in the South because the government has a certain attitude toward killing in Vietnam. The concept that it is all right to kill an 'enemy' affects the morality of the country so that people can be murdered here."

Courtland Cox of SNCC quoted in The Nation, July 19, 1965

Vietnamese woman cries for her dead.

LOVING ONE'S NEIGHBOR

ELECTRIC CATTLE PRODS IN GEORGIA

"At the landing, the G.B.I. [Georgia Bureau of Investigation] agent jammed the prodder into Shapiro's genitals and continued shocking him all over his body, including his eyes. The pain was so great that the youth jumped up and ran inside the police office, the agent running after him, burning the back of his neck."

"Miss Snyder was dragged into the jail reception room. Several minutes later, the G.B.I. agent entered and applied the cattle prodder next to her eye, raising a black welt. He then turned to Miss Klein and burned her legs and upper thighs."
-- The Gazette and Daily, York, Pa.

ELECTRIC PRODS IN SOUTH VIETNAM

"One of the most infamous methods of torture used by the government is partial electrocution -- or 'frying' as one U.S. adviser called it.... Sometimes the wires are attached to the male genital organs, or to the breasts of a Viet Cong woman prisoner.... Other techniques, usually designed to force onlooking prisoners to talk, involve cutting off the fingers, ears, fingernails or sexual organs of another prisoner. Sometimes a string of ears decorates the wall of a government military installation."
-- Beverly Deepe, N.Y. Herald Tribune

THE PEOPLE WILL WEEP

"Most liberals think of Mississippi as a cancer, as a distortion of America. But we think Mississippi is an accurate reflection of America's values and morality. Why else can't the people who killed Andrew, James, and Mickey be brought to justice, unless a majority of the community condones murder? Sheriff Rainey is not a freak; he reflects the majority. And what he did is related to the napalm bombings of 'objects' over Vietnam."
-- Bob Parris of SNCC

"...in a memorandum conveyed through the Central Intelligence Agency shortly before Mr. McNamara's trip, General Thi, the army's I Corps commander, called on the United States to send a great number of combat troops.... The memorandum said that the Americans must no longer concern themselves with the reaction of the Vietnamese people, that the need outweighed such political considerations."
-- The N.Y. Times, July 21, 1965

"...that course of action will lay a foundation of hatred on the part of the colored races of the world against the American people."
-- Senator Wayne Morse

"If the war hawks prevail and we become involved in a big war, they will rejoice. In the end the people will weep."
-- Walter Lippman

What's Wrong with the War in Vietnam?

II. THE PEOPLE CAN'T VOTE

A letter to the editor:

* * *

Perhaps our basic flaw in policy is that too many of our leaders, both military and political, have succumbed to the antidemocratic disease which has raged in our South for decades. We have a tendency to underestimate the little people on this globe, the brown people and the black people and the yellow people. We glory in our technology and in our weapons of death. We think that we can frighten them, that we can blast them to bits. And meanwhile they keep on singing, "We shall overcome!"

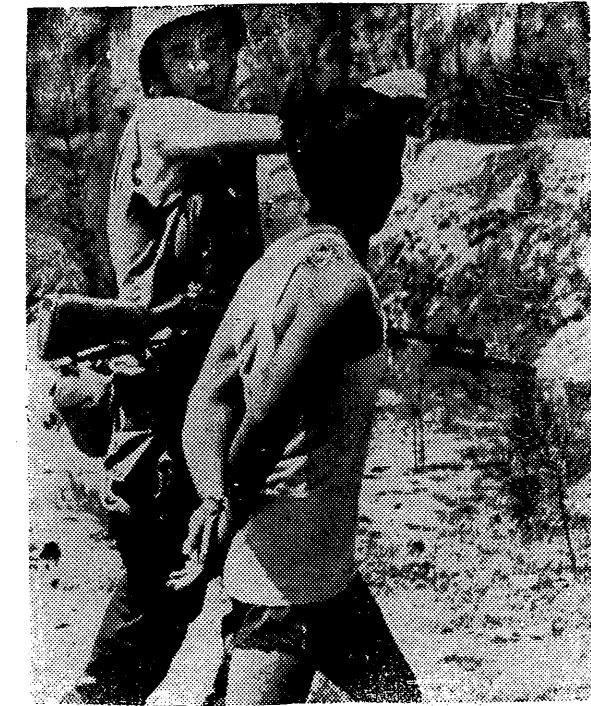
BERNARD FORER,
West Chester, Pa.
Washington Post,
3/30/65

1. Free elections were provided in the Geneva Agreement of 1954 (ending French war in Vietnam).
2. The U.S. stopped the elections from taking place.
3. The South Vietnamese demand: the right to vote.

He wants to vote --



He also wants to vote --



What's Wrong with the War in Vietnam?

III. IT MAY END IN BLOWING UP THE WORLD



"The Vietnam war must be
stopped. . . . It is worthless
to talk about integrating if there
is no world to integrate in."

-- Martin Luther King

Ruins of Nagasaki after atom bomb Aug. 9, 1945



GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE

THE GENEVA AGREEMENT OF 1954 PROVIDED FOR FREE ELECTIONS

"7. The Conference declares that, so far as Vietnam is concerned, the settlement of political problems, effected on the basis of respect for the principals of independence, unity and territorial integrity, shall permit the Vietnamese people to enjoy the fundamental freedoms, guaranteed by democratic institutions established as a result of free general elections by secret ballot. In order to ensure that sufficient progress in the restoration of peace has been made, and that all the necessary conditions obtain for free expression of the national will, general elections shall be held in July 1956...."

THE UNITED STATES AGREED TO ABIDE BY THE GENEVA AGREEMENT

"The Government of the United States...with regard to the aforesaid agreements and paragraphs...will refrain from the threat or the use of force to disturb them....In the case of nations now divided against their will, we shall continue to seek to achieve unity through free elections supervised by the United Nations to insure that they are conducted fairly."

-- Walter Bedell Smith, U.S. Representative to Geneva Conference

BUT ELECTIONS WERE NOT HELD

"Since President Diem's American advisers endorsed his decision against holding elections, the North Vietnamese felt free to accuse the United States of the first violation of the settlement."

-- Peter Grosse, N.Y. Times

DEMOCRACY IS PREVENTED IN SOUTH VIETNAM

"We talk about democracy in South Vietnam, but the United States has been the major force in preventing democracy in South Vietnam."

-- Senator Wayne Morse, in May 1965

AND DEMOCRACY IS PREVENTED IN OUR SOUTH

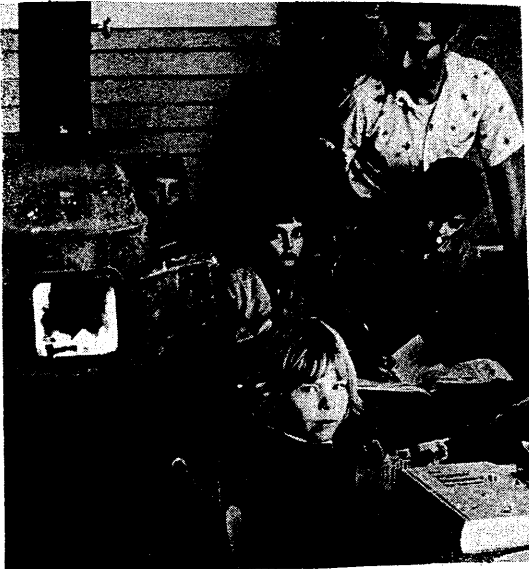
Few Negroes can vote in the South--for example, only 7% in Mississippi.

"The Mississippi challenge is the contest--filed on the first day of Congress this year on behalf of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party--to the right of the five Mississippi Congressmen to sit in the House of Representatives. It is based on the allegation that the Congressmen were nominated and elected in a primary and general election from which Negroes 'were regularly and systematically excluded by intimidation, harrassment, economic reprisal, property damage, terrorization, violence and illegal, unconstitutional registration procedures.'"

-- George Sloff, The Nation

What's Wrong with the War in Vietnam?

IV. WE NEED THE MONEY HERE



for schools, housing, medical care, JOBS!

for playgrounds, parks, urban renewal, old age assistance . . .



while

over 2 million dollars
are being spent in Vietnam
each day

with this result

THE ROAD TO NUCLEAR WAR

"While there has been no official announcement on the extent and nature of the planned increase in U.S. strength, there has been talk of doubling the American force by the end of the summer and raising it to 200,000 by next January. If Hanoi pours in more troops, the U.S. total could go much higher. At the height of the Korean War the U.S. had 250,000 men on the ground."

-- The N.Y. Times, July 25, 1965

"Senator George Aiken, Republican from Vermont, said today he was personally convinced the U.S. is preparing to expand the war in Southeast Asia and possibly to engage Communist Chinese land forces."

-- Washington Daily News, June 23, 1964

"Gen. Johnson U.S. Army Chief of Staff said nothing about any decisions taken in his visit to Vietnam...but sources close to the mission said topics under study had included commitment of U.S. combat troops, increased bombing of North Vietnam, selection of possible targets for nuclear attack..."

-- Washington Post, March 13, 1965

"I'm flatly and completely opposed to...the Vietnamese war...because American involvement in any Asian conflict is going to be a nuclear involvement. I am satisfied that there is no other way this country could meet the manpower and geographical advantages that a Chinese-backed force would have over us."

"I am permitted to say, within the bounds of secrecy and in my capacity as a member of the Foreign Relations Committee...that we cannot win a land war in Asia with American conventional ground forces. That is fully recognized by outstanding military experts."

-- Senator Wayne Morse, March, 1964

"How many megatons do you need to destroy? What we have on hand will kill over 300 million people in one hour."

-- President John F. Kennedy, July, 1963

"In my opinion, if nuclear war begins, it will be a war of extermination."

--Senator Richard Russell
Chairman of Armed Services Committee

"Ithaca, N.Y. (AP) -- Sen. Wayne Morse (D.-Ore.) has charged the U.S. with trying to build up the war in South Vietnam to the point 'where they will have an alibi and an excuse to bomb nuclear installations in Red China.'"

"Morse...also accused the Pentagon and the State Department of keeping necessary information from the American people."

-- The York Gazette and Daily, Feb. 24, 1965

What's Wrong with The War in Vietnam?

V. IT CAN'T BE WON

New World Coming

IDEAS CAN'T BE STOPPED WITH BOMBS



in Mississippi

Vietcong Terrain Battered by Bombs

By The Associated Press
SAIGON, South Vietnam.
Nov 24 — United States and
Vietnamese warplanes
bombed Com-

or in Vietnam



Associated Press Radiophoto

OUT OF THE LINE OF FIRE: A South Vietnamese crouches in cave for protection as U.S. Marines conduct operation against the Vietcong in the jungle near Saigon.

PEOPLE WANT TO DECIDE THEIR OWN AFFAIRS

in the South



and
in
Asia

TO PROMOTE THE GENERAL WELFARE

Headline: June 17, 1965, B-52's BOMB AREA NEAR SAIGON; 2 LOST

Cost of each B-52: 8 million dollars -- Cost of four modern schools: 8 million dollar

Headline: \$21 MILLION IN BOMBS DROPPED BY ONE U.S. SQUADRON IN 99 DAYS

"Da Nang, Vietnam (AP) -- Maj. James A. Minish and his men have cost Uncle Sam \$21,241,250 in 99 days.

"The \$21 million figure reflects the cost of the ordnance his squadron of F-100 fighter planes expended while flying nearly 1 3/4 miles and 2,200 sorties.

"It doesn't include the fuel consumption, salaries of the flyers, or the value of two planes lost in action....

"The \$21-million-plus total included 750,000 20mm cannon shells at \$2.05 each, 3,500 bombs at \$350 each, 2,250 napalm bombs at \$275, and 17,200 rockets at \$1,950 apiece."
-- The Gazette and Daily, York, Pa., July 9, 1965

The cost of the 17,200 rockets alone would provide \$4,000 annual income for over 8,000 families. Approximately two-thirds of all Negro families in the U.S. subsist on less than \$4,000 and almost one-third of white families live on less than \$4,000.

One billion dollars spent on military contracts provides only 85,000 jobs directly.
One billion dollars spent on school construction would create 130,000 jobs directly.

ONLY 7½ BILLION DOLLARS FOR PEOPLE --- 57 BILLION FOR THE MILITARY

The estimated national budget for last year ending June 30 came to 97.5 billion dollars. \$57.1 billion of this was spent for national defense and space, while only \$7.5 billion was spent for health, labor, education, housing and community development, poverty program, and aid to the needy.

"There is no doubt that America today is capable of bridging the huge gap between our unparalleled affluence and our grinding poverty. The proposed bill would authorize \$1,895 billion for fighting poverty. This amounts to one-third of 1% of the estimated \$660 billion gross national product for 1965. It provides for our domestic war against poverty less than 4% of this year's defense budget of \$53 billion..."

-- Rep. James H. Scheuer (House Debate on poverty program, July 21, 1965)

Saturation bombing of a two-square mile forest area 25 miles from Saigon, supposed to be a Vietcong base, resulted in two of the bombers destroyed in collision over the sea while refueling and another turned back because of mechanical failure, 500 tons of bombs dropped, 8 lives lost, destruction of the forest. No Vietcong soldiers were in the forest. (June 17, 1965)

Cost to the United States: \$20 million.

"THIS COUNTRY HAS GONE MAD"

Dear Internal Revenue Service:

To explain that I shall again refuse to pay that 60% of my income tax which goes for armaments:

"The rockets red glare, the bombs bursting in air, gave proof through the night that our flag was still there."

And the United States flag waves in the international winds as pompously and blindly and stupidly as Governor Wallace's Confederate flag waves in the storm winds over the Alabama State Capitol.

And most of the people of this country sit and watch it all on TV--all about the war in Vietnam, and they say either, "Tsch, tsch, isn't it frightening?" or "Let's bomb the hell out of them." THEM is a person, a man or a woman or a small child or a dog or a cat or a pet bird.

He chokes on our gas.

He is burned to death by our napalm.

He is shot in the head with our guns.

We compete with the Communists in methods of torture.

We talk about democracy and Christianity--and we try out a new fire bomb.

We talk about peace and we move thousands more men and nuclear weapons into Vietnam.

This country has gone mad.

But I will not go mad with it.

I will not pay for organized murder.

I will not pay for the war in Vietnam.

--Joan C. Baez

Bombs Kill Viet Village Innocents

By John T. Wheeler

BAGIA, South Viet-Nam, July 18 (AP)—The wailing of women and the stench of burned bodies greeted the column of troops as they marched wearily into Bagia.

* * *

Bagia, with a high percentage of Catholics, was considered a pro-government village. It was hit three days running with bombs, rockets and cannon fire from American and Vietnamese fighter bombers.

* * *

In explaining the bombing a U.S. Air Force officer said: "When we are in a bind like we were at Bagia we unload on the whole area to try to save the situation. We usually kill more women and kids than we do Viet Cong but the government troops just aren't available to clean out the villages so this is the only answer."



"We've got a larger than usual police force," Mayor Allen Thomson of Jackson explains. "It's twice as big as any city our size." The force was built up to control voter registration and other civil rights workers. "We're going to be ready for them," he explains, "they won't have a chance."

"THE TIMES, THEY ARE A-CHANGIN' "

HEARTS AND MINDS OF THE PEOPLE

"The battle can never be won unless the hearts and minds of the people can be won."
-- General William Westmoreland
Commander of U.S. troops in Vietnam

"The truth, which is being obscured from the American people, is that the Saigon Government has the allegiance of probably no more than 30 per cent of the people."
-- Walter Lippman, April, 1964

"Save for passing moments no Saigon Government has ever been able to command the loyalty, much less the affection of the masses. The administration and judicial systems have generally been weak and corrupt."
-- C. L. Sulzberger, N.Y. Times, March 17, 1965

"When you bomb a village of 3,000 people which perhaps five Viet Cong have infiltrated, you are going to create a lot more than five Viet Cong by the time you are finished bombing."
-- Roger Hilsman, former Ass't. Secretary of State, Sep't. 21, 1964

NO MILITARY VICTORY IS POSSIBLE

The French tried it for eight terrible years with 400,000 seasoned troops and \$3 billion in American aid. When casualties exceeded 170,000 men they were forced to sue for peace.

"To do whatever is needed to win that war would involve an open-ended commitment which could result in another situation like we had in Korea -- and I certainly am not prepared to say I want to go that far..."
-- Senator Karl E. Mundt, February 15, 1965

"We lost 157,000 dead and wounded in Korea. The fighting cost us \$18 billion. But, in the end, we had to go to the conference table. There had to be a political settlement. So it is with Southeast Asia."
-- Senator Frank Church, February 17, 1965

ESCALATING THE WAR -- FOR WHOM?

Week's Fighting in Vietnam Cost Lives of 15 Americans

WASHINGTON, July 1 (AP)
--Fifteen American servicemen died

23 U.S. DEAD LISTED IN VIETNAM IN WEEK

WASHINGTON, July 8 (AP)
--The total of American deaths in combat in South Vietnam rose by 23 to 469

34 U.S. Servicemen Killed In Week's Vietnam Combat

WASHINGTON, July 16 (AP)
--Thirty-four United States servicemen were killed in combat in Vietnam in the week ended July 12.

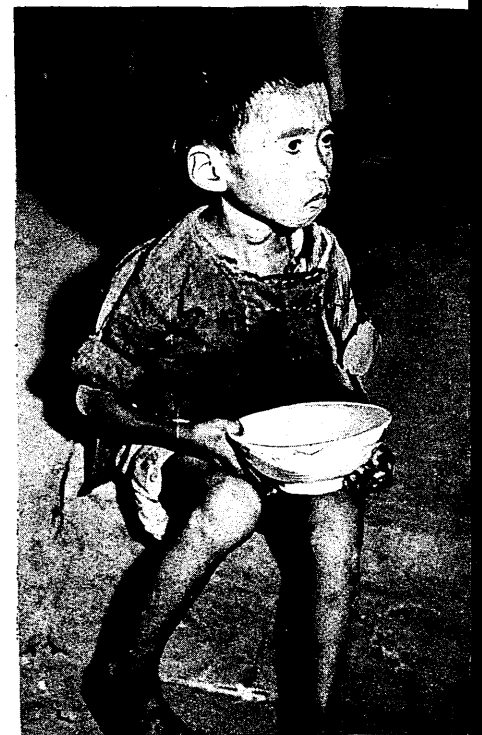
"Many countries, East and West, have accommodated themselves to the end of the old order in Asia. We will, too, eventually. The only question is how much blood and money we will waste first trying to turn the clock back."
-- Sen. Wayne Morse, N.Y. Times Magazine, Jan. 17, 1965

(End)

A Republic, or republican form of government, is one in which the citizens vote in order to elect representatives to make and execute decisions about how to run the government. The United States Constitution (Article 4, Section 4) guarantees to every state a republican form of government. Because the right to vote is vital to a republican form of government, the Constitution guarantees the right to vote in Article One (Section 2 and 4), and in the 14th, 15th and 19th amendments. But since 1890 the State of Mississippi has maneuvered to deny Negroes the right to vote.

Before 1890 the Constitution and laws of Mississippi provided that all male citizens could register to vote who were 21 years of age and over, and had lived in the state six months and in the county one month. The exceptions were those who were insane or who had committed crimes which disqualified them.

In 1890 there were many more Negro citizens than white citizens who were eligible to become qualified electors in Mississippi. Therefore, in that year a Mississippi Constitutional Convention was held to



Mrs. Donna Allen, 3306 Ross Pl. NW, Washington, DC 20008. Price 10¢. Bulk orders 5¢ each. Contributions needed for free distribution in South. Prepared by Donna Allen and Al Uhrig.

adopt a new State Constitution. Section 244 of the new Constitution required a new registration of voters starting January 1, 1892. This section also established a new requirement for qualification as a register voter; a person had to be able to read any section of the Mississippi Constitution, or understand any section when read to him, or give a reasonable interpretation of any section.

Under the new registration the balance of voting power shifted. By 1899 approximately 122,000 (82 percent) of the white males of voting age were registered. But only 18,000 (9 percent) of the Negro males qualified. Since 1899 a substantial majority of whites of voting age have become registered voters. But the percentage of Negro registered voters declined.

Between 1899 and 1952 several "public" methods were used to keep Negroes off the voter lists or out of the political process to ensure white supremacy. Many Negroes simply were not allowed to register. Literate Negroes were required to interpret sections of the Constitution to the satisfaction of a white registrar. All Negroes were excluded from the Democratic primary elections. Victory in the Democratic primary in Mississippi during this period meant victory in the general election.

In June, 1951, a U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that a person could register to vote if he could read OR, if unable to read, he could understand or interpret a provision of the State Constitution. A much higher percentage of voting-age Negroes were literate in 1951 than in 1890.

The Mississippi Legislators, all white, felt the Court's decision would enable many more Negroes to register to vote. Therefore, in 1952 the State Legislature passed a joint resolution proposing an amendment to Section 244 of the 1890 Mississippi Constitution. The proposed amendment would require a registration applicant to be able to read and interpret any section of the State Constitution. The proposed amendment was placed on the general election ballot, but failure to vote on the proposed amendment was counted as a negative vote and the amendment was not adopted.

On April 22, 1954, the State Legislature again passed a resolution to amend Section 244. This time however, several new qualifications were included in the proposal.

First, that a person must be able to read and write any section of the Mississippi Constitution; and give a reasonable interpretation of the Constitution to the county registrar.

Second, a person must be able to demonstrate to the county registrar a reasonable understanding of the duties and obligations of citizenship under a constitutional form of government.

Third, that a person make a sworn written application for registration on a form which would be prescribed by the State Board of Election

Commissioners.

Fourth, that all persons who were registered before January 1, 1954, were expressly exempted from the new requirements.

In October, 1954, Robert B. Patterson, executive secretary of the Mississippi Citizens' Councils, was reported to have said at a Citizens' Council meeting, "The amendment is intended solely to limit Negro registration," according to University of Mississippi professor Russell H. Barrett.

The burden of the new requirements had to fall on Negroes because a substantial majority of whites were already registered and therefore exempted from the amendment. Most Negroes would still have to apply for registration and therefore have to fulfill the new requirements. In 1954 at least 450,000 (63 percent) of the voting-age whites were registered. Approximately 22,000 (five percent) of the voting-age Negroes were registered. With 95 percent of the 472,000 eligible voters white, the proposed amendment to Section 244 was adopted on November 2, 1954. Thus, adoption of the amendment ensured that at least 95 percent of the electorate would be white.

"Although this same amendment failed to pass in 1952," the Association of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi reported, "it passed by a tremendous majority when the people of Mississippi, through the Citizens' Councils, were informed of the necessity and reason for the passage of this amendment."

The new requirements were to be administered by the county registrars. But, since at least 1892 all voter registrars in Mississippi have been white. (Indeed, it should be noted that since 1892 all state officials have been white.)

In January, 1955, an extraordinary session of the Mississippi Legislature was called in order that the adopted amendment to Section 244 could be inserted in the Constitution of 1890. At this session the State Legislature also passed legislation which implemented the amendment. The legislation required the interpretation test; the duties and obligations test; exempted persons registered prior to January 1, 1954; and directed the State Board of Election Commissioners to prepare a sworn written application form which the county registrars would be required to use in examining the qualifications of each applicant. In addition, the application forms were to be kept as permanent public records.

The amendment and its implementing legislation gave unlimited discretion to the county registrars in determining whether a voter registration applicant was qualified. Neither the constitutional nor the statutory provisions set any standards by which registrars should administer the tests.

Thus, Negroes in Mississippi must face a white registrar who has no legal guidelines for determining the manner in which these tests

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

[End]

CHAIRMAN JOHN LEWIS

John Robert Lewis is the only head of a civil rights organization elected by civil rights activists.

Lewis is 24 years old. He was born in Troy, Alabama. His mother is a laundress, and his father is a farmer and school bus driver.



He attended the public schools of Troy and Pike County, and was graduated from the American Baptist Seminary in Nashville, Tennessee with an A.B. degree in religion in 1961. He has done further study toward an A.B. degree in philosophy at Fisk University.

Lewis has been arrested 32 times. He was an organizer of the Nashville Student Movement and an original Freedom Rider. He was instrumental in continuing the rides after other civil rights groups withdrew their support contending the rides were "too dangerous." He suffered a beating from a mob when his bus arrived at Montgomery, Alabama on Mother's Day, 1961.

Since assuming SNCC's chairmanship, Lewis has visited and participated in SNCC projects in Mississippi, Arkansas, Georgia and Alabama.

He was a leader at the August 1963 March on Washington. His speech at that time kicked off SNCC's widespread use of the African slogan, "One Man - One Vote," which describes SNCC's Southwide program aimed at removing all barriers to the vote except age and residence.

Lewis is a board member of the Nashville Christian Leadership Conference, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

are to be administered; the length and complexity of the sections of the Constitution to be read, written and interpreted by the applicants; the standard for a reasonable interpretation of any section of the Mississippi Constitution; the standard for a reasonable understanding of the duties and obligations of citizenship; nor a standard of performance by the applicant in completing the application form.

The registrar has 285 sections of the 1890 Constitution from which to choose, some of which are as complicated as the question of the leases dealing with land purchases from the Choctaw Indians.

A 1963 Omnibus Suit challenging Mississippi's voting laws, filed in Federal Court by the Justice Department, maintains, "There is no rational or reasonable basis for requiring, as a prerequisite to voting, that a prospective elector, otherwise qualified, be able to interpret certain of the sections of the Mississippi Constitution."

The suit further states,

"... Registrars . . . have used, are using, and will continue to use the interpretation test and the duties and obligations test to deprive otherwise qualified Negro citizens of the right to register to vote without distinction of race or color. The existence of the interpretation test and the duties and obligations test as voter qualifications in Mississippi, their enforcement, and the threat of their enforcement have deterred, are deterring and will continued to deter otherwise qualified Negroes in Mississippi from applying for registration to vote."

But the suit does not stop at the voting qualifications themselves in attacking the efforts to keep Negroes from voting. The suit argues that since Negroes have been denied an equal public education, the state does not have the right to turn around and demand interpretation and understanding tests which reflect the quality of public education.

"In a state where public education facilities are and have been racially segregated and where those provided for Negroes are and have been inferior to those provided for white persons, an interpretation or understanding test as a prerequisite to voting, which bears a direct relationship to the quality of public education afforded the applicant violates the Fifteenth Amendment."

But the state of Mississippi was not through erecting barriers to Negro suffrage. In 1960, the Mississippi Legislature passed a joint resolution to amend Article XII of the Constitution of 1890 to include a new qualification, good moral character, to the list of qualifications to vote. On November 8, 1960, the new section (241-A) was adopted by the Mississippi electorate. Of the approximately 525,000 registered voters in Mississippi who were eligible to vote on this proposed amendment, about 95 percent were white, fewer than five percent were Negro.

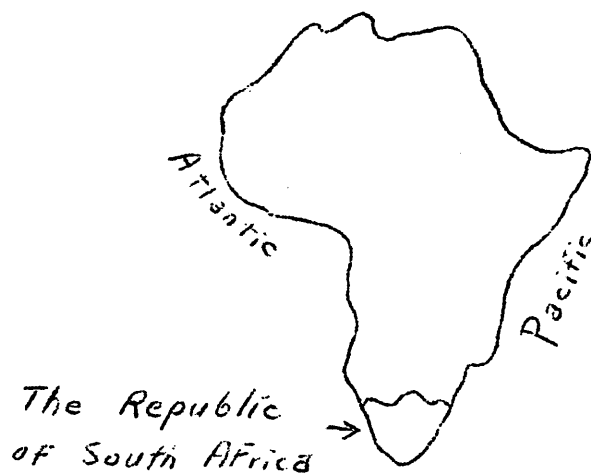
As in the cases of the other qualifications, the new amendment exempts most of the voting age whites from the requirement and in-

[end]

U.S DEMONSTRATIONS PLANNED AGAINST CHASE MANHATTEN BANK

On March 19, SDS (Students for a Democratic Society) will begin a series of demonstrations across the country against Chase Manhattan Bank, which, by lending the government of South Africa millions of dollars helps to support that racist dictatorship.

What follows is some background information on conditions in South Africa, and some more information about the demonstrations.



THE OPPRESSION AND SUFFERING OF OUR BROTHERS IN SOUTH AFRICA

The Republic of South Africa is run, as Mississippi and Alabama are, by a small number of racists who make all the important decisions. They decide where people will live, what they will do, how much freedom they have to speak and write about what they think -- in short, they make decisions about some of the most important things that people do.

These few men who make all the decisions are Africaners; that is, they are descendents of the first Dutch people who set up a colony there in South Africa in the 17th Century. They are 1/5 of the total population. These people, or most of them, believe -- just as many white southerners in this country believe -- in the superiority of their race. They feel very threatened by the movement across Africa, in the United States, and throughout the world, for racial equality and justice. Because of their fear, they have made the Republic of South Africa a terrorist state.

Up until 1963, there were still a few laws left to protect the people -- if they were lucky enough to know about those laws and do something. It is true that before 1963 Africans were sent into exile into remote areas in the land, and that people -- black or white -- who openly spoke out against the government could be (and were) banned from all public gatherings, placed under house arrest, and prevented from speaking or writing about what they thought. And it is true that police beat people in the jails. But usually the authorities disliked this, and sometimes police officers were prosecuted for beating the people. Also, if someone was jailed for a long time without being charged with a crime, his release could be obtained by applying for a writ of habeas corpus; or, at least, he would have to be charged with some crime and have a court trial.

But in May of 1963 a new law was passed -- called the General Law Amendment Act -- giving the Minister of Justice the power to hold anyone he pleased -- without charge or trial -- for 90 days; after the 90 days were up, he could hold them for another 90 days, and another, and another, for as long as he pleased. It was not necessary that the Minister of Justice ever charge them with a crime or bring them to trial; he could hold them in jail until they died, if he wished.

While in jail the prisoners were kept in solitary confinement. No one was allowed to visit them except a government magistrate, who came once a week. They were not to be allowed to have anything to write with, or any books to read except the Bible (many were denied even that.) Nobody knew who the people were who were being detained in jail, or how many there were except the Minister of Justice. (What the police sometimes did was throw the prisoners clothes out onto the pavement, laughing while relatives scrambled for the clothes, wondering if their son or daughter or husband or cousin would be hanged.) The police were given complete freedom to do as they pleased. South Africa had become a police state.

Then last November the Government of South Africa announced that the law (sometimes called the 90-day detention law) would be suspended after January 11 of this year. This was after more than 900 persons had been held under the law, and leading members of the resistance movement in South Africa had been convicted of sabotage. The reason for lifting the law, it is thought, is that the government has successfully broken the back of the resistance movement,

The Minister of Justice warned, however, that the law could go back into operation "within a quarter of an hour if the Government regards such

a step as necessary."

What about the mass of white Africaners in South Africa? Do they know what the police are doing to the blacks, and to the few whites who dare to speak out? Probably many of them do not know. Since the blacks and whites do not live in the same areas, it is easy for the police to terrorize blacks while many whites live in complete isolation and ignorance of what is happening. But many others do know, but are afraid to oppose the governments's policies for fear of what the police will do to them if they do.

Thus one could ask: who in the whole of South Africa is free? Certainly not the blacks. Nor the whites. Nor, perhaps, the police. (Is a man free if he must spend his entire life watching, imprisoning, and guarding other people?)

In addition to the complete lack of political freedom, Africans are now loosing all control over where they will live, and what kind of work they will do. The whites want two things in South Africa: the labor of the black people; and as complete separation of the races as possible. So what they are doing is setting up separate states -- called Bantustans -- for the black people. These separate states make up 13% of the land, the poorest land in the country. These separate states will be no more than colonies under the rule of the whites. For, although the separate states will have a legislature, all matters relating to defence, internal security, and foreign affairs will be handled by the whites. Further, no white man can be subject to any of the laws the Africans pass, and no white man will be able to be brought before a black court.

Africans will be allowed to go into the white areas only as laborers. They will have no rights at all in the white areas, and will not be allowed to reside there. Further, minor government officials will have the power to shift the Africans around to meet labor needs and to suit their other needs.

What all of this will mean to family life -- how much human suffering will be added to the black South Africans already-heavy load, is something we can only imagine. The sufferings of the African slaves when they were torn from Africa and sold in this country give us some idea of what our brothers in South Africa are going through now.

How does the present government in South Africa (which is run by the Nationalists under a man named Verwoerd) stay in power? First, many of the people support his policies -- just as many white southerners in this country support Gov. Johnson and Wallace. Secondly, the government has the power. It has an army which is strong enough to suppress any resistance movement that has existed so far in South Africa. Thirdly, the world outside of South Africa has thus far refused to use what pressures it could to bring about changes in the present South African government's policies, or else the downfall of that government.

The United Nations passed a resolution (which was strongly supported by the African-Asian bloc) to apply economic sanctions against the Republic of South Africa. The United States and Great Britain abstained from this resolution. And since these two countries are two of the biggest investors in South Africa, an economic boycott of South Africa without their participation would have little effect.

Why won't the United States act. One reason is that there has not been much pressure from public opinion in this country to make the government act. Another major reason, certainly, is because of our large investments in South Africa, which would be hurt if we applied economic pressure on that country.

One of these large investors is the Chase Manhattan Bank. In 1961 this bank loaned \$10 million to the government of South Africa to keep its economy going. In 1963 the same bank participated in a \$40 million revolving credit plan.

What can be done about Chase Manhattan's support of the Verwoerd dictatorship? Around March 19, SDS (Students for a Democratic Society) will begin a series of nationwide demonstrations to protest the role of American business interests in South Africa. The action in New York City will be around the Chase Manhattan Bank; other kinds of action are planned for other places around the country. These demonstrations will, at least, be a beginning of public protest by the American people against any kind of support for the South African government.

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In preparation for the March 19 action, Paul Potter, President of SDS wrote a letter on January 22 to the Chase Manhattan Bank demanding that "the bank cease lending money and in other ways supporting the dictatorship in South Africa." The Chase Manhattan Bank sent the following letter in response:

"..... If we consider the receiver of a loan [in this case South Africa] to be financially responsible, we do business with him, regardless of his nationality, religion, or political views. A loan to the Republic of South Africa is considered sound banking business, and we feel it would be unwise and unfair if we, as a bank, made judgments that were not based on economics.... If one hopes for changes in the Republic of South Africa, or elsewhere, it would do little good to withdraw economic support...."

The Atlanta Office

(Note: Information comes from newspapers, and from Brian Bunting's recent book The Rise of the South African Reich.)

[nd]

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES:

We, the undersigned, civil-rights organizations working in the South, protest the announced plans of the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) to investigate the Ku Klux Klan.

We urgently request that you, as proposed earlier by some of the signers of this statement, name a bipartisan presidential commission to investigate the entire pattern of violence and the crisis in law enforcement in the South.

We further urge that such a commission be instructed to recommend any new laws it deems necessary, and to turn all evidence it uncovers over to the Justice Department for prosecution of those guilty of criminal acts.

Our reasons for making this request are as follows:

1. We are opposed to the investigation of any group by HUAC, because HUAC's history proves that it probes men's minds rather than their acts, thus violating our Bill of Rights. As organizations dedicated to peaceful social change, we are dependent on the weapons provided in our Bill of Rights and cannot let them be destroyed--even if the immediate target might be our opponents.

2. We believe that no investigation by HUAC---even if it avoided violations of civil liberties---could deal adequately with violence done by the Ku Klux Klan. HUAC's history proves that it is a racist group that has consistently attacked the same people and movements the Klan has attacked.

3. It is common knowledge that the so-called investigation of the Klan will soon become a new attack on civil-rights groups. The chairman has said the Committee will not overlook what he calls "subversive" influence in the civil-rights movement. Such labelling is the same old method of attack long used to hamper work for civil rights.

4. An investigation of the Klan falls far short of what is needed to meet the crisis in the South. There is also urgent need for prosecution of criminal acts by Southerners who may not be Klan members but who participate in violence and intimidation against Negroes. This includes some supposedly respectable citizens, some law-enforcement officers, and some public officials.

We who are on the front lines of the struggle for human rights ask that our work not be hampered by a circus-type HUAC investigation. In the past two years, there have been 11 murders of persons connected with civil-rights work in Alabama, and uncounted numbers in Mississippi and other states. This breakdown in law and morality demands an investigation by persons whose integrity and past qualify them to probe into the fundamental causes of Southern violence. This can be accomplished by reactivating the Warren Commission that investigated the Kennedy assassination or by naming a similar commission of like stature.

Let it be made clear by our Federal Government that in this country we attach as much importance to the murder of an unknown civil rights worker as we do to the murder of a President, for the very meaning of America is centered in our belief that each individual life is sacred and each citizen entitled to equal protection. As we reaffirm that belief, we save the soul of this nation.

[mo]

state organizations, will carry out a campaign to dissuade new businesses and industries from locating in Bluefield and other segregated cities throughout the state. Another major aim of the Confederation will be to seek the legislative enactment of a Fair Employment Practices Commission and the passage of state civil rights legislation concerning all the foregoing issues.

The group plans to focus its immediate attention on integrating the city of Bluefield. Plans also are being made to appeal the decision of the state Board of Education not to review the case of Bill Weimar, civil rights leader suspended from Concord College.

Student civil rights leaders will meet Feb. 26 in Charleston, W. Va., to formulate the specific aims, objectives and methods of the Confederation.

Nov. 29th.
Horwitz/ Jones

[nd]

A story appeared in the New Orleans Times Picayune on the front page saying that Cofo is closing shop in Mississippi. The story appeared first in the Picayune in the final state edition and then sent to AP and to papers in that area and perhaps to the nation, and printed in the Clarion Ledger. The story was also on the local TV station in Jackson.

The story begins, "Mississippi may soon see the last of Cofo the loose knit mixture of Negro civil rights activists and white student volunteers which became a prime target of segregationists in a national newstory. The prime reason is financial but more particular reason is because Cofo attracted Marxists whom Negroes will no longer tolerate. The FBI, the story goes on, has kept an exhaustive check on all workers in the state and found that 2 out of 7 had references to organizations on the Subversives lists and some were themselves well-known members in the Communist Party. The article quoted a Jackson Negro minister as saying that "the Negro community doesn't like what's happening in that group, cofo, and for some time we have been concerned over the kind of radical people who have moved in." Many sources of financial support have been withdrawn based upon recommendations of the local Negroes. The article mentioned Bob Moses, Roy Wilkins and Hunter Morey. Bob Moses in answer to a question as to whether there were pro-communists in the movement replied, the article said, that "No one can baldly say that the movement leaders or its motivation had communist motivation. ~~Marxists~~ The articles said that Moses had now gone from the scene reportedly to be in NY and apparently there is no one in real authority in the cofo movement here. The article mentioned that "where funds from the African trip came from is believed to have been subject of a serious international disagreement in the rights movement. When Wilkins was in Jackson he indicated a break between his organization and cofo and specifically ~~the~~ mentioned the freedom schools saying, "We don't know what is being taught there."

2

The article quoted Hunter Morey as saying that "Cofo was ~~losing~~ had less people and less money but it was not moving out. ~~Marxists~~ The Clarion-Ledger said that Hunter Morey, a Columbia law student said that Cofo is moving out. the word not is omitted

The author of the article was ? Bill Minor a Times staff correspondent in Jackson and a stringer for Newsweek. (Jackson 355-6438)

Press release sent out by Jackson (paraphrased)

Dave Dennis ass't. program director of Cofo "the statements made by some TV and newspapers that cofo is moving out of Mississippi are absolutely false. We will stay on in Mississippi until all the people of the state, regardless of race or creed are treated as human being and equal under the law. Contrary to the stories in the press, more and more local people are participating in all

the 38 projects which we have throughout the state. More and more local people are being added to our staff and making important decisions about what is to be done. his summer we'll be expecting even more than the 850 volunteers who ~~will~~ will be joining us.

In January Antioch College will begin a permanent training session for Summer volunteers. Nine Antioch students among 25 students from the best universities in America will come to Mississippi. There are many applications from the students in the south.

~~Marxists~~ Cofo has never been wealthy, -- this was never any secret -- but we are in a much better position today than when we started. We gained knowledge which comes only from experience and believe that time is on our side. Despite wishful thinking by some members of the press who dishonor the name of journalism by using the half-truths and outright lies, we shall continue in Mississippi until our job is done.

Hunter knows Minor as a reporter who had been friendly and helpful throughout the summer and called him a few days and asked why the office had been closed. Hunter said because we are re-organizing the office. He also said, "I have heard that cofo is pulling out and removing the radicals from our ranks." Hunter said he thought it was a plant by the right wing sources, Hunter said the sources were not right wing ones.

Jackson is going to have a press conference today at 2 PM.

The FBI was called and the agent refused to give his name but said, It was not an official release from Jackson or Hoover. It was probably a figment of the imagination of the Times. He made no further comment.

Minor was called and said to the party who had not read the article that the questions he asked could be answered by the article.

Bob Moses called and he had no comment.

[end]

Henry David Thoreau

"Under a government which imprisons any unjustly, the true place for a just man is also in prison. The proper place today, the only place which Massachusetts has provided for her freer and less desponding spirits, is in her prisons, to be put out and locked out of the state by her own act, as they have already put themselves out by their principles. It is there that the fugitive slave, and the Mexican prisoner on parole, and the Indian come to plead the wrongs of his race, should find them; on that separate but more free and honorable ground, where the state places those who are not with her but against her--the only house in a which a free man can abide with honor.

"If any think that their influence would be lost there, and their voices no longer afflict the ear of the state, that they would not be as an enemy within its walls, they do not know by how much truth is stronger than error, nor how much more eloquently and effectively he can combat injustice who has experienced a little in his own person.

"Cast your whole vote, not a strip of paper merely, but your whole influence. A minority is powerless while it conforms to the majority; it is not even a minority then; but it is irresistible when it clogs by its whole weight.

"If the alternative is to keep all just men in prison, or give up war and slavery, the state will not hesitate which to choose. If a thousand men were not to pay their tax bills this year, that would not be a violent and bloody measure, as it would be to pay them, and enable the state to commit violence and shed innocent blood.

"This is, in fact, the definition of a peaceful revolution, if any such is possible. If the tax gatherer or any other public officer asks me, as one has done, 'But what shall I do?' my answer is, 'If you really wish to do anything, resign your office.' When the subject has refused allegiance and the officer has resigned his office, then the revolution is accomplished.

"But even suppose blood should flow. Is there not a sort of blood shed when the conscience is wounded? Through this wound a man's real manhood and immortality flow out, and he bleeds to an everlasting death. I see this blood flowing now....

"Must the citizen ever for a moment, or in the least degree, resign his conscience to the legislator? Why has every man a conscience, then? I think that we should be men first, and subjects afterwards. It is not desirable to cultivate a respect for the law so much as for the right. The only obligation which I have a right to assume is to do at any time what I think right. It is truly enough said, that a corporation has no conscience; but a corporation of conscientious men is a corporation with a conscience.

"Law never made men a whit more just; and, by means of their respect for it, even the well-disposed are daily made the agents of injustice. A

common and natural result of an undue respect for law is that you may see a file of soldiers, colonel, captain, corporal, privates, powder-monkeys, and all, marching in admirable order over hill and dale to the wars, against their wills, aye, against their common sense and consciences, which make it very steep marching indeed, and produces a papitation of the heart. They have no doubt that it is a damnable business in which they are concerned; they are all peaceably inclined. Now, what are they? Men at all? or small movable forts and magazines, at the service of some unscrupulous men in power....

"The mass of men serve the state thus, not as men mainly, but as machines, with their bodies. They are the standing army, the militia, jailers, constables, posse comitatus, etc. In most cases there is no free exercise whatever of the judgment or of the moral sense; but they put themselves on a level with wood and earth and stones; and wooden men can perhaps be manufactured that will serve the purpose as well. Such command no more respect than men of straw or a lump of dirt. They have the same sort of worth only as horses and dogs. Yet such as these even are commonly esteemed good citizens.

"Others--as most legislators, politicians, lawyers, ministers, and office holders--serve the state chiefly with their heads; and, as they rarely make any moral distinctions, they are as likely to serve the devil, without intending it, as God.

"A very few, ~~has~~ heroes, patriots, martyrs, reformers in the great sense, and men, serve the state with their consciences also, and so necessarily resist it for the most part; and they are commonly treated as enemies by it.

"A wise man will only be useful as a man, and will not submit to be 'clay' and 'stop a hole to keep the wind away' but leave that office to his dust at least:

"I am too high-born to be propertied,
To be secondary at control,
Or useful serving man and instrument
To any sovereign state throughout the world."

From "Essay on the Duty of Civil Disobedience."

Howard Zinn

"There is a strong probability that this July and August will ~~constitute~~ constitute another 'summer of discontent.' The expectations among Negroes in the Black Belt have risen to the point where they cannot be quieted. CORE (Congress of Racial Equality), SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Conference), and the intrepid youngsters of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, are determined to move forward.

"With the high probability of intensified activity in the Black Belt this summer, the President will have to decide what to do. He can stand by and watch Negro protests smashed by the local police, with mass jailings, beatings, and cruelties of various kinds. Or he can take

the kind of firm action suggested above (enforce the law), which would simply establish clearly what the Civil War was fought for a hundred years ago, the supremacy of the U.S. Constitution over the entire nation. If he does not act, the Negro community may be pressed by desperation to move beyond the nonviolence which it has maintained so far with amazing self-discipline.

"Thus, in a crucial sense, the future of non-violence as a means for social change rests in the hands of the President of the United States. And the civil rights movement faces the problem of how to convince him of this, both by words and by action. For, if non-violent direct action seems to batter itself to death against the police power of the Deep South, perhaps its most effective use is against the national government. The idea is to persuade the executive branch to use its far greater resources of nonviolent pressure to break down the walls of totalitarian rule in the Black Belt.

[nd]

some notes on education

I have been thinking about this: Mrs. Hamer is more educated than I am. That is -- she knows more.

But, not if knowledge is a lot of different information, not if knowledge is exclaiming that information in many different ways: explaining it politically, or in terms of history. Not if knowledge means a lot of different facts in my head.

Not if knowledge means being ready to get a job in the machine society. Not if knowledge is knowing about injustice, because I know that, too. I know what is unjust. I know what to say in Atlantic City or Washington. I know the things I feel and the words to speak. I know what every citizen deserves. I know what every human being deserves.

She knows too. But she knows something else. What does she know?

She knows that she is good.

If she didn't know that, she couldn't get up and sing the way she sings. She wouldn't stand there, with her head back and sing! She couldn't speak the way that she speaks and the way she speaks is this: she announces!

I do not announce. I apologize.

I am a poet. I write very beautiful poems and many people love the poems. But a poem, and anything someone feels deeply, must be spoken, announced. I give my poems to people and let them read the poems. I should stand up and announce the poems. A poem, in this revolution, is like an announcement; it is an announcement about truth and justice, hunger and cold, and about caring for people. We have to shout these things. We have to announce them!

I cannot announce. There is something inside me... and it is IN rather than MISSING FROM ME. Something inside me that makes me hide in all kinds of ways.

I am proud of the poems. I know that they are good. People who read them say they are good. I know it in myself. I trust the poems. I trust my mind which, after all, produced the poems. If I did not trust the poems, I wouldn't give them to people to read.

BUT THERE IS SOMETHING WRONG. THERE IS SOMETHING I DO NOT TRUST. AND IT MAKES ME HIDE. It makes me hide in a strange way. A physical way! I sit in the corner instead of in the middle of the room. My hands shake. My throat closes up. My chest gets tight. Why? Why? Why?

Because somehow I don't trust part of myself. I DON'T LIKE PART OF MYSELF. That's why I hide it. Mrs. Hamer never hides. She knows more than I know. She knows she is good. And somehow -- I think I am not good. I am not worth while. Even though I have worthwhile things to say, even though somebody asks me to say them, even though I am sick and tired of people being silent, sick and tired of injustice and suffering.

I still cannot announce. She can announce. I believe that is because she is not ashamed of herself, of her body, of her strong voice, of anything about her. I believe she is not ashamed because she knows she is good! BUT HOW DOES SHE KNOW? Did she learn it in school? From SNCC? Or maybe it is that I 'know' something. Maybe I was taught something. MAYBE I WAS TAUGHT THAT I WAS BAD.

2 some notes on education

I believe this self-hiding and apologizing is true of many people. Even when they have plenty to say, the words with which to say it, the sense of justice which demands that it be said, and the knowledge (intellectually) that they have the absolute right to say it.

And I believe this ability to announce which Mrs. Hamer has - is part of what draws the 'intellectual' to her. And I believe she knows more. She knows she is good.

Not because Negroes are good. That is meaningless. Because human beings are good. More universal than race, and far more personal than race...altho her strength in announcing is related to being Negro in some sense. For one thing, additional confidence stems from the presence of justice 'on our side', from the history of victories now, from the determination to be free as Negro, from the fact that everything she tells is absolutely true.

But - why can't we all be announcers? We know the facts, and we have the determination (or do we) to be free.

She knows.
She knows she is good.

How does she know? Did she learn it in school? Did she learn it from SNCC? Does she really know it?

Or do we 'know' something else? Did we learn something else in the schools, and the cities and towns?

Were we taught something she wasn't taught? Perhaps taught that we are bad!

The question is not now whether we are hung-up. I think that is clear. We, staff. We, poets. We, Americans. We, intellectuals.

I know that I am. And the question is not whether release is desirable. It certainly is. My poems are only half poems - and I only half free. I want to be free. I want to announce these poems, because they are true and good and beautiful...and I must 'know' that I am also.

The questions are - some of them anyway:

Why Mrs. Hamer announces and I don't?
Where did she learn this and I didn't?
Is it learned?
Or is its opposite learned?
Is goodness a given? Badness a lesson?
Why did she survive learning badness?

What can we do?

I believe goodness is given. Man is good. Children allowed to grow freely at home, freely in their society - freely, meaning naturally - do NOT learn shame. It does not matter that the wider society is telling them they are bad. It really does not matter as much as other things matter. If it did, then northern intellectual middle class Negroes would be less hung-up than Mississippi Negroes and, in their personal lives, I believe they are much more hung up, more apt to apologize, to be unable to announce. Why?

We were born 'good' - able to announce, to be physically free as far as physical slavery is psychological and not physical (jails).

If we are born 'good', then 'badness' is taught. Shame is learned. I learned it.

Mrs. Hamer did not learn it in spite of being a Negro in the Delta of Mississippi.

It is learned somewhere else. The question is - where did I go that she did not go, learn what she did not learn - shame - so that, in this sense, she knows more. She knows that she is good.

I went into society. I was there. And that is where I learned that I was bad. Bad: not racially inferior, not socially shameful, not guilty as white southerner, not 'culturally deprived,' not unequal as woman...but Bad.

Personal, separately, individually BAD. It had very little to do with racial guilt, just as Mrs. Hamer's personal 'goodness' has little to do with being Negro. Race adds to, it does not cause this kind of personal - I am good, I am bad.

3. Some notes on education, cont.,

Society - the whole thing. Which works so incredibly well, so subtly, so totally that it is almost impossible to trace the course of learning badness.

Each person has to dig into his own special history. We can merely talk about some of the institutions which taught us shame -- some taught better than others because they captured us first, or at the most vulnerable time, or more subtly.

Every institution has worked with every other institution to see that we are completely smashed to as ourselves. It does not follow that replacing these with new institutions will prevent this recurring: an institution is, by nature, un-natural. Selves are natural; community is natural. I don't want to talk about the necessity of institutions, because I just don't know whether that is so or not. I want to talk about some institutions which helped to smash me.

the family: Suffice it to say, because my mother did not receive enough love and was also smashed by the time I was born, she did not give me enough. It is not her fault. Things happened, in the family, which taught shame. Little things- like not being told where babies come from and being made to feel 'bad' for even asking, like sex is hidden and shameful, it is shameful to run outside without clothes, it is 'wrong' to play with this child and instead you must play with that child and, at age six, you must stop playing with the cook's little boy - he is not only male, he is black! So we grew, to use a term, in insecurity and guilt.

the school: and we tremble in fear the first day. the public school system in America is so horrible, so sick, so damaging that many never recover. The first battle is between teacher and child. Usually, she is teaching because she doesn't have anything else to do and is underpaid, under-rated, smashed. The child must pay for her frustrations. Second battle is between conformity and creativity. It is for the most part, only a skirmish. Few children will ask creative questions, or act naturally, more than four or five times. If you are bored with reading DICK AND JANE and say so, or twist in your seat, or drop your pencil - you've had it. And in addition to smashing your nature, you learn very soon something is wrong with you to ask such questions in the first place and confusion sets in@ conformity and shame. It's one or the other. No matter what you feel, you must act the opposite way -- assuming, you have the natural feelings left.

I used to throw up in class once a week. And my brother, by third grade, had a severe stomach ulcer. He was seven years old. Of Course! And we were not exceptional!

the church: seems to exist because of an idea that man is evil and must atone for that evil. And, to continue to exist, must disseminate that idea.

The problem is -- you cannot atone. You were born bad. That is "original sin" and no matter what you do, you are a sinner.

Even little babies are sinners.

Irregardless of the degree of fundamentalism, every religion that I ever heard of, is based on some aspect of the doctrine of man's evil nature.

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4. Some notes on education, cont.,

For this reason, without pretending to be subtle, the church is a fully accredited anti-human, inhuman institution. It exists because man is bad.

I enter high school. I am almost finished. I have learned to mistrust every single feeling I have, and to repress these feelings, and to act in the opposite way. So, I am guilty, repressed, and more or less schizoid.

I join clubs. Make grades. Go to college for the finishing touches and everything is reinforced with the additional factor that now I am finally doing something "worthwhile."

I am not worthwhile, but college is - so I give it all I've got. Maybe it will compensate for my badness. I emerge, I crawl out, clutching a diploma, a transcript, a strange accumulation of meaningless data, a place in society.

I fit exactly. I was made to fit.

Sometimes I wiggle and stretch. I get smashed. After all the grades and honors, I am still guilty. Made to feel shame. I stop wiggling. Or, at best, finally, I outcast myself - but the self I outcast has its scars. I write (never announce I accomplish (never live), I relate (never touch), I am witty (not joyful), and freedom is a kind of historical concept about people and governments, unrelated to me.

I DO NOT KNOW I AM NOT FREE.

And my fellowmen have no remote idea what produces their concerns and migraines, their ulcers and sterilities, frigidity, and crack-ups ... and don't want to know

So we build bombs. We are fairly confident that we are under control, but you can't be too sure about the Russians. And, even about us, nowadays, so we girdle ourselves with HUAC-FBI-CIO and nothing breaks forth which can't be easily covered again.

I learned I was bad, that something was wrong with me. Once I really learned it, I learned it over and over. Having too much shame to read the poems, I do not read the poems and the - I am ashamed for not reading the poems and so it goes and it is a statement of miraculous and beautiful man that he has survived at all!

I was there. Mrs. Hamer was not there. Not in. And it is very ironic that segregation, in a very real sense, freed the Negro from a society which enslaves the self.

Segregation, separation, denial of choice, feelings of inferiority, hunger, poverty - are negative. To keep someone away from society is negative... BUT THE SOCIETY IS ALSO NEGATIVE. Society, in and of itself was and is NOT desirable, was and is destructive. The right to choose is desirable, and essential.

I learned shame. Somehow, the shame was directly related to my physical self.

That is why I cannot announce. Reach out. Which is the same thing.

5. some notes on education, cont.,

And that is why we lack full power. That is why the poems are less than they really are. and the movement. And the staff.

And that (lack of full power of selves due to shame) THAT IS HOW AMERICA has destroyed what SNCC might have been.

HUAC did not need to come to Atlanta. All we had to do was to refuse to break out, to smash out, of what we had learned at home, in school, and in SNCC, the institution!

AND that is tragic.

The maintaining of SNCC for its own sake, the creation of an institution, the maintaining of an institution, the party line, the values, the = isolation of each other, of non-SNCC people, the judgments, the conformity, the rigid refusal to burst

is because enough people in SNCC are afraid to be free!

Absolutely threatened by the possibility of becoming free and that is why, enough people in SNCC prefer "revolution" to freedom.

We don't want to be free. We are afraid to be free. We don't know what it means to be free. It's almost unknown. We fear the unknown and, at the same time, we have an inkling that freedom would be good.

But we are bad.

Freedom would be fun.

But we are bad.

We are a protestant culture, guilty. We are bad. We do not deserve freedom. We must atone. Be solemn, atone, Be somebody, clutch power. Be SNCC, hold tight ... but do not be free.

SNCC is afraid to be free, but the people of Mississippi are not afraid to be free!

And Mrs. Hamer knows more than I.

What else? The negative - being kept away from society - is strengthened by positive elements: Negroes maintained a closeness with the earth (which is of course ironic), with physical earth; a closeness with each other in the sense of community developed out of dependence, some of which is very desirable in spite of the 'self-sufficiency ethic; a matriarchal society, which while it must not negate the man, will be proven to be a better and healthier structure; the strength of being poor.

All of these have ambiguities. Obviously. And I have a poem which goes... at the end: "poverty ... negates the strength of being poor"

And another poem:

6. some notes on education, cont.

when people dont have anything
they have community

I have walked alone
and children ran
to me

I have stood alone
and feathers
fell

when my hands
were empty

they
were
held

Mrs. Hamer knows that she is good. She does not believe she is bad. She is not afraid to announce. She is not afraid to be free. Because more than anything else, society did not get the chance to teach her otherwise.

Finally, I perhaps know something that she does not know. The fact that I know that she knows more, is to know something she does not know.

To stand up and sing is joy. To be aware of the self who stands up and sings joyfully - is an additional joy. That's all.

To know justice and speak out is good and a joy. To know already what Camus said of justice is good and a joy. But to enjoy the clean prose of Camus is an additional joy. That's all.

We are good. To live is to experience that goodness with others and with earth; to be joyful, enjoy

The 'good' education should increase joy.

The 'good' education should allow us to know we are good and others are good and earth and music are good... because knowledge of goodness is an additional joy!

And we have the right to be free. Freedom is good and we deserve it. We, too.

js

Jane Stenbridge

NEWS RELEASE
THE ATLANTA COMMITTEE FOR FEDERAL RESPONSIBILITY
P. O. Box 167
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

[end]

ATLANTA, GEORGIA - A massive "March on Atlanta" has been planned for Tuesday, March 16.

The march - from both East and West sides of Atlanta - will terminate at the Old Post Office on Forsyth Street. The demonstration has been called to protest police brutality and the denial of the right to vote in Alabama.

As their demands, the marchers list:

federal legislation which will set voting requirements in all 50 states at residence and age;

the arrest and prosecution of Dallas County (Alabama) Sheriff Jim Clark and Alabama Director of Public Safety Al Lingo and those acting in concert with them under Sections 241, 242 of Title 18 of the United States Code for their participation in the March 7 beating and teargassing of Negroes in Selma;

increased federal activity in Alabama, including protection for citizens exercising their constitutionally guaranteed rights, including the right to peacefully assemble, to petition their government for a redress of grievances, and to attempt to register to vote.

A committee to coordinate the march, the Atlanta Committee For Federal Responsibility, has asked Atlanta citizens to gather at Ebenezer Baptist Church on Auburn Avenue and at the Atlanta University Center near Chestnut and Fair Streets at 1:00 PM on Tuesday, March 16.

The demonstrators will walk to the federal building and present their demands to representatives of the federal government there.

The route of the march has been cleared with Atlanta police officials.

Among the groups having representatives on the Atlanta Committee For Federal Responsibility are:

the AME Ministers Alliance; the Atlanta NAACP; the Baptist Ministers Union; the Committee On Appeal For Human Rights; Georgia Students For Human Rights; the Metropolitan Atlanta Civic Council; the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; the Student Association of the Atlanta University School of Social Work; and local members of the Southern Conference Education Fund, Inc. and the American Association of University Professors.

-30-

FOR ADDITIONAL INFORMATION, CONTACT:

Julian Bond
March Publicity Committee
688-0331

ON ARKANSAS IN GENERAL

People have often asked: "How do Negroes live in Arkansas?" The question is simple enough and so is the answer - Negroes live under essentially the same conditions in Arkansas as they do anywhere else in the South.

On economics - Arkansas is 49th in per capita income, 49th in money spent per pupil in public schools, and 49th in teachers salaries. 55% of the students (black and white) graduated by Arkansas colleges every year leave the state. According to a survey by the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare the Negro population of Little Rock was the poorest of any city in the United States with a population over 100,000 people.

(Arkansas is first in one thing, however. The University of Arkansas has the number one football team in the nation).

Politically, Arkansas has the most powerful delegation, man for man, in the United States Congress. Representative F.C. Guthings is the third ranking Democrat on the Agriculture Committee and is the chairman of the subcommittee on cotton. Representative Wilbur Mills is the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee. Representative Oren Harris is the chairman of the Commerce Committee and Representative James Trimble is the 5th ranking Democrat on the Rules Committee. Senator William Fulbright is the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee and Senator Jon L. McClellan is the chairman of the Government Operations Committee and is the 3rd ranking Democrat on the Judiciary Committee.

On the state level, the Democratic machine is very strong. Orval Faubus is in his 6th term as governor and the members of the State Legislature make him look green. Arkansas is now under court order to reapportion both state and federal districts - this may change things considerably. In addition, the Republican Party is gaining strength and although it has nothing really to offer either the Negro or the poor in general in the state, it can break the seemingly unbreakable Democratic machine.

The state of Arkansas has two distinctly different areas. The northern and western parts of the state are in the Ozark mountain country. This area is very sparsely populated and has almost no Negroes. There are about ten counties in the state that have no Negroes living in the entire county. This is because the system of slavery never flourished in this section for the land was not conducive to the plantation system. (Possible plans for a white community project have been considered for this area).

The Negro population is concentrated in the southern and eastern parts of the state especially in the delta of the Mississippi River. It has been in this area of the state that SNCC has been working since it came into Arkansas a little over two years ago.

After working briefly in Little Rock SNCC began working in Pine Bluff and the counties surrounding it in early 1963. Because we have been under staffed since we began, it was not until Feb. 1964 that we expanded our work to Helena and the counties in that area of the state. Late in 1964, we started another project in Forrest City and surrounding counties. The state headquarters was moved from Pine Bluff to Little Rock the first of this year.

At this point in early 1965 we have three main project areas with offices in Forrest City, Helena and Pine Bluff. Out of these three field offices, and the state office, we are now working thirteen counties with six staff members and one volunteer.

According to the 1960 Census Report, Arkansas has a total population of 1,786,222. Around 450,000 (25%) of these are Negroes. Somewhere in the vicinity of 210,000 of these are of voting age and as of Oct. 1, 1964 (the last time anyone could register), there were approximately 85,000 registered Negroes in the state. When SNCC first came into Arkansas, there were 67,000 registered Negroes.

As of this coming March 1st, all elections must be held under the provisions of a new registration procedure that was adopted in a state-wide referendum last Nov. 3rd. This new amendment to the state constitution outlaws the poll tax (people had to re-register every year), sets up a system of permanent registration with only age and residence requirements, makes the county clerk the registrar instead of the sheriff, and puts in provisions to safeguard against election fraud which has been rampant in the past. (The incident cited in the Helena project report is only an example of what goes on throughout the state). At the present time the state legislature is considering changes in the amendment which are, the proponents claim, necessary for the implementation of the amendment. One such provision calls for a cut-off date for registration of 60 days prior to a primary election in even-numbered years. This in effect has been designed to keep the number of voters (black and white) down to an absolute minimum and thus insure the politicians' re-election.

On the weekend of March 20th and 21st, we are setting up a state-wide meeting in Little Rock for about 100-150 people from around the state to get together and talk about what they would like to see happen in their state this summer and in the future. We hope that as a result of this conference, people will be more willing to go back and work in their communities knowing that others are doing the same in other areas of the state. It is also hoped that this meeting in March will be the start of a state-wide association of some sort or another that will develop into a cohesive organization. The problem at this point is that we figure that the meeting will cost at the minimum, \$800. We have talked to people who run a Methodist camp in the Little Rock area and another group of Presbyterians who also have a camp and they said that we could use the facilities if we paid for them.

ON PINE BLUFF

Our project in Pine Bluff covers four counties - Jefferson, of which Pine Bluff is the county seat, Lincoln, Cleveland and Desha. The boundary lines for this project area, as well as the others, are not fixed by any governmental lines and can be changed at any time. Due to a lack of staff, we have had to do most of our work in the two years we have been there in only Jefferson and Lincoln counties. We started in Pine Bluff with sit-ins in early 1963 out of which was formed the Pine Bluff Movement. Since that time we have nearly doubled the voter registration of Negroes bringing the total to about 40% of the eligible Negroes. Jefferson County, and Pine Bluff in particular, some feel, has come a long way in the past two years - Civil Rights workers are not arrested frequently any more and people are willing to talk about opening up job opportunities for Negroes, for instance. Of course, nothing much has been done, but we never lose faith. Our plans for Pine Bluff include opening a Library to go along with a Freedom School-Community Center. This center would include training workshops for the jobs that are opening up for Negroes.

Political strides have also been made in the area. Last fall, two local Negroes ran for positions on the School Board. One, Arthur H. Miller, won by approximately 600 to 500. (His opponent attempted to contest the election but never could prove his allegations). We also ran two candidates for state representative from Jefferson County (for two different positions). One was Ben Grinage, presently the project director for the area, and the other was James A. Bagnsby, chairman of the Pine Bluff Movement. They both lost but we were encouraged by the voter turnout and look forward to 1966 with vigor.

Lincoln County has a more current history of harrassment. We first went into Lincoln County in the spring of '63. SNCC workers were arrested constantly on minor traffic violations (once, four were arrested in a period of one week). On one occasion, a SNCC worker was arrested at 2 o'clock in the afternoon for not having a light over his license plate. On election day last fall, one of our workers was beaten in front of a polling place while waiting for a Negro he had taken to the polls. Local people who have cooperated with us have also been threatened and harrassed.

Despite these handicaps, we have increased the registration and have been able to build up the Lincoln County Civics Club. In November, William Green, a local farmer, ran as an independent candidate for state representative from Lincoln County. Attempts were made to keep his name off the ballot, but failed. (92 names on the petition were challenged, but enough people came to court to testify that the signatures in question were in fact theirs). Mr. Green lost the election but is not through with his troubles. He has been a Justice of the Peace from his township since 1962. He had no opposition in the election last fall. However, when he appeared the first of the year to be sworn in for his second term, he was told that he was not the JP since his name could not appear on the ballot twice. This is a clear violation of the state constitution and Mr. Green spent the following month trying to locate the County Judge to so inform him. He finally reached him this week, but the judge passed the buck onto either the County Election Board or the Republican Party (Green ran as a Republican for JP). If no satisfaction is found here, we have an attorney who is prepared to file a formal charge.

In general, we feel that this project area has shown great potential for strong action on the part of the community if given the right leadership. The people are looking to SNCC for this leadership now instead of the establishment. With the proper staff we feel confident that a major breakthrough could be made here.

ON HELENA

SNCC first went into Helena in November '63 but because of a lack of staff and a lot of trouble that was had with the police there, we had to leave. Three months later, in February '64, two SNCC workers went into Helena and we have had someone there ever since.

For the first six months we had constant trouble in terms of harrassment from the police. On one occasion three staff members were arrested in the same afternoon. Two were charged with inciting a riot and the third was charged with car theft. The car in question belonged to one of the workers arrested for inciting a riot. On another

occasion, the police broke into the house where the SNCC people were living and arrested them for vagrancy. Their bond was set at \$1500 apiece even though the maximum fine for vagrancy is \$50 in Arkansas. The police are always arresting SNCC workers and people who are working with them for minor charges which, when totaled up, has come to quite a bit of time and money.

The Helena project includes four counties bordering the Mississippi River (Phillips, Monroe, Lee and Arkansas), but the lack of adequate staff has limited most of the work to the cities of Helena and West Helena.

On three occasions the police have broken into mass meetings and intimidated the people attending and once they had three fire trucks, with sirens and lights blaring, speed up to the church where the mass meeting was being held. Last summer several houses were fired into by bands of marauding whites and there was an unsuccessful attempt to bomb the Freedom House. When a mob of about 150 whites gathered on the road in front of the house on a hot July night last summer the SNCC workers inside were forced to flee for their lives and spent the night sleeping in a corn field.

Despite all of this harrassment they managed to get about 2,000 Negroes registered and also did some testing of the civil rights bill. The voter registration amendment just barely carried Phillips County and it was the increased Negro vote that did it.

A young Negro factory worker ran for city council as an independent and almost unseated the incumbent. With the last box uncounted, Alexander led by 48 votes. This was on Wednesday morning. It took until Friday for them to count the last box and when it's results were made known, Alexander had lost by about 200 votes. It was obvious that those three days were spent stuffing the ballot box. From our investigation, we have found that much of this fraud was perpetuated by Jack Bryant, the local Uncle Tom, and his wife, Amanda, who runs a beauty salon. Representing Sheriff Hickey, the most feared man among Negroes in Helena, he approached many Negroes and told them to vote "absentee" at Amanda's beauty salon to avoid the crowds at the polls. Those that came were told to vote just for Johnson and they would take care of the rest. Bryant also voted for those who never came. By the way, Jack Bryant is the president of the new Phillips County chapter of the NAACP.

ON FORREST CITY

Two months ago in December '64, two SNCC workers moved into Forrest City, the seat of St. Francis county, to open up a new project. The Forrest City project covers an area of five counties (St. Francis, Mississippi, Woodruff, Cross and Crittenden), three of which border the Mississippi River.

Up until this point most of the activity has been involved in making contacts and talking to people about the kinds of programs that they wish to have in their areas. There has been some limited testing of public accommodations in Forrest City - this is what the people have wanted to do.

Forrest City has experienced a great deal of industrial expansion, for a city of 12,000 in the last few years. Two factories with a combined force of almost 2,500 have moved into the area. Both places hire Negroes but only in menial capacities and very few of them. One of the plants has a union but the other is unorganized. One of the things that the Negro residents of Forrest City talk about immediately is the fact that they want more and better jobs at these places. A week or so ago a letter was sent to the SNCC Research Department asking them for all the information possible on these businesses. We have also talked to the International Representative of the Teamsters in Little Rock about organizing the un-unionized plant. They want to do it so we are now in the process of setting up a meeting between some Teamster officials and some of the Negro employees.

PERSONNEL

Jim Jones, Little Rock- State Project Director. Overall administrator for the State Project. He works in any of the field offices when they need help. Since our two staff members who were working in Helena have both gone back to school, Jim will be handling the Helena project until replacements can be found.

Bill Hansen, Little Rock- Co-Project Director. Bill handles most of the administrative details for the state. Bill also works in any project when he is needed.

Arlene Wilgoren, Little Rock- Project Secretary. Takes care of most of the correspondence and other clerical duties for the state. Also handles all financial matters. Arlene is currently investigating the possibilities of a program in Little Rock.

Ben Grinage, Pine Bluff- Project Director, Pine Bluff area.

Catherine Hope, Pine Bluff- Field worker, Pine Bluff.

Jerry Casey, Forrest City- Project Director, Forrest City area.

Howard Himmelbaum- Howard is the only volunteer in the state. Since he has only been here a little over a week, we do not know as yet what or where he will be working. It seems probably that he will be working in the field.

The following information includes only those Arkansas counties in which SNCC has a project.

COUNTY	POPULATION			MEDIAN INCOMES				
	Total	Nonwhite	%Nonwhite	Male Total	Male Nonwhite	Female Total	Female Nonwhite	Total
Arkansas	23,355	5,766	25	2,516	1,528	823	439	864
Cleveland	6,944	1,714	25	2,126	967	804	564	753
Crittenden	47,564	28,087	59	1,873	1,826	874	354	494
Cross	19,551	5,883	30	1,786	785	769	374	499
Desha	20,770	9,966	48	1,974	842	881	404	603
Jefferson	81,373	35,480	44	3,200	1,051	1,142	467	722
Lee	21,001	12,819	61	1,203	705	731	378	495
Lincoln	14,447	7,010	49	1,616	663	1,394	374	476
Mississippi	70,174	20,735	30	1,908	780	880	366	510
Monroe	17,327	8,423	49	1,617	723	872	373	501
Phillips	43,997	25,450	58	2,058	851	864	418	616
St. Francis	33,303	18,996	57	1,487	743	873	375	505
Woodruff	13,954	5,744	41	1,466	774	1,036	385	558

ARKANSAS EDUCATIONAL FIGURES NONWHITE FIGURES FOR PERSONS OVER

COUNTY	Total	No schooling		Under 6 yrs.		Completed 12 years	
		#	%	#	%	#	%
Arkansas	2,667	167	6.2	1,396	52.4	142	5.3
Cleveland	681	55	8.0	400	58.8	21	3.0
Crittenden	11,655	1,344	11.5	8,106	69.6	211	1.8
Cross	2,408	232	9.8	1,579	65.5	51	2.1
Desha	4,491	585	13.0	3,147	70.0	105	2.3
Jefferson	7,394	911	12.3	8,648	54.4	681	4.3
Lee	5,591	520	9.5	3,613	64.4	155	2.8
Lincoln	3,259	258	7.9	2,022	62.0	112	3.4
Mississippi	8,864	996	11.2	6,159	69.4	301	3.4
Monroe	3,614	259	7.2	2,109	58.4	112	3.1
Phillips	11,274	1,118	9.9	7,346	62.5	391	3.4
St. Francis	7,807	593	7.6	4,781	61.2	217	2.7
Woodruff	2,460	83	3.3	1,430	58.1	124	5.0

ARKANSAS EMPLOYMENT FIGURES * NONWHITE POPULATION WITH INCOME

	Total	Under \$500		Under \$1000		Under \$1500		Under \$2,000	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Arkansas	2,527	858	34	1,415	56	1,704	67	1,976	74
Cleveland	603	227	38	374	62	442	70	503	83
Crittenden	13,470	6,819	51	10,111	75	11,560	86	12,215	98
Cross	2,867	1,437	50	2,174	76	2,466	86	2,610	96
Desha	4,411	1,946	44	3,203	73	3,781	84	3,928	89
Jefferson	16,491	6,338	39	10,630	65	12,450	77	13,535	83
Lee	5,630	2,844	50	4,314	76	4,883	86	5,183	92
Lincoln	2,540	1,334	50	2,042	77	2,340	87	2,424	91
Mississippi	10,583	5,231	49	8,164	77	9,307	88	9,798	93
Monroe	3,652	1,824	50	2,862	78	3,169	87	3,371	92
Phillips	11,504	4,988	44	8,292	72	9,424	82	10,014	87
St. Francis	8,531	4,240	50	6,571	77	7,516	88	7,960	93
Woodruff	2,435	1,136	47	1,843	76	2,107	87	2,199	90

Commission on Religion and Race
National Council of Churches
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10027

A CALL TO ACTION

In June of this year the General Board of the National Council of Churches passed, by a vote of 77 to 16, a policy statement entitled "Equal Representation is a Right of Citizenship." The Statement affirmed the Board's belief in these words:

"When the founders of our nation declared, 'All men are created equal and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights,' they perceived and expressed a profound truth about the nature of man, which earlier generations had not the social experience or political opportunity to discover. In the Christian view man is a child of God who is loved by His Heavenly Father, and who is called to love his brother as a member of God's family. As such he is also a son of God who is of infinite value in God's sight and who, in obedient response to His will, values all other human beings as sons of God with dignity and the freedom of action of such sonship.

"If the right to vote is denied, or if the vote itself is diluted, then to that extent the membership of the voter in civil society is diminished and his political personhood is impaired. He becomes loss of a "man" than his fellows, and loses to them some portion of his right to help determine his civic destiny. This is a moral question and ultimately a theological one, concerning which the National Council of the Churches of Christ may not remain silent."

The General Board was not engaging in idle speculation when it wrote those words, for the Congress of the United States has before it in this Session various resolutions which would seek to dilute the vote and a Congressional challenge which raises squarely the problem of the denial of the vote. THE COMMISSION ON RELIGION AND RACE IS, CONSEQUENTLY, ISSUING A CALL TO ACTION TO ALL CHURCHMEN ASKING THEM TO URGE THEIR CONGRESSMEN TO ACT UPON THESE TWO MATTERS IN THE LIGHT AND THE SPIRIT OF THE GENERAL BOARD'S STATEMENT.

I. The Reapportionment Amendments and the Dilution of the Vote

II. The Mississippi Challenge and the Denial of the Vote

The Constitution of the United States gives to each House of the Congress the sole responsibility of determining whether or not its members have been properly elected and are entitled to serve in the Congress. Throughout our history the Congress has been called upon time and again to pass upon the validity of one of its member's claim to his seat. In over forty election contests in the past, the House of Representatives has set aside election results because Negroes were excluded from the voting process either by being denied the franchise or by not having their votes counted honestly.

The House of Representatives has before it now a Challenge to the seating of all five of the Congressmen from the State of Mississippi.

The Challenge is based upon a massive amount of indisputable--and uncontradicted--evidence taken from cases brought by the Department of Justice, from reports of the United States Commission on Civil Rights, and from hundred of depositions. This evidence proves that the Negro citizens of Mississippi were systematically excluded from the political and electoral processes of the State through the operation of unconstitutional registration and election laws and through the use of intimidation, terror, and violence.

The Challengers, members of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, have scrupulously followed all of the procedures for filing challenges required by statute, and now the Challenges are under consideration by the House's Subcommittee on Elections.

THE COMMISSION ON RELIGION AND RACE FEARS THAT THE HOUSE WILL ATTEMPT TO IGNORE THE CRUCIAL ISSUES RAISED BY THIS CHALLENGE BY "BURYING IT IN COMMITTEE" AND, THEREFORE, CALLS UPON CHURCHMEN TO URGE THEIR CONGRESSMEN TO DEMAND THAT THE CHALLENGE BE BROUGHT BEFORE THE ENTIRE HOUSE, AND TO URGE THEM TO VOTE FOR THE UNSEATING OF THE FIVE CONGRESSMEN FROM MISSISSIPPI.

We are not asking that anyone else be seated in the place of these five Congressmen. If Congress votes to unseat them, then their seats would be declared vacant, and new elections, in which the Negro citizens of Mississippi would have to be allowed to vote, would be held.

Some people have argued that the Mississippi Challenge ought not to be pressed at this time. Rather, they say, we should let the Voting Rights Bill go into effect and see if that doesn't solve the problem raised by this challenge. While the Commission earnestly hopes that the Voting Rights Bill of 1965 will alleviate most of the gross injustices which underly the Mississippi Challenge, we believe it offers no excuse to the Congress to shirk the high Constitutional duty imposed upon it by the Challenge. There are, we think, four reasons for supporting the Mississippi Challenge now:

1. Whatever the Voting Rights Bill might do in the future, the Commission, after having examined much of the evidence presented by the Challengers and having read their brief, believes that the inescapable fact is that these present Congressmen were elected under a system that ruthlessly and unconstitutionally excluded over 90% of the Negro citizens of the State of Mississippi from the ballot. We support the Challenge, in other words, because it is right.

2. This Challenge is the fruit of the labors of countless Mississippi Negro citizens. It has been brought to its present stage at great cost. Some who have stood by this Challenge from the beginning have been jailed, some beaten, many lost their jobs. The Challenge is both a testament of courage and a declaration of determination on the part of many Negro citizens of Mississippi.

3. The House has a Constitutional duty to decide Contested Elections whenever they are properly brought before them. Regardless of the merits or demerits of the Mississippi Challenge, the House ought not

to shirk its Constitutional responsibility, however painful that might be. Here is a case where the old injunction, "Put your own house in order" must be taken literally.

4. By taking the route of the Challenge, the Mississippi Negro has witnessed to his belief that his just grievances can be overcome through the orderly processes of law. He is, in effect, fighting his battle for civil rights in the courts and not in the streets, in spite of the fact that all too often the courts of Mississippi have failed to "do justice" to the Negro. For us to fail to support this Challenge would be to contribute to his further disillusionment in the orderly processes of law.

[Waskow, Arthur I.]

[Lewis, John, 1940] [nd]

Memo To: Judith Ades(NYC), Nancy Bancroft(NYC), Steve Block (Williamstown, Mass.), Paul Booth(Chicago, Peter Brooks(NYC), Robert J. Browne(Rutherford, N.J.), Kim Bush(NYC), Charles Cobb(Atlanta), Mike Davis(Los Angeles), James Foreman(Atlanta), Sam Friedman(Ann Arbor), Sharon Garman(NYC), Todd Gitlin(Chicago), Peter Goldmark(Wash., D.C.), Paul Gorman(Wash., D.C.), Prathia Hall(NYC), Ed Hamlett(Nashville), Nat Hentoff(NYC), Christopher Hobson(Chicago), Marvin Holloway(Wash., D.C.), George Houser(NYC), Carl Johnson(Middletown, Conn.), Steve Johnson (Cambridge), Ardele Jones(NYC), Clark Kissinger(Chicago), Eric Krystall(Tuskegee), Arthur Learnard(Cleveland), John Lewis(Atlanta), John Marcum(Lincoln University, Penna.), Walter Martin(NYC), Fred Meely(Philadelphia), Carl Oglesby(Ann Arbor), Bob Pardun(Austin), Dona Richards Parris(c/o Peter Weiss, Riverdale, N.Y.), Gwen Robinson (NYC), Ruby Doris Robinson(Atlanta), Howard Romaine (Charlottesville), Ana Maria Rudt(Tetuan, Morocco-N), Paul Salstrom(Voluntown, Conn.), Hank Sanell(NYC), Dave Dellinger(NYC), Karen Smith(NYC), Richard Stevens (Lincoln Univ. Penna.), Nat Stillman(Cambridge), Dave Wallace(Ann Arbor), Peter Weiss (NYC), and George Wiley(NYC).

From: Arthur I. Waskow, Institute for Policy Studies, 1900 Florida Ave., N. W., Washington, D. C.

The expanded list of people to whom this memo is going includes several from the American Committee on Africa who have an obvious interest in possible new tacks of action on U.S.-South Africa relations, a number from SNCC who have expressed considerable interest in new kinds of action by "The movement" on S.A., and several people who have been planning their own actions. Most of you know that out of the Chase-Manhattan demonstrations last spring, a discussion arose about how to go forward on the S.A. issue. Some new ideas have been proposed, and I wanted to report these and to point out some problems that we may have to deal with.

First of all: The Rhodesian crisis may result in a UN intervention, or in an OAU intervention, or in another year of playing

teeter-totter, or in a general acquiescence (at least for the moment) in Rhodesian independence - with-racism. Whatever happens will have a major effect on South Africa - both because it will either give S.A. a strong buffer ally, or a next-door enemy, and because the whole affair may well be seen by the South Africans, the U.S., the OAU, and everybody else as an experiment, or model, in dealing with S.A. (And in fact the Rhodesian affair could indicate to us how useful it would be right now to have a strong anti-apartheid movement in the U.S. As matters stand, the U.S. government is, so far as internal political pressures go, almost free to choose either to support vigorously or to nullify any effort at UN or OAU intervention. If there were an anti-apartheid movement of any strength here, it would be much harder for the government to refuse support for an intervention.)

There are other things going on in Africa that we should keep in mind. Paul Booth has been keeping an eye on economic developments in South Africa, and thinks they may be headed for an important slump: a credit squeeze, a drop in spending, unemployment, import restrictions. If so, offers or refusals of additional loans from U. S. banks, etc., could be very important. Also, a number of you who replied to my first memo (in writing or in person) pointed out that S.A. has broken the anti-apartheid movement internally at least for the present; has beefed up its defenses against sanctions, e.g. by stocking oil; and may now be very hard to crack. As a corollary, some of you have pointed out that S.A. will be easier to crack if Portugese Africa has been cracked first, and that through NATO the U. S. has some strings on Portugal; for example, Chris Hobson suggests we could demand an ultimatum to Portugal to free Africa or get out of NATO. (Those of us who think NATO is now obsolete and dangerous, if it ever was anything else, would see this as a victory either way, and the demand as a good way to educate people about both Africa and NATO. See Raskin & Barnet, After Twenty Years (Random House).) The trouble with this highly rational suggestion, it seems to me is that a lot of Americans are "tuned in" to what's wrong with S.A. but have never heard of Mocambique. But maybe I'm wrong.

In any case, the point about the collapse of the Freedom Movement inside S.A. seems to raise an extremely important question. So far almost all our thinking has been about sanctions (U.S., U.N. etc.) intended to weaken the Afrikaner regime. Presumably, the job of

the African National Congress, the Pan-Africans, etc., would then be easier. But if they are in very bad shape, maybe we should be thinking about "sanctions" to help them. E.g., a "Radio Free Africa" station that would be operated jointly by the American civil rights movement and S.A. refugees paid for either by our civil rights movement or by the U. S. government or by the OAU and that would give (1) information on events in and concerning South Africa now hidden from its people; (2) discussions of racial equality, nonviolence, economic development and justice, free speech and press, etc; (3) detailed technical information on how to run a work slow-down without being caught, how to counterfeit a pass book, how to jam the telephone system, etc; (4) detailed technical information on improved farming, etc. etc., for the people of the "Bantu reserves"; (5) stories, poems, letters, plays, etc., by Africans. Simultaneously, the movement could demand that the U. S. government send hundreds of thousands of transistor radios into S.A. by air-drops, smuggling, etc., so that the Radio Free Africa broadcasts could be heard (or alternatively, raise money in large private campaigns to do this). We could also demand that the U.S. provide support for the education (political and otherwise) of black South Africans in the British enclaves, and could indemnify the enclaves for any economic reprisals taken against them by S.A. and so on. Regardless of the particular points, in general we need to face the issue that change in South Africa may simply not happen unless outside help comes for the movement there, not just pressure against the government. The situation may be much like that of SNCC and Mississippi in 1961. Probably some of the help could come directly from the movement here to the movement there; some of it might, after suitable pressure, come from the U. S. government to the movement in S.A.

Now as to action here, in the light of discussions I've had with a number of people:

1. Dona Richards Parris has suggested that next spring, on the anniversary of Sharpeville (March 20), we have a series of simultaneous teach-ins and equivalents of the Chase-Manhattan demonstration, all across the country: both sorts of affairs to focus public attention on present U. S. involvement with the apartheid system and possible U.S. action to bring it down. This seems to me a brilliant notion. What do those of you who are in position to get teach-ins going think of it?
2. The Subcommittee on Africa of the House of Representatives Committee on Foreign Affairs is teetering on the edge of having hearings

on South Africa, with some of the men interested in the nature of U.S. involvement. Chairman of the Committee is Barratt O'Hara of the Illinois Second District in Chicago: parts of the South Side and the University area. He is 83 years old, a good liberal, an anti-racist, but weary. Energy in Chicago might could get him going for hearings by the subcommittee despite the probable unwillingness of the chairman of the parent committee. Anybody out there able to get to see him? Most interested man on the subcommittee is Ben Rosenthal, Democrat of Queens. Other members: Democrats, Charles Diggs, Detroit; Robert Nix, Philadelphia; William Murphy, Chicago; John Culver, Iowa; Republicans, Ross Adair, Fort Wayne, Indiana; Bradford Morse, Lowell, Mass.; William Maillard, San Francisco.

The members will be back home soon and will be available to delegations. If the subcommittee ever did have hearings, they might be pretty good— it has a pretty liberal majority, more so than the House or the full Committee. "Good" hearings would put major emphasis on the Chase's and other banks' involvement; on Engelhard; on possible U.S. action to support the movement there; etc. They could thus do part of the job of alerting the public that we tried to do last spring. This is one case, therefore, in which lobbying, if well done, could make a difference. And students would in a number of cases be in a good position to do it— particularly if, in cases like Chicago, Negro and white students jointly could symbolize the interest of the Negro community.

3. Various think-and-research operations I know of:

(a) CNVA - New England is planning a series of weekend workshops on nonviolent peacekeeping, of which one (December 3-5) is to be on the possible uses of nonviolence in South Africa, and direct involvement of U.S. nonviolators there.

(b) Lincoln and Bucknell Universities are working on December conference on South Africa, including U.S. involvement there.

(c) The Institute for Policy Studies is preparing to run a seminar on "The United States and Revolution in the Non-Industrial World," with intensive examination of the past, present, and future relations between the U. S. and revolutionary movements in several countries -- one of them, South Africa.

(d) Steve Johnson tells me a Harvard group will be doing research on U. S. involvements in S. A.

4. Most of the people I have talked with think that two kinds of organizing on S.A., in addition to campus organizing, would be possible: organizing in the ghettos, Harlem and others; and organizing or exciting scientists and engineers involved, through the Atomic Energy Commission or The National Aeronautics and Space Agency, in U. S. support to S.A. (uranium imports and reactors; space tracking stations).

5. Perhaps a crucial question is whether we can arrange to get a lot, or all, of us together for a workshop on next action and/or to hire one or two full-time South Africa organizers (jointly SDS and SNCC?). Any reactions on desirability and possibility of this?

Warmest regards,

Art Waskow

From the desk of

DR. BENJAMIN F. PAYTON

TO

Mr. Lewis

As requested

Date:

11/25

FOR YOUR

- Action
- Approval
- File
- Information
- Signature

PLEASE

- Take up with me
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NEW TRENDS IN CIVIL RIGHTS:

SOME PROBLEMS OF DEFINITION, POWER AND CONTEXT

by
Dr. Benjamin F. Payton

An unusual kind of perplexity and frustration seems to have settled recently over segments of the civil rights movement. The phrase "an unusual kind" is used deliberately, for bewilderment and even failure have never been strangers to the leaders and participants of a movement that for decades skirted along the edges of political ostracism and social obloquy.

The peculiar character of the present quandary seems to be related to the very success of the movement in dealing with past frustrations; in overcoming the reluctance of Chief Executives to act on its behalf; in persuading the Supreme Court to protect its constitutional prerogatives; in prodding a fearful Congress to institute new laws to safeguard its constituents; and finally in shaming church and synagogue into affirming the moral majesty of its cause, in deed as well as in word, with bodies as well as with testaments.

Presently, there are at least two schools of thought on how this confusion can be explained. The first assumes that in the process of undoing the above-mentioned frustrations the major obstacles to the elimination of discrimination were also eradicated. It then goes on to view the present situation as a stage "beyond discrimination." According to this view, the trouble with the civil rights movement is that it does not understand that the central issue is no longer achieving "equality of opportunity" but is instead a matter of achieving "equal results." Because the debilitating conditions of slavery and the ensuing generations of deprivation have rather completely disorganized the institutional structure of the Negro community, the power to reach the goal of "equal results" cannot be mobilized by Negro initiative in a relationship of equality with other

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groups. "Cultural deprivation" within the Negro community must, therefore, be overcome in order that "the newcomers" will be adequately socialized in the proper use of power.

In this view the next steps must be taken within the context of the Negro community itself by persons more qualified than Negroes to take them. The movement can form a sometimes useful adjunct to such efforts.

The second school of thought insists that America is far from reaching a "post-discrimination" stage. It holds that much of the bewilderment in the movement is a product of the rapid entrenchment of the "how-successful-we-have-been" view, particularly as expressed in the minds of persons who claim to be friendly to the movement. Exponents of this view insist that the undoing of past frustrations to the achievement of racial justice merely uncovered deeper resistances that continue in complex and often devious ways from the present into the future.

This school also believes that theories of "cultural deprivation," oddly tied to a goal more impossible than "equal opportunity," are but new masks for the old face of prejudice, new rationalizations for a persistent refusal to share power and position more equally with Negroes. Just as the next stage in the struggle may not be a battle strictly for civil rights, so the subject of the struggle is not only the underdevelopment of the Negro community but also the immaturity of the larger society, particularly its urban areas.

These issues are developed here under three headings: (1) "Equality," the Problem of Definition; (2) "Negro Family Stability" and the Problem of Power; and (3) "Metropolis" and the Problem of Context. Because of its immediacy and relevance, the report prepared early this year by the US Department of Labor under the title The Negro Family: The Case for National Action will form the center of attention. Written by Daniel P. Moynihan and Paul Barton when the

former was Assistant Secretary of Labor, the document has come to be known as the "Moynihan Report."

"EQUALITY," THE PROBLEM OF DEFINITION

According to some observers, the civil rights movement has pushed a new definition of "equality" to the fore of American politics. While the term tends to mean "equality of opportunity" in the minds of most white people, it "now has a different meaning for Negroes.... It is not (or at least no longer) a demand for liberty alone, but also for equality--in terms of group results.... It is increasingly demanded that the distribution of success and failure within one group be roughly comparable to that within other groups. It is not enough that all individuals start out on even terms, if the members of one group almost invariably end up well to the fore, and those of another far to the rear. ("Moynihan Report," p. 3; also, see Nathan Glazer's "Negroes and Jews." Commentary, Dec. 1964, pp 29-34; and Bayard Rustin's "From Protest to Politics" Commentary, Feb. 1965.)

Now "equality" is the regulative principle for the whole notion of social justice. If this transformation has indeed occurred, then a major change in the meaning of an important moral concept has occurred, producing as it were an unbridgeable ideological, as well as social and economic, chasm between Negroes and whites. Unfortunately, whether this is the case or not will never be determined merely by reading the "Moynihan Report." Aside from a quotation from a white sociologist and a reference to a Bayard Rustin article--in the latter this question is not really an issue--we are offered no evidence to support a revolutionary twist in the meaning imputed to an historic moral concept.

A more careful kind of analysis which uses controls for social class and income, would probably result in a considerably different picture. It would

probably show that "equality" is more meaningful than "liberty" among the majority of the world's disinherited, not just among Negroes.

More important, a more careful process of concept-clarification would show that if the meaning of "equality of opportunity" has changed, it has become not a demand for "equal results" but a claim for intergroup relationships in which equal chances to achieve are a social reality and not just a legal theory. As R. H. Tawney has observed, authentic equality of opportunity "obtains in so far as...each member of a community, whatever his birth or occupation or social position, possesses in fact, and not merely in form, equal chances of using to the full his natural endowments of physique, of character and of intelligence." By imputing to Negroes the belief that "it is not enough that all individuals start out on even terms," the "Moynihan Report" assumes that Negroes do in fact enjoy equal life chances, but that for reasons rooted in historic past discriminations, the Negro community has been so traumatized that equal life chances are not enough.

Actually, of course, this point of view unintentionally falsifies the ethical problem and renders even more impossible the critical political problem. The goal of the civil rights movement is in the succinct title of Whitney Young's book, To Be Equal. But, as he says therein, "our basic definition of equal opportunity must include recognition of the need for special effort to overcome serious disabilities...." Nevertheless, the claim for a "special effort" in behalf of the Negro is not a demand for equal results--an awkward and impossible goal. It is, again in Mr. Young's words, a demand "to provide the Negro citizen with the leadership, education, jobs, motivation and opportunities that will permit him to help himself. It is not a plea to exempt him from the independence and initiative demanded by our free society. Just the opposite. It is a program crafted to transform the dependent man into the independent man."

The problem, therefore, is discrimination--in the present as well as in the past--not the failure to produce equal results under the assumed conditions of real equality of opportunity. A "special effort" is required precisely in order to produce equal life chances.

THE NEGRO FAMILY AND THE PROBLEM OF POWER

The most serious mistakes of the "Moynihan Report" occur in the course of its analysis of the Negro family as "the fundamental source of the weakness of the Negro community at the present time." (p.5) While acknowledging a relationship between the rate of unemployment and family stability, the burden of the report seeks to demonstrate that since 1955, when unemployment began to decline the number of Aid for Families of Dependent Children cases continued to rise disproportionately, raising the "pressing question...whether the impact of economic disadvantage on the Negro community has gone on so long that genuine structural damage has occurred, so that a reversal in the course of economic events will no longer produce the expected response in social areas." (Daniel P. Moynihan, "Employment, Income, and the Ordeal of the Negro Family," in Daedalus, Vol. 94, No. 4, Fall 1965, p 766.) Therefore, the report concludes, "a national effort toward the problems of Negro Americans must be directed toward the question of family structure." ("Moynihan Report, p. 47)

It should be said that the errors of the report are not rooted in any racial hostility on the part of its authors. Nevertheless, these errors have already produced quite damaging political consequences. They have led to facile "explanations" of the urban riots of 1964-65, and continue--clearly contrary to the intention of its authors--to provide ammunition to those who would deny to Negro citizens real equality of opportunity. (Southern newspapers have lifted large segments from the report and printed them.) Political consequences aside, the more important question relates to the validity of the report itself as a

scientific piece of work. On this point some very glaring errors must be noted.

First, the report is much more optimistic about the employment situation among Negroes than are other observers. The crucial factor is income level, which Herman Miller, one of our most competent authorities on income statistics, believes is actually worsening rather than getting better among Negroes relative to whites.

Second, the method of analyzing family data by color instead of by income level results is an alarmist picture of differences between white and Negro family structures. Other more careful studies by Hylan Lewis at Howard University use proper controls for income and reach much more sober conclusions.

Third, the analysis of illegitimacy rates among Negroes fails to analyze; for the most part it merely produces statistics without interpretation by such variables as: (1) the differential circumstances under which Negroes and whites report illegitimate births--the former mainly in public hospitals, the latter mainly in private hospitals where concealment is much easier; (2) the approximately 2 million abortions that are performed each year in the United States, 95-99 per cent of them on white women; ⁽³⁾ unequal access to contraceptive devices and information; and (4) differential rates of adoption of Negro and white illegitimate children. Analysis of data by these factors reduces considerably the difference and removes entirely the alarmist overtones of the relationship between white and Negro family structures.

More important, careful analysis would show that however pathological or disorganized the Negro community might be, the student movement, the continued power of the Negro church and the tremendous "coping skills" generated by the Negro family itself are but a few of the factors that demonstrate the great reserves of untapped power and health in the Negro community. If harnessed under Negro leadership but with larger and more relevant national resources and

cooperation, the remaining gap between Negroes and whites--a gap caused by continuing forms of discrimination--can be rapidly closed. If the focal point of this effort is not the Negro family, then neither is the main context the Negro community: it is, rather, Metropolis--its incoherences, its scarcities and its continuing discriminations.

METROPOLIS AND THE PROBLEM OF CONTEXT

In a University of Michigan commencement address, President Johnson summarized the goals of his Administration in his concept the Great Society. Whatever else the term may mean, sociologically it refers to those broad changes under way in modern life that--initiated by large-scale industrial and technological innovations, sustained by the migration of masses of people from different backgrounds into urban areas and, more recently, out again into the suburbs--have transformed the relationships of small community life. In the process they have complicated interminably the problem of ordering society in terms of such concepts as "justice" and "the common good."

The social process that articulates the basic problem of civil rights is not, therefore, "family breakdown" among Negroes rooted in past injustices but "urbanization," its conflicts, inadequate resources and injustices. Urbanization raises the problem of civil rights to a new level, for it "means the creation of multi-ethnic metropolises" (Matthew Holden, Jr., The Journal of Politics, V, 26, #3 Aug. 1964, p 637.) The problem that is really basic not only to the well-being of Negro citizens but to the health and security of the body politic is that "many central cities of the great metropolitan areas of the United States are fast becoming lower class, largely Negro slums." The civil rights movement has forced us all to confront the fact that we must view not only the rural deltas of Mississippi but "the metropolitan area as a racial problem."

(Morton Grodzins in American Race Relations Today, Raab, Ed., Doubleday Anchor Book, p 85.)

I have called the key problems raised acutely in this context "scarcity" and "discrimination." More accurately, they are abundant resources scarcely used and discrimination in Metropolis. Much of the bewilderment in the civil rights movement is rooted in the perception that even some friends find it impossible to see the issue this way.

But the facts show rather clearly that America is approaching a critical watershed in dealing with the civil rights issue. Welfare doles and social tinkering simply will not meet the crying, desperate needs heralded by the civil rights movement. A bold and imaginative statement of priorities needs to be set before the Federal Government, with a price tag attached. For municipal and state and private budgets simply do not have the resources to meet the developing crisis. The Federal Government must, therefore, make a bold entry into the whole arena of "metropolitics."

To this end, and with a view to affecting the agenda of the forthcoming White House Conference on Civil Rights, the Office of Church and Race of the Protestant Council of the City of New York, with the cooperation of the Commission on Religion and Race of the National Council of Churches, has initiated a call for "An Economic Development Budget for Equal Rights." With the assistance of social scientists from metropolitan New York universities, research has already been done on the basis of which an estimate of \$32 billion per annum is seen as needed for housing and slum rehabilitation, education, job-training and job-creation programs, health and medical facilities. We will soon prepare a budget for the metropolitan area of New York, and we hope that social scientists and churchmen in other metropolitan areas will do the same thing.

This kind of program is not designed to aid Negroes alone but all of the disinherited who have been robbed of their birthright of freedom and equal opportunity. Pushing for such a program is the next and more profound stage of the struggle for equal rights.

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Memo

C A L L

JOIN THE MOBILIZATION IN WASHINGTON
TO SUPPORT STEPS TO PEACE IN VIETNAM

WE SEE no gain coming from the war in Vietnam. We see only the growing victimization of the Vietnamese people, the erosion of a better society at home, and the clear possibility of a world conflict.

Caught between terror, torture, and the senseless use of force, the Vietnamese people have seen their land turned into a bloody testing ground by the Vietcong, the Saigon government, by the North Vietnamese and the United States.

Caught between a commitment to eradicate racial injustice and poverty at home and a growing involvement in an Asian land war, the Johnson Administration will inevitably turn its resources and energies toward the military conflict.

Caught in a competition for the loyalties of the poorest nations, the Soviet Union and China will seek to prove their militancy by aiding North Vietnam, thus increasing the chances of a direct clash with the United States.

WE SEEK to end this war.

WE AFFIRM that no party to the conflict, the U.S. included, has done all it can to bring about negotiations, and since the war will ultimately end at the conference table, we ask new actions to speed that day.

WE AFFIRM our support for all the efforts, including those of the United Nations Secretary General, U Thant, and Pope Paul, to bring the dispute to the conference table, and we welcome a wider role for the United Nations in bringing about negotiations and in implementing any agreement.

WE RECOGNIZE that the U.S. cannot negotiate an end to the war by itself, but we believe there are things our government could do which it has left undone, that could lead more quickly to negotiations. And we believe we can help build the public understanding through which our government can vigorously pursue the path of peace.

TOWARD THE GOAL OF A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT IN VIETNAM...

WE ASK

That our government call for a cease-fire, and to this end;

Halt the bombing of North Vietnam;

Halt the introduction of additional men and materiel, and ask the other side to do the same.

WE ASK

That our government state the conditions under which it will accept peace in Vietnam, and to this end;

Reiterate U.S. support for the principles of the 1954 Geneva Accords -- the eventual withdrawal of all foreign military forces, a prohibition against military alliances, the peaceful reunification of Vietnam, and self-determination for the Vietnamese people.

Declare U.S. acceptance of negotiations with all concerned parties including the Vietcong, a primary combatant;

Declare U.S. agreement to constitution of a representative new government in South Vietnam as part of the settlement.

Declare U.S. support for U.N. or other international machinery and guarantees to supervise the cease-fire, provide for peaceful establishment of a new government in South Vietnam, protect the rights of minority groups and protect the neutrality of North and South Vietnam.

IN SUPPORT OF THESE MEASURES WE HAVE ISSUED THIS CALL FOR A

Mobilization in Washington

November 27, 1965

Beginning at 10 A.M. in front of the White House
2:00 P.M. Outdoor Meeting at Washington Monument

S P O N S O R S

(as of September 16, 1965)

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|--------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| Saul Bellow | Prof. D. F. Fleming | Arthur Miller |
| Alexander Calder | Erich Fromm, M.D. | Rabbi Uri Miller |
| Dr. Edwin Dahlberg | William Gibson | Robert Osborn |
| Ossie Davis | Patrick E. Gorman | Tony Randall |
| Ruby Dee | Dana McLean Greeley | Prof. Anatol Rapoport |
| Dr. Morton Deutsch | Michael Harrington | Bayard Rustin |
| James Farmer | Prof. H. Stuart Hughes | Albert B. Sabin, M.D. |
| Jules Feiffer | Prof. Herbert C. Kelman | Benjamin Spock, M.D. |
| Dr. Bernard Feld | Stewart Meacham | Norman Thomas |

Field worker,

For the past three weeks as I have worked in Selma, Alabama and across the state of Mississippi, I have personally witnessed devastating acts of brutality and intimidation. I have inspected the ruins of burnt churches which were being used for voter registration meetings. I have seen citizens who simply wished to register to vote twist and jerk in anguish as police officials and posse members skillfully manipulated electric cattle prods so that they might burn the most sensitive area of the body. It is very painful to watch the moral fiber of our nation and its commitment to law and order disintegrate before your very eyes.

The state of Mississippi is one of constant fear, terror and violence, not only for the Negro, but also for those whites who dare to speak and act for full just and complete freedom. Mississippi is more than a police state -- the conditions that exist in this state amount to those of a totalitarian and fascist state. The democratic process is not working in Mississippi. Title 18, section 594 of the United States Code makes it a crime to interfere with the right to vote. Any person who in any way interferes with the right of a Negro to vote in Mississippi commits a crime against the Federal government. He commits as much of a crime as does the gunman who walks into a bank and robs it. We witness these crimes daily in Mississippi.

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No political party can expect to survive that nominates a man like Barry Goldwater for the presidency of the United States. Goldwater would leave the fate of the Negroes of Alabama and Mississippi in the hands of Governor Wallace, Governor Johnson, the Ku Klux Klan, the White Citizens Council, and the John Birch Society. Do we want a candidate for the presidency who will place states' rights over human rights? No--we need a man who will use ~~his presidential powers to~~ say to Governor Wallace and Governor Johnson that human rights and human decency will be the order of the day.

As we have suffered during the past four years, we have come to the conclusion that segregation continues, not because of a handful of sick people, but because the larger community made up of people of good will have remained silent, and in effect given consent to the system. We stand at a point in our history where we must decide between freedom and tyranny. This decision will be made here this week -- it will be made at the Democratic convention in August -- it will be made as people support, oppose, or remain silent on the issues of enforcement of the civil rights law. It will be made by the people who vote -- and do not vote in November -- and which ever we decided -- tyranny or freedom, there can be no turning back. For better or worse, freedom-loving people of the deep South and throughout the nation have made a decision. They know where they are going, and the road they must take to reach their destination.

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At this very moment some of you here have sons and daughters working with the people of Mississippi, along with several hundred other Negro and white students -- teaching in freedom schools, staffing community centers, and doing the often-dangerous work of voter registration. You know, more than anyone else, how important it is to have ~~massive federal~~ massive federal intervention to protect not only the voter registration workers, but the citizens of Mississippi who must still live and work in Mississippi after the summer is over.

Both the Republican and Democratic parties must decide now -- for it is the eleventh hour -- whether they will take action to insure the Negro right to vote, or whether they will make us witness the lynching not only of the ideal of racial justice in America, but the actual lynching of civil rights volunteers and the citizens of Mississippi -- not on a Mississippi cross, on an American cross.

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As our numbers increase, the more sophisticated officials of cities in both the North and South can be heard calling for law and order. For a long time we have had order but no law. Even the so-called order that exists in this country and particularly in the South is a false and negative order. It is an order that says to black people: "Stay back, ~~be~~ be patient, let us work out something for you." It is an order that says: ~~For us~~ "For us to survive, you cannot eat, sleep, work, study, or live here." It is orderly, and yet more than 50,000 peaceful demonstrators, some of them right here in San Francisco, have been arrested, mishandled, jailed and beaten since 1960. It is order among guilty men. We have a moral obligation to deliberately disturb this order, for this is no order at all.

Now we have the law -- but still judges impose ~~longer~~ longer jail sentences and higher fines -- still the courts do not even pretend to balance the scales of justice. This is true not only in the South, but right here in San Francisco.

Some members of the press and some Goldwater supporters have accused the Movement of being Communist-inspired. How ^{long} will it take America to realize that we do not need anyone to tell us that we are oppressed. According to some people everything that we want is Communist:

A Mississippi sharecropper who had been evicted for attempting to register to vote read in the local newspapers that we were Communists. She was so used to hearing that everything the Movement stands for is Communist-inspired, that she told one of our field-workers that she was glad the Communists had finally arrived so we could start making some progress.

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We need no alien ideology to tell us that we live in a police state in Alabama and Mississippi.

With the new civil rights act we must continue to utilize every nonviolent means to remove the conditions from our nation that make a new civil rights act necessary.

We have a mandate from history and from the founding fathers of both political parties to do everything possible RIGHT NOW to make justice and freedom a reality not just for some of the people, but for all of the people.

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CORE SCHOLARSHIP, EDUCATION AND DEFENSE FUND, Inc.
150 Nassau Street, Room 1312
New York, New York 10038

LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT PROSPECTUS

THE PROBLEM

In the last few years the non-violent direct action movement has caught the imagination and won the support of tens of thousands who had been quiescent. The wave of students sit-ins in the upper South in 1960 and the penetration of the deep South by the freedom rides in 1961, had enormous repercussions in those areas and throughout the country. SNCC was founded in 1961; the SCLC began to develop local programs; NAACP chapters in various sections became involved in direct action; CORE chapters were developed in the deep South. The struggle in the South evoked a response in the North. Chapters which were small, doubled, tripled, and quadrupled in size. New chapters were founded.

New organizational patterns were developed as well. Chapter organization is still the dominant mode of organization. However the local movement and the concept of a task force of semi-professional subsistence workers who assume many of the responsibilities ordinarily filled by local chapter officers have also evolved.

The nature of the day-to-day activity of the civil rights activists changed. The definition of the South has changed as well. Thus, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Oklahoma are increasingly taking on the characteristics of Maryland, West Virginia, and Missouri. Public accommodations are desegregated in most of these places. While there are many public accommodations which still discriminate, the effort to change these practices does not evoke the concern and enthusiasm that such an event did five years ago. Voter registration drives which were of major importance in 1963 and in 1964 are still continuing. As a result of the passage of the voting rights bill, there undoubtedly will be a significant upsurge in voter registration activities this year. However, on a long-range basis, voter registration will probably decline relative to the importance of other civil rights activities.

The freedom schools and community centers which began with such brave hopes in Mississippi in the Spring and Summer of 1964, are mostly non-existent now. Some of the freedom schools flourished and seemed to fill a real need. Students were interested and returned day after day throughout the summer. Students and teachers felt a sense of exhilaration and accomplishment. However, with the coming of Fall, the professional teachers returned to the North. Attempts to keep the freedom schools going on a daily, after-school basis fell through. It seems we were demanding too much from the students. At the same time, the remaining teachers were not trained in methods of teaching or in the subject matter.

Community centers also have had both ups and downs. The Meridian Community Center established by Mickey and Rita Schwerner functioned effectively for some six months. It provided an entre for the civil rights movement in the life of the community and at the same time it enriched the lives of many. There were great hopes which seemed reasonable for expansion and development. With the death of Mickey and the return of Rita to the North, the center gradually declined in effectiveness. Other communities are variations on essentially the same theme. When trained staff members who had professional skills, energy, drive, and commitment to the movement were present, there was success. When any of these elements were lacking, the center declined. Further, essential to the success of both the centers and the freedom schools was a real sense of involvement of the community in their planning and development. It seems evident that the basic concepts of the community centers and the freedom schools are sound. We must now develop ways of training civil rights activists so that they will have the skills to carry on these kinds of programs.

Both in the North and the South there is an increasing emphasis in civil rights movement, on community organization and political action. This is, of course, related to the increasing concern for issues of economic and political power which fundamentally impinge on the day-to-day lives of Negroes.

As the civil rights movement grew in size, it also began to involve new elements in the Negro community. In 1959, members of the various civil rights groups were relatively experienced and well trained in the modes of action of their own group. The 1960 sit-ins in the South involved students of upward social mobility. Since then there has been a very significant broadening of the participation of middle-class oriented Negroes. This occurs at a time when this class is growing in size and importance. There has also been a conscious and partially successful effort to involve other groups as well: high school dropouts, farm workers, the unskilled, and the unemployed. These people have been attracted to the civil rights movement by its sense of motion and effort to achieve change. On the whole, they have little fundamental belief in non-violence. They have very few skills, little stake in the community, and little prospect of developing a stake.

There has been relatively little effort on the part of civil rights groups to train staff and leaders in the local communities. This has been almost inevitable because of the day-to-day pressures of the movement. But this has also caused tremendous difficulty. Field directors increasingly report that staff members are not trained to meet the new demands of the situation. That once they have mobilized the local community, they have practically no additional skills to offer.

It is imperative that we train local people who live and have established roots in their respective neighborhoods.

Only through training indigeneous leaders can we hope to establish long range community action programs.

STUDENTS

Students should consist of staff members and active community leaders.

There must be a real commitment to return to the group, to use information and skills, to continue learning and to stimulate and involve others.

Recruitment will be done on a widespread, formal, and publicized basis.

The following criteria will be used to select participants:

- 1) Involvement in local social action group activities
- 2) Willingness to put skills to work
- 3) Commitment to attend all workshop sessions
- 4) Experience in civil rights field work
- 5) Personal knowledge of community problems

Application forms will be distributed widely among civil rights organizations and local social action groups.

The general approach by the school to the students will be to emphasize that the institute is only a beginning and the students must follow up on their own.

Students can not return to their groups and consider themselves an elite. They must continue to learn.

FACULTY

Civil rights workers, professionals, and governmental officials will be used as resource persons.

Faculty members will be selected on the basis of civil rights field experience, knowledge of subject matter, ability to speak in lay terms, understanding of the civil rights movement, experience in communicating with adults, and above all a willingness to stay in written and oral communication with students after the workshop sessions.

They must be able to establish good rapport with members of the institute.

FORMAT

There will be a series of four weekend workshops namely: Legal View of Civil Rights and Liberties, Economic Dimensions of Civil Rights, Community Organization, and Developing Community Work Skills. Workshops will be one month apart.

The weekend was chosen in preference to any other time because it permits local people to take an active part without interfering with their regular job responsibilities.

Local involvement would be seriously reduced if we plan sessions other than on weekends because many local people feel that they can not get off from work without possible loss of jobs.

Each series will be repeated in four communities; will begin on a staggered basis.

Our first series is tentatively set to begin in the Methodist Assembly Center, Waveland, Mississippi on the weekend of January 8th and 9th and will most likely end the first weekend in March 1966. We plan to begin in Frogmore, South Carolina, the last weekend in January; Los Angeles, California the last weekend in February; and in Washington, D.C. the last weekend in March.

Staggered basis will permit evaluation and improvement during the semester as a result of evaluating student response to subject matter, literature, and instructors.

In one or two of the subjects we can probably do all we need in one course. But in others, there may be a need for a second or even a third semester.

To determine the need for additional courses and/or personal consultation we plan to keep in oral and written contact with all participants.

We are presently making arrangements to meet in churches and/or community centers for minimum rental.

INFORMATION MANUAL

At present we are collecting written materials suggested by potential participants, civil rights workers and possible resource persons to be revised in lay language and printed for the various workshops.

We plan to rewrite governmental publications, selected materials, and other papers which will be used by the students for reference and evaluation. We plan to include provocative and analytical materials.

In addition to the manual we are reviewing visual aids which may be beneficial for information and stimulating discussion.

COURSE OUTLINE

In recent talks with scores of local people, field staff, and professionals from New York, Washington, D.C., Louisiana, Mississippi, Florida, South Carolina, North Carolina, California, and Ohio, the following subjects were considered essential to the basic training of leaders of the freedom struggle of tomorrow.

I. Legal View of Civil Rights and Liberties

- A. The Constitution as a source of strength
1st, 5th, 13th, 14th, 15th amendments - limitations
- B. The Voting Laws of '57, '60, '64, and '65
After reviewing a legal analysis of each law, the group will discuss techniques of using the law's provisions.
- C. The Civil Rights Law of 1964
Emphasis will be placed on not only the formal provisions of the law, but also the practical application of the legislations to the everyday needs of the local community. Particular attention will be given to both specific federal programs covered under Title VI and legal procedural requirements involved in the application of Title VII.
- D. Presidential Executive Orders (11063, 10925, etc.)
An explanation of the meaning and practical uses of the orders in laymen's terms.

Changes made by the President in his executive order on September 25th, 1965.
- E. U.S. Department of Justice
This study will cover the structure, objectives, uses, personnel, and attitudes of the department.
- F. The Law and Civil Disobedience
A discussion of the role of the protest
Jail without bail
Review on where the U.S. Supreme Court stands on non-violent civil disobedience
- G. Police and Crime
Statistics and their meaning
The typical approach of police to Negroes and the poor
The relation of crime to poverty, both in terms of poverty breeding crime, and also breeding brutality
Operations of the police bureaucracy
Crime and the courts
Bail
Legal aid
Sentencing and other problems

- G. cont'd
New solutions, such as the Police Review Board, overhaul of the bail system, overhaul of police training and procedures
Possibility of local police commissioners, expanded use of Negro policemen, etc.

II. Economic Dimensions of Civil Rights

- A. Labor Unions
An understanding of the structure, purpose, functions, methods of operation, relationship to civil rights and poverty programs will be sought.
- B. Anti-poverty Programs
Case studies of projects involved in the program
Application of the law to the needs of communities
Use of and personnel attitudes in the Office of Economic Opportunity
- C. Employment
A presentation on how to deal with the problems of unemployment
Training the unemployed in skills applicable to industry's needs
Meeting the challenge of automation
Dealing with the unemployable
Developing a stable and balanced employment picture
Labor Laws (including FICA, FLSA, MDTA, the Minimum Wage Law, Landrum, Griffin Act) - how these laws will help and/or hinder the working man
Ways and means of ending discrimination in union membership and work apprenticeship
- D. Housing
Description of housing problems, including the failure of the government to accept responsibility for housing low income groups
New solutions will be discussed such as: vast increases in public housing, local ownership and control of slums
subsidies for rehabilitation at rents people can afford, local control of renewal, rehabilitation and enforcement programs.
- E. Education
This discussion will cover the education situation in general, including the failure of efforts to integrate
The bureaucracy of the school system
The inadequacies in staff and equipment of Negro schools, and new solutions to such problems
Pre-school enrichment programs, new teaching aides, etc. will be examined.
- F. Health and Welfare
Problems of Negroes with welfare, public health, and similar problems

- F. Health and Welfare
A review of inadequacies of current programs, new solutions (revised welfare provisions, increased services to the poor, changing attitudes and use of indigenous community people in the programs).
Possibilities of coalitions on health problems with some institutions and some social, health, and welfare personnel
Additional discussion will be centered around Social Security, Medicare, and other benefits

III. Community Organization

- A. Community Analysis
1. Geographic Boundaries - Demographic Studies
2. Economic Base
3. Leadership Patterns and Sources
4. Centers of Powers (Religious, Business, Political)
5. Class, Cultural, and Ethnic Grouping (Racial)
6. Role of the Police: Sheriff, Deputies
7. Resistance Forces: KKK, sheriffs, white power structure
8. Cooperative Forces: NAACP, CORE, COFO, MFDP, Federal Government, Federal Judiciary
9. Specific Function of EACH Cooperating Force
- B. Citizen Involvement
1. Causes for ignorance, illiteracy and fear - which combine to symbolize apathy?
2. Rewards for remaining apathetic?
3. Rewards for becoming active?
4. Identification of block, neighborhood, or area leaders
Focus on people who can influence others, not on everybody or on followers?
5. Opportunities for assuming increasing responsibility?
6. Opportunities for receiving continuing training?
7. Possibility of developing a continuing program and/or service - complaint bureau, credit union, etc.?
8. Possibility for economic, social or political growth?
- C. Involving the Middle Class - Teachers, Ministers, Civil Servants, etc.
1. What are the rewards for involvement?
2. What sanctions does the Negro community provide?
3. How do you involve the middle class?
- D. The Management of Conflict
1. Delineation of a target - and documentation of rationale
2. Selection of vulnerable targets
3. Sustaining the crisis
4. Use of the press, TV, and public opinion

E. Self-Advancement Activities

1. Cooperatives
2. Local Development Corporation
3. Single Purchase Cooperative
4. Joint Banking - Credit Unions
5. Development of Businesses
6. Exploitation of OEO program, research and governmental grants
7. Adult Basic Education Programs
8. Training Programs
9. Control over curriculum in schools
10. Legal Action on Every Possible Level
11. Boycotting
12. Community construction of facilities
13. Dues Payment on a regular basis

F. Operational Strategies

1. Regular Caucuses of Leaders
2. Regular Meetings of all Organizations
3. Newsletters, announcements from pulpits
4. Fund-raising
5. Time and Timeliness
6. Clearing House of Information

IV. Developing Community Work Skills

A. Evaluating Current Ideas in the Movement

1. Non-violence vs Aroused Self-defense
Tactic or philosophy?
2. Integrative vs Separative
 - a. Black Nationalism
 - b. Movement vs Organization
 - c. Role of Whites and Negroes
3. Role of the Negro Churches
4. Role of the Negro Colleges
5. Political Concentration vs Economic Concentration
6. Opposing Local White Power Structure vs Focus on Bringing Federal Government Power to Bear
7. Civil Rights and Peace

B. Leadership Techniques

1. Working with Unions
2. Working with Government Agencies
3. Public Relations
4. Use of Resources (collecting information, community surveys, uses of public and private resources and consultants)
5. Organizational Skills
 - a. Chairing Meetings
 - b. Developing an Organized Structure
 - c. Providing Leadership
 - d. Sharing Responsibility
 - e. Problem-Solving

C. Citizenship Education - Educating the voter by using adult education, Negro history, and political science as techniques.

D. Organizational Affiliation

1. Survey of other social action groups
2. Operation Headstart, NAACP, MFDP, etc.?
3. Are they aware of the possibilities in the War on Poverty, etc?
4. Are they involved in union activities?
5. Are they involved on college campuses?
6. Are they active church members?
7. Are they establishing an income-producing business which employs and attracts local people?
8. Are they helping to set up new organizations - cultural, artistic, etc.?
9. Are they developing a stock pile of resources and available information?

E. Fund Raising

F. Reports, Complaints, Affidavits, and Documentation

(nd)

CONFERENCE ON NATIONAL ECONOMIC PLANNING

I. Purpose: To help supply the labor, civil rights and other reform movements concerned with social and economic problems with the information they need to increase their understanding of the possibilities and problems of developing national economic planning in America.

There has recently been a growing interest in economic planning among these movements and, with that, an increased need for information on which to base discussion of planning:

At its last convention, the AFL-CIO adopted the position that economic planning was essential to economic and social justice in an age of automation.

The civil rights movement is coming to the conclusion that its goals of freedom and equality cannot be achieved unless poverty, unemployment, and the long accumulated neglect of social needs in America are overcome.

Organizations concerned with lowering the risks of nuclear annihilation inherent in the arms race look to economic planning to make possible a shift in resources to peacetime uses without the kind of dislocations which create a stake in preserving the military-industrial complex.

Groups concerned with the failure to cope with the huge deficits and the new problems in the areas of education, housing, city planning, health, etc. are coming to realize that the needs on which they focus are not likely to be met except in the context of economic planning.

Some responsible business leaders are recognizing that 19th century attitudes to economic policy are an obstacle to coping with 20th century problems.

There is a growing realization among all these groups that the various particular problems with which they are concerned are related to each other and that their solutions require allocations of resources which cannot be achieved in the absence of long-term and co-ordinated public policies which require the framework of economic planning.

The conference on planning is intended to be a first step in a sustained series of efforts to respond to this interest in planning and to provide a context for informed debate.

II. Procedure

A. The conference will be in the Spring of 1966, either in New York City or in Washington, D.C. The proposed format is attached.

B. Papers: In order to provide conference participants with a point of departure in a common fund of information, approximately twenty expert papers will be solicited and distributed in advance of the conference.

C. A selection of these papers and the major conference addresses will be published as a pamphlet by the LID for wide national distribution. It is expected that this material, in more detailed form, will be published as a book.

D. It is hoped that one result of the conference would be the establishment of permanent study groups to explore in depth problem areas defined by the conference, to develop further literature, and plan subsequent meetings and conferences.

III. Sponsorship: The conference will be organized by an ad hoc committee, chaired by Michael Harrington, and representing a broad range of labor, civil rights, liberal, civic and other organizations. Sponsorship would not imply organizational commitment to national economic planning, only to the need for public discussion of the issue.

It is proposed that the League for Industrial Democracy, initiator of the conference proposal, should serve as the administrative center. As a tax-exempt, educational organization, the LID can receive foundation grants.

IV. Finances:

A. It is estimated that thirty thousand dollars (\$30,000) will be required to finance the conference and resource papers:

1. Conference coordinator (salary)	\$3,000.
2. Secretary (salary)	2,000.
3. Transportation (transatlantic and domestic) and accommodations	10,500.
4. Honoraria (for speakers and papers)	5,000.
5. Direct conference expenses and services	3,000.
6. Promotion	3,500.
7. Supplies and overhead	3,000.
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	\$30,000.

B. As a result of informal discussions in Washington, we are in a position to expect ten thousand dollars (\$10,000) from the labor movement toward meeting conference expenses. A contribution from Andrew E. Norman has already been received. The remainder of the budget will be sought from foundations.

Revised Outline for a Conference on
DEMOCRATIC PLANNING FOR AMERICA

FRIDAY

6:00 P.M. Registration and final distribution of Papers

Dinner: "Planning for Social Justice"

Presiding: Michael Harrington, Chairman of the Board,
League for Industrial Democracy; author
of *The Other America* and *The Accidental
Century*

Speakers: Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., President,
Southern Christian Leadership Conference;
1964 Nobel Peace Prize winner
George Meany, President, AFL-CIO

SATURDAY

9:30-12:30 Session #1: "Planning and America's Unmet Social Needs"

Why are America's needs so unevenly met despite America's vast resources? Why aren't the available techniques of economic policy as now used -- tax changes, public spending, credit regulation, trust busting, etc. -- more effective in overcoming the imbalances and inequalities in the American economy? Why is there continued unemployment, regional poverty, urban decay, inadequate education, etc., despite the longest "recovery" on record, booming profits, and an explosive rate of scientific progress?

Speakers: Leon H. Keyserling, Conference on Economic
Progress
Thomas Watson, IBM

Discussants: Nat Goldfinger, Director of Research, AFL-CIO
John R. Bunting*, Vice-President, Federal
Reserve Bank, Philadelphia
Robert Lekachman, Professor of Economics,
Barnard College

12:30-2:30 Lunch: "The Relevance of the European Experience to
American Society"

Speaker: Gunnar Myrdal, author of *Challenge to Affluence*

2:30-5:30 Session #2: "Democratic Planning -- the European Experience"

What are the similarities and differences of the European models in priorities and techniques; the relation between government controls and the markets; the roles of business and labor? What scope is allowed for social and individual choice? What is the role of political democracy? What are the problems and directions of development in European planning?

* Alternates to Mr. Bunting: Herbert Holloman, Paul Mazur

Speakers: Pierre Masse*, former General Commissioner,
French Planning Commission
Thomas Balogh*, Economist, Oxford University;
advisor to British Labour Government

Discussants: Woody Ginsburg, Research Director, Industrial
Union Department, AFL-CIO
Representative from the President's Council
of Economic Advisors
Ben Seligman, Professor of Industrial Rela-
tions, University of Massachusetts

5:30-6:30 Cocktails (Informal Discussion)

6:30-9:00 Dinner: "Planning in the American Tradition"

Speaker: Robert Heilbroner, author of *The Making of
Economic Society*

SUNDAY

2:00-5:00 Session #3: "Planning in America -- the Problems and
Possibilities"

How can planning in America be developed in the light of previous experience? What would be the roles of Congress, the executive branch, quasi-independent agencies, business and labor, geographical areas, the voting public? How can economic planning be developed in America? What are the institutional and ideological obstacles to planning in America? How can they be overcome? What should the movements for democratic social change be working for -- and how?

Speakers: Senator Joseph S. Clark of Pennsylvania
Walter P. Reuther, President, United Automobile
Workers of America, AFL-CIO

Discussants: Bertran Gross, Professor of Public Administra-
tion, Syracuse University
Ralph Helstein, President, United Packinghouse
Workers of America, AFL-CIO
Bayard Rustin, Director, A. Philip Randolph
Institute

5:00-5:15 Summary Statement: Michael Harrington

* Alternatives to Pierre Masse would be Bernard Cazes, Pierre Mendes-France, Pierre Bauchet, Philippe Bauchord, and Gaston Defferre. Alternatives to Mr. Balogh would be Anthony Crosland, Andrew Schonfeld, Peter Shore and Nicholas Kaldor.