

African American

"News For You"

Student Nonviolent
Coordinating Committee
360 Nelson Street, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia, 30313

October 12, 1966

SNCC

EASTER - poem by W. E. B. DuBois.	B-IX
SENATE - Information from Congressional Record: Debates of the 89th Congress, Second Session.	B-1
AFFIDAVITS - Atlanta.	B-12
PREAMBLE.	B-18
INTERNAL EDUCATION PROGRAM.	B-19
CHICAGO REPORT by Munroe Sharp.	B-23
MINUTES FROM SECRETARIET.	B-25
SOVIET UNION REPORT by Fay D. Bellamy.	B-28
WHITE MAN'S BURDEN - Behind the Press Campaign Unleashed by the Election of Stokely Carmichael B-37	
Black Panther - poem by Will Rogers.	B-40
LEAVING JACKSON - poem by Gilber Moses.	B-41
REPORT: PRELIMINARY HEARING IN PHILADELPHIA.	B-41

NOTE TO STAFF:

A couple of weeks ago, a partial list of names and addresses of staff was mailed out.

Many names were left out. Many people have moved to new projects. If you see a discrepancy, send in the name and address of that person.

To bring you up to date, add:

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Definition of the Week:

SNCC/ BLACK POWER WITHOUT A PLANE
REVOLUTION WITH AN ADDRESS

E A S T E R*

THE LAND LAY SMILING IN SPRING SPLENDOR, HEAVY WITH VERDURE, GLEAMING WITH GLAD SUNSHINE. ATHWART IT FELL THE DARK SHADOW OF A TOILING MAN; HE WAS GREAT OF LIMB AND BLACK, THICK OF COUNTENANCE AND HARD-HAIREO. HIS FACE WAS HALF-HOPELESS, HALF-VACANT, WITH ONLY A FAINT GLEAM OF SOMETHING DEAD AND AWAKENING DEEP IN HIS DEEPCSET EYES. HIS FEET WERE CHAINED, HIS NECK YOKED AND HIS BODY SCARRED. THEY THAT HAD DRIVEN HIM AND RIDDEN AND THRUST HIM THREATENINGLY THROUGH THE THICK FOREST WERE NOW AFRAID OF HIM. THEY FEARED THE REPROACH OF HIS DUMB, LOW-BURNING EYES. THEY FEARED THE HALF-ARTICULATE SOUNDS FROM HIS MOVING LIPS, AND SAW WITH TERROR THE SLOW, STEADY GROWTH OF HIS BODY, THAT GREAT BLACK, UNDYING BODY. SO THEY TOOK COUNCIL TOGETHER TO KILL HIM, LYING TO HIS EARS, CRUCIFYING HIS SOUL, UNTIL HE, BENT AND BOWED AND HEAVY WITH HIS OWN WEAKNESS, FELL AND LAY HIS MIGHTY LENGTH IN STUPOR ALONG THE EARTH. AND THE EARTH TREMBLED.

SWEATING AND DEEP OF BREATH THE PALE-FACED MURDERERS WORKED AND DELVED, DIGGING A CAVERNOUS GRAVE AND WALLING IT WITH OPPRESSION. THEN SHAME-FACED, YET GRIM, THEY TURNED NORTHWARD. AT DAYBREAK THEY STOOD UPON THE HILLS OF GOD WITH FACES WHITE AND GOOD, CRYING: "COME, O BROTHERS, NORTHERN BROTHERS, THE THING THAT HINDERED OUR LOVE IS DEAD, DEAD, LONG DEAD." THE BROTHERS OF THE NORTH CAME TROOPING, OILY TONGUED, UNCTIOUS AND RICH. YET THEY OF THE NORTH AND SOUTH LOOKED NOT EACH OTHER IN THE EYE, BUT SLUNK ALONG FALSE-SMILING.

ONE TIMID ONE SAID:

"O Brother South--I hear chains."

BUT THE SOUTH ANSWERED:

"Nay, that is the chiming of Negro school bells."

B-IX

Easter

YET ANOTHER, QUIBBLING, FOUND HIS MOUTH:

"Did the Thing—die—happy?"

THE SOUTH CHOKED AND MUTTERED:

"Happy—so happy—and praising his—Master, and his Best Friends."

"But, Brother, your hands are bloody," quavered a third.

"The blood of the offering burned at the stake for the culture and supremacy of the White Race."

THEN HASTILY THE SOUTH SAID IN CHORUS AS IF TO FORESTALL REPLY:

"See where we have laid Him," and they pointed to that grave,
walled with Oppression."

BUT SUDDENLY THE WORLD WAS WINGS AND THE VOICE OF THE ANGEL OF THE
RESURRECTION BEAT LIKE A MIGHTY WIND ATHWART THEIR EARS, CRYING:

"He is not here—He is risen!"

RISEN ABOUT HALF HIS IGNORANCE: RISEN TO MORE THAN SIX HUNDRED
MILLIONS OF PROPERTY: RISEN TO A NEW LITERATURE AND THE FAINT
GLIMMERING OF A NEW ART; RISEN TO A DAWNING DETERMINATION TO BE
FREE; RISEN TO A NEWER AND GREATER IDEAL OF HUMANITY THAN THE
WORLD HAS KNOWN. R I S E N!

*This essay by W.E.B. DuBois was originally published as an
editorial in the Crisis of April, 1911.

SENATE
(September 7, 1966)

EVIDENCE MOUNTS ON PROFESSIONAL AGITATORS FOMENTING RIOTS AND CIVIL DISTURBANCES AND HOUSE MEMBERS DEMAND ACTION ON H. R. 17642, THE CRAMER ANTIRIOT BILL

(Mr. CRAMER (at the request of Mr. McEwen) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter).

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, evidence from many sources continues to mount indicating that many of the most serious riots and civil disturbances taking place under the guise of civil rights are being engineered, encouraged and incited by professional agitators who travel the country stirring up dissension and strife.

Ralph McGill, liberal publisher of the Atlanta Constitution, recently exposed the fact that "in civil rights circles it is said that Havana money took over SNICK--SNCC"--which is substantiated by the fact that many SNICK demonstrators are found shouting Castro slogans, as well as by the Cleveland grand jury findings of Communist influence in the problems created in that city.

Ralph McGill further points out that many of the more reliable supporters of SNICK have been "replaced by the likes of New York Attorney Victor Rabinowitz, registered in Washington as an agent for the Castro government."

McGill continues:

The Federal government has been patient far too long with professional agitators who travel from State to State whipping up emotions in the name of civil rights.

Added to this information is the known fact that Robert Williams, escapee indicted in North Carolina and a fugitive from justice now embracing Castro's communism in Havana, is directing some of the efforts as the absentee head of RAM, a militant Negro group that teaches guerrilla tactics and violence on an outspoken, planned basis. Williams broadcasts his hate-America droolings from Havana and his seditious material is mailed or bootlegged into the United States for distribution--including Raoul Castro's guerrilla tactics handbook.

Stokely Carmichael, head of SNICK, is preaching that Western civilization must go, that if brick walls in place of windows are built as a precaution against rioters and looters, then "it just means we have to move from Molotov cocktails to dynamite," and that the Vietnam war is a white man's war, encouraging Negroes not to serve.

"Police brutality" is being used as a slogan to whiplash all law enforcement authorities, and as a license in many instances to violate the law with impunity, by some of the professional agitators.

All of this adds up to the need for action by Congress to serve notice that Federal authorities will not stand idly by and see the seeds of anarchy in America sown across our land by professional agitators using the civil rights cause as a haven.

It is time for Congress to enact strong antiriot legislation and to pass my bill, H.R. 17642, which is identical to the amendment to the Civil Rights Act of 1966 adopted 389 to 25 by the House on August 9. It became necessary to introduce and press for the enactment of this separate bill because of the death of the civil rights bill in the Senate yesterday.

In my opinion, Congress will be derelict in its duty if it does not act in this national crisis before adjournment. The sentiment of the country was clearly expressed in the House vote on the Cramer antiriot amendment, and the House Judiciary Committee should immediately report the bill out. I have asked the chairman to call the bill up for action immediately.

The seriousness of the situation has been evidenced by the insertions in the Record by myself and many other Members and by the number of antiriot bills, identical to mine, which have been introduced. It is further emphasized by the following articles:

(From the Tampa (Fla.) Tribune, Sept. 9, 1966)

THE REAL SNICK

Atlanta's race riot Tuesday is a prime example of the deliberately inflammatory conduct of some Negro leaders--and also how far out of touch these men are with the real desires of members of their race.

For the outbreak which last 18 hours during the afternoon and evening and left 16 injured, damaged several cars, and brought almost 70 arrests, was touched off by a false cry of "police brutality" after a white policeman shot at and wounded a fleeing Negro suspected of car theft.

Stokely Carmichael, the bellicose provocateur of "black power", quickly moved in, and sent a sound truck into the area to pass the word that the Negro had been shot to death while handcuffed to the policeman.

Yet a U.S. Senate study released just this week, based on surveys of Negroes in the "ghetto" areas of Watts, Harlem, Chicago and Baltimore, indicated the average Negro lived in a condition of near-anarchy which he deplores. Instead of being concerned with "police brutality," what he wants is much more police protection from a tyrannical minority; instead of bussing his children into white areas to end "de facto" segregation, he wants better schools--and better housing--where he is.

That such thoughts would never occur to Carmichael, the head of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, is shown by the chronology of events in Atlanta Tuesday.

The Negro suspect, Harold Louis Prather, was shot at 1:10 p.m. as he fled Detective R. H. Kerr's attempt to arrest him. Prather staggered to his mother's home, where within five minutes a mob of 200 Negroes formed to prevent his arrest.

Kerr called for help; by 1:30 p.m. 50 policemen had dispersed the crowd and Prather had been sent to a hospital. At 1:45 Carmichael arrived; fresh from a demonstration at City Hall. By 2 p.m. two of his SNICK aides brought in a sound truck, plastered with Carmichael's "Black Panther" symbol; by 2:15 the truck was cruising the area asking Negroes to come to a street intersection to give evidence of Snick's version of the shooting--that Prather had been shot while handcuffed.

By 3 o'clock the truck was at the intersection and taking statements. At 4 Carmichael returned to lead a demonstration of about 200 Negroes shouting "Black Power, black power." Fifty policemen--all Negroes--arrived at 4:21 to control the crowd; they were met by a barrage of rocks, stones and bottles. Fifty more policemen were called, and the growing crowd was brought under control but refused to unblock the intersection.

The crowd grew to 600, and resisted the pleas to dispers of Mayor Ivan Allen Jr., who, when he attempted to speak from the top of a car, was toppled from it by rioters who rocked the vehicle. At 6 he ordered the street cleared; police dispersed the mob with shotgun blasts fired in the air and with tear gas. By 6:30 the area was cleared, but sporadic overturning of cars and other disorders continued until 10:30.

Does this kind of thing represent the wants of Negroes the Senate Subcommittee headed by Sen. Abraham Ribicoff of Connecticut, found in its survey

(conducted by trained local Negroes)?

No, in Harlem and Watts especially, and in smaller degree in Chicago and Baltimore, the prime need cited by the Negro residents was for stopping crime in the streets. In none of the four areas, when they were asked for a listing of the ghetto's worst problem, was "police brutality" even mentioned. In Harlem, the study found, the primary complaint was inadequate numbers of police, in Watts, of a failure of police protection.

But if Stokely Carmichael and his black power cohorts continue using false accusations of police brutality as a rallying cry for disorder, their effect can only be a breakdown rather than improvement of police protection wherever Snick operates.

We think Senator Ribicoff's committee study is a genuine reflection of the real wants of a vast majority of Negroes everywhere. And we think, too, that Atlanta Police Chief Herbert Jenkins reflected the real Snick in his assessment of it after Tuesday's riots.

"It is now the Non-student Violent Committee," he said. "We must and will deal with it accordingly." The responsible Negroes for whom the Ribicoff study speaks will do well to deal with Snick in like manner.

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(From the Tampa (Fla.) Times, Sept. 12, 1966)

BLACK POWER WITH A RED BASE

Black power met its match in Atlanta last week. Its prime spokesman, Stokely Carmichael, has been jailed and Carmichael's Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (Snick) is under condemnation from liberals and conservatives alike. A residue of violence and bitterness lies in the wake of Snick's activities, but the organization now is generally recognized for what it is by most people in Atlanta.

Carmichael can claim the support of only a handful of Atlanta Negroes. The rest, including Julian Bond have turned their backs on him. Bond earlier this year was refused a seat in the Georgia Legislature because of his ties to Snick and statements critical of the war in Viet Nam.

Ralph McGill, liberal publisher of the Atlanta Constitution, has charged Snick with a Jekyll and Hyde personality. He recalled the organization's role in freedom marches as involving some "of the sweetest, bravest people of those days." While we might not agree with that assessment, we certainly can support Mr. McGill's conclusion that "Sncc is no longer a student movement. It is not now a civil rights organization. It is openly, officially committed to the destruction of existing society."

The Atlanta publisher, writing in his front page column, suggests that Stokely Carmichael's black power may, in fact, be Red.

He recalls that last fall SNCC was broke, down and out. But suddenly it had money to burn. And what Ralph McGill calls "the sweetest, bravest people" were replaced by the likes of New York attorney Victor Rabinowitz, registered in Washington as an agent for the Castro government.

In civil rights circles, reported McGill, it is said that Havana money took Snick over. That hasn't been proved but it is true that Snick demonstrators are found shouting Castro slogans.

If Ralph McGill's information is correct, Snick and its troublemakers represent something more serious than a simple riot in the name of civil rights. This is a case of insurrection and should be treated as such.

The Federal government has been patient too long with professional agitators who travel from state to state whipping up emotions in the name of civil rights. Strong sentiment for an end to this activity is evinced in the words of a Northern congressman, Rep. Wayne Hays, Ohio Democrat. He told fellow House members Thursday, "Carmichael and his anarchist group belong behind bars and the quicker we get him there the better off this country is going to be." Hays said that if there is a law against crossing state lines to incite riots, Attorney General Katzenbach should enforce it.

The quick action taken in Atlanta to douse fires lighted by the Carmichael crowd should set an example for the rest of the nation. There has been some timidity, some hesitation on the part of police in other cities to enforce law and order in race riots out of fear of being labeled "brutal". But mob brutality has become so rampant in this country that any force exercised by police to quell a disorder will win more praise than condemnation.

No one, white or colored, need fear police "brutality" if he is tending to his own business and obeying the law. But those who try to impose their will by force invite force in return.

This opinion is shared not only by conservatives who long have deplored violence in the streets. Liberals such as Atlanta's Ralph McGill who supported the freedom marches now are beginning to sense the danger of continuing contempt of the law and rights of others. Concluding a recent column, he warned, "If (SNCC) is out to destroy society, it cannot expect society to remain passive under attack."

There is even a liberal "white backlash."

(From the Tampa (Fla.) Tribune, Sept. 9,
1966)

MILITANT NEGRO LEADER PREACHES WESTERN CIVILIZATION MUST GO

(Under Stokely Carmichael, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee has done a dramatic about face since the days when it helped thousands of Northern White students to fight for civil rights in the South. Last week, Carmichael stumped Northern cities and found receptive audiences in Negro districts. Here's a comprehensive report on his message as developed on the tour and previously.)

By Austin Scott)

New York.--The applause within the Harlem church was frequent, almost deafening. Even from the street, through heavy wooden doors closed to keep out whites, cries of "that's right," and "preach, brother," could be heard.

But many of the remarks tumbling rapidly from the lips of the slender young Negro behind the pulpit microphone were sharply at odds with the religious setting.

"This country is moving to destroy black people," he shouted to waves of applause. "We cannot afford to be part of the American system...We have to destroy Western civilization...Integration is just a trick bag...Nothing counts but power....We have to hook up with the people of the third world..."

The bundle of thoughts that 25-year-old Stokely Carmichael hurled at his listeners also included a great deal of love—love of black people for themselves, their families, their communities, their culture.

But despite his statement in an interview July 6 that black power does not mean anti-white, love was clearly reserved for non-whites.

"We got to start loving ourselves because we are black," he said. "...we don't have to lose our blackness to become equal with white savages..." his cheering audience rocked the wooden floor with stamping feet.

On his first extensive tour of Northern slums as chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, handsome young Stokely Carmichael found a receptive audience for "Black Power," his battlecry for Negro militance and self-determination.

He said shortly after he was elected in June that civil rights movements "weren't even talking to black people in the ghettos but were in fact gearing their programs to what white liberals thought should be done.

"For once," he said, "we've gotten enough strength to talk to our black people who need to be talked to. Everybody in the country talks about them. No one talks to them." That's what he is trying to do.

His Harlem audience happened to be a fund-raising rally. It might have been the cheering crowd in Jersey City, N.J., the night before, or the standing-room only crowd in a stuffy, second floor room in Newark, or the thousand Negroes who blocked a Philadelphia street.

Trinidad-born, but raised in Harlem and the Bronx, Carmichael is one of the new SNCC leaders, whose roots are in the valleys of the big cities, not the dusty villages of the rural South.

While his radical statements catch the headlines, they are by no means all that Carmichael is trying to say to "black people"—he shuns the word "Negro," using it as a term of derision.

He preaches that Negroes must analyze the world around them, must understand the workings of both foreign policy and the white businessman next door, must save their money and use it to help themselves.

And, as he promised shortly after becoming head of SNCC, he tries to rally black people around the issue of their colore.

"Black people in this country are oppressed for one reason," he said early in July, "and that's because of their color...their rallying cry must be the issue around which they are oppressed, as it was for unions."

He hammers at the theme: Black people must "come together," young Negroes must stop "cutting each other on Friday and Saturday nights," older ones must stop "hustlin' off each other," unemployed must stop "drinkin' that cheap rotgut wine and that cheap whiskey."

"We have to develop in our community such love and such respect for each other that every mornin' it's gonna be good mornin', brother, good mornin', sister," he told the audience in the heart of North Philadelphia's slums.

And in Harlem, "... we've got to say to our little . . . children, you're beautiful. With your black, nappy hair and your broad nose and your diaper hanging, you're beautiful. We've got to say it to ourselves."

Such statements bring waves of applause, even from Negroes who admit that much of what Carmichael says scares them.

"I don't go along with him on Viet Nam," said a middle-aged mother at a Newark rally, "but he's right on this. We got to come together."

An animated speaker who leans toward his audience to drive home points—alternately shouting and whispering in a heavy Negro dialect he reserves for

speeches—Carmichael delivers essentially the same message everywhere, varying it to encompass local problems. Although he once said black power has to involve white cooperation at some level, his speeches now do not hint at cooperation. "We have to understand," he says, "that we are going to build something they are out to destroy."

"This country is antiblack, and we must be against the things they're for."

His line of reasoning is similar to that of the late Malcolm X. Carmichael says Malcolm influenced him greatly.

Carmichael often starts with a statement that there is no difference between black people in African colonies and Negroes in the United States, because white men are exploiting both.

"Our friends are going to be the people who are fighting to destroy Western civilization," he said in Philadelphia. "We've got to hook up with our non-white brothers across the world because they are fighting a system that oppresses and exploits them, the very same thing we are fighting."

"They must become our brothers. So we can't fight in Viet Nam if we wanted to, because our brothers are trying to get rid of the man and it's our job to help them bring the man to his knees."

The argument follows a line which Carmichael said earlier would be a psychological vehicle for black people, but would not be intended as a call to take over the country.

Asked several months ago whether he saw nonwhites coming together to become a dominant segment of the world's population he said:

"...The reality is that Western civilization has dominated this world ruthlessly, but that in all the emerging nations in Africa, when the Africans took over you saw no white signs and no colored signs. You haven't seen white people excluded anywhere...nobody in SNCC wants to take over this country. We wouldn't know what the hell to do with this monster. We just want to get white people off our backs."

Once Carmichael has outlined his reasoning, he outlines the methods he thinks Negroes must use.

Instead of civilian police review boards, "which we aren't going to control anyway," he suggests ending alleged brutality by making "the captains of our precincts responsible to us...you can bet we'll end brutality."

He often says everything in a Negro community should be controlled by its residents.

"You are 52 per cent (of the city's population, he shouted to an audience in Newark. "There's no reason why you can't have a black mayor, a black school board, a black city council. Then you can tax hell out of these white businesses and get the money you need..."

To a Harlem audience he said:

"We have to control our communities...Harlem belongs to us. It is ours. We should not only rule it, we've got to own it, lock, stock and barrel."

"We've got to move to keep our resources in our community." We can't even accept their nonsense about the individual. We can't afford to let one black man own a store in Harlem and put that money in his pocket and move into the suburbs...we've got to have a group of people own that store and use the profits to develop our community!"

To gain such control, he recommends three political parties, like the Black Panther party he helped organize in Lowndes County, Ala. "Nothing else matters in this country but who controls," he says, and then to illustrate his point, he adds:

"Two weeks ago, the Agriculture Department made a survey and found out that the chain stores like A&P and Safeway charge more money for rotten food

in ghetto areas. "They just found out, and we been knowing that all our lives. And they tell us looting can't accomplish anything. "They been building a new store every single day with the money they looted from us all these years: "It ain't looting that's the issue, it's who has the power to make their looting legal...we got to talk about power!"

Understanding Carmichael is sometimes complicated by statements which he says should not be taken at face value, since, he insists, he is not talking to whites at all.

"They're building stores in Cleveland with no windows," he told a Harlem audience. "I don't know what they think they'll accomplish. It just means we have to move from molotov cocktails to dynamite."

Asked if he should be taken literally, he shook his head no. "I think black people know what I'm talking about," he said. Asked if he cared about white reactions to such statements, he replied, "No, we can't care anymore... because I think to care is to say what white people want you to say, would be to accept the solutions they suggest. And we can't accept them. And you don't have to explain to black people what you mean."

Carmichael moves easily through the Northern ghettos. Dressed sometimes in a neatly-pressed business suit, sometimes in an African toga, he wanders through audiences, clapping strangers warmly about the hands and arms, hugging antiwhite poet-playwright Leroi Jones and other people he knows. Graduated from Howard University with a degree in philosophy, Carmichael said he admires, in addition to Malcolm X, Dr. W.E.B. Dubois, the Negro writer who helped found the NAACP, and then broke with it because, he felt, it was too moderate.

Carmichael, who is not married, considers home the Bronx apartment where his mother and two sisters live, although he is on the road most of the time.

Sometimes, as in Newark, Negro politicians feel he is important enough to bring them out to his rallies.

"He's got it, baby," said one young woman in an audience where most of the spectators who appeared to be 35 or older did not join the applause. And Carmichael added his own appraisal:

"We've got some black youth out here whose eyes are opening up wide," he said. "He (white officials) can deal with the man over 30, but he's got hell on his hands under that (age)."

THAILAND FIGHTS FOR FREEDOM

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, Carl T. Rowan, former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, former U.S. Ambassador to Finland, and past Director of the U.S. Information Agency, has written a very enlightening article on Thailand in the current issue of the Reader's Digest.

In it, he explains how Thailand is a key strategic target in the Communist drive to subvert the entire area, and how the communists are making every attempt to destroy the will to resist among the Thai peasants, in particular.

The Thais are a courageous and proud people; they are keenly aware of the conspiracy being waged against them, and they are willing to meet the challenge boldly and realistically. As their Foreign Minister, Thanat Khoman, put it:

The problem is one of peace and survival. Are we going to shy away from small threats and wait until the monster grows, wait as the risk grows, then finally face a holocaust? We in Thailand have to retreat to. So we will make our first and last stand here.

For those in this country and abroad who think that U.S. Armed Forces have no legitimate business in Thailand, the same Foreign Minister had this to say:

Some Americans have doubts that it is worthwhile for the United States to fight for Asians. They argue that Southeast Asia is the wrong place and this is the wrong time to fight. To them, I say that 31 years ago Britain and France said the Rhineland was the wrong place. Then Austria. But when the struggle got to Poland, they had to fight. South Vietnam today is the Rhineland of 1935. If we don't fight now, we'll have to do it later at much greater cost.

It is most heartening to read this account of a nation that is willing to accept the harsh responsibilities of the cold war and willing to fight so courageously and steadfastly for the preservation of freedom. I therefore, ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that this article be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I am sure that my colleagues will find it both interesting and informative.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record.

A NEGRO ASTRONAUT

(Mr. Burton of California (at the request of Mr. Moss) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. BURTON of California. Mr. Speaker, on this occasion as we take pride in the accomplishments of our space program and our astronauts now in space. I am prompted to place in the Record an editorial by the San Francisco Sun-Reporter entitled "A Negro Astronaut."

It is difficult to believe that man, who can conquer space, who can walk among the stars, remains fettered by bias and racial discrimination.

It is inconceivable to me that the accumulated wealth and knowledge of this Nation can lift man into the heavens yet find him so impoverished in spirit and earthbound by prejudice that a youth who happens to be Negro

cannot meaningfully aspire to join in the conquest of space. I share the concerns which are stated in this editorial, as I share the belief that a Negro astronaut can and should be a participant in this great adventure, whose presence would be proof that in conquering space, we have first conquered bigotry and prejudice in our own earth-bound existence.

The editorial follows:

A Negro Astronaut

Yes; some time ago we thought perhaps a Negro Astronaut would be included among the heroes of the space age by going into orbit and perhaps landing on the moon. It may be remembered that there was a young Negro who was in training along with his fellow astronauts, but something happened that took him out of the space program. He said at the time that it was racial bias that removed him, but this was denied by space officials.

American youth are led to believe their possibilities are without limit, but young Negro Americans almost never think that it applies to them. Today, however, the increasing pace of civil rights and integration have given Negro youth more hope for a better tomorrow. A Negro astronaut out there in space would tremendously enhance the Negro image in America and throughout the world. Such an event would also have, with intense subtlety, a great impact upon the African nations.

Yes; let us have a Negro astronaut. The black man can be super, too.

TAKEN FROM THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Wednesday, Sept. 7th.

ATLANTA STRIFE

(Mr. WELTNER asked and was given permission to address the House for one minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. WELTNER: Mr. Speaker, I join with other citizens of Atlanta in commending the prompt action and courage of Mayor Allen in quelling the disturbances of recent hours. Once again, he has demonstrated that high caliber of leadership which has earned for him a national reputation.

I am certain that all but a minute fraction of our citizenry view with abhorrence the strife and violence that has marred our city. No grievance, real or fancied, can justify mob action and insurrection. No conditions however grim, can justify massed assaults upon law enforcement officers and fellow citizens.

The question comes in determining proper courses of public action to prevent future outbreaks. Obviously, the first duty is the protection of the persons and property of innocent citizens by the prompt and full application of the police power. Again, Mayor Allen deserves credit for his personal direction of the matter. Second, all persons guilty of law violations in fomenting disorder, or in committing assaults must be persecuted and, upon conviction, punished.

Lastly, our need is leadership. We need leadership for constructive action in the extension of opportunities. And we need leadership against the destructive action of "BLACK POWER". For despite quibbling over meanings, that term is consistently used as a call for violence and a summons to disorder.

Thus our need is for leadership throughout our community and particularly among elected Negro officials. Men and women of goodwill, determined to continue the remarkable achievements of Atlanta, will not be deterred from that goal by the few in our midst who would halt progress in the name of demagoguery, be it white or black."

TAKEN FROM THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD - Sept. 8, 1966

Mr. Hays. Mr. Speaker, referring to the public press, Stokely Carmichael was in Atlanta inciting a riot down there. If there is a law that prevents somebody from crossing interstate lines to incite riots, I think it is time that the attorney general enforced it. If there is not any such law that he can use, it is time he comes to the congress and ask for one. This Carmichael and the rest of his anarchist group belong behind bars and the sooner we get them there the better off the country will be.

ASCENDANCY OF EXTREMIST INFLUENCE IN THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, the rioting this week in Atlanta constitutes disturbing new evidence of the ascendancy of extremist influence in the civil rights movement.

This city has been recognized in both the north and south to be a showcase of racial moderation. The mayor, who was knocked down during the process of the riot, has been a champion of Negro rights. Yesterday he pinned the responsibility squarely on SNCC and on its Chairman, Stokely Carmichael. Police Chief Herbert Jenkins, I think summed up the situation in saying that the time has come when the SNCC can more properly be called the "Non-Student Violence Committee." This kind of influence does not serve the cause of Negro rights or do anything except greatly complicate the problems which exists. It does, in fact, further the problems of civil disobedience, lawlessness, defiance of duly constituted authority, racism, sub-version, and extremism which we must combat in this country. I include herewith newspaper accounts concerning this regrettable incident: (WASHINGTON POST - SEPTEMBER 6, 7).

NOTE: ON THE NEXT PAGES, I HAVE ENCLOSED STATEMENTS TAKEN FROM PEOPLE LIVING IN THE SUMMERHILL DISTRICT.

AFFIDAVIT

Personally appeared MRS. GENEVA BROWN, before the authorized officer, authorized by law to administer oaths, and first being duly sworn, deposes and says:

I, GENEVA BROWN, live at 45 Ormond St., S. E., Atlanta, Georgia. I am 27 years of age and a housewife. I have never been arrested. I've lived in the Summerhill area about three years. I'm a native of Atlanta. Quit school while in the 11th grade. It was on Tuesday, September 6, 1966. I got home about five minutes before it happened. I was getting out of a taxi cab about 11:00 that day. I heard two shots. At this time I saw a boy running and a policeman after him. They were about 30 or 40 feet apart. He was hollering, "Mama, don't let them kill me." I had panicked and run to meet him. I got to the front of his mothers' house just as he fell on her porch. When the boy was laying on the porch, the policeman pointed the gun at his head and snapped the gun, but it was empty. If he had had another bullet in the gun, he would have killed that boy. By this time, the boy's mother had come out of the house. She asked him who shot him and he pointed to the policeman and said, "He did mama, he did." She said, "You didn't have to shot my child." By this time a crowd had gathered. The boy was bleeding and the policeman said he had attempted to resist arrest. About 20 minutes later, over 40 people had gathered around the porch. The girl next door came and got me because she thought I was going to pass out. When the policeman saw the crowd gathering, he got very nervous. He put the gun in his holster and told everyone to be calm, that he was going to call an ambulance.

Then he went to a police car that had driven up. He reloaded his gun. Later a Grady Ambulance came and took the boy to the hospital. The way that policeman was shooting, he could have killed anybody. I returned home, which is only a couple of doors from the Prather house. I heard from some children that there was going to be a demonstration at 4:00 p.m. on the corner of Capitol and Ormond St., so I walked up there around that time. About 15 or 20 people were standing around. I stayed about 10 minutes and then left, because the crowd was making me nervous. I returned home and waited until my husband came from work. Then about 5:00 I walked back up there. The mayor was out there and he was on top of a car. There was a colored man up there with him. Mayor Allen tried to get people to go home. Then he tried to tell them to follow him to the stadium. People said it happened here and they would demonstrate here. I don't know if it was SNCC had anything to do with it or not. This thing has been building up a long time. People have been shot around here before and nothing was done about it. People were not told what to do, they were just mad. No one had to tell the people to do anything wrong. One man in the back of the SNCC panel truck said to get the white policemen out of the area and leave the black ones there. He never said anything about violence. He was brown-skinned and he had a beard and a lot of hair on his head. There was another fellow with a lot of hair and he had on sandals with long straps. Then I met some SNCC people the day after the shooting. I've seen Carmichael on T. V. before. Stokely Carmichael came around that Thursday after the shooting. He sort of was walking around talking to people in the neighborhood. He stopped at my house and asked if he could talk to me. I invited him in and told him what happened on that Tuesday. After he left, the

police came to my house and asked to talk to me. I let them in and they wanted to know what Stokely and I had talked about. I told them. One of them was named Kelly. This officer Kelly told me they were trying to get something on Stokely so they could lock him up. He was a colored officer. As they were leaving, this officer Kelly saw a "Black Power" sticker on my door. He asked if I had let them put it on my door. I told him yes. He said if Stokely Carmichael had put it up without my permission, they could lock him up. The police left and followed him, Stokely, through the neighborhood.

The facts stated in this affidavit are based upon my personal knowledge, and this affidavit is made for the purpose of being duly used in legal proceedings.

GENEVA BROWN (MRS.)

Subscribed and Sworn to before me,
this ____ day of September, 1966

NOTARY PUBLIC

STATE OF GEORGIA

COUNTY OF FULTON

AFFIDAVIT

Personally appeared BETTY JEAN McFAVORS, before the authorized officer authorized by law to administer oaths, and first being duly sworn, deposes and says:

I, BETTY JEAN McFAVORS, live at 806 Washington St., Atlanta,

Georgia. I'm 22 years of age and separated from my husband. I have two boys, one 5 and the other 8. I'm unemployed.

It all happened on a Tuesday, Labor Day was on the 5th and the riot was on the 6th. I was on Ormand St. walking towards Capitol. I heard some shots. I saw a policeman running. I ran to see what was going on. I stopped at Capitol and Ormond. I saw the police in front of this boy's house. It was about 12:45 p.m. After that happened, an ambulance arrived and parked in front of the boy's house. There were a lot of people gathered there. People went back to the intersection of Capitol and Ormond and began writing up signs. They wanted to block off the street and have a march. I had heard three shots. It sounded like a .38 pistol. I went to the boy's mother's house after the ambulance left. Three white and one Negro policeman were there, but they wouldn't let us go up on the porch. Over a 100 people gathered by this time. I stood out there about an hour and when I finally did go up on the porch, I saw blood on it. I didn't know the boy who had been shot. His mother said that after her son ran up and fell down, he asked for a glass of water and she said the police stated, 'don't give that S.O. B. any water.' She said the policeman was going to shoot him on the porch but that she told him, 'don't do that.' She said she told him to shoot her, but not her son, that she could take it. She told me he had a tumor on his heart and had heart trouble. After talking to her, I walked back to the intersection. People were writing signs for their march. They carried some up to Georgia Avenue. These were all local people from this area. Later a man from WAOK came and he called in to the radio station. The police said that anyone who had to cross the intersection of Capitol and Ormond had better do it before 4:00 p.m.

The people from this area were very angry. I went home about 2:00 p.m. and returned to the intersection again about 3:45. From Georgia Ave. on down Capitol and Ormond, there were about 300 people out there. I stopped at the intersection and that's when I saw a man with a beard, long bushy hair and his beard was about two inches long. This was my first time seeing him. He was screaming "Black Power". He was also asking people to take the mike and trying to find out who had seen the shooting. He told them that if they saw it, they should come forward and talk about it, to say what they thought should be done about it and to also tell who they thought was responsible for what happened. One man took the mike and he said that the police told the boy to halt after stopping him in his car. The boy got out of the car and started running. All this time, the policeman was shooting at him. There were a lot of rumors going around that day on how the boy had been shot and why. Then a girl spoke. She was saying, "Justice should be done." She wanted to know what people were going to do about this. Some more people spoke. After a short time, I left and went to my sister's house. I talked to her for a while, then returned to the intersection. The guy with the beard was talking Black Power. Perry, this colored policeman said, "You have to move." The man with the beard said, "Mr. Perry, will you please stop pestering me." Then there was another fellow with this man, and he had on overalls. He had a long beard and he had on sandals. The policeman, Perry, told the man to shut up. So the man with the mike kept right on talking. They arrested both of the men. That's when the people really got mad and started shaking the paddy wagon, trying to get those two men out. Some people wanted to know why the police were locking those two men up. Others let the air out of the tires so

they couldn't drive the paddy wagon away. Some police started shooting in the air. People ran and when the policemen stopped shooting, they all came back. The truck moved forward, and it was dragging, because the tires were flat. I wasn't pushing the paddy wagon, but I was in the crowd watching. A lot of people got on one side and tried to push the paddy wagon over on its side. About five or six policemen got on the other side of it and tried to hold it up. No one told people to throw anything. People in the neighborhood were really hot. No one had to tell them to throw anything. Mayor Allen was out there. He was looking scared and he was telling people what he was going to do.

One boy with a light mustache was talking to the mayor and the mayor said lets go downtown and talk man to man. People shouted, "He's not going anywhere." Then the mayor got on top of a car. Hundres of people started shaking the car. He was smiling before he got on the car, but people could tell he was faking. Then the mayor sent for reinforcements. They came with shotguns, submachine guns, etc. I saw a policeman get knocked down. He was getting ready to shoot somebody, so someone knocked the gun out of his hand and then they knocked him down. Policemen shot the tear gas and people started running. Then when it cleared, they came right back. Ivan Allen gave the orders to shoot the tear gas. I was standing on my sisters porch. I remember some white policemen were telling people to get off the street. They didn't give people time to leave the street before they shot the tear gas. One cannister hit me on the leg and two fell at my feet. One of them didn't go off. I really told them off. I told them it was good they had hit me instead of my children or they would have had to kill me. They also brought dogs out here. I went home about 9:00 p.m., because they wouldn't let anyone back on the streets before that time.

P R E A M B L E

It is time SNCC took position on the draft as it affects Black people in this country. While we can oppose the draft and the war in Vietnam on moral grounds or organizations grounds, on the grounds of extreme atrocities, and/or on legal grounds, necessity dictates that we oppose it also on the grounds of the survival of the organization and the survival of us as a people. It is obvious to any person in SNCC that the best way to break up the organization would be to draft all the young men who are of draft age and send them to Viet Nam and have them shot. If the country is able to get away with busing up SNCC by drafting its young members and also by drafting young Black people in general, the pattern will be clearly set for our destruction as a race in this country. We will become the mercenaries of the future. We will be the ones who will fight all foreign wars. There will be no one here to carry on effective protest and we will be slaughtered both abroad and at home consequently.

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

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

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

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

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

The first is what I call the Freedom of choice plan. This plan would, on the surface, be a petition to allow the jail or selective service, etc.

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

INTERNAL EDUCATION PROGRAM

SNCC

August 29, 1966

40 Lynhurst Dr., S. W.

P. M.

PERSONS PRESENT:

Cleveland Sellers

Jack Minnis

Ruby D. Robinson

Charles Hamilton

John O. Killens

Jennifer Lawson

Julius Lester

Johnny Wilson

John P. Tillman

It was generally agreed among those present that there is a need for internal education of SNCC staff. The question was raised as to whether the staff would be receptive to such a program.

Jack Minnis related the experiences of the workshops he conducted in Atlanta to prepare the Alabama staff and "local people" for the Freedom Organizations. It seems that for the most part, the staff did not participate actively in these workshops whereas the "local people" seemed to be more receptive. It was pointed out that: (1) There are a lot of people on staff who will not sit down and listen to a lecture. (2) That most staff people would respond differently to a work shop of their peers. The majority of the Alabama staff who did not participate in those workshops realized when they returned to the state that they had not gotten the necessary information with which to deal with the problems they were faced with and would react differently if given an opportunity.

There was also a question of some people being mobilizers, close to the community and a necessary part of any successful organizing project who would not grasp a lot of the information necessary to build various movements (i.e., the Freedom Organizations). The need for both groups of people in SNCC was recognized and accepted. More importantly, it was stated that there needs to be some attention given to providing learning experiences through which people who do not read and who will not listen to lectures can be given the necessary mobility.

It was felt that the key thing to getting an educational program underway is the development of internal staff discipline where the "group" demands certain things from its members. This is done on other levels within the organization and can be expanded to include staff education.

There were certain areas with which people felt that SNCC organizers should be familiar before entering the field.

Basically they were:

- 1) A general idea of SNCC's program .
- 2) What to organize, when, where, how and why?
- 3) Research techniques
- 4) Corporate Structure and how it operates
- 5) Comprehensive history of social movements in this country, esp. as they relate to Black people and knowledge of the Reconstruction period
- 6) History of Black people in this country.
- 7) Knowledge of law and the administration of justice how it works to benefit the system
- 8) International implications of what we do--current events

After spelling out the above list and what it means, the following conclusions were then drawn:

That we are developing a political elite or cadre;

That this in itself is not bad if it is not done to the detriment of the people whom we have heretofore called "mobilizers;"

That workshops should not isolate the two but should include both personalities to provide for an informal learning process that goes on after the lectures through conversation hall sessions; ex: people who do not read Camus or Fanon learn about them thru conversation with those who have read, the important thing being the concepts that come out of the books rather than the books themselves.

STRUCTURE

It was decided that in order for the workshops to be effective they have to be isolated physically from the work that people are doing, away from cities, etc.

It was suggested that we hire a place for ninety days and have six--two week sessions to include all staff people at approximately twenty persons per session. Such a group would be small enough to provide adequate participation on the part of all persons attending and at the same time large enough to provide a cross-section of the Staff for each session.

It was suggested that workshops include such things as recordings, film strips, movies, songs and the traditional "story teller" to stimulate interest and to point out the usefulness of such aids in the learning process.

It was felt that a comprehensive outline of information contained in certain books relevant to the workshop be made available for staff. It was also felt that books themselves should be available to staff.

Staff primers: In addition to the outlines, each session would be prefaced with a written documentation of facts to be presented and how they relate to SNCC's goals; they should be written by consultants whom we feel best exemplify our own political opinion and compiled by SNCC staff in a primer.

A typical two week session was then outlined:

Monday

a.m. Films related to SNCC history as an opener
SNCC History

afternoon -- comparative analysis of social movements
of 30's thru 60's (especially as they
relate to black people.

p.m. - Music (Relevant to earlier discussions)

Tuesday

a.m. -- Black protest movement from the "Niagara" to the
thirties.

afternoon - Black Reconstruction

p.m. - Film relating to discussions

Wednesday

a.m. - two hour session on Black Culture
suggested activities
films, music, black arts, folklore, etc.

Thursday

a.m. - system of slavery here and in other countries

afternoon - slave revolts

p.m. - folklore

Friday

all discussions on Africa both a.m. and afternoon

p.m. - African arts groups

Saturday

all day Black Festival, arts, dance, etc.

Sunday

all day -- skills workshops (held by staff and resource people)

Monday

a.m. and afternoon -- the Corporate System

Tuesday

a.m. and afternoon -- Laws and the System

Wednesday

a.m. - session on Imperialism and international economics

Thursday

a.m. and afternoon -- Research techniques and skills workshops

Friday

a.m. and afternoon -- Analysis of SNCC and future role

The evening sessions should always be relaxed, informal situations, movies, art groups, etc.

Sessions on Wednesday are scheduled for two hour periods.

Attendance after that period and attendance of the evening sessions are on a voluntary basis.

Sessions on Saturday and Sundays are also on a voluntary basis.

Discussion then centered around the types of resource people for the session. It was said that in some cases, they would or should be willing to be discussion leaders rather than formal lecturers.

SUGGESTED RESOURCE PEOPLE:

HISTORY

Sterling Stuckey
John Churchville - Hamilton
Lerone Bennett
Augusta Strong
St. Claire Drake - Hamilton
James Boggs
Harry Belafonte
John H. Clarke - Killens
Jim Campbell
Nathan Hare - Hamilton

BLACK ARTS

Willis James
Cardoza Arts Group
Afro-American Folkloric
Leroi Jones
Georgia Sea Islanders
Staple Singers
Bessie Smith
James Baldwin
Yoruba Temple
Sterling Brown
Ossie Davis
William M. Kelly

CONTEMPORARY DIRECTION

Ron Karenga
Bob Moses

ECONOMICS & INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

O. E. Nwawi - Killens
C. Onuachi - Killens
Nicky Oneywy - Hamilton
Jack Minnis
Oliver Cox

OTHERS

Paul Puryear - Hamilton
Ella Baker
Hamilton-Killens

Additional names should be given to Cleve Sellers:

Suggested things to be done:

Ivarhoe Donaldson and Bill Hall be contacted for additional names (resource people) (Cleve).

A budget should be drawn up and a tentative date set for mid-November, (beginning of program - Cleve and Ruby)

Library to be set up in Atlanta office

Publishers to be contacted for books (Jennifer)

Books to be sent from New York schools - (Killens)

Materials to be checked for availability, films, primers projectors, tape recorders, etc.

Open letter to people concerning program - (Cleve)

Written assessment of this meeting, including additional names and after-thoughts about the meeting - (Killens and Hamilton)

Follow-up of open letters to resource people - (Killens and Hamilton)

Note: Work is to also begin on the primers guidelines: a precis no longer than five pages for each session, to include factual material, provocative questions, reading lists, illustrations, etc.

CHICAGO REPORT September, 1966

The 4th Ward of the city of Chicago, where the SNCC office is located was originally one community, but urban renewal has cut it in half so that socially and economically, it is now two communities. The Congressional District lines were also moved to further the split politically. The northern half of our ward, which contains the majority of the population is a hard-core, black ghetto. South of the 47th Street dividing line, is a middle-class, integrated community where the poor have been removed by Urban Renewal. Our Alderman, like all of the other black Aldermen in this city, is a quissling, a tool of the Democratic machine. His power lies in the fact that he is also the Democratic Committeeman and thus controls all of the patronage jobs in the ward. This man lives in an ultra-modern condominium on the lakefront where our tax money built him a new pedestrian bridge across the expressway to his new beach and a new street. He lives completely cutt off from the rest of the community on the other side of the railroad tracks. We intend to replace this man and his entire ward machinery.

SNCC has been located in the center of this ghetto in the northern half of the ward for over two years and is an accepted part of the community. All SNCC organizers are black volunteers (not paid) who live in this community.

We began our political organizing with what we called a community awareness campaign - talking to the people and leafleting about community problems, how they relate to the political structure of this ward and the city and how to go about organizing to solve them.

Shortly before the Primary elections in June, we began a campaign against the Bond Issue, explaining that the money would not be used to help us but to pay for more Urban Renewal (black removal) like that already completed to the North and South of us. We told them that we are an isolated island in the middle of Urban Renewal and that the bulldozers are already on the way.

At that time, we started printing the message "The Black Panther is Coming" on our literature. This message immediately attracted a number of neighborhood youths, some of whom had been in small

nationalist groups (up to date on Malcolm X and black history) and others who were moved to join SNCC through our continuous contacts with all of the local street gangs. Along with some members of the SNCC Youth Council, they became our present organizing team. We have been working daily with this team, having discussions on Black Power and organizing, giving them books to read and bringing them into contact with others in the black community who are working on the same problems.

By the time Stokely came to town at our request, and spoke at the Packinghouse, July 28th, we had decided to call our program the Black Power Project, because of the enthusiastic response in the community to the whole concept of Black Power. We had some buttons made and Black Power car stickers and blanketed the community with posters, leafleting daily and sometimes going out with the sound equipment. We began to assign some of our people who were ready to work to specific precincts.

Another part of our program deals with the relationship of the people and the businesses in our community. We have been educating people about business and credit practices. We have been dialoging with the businessmen in the community about "Black Power" and began placing "This Business Supports Black Power" posters in the local stores. We found that when you send young men out to place these posters in their windows and ask for donations, the merchants were afraid and screamed, "Extortion," but when teams of both men and women went together, they had a much better response.

After we distributed the August "Black Power" issue of Notes and Comment (our quarterly newsletter), the response in the community reached a new peak and we now feel the people are in motion and ready to move on. At present, the phone rings constantly, unsolicited contributions and Black Power Project applications come in the mail daily and people come to our door both singly and in groups from all over the city asking for literature, buttons and "How can I join?" Many more groups than ever before are requesting speakers and our recruiting in the community has stepped up as each new recruit brings in his friends. We have a large group working inside the Chicago Post Office and for the first time, many West Side people are coming to the office. Our SNCC group in the South suburban area reports the same response.

A "Friends of Black Power" group is going to be formed this fall to do education work in the white precincts in the southern end of the ward and to help with fund-raising.

We have many allies in other community organizations. Just this week for example, several member organizations of the CCCO got together and approached us to join them in trying to do something about the problem of the CCCO and King because they felt it was time for the public to be informed of the sell-outs that are going on and that Black Power was the only solution to our problems. They also want us to help them work out educational programs on Black Power for their groups. The aldermanic elections will be

held next Spring. We do not expect that we will grow strong enough to elect a new Black Power Alderman at that time, nor do we have any candidate in mind, but we feel that we can make a power show, perhaps by asking people not to vote and that by itself will hurt the machine. We do not intend to make a move until we have real strength in all of the precincts of the ward. We will take just as long as is necessary to do our organizing block by block until the people become aware and take control of their precincts.

As before, this is a self-funded project. Because we have gained so many new supporters in the black community over the past two months, our fund-raising base has shifted and we are no longer dependent upon white liberal donations.

MONROE SHARP
CHICAGO SNCC

MINUTES FROM THE MEETING OF THE SECRETARIAT

Seminar on Apartheid:

United Nations International Seminar on Apartheid to be held in Brazil. We discussed this meeting in terms of our own desires to initiate an effective propaganda project against South Africa and how such a project would relate to other groups in the world, especially the African groups with which we have begun to establish some relationship. The discussion was prompted by the receipt of a letter (see end of report) from the Pan Africanist Congress, a group in exile from South Africa (operating out of Cairo) who have communicated with us several times in the past and have expressed a desire to become involved in cooperative actions. It was decided that we should seek available funds to send a representative to the meeting.

Meeting with the Messenger:

On the Sunday following the August meeting of the Central Committee, two members of the secretariat, by prior arrangement, visited with Elijah Muhammed in Chicago, Illinois. The meeting turned out to be a casual chat with Muhammed and Ali, resulting in full stomachs for those who attended.

There was, however, some discussion of the draft program--what the Muslims have been doing and what SNCC is planning to do. Some questions regarding a "joint" campaign in this regard were raised. The possibility of a national tour of the ghettos by Ali and Carmichael was thrown out in the form of a proposal and the program secretary was given the responsibility of follow-up. (This would be specifically in reference to the anti-draft program that was adopted at the last meeting and was discussed with Simmons and Fox.)

Arkansas:

The question of what precisely the situation in Arkansas is was raised. Since neither member of the secretariat could answer, the executive secretary was asked to make an inquiry as to what the situation in Little Rock (James Jones) was and specifically to write a letter to William Hansen in an effort to ascertain his role in the state.

Freedom Singers:

Cordell Reagon, Marshall Jones, and Chico Neblett are still on the SNCC staff although they are not functioning in the capacity as SNCC Freedom Singers. They are, in fact, doing nothing that is in any way related to SNCC (that we are aware of). Chuck Neblett and Marshall Jones have been removed at their own request. The chairman, who assumed the responsibility for the Freedom Singers will send each of them a letter asking that they state their intentions regarding SNCC staff.

August 16th-Demonstration in Washington:

Members of the Viet Nam Day Committee from Berkeley were summoned to appear before the House-UnAmerican Activities Committee (HUAC) on August 16th. Viet Nam Day Committees and Anti-War groups across the country decided to hold protest demonstrations during the hearings and asked if SNCC would add it's name to the list of groups protesting HUAC's actions. The secretariat decided that our name could be added to the list in view of our own position and since doing so did not mean that we had to mobilize people to join the demonstrations.

Salaries:

There were very strong feelings that many staff people who are married, especially those with dependents would have to leave the organization to become gainfully employed if something isn't done to insure continuous income for them. In this regard, it was decided that a list of such persons should be drawn up and a memo sent to the staff regarding their need to be paid consistently.

August 13, 1966

(Re: Seminar on Apartheid)

Pan Africanist Congress (South Africa)
Das Es Salaam, Tanzania
Africa

Dear Brothers:

Your letter expressing solidarity with the struggle of Black People in this country was enthusiastically received by our organization. We too feel very strongly that the distance between us must be

bridged by cooperative actions and mutual understanding of common objectives.

Unfortunately, because of our present financial situation, we had not planned to send a representative to Brazil; however, the prospect of the meeting you propose provides additional incentive for us to try and obtain the necessary funds. At any rate, Stokely will be in New York (at our N. Y. office) just prior to the meeting. He can be contacted by phone at YU 9-1313. If you are unable to reach him there, you should place a collect call to 688-0331 in Atlanta, Georgia. Assuming that you are going directly to the meeting in Brazil, we look forward to greeting you around September 6th or 7th.

The enclosed information give you some idea of the opposition that has developed in this country. The outward manifestations of racism are no longer restricted to the bigots in the South but are a part of a national policy spearheaded by the Johnson Administration.

We anxiously await our meeting. Until then we remain.

Yours for Black Power

The Secretariat

Ruby Doris Robinson, Exec. Sec.

Stokely Carmichael, Chairman

Cleveland Sellers, Program Sec.

SOVIET UNION REPORT

Sponsored by the Komsomol (Young Communist Party)

My companions on the trip were Muriel Tillinghast, Dwight Williams and Vernon Crutchfield.

During our stop over in Warsaw, Vernon and Dwight met the ambassador from Mali to Red China. They talked, but only haltingly for the ambassador did not speak much English.

On arriving in Moscow, a man with a movie or T. V. camera kept running in front of us and taking pictures. This is the only incident we had as far as someone seeming to check us out. In the airport, a brother from Mali came over to us and shook our hands. He said, Brother or sister as he shook each of our hands. It really was a good feeling. I would feel that the trip was worth it, even if we had not gone any further. To feel the closeness of that handshake was worth the distance I had come.

As we were driven into Moscow, we noticed block after block of apartment buildings. These were built during the past five to ten years and are still going up. I was told that upwards of 1000 new apartments are made available each day throughout the Soviet Union.

We were driven from the airport in a government car with a chauffeur. In each city we visited, all our transportation was in government owned vehicles. Many times we felt quite uncomfortable riding around in limousines and the drivers taking advantage of other drivers and pedestrians alike. Most of them had a sort of immunity from tickets since they were government cars.

While in Moscow, we stayed in a youth hotel. It was built five years ago and is used mainly for foreign visitors. This hotel was built by the Young Communist Party youths. It was built of pre-fab materials and was kept in good condition. There we learned of our schedule. We were to travel to Alma Ata, Baku, Leningrad, Kiev, Riga and then back to Moscow. An average of three days would be spent in each place with the exception of Moscow. We remained there three days and on our return would spend the same number of days.

In each city we met the top men in the Komsomol. Then we were taken on a tour of the city. We visited a couple of universities and kindergartens and primary schools in those cities. It was just amazing to see new apartment buildings all over each city we visited. Site after site of construction work was going on. The government wants to move everyone out of private houses and into apartments. Our interpreter said that the houses are old and many have no electricity or running water. We never had a chance to enter any of these old houses, but we did go into one of the apartments. It seems that all of the new constructions is done with pre-fab materials. This includes hotels, office buildings, plants, etc.

We asked the guide if it would be alright to visit one of the apartments. He said it was. We walked up to a building where a man was sitting on his balcony. The guide asked if we could view his flat. Then we went in. Living there was a couple about 40 or 45 years of age and they had one small child.

They lived in a two room flat. The baby shared their bedroom. It was like any other overcrowded flat, I imagine anywhere in the world. The flats are dished out with two rooms for three people. This is fine, but what happens when the child grows older and it is no longer suitable for him to share the room with his parents. This building was only two years old and looked ten. The hotels we stayed in while in Alma Ata and other places were in excellent condition compared to that flat and one of the hotels was about 50 years old. On the average, the hotel rooms were larger and more roomier than the flat we visited.

Many of the old houses were very attractive. If I were Russian, I'd rather stay in the old house, but then, I'm not Russian.

I'll probably never make a good diplomat for many reasons. While in Kiev, our guide asked what my impression was of the Soviet Union. I began by telling him that I had seen many good things and also some bad things but would only speak on one point and that was pre-fabs. Then I went on to say that I dislike them. That my reason for this was because they were usually made of cheap materials, therefore, they fell apart very quickly. That I realized they were being used, because they are cheap and can be put together very quickly and that the Soviet Union seems to be doing a top-notch job of housing the people. I went on to say that at least his country was attempting to do the impossible, whereas in our country, nothing was being done in comparison with the needs of the people. As I continued my dissertation on pre-fabs, the guide's forehead formed a wrinkle that lasted for several hours. I later realized that the Communist do not like to hear anything bad about their country. They seem to feel that it is next to perfect or perfect.

As most of you know, rubles is Russian money. It seems that the ruble does not have too much value. There are stores and bars in which you can't purchase merchandise for Russian money, only foreign currency. I asked our interpreter the reason for this and he stated that these places existed for the comfort of the tourist. I don't believe this is true. That in order to obtain as much foreign currency as possible, they save the tourist the trouble of going to an exchange. Therefore, the tourist will spend more money since he already has it on him.

The average Russian does not make much money, but then things are not as expensive as they are in the States. Still, they cannot walk into certain places of business and purchase merchandise, since their money would not be accepted. I'm sure the average Russian does not walk around with French, Dutch or American currency in his pocket.

Today, while in Leningrad, I met more students from the African continent. We met in my room and talked for about three hours regarding the Soviet Union and the United States. They emphasized many of the things I had learned previously from talking to other African students. They were extremely dissatisfied with the living conditions there. One stated that before he left Kenya to come to the Soviet Union, he was told that each student had a private room and things were very comfortable for them. He stated that other promises were made, but when he arrived,

to his dismay, there were four students to a room and no adequate study rooms were available. He went on to say that many of his friends had married Russian women and had a difficult time finding living accommodations after doing this.

They told me that foreign students are paid 90 rubles per month. Students from the Soviet Union are paid about 40 rubles, but that a stipend is taken out for various things pertaining to the State and by the time they receive their rubles, it is in the amount of 25 rubles. Forty rubles is hard enough to live on from day to day, but 25 is infinitely worse. One of them stated that many of the Russian students live on tea, water and bread for weeks at a time. That if you don't eat it's hard to study and because of this, many of the Soviet Union students make low grades. When this happens, they don't even receive their monthly pension. The other student said that quite often they loan the Russian students money in order for them to eat and make passing grades. He went on to say that quite often they go to the opera or ballet. When they first arrived in the country, they would wear their best clothes, but so many people would approach them and ask to buy a necktie from around their necks or the jacket they were wearing or other apparel that soon they stopped wearing their best. "We sometimes look rather shabby in our dress, but we decided to dress like the people. In this way we were able to just go out and enjoy ourselves without people approaching us in this manner."

These same two predict that less students will be coming to the Soviet Union to attend school. They stated that conditions were very bad. He went on to say that, "Last summer about 100 of us (African Students) went to the summer resort of Baku and about 49 students ran away to other countries. Many of them went to the United States or Britain to continue their studies."

The only student hostel that we had the opportunity to go into was in Kiev. It is an extremely old building and very dilapidated. There were four students to a room on the average. The room we went into housed three African students. There was one table and no shelves for books. Those that had shelves built them themselves.

There was also a T. V. room and you sat on long wooden benches without backs. As we were leaving, we passed what appeared to be a student kitchen. It had a stove and sink. It was filthy. Two Russian students were coming out of this kitchen with a large pot of food which they were carrying to their room. I asked the student we were with why these young men were doing this, since the state supposedly paid each student enough to live and exist on at regular intervals. He said, "The food is so terrible here that many of the students can't eat it. Therefore, they cook their own and eat it in their rooms."

It was made quite evident to us that our guides did not want us to talk to the brothers. Whenever we came in contact with them, there would be many melodramatic scenes. Once we invited an African student to have dinner with us in Kiev. When we asked that another dinner be ordered for our guest, the interpreter said it was too late to do this. So we told him the student could have our dinner and he changed his mind and said they would do as we asked... He went on to say that it would cost

us about five rubles. This was quite alright with us. Dwight paid the three rubles for the dinner. The dinner was very tense and almost uncomfortable. The interpreter and guides were quite against us having a brother for dinner. They would not speak to us during the dinner and could not say too much to each other, since the student spoke perfect Russian. After dinner the student asked if we had felt the tenseness and of course, we said yes. That evening we went out for a walk and were going to visit the hostel where this student lived. We went to the bus station where there is also a cab stand. About 10 or more cabs were parked there and the drivers were standing around talking to each other. The student spoke to the drivers in Russian and attempted to secure a cab, but was told they were all going in the opposite direction. As in other cities, African students say it is hard to get a cab if you're black, unless they think you are some sort of diplomat. One student said that it is very bad for them in the Soviet Union. They are not permitted to exchange money, therefore, they would obtain a go-between, Russian, who would change their rubles into foreign currency.

The one African student whose hostel we visited owned a combination record player and radio. He was given a lot of trouble about this set, because he was told by authorities that it was capitalistic to want to own such a set. He was also told he already had a radio in his room. This was true. All students hostels and hotels have a radio by which music and other programs are piped into rooms. The only control on this radio is the volume and the on and off knobs.

One evening while sitting in a hotel lobby in Leningrad, I met some students from Ghana, Kenya and various other places. Also two brothers from New York who were on a cruise ship, The Amsterdam, out of the New York Harbor. While talking to one of these students, a Russian girl came over to speak to him. They began speaking in Russian and while they were conversing, two young men, looking like exiles from the American Nazi Party, came near and just stood and stared. They never said anything, but it wasn't love I saw in their eyes.

Since we have been in the Soviet Union, we've been spoon fed love, peace and friendship, but I'm not naive enough to believe everything I'm fed is good for me. Everywhere we go, people follow us and stare. Some with friendliness, others out of curiosity and some with hatred. At first my feelings were that I was becoming a little paranoid but am now convinced this is not so. Friendship and curiosity are not hard to read in another's face and hatred is twice as easy and much longer remembered. Our guides do not like for us to go out alone, but each time we do, new things are discovered.

On another occasion, we invited the previous student back to dinner and this time Muriel and I paid the three rubles. After dinner, I went to bed and the other four went down to the cafe to relax and maybe drink a few beers. About two hours later, Muriel came bursting into the room and she seemed very upset. She said that Misha (Interpreter) had come into the cafe with the guide and sat at their table; that they were tense and seemed to be checking on them. Soon everyone felt quite uncomfortable and the party broke up. Muriel said that the guide had

followed the student to the door of the hotel. It was almost ridiculous and possibly impossible to describe the changes they, the guides, would go through each time we came near any of the brothers.

Education:

There seems to be a very good school system in the Soviet Union. It seems to be uniform throughout their country. Most exams are held at the same time, even though the schools may be thousands of miles apart. Also, the courses taught are very similar and the books are the same. At least this is what we were told in each city we visited. Parents are not permitted to keep children out of school and train them at home. In Alma Ata, there is one teacher per every nine children. If a child does not want to study or makes too many problems for the school, it is considered a case of emergency and they are expelled. Before the child is expelled though, the teacher must have the approval of the Minister of Education. We were told that education, all phases, is free in the Soviet Union and that if an expelled child later wanted to return to school, he was able to do so.

Before the revolution, only 2% of the Kossactani people could read and write their language. Now it is 100%. Teachers at high establishments or universities receive the same pay as teachers at primary schools. Those with Science Degrees equal to our Bachelor Degree get larger salaries. The more the teacher works, the more he is paid. He or she also makes more money if they prepare class literature, or is the leader of a club. If a teacher wants to continue his/her education, he may take evening or correspondence courses.

Many of the children learn or begin to learn languages in the early grades, such as the fifth grade. Those who want to study ballet or art, are able to do so when they are seven or eight years of age and all of their activities are centered around their chosen professions. In most cities, a new area of apartment houses is called a "micro district". Each district has it's own kindergarten and some have primary schools. Each kindergarten has it's own doctor and nurses. We were told they all had facilities whereby children could live there throughout the week. The ones we visited did have these facilities and they were immaculate. Many of the children remain at school and spend the full week there. Their parents come by for them on the weekend.

As the children enter the primary schools, they eventually join the Pioneer Clubs. These children and their clubs are like a better version of the Boy Scouts. They have their own palaces, camps and full-time teachers. The palaces are used mostly by them during the hours after school. The one we went to in Kiev was outlandishly equipped. The children there studied chemistry, ballet, photography, cinema, astrology, biology, painting and home economics.

There was a very elaborate playroom for the small children with wall to wall carpets and toys from almost every country. You name it and I would be willing to bet they had it in that building. We were shown a movie that some of the older boys and girls had put together. Yes, there was a movie studio also. By older boys, I mean between the ages of 12 and 14.

Each summer the Pioneer children go to camps. At these camps they are instilled with their national history, taught Communism and are taught to be pro-communist, and to love Lenin. Wherever we went, there were pictures of Lenin throughout the city and statues in every city and hamlet. You never ceased hearing "Before the Revolution and After the Revolution."

When these children become 14 years of age, they leave the Pioneers and join the Komsomol. When they are 28 years of age, they apply for membership to the Communist Party. They have to have strong recommendations from about three top members of the Komsomol. Then they are thoroughly checked out. If qualified, they are permitted to join the Communist Party and if not, then they don't belong to any party since there is only one.

We asked if there were any revolutionaries in the USSR. We were told, "No."

We asked if those persons not belonging to the Communist Party had any say in the government since they were in the majority. Each time we were told, "These persons are represented fully and have the same rights as those belonging to the Party and that everyone throughout the Soviet Union is treated equal."

Example:

While in Alma Ata, we were at dinner this one evening when the waitress brought a note to the table. It began, "Dear Friends, We would like to meet with you by the entrance to the restaurant." Vernon and Dwight went to speak to the girls who had written the note and invited them in. They would not come in, but said they would wait outside until we finished eating. I went up to my room because I wasn't feeling well and the other three went out on the town with the girls. They showed them around the city and took them to their homes. Muriel said she had a great time.

The next day, the same two girls came to the hotel and stayed with us until nearly dinnertime. Just before dinner, Misha and Tyrel, our interpreters came into the room. (Maybe I'm still paranoid, but that was the first and only time they ever came into our room and sat down when I was there.) The girls were not members of the young communist part and they became very nervous. So Muriel went onto the balcony with them. They told her they were afraid and were going to leave. Muriel came into the bedroom and said, "I keep forgetting where I am."

To my knowledge, none of us ever saw them again.

Factories, Plants and Mills:

The above named usually have their own kindergartens and technical schools. This enables many workers to attend school in the evening. The kindergartens insure that a mother will continue to work on a full-time basis.

These schools also seem to insure that the plants, etc. will always be adequately staffed. Many of the children will grow up, go to these schools and work in these same plants when they become old enough. Also, many of these plants have their own "micro districts" or housing areas and bring their people to work by bus. The plants also, in some areas, supply the "micro district" with heat and water.

Perfection:

The Russian people laugh and sing quite a bit. They sing mostly when drunk and they seem to drink all the time. (I was reminded of San Francisco in that respect). A person seeing this would say, gee, these people are certainly happy-go-lucky. In my limited experience, everyone that sings is not happy and everyone that laughs is not light of heart.

I asked one of our interpreters if there is much of a problem with alcoholism. He said no, that it does not cause any problem. With mine own eyes, I've seen men so drunk that they would try to hold on buildings for support. Some of them get as bad as the man I saw who reminded me of a large beetle. He was laying on his back and every once in awhile he would get up enough energy to reach for this fence post. His fingertips would touch the post and then he would fall back once again, to gather more energy and make another attempt. Now to see someone in this condition is definitely not new to me. My point is that here in Russia, they seem to be unable or afraid to talk about their own faults or to believe they have any. Hell, since I'm no authority on Russia or the Soviet Union, after being there for three weeks, who knows, they may be perfect.

While in Kiev, this one evening, we were at dinner and I asked the interpreter about Israel and the discrimination towards the Arabs. He was doing his thesis on International Law and apartheid, therefore, he had done a lot of research on various countries and their policies. For no reason at all, Vernon bounces out with, I hate all Jews. They're all a bunch of racists. To me it was a stupid remark. To you it may be funny, but our guide who was dining with us happened to be a Jew.

Muriel and Dwight have begun to call Vernon "God", which I think is unfortunate. He explained what he felt God was and it seemed sensible, to me, but it seemed inane to call him by this nickname.

Women:

We saw women doing construction work, tarring highways and operating machines in steel mills. When we were told that the Soviet woman is treated equally, take my word for it, they are. Two thirds of the doctors are women. One of the universities we visited seemed to have twice as many women as they had men. In the chemistry lab, there were no men at all.

Moscow:

We took the train from Leningrad to Moscow and it was quite a pleasant change from those too-crowded airplanes we had been jumping in and out of. The four of us shared a room with berths. We slept most of the

way. I began to think how much American railroad companies miss out on by not having comfortable trains and charging exorbitant prices for the few berths they do have. Oh well, later for trains.

When we arrived in Moscow, I met a man from India and another from Ceylon. They asked why our organization wasn't represented at the Socialist Conference in Bulgaria? I told him that we had sent a representative there. He then asked, "Was it undercover?" I told him no and that possibly Bill Hall and he had never come in contact, but that I had since met several people that came to our table and said they had met him.

Later we stated we'd like to visit Friendship University (Lumumba U.). We spoke to a medical student in his sixth year and another student that had just graduated and was now a lawyer. The lawyer would be returning home in about three weeks to the African continent. His brother is the ambassador to the Soviet Union from his country. I've forgotten what country that was. The medical student took it upon himself to answer all our questions. He was very happy in the Soviet Union and never felt that anything was wrong with anything. To make a long story short, he was living in a Soviet Union Paradise. He is married to a Russian girl and has one more year before he returns to Nigeria. Maybe it was because one of the Russian instructors and our interpreter were present, or (and I don't mean to be redundant) he really felt the way he spoke.

One of the questions we were often asked is why didn't our organization, SNCC, work with the Communist Party in the United States, since we are both working for the same cause and towards the same goals. Most of you probably know our answers already. We tried in our own limited way to tell what we thought of the U. S. Communist Party and why we did not work with them.

Diplomatic Relations:

Once in awhile, our interpreter and I wouldn't hit it off too well. I remember when we were at one of the many airports that I asked him how much time we had before boarding the plane. He said about 15 minutes. So Muriel and I went next door to get some pastries. About 10 seconds later he was standing next to us and as he started to talk to Muriel, I continued on, to the pastry counter. I turned around to leave and he was standing behind me. Muriel, I assumed, had returned to the other room. I asked him, "Are you following me?" He gave a noncommittal answer and I politely told him in many and varied words that I did not appreciate being followed, especially from room to room.

He and I had had a few previous spats, because this was not the first time we had words. I think we both realized that one could very well do without the other.

Home:

It is nearly time for us to return to the states and I am happy. It is very interesting being in the Soviet Union, but they lie just about as much as our government. At least in the states, I know many of the issues and when someone lies, I can call a spade a spade.

It is very interesting, but I can never remember being called an American before I came to the USSR, but other touring Americans would come over to our table and ask, "Are you Americans?" Sometimes we had to grope for an answer. It would be funny if it were not so sad.

At the present time, Muriel and Dwight, along with Vernon are attempting to write up a press release on our tour. They are trying to write on four subjects:

Nationalities,
Education,
and Restoration. The fourth has slipped my mind.

Muriel just entered the room and said they were cracking up with laughter, because all they could think of was one sentence. I personally am not taking part in the drawing up of this release about the trip. I don't feel that I could be truthful without causing anxiety to various people. If I took part in this little venture, I'd definitely like to speak about the things I was told by the various African students we'd talked with. I would like to speak about pre-fabs and women doing construction work and hard labor. I would like to speak about the steel tube plant we visited where both men and women operated the machines and that these people had no shields for their eyes or feet and there were no guard rails to protect them from that hot metal. I would have liked to talk about the two Russian girls we met in Alma Ata and question why they were afraid, etc.

Well folks, I have to sign off now. My fingers are tired.

Fay D. Bellamy
SNCC
Atlanta Office
August 1, 1966

SNCC DOES NOT WISH TO BECOME

A NEW VERSION OF THE WHITE MAN'S BURDEN

We hope white liberals will not be taken in by the press campaign against the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee since Stokely Carmichael succeeded John Lewis as national chairman. White sympathizers with the Negro have to keep several things in mind. One is that in any movement the leverage exerted by the moderates depends on the existence of an extremist fringe. The second is that a certain amount of black nationalism is inevitable among Negroes; they cannot reach equality without the restoration of pride in themselves as Negroes. The third is that this cannot be achieved unless they learn to fight for themselves, not just as wards of white men, no matter how sympathetic. SNCC is reacting against a new version of the White Man's Burden.

Fresh Approach to Southern Politics

No white man really knows what it is like to be shut into the ghetto. "The Negro," as Martin Luther King said in a vivid phrase on CBS Face The Nation May 29, "is still smothering in an air-tight cage of poverty in the midst of this very affluent society." For the white sympathizer, the struggle against the ghetto as an act of philanthropy; for the Negro, it is a battle to save himself, not just from poverty but from a corrosive self-concept. The ghetto dweller distrusts the white SNCC worker. Mr. Carmichael's idea of recruiting black SNCC workers from Northern ghettos is psychologically sound. His idea of using white SNCC

workers to organize the Southern poor white to the point where joint action between white and black becomes possible opens fresh perspectives in Southern politics.

The wonderful white boys and girls who went South in the past few years helped to thaw out the Negro from political deep freeze. But now that the battle has shifted from the simpler symbolic acts of sitting at a segregated lunch counter or in a segregated waiting room to the harder and more complicated tasks of winning a real economic and social equality, the job will have to be done by Negroes themselves. These are not tasks for a summer adventure in between classes. They can only be accomplished if Negroes are mobilized to carry on for themselves. In such areas as the Black Belt, where the Negro is a majority, this means seeking majority rule and that means Negro majorities. Otherwise the Negro is at the mercy of a white minority. In Lowndes County, Alabama, for example, where the Negro third party, Black Panther movement, originated, the white sheriff has deputized every white man over 21. To be a deputy is to have the right to carry a gun, and to have a kind of hunting license to shoot Negroes.

This is the background against which one must read Carmichael's statement, "We feel that integration is irrelevant; it is just a substitute for white supremacy. We have got to go after political power." He asked an audience in Washington last week-end, "How are you going to integrate a sharecropper making \$3 a day with a plantation-owner making \$20,000 a year?"

Some people were shocked by Mr. Carmichael's angry remark, "We want

quality education, not integrated education." But here I believe he expresses the reaction of Southern Negroes to the bitter experience of integration. The Wall Street Journal (May 26) carried a story, "The invisible Wall" on the ostracism and the humiliation visited on those few Negroes who have often literally risked their lives to get into white schools. Many are leaving. This frightened handful in white schools only distracts attention from the need for first rate education in the Negro schools. This is just as true in the North where the Negro schools are segregated by the flight to the suburbs. Only by improved schooling can the Negro be fitted to compete as an equal in a hostile white world. To dismiss this as Negro nationalism is neither fair nor perceptive.

Of course the main reason for the campaign against SNCC is the statement it issued refusing to take part in the White House Conference on Civil Rights which convened as we were going to press. "Our organization," it said, "is opposed to war in Vietnam and we cannot in good conscience meet with the chief policy maker of the Vietnam war to discuss human rights when he violates the human rights of colored people in Vietnam."

HIGH RATION OF NEGRO COMBAT TROOPS

This speaks to the unspoken thoughts of many Negroes. The war is an affront to them. The proportion of Negroes in combat troops, Joseph Alsop reported May 25 was "running about 20 percent in the average infantry company" because Negro recruits, with a lower average of technical skills, are less likely to be assigned to one of the technical specialties." The ratio in combat units is thus almost twice the Negro's ratio to population. The same discrimination that deprived Negroes of

education puts them into the front ranks of battle in a struggle supposedly to preserve abroad a democracy denied them at home. How can they be blamed if they, like so many Vietnamese, see this as another white man's war?

But the main point, as Dr. King expressed it on TV, is that the war is wasting the money and the energy which can alone rehabilitate the Negro and bring him fully into the American community. Dr. King sounded very radical when he said this would cost \$10 billion a year for ten years. The Vietnamese war already cost more than that, and the price will rise as it escalates. Is it any wonder SNCC feels bitter?

I. F. STONE'S WEEKLY, June 6, 1966, Washington, D. C.

BLACK PANTHER

Along came a Black Panther, his tail long,
But still he was looking for a home.
His eyes were white and tongue red,
But still he couldn't find a place to lay his head.
His hair was long and very nappy,
But every place he went he was very happy,
State troopers and big sticks, tried to put Black
Panther in a damn trick,
Nobody knows when he'll come again
All he does is cast his faith in the wind.

Will Rogers

January 28, 1966

Gammon College, Atlanta, Ga.

LEAVING JACKSON

To the generation that follow us:
Do not misjudge us, or be too hard.
We are the worst reactionaries
Guided by the fear of capitulation.

All history is absorbed in the present
And the future lies in obstinence.
We too, if unable to compromise,
Will shrink within ourselves
Dumb with pain and anger.

Who lives to the hilt of his beliefs,
Without cutting himself into bits?
Our rebellion is against ourselves,
The world which has made us,
And of which we are a part.

We leave you with work unfinished,
The bloodied, tormented and torn
Shroud which covers us
Is yours to trample on.

Gilbert Moses
March, '65
Jackson, Mississippi

Report: The Preliminary Hearing, In the case of
Arrested SNCC worker in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania,
on August 22, 1966

The hearing was held at the Philadelphia City Hall, room 453. The people were asked to assemble at 9A.M. The defendants were: Eugene Dawkins, Carole West, John Jenkins and Winston Ealy, being represented by attorney Cecil Moore. Barry Dawson was being represented by Attorney Len Holt. Jim Forman who had been subpoenaed to appear at the hearing was being represented by attorney William Akers.

The Judge was Leo Weinrott.

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

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THE QUESTIONING OF DAWSON AND DAWSON'S STATEMENT

The first witness was Insp. Meers (head of the Civil Disobedience Division of the Philadelphia Police Department). He testified that he had himself participated in the raid at the SNCC office and that

he had himself participated in the raid at the SNCC office and that simultaneously there were three other raids in the city of Philadelphia.

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

Meer said that Dawson had given an oral statement during the questioning, and that he had identified a photograph (which they introduced) saying that 2 and $\frac{1}{2}$ sticks of dynamite were in the paper bag that it (the photo) showed him carrying out of the Phila. SNCC office.

THE PHOTOGRAPH

The photograph was very key to the prosecution's case. It showed Morris Ruffin, Barry Dawson, Milton Scott and a reporter from the Philadelphia Tribune, in front of the SNCC office. Meers testified that the photo was taken by a white detective from a "fixed surveillance spot" across the street from the office in a school building.

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

THE QUESTION OF THE WARRANT

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

IDENTIFICATION OF THE SEIZED DYNAMITE

Meers testified that Dawson had said that 2 and $\frac{1}{2}$ sticks of dynamite they found in the apartment were the same 2 and $\frac{1}{2}$ sticks that were shown in the "picture." On cross examination, the chemist testified

that the dynamite was made by the Dupont Co. and that he as a specialist could not identify these 2 and $\frac{1}{2}$ sticks, the ones supposedly seized, from any others.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN JENKINS

Jenkins testified that he had been a dynamite blaster all his life. He lived on Arlington Street and some people moved into the basement of the place where he lived and he brought up a package of dynamite he had taken from various jobs with the intention of getting rid of it. He said he planned to throw it in the river. Then he met his friend Winston Ealy and they got drunk. They took the dynamite to some place on Comack Avenue. He was drunk and says he doesn't know what happened to the dynamite after that.

RAID AT 909 N. 16TH STREET

A Negro detective testified. The cops went up to the 2nd floor. There were two apartments up there. He began to search the front apartment first. The other policemen (about 10 in all) searched the second apt. After they had searched the 2nd apartment and he had searched the front apartment (he, the Negro cop) went to search the second apartment. This 2nd apartment had already been searched once by the other policemen. Carole West and Eugene Dawkins were in one room of that apartment, the detective went into the living room. He looked under the heater and noticed a package under the couch. The package is supposed to have 2 and $\frac{1}{2}$ sticks of dynamite in it.

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

FORMAN'S SUBPEONA

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

TESTIMONY OF WINSTON EALY

(Note: The prosecution called Winston Ealy and his attorney, Cecil Moore, did not object. How can the state call a defendant as one of its own witnesses without objection from the defense counsel. After Holt's objection, Moore said something to the effect of, "If he wants to, I'll offer him up.")

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

Holt asked him were he and Barry Dawson still friends. Ealy said, "Yes". Then he said, "I think so". Ealy went on to say that he had met Dawson on the street one evening and told him what he had. He said Dawson offered to help him to get rid of it and, therefore, he gave the package of dynamite to him. He says he did not see Dawson again after that.

SUMMATION

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

The charges against Eugene Dawkins, Carole West and George Brower were dropped.

Barry Dawson, Winston Ealy and John Jenkins were bound over to the Grand Jury which will meet in September or October. Their bond was \$50,000 apiece.

MOTION FOR REDUCTION OF BOND

The Judge refused to allow Holt to speak to a motion for reduction of bail. The Judge said "I've already made up my mind." "We don't need to hear your argument, we heard from Mr. Moore", although Holt's client was not represented by Moore. He kept saying things like, "This is not an ordinary trial. This trial is influenced by the general conditions," implying racial - actually racist - character of the trial. One got the feeling that this judge had made up his mind before coming into court and conducting the hearing.

Throughout the hearing, he did not put up a pretense of conducting a fair hearing according to legal procedure.

After the motion for bail reduction was denied, the judge said he wanted to make some comments that he had prepared. He read a portion of an editorial from Monday morning's Philadelphia Inquirer, "to invoke violence in the name of civil rights is destructive to one's plight." Then he quoted President Johnson about men having the right to protest about their conditions, but they don't have the right to use molotov cocktails and destroy, etc.

Over 200 people attended the hearing and 2/3 wore African dress.

(This report taken from Key List Mailing-SNCC Office-San Francisco, Calif.)

SOUTH WEST AFRICA

The Current Issue:

With the opening of the 21st session of the UN General Assembly on Sept. 20th, one item was given priority status on the agenda - South West Africa. In an unprecedented action, debate began on this issue simultaneously with general statements by various delegations on the world situation. This is a mark of the importance of this issue. The basic question is whether South Africa will with impunity continue to exercise her racist policies over a growing area in Southern Africa.

Background:

The Territory -- Arid scrubland and semidesert stretching over an area the size of France and the United Kingdom combined; a land hemmed in between the Atlantic and the Kalahari Desert, between white supremacist South Africa and Angola, Portugal's fat colony; a land where the scarcest commodities are water and people.

Apartheid People

Whites

Blacks

80,000

480,000

Colonized, exploited and decimated by the Germans until 1918, the Africans haven't done any better under the "sacred trust of civilization" (Mandate). The South Africans have settled the best land in the middle of the country, and the Africans have been confined by law to the north and a few shabby reservations. A permit is required to come to the "white" central areas and if you're black, you only get a permit by offering your labor. As communications in the north are virtually non-existent and African agriculture has received no assistance, cash earnings are hard to come by. So the Africans come South, where they get paid one-tenth of what Europeans earn.

The African political parties have been outlawed; Africans cannot even vote for whites. Alleged political organizers or even witnesses can be imprisoned without charge for successive 180-day periods. Africans cannot own land in half the country. Africans must use separate facilities: inferior and scarce hospitals and schools and buses and trains and crowded living compounds.

The Resources and Capital -- The extensive mineral deposits, the Karakul sheep lands, the rich fishing grounds, are for white capital and white profits. Half the profits leave the country; less than 10% find their way to the black areas through Government revenue and expenditure for social services. With self-determination, equal opportunity and independence for Africans would have the highest per capita income of sub-Sahara Africa: \$250 approximately (equivalent to mineral-rich Gabon).

THE MANDATE

"THE MANDATORY SHALL PROMOTE TO THE UTMOST THE MATERIAL AND MORAL WELL-BEING AND THE SOCIAL PROGRESS OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE

The following report on South West Africa was prepared by the American Committee of Africa.

4 October 1966

Dear Friend,

We are enclosing a brief background statement on the South West Africa issue now being debated at the UN. This question together with the unilateral declaration of independence by the white minority in Rhodesia, will be the basis for international initiatives to limit the power of South Africa. It is not expected that this General Assembly will deal with new approaches to the issue of apartheid within South Africa.

As is clear in the enclosed statement, we feel that the principle must be established by UN action that the UN has the right and the responsibility to terminate South Africa's administration of the Mandate in South West Africa. The means of implementing this action, is a most serious question. Implementation will take a period of time, undoubtedly. But the task cannot be started until the principle of UN control of the Mandate is clear.

We urge you to communicate with Secretary of State Dean Rusk and UN Ambassador Goldberg, urging acceptance of the principle of UN control of the Mandate (as asked for in the Afro-Asian resolution) because South Africa has violated her "sacred trust of civilization". The resolution will be voted upon in a few days. Therefore, immediate action is required.

Sincerely,

George M. Houser
Executive Director

US POLICY

The International Court decision of July 18 preserves the status quo - the continued control of South West Africa by South Africa, extension of apartheid, virtual annexation of South West Africa into the Republic, etc.

The real issue is whether the international community, through the UN will allow South Africa to continue to exercise its administrative authorities in South West Africa, or whether steps will be started for the UN to assume responsibility for the Mandate. Basically this is a political, not a legal issue.

South Africa does not recognize the right of the UN even to a supervisory role over the Mandate. Therefore, whether the UN assumes only a continued supervisory role (as was recognized by the advisory opinion of 1950), or takes over the administration of the Mandate, a direct confrontation with South Africa is inevitable.

After 16 years of efforts to find a conciliatory solution, half measures are fatuous. The United States must ensure through the United Nations that the people of South West Africa secure their inalienable right to self-determination, freedom and independence in accordance with the UN Charter.

The task of the United States is crystal clear. Democracy and freedom have been usurped in South West Africa. It is quite essential for the United States to support the resolution by which the powers of the Mandate revert to the UN. The United States must then demonstrate that the prospective UN Administering Authority will enter South West Africa and will enter with the active support of the United States.

It is not expected that this resolution if accepted by a UN majority will be implemented easily. A step-by-step course will undoubtedly be followed. But the principle of UN authority will be established and hopefully then, some step can be taken toward extending the provisions of the Charter even into a territory that has been dominated by South Africa for so long.

OF THE TERRITORY." (mandate Article of League of Nations).

The Mandate to administer South West Africa was given to South Africa in 1920 by the League of Nations. One party to the contract, which the United Nations inherited, has obviously failed its obligations. South Africa has not sent in reports on the territory to the UN and has impeded petitioners, who have wanted to present evidence against the administration. Moreover, South Africa has flouted General Assembly resolution 1514 XV in failing to grant the people of South West Africa political independence after forty-six years of administration.

The International Court of Justice -- The decision of July 18, 1966 was tragically mistaken. It was held that no country, however closely related its people to the victims of racial injustice in South Africa, whatever its concern for the sanctity of international agreements to which it is a party, has any legal interest in how South Africa governs its mandated territory of South West Africa. Effectively, this reverses the ruling of December 21, 1962, the minority opinion of that year becoming the majority opinion of 1966.

The Court's earlier advisory opinions are left untouched. In 1950, 1956, and 1962 it was shown that South Africa is responsible to the United Nations for its administration of South West Africa. However, the 1966 judgement appears to deny any effective judicial means of vindicating that responsibility.

The 21st General Assembly -- A joint draft resolution has been introduced and co-sponsored by most Afro-Asian states.

Operative paragraphs (4-7) of the resolution read as follows:
(The General Assembly)

4. "Decides to take over the Mandate conferred upon His Britannic Majesty to be exercised on his behalf by the Government of the Union of South Africa and to assume direct responsibility for the administration of the Mandated Territory;
5. "Establish a United Nations Administering Authority for South West Africa composed of ... States Members of the United Nations to be immediately designated by the President of the General Assembly - to administer the Territory on behalf of the United Nations, with a view to preparing it for independence;
6. "Requests the Administering Authority to proceed immediately with its work in the Territory and to recommend to the General Assembly as soon as possible, and in any case not later than twenty-second session of the General Assembly, a date for the independence of the Territory.
7. "Requests the Security Council to take necessary effective measures to enable the Administering Authority to discharge its functions in accordance with the present resolution."