

OCTOBER 24, 1965

INTRODUCTION OF INDIVIDUALS ATTENDING THE MEETING:

(Man who organized the Brandeis group):

We registered about 1,700 people during the summer. The Voting Rights Bill made a tremendous difference because we ran into a lot of illiteracy. This is due to the fact that Calhoun, South Carolina, has no compulsory school attendance law. The problems of illiteracy and political education were tremendous. We organized a youth group in Crenshaw County. Calhoun County was new territory -- had never been worked before. One of the most impressive things about this summer was the variation in the problems of the people from county to county.

Alan Keller (Worked in Wilcox County, not in SCOPE):

I'm worried about white participation in the movement. Whites have a tendency to gravitate to positions of leadership in the Movement, consequently not giving the Negro the chance he needs. Whites have a definite contribution to make in the South, but it should not be one of superiority. Whites should be in a role of something less than equal for a while. Grant information to those who seek it, but not force their position. There is also a tendency for white middle class civil rights workers to try to play another role, which is harmful to them personally and tends to render them ineffective.

Mark Harrington:

We received a letter regarding the lack of rigid screening procedures, saying that it was done in a haphazard way. The man said, "I don't want my son fallaciously or wantonly sacrificed." I replied, telling about a Negro man I met who said, "You are the first white man I have ever met I can trust." Age, sophistication, etc. have nothing to do with one's effectiveness as a civil rights worker. The main characteristic needed is humanness. To be truly human means to be able to recognize the human characteristic in other people.

Johnson talks about his 'Great Society' a lot, but what I am looking for in this great society is when people start to really communicate with each other again. The vitality, the freshness of participating in a human relationship has been lost. We must look to the South because it is here only that people are being involved in "fresh relationships" where people are aware of another human being's presence. This movement gives people a new sense of integrity. The South is on the move, too fast for most of us to keep up.

The ultimate aim of SCOPE is to move the total political spectrum of the United States to the left. We have a strong right-wing element, the center of which is in the South. Our aim is to get as many Negroes registered as possible to elect more liberal senators, thus shifting the body politic to the left. We are going to have to liberate and liberalize the South in order to save the nation. I see the future of America right now in the South. The solution of domestic problems depends primarily on the South.

Question: Is the aim to rid the body politic of racism or is it to remove racism in order to liberalize the body politic?

Mark Harrington:

You cannot remove racism without moving the body politic to the left.

PROFILE OF SCOPE VOLUNTEER BY JAY DEMORATH:

As faculty members of the University of Wisconsin we have many friends who participate in the civil rights movement. We were concerned about the type of news coming out about them. What could we do to provide more accurate information about the movement and find out some of the secrets of success in the movement? We decided we needed to know something about the backgrounds, attitudes, etc. of the students who participate. How they decided to go and what they expected to see. In the next week and a half another questionnaire will go back to these students to find out what kind of changes have taken place, to find out the South's impact on them.

I have reservations about describing a body of people. One has to compromise on the characteristics of many of the individuals. The kinds of data I will be giving are very crude. I am also concerned about the word, 'profile', because there are many different types of people operating in the South and in SCOPE.

The sample of volunteers included in this study consisted of 265 students, 90% of those at orientation.

As for background, the families of the SCOPE volunteers are not lower class beatniks as you might expect. In fact, they are overwhelmingly upper middle class. Over 35% have professional fathers. 48% have parents who make over \$15,000 per year.

If you ask them how close they feel to their parents you find some difference between them and students in general. Only 32% of the volunteers felt very close to their parents, whereas 59% of the general student body of the University of Wisconsin felt very close to their parents. There were very few instances of outright bitterness, but this suggests more independence on the part of these student.

They perform rather well in the university, and they are highly oriented to the university. In other words, they are not trying to break down the bastions of higher education. They felt the main purposes of a college education were to help develop meaning and value in life, prepare to serve others, and render life salient. Students at large say it is to develop skills. Volunteers are more likely to think of themselves as intellectuals. They want knowledge, but not for knowledge's sake alone -- they want knowledge that will work and benefit people. They usually get good grades. 73% want degrees beyond the A. B., and 31% are aiming for Ph. D.'s.

Career aspirations of the volunteer include being professors, social workers and clergymen rather than doctors, lawyers and businessmen. Their most popular major in college is sociology. A greater proportion are undecided about their careers than students at large, and many indicated that they wanted to find themselves.

The religious factor is unusual. There is one group who are less religious and one group who are more religious than the general student body on the University of Wisconsin campus.

There is variance in their ideas on race, and it was found that this was not the crucial determining factor in going South. One of the variables that does account for their participation in civil rights is their position on other issues about which they are very concerned but can do very little. For instance, they are more likely to feel that there is a 50-50 chance for nuclear war; they have a more liberal position on Viet Nam; and they agree that America is a sick society. They are almost overwhelmingly liberal democrats; only 4% were republicans. In response to the question, "If you had a chance to participate in a project which had equal chances of success as that of civil rights, how would you rate these projects in importance with that of the SCOPE Project?", 59% thought disarmament more important than civil rights; 43% thought Viet Nam more important; 29% thought a project having to do with poverty would be more important. These students are concerned about a host of issues but because it is the one place in which

Very few of these volunteers had experience with the South, let alone with civil rights in the South. Only 13% had ever lived in the South for any period of time. 76% had been previously engaged in civil rights in the North, only 24% in the South before.

There was a lot of concern about the inspection of one's motives. Many of the reasons given for participating revolved about the volunteer himself. The single most important reason was self-improvement. The third most important reason was self-guilt, because they felt they had not discharged their duties to someone. 56% said nothing could happen in the South during the summer to make it not a success, because of the personal gain they would obtain.

Their main worries were personal safety, personal success and personal communication. The success of the project came rather far down on the list because they had enough confidence in the movement that they felt there was little chance it would not be a success.

The decision to go was not as difficult as anticipated. Volunteers got more support from friends than from parents. Only 30% had their parent's strong support of the trip, but 70% said it would not harm their relationship with their parents.

50% of the volunteers were pretty confident facing a range of situations. 55% said they thought they could handle communication with a Negro in trying to get them to register to vote. 89% said they could adjust to the living conditions. 76% said they thought they would see the inside of a jail. 93% thought there would be some violence and 11% thought there would be personal violence (that they would become involved violently).

There are two groups of civil rights organizations -- the SNCC and CORE group and the Urban League and NAACP group. SCLC is the every-man organization as it rates high in both groups; it can communicate with both.

77% felt that white southerners were more to be pitied than scorned. There was disagreement that southern whites feel shameful about segregation. The Supreme Court was seen as the most effective institution for ending racial segregation. Southern police were perceived as being the most effective in maintaining segregation; southern courts and KKK next.

There was enormous variance between these students on some aspects. In response to the statement that the problems of the Negro are basically economic 13% agreed strongly, 26% agreed, 26% agreed slightly, 13% slightly disagreed, 9% disagreed and 13% disagreed strongly. Would the Negro civil rights worker have difficulty trusting white civil rights workers? 11% thought there would be; 49% thought there would not be. A lot of people may change their opinions.

49% said it was necessary to love the person who attacks you in order to be nonviolent. 75% disagreed with the statement that it would be better to keep the status quo if the only way to change it was through violence.

Question: Isn't one of the motives really gaining prestige?

Demorath:

This really has to do with the concept of over-commitment. Some of the volunteers are so concerned about the need to do something that they go to great lengths to achieve. There is a tendency to do the spectacular rather than the efficient, to act without thinking.

(Fourth year graduate student):

I would like to know whether there is a differentiation between civil rights offenses and other types of offenses. I would like sources and personal offenses.

Walter Johnson:

Dick Gregory in "Nigger" says that in the South when he is jailed he is treated as a demonstrator, but in the North when in jail he is treated as a criminal.

Question: Mr. Demorath, it seems incongruous that you found that the students were from upper middle class homes but went to 'poor' schools.

Demorath:

We hadn't considered this before but will attempt to find an answer.

FRANCES WILLIAMS:

How many of us truly understand the contribution SCOPE has made to the struggle for human dignity? SCOPE was drawn up on the basis of dollars spent, people registered and people involved in the program; but our criteria was not just. You cannot judge SCOPE's effectiveness just by the number of people registered.

If it had not been for SCOPE we would not have had Americus, Georgia, even though SNCC had been there for five years. In Taliaferro County, Georgia, there are more Negroes than whites and only a few of each, which is a very difficult situation to rectify. But now Taliaferro County will go down in history.

Hale County, Alabama, will never be the same. It is one of the counties we are going to really start an experiment in, and we have more Negroes registered there than whites.

Larry Butler has a good local organization in Barbour County. He just returned from Washington, D.C., with some of the people, where they visited their congressman and saw how politics works.

R. B. Cottonreader has started a suit factory now in one of the Alabama Counties. In Wilcox County, Alabama, they now have started a co-op. In Jones County, Alabama, they have a community center, that serves as a place for the people to gather and read, discuss, or enjoy many other facilities. In Walton County we have the first suit to break down segregation in public housing.

In Birdie, North Carolina, the Negroes were just perpetuating ignorance and illiteracy. Almost no one finishes high school there. SCOPE had a hard time trying to mobilize the people, so they jumped on the Food Stamp Program; and now they have it in Birdie County.

In Hale, Perry, Green, Wilcox, Jefferson and Craven Counties, Alabama, and in Taliaferro County, Georgia, we have more Negroes registered than whites. There were, with no exceptions, more people registered in the counties where SCOPE was this summer than in those counties that didn't have SCOPE Chapters.

One of the great rewards of SCOPE that we overlooked was what it did to the southern Negro personally from seeing sincere white people living in the community. If you are not a southern Negro and have not had to live under this yolk, it is difficult to know what it means to meet a white person who is concerned about your welfare. One white face can get more reaction from Negroes in the South than ten - twenty Negroes can. You white folks from the North can better convince the southern Negroes that the southern white man is telling them lies. To know that someone cares means so much, someone who will accept your warmth and love.

Another thing SCOPE did was disturb the conscience of many white southerners who knew all along they were living a lie. The atmosphere is different. It was revealing to the white community that a pretty little white girl could walk down the street holding a Negro boy's hand or live in the home of Negroes and eat with them. Because of the social relations brought about by SCOPE this summer between blacks and whites, the South is much better off.

Our job is to rid the body politic of racism, but there are some things we will have to do before we can achieve this. The Negro has never thought he could achieve political power, but we are going to achieve it now. We are going to try to have blacks elected in as many positions as possible not because they are black, but to show the Negroes that they can achieve this power. We hope to achieve the place someday that people will be elected because of their stand on the issues not because of their color.

I am very thankful for all those people who worked on the SCOPE Project this summer, and I want to express my appreciation to those who have given a year of their lives to settle this problem here at home. Unless we free America, there shall be no freedom in the world. We can no longer spread the lie that there is freedom in America; we must make that freedom a reality.

With all the problems we encountered SCOPE will live again, I am sure we won't make the mistakes this coming summer that we did last summer because of our learning experiences. I hope that one thing we will do this year in preparing for next year is that we will truly read and discuss the literature that is recommended to you to read. 90% of the necessary orientation can be done at the college level. The other request I have is that we can raise some money.

Mark Harrington is in charge of SCOPE activities and is almost doing the job single-handedly. We will have three area meetings: the one here today, one in New York and one in Los Angeles. Most of the cost of recruiting can be eliminated by having those who participated last summer do much of the recruiting. Mark will have a team which will go out after Christmas. We have a group of freedom singers which will be used mostly for recruiting and fund raising.

I hope to be able to double the activities of SCOPE next year. We will spend more time in trying to condition the Negro community in accepting the students working in your community.

#### QUESTION -- ANSWER PERIOD:

SCOPE's primary objective will be political education and community organization next summer if we can utilize the voting bill effectively until that time. I hope by next summer there will be no need for street protests or direct action, but my philosophy is that we have a bill that says we can register Negroes, so let's either get out and register them or get back in the streets and get the bill that will be necessary to let Negroes register.

Question: All the elected officials in South Carolina are to be re-elected in 1966; will there be a drive there?

Hosea: South Carolina will probably be the second target area. We have thirty days left in which to register people in Alabama,

There have been inquiries about volunteers coming down for their Christmas vacation, and this will be looked into and you will be informed regarding it.

Question: What is the function of the Medical Committee on Human Rights?

Answer: The Medical Committee has been confined to medical presence in many instances, doctors and medical help. There was an effort to expand this summer on a small scale in Mississippi. In two areas there were health students who were trying to demand better care from local health agencies. It is our hope next summer through a group of health students to put between 50-100 students in the South where there are projects they could help with. It is a complicated issue practicing medicine where you don't have a license. If the civil rights groups see a need, if they could put forth a plan to the Medical Committee there would be a greater likelihood of obtaining the necessary facilities rather than leaving it to the committee to set up a program. There are people willing to work on the medical committee, but it's a question of mustering them.

Hosea: We are getting creditable service from the Medical Committee. They need a secretary in Atlanta now. They are providing many services still. We are looking forward to greater participation from the committee in the future.

Question: Is there an effort to coordinate the efforts of the various civil rights groups?

Hosea: There is a great attempt and desire by all concerned to work together but there is a problem of philosophy involved.

Question: Why didn't SCLC support MFDP?

Hosea: SCLC believes in integration. MFDP grew out of an almost hopeless situation. Negroes were not allowed to matriculate in either the Democratic or the Republican party, so they started their own party. We have fully supported the MFDP. But there was a change in techniques, so there was a change in attitude. MFDP wasn't attacking the whole system. They were saying we are a party of the people, but they were going to the Democratic Convention asking to be seated. SCLC is attacking the basic structure of the political system, so we attacked the right to participate. MFDP is attempting to be recognized, but they will not be recognized until the Negro has the ballot. They will then be able to participate in self-government.

Question: What is being done now to prepare for elections when the Negroes will have the ballot?

Hosea: In many cases we are grooming Negroes to run for election. I'm sure we will be amazed at the change in the attitudes of the segregationists when they realize that the Negroes are a achieving power. It is not going to be easy to find Negroes in the South who will truly represent people, who are really qualified to speak the truth.

Question: What do you mean by community organization?

Hosea: We try to develop some type of non-partisan organization. The strongest thing in the Negro community is the church, but you need all parts of the Negro community. We get the leaders from all parts of the community and form a nonpartisan body composed of four committees: interview committee, political guidance committee, get out the vote committee, and patronage committee. The purpose of having four committees is to avoid power struggles. Each of these committees have representation from all the organizations in the county. The interview committee's responsibility is to seek out what the Negroes want the power structure to do. They then present this to the candidates who are running. Then the

political guidance committee presents information on the candidates and decides how the Negro community ought to vote. Then the get out the vote campaign ensures that the people vote. The patronage committee tries to keep the elected officials in line.

One of the techniques of the white power structure is to divide the Negro leadership. And this is an attempt to unify them.

Walter Johnson: For recruiting send materials showing where SCOPE has been and what it has done. People think SCLC is too conservative (one the college campus.) Information on people like yourself (Hosea) and Bevel will do much to dispell this image.

Mark: We decided to hold off on demonstrations which may be why some of the people think we are conservative.

Lance Nelson: SCLC's image on the campus is that it is very middle class. Something should be in the literature about SCLC's stand on Viet Nam and showing how relevant civil rights is to the question of world peace.

Leslie Teicholz (University of Wisconsin): There is to be a meeting in February with Committees on Human Rights from the Big Ten Schools plus some others to discuss the connection between Viet Nam and Civil Rights.

Jay Demorath: I would like to see civil rights do something along the line of planned parenthood, explore the whole concept of birth control. I don't know how to go about suggesting this to a civil rights organization, but if the Movement is concerned with economic problems and human rights, this is a good place to work.

Hosea: We have discussed this problem in a limited sense. Our position is in the affirmative. I would suggest that you talk to the person who is most helpful and concerned, Reverend Andrew Young.

Question: How much control will a college have over it's chapter?

Hosea: My hope is that the orientation of the Negro communities will be complete the first of April and the selection of chapters for counties will be complete by then; and there will be communication between them prior to the chapter's arrival in the county. If the college would send in a study group to define the needs of the Negro community and discuss this with the community, then the program could be set up accordingly, but the person with the last say-so is the Negro leader on the local level.

Mark: We want to set up chapters now and try to advance recruitment in close areas. Perhaps tapes of speeches by such people as Michael Harrington, Bayard Rustin, Dr. King, Andy Young, C. Vann Woodward, and many others could be sent out to the existing SCOPE Chapters to facilitate them in their recruiting.