

CO-OP REPORT

COMMUNITY ORGANIZER IN:

WASHINGTON, D.C., AT S.E. HOUSE
(Fall, Winter, 1963-64)

MISSISSIPPI, FOR C.O.F.O.
(Spring, Summer, Fall, 1964)

Larry Rubin

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. ROOTS OF DISCONTENT.....	1
Washington, D.C.: Senator Byrd Penalizes D.C. Residents.....	2
Mississippi: Mississippi in Spring.....	4
II. THE WORK--ORGANIZING.....	8
Washington, D.C.: Field Reports.....	9
Mississippi: Field Reports.....	24
III. THE HARASSMENT.....	42
Washington, D.C.: On Lack of Fear.....	43
Mississippi: Arrests at Oxford and Holly Springs (field report).....	45
Affidavits Written for the F.B.I.....	51
Harassment in Tate County.....	57
Letter to Attorney Kunsler.....	61
A Walk in Holly Springs.....	64
IV. BLACK-WHITE RELATIONS IN THE MOVEMENT.....	69
How I Felt Then.....	70
How I Feel Now.....	71
V. TOWARDS BLACK POWER.....	74
What the Black Man Needs.....	75
The Black Muslims in Washington.....	77
Roots of "Black Power Concept".....	79
SNCC in 1966.....	87

I ROOTS OF DISCONTENT

WASHINGTON

SENATOR BYRD PENALIZES D.C. RESIDENTS

(Originally appeared in "Freedom" newspaper, April 18, 1964)

In Washington, D.C., our nation's capitol, the people can not vote for their city officials. Washington used to have an elected governor, but right after the Civil War, many freed slaves moved there. Congress did not want them to vote, so it decided that it would run the city. Congress said this would only last for a short time.

Today, Washington is 53% Negro. It is still run by Congress, and controlled by Southern Senators and Congressmen. They run one of the worst school systems in the country, and have done nothing about the lack of jobs. Then they blame Washington's high crime rate on "racial integration." Most members of Congress live outside Washington, in the wealthy suburbs.

Washington also has one of the worst public relief programs in the country. Families get monthly checks based on 80% of what it cost to live in 1953.

The program does not give relief to families who have a man in the house who is able to work, or a woman whose children reach a certain age.

The District has 98 investigators. New York City, which is many times larger, has only 12. Investigators search through houses any time of the day or night. If they think that a man has been

there, a woman is likely to be put off welfare until she can prove that there is no man "in continuous relationship" to her.

Many fathers who can not find work are forced to leave their families. People on welfare live in constant fear of investigators, and are afraid to have visitors, especially men.

If a family lives in public housing, it faces double danger. There is a rule that if a tenant is two months behind in his rent, he can be evicted. If an investigator finds a hint of a man in the house, and a woman is cut off welfare, she might be evicted before she can prove that she wasn't cheating the Welfare Department.

Last September, a family living in an all-Negro public housing project was evicted. They were not given enough time to find another house. The husband had most of his rent money, but the manager refused to take it. He said it was against the rules to take just part of the rent.

A neighbor called a nearby settlement house, and several civil rights leaders. They came to the housing project, with the press and with nationally-known civil rights fighter, Gloria Richardson. They protested the eviction, but the manager, a Negro, had the family's furniture put on the street. He told the family to move out of the project immediately. They could not stay at a neighbor's temporarily, because this was against the rules of public housing.

MISSISSIPPI

TO: THE SHOLOM ALEICHEM CLUB*

FROM: LARRY RUBIN

MISSISSIPPI IN SPRING

The Mississippi House of Representatives approved a bill last month establishing sterilization as one penalty for having an illegitimate child.

One Congressman spoke against the bill, saying that innocent children would be victimized by publicity and loss of parental support. However, the honorable Representatives were boisterous and laughingly voted down his recommendations.

Rep. Buck Meek introduced the bill. Originally, it called for three to five years imprisonment for having one illegitimate child. During the floor discussion, however, an ammendment was passed to water down the bill. It gives the mother, upon the birth of a second illegitimate child, the choice of going to prison or being sterilized.

A Bill establishing a voluntary, state supported planned parenthood clinic was killed several weeks later in the State Senate.

* * * * *

Over 1,000 students, from all over the country, will be in Mississippi this summer. They will operate voter registration projects in each county. Freedom Registrars in every county will

*This group paid my salary to work in Mississippi. Report written May, 1964.

keep record of all those who have been denied their right to register. This will be used as a basis for challenging the validity of federal elections this fall. Workers will support Freedom Candidates.

SNCC will establish daytime and residential Freedom Schools, which will teach literacy skills, critical and political thinking, and social action.

Community centers will be established which will provide recreational, educational, and vocational-training services that are denied to Negroes in Mississippi.

SNCC will establish a live theater project, aimed at presenting cultural experiences that will help the Negroes gain a new image of themselves.

There will be an extensive research project to study Mississippi's political and economic system.

SNCC will also attempt to establish projects in the poor white communities, using white Southern students.

There will be a law student project, where every Mississippi law that deprives Negroes of their rights will be challenged in the courts.

The Good white people of the Magnolia State plan to meet these worthy projects with the gracious Southern Hospitality for which they are famous!

The City of Jackson has bought an armored tank mounted with machine guns. It has increased its dog force and police force. Mayor Allen of Jackson was quoted in a Newsweek article

as saying, "We're going to be ready for them. They [summer workers] don't have a chance."

Governor Johnson has introduced a bill which is still pending before the State Legislature to increase the powers of the State police.

Many legislators are opposed to it because they say that this would encroach upon the divine right of county sovereignty. They are afraid that plans for state-level law enforcement might include raids in areas where liquor is sold without local law interference--Mississippi is a supposedly dry state.

There are sound trucks in Hattiesburg, Mississippi, warning citizens about the Communist Invasion this summer, and advising them to call the local White Citizens Councils for information.

The situation is truly desperate. I am greatly afraid that the current agitation among large numbers of Mississippi whites combined with the large number of summer workers will lead to much violence if something is not done.

The Attorney General has the power, under the 1957 and 1960 Civil Rights Act, to take measures to prevent those who would deny others their rights as citizens from doing so. Under the 14th Amendment, the President has the right to protect voter registration workers.

I would urge everybody to write to the President and the Attorney General, and to urge them to use their powers to prevent

violence and bloodshed in Mississippi this summer.

Also--funds are desperately needed to finance the project.

Any contribution would help.

II THE WORK--ORGANIZING

WASHINGTON
(FIELD REPORTS)

Community Organization in Barry Farms--Events

During the first or second week of September, 1963, Southeast received a call from MRS. RACHEL LAWRENCE, tenant in Barry Farms, a National Capitol Housing Authority project. She told us that a Mr. Harvey Lewis was being evicted the next day, because his rent was three months overdue. We contacted Warren Morse, of CORE, who had helped people in similar situations.

We learned that the man had part of his rent money, and had to go to Hyattsville, to the place where he works, to get the balance. The management of Barry Farms at first would not accept partial payment at all. Then, after some negotiations with MR. E. GARDNER, the manager, Gardner agreed to accept the partial payment, but would not guarantee to retain Mr. Lewis' house for him. They said that they would evict him, and then when he showed up with the money, would decide whether or not he could return to his house.

The day came when the Lewis Household was to be put out. The marshalls came, and put his furniture out on the pavement. Meanwhile, CORE, the Afro-American, and SNCC had been contacted by SENH. Gloria Richardson had been in town, and she was asked to come down also. SENH was represented by Ralph Fertig, and then by L.R. Bill Mahoney of SNCC, Marven Morse of CORE, and an

AFRO-American reporter confronted Mr. Gardner on the street. We put questions to him questioning whether or not he had fulfilled his duty as a social-help person, and not just a landlord. Many of the neighbors gathered to hear what was going on. From the comments they made then and after the "conference" broke up, it was obvious that Mr. Gardner represented a certain source of fear to them, and they were elated to see a little woman, Gloria, put him down. We felt that there existed enough sentiment to form the basis of creating some sort of organization, a project that SNCC had been talking about for some time. The next day, Luther White, who worked with DARE, canvassed Barry Farms and gave out leaflets announcing a meeting to be held at St. Philip's Episcopal, under the auspices of Southeast House. However, Mr. Lewis was evicted.

While the street scene was going on, Ralph Fertig happened to be in the office of Walter Washington, the head of NCHA, on a matter entirely unrelated to the goings-on at Barry Farms. He overheard an official talking over the phone. He was asking about the "trouble" at Barry Farms, and asking "who started it"; Ralph overheard him say something to the effect of "Oh, that Lawrence woman, well, we can get rid of her."

When management found out about the meeting, they indicated to Ralph that they were going to attend. Ralph made it clear to them, and then to Walter Washington, their director, that if they came, they would be excluded. Mr. Fertig felt that the tenants would feel freer to express themselves if the

management was not present. When the meeting did take place, MR. GARDNER and MR. MINOR, this area's NCHA supervisor, did come, and Mr. Fertig did walk away with them, explaining to them the reasons for excluding them. The meeting was called at the same time of a regular SENH coffee hour; instead of having the weekly chat, we spoke about the problems of Welfare and NCHA housing. A temporary steering committee was elected, and instructed by the group to meet and draw up an agenda for the next meeting.

The steering committee was: Chairman, Mrs. Ethel Meachum; Vice Chairman, Mrs. Monroe; Secretary, Mrs. Johnson; Second Vice President, Mrs. Moore.

They had an executive committee meeting several days later, and decided upon certain goals for the organization. Among them were: demanding of management that repairs be made promptly; that gas meters be read fairly, and that the gas company should not over-charge. Also, the group felt that the method of delivering summons to landlord-tenant court was illegal. Summons should be delivered to the hands of the person summoned, like any other type of court summons. As it was, the marshall would put summons under the door, or in mailboxes, and people never would see them. Then, their furniture would be put out on the day of their eviction, and the family would not be prepared.

The next week, the second meeting of the Civic League was held. Membership voted to have the temporary Executive Committee made permanent. Mr. Gardner and Mr. Minor were present

active leaders of the group, brought to the attention of Southeast House the fact that rumors had been circulated throughout Barry Farms to the effect that the purpose of the group was to circulate petitions that Mr. Gardner should be removed as manager. They said that many people were afraid to come to our meetings because of this. A newsletter was sent out, announcing the next meeting, and stating that there were no negative actions carried on by the group, and asking people not to listen to rumors.

This was the time of the first meeting with Mr. Brewer, the head of the Welfare Department in the District, and his advisory committee.

The meeting had been arranged by Reginald Booker, the head of DARE, and he asked the members of the Barry Farms Civic League to participate, along with Bill Mahoney, of SNCC.

The meeting was given much publicity in the papers.

Mrs. Johnson, secretary of the Civic League, called an "emergency" meeting several days after the Brewer meeting. She said that she, and many members of the group, were very upset that the Civic League was not mentioned in the article. She said that she felt that "militant" groups were trying to lead the Civic League by the nose, and then took credit for Civic League activities. Also, she said that many people had told her that they saw members of these militant groups circulating petitions to fire Mr. Gardner.

It was a very heated meeting. Mr. Gardner was present. The rumors were discussed at some length, and nobody cared to

state any names as to who had been seen circulating a petition. However, it was explained that the Brewer meeting had been set up by DARE, and the Civic League had only participated as a guest.

Also, at this meeting the issue of obtaining from management facts about tenants who needed help was discussed. The Civic League had decided to appoint several of its members as lay social workers to help fellow tenants. But management refused to give them the names of people who were behind in their rent, saying that this would be unprofessional. Also, at this meeting the question of the money to Mrs. Lawrence was discussed. She had complained that the Civic League had spread the fact that she had gotten money from the Civic League all over Barry Farms (SEE LAWRENCE CASE). Mr. James, new Management Aide of Barry Farms, was introduced.

The day after this meeting, Mrs. Meachum, Mrs. Johnson, Mrs. Hardy, and Mr. Gardner had a meeting with Mr. Washington, the substance of which is still unknown.

During the latter part of November, SENH read in the papers that Mr. Sonny Cooper, a past resident of Barry Farms, had been found dead in the river. The autopsy showed that he had committed suicide several months before. SENH had helped the family when they had been evicted from Barry Farms a year ago.

Mrs. Cooper was now living next door to Hospitality House, in the northeast. SENH learned that Mr. Cooper had told some friends that the welfare department had taken his wife and family from him and life was no longer worth while.

SENH decided that it would be very worthwhile to make the case public, in order to show that there existed great injustices in the way Welfare was handled. Sonny Cooper drank, beat his wife, and could not hold a steady job; we felt that he was a victim of a brutal society.

We contacted Mrs. Cooper, and she said that she would like to hold a Sonny Cooper Memorial Service, in order to help prevent this situation from happening to others.*

After some urging on our part, CORE, DARE, and SNCC also agreed to co-sponsor the Service. A meeting was held with these groups, along with Mrs. Johnson, from the Civic League. She said that the Civic League would like to participate also.

The Post carried a feature article on this event. After the article had appeared, we got word from Mrs. Johnson that the Civic League would not want to sponsor it. The Executive Committee had a meeting with Mrs. Hardy, and decided against it. Mrs. Hardy had said that Mrs. Cooper would not want the service.

We later found that Mrs. Hardy, and several members of the Civic League had awakened Mrs. Cooper at two in the morning, that Mrs. Hardy threatened that her house, which was due to be sold to another real estate company, would be taken from her, if she went ahead with the service.

The Civic League sent a letter to all residents of Barry Farms telling them not to attend. However, we spoke to Mrs. Cooper, who said that she still wanted to go ahead with the

* See Appendix A

Service, and wrote a notarized note to that effect. She also sent a letter of invitation to all residents of Barry Farms.

The Service was held at Bethlehem Baptist Church. Senator Abe Ribicoff used the Cooper case in a speech supporting Aid to Dependent Children of Unemployed Parents.

Because of the irresponsible way in which the Civic League had operated, the SENH decided that it would not give staff time to it--that families could be helped without going through a Civic League that was at this time under the influence of Willy Hardy.

Several months passed with affairs at this state--SENH still serving the people of Barry Farms, but not working directly with the Civic League.

During the early part of January, Mrs. McDowney came to the business office. The Civic League had held an election, and she was now chairman of the group. She would like to work with Southeast House by sending cases to it, by asking it for help with food and clothes whenever needed. SENH agreed. Since that time, we had been the source of food, clothing, and professional services for many families in Barry Farms, who were referred to us by the Civic League.

Also, Mrs. McDowney said that the Civic League was not an "action group", but just a social service group. They were working very closely with the management of Barry Farms, and were going to start music classes for the children.

3/20/64

Larry Rubin

INTERPRETATION--HISTORY OF BARRY FARMS CIVIC LEAGUE

1. It's obvious from the history that the League did not end up like the original initiators had hoped it would. The original idea was for a group of tenants in public housing who would challenge management and the Welfare Department in order to gain certain reforms. In the end, the Civic League is a charity organization.

The first cause of this, I think, is lack of real communication between the initiators and the people of Barry Farms. Not enough education was carried out. In the end there was resentment from some people in Barry Farms toward DARE and SENH because these groups only suddenly found out what the other had been thinking all along, and had assumed that the other group agreed. When Barry Farms people found out what DARE really meant, they were shocked.

The main cause of this is simply sloppy work on the part of DARE students. They were never consistently in Barry Farms. They never really spoke to people at great length.

I feel that we should not have organized a structure at the first meeting. Instead of appointing an Executive Committee, we should have planned an activity. From activity would have eventually come a structure, and one that was in accordance with the original idea of the group.

2. I believe that management and Willy Hardy put a lot of pressure on Mrs. Meachum and Mrs. Johnson. Not necessarily

threatening-type pressure, but pressure manifested by the ever-friendliness which Mr. Gardner showed for Mrs. Meachum. She was very flattered that important people like Gardner and Washington paid so much attention to her, and was gradually brought to the same way of thinking as the people with power.

Also, Mrs. Meachum had a small business in her house--she sold candy. This is grounds for eviction from public housing. I would imagine this had something to do with her catering to management. I am sure Mr. Gardner was aware of the business.

There always existed within the League a faction led by Mrs. Lawrence and Mrs. Monroe, and one led by Mrs. Meachum. Mrs. Lawrence felt she should be chairman because she initiated the idea. Mrs. Monroe didn't want to work with Mrs. Meachum. The result was that Mrs. Meachum and Mrs. Johnson effectively ran the organization, but they didn't get along with each other very well. When it appeared that Mrs. Meachum was catering to management, Mrs. Lawrence, Mrs. Monroe, along with about ten other members quit the League.

Southeast House was caught in a bind. It personally would have liked to form a new group with the people who dropped out. But a settlement house is supposed to support all community institutions, and we could not take any action that would seem directed against the Civic League. So the best course of action was non-participation in the League.

5. I think Willy Hardy was against the Sonny Cooper affair merely because she felt it threatened her leadership in the community.

Mrs. Winters, director of Hospitality House, and also a Democratic precinct chairman, feels that Mrs. Hardy's opposition had something to do with the fact that she had collected five hundred dollars for the Cooper family several months before, but the money never found its way to the family.

3/20/64

Larry Rubin

HISTORY OF "WELFARE GROUP"

During the latter part of November, Mr. Fertig and I attended a meeting of the National Capital Federation of Settlements. During the course of the meeting, Mr. Fertig repeated a suggestion he had made to the Crisis Committee on the Welfare Problem. He suggested that professional social workers, and others from social agencies, meet with recipients of Welfare, and those of the lower income group who desire to be on Welfare. Mr. Fertig gave as an example the meetings with Mr. Brewer, where he confronted the people affected by the welfare program themselves.

The suggestion met with enthusiastic response, and Mr. Fertig suggested that each social agency represented bring families with whom they were working to a meeting.

The meeting was held the next week, at Fellowship House. S.E. House brought Mrs. Dennis and Mrs. Moore (see their case filed). S.W. House brought Mrs. Raff (see her file). Also present were Anita Belamy, of the Urban League, Jean Ohrnstein and Don Wardwell of the Fellowship House.

At this meeting, general problems were discussed and possibilities for action were discussed. The guest speaker was Mr. Abraham Mkovsky, the head of the Health and Welfare Council. He stressed the importance of the people who were affected by the Welfare problems to speak up. He himself, however, could not publicly support the group.

Mr. Makovsky also explained to us the procedures involved in getting a budget for the District passed through both Houses

of Congress, and through the President's office.

The 1965 budget was going to be discussed in Congress shortly. It was decided that the best course of action would be to have a meeting with Mr. Horsky, the President's advisor on District Affairs.

The meeting with Mr. Horsky was held in the first week of January. We had two meetings of preparation. Each lady who was faced with welfare problems, decided the most salient point in her problem, and presented that to Mr. Horsky.

Directly after this meeting, Mr. Brewer announced tighter controls on the times when investigators could come to homes; this is one of the main points that had been discussed with Mr. Horsky.

In the middle of February, Mr. Makovsky notified Southeast House that the House was going to open hearings to discuss the 1965 welfare budget. The group met again at S.E. House, and decided that they would like to testify before the committee.

The people who decided to testify were: Mrs. Lawrence, Mrs. Patterson, Mrs. Monroe, Mrs. Moore, all of Barry Farms; Mrs. Raff, of Greenleaf Gardens, and Mrs. Dennis, a resident of Anacostia.

S.E. House typed a letter of request for each person, and each person signed it. Then, each person spoke their testimony into a tape recorder, and S.E. House Staff typed it up, showing it to the people for their approval.

The people testified, and Mr. Natcher, the Committee Chairman, was very receptive.*

The House Committee eventually reported a bill calling for, among other reforms, aid to dependent children with unemployed parents.

The ladies who testified were very anxious to testify before Senator Byrd's Senate Sub-committee on Appropriations. We felt that these hearings would not be held until Spring, and did not prepare for them right away.

The last Wednesday in February, Mr. Makovsky notified us the Byrd Committee Hearings would be held that Friday.

We rushed through the same process with the letters of request. We had a meeting of all those who wanted to testify, along with Mrs. Spingarn, from Senator Ribicoff's office, who helped us prepare testimonies. This time, Mrs. Patterson, Mrs. Moore, Mrs. Raff, Mrs. Dennis, Mr. and Mrs. Ezell, and Mrs. Goldsmith, also of Barry Farms, wanted to testify.

The group went to the scheduled hearings on Friday. They were told by Senator Byrd that he would not allow them to testify, because to do so would open the hearings up to the thousands of people on welfare, and would turn the hearings into a demonstration.+

3/20/64

Larry Rubin

* See appendix B

+ See appendix C

A.C.M.E.

During the month of September, ACME met and decided to picket the Oxen Run shopping center, to protest job discrimination.

This action was successful, in that the shopping center did integrate. But the leadership of ACME had much trouble getting people to picket. The group became discouraged. I feel that the reason the group found itself in this position was that it called upon middle-class people entirely, people who are busy, and who are not directly affected by the problems of discrimination. The result is that they participate only when it is entirely convenient for them.

In an attempt to regroup forces, the group decided to change its name from the Anacostia Committee for Merit Employment, to the Anacostia Committee for Mobilization for Equality.

They decided to have a "closed membership," feeling that if it was difficult to get into the group, it would have snob appeal, and would attract more people.

I suggested that the group do some work with the people of Barry Farms.

Mr. Vernon Crayton, the group's chairman, did visit some of the Barry Farms residents, but decided that the ACME Committee would not take any action.

3/20/64

Larry Rubin

MISSISSIPPI
(FIELD REPORTS)

September 1st, 1964
Larry Rubin

Organizing Mass Meetings of Precincts in the Counties

I thought that it was very important for us to hold as many precinct meetings as possible this week for the following reasons:

- 1 - Enthusiasm, interest, and curiosity are very high regarding the Atlantic City Convention. It is important that the people who attended from this area give reports. This will also bring home the idea that the delegates truly represented the people who elected them.
- 2 - Educational purpose, of showing how we were sold out.
- 3 - The meeting will help to overcome the belief of many Negroes that the COFO project is over.
- 4 - Show the whites we are still organized.
- 5 - Start to make the Freedom Democratic Party an institution in the community. We are not calling them "mass meetings" anymore, but precinct meetings.

Yesterday and today, I contacted all the precinct chairmen with whom I have a relationship. They were enthusiastic. I explained that we were understaffed, and that they would have to take sole responsibility for organizing the meetings and getting people there. No problems.

These meetings should also be a test of the strength of the local leadership we have built up, and a test of just how much can continue when we are gone.

The meetings: FRIDAY, September 4th, 7:30 - Tippah Co. F.D.P. Antioch Baptist Church, Blue Mountain, Miss. Organized by Mr. Amos Rogers, Vice Ch'mn, Precinct #4, Tippah Co. The County Chairman, Rev. James, said that he will be out of town.

MONDAY, Sept. 7th, 7:30 - Precinct #4, Marshall Co. F.D.P. Mt. Olivet Baptist Church, near Marianna, Miss. Precinct organized by: Arvern Newsom, Chairman; Leslie King, Delegate to County Meeting; Napoleon Tooten, activist. We made up leaflets for them.

THURSDAY, Sept. 10th, 8:00 - Precinct #1, Marshall Co. FDP. Asbury Church, Holly Springs. Organized by: Walter Evans, Ch'm of Marshall Co. FDP, Rev. Conoway, local pastor, whose church it is in; and COFO staff.

Also, there will be a regularly scheduled Benton County Voters' League Meeting, which has been functioning without staff for a long time, Wednesday, September 2, 7:30 p.m., Mt. Zion Church. Reports will be presented there.

The Holly Springs Youth Group will also meet Wednesday night in Holly Springs. They sent a representative to the Convention, Roy DeBerry, who will report. The Youth Group has become a Young Democrats Club.

MASS MEETINGS: Progress Report

9-6-64

Trenton County - Wednesday, September 2: Around 45 people came. Very good meeting. Mr. Reaves and Joe Bateman gave reports from Convention. People were very anxious to know the whereabouts of the COFO workers, and who would be back, and when. I explained the situation to the group.

The Voters League appointed a parents' committee to go to the principal at the Negro High School and make certain demands as to the conditions at the School. Another committee went several weeks ago, with no results. The group is ready to march to the white school if the demands are not fulfilled.

TIPPAH COUNTY - Friday, Sept. 4 -- Amos Rogers cancelled the meeting. He said that he couldn't get enough people to attend, because "too many other things were going on during the week," like a football game, and several funerals.

I don't know about the week's activities, but I think Tippah needs some work right away.

MARSHALL COUNTY DAILY REPORTS

Saturday, November 21, 1964

The N.E. Section is the weakest area of the county. The least amount of work has been done there. I thought the A.B.C. election would be a great activity for motivating the area. We wanted to run three write-in candidates for the Community Committee. This is community B.

Barbara and I canvassed with Ken Scudder, who had worked this area during the Freedom Vote. We spoke to all the people he had listed during the vote as being a potential leader and militant:

We spoke to Deacon Rueben, of Mt. Pleasant Church. He was very frightened of us, and would not let us use his church for mass meetings. He said that he would have to check with the other deacons, but his church had no insurance, etc. Our purpose today

was to try to get people who would lead, and run for election, so we didn't stay long with him.

We went to Mt. Pleasant Church looking for another contact, and met Rev. W.H. Thomas, a bishop from Holly Springs. He would not let us in - saying that it was a district meeting and no outsiders were allowed.

We went to Robert's Chapel, off Rt. 72, looking for one of the stewards, George Robinson. We met some people digging a grave, and two of them, Mr. Lonzo Cox and Mr. Willie Rainy, were very enthusiastic about us coming to the church. They told us there would be a big funeral tomorrow.

Also saw Deacon Grippe Reynolds, of Kimbrough Chapel. They meet tomorrow. He invited us. Mr. Addisom Riddle, Deacon of Gray's Chapel, invited us tomorrow. All these people said that they would be at the funeral tomorrow, though. We stopped at Briggs Store. Mr. Briggs said we could use his church, Gray's, for a mass meeting, whenever we wanted.

Robert's Chapel is in Community B, and we want to get this for a mass meeting to discuss the A.S.C. elections, and elect candidates. In this way, we thought we could start building an organization. Kimbrough is in Community D, and we thought we could get mass meetings there. Gray's is in E, so we also wanted a mass meeting there. It took us an hour to figure all this out, by comparing the U.S. Army maps, which show all churches, with the Marshall County Map showing the Community Boundaries.

Evening: Meeting at Coxey's Chapel with Iowa people. About 15 people attended. Discussed:

A.S.C. election - people said that a white man had come to see Vee Jones, Robert Jones, and Lester Cox. They think he came to intimidate them. Robert Jones has told people he's afraid to run. Mr. Leslie Lee King, Mr. Totton, Mr. Emmett Jones, and Mr. Willie Carter Jones agreed to canvass Chulahoma, after I explained that we had only one car in the county to canvass. We promised to get pamphlets to them.

Iowa Program: Huntley explained that Iowa will match dollar for dollar any money they raised. Some people suggested a major project would be a co-op gin, to help poor farmers keep some of the profits that now go to white gin owners. People enthusiastic, but said people who rent or share would be afraid to use the gin, because their land-owners force them to use a particular gin, usually one in which the land-owners have a share.

We also discussed the teaching teachers program.

Mrs. Jones chaired the meeting. It was held in back of the church, in the pastor's study. Very good discussions.

After the meeting, I had a long talk with Huntley, in which I criticized the program from Iowa for setting up a committee that was entirely middle class, to work with a similar committee from Iowa. This was the first meeting Huntley had seen typical Marshall County people - poor farmers. Until now he dealt only with professors from Rust and other professionals.

Sunday, November 22

Ken Scudder, Barbara Bloomfield, and myself, went to various churches: The funeral at Robert's Chapel, in the far N.E. section of Marshall, near Slayden and Mt. Pleasant. Met many people, in

tomorrow and try to generally get a feel of the community - finding out who the leaders are, etc.

Saw S.P. Gipson. At first he was extremely distrustful and suspicious about us white folk - but when we started to talk Movement talk, we communicated.

Spoke to: George Robinson, Lonzo Cox, Mr. Willie Cox, Miss Lizzy Wilson, and Mr. William H. Mull, all of whom I met at Robert's Chapel. Barbara and I decided not to canvass the area thoroughly, but just spend time with people we felt could be leaders, and get them to canvass to tell the people about the meeting. All the above said they would. This was really the only thing to do, since there were activities in all sections of the county, and only Barbara and I were working.

Spoke to Rev. Echols. He said Rev. Warren, of Red Banks, would run.

Deacon Oliver wasn't home when I went to find out about Strawberry Chapel.

Where things stand now on the A.S.C. elections:

Section F (polling place: Waldrip's Store) - candidates on ballots, Vee Jones, Robert Jones, Lester Cox.

Section C (Steven's Store in Watson) - Candidates on ballot - Willie Carter Jones. Write-in: Rev. W.C. Echols, and Rev. W. Warren.

Section B (Old Post Office Building, Mt. Pleasant) - no candidates. Meeting at Roberts - select three write-in candidates.

Section D - (DeBerry's Store) - no candidates. Have to get Strawberry Chapel for meeting Wednesday. Have to check with Deacon Board.

Section E (Court House in Holly Springs) - Get Gray's Chapel for meeting. See Mr. Briggs. No candidates, yet.

Conferred with Bob Smith about the whole matter.

Tuesday, November 24th

Morning: Got sample ballots from McNulty. Mimeographed them, for distribution as a teaching tool, and mimeographed maps to help explain community boundaries. Took all day.

Delois Polk, about 20 years old, says that she raises a crop and could run in Community E. A church in her area would like us to meet there.

Miserable, rainy day. Went to Robert's Chapel for meeting. The roads were practically washed out. Only one person came, and the church was not even opened. ECCH.

MARSHALL COUNTY: ORGANIZING FOR THE A.S.C. ELECTIONS (12-4-64)

Choosing Candidates to Run

I had been away for a month, and while I was away, we held farmers' meetings in Communities C and F to choose candidates. Bob Smith, the worker in charge of Federal programs, conducted them. Three candidates from each community were elected. Looking back, I think that having only three was a mistake, because on election day many people did not understand that they did not have to vote for five people. The result was that many Negroes' votes went to certain whites, and, of course, all the white votes went to whites, so there was no chance of one of our candidates getting the highest number of votes, and becoming chairman of the committee. At the time of the nominations, however, Bob felt that if we had five

candidates it would like like we were trying to take over the committee, and would antagonize the whites too much.

The men who were usually the leaders in C. and F. were not nominated, because they nominated others. I think this happened because these leaders were a little afraid to run and be in the public eye after all their other activities, and because they felt that they could stay in control of the area better if they were the ones to put somebody else in as a candidate, rather than be the candidate themselves. The man behind the throne is more powerful than the King.

The result was that in most cases the candidates were not the most articulate nor dynamic people available. Although they all won the nomination unanimously, after the meeting many people said they felt that the people who won were not the best.

Then, it developed that two of the candidates in Community C were really living in Community F, and we needed two other candidates. Barbara Bloomfield and myself spoke to Rev. Echols, a very militant person, and a leading personality in Marshall. He agreed, and he spoke to another minister, Rev. Warren, who also agreed.

Everybody in C seemed to favor these men, and even though they had to be write-in candidates, because it was past the deadline to hand in nominating petitions, they received a tremendous amount of votes on election day.

Also, we got started late in B, and I didn't feel that having a farmers' meeting in that area would be of any use - we had never really organized there, the whole idea of the Freedom Movement was new, and we were not known. So Barbara Bloomfield and I spoke to

several contacts that had been made during the Freedom Vote campaign until three men agreed to run.

We canvassed the area thoroughly for many days spreading the word, and everybody seemed to feel that the three men we had picked were the best, probably because, this being a new area, people were still at the stage where they felt dependent on the freedom workers.

Our goal must always be to develop permanent organization and to develop leaders, so I much prefer the democratic method rather than our just choosing the candidates, although, as I described, there were hang-ups in the democratic procedure.

Also, I think that much of the dissatisfaction with some of the candidates nominated democratically comes from people distrusting someone else who comes from the same environment and same background - Negroes can't really believe that other Negroes are just as qualified to run for positions as whites, or Negroes backed by whites. In this case, the whites who backed certain Negroes were us - the Freedom workers.

Campaigning for the Candidates

As of Saturday, November 15th, two and a half weeks before the election the situation in Marshall was this: Community F had three candidates on the ballot, but except for the people who had attended the nominating meeting, most residents of the area did not even know about the elections. Community C had one person on the ballot.

Our first idea was to try to have candidates in five communities, so that if we won three seats in each community, we could

control the County Committee: There are eight communities in Marshall, and if we had a majority on the majority of community committees, each committee would send a representative to the County Committee, elect a chairman, who would be one of our people, and we could control the County.

We tried for a week and a half to get candidates in all five communities, but only succeeded in convincing two men to run in C as write-ins, and three men to run in B, also as write-ins. At this point, we had three candidates in three communities, and we decided to concentrate our efforts there, and really try to win. At this point, there were only two of us working the county, and only one car. I should have realized that given this tremendous lack of manpower, and the short time, that it would be impossible to seriously consider winning in five communities. We should have concentrated on just two or three communities right away, and not wasted the week.

Also, at first I felt that even though we could not win in five communities, we should spread out that far in order to reach leaders in as many areas as possible, in order to re-organize the Freedom Democratic Party. But, after a while, we saw that we couldn't work on ASC and the FDP at the same time, because the boundaries conflicted in too many areas.

Once we decided to concentrate in all three areas, we started a canvassing campaign.

We got sample ballots of all the communities from the County Agent's office, and mimeographed them. This was a great help in explaining to the people we canvassed how to mark the ballots. This

was especially useful where we had write-ins. We wrote in the names of our candidates in front of the people, and they kept the ballots to study.

We called to Antioch College for reinforcements, and God sent us six workers and two cars from that institution. We canvassed for four solid days. In C and F, many of the local leaders had been given sample ballots, and were also canvassing.

The hardest community was B. This has the highest number of share-croppers and the lowest percentage of Negroes in the County. Also, we had three write-ins. People were frightened of us, frightened of voting, and just generally frightened.

The only way we could convince many people to come to the polls to vote was by assuring them that there would be a COFO worker there.

We held a political rally in F, to introduce the candidates.

Also - there were three regularly scheduled Freedom Classes for adults in C and F during this period, and we used them as mass meetings to encourage people to vote, and to tell others.

We didn't use the ASC pamphlet too much - we didn't have enough to go around, and we found that the sample ballot was sufficient to explain the whole proceedings.

HANG-UPS In Canvassing:

- 1 - Had hard time explaining write-in procedure.
- 2 - Difficult to explain that people did not have to vote for all five positions on committee.
- 3 - Difficult to explain sample ballot was not the final ballot.
- 4 - Most farmers were still in the field and difficult

to reach. If they weren't in the field, it was because of the torrential rains we've been having all month which make the roads to Negro homes so muddy they are impossible to drive on. Also, people often go to town when it rains, and we couldn't find them at home.

THE OPPOSITION:

There was no direct intimidation of the candidates. Instead, in the one area where we had three candidates running, the County Agent convinced four other Negroes that he thought he could control to run. This really confused people. They didn't know who to vote for.

One of the candidates is the principal of the local high school, and has the respect of most people. One of our biggest jobs during canvassing was to convince people that the principal was a Tom, and to vote for the people democratically elected in the farmers' meeting.

One of the candidates that was put on by the County Agent went around telling people that he did not want to be on the ballot, and not to vote for him.

Another got up at a mass meeting, and explained that he told the County Agent that he didn't want to be on the ballot, but he was put on anyway. We got an affidavit from him.

Evidently, the County Agent did not directly coerce people into running, but the fact that he was a white authority, and that he really didn't explain the whole business, more or less forced people into granting permission to being put on the ballot.

At first, notices about the election went only to landowners, but as the weeks wore on and we had three candidates on the ballots,

the County Agent sent notices to more and more people in the communities which had Negro candidates. As we canvassed, we asked people who had not received notices to fill out a form affidavit which we had prepared.

It was still difficult to explain to people that the election was for everybody, and not just for landowners.

The boundaries that were established were very confusing to people, and there was no map on which they were clearly drawn. Houses that were south of another house got notices to vote in communities that were north of these other houses.

I conferred with the County Agent, McNulty, on several occasions. He answered my questions precisely and supplied information. But he made it clear he didn't like us.

POLL-WATCHING:

In C and F we were allowed to stand in the polls, and watch the proceedings with no difficulty. We were able to help many people fill out their ballots. In B, the community Committee approached each Negro who entered, surrounded him, and offered their help in filling out ballots, so it was difficult to help these people ourselves.

As we were leaving B, after the situation became too tense to remain, the Sheriff arrested two of us on traffic charges.

In F, we asked people to fill out sample ballots after they had voted, and to sign them, so that we would have a rough estimate of the number of people who voted for our candidates.

Nobody's right to vote was challenged, except for one lady, who sent her vote by proxy.

If a name was not on the voters' list, it was added.

COMPLAINTS:

These elections were more important than the Freedom ballot. They should have received more emphasis.

The County Agent sent out three different notices regarding the elections. They all read like translations from ancient Latin, and people couldn't understand them. Example: On the ballot it says: "A vote for less than five persons will not invalidate this ballot; however, a vote for more than five will invalidate it.

Sunday, December 20

Larry Wright and Harry Malm here from Iowa. Early in the morning we ran off the leaflets for the workshops on Monday.

Went to Asbury Church to speak to Rev. Conoway about making the announcement in his service. We missed first service, but he had made the announcement. We gave him leaflets to give out at the second service.

He wrote us a note to the new minister at Anderson, Rev. McWilliams. We went to Anderson, showed the Reverend the note, and after the service, made the announcement. I went to all the businesses along Memphis Ave. to ask them to give out the word.

Larry and I went out to Hudsonville to try and see Mr. Gipson, to ask him to come to St. Joseph's. We got good and stuck in the mud, and never made it. I almost broke an arm falling in a ditch in the dark. Larry was driving.

Larry and I went to Sardis. A carload of staff people coming from Jackson broke down there.

Monday, December 21

I decided we had been messing around in Slayden for too long. It was time to set up a going structure there. I must admit, I was spurred to this decision by a staff meeting in which I was criticized, among other things, for not doing enough in Slayden.

Barbara went home in the morning, so Larry Wright and I worked the area. I wanted to avoid many of the mistakes I had made in the Chulahoma area, among them, not developing a leadership, but having the work revolve around my personality. I wanted to set up a solid, ongoing structure.

Larry and I went to three strong people I knew; Mrs. E. Jones, Mr. George Robinson, and Mr. Marshall Jones. At first, I wanted to arrange a meeting of just the leaders at somebody's house to discuss the Congressional Challenge, and the future of the Freedom Movement in the N.E. section, but Mrs. Jones said it would be better to meet at Robert's Chapel, the church in that area. Most people are members. I agreed. We explained to each person we saw that we would not be able to canvass for meetings, and asked them to get the word out. The three we went to all agreed, and Marshall Jones, a deacon of Robert's Chapel, set the meeting for 7:30 tomorrow.

This system worked very well, and the people were included as organizers from the start, without depending on us. I even explained that I would be leaving soon.

Evening: Meeting at Asbury, about Congressional Challenge. Afterward, had conference with Rev. Conaway about goods sent down

by the Iowa Support Project. Rev. Conoway said that there had been a committee set up to distribute the stuff for Christmas - composed of people from Asbury Church and from COFO. Rev. Conoway did not think the people from the church would do anything, so he told us to go ahead on our own. We agreed.

Meeting at St. Joe's. Mrs. King led it. Had brief discussion of the Library. We read the Congressional Challenge pamphlet out loud, different people reading different parts, and we discussed it.

Five people said they wanted to go: Mr. Willie Echols; and four young people, ages around 19 years: Willie Taylor, Willie Moore, Burnell Malone, Robin Sharpe.

We set a meeting for the people who wanted to go for Wednesday, 4:00, at Malone's house.

Tuesday, December 22

Spent morning writing reports.

A lady, Mrs. Fitts, came into the office. She lives on the same place as Arvern Newsom. Her grandson had stolen a battery out of Newsom's car. Newsom had promised not to arrest the kid if he returned the battery. According to Mrs. Fitts, Newsom did have the kid arrested before he had a chance to return the battery. She had bailed him out of jail.

She said that Mr. Newsom was identified in people's minds with the Movement, and that many people were mad at him for arresting the kid. She just wanted us to know. I told her that I would talk to Newsom, but that we all had to stick together, and since Newsom was a leader, we had to ask him directly about it and find out what

happened. I suggested that they talk to him directly.

Mrs. Totten stopped in, and asked for a loan from COFO. Cleve said he would see what he could do. I would bring the information out to her.

Afternoon: Newsom wasn't home when I got there. Went to Totten's house - Cleve had not found out whether we could loan her money. Mrs. Totten said that either she or her husband would go to Washington. Stopped by Rev. Echols house to ask him to go to Washington, but he wasn't home.

Evening: Meeting at Robert's Chapel. Around thirty people attended. We sat in a circle and talked. We had a very similar discussion to what I described at St. Joseph's last Wednesday. The strong people at the meeting were: Marshall Jones, Mr. Roosevelt Rankins, who had been an ASC candidate, George Robinson, and Mr. S. P. Gipson.

Mr. Roosevelt Rankins was elected chairman of the Slayden area. I hope that his position will develop into being the precinct captain of the F.D.P. for the Slayden area, but we are not calling it that yet. I want him to grow into the job, and not have one presented to him already made up.

Mr. Rankins and Mr. Gipson want to go to Washington, and Mr. Mull and Mr. Jones said they might. We discussed fund raising methods.

We were invited to Xmas party Friday night.

III THE HARASSMENT

WASHINGTON

ON LACK OF FEAR

The saying is true: "In the South, the whites don't care how close a Negro lives, as long as he doesn't rise too high. In the North, whites don't care how high a Negro gets, as long as he doesn't live too close."

In the South, I found violent harassment from the whites while working for Negro advancement. In the North, I worked for the same cause, but found no violence. (If I had been helping a Negro to move into an all-white community, violence--throwing of rocks into windows, tires being slashed--might have ensued.)

The absence of danger while doing my job in the District had an unexpected effect on me, and one which helped me learn about myself.

I couldn't help feeling that what I was doing was merely child's play, non-valid piddling around. But I couldn't put my finger on exactly why I felt this way. I saw that I was accomplishing: I helped many people get more of the basic material necessities of life. Finally, I analyzed my feeling this way:

During my entire time in George, my constant companion was fear. While walking down the street, I'd never know when somebody would throw something at me from a car. At night, I'd lie awake listening to the cars pass, wondering if one contained "night riders," who throw bombs or shoot into civil rights workers' houses.

Eventually, I associated fear with work. In Washington, it was hard to adjust to the fact that one could be doing work and yet

not feel tense inside.

Then there was another factor: I realized that a large part of the attraction of Mississippi was the romantic notion of being a Robin Hood who engaged in daring acts. In Washington this element could not exist. My entire motivation for work had to come from commitment to working for oppressed people, and not from the thrill of pitting myself against danger. It was difficult to cease being a romantic figure and to become a worker.

MISSISSIPPI

ARRESTS AT OXFORD AND HOLLY SPRINGS (FIELD REPORT)

People involved: Alvin Packer, 17 years
708 Avenue "N", Greenwood, Miss.
Will Henry Rogers, 17 years
708 Avenue "N", Greenwood, Miss.
Richard Frey, 21 years
708 Avenue "N", Greenwood, Miss.
John Papworth, 42 years
London, England
(writer, Committee of 100)

Larry Rubin, 21 years
5006 Del Mar Lane, Atlanta, Ga.
Clinton Douglas Smith, 17 years
928 Shortdabs Avenue, Hattiesburg, Miss.

The above mentioned people were in my car, towing a trailer full of books donated for use of the Freedom Schools, bound for Rust College, Holly Springs, Mississippi. On 5 May 1964 at 2:30 a.m. the car was stopped by a policeman who gave me, the driver, a ticket for faulty lights on the trailer. (The ticket signed by James D. Jones)

- A man who was called by his associates "Chief" (Chief of Police?) came and asked questions about identification. He went around to the trailer, and before opening it said, "I bet you stole them." Then he opened the trailer, saw a book on which the name was scratched out.

We were taken to jail. Smith asked, "Are we under arrest?" Chief said "Usually when a man is taken to jail he is under arrest." He actually informed us we were under arrest only at the jail. Reason was: Investigation of suspicion of stealing books.

Wednesday morning, 6 May 1964: 9 a.m. to 11 a.m., we were questioned individually.

11 A.M. - I was called out alone for further questioning. The sheriff, Boyce G. Bratton, told me, "I just gotta phone call with definite information that you are carrying material advocating overthrow of our very own government."

I asked continually for a lawyer, and was refused. I said, "I have a right to have a lawyer." Bratton said, "I have my rights and duty as a Mississippi citizen."

Bratton said he wanted to search the car. I said, "Not without a search warrant." The sheriff became very angry.

Bratton said, "You stole those books. You have to prove you didn't."

After lunch, Sheriff Bratton brought an affidavit and a search warrant.* Then the Sheriff and two trustees unloaded a lot of the books, stacked them up in a pile with the box on top clearly showing the words, "To Robert Moses, COFO, etc." The Sheriff then summoned a photographer, and had his own picture taken with the pile of books.+

The sheriff then searched the trailer and the car, including going through our briefcases and our personal effects. He read personal letters. (Comments: on reading a letter Frey had written to a friend in the north, asking him to come to Mississippi, "This is a clear violation of law, overthrow of the government, breach of the peace.") The sheriff then called out Papworth regarding his briefcase. He took out an SNCC pamphlet and a CNVA pamphlet. (Comment: "These are all clear violations of breach of the peace.") The sheriff found a tube of contraceptive cream which I had from when I was a

*See Appendix D and E.

+See appendix F.

social worker in Washington. The sheriff asked what it was. I explained. The sheriff then phoned to the Public Health Service to check. The sheriff then accused me of being a sex pervert.

I was kept outside in the hot sun all day long, guarded by two trustees. Afterward Papworth was also brought out, and we were caused to stand prominently in front of the jail. During the day, unknown white people came by and photographed us.

A man from the Mississippi State sovereignty Commission, Tom Scarborough, came and questioned Papworth and me.

This wen on until 4 or 4:30 p.m. I was then taken to the Mayor's home (he is also a mortician) and tried for faulty lights on the trailer. I pleaded guilty. All during the imprisonment, the others continually asked for legal counsel, and were always refused. I was fined \$19 and paid. As they were leaving, I overheard the sheriff discuss with deputies and Scarborough that he would call ahead to Holly Springs and say "the boys were coming." I know for a fact that the call was made, because Papworth had to go back into the office to get something he had forgotten, and overheard the phone call being made. Also, it is known that the call was made because of reasons given later.

We were released and drove to Holly Springs. As we entered the city limits, five police cars and a sheriff car awaited us. Doug Smith was driving. This was at 5:00 p.m. Sheriff J.M. Ash stopped the car and took us to the weighing station, because he suspected that the trailer was overloaded. The trailer weighed 6000 lbs., but nobody knew what the legal limit was. The other five were taken to the county courthouse, and Doug remained at the scales. Doug was then, and only then, charged with reckless

driving. A man who had been sitting in the shack at the scales was introduced as "the judge." This man was old, wearing dress pants with a stripe, suspenders, shirt (not dress), no tie, was apparently a cripple, had crutches. Doug was tried on the spot, without being sworn in, without being allowed legal counsel.

Sheriff: "I followed him from Doxie Fishing Camp (which is across the county line) to Nolly Springs - he crossed the yellow line three times - endangered other people." Doug pleaded not guilty.

Was found guilty and fined \$100 plus costs of \$9. (Later it turned out to be fine: \$109, cost: \$10) Doug was then taken to the County Courthouse. On the way, the Sheriff asked Doug how he would pay.

Doug said he guessed his sister would send the money. The sheriff then said, "That fellow who owns the car has plenty of money. He'll pay for you." This indicates that Sheriff Bratton of Oxford had called and said that I had lots of money with me. We were held for investigation. ("A Georgia auto license, an Idaho trailer license, a Mississippi drivers license, it looks funny.")

We were fingerprinted and photographed at the county court house, and taken to jail. In the morning we were questioned one at a time. Many strongly anti-semitic remarks were made. The sheriff had obviously checked them out with the FBI, because they had information on my father that could not have been gotten otherwise.

Early in the morning the jailor, a red-headed man, came to the cell and asked for the keys to the car. I refused to give them to him without a search warrant. The man then threatened me with violence. "Shut your god damn lip or I'll shut it for you." He raised his arm as he said this. I then gave up the keys. It is

known that the car was indeed searched, for things were found in disarray, and the police retained two items, at least: an address book belonging to me, containing local contacts, and a notebook belonging to John Papworth. The address book had been in the bottom of my briefcase. The notebook contained, among other things, some names of people and a biography of Dick Frey.

We were questioned with eight or nine people in the room. During questioning, the jailor was sitting on a stool in the corner slapping his hand with a blackjack. The questioner was a man named Crockett dressed in plain clothes. At one point they threatened, "We'll bring down _____ Wolf." Another indication that Oxford had phoned ahead was the statement of Crockett: "In Oxford you tried to call an attorney, Len Holt." Someone else: "Did they ever contact him?" Questioner: "No."

We were released at 5:30 p.m. Thursday.

Thursday, 11:15. In the course of being questioned by Crockett, the mayor of Holly Springs, and a Highway Patrolman, the H.P. man took an accident report form from Smith. The accident occurred on last Saturday, 2 May 1964. The report was supposed to have been turned in within 24 hours of the accident. Doug asked the man to return the form so that he could turn it in. The H.P. man refused and said, "We'll revoke your license."

Friday, 11:30 a.m. Smith went to the Justice of the Peace court on Collier Street in Holly Springs, in order to get a receipt for the 119 dollars that had been paid the day before. Smith was then served a warrant by Justice of the Peace H.M. La Fever, charging Doug with "failing to submit a report of an accident." The warrant was signed by Justice of the Peace H.F.

Green, Jr. Smith was told the fine would be: \$100 fine, \$9 for the sheriff, \$10 costs. The sheriff was present, and at this point he sent a deputy for a law book. The book was brought. The sheriff read section 1066, which said that this charge also involved 30 days in jail. Sheriff to J.P.: "We don't want him in jail."

Trial

Justice of the Peace: "Are you ready to stand trial?"

Doug: "I'd like to have an attorney."

The Justice of the Peace then wrote on a piece of paper which Doug saw, "Pleads guilty."

I then paid the \$119.

The sheriff then told Doug that Crockett would mail accident report form to Doug.

Friday, 8 May, 8:45 a.m. Dick and I went to jail to try to get our car from the sheriff. We had to buy a tag for \$99.72, to authorize the car for commercial hauling. I said the books weren't mine and admitted I must need the tag. Unidentified white people began again to photograph me. When I protested, the sheriff said, "If you protest, I'll take you in for investigation of typewriter theft."

(Sheriff said typewriter had been stolen from Rust College. Henry Roach, who is the red-headed jailor mentioned earlier, slapping a heavy piece of rubber pipe in his hand, said, "I haven't beaten up a Hebrew in a long time." He also said he would enjoy beating this one.

The sheriff admitted to me that he had searched the car without a warrant, and said that he had returned all our stuff.

MISSISSIPPI
(AFFIDAVITS WRITTEN FOR THE FBI)

STATE OF MISSISSIPPI

COUNTY OF _____

AFFIDAVIT

LARRY WOLF RUBIN

ADDRESS: 3906 Delmar Lane, Atlanta, Georgia

TEMPORARY ADDRESS: 1017 Lynch Street; Jackson, Mississippi

OCCUPATION: Student; Volunteer worker for C.O.F.O.

BEING DULY SWORN DEPOSES AND SAYS: TO-WIT

I, Larry Wolf Rubin, and Jessie Morris, Jessie Davis, Jessie Harris, Lafayette Surney, Clinton Douglas Smith, and Douglas Mac-Arthur Cotton, were driving south on 49W, coming from the C.O.F.O. conference at Greenville and heading for Jackson, on the evening of Thursday, May 14, 1964. We are all workers for C.O.F.O.

At about 9:30, the car, a 1960 Studebaker Lark IV, Georgia tag #1D42158, which is owned by me, broke down about a mile northwest of Belzoni. We pushed it to a service station at the intersection of 49W and 7, inside of Belzoni. There was a uniformed city policeman presently at the station. When he saw us, he went to the rear of the station. He then drove away in a patrol car. The attendant told us to push the car across the street, to leave it there until a mechanic arrived. We did this.

The attendant on duty told me that there would not be a mechanic available to fix the car until morning. The other boys walked toward the east, down 49W, to find lodgings for the night. I remained at the station, discussing the problems with the car with the attendant. As we were talking, a patrol car drove up driven by the policeman I

had seen earlier, with one uniformed and one ununiformed man. They stopped for a few minutes, and drove away.

I walked down 49W, looking for the others. I saw the patrol car return to the station, disappear for a few minutes, and then drive toward me. At this time I had turned around on the road, because I could not find the others, and was walking back toward the service station. The patrol car stopped, and the policemen told me to get in and offered no explanation. I sat in the back with an extremely fat, non-uniformed man wearing a pistol. The uniformed policeman asked how I and the others had gotten into town, and I explained that the car had broken down, and we pushed it.

We drove through the Negro section of town. The police were looking for the others. First they found Cotton and Smith, and told them to get into the car. Then they found Jessie Harris and Lafayette. A state highway patrol car arrived, and the police told these two to get into that car.

We were taken to the jail house. A state trooper took down our names at a booking desk. A few minutes later, Sheriff Purvis, of Belzoni, arrived, and asked us our names once again. During this time, there was a group of unidentified white men standing in the room. One, not in uniform, but carrying a gun, was slapping a huge leather strap, the kind used to tow cars, against the floor. He was whispering to the others, pointing at me, and laughing. The group continuously made remarks to me, saying things like, "You're the saddest man in the world, traveling with all these niggers." The man with the strap walked behind me, and made obscene and threatening gestures, much to the entertainment of the others.

The sheriff told a highway patrolman to put us in jail for "suspicion of burglary." He said that there had been "alot of thefts around here lately" and that we looked suspicious because we were an integrated group. He never said what had been stolen. We were frisked, and a number of papers and a small notebook were taken from me. I had a pamphlet published by the Southern Christian Leadership Council about their citizenship schools. It had a picture of Martin Luther King on it. The man who took the papers from me saw this picture, and made a deprecating remark. He said, "You look just like this."

I know that the police had looked through my car, because when I said that I owned the car, one of the uniformed policemen said that the registration card was in somebody else's name. This is true, because the car used to belong to my father. The old registration card was left in my glove compartment, beneath many maps and papers. The sheriff said that he would not be responsible for the car if we left it where it was, But that if I gave him the keys, he would tow it to the jailhouse, and be responsible for it. Because of that, I gave him the keys.

The state trooper took us upstairs, and put me in a separate cell from the others.

The next morning, about 10, the jailer came up and began to bring us down for questioning. I was brought down at 11:30. I was questioned by Sheriff Purvis and a man who introduced himself as Charlie Snodgrass, special investigator for the Highway Patrol. When I was first brought down, the police were fingerprinting Jessie Harris. Snodgrass told the police that it was not necessary

to fingerprint or photograph me, because that had already been done in Oxford and Holly Springs. (I had been stopped and investigated in both these places the previous week.)

During the questioning, I told the Sheriff and Snodgrass that I would not answer any questions unless I was allowed to call a lawyer. I was just asked my name, age, address, who I worked for, and my parents' name, so I did answer these. Snodgrass told me he knew that I had been stopped at Holly Springs, and that I was investigated by a Mr. Crockett. The Sheriff told me he would release us shortly, so I decided not to call a lawyer. The Sheriff informed me that he had not towed the car, and that it was where we left it. He said he could not guarantee its safety. The Sheriff said that we could stay in the jail until somebody came to pick us up, because he felt that if we went outside local citizens would attempt to kill us. He said he would not protect us if we waited outside.

Cotton went with the Sheriff to call Anelle Ponder in Greenwood, and ask her to pick us up. Based on the Sheriff's allegations, the whole group decided to wait in jail until Anelle came. We waited about two hours.

We were brought downstairs and we all were photographed. Then the Sheriff brought us in a room, where all our personal belongings, which had been in our trunk, was spread and scattered over a cot. My notebook was missing, but when I asked the Sheriff, he said it was there. At no time had the police had a search warrant, nor did they indicate to us what they were looking for before they searched.

We were released at about 2:30, and followed out of town by a patrol car.

I would speculate that the police had seen the tag number on my car, and picked me up because they had received that number from the Oxford and/or Holly Springs police, or from the state investigator, Crockett.

AFFIDAVIT

STATE OF MISSISSIPPI
COUNTY OF MARSHALL

NAME: Larry Rubin AGE: 22

ADDRESS: 5300 West Oxford, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Occupation: Student, Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio

Being duly sworn deposes and says: to-wit: I am a citizen of the United States of America, and am a white participant in civil rights and desegregation work. On Tuesday, June 30, 1964, at about 8:05 p.m., the following happened:

At about 7:15 p.m. a group of nine of us COFO workers (Larry Rubin, Peter Cummings, Wayne Yancey, Jon Davies, Frank Cieciorka, Aviva Futorian, Barbara Bloomfield, Barbara Walker, and Harriet Tanzman) went to their usual eating place for supper at Parker's Cafe on North Memphis Street 100 yards south of the COFO office. On our return to the office at about 8:05 p.m. we were intimidated at Fitch's Service Station. This Texaco service station is boycotted by students and faculty of both Rust College and Mississippi Industrial. Whites at this service station have harassed us verbally ever since the project started on June 21. They have circled our block in their green Chevy pickup, swore at us, and on Monday, June 29, one of our Freedom School girls

said hello and their reply was a harsh, "Don't you talk to us!"

As we walked past the service station a large, heavy white man (200 pounds plus, 6-foot plus) screamed at us that we were living with niggers at Rust. He had a coke bottle in his hand. He said that he was going to throw it at us. As he went through the motions of throwing the bottle, the group ducked. I was the last one in the group. The big white man came between me and the group, raised the bottle over his head, cursed and yelled at me, and threatened to beat me up. He grabbed me on the shoulder to push me back, shook me, like he was trying to provoke me into a fight. One other person from the group that had already passed the station came back and joined me (Peter Cummings). The man cursed at both of us. I could identify him; I have seen him around the gas station. At this point I said something to the effect that I didn't want to start a fight; I said that "I didn't want to start anything." Cummings and I started walking back. Another person from the gas station came out and attempted to persuade the other man to move away from us. He said to "...get away." Pete and I continued to walk away. As we moved away, I turned and saw the first large man motion to throw the bottle at us for the second and final time.

HARASSMENT IN TATE COUNTY

On Saturday morning, July 25, Mr. Howard Jones came to our office in Holly Springs. Both Mr. and Mrs. Jones had been canvassing with COFO workers, had registered to vote in Holly Springs the day before, and had been encouraging others to register to vote.

Mr. Jones said that his brother-in-law, a Mr. James Mosley, had received threats because he wanted to register to vote in Senatobia that morning.

Our workers in Senatobia had been working with Mr. Mosley, and had been asked by him to stop by his house and drive him to the courthouse in Senatobia. Mr. Mosley lives on the Kellis plantation in Tate County. David Kendall, one of the Tate County workers, and several others, had already left to pick up Mr. Mosley.

Mr. Jones said that Mrs. Jones had more information about the threats, and asked me to go to his home and talk with her. Jon Davis, another COFO voter registration worker, and myself, went. Mr. and Mrs. Jones live in Chulahoma.

Mrs. Jones said that her brother, Mr. Mosley, had come to the house the day before. He spoke to Mrs. Jones' sister, who lives with the Joneses, I believe. Mrs. Jones' sister had said that Mr. Mosley said he had been threatened by a Ralph Smart, nephew of Walter Kellis. According to the sister, Smart had said that "something would happen" if Mr. Mosley registered to vote.

Mr. Mosley lives with his wife and in-laws, and had told the sister he was afraid to have voter registration workers come

to his house. He had told the sister to tell us not to come. He said he would meet us another place.

Mrs. Jones also said that neighbors had told her that Walter Kellis said he would kill her if he saw her with voter registration workers. Mrs. Jones had grown up on the Kellis plantation.

Davies, myself, and the Joneses drove to a neighbor's house to check out the threat against Mrs. Jones. The neighbor's name is Mrs. Trafine Newsom. She said that Waver T. Harris, who works at a store owned by Raymond Patrick, a friend of Mr. Kellis, had told her of the threat from Kellis. She assumed that Patrick told him. It was Mrs. Newsom that told Mrs. Jones.

The four of us, Davies, the Joneses, and myself then drove to Tate County to visit the Mosley house. We wanted to get an affidavit from Mr. Mosley about his being threatened, because he wanted to register to vote. We also wanted to encourage him to go ahead and register.

We went to Tate on Mississippi Route 4, and turned off on the county road, which is gravel, that leads to the Mosley House.

We passed a little store, and saw three or four white men and three or four Negroes get into a white pick-up and follow us.

Mrs. Jones identified one of the men as Mr. Kellis, another as Mr. Ralph Smart, and the others as nephews of Kellis. The Negroes worked for Kellis.

He stopped in front of the Mosley house, and Davies got out to bring Mr. Mosley to the car, which was standing on a county road.

The pick-up stopped beside the car, and Kellis got out, along with two or three other whites. He approached Davies,

who was walking up to the door of the house. He asked Davies what he was doing, and Davies explained. I did not hear the conversation, but Davies later described it to me.

Davies started to walk back to my car, a white 1960 Lark Studebaker sedan. Kellis then yelled at Howard Jones, and then at the rest of us to get out of the car. He said: "Every Goddamn last one of you get out." The way he said it, and the other men standing there, indicated to us that he would beat us, so Davies jumped in the car. Kellis tried to get in too, but was prevented by Davies. We took off down the gravel road, heading away from #4. The pick-up chased us. We traveled about three miles, and realized the road ended in a field. I pulled the car off the road, turned around, and met the truck coming toward me. The truck tried to block the road, but I drove around it, going through a ditch on the side. The truck turned around and continued to chase us, but I got to #4 and drove back to Holly Springs.

Later that afternoon, about 4:00--after telling two Justice Department agents about the events--I drove the Joneses home. We saw Mr. Kellis standing in front of Raymond Patrick's store, which is a building near Route 4, on the county road on which the Joneses live.

We left Mrs. Jones at a neighbor's house, drove to Holly Springs, called the COFO Greenwood office, and Sheriff Ash, Alvin Pam and I returned with Mr. Jones to his house. We spent the night there.

Sunday morning, Mr. Jones brought Mr. Mosley to his house. He said he was too afraid that something would happen to his family to talk to us and tell us about the threats.

We left the Joneses. The next day, Monday, Pam and I went to the Jones house again. This time Mosley confirmed that Smart had threatened him.

He also told us that the barn in back of his house, which his in-laws used, was burned on Sunday, around 7:00 p.m.

Rust College
Holly Springs, Miss.
7-29-64

Dear Att'y Kunstler,

Enclosed please find the articles from the Memphis Commercial Appeal, and from the Press Scimitar,* which are accounts of Eastland's red-baiting from the Senate floor. The story was also carried by the wire services and appeared throughout the country.

The address book that Eastland mentions was stolen from me in Holly Springs, by the authorities, last May 7th. Briefly, the circumstances were as follows:

Six of us were hauling books for the Library project from Greenwood to Holly Springs. I was to stay in Holly Springs, at Rust College, so I had all my personal belongings with me, in the trunk of my car. The address book was in the bottom of my briefcase, which was in the bottom of my trunk.

We were arrested at Oxford, kept overnight, and questioned. The sheriff obtained a search warrant on the premise that he suspected us of "carrying material which advocates the overthrow of the State government of Mississippi." He searched my car, and saw my address book. He thumbed through it, but didn't say anything. An official of the State Sovereignty Commission, Tom Scarborough, was there.

We were released from Oxford, after I paid a minor traffic fine. No charges were pressed.

*See Appendix G

We have various indications that the Oxford police called up the Holly Springs police.

When we arrived in Holly Springs, five patrol cars were waiting for us. They followed us into town, and we were all arrested for "investigation". We were kept overnight.

The next day, I was forced to give up my car keys. My car was searched without a search warrant.

We were questioned by Marshall County Sheriff Ash, and by a Mr. Crockett, of the Highway Patrol. Scarborough, of the Sovereignty Commission, was also there, but did not question us.

One of the deputies had my address book during the questioning, and Crockett and others made several references to it. I suspected that the police would turn the book over to the Commission, and at several points I asked for assurances that the book would be returned to me. I was given no assurance.

Immediately upon release (there were no charges), I looked through my trunk and saw that the police had kept the book.

I wrote a full, detailed affidavit, dealing with the address book incident at some length, a few days after release. The affidavit was sent to the F.B.I., the Justice Department, and my Congressman, Robert N.C. Nix, of Philadelphia. (Nix, incidentally, called the Sheriff asking about me the day after I was released. He is a Negro and very sympathetic to the Movement.)

The F.B.I. began an investigation, and questioned me, but I haven't heard from them.

Hunter Morey has a copy of the affidavit. I asked him to send it to you. He said he would.

I don't know if it matters, but there are several points where Eastland lied:

1. It's a reddish-brown address book, about 5"x6".
2. I had Carry McWilliams Jr.'s address in it, not Sr.'s.
3. I never spoke before an ECLC group. In fact, I've given no talks for the past several months.
4. I never claimed to be "brutally assaulted." A local farmer grabbed me and threatened to hit me with a coke bottle. Also, he threatened to shoot us and to shoot into the COFO office. I pressed assault and battery charges against him. The Sheriff arrested him, and he's now out on \$1000 bond.

The articles that appeared in the Press Scimitar and Commercial Appeal were picked up by the UPI, and the story appeared all over the country on July 24, 1964.

The articles, of course, have increased tensions here in Holly Springs. Whenever anybody is stopped, the police question them as to their relationship to me.

A group of workers were invited to Ole Miss to speak, and were stopped by police and by a member of the W.C.C., on their way out. Because the car is registered in my name, the professor who invited them was red-baited. Enclosed please find an article about this from the Clarion-Ledger.*

Karin said that you thought we could bring a suit against Eastland, or the Holly Springs police, or somebody, for releasing information to the press gathered through great harassment and

*See Appendix H

threats. I would also like to get my address book back, but I guess that's impossible.

Sincerely yours,

Larry Rubin

A Walk in Holly Springs

(Appeared in Trinculo, Antioch, independent student magazine, April, 1965)

Going into downtown Holly Springs was like stepping off a safety island in the middle of Broadway with the light against you. If you know how to dodge the cars, you can survive.

I never went downtown too often--my work was in the rural areas where most Negroes lived. But the day I'm telling about was a Saturday, when everybody came to town. They would buy supplies, and overcome the System in the traditional way--in bars. Saturdays I would go where the people were, to explain the voter registration test, and to talk to the various leaders of the Freedom Democratic Party precincts.

This particular Saturday, I was walking the five blocks from our office, in the Negro section, to downtown. I was feeling the sun beating down on my head.

Someone yelled: "Cum heah, bawh." ("So," I thought, "my day starts.")

I turned around--on the opposite side of the street, in a gas station, an elderly white man was yelling and cursing at me. He was standing with three or four others. I knew him. He owned a plantation. Several days before, he had come to our office. He had pulled out a pistol and had told me he'd kill me if I didn't leave his "niggers" alone. ("His niggers"--that's the System summed up.)

Anyway, I stopped walking and decided whether to go over to him. I turned my back to him and continued walking. My legs felt wobbly, but I forced myself to walk straight, and I even slowed down.

"Ya Red sun-muva-bitch, cum heah!"

My stomach tightened up--but I continued walking.

A beer bottle whizzed past my head. I felt a great sense of relief--he wouldn't be coming at me. If he were going to chase me, he wouldn't have thrown anything. I continued walking.

When I first worked in the South, I acquired the freedom worker's walk--you sort of slouch and walk to one side of the pavement. Your eyes shift from side to side, to see who's following. I had been in the South the largest part of three years, and I had learned how to make myself inconspicuous. That Saturday, I walked slowly, registered no expression, and looked straight ahead.

I arrived in the business district. A white person yelled at me from a passing car: "Fuckya." A storekeeper saw me and raised a clenched fist, extending his middle finger.

White people in cars stared at me.

The whites knew me. I had been in Holly Springs for eight months. Senator Eastland had mentioned me at some length in a speech which was broadcast on television. My picture had been on the front page of papers throughout Mississippi under the headline

NO ROOM HERE FOR COMMUNISTS*

The stares I got are expressions showing hate, disgust and curiosity. The people who stare consider civil rights workers to be obscene. And because they think this, they have a compulsion to look--like an American Legion member who sees police pulling prostitutes out of a home.

The stares were not directed at me as an individual, but at a class of monsters invented by the white Southerner. The stares used to reduce me to a state in which I was grabbing for my individuality--I would repeat my name to myself. But that Saturday I waved to the cars--to enjoy the confusion this caused. The white people were afraid I would consider it an acknowledgment of my gesture if they continued to look at me. But looking away would also be an acknowledgment of me--so most people tried to do both at once.

Downtown Holly Springs is nothing but the courthouse square surrounded by five or six streets radiating at right angles to the square. I went to the street where many Negroes were sitting on benches. Everybody waved a greeting. I felt protected, even though the gang of white men who hung around the courthouse moved to the side facing me.

A woman asked me to help her with the registration test. As I was explaining it, five or six others came over. After we were through, they all crossed the street to take the test in the courthouse.

Mr. Gipson, the head of a Freedom Democratic Party precinct, asked me for sample voter tests to give to families who had requested them.

Mr. Totten, another leader, drove up in his pick-up. We talked for a while. I was standing on his runningboard. Suddenly, the druggist from across the street came over. The corner became silent with the approach of the white. However, Mr. Totten and I continued talking.

"Bawh, ah whunt t' tahlk t' ya."

"Yassuh," and Totten got out of his truck and went with the druggist to his store.

The man who had been sitting beside Mr. Totten in the truck drew out a shotgun, and pointed it towards the drugstore. We waited. Finally, Mr. Totten came out. He was shaking. He said he'd meet me back at the Freedom Office.

There, he explained that the druggist threatened him, telling him not to talk to me any more. Mr. Totten was frightened, but he said that he had faith that somehow he would be safe.

After he left, another leader of the Freedom Democratic Party came to the office. He said that his church had just been burned down. We had been holding voter registration classes there.

I had talked that church's deacon board into using the building for The Movement. They had been reluctant. They were afraid it would be burned down.

The precinct leader said that he had faith that somehow the church would be rebuilt.

IV. BLACK-WHITE RELATIONS IN THE MOVEMENT

HOW I FELT THEN

(written in Albany, Georgia, Fall, 1962)

As a white, my main job is to somehow work to break down the communications barriers that have existed between whites and Negroes for hundreds of years. Most Negroes react to me as they have been taught to react to all white men--with a subservient "yassuh boss."

As Charles Shenod, my project director, says:

We want to strike at the very root of segregation. The root is the idea that white is superior. That idea has eaten into the minds of the people, black and white. We have to break this image. We can only do this if they see white and black working together, side by side, the white man no more and no less than his black brother, but human beings together.

I talk to the people I meet about all kinds of things--the weather, crops, local gossip, religion--anything to gain confidence.

It is hard for me to overcome these characteristics within myself that cause stereotyped reactions in others. I have discovered that I have many traits that are peculiarly white, and I have to have a full understanding of these before I can be effective. For example, traits such as paternalism, or over-reacting and trying to "prove" that I am not like the other white men.

Also, I have to overcome self-consciousness. I have to learn those traits which are basically human and universal, and give up traits which I have previously considered part of my individuality, but which only serve to alienate me from the people with whom I work.

Our project is the only one in the Deep South that uses white workers. Part of the six months I have worked here, I was the only white working in the rural counties.

This is a very big experiment. Throughout the South, Negroes engaged in the Civil Rights Movement are chastised as Communists, but in S.W. Georgia this isn't necessary. All the press does is to indicate that whites and Negroes are living together. To the whites with whom I come in contact, this is lewd, dirty, filthy.

HOW I FEEL NOW

(written Summer, 1966)

Over the years, I've faced the same situation, which I have described to myself in this way:

I have been caught between total rejection and hatred on the part of white communities, and distrust and hatred on the part of the blacks.

I have admitted to myself that many of my personality characteristics are "white" characteristics which elicit in Negroes the responses they traditionally feel towards whites.

I have admitted to myself that my role in organizing in the civil rights movement must be limited to being used by Negroes as "their white." This has been tremendously difficult for me in that I had to force myself to do without things on which my ego nourished itself, like being accepted by others and being the leader of others.

After going through this process, I discover that my services are no longer wanted by SNCC, that they now insist that blacks only must organize blacks.

I can agree with this as a politically correct tactic, but I have had to work with myself to be able to fight the bitterness that I naturally feel.

I am coming to the conclusion that I and most whites simply are unfit to organize Negroes. The beginning of wisdom, I have found, is to realize that I am not omnipotent, and that it is impossible for me to cross over 300 years during which time two entirely different cultures arose. I suspect the cultures are based more on class factors than race, but the differences express themselves in terms of race. Negroes say whites lack soul. Whites say Negroes are erratic and untrustworthy.

I've tried to define the elements which make it hard for members of one culture to communicate with the other. I think it has to do with the fact that the cultures have developed different ways of acquiring knowledge about the world about them. The knowledge content might even be the same for both groups.

Whites seem to intellectualize, to form abstractions, and to have a great fear of making generalizations. Negroes seem to accept an arbitrariness about their environment, to form rules which enable them to "make it" and which they apply to every situation.

A corollary to this is that whites fear being put into generalizations themselves. They resent it when somebody says

"All whites are....." Negroes don't fear this; they just resent being classified into certain generalizations.

V. TOWARDS BLACK POWER

WHAT THE BLACK MAN NEEDS

by Marion Gaines, 13-year-old girl
written in 1963 in Albany, Georgia

As a race we all should learn
We should learn to take heed
If we desire to reach the goal
Co-operation is what we need.

To be a successful race,
Some must follow, some must lead
But regardless of what you do,
Co-operation is what we need.

Since we all can't be leaders,
Here's the thing for us to do
Co-operate with the one who's leading
And we are bound to go through.

There's nothing impossible for a black man
Upon the face of this earth
One of the wisest men that ever lived,
A black mother gave him birth.

Black is really honorable
To be black is nothing bad
The Bible says Solomon was black
He was the wisest man we've had.

I thought to mention these things
Praying that you will take heed
Come and co-operate in
What the black man needs.

WAKE UP, NEGRO, WAKE UP!

by Marion Gaines

I have wondered about the Negro
I have wondered for a long long time
Is the Negro really asleep, or has
He lost his real good mind?
No doubt he is asleep and
His dreams are full of glee
But it's time for him to wake up
There's plenty for him to see.
See your condition of unemployment
You'll declare it's a real disgrace
Just walk into some of the homes
And see what you will meet
Barefoot children and hungry wives
And nothing there to eat.
Other races are really happy
They can drink and sup.

THE BLACK MUSLIMS IN WASHINGTON
(written Summer, 1966)

Brad Freeman, an Antioch student, and myself met with the head of Muhammad's Mosque of Islam of Washington, D.C., Minister Lonnie JX. What follows is my impression of the interview.

Lonnie wouldn't meet us at the Muslim Mosque, of course, because whites are not allowed there. He wouldn't come to the settlement house either, which was white-run. So we met him on "neutral" territory, in a Negro luncheonette in the N.W. slums.

When we entered, I had the same feeling of total alienation that I had in the south--and I could see all the customers in the half-filled place staring at us. We asked the owner if Lonnie was in the place. He said no with a bored tone of voice, as if he wanted to let us know that he knew we were just another couple of white curiosity seekers. We sat at the counter and ordered cokes. The manager started reading "Muhammed Speaks," and I bought a copy from the stand. Still no reaction from the manager (I had debated with myself before buying: Would it seem condescending, or would it help to prove I had some sympathy for the Movement?).

Minister Lonnie finally arrived. He saw us, came over, and sat down. He wouldn't shake our hands. He wasn't hostile; he simply did not acknowledge our offering to shake.

We knew right away he would be in complete control of the situation. Lonnie asked Brad to put his cigarette out (Muslims are forbidden to smoke.) Throughout the interview, he

waved to people coming in the door. He raised his hand, palm straight up, saying "A Salaam A Leichem (Peace be with you). This is the Muslim salute.

I remembered that Lonnie had a Ph.D. in physics and mathematics. The fact that he had developed a comradeship with so many lower-class people impressed me.

In the south, I had observed the growth, within the civil rights movement, of a feeling of "race pride" among Negroes,* but it seemed to be based on material conditions. People said, "The whites have oppressed us and have kept us down through keeping us fighting among ourselves. It's time we got together and fought oppression. The way to do this is to develop group pride. Be proud we're Negroes. Be proud of our common heritage."

But Lonnie claimed his pride was not based on a reaction against oppression. His was based on the teachings of Elijah Muhammad, the prophet of Allah. Lonnie was proud of his race because it was the original race. It had created everything that was worthwhile in the world. The whites were devils, created by a mad Negro scientist centuries ago in order to attempt to conquer the world. But Allah is here on earth, and will destroy the devils in the year 1972.

However, Lonnie stressed another point which leads me to believe that Islam serves the same function that "race pride" serves for Negroes in the south. He said that Christianity was the white man's religion. He foisted it on the Negro to help keep him down. Christianity teaches "Be a good nigger here on

*See poems by little girl, pp. 75-76.

earth, and obey the white masters. The Lord is watching and will give you pie in the sky when you die."

On the other hand, Lonnie said, Islam doesn't believe in "ghosts or spooks." It doesn't believe in a world hereafter. "You make it on earth or not at all." When Negroes accept Elijah Muhammed, Lonnie says, they learn that they should better themselves here and now.

ROOTS OF THE "BLACK POWER" CONCEPT
(written at Antioch, Spring, 1963)

It might seem that many of the goals for which the Civil Rights movement fought have been reached. The Civil Rights Bill has been passed. The voting rights bill has been passed. Negro Congressmen have been elected throughout the North and several Negroes have been elected to prominent positions throughout the South. But is that all Negroes fought for? The following are the words of Senator Leroy Johnson, the first Negro to be elected to the Georgia State Senate since Reconstruction:*

"What you are doing here, in Albany, Georgia, in the shadow of fear and in the shadow of tremendous odds by persons of non-color, represents what must be done by Negroes throughout the south if we are ever to obtain first-class citizenship. The Negro must receive a greater appreciation for his own accomplishments in order to move forward.

*From speech delivered at an annual N.A.A.C.P. dinner in Albany, Georgia, March 6, 1963, several months after he was first elected.

"The story of the Negro's struggle in America started with the slave trade in Africa. The slave trade was people lying, stealing, murdering and dying. The slave trade was a black man who stepped out of his hut for a breath of fresh air and ended up, ten months later, in a southern state, with bruises on his back and a brand on his chest. The slave trade was, in truth and in retrospect, an exercise in futility, for it sought to enslave the souls of a people who were destined to be free.

"Today the Negro finds himself torn between two divergent philosophies. He is taught that the fruits of this great American democracy belong to all the citizens, and yet the Negro finds himself realistically faced with a segregated society. Today throughout the southland you will find a new kind of attitude characterizing the Negro, a kind of attitude which says to the world, "I will not be satisfied with second-class citizenship." For the black boys and girls are moving throughout this southland, sitting down and standing up and kneeling in, and pricking the conscience of America and saying "I want to be free, and I want to be free now."

"No one needs to be altruistic with us. No one needs to give up anything. Our demands are the demands of a people who belong to this country. America is my land, and it's my country. We need not be apologetic to anybody, and the Negro must stop feeling sorry for himself. He must stop feeling sorry for being black.

"A wind of change is blowing throughout the southland. You will find a kind of attitude that is exemplified in the

little boy who was stopped by a white man on the streets of Georgia. The white man represented the highest and best in segregation and prejudice. He stopped the little boy and said, "This is my town and my streets--who are you?" The little black boy, standing on the tip of his toes, looked the white man squarely in the face and squarely in the eye, and said to him, "I am somebody."

"There will be those who will say, 'Take it easy--you've come a long way in 100 years. You've got plenty of time, and time will cure it all.'" They will say to you that the time isn't right. And I will say to you that the answer to them is simple and very clear. The answer is not how far we have come in the last 100 years, but where we stand today in relation to the other group in society. I say to you that there has never been a single period in history where the majority group has given to the minority group of its own volition and of its own accord, basic human rights. Always there has been a necessity for minority groups to fight and sacrifice for rights obtained.

"We must always realize that no matter how high one Negro may go, that he can never enjoy to the fullest capacity the fruits of American democracy until the lowest Negro in the lowest spot and the lowest place can enjoy these fruits of American democracy. We must recognize the fact that a great deal of our problems will be solved when we can come together as a people, when we can come together in large numbers, when we can register together throughout the southland, and we can vote together throughout the southland. This is our salvation--the ballot box, because here we can change

the political climate of this great country. We can vote into office those persons who are willing to extend the fruits of democracy to every man, regardless of race, color or creed. And we must be ready and willing and able to vote out of office those persons who would deny the fruits of democracy to all mankind. The progress of the Negro is moving forward. It will not be long before we can obtain that which must rightfully come in this land of America--equal justice, equal job opportunities for all mankind. Our challenge is to remove every vestige of segregation and discrimination from this great land. And I submit to you that it may very well be that black men will have to teach America what democracy really means. It may very well be that our task here on earth is to make democracy work. It may very well be that the job of the black man is to bring democracy to the southland and to this great country."

I think there is a great tendency on the part of liberals, especially white liberals, to feel that Negroes should not be prejudiced towards whites. Senator Johnson was simply stating the problem. What he said was that in Albany, Georgia (and I think this is true of the whole south), the only whites that Negroes come in contact with are their bosses or town rowdies--in other words, people who have oppressed them. I think that it would be unrealistic to feel that Negroes should not be antagonistic towards whites. Just as Negroes share in being discriminated against because they have black skin, whites share in the guilt simply because they are white. This is the problem. A Negro can't say, "Well, I'm not dirty. Just because

some other black people are dirty, I shouldn't be discriminated against."

The Black Muslims were the first Negro group since Marcus Garvey to express the feelings of the average working-class Negro. That is, antagonism towards whites and wanting to combat the self-hatred that grows up in many Negroes. The Black Muslims are very effective in combating the feeling that grows up in black people that they are inferior. However, although they do express a very valid feeling, their political goals (that is, buying or asking for several states in the United States to set up a separate nation), are obviously untenable. And also, since they are anti-Christian, I don't think that as an organization they will get the support of the masses of Negroes. However, they will gain the sympathy of the masses of the Negroes, because they do express a very valid feeling. Also, the Muslims are basically urban and they speak to Negroes living in urban industrial slums. I think that as the unemployment problem grows the Black Muslims will gain more and more sympathy.

A lot of what I have been saying about antagonism toward whites, and a lot of what Senator Johnson was saying, is actually a more basic problem, simply stated in racial terms. That is the problem of our economy. There is great unemployment; there is great unrest. The Negroes that were rioting in Birmingham against the whites were unemployed. People want jobs. They see the problem as being against the white man.

The Movement is getting down to more basic issues. In the past the Negro Civil Rights Movement has generally been aimed

at seeking equal opportunities for Negroes who had the same qualifications as whites, seeking to get Negroes into professions where whites were, seeking for better business opportunities, etc. This did not speak to the man on the street, the man who was not qualified to be a businessman or a lawyer. The Movement is now moving toward him.

The Negro middle class has always been the leader of the Negro Movement. Franklin Frazier, in his book The Black Bourgeoisie describes this middle class as being a caricature of the whites, of wanting to be white but more so, of proving to their neighbors that they were more than white. This is the class that drives around in Cadillacs. However, since the Movement has started, I believe that there are many signs that these same people, in order to retain their leadership, for one thing, are being moved toward fighting for better job opportunities for the average man. Also, I think that the Negro middle class is learning that now, in fact, they do not have to be white--that is, they do not have to fight for acceptance among whites entirely in order to be accepted as human beings. This is because of the large strength that the Negro rights movement is gaining.

I heard an elderly gentleman downtown in Yellow Springs, a member of the town council and one of the most respected Negroes in town, who is rather well-to-do, talking to a white person. He said, "You know, for the first time in my life I realize that I'm angry, angry against whites. I am being discriminated against. Not economically, perhaps, but psychologically. Whites are, for instance, paternalistic toward me."

All their lives, Negroes hear about what America is. They

hear that America is a land of opportunity, that it is a land of freedom, that we all have liberty here. But on the other hand, they see realistically that America is not this, at least for them. Many of the Negro leaders now feel that "We don't want to be integrated into a burning house." They see a lot of inequities that exist in America, aside from the race problem. Negroes more and more are identifying with Africa. They see that in the past America has helped colonialism. There is a large feeling that the Negro not only wants to be integrated but also wants to contribute to America. The Negro is the soul of America, as Dr. Anderson, head of the Albany Movement, said.

Basically, the Negro wants his rights. He wants to be able to vote; he wants job opportunities. If he can somehow get these things within the present system, fine, but if the present system is not flexible enough, he still demands his rights. What sort of changes will be made, socialistic or otherwise, I can't predict. I will say, though, that the Federal government up until now has only been interested in keeping the peace, not in forwarding Negro rights. For instance, in Birmingham the Federal troops were sent in only after the Negroes started to riot, not while the white policemen were beating up the Negroes. Negroes resent this very much.

President Kennedy's recent speech, in which he said that he will push for strong civil rights legislation, was very heartening. It is very disheartening, however, that now, when he's pushing for it, the south is able to block the action so far. I think that the civil rights movement will push on beyond getting

the right to vote--toward, for instance, unionization of Negro workers. There are small signs of this now. There were signs when I was working in Georgia that the Negro population of Albany was getting together economically. They wanted to start a Federal bank to make loans to Negroes, loans that the Negroes could not get at white banks. They were also thinking of starting a credit union.

I think it is inevitable that the Negro must be given his rights. More and more states are beginning to realize this now. The leaders of South Carolina and North Carolina, for instance, have said, "Well, we're against integration, but if the Federal government forces us to, we will comply with the Supreme Court's ruling. We don't want another Mississippi or Alabama."

(Summer, 1966, Antioch)

It is interesting to note that in this speech, by one of the most moderate Negroes in the South, one can find the breeds of black nationalism, black power, and "race-thinking" in general. I think this shows how deep the need for such concepts is.

The following illustrate the points:

(1) Throughout the speech Johnson equates the feeling of "I'm somebody" with the feeling of pride in the accomplishments of other Negroes;

(2) Johnson's point that the "majority never willingly give up their privileges without being forced to."

SNCC IN 1966
(Summer, 1966)

The most talked-about matter in the freedom movement in recent weeks has been developments in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

Most of the discussion has centered on SNCC's calls for "black power"--by which it is saying that Negroes, where they have the numbers to do so, should organize themselves into independent political groups that can win elections.

This phrase has frightened many white people. There have been new attacks on SNCC in the daily press of the country. There have been many distortions, half-truths and rumors about SNCC's policies, some of which are simply not true and others of which are gross over-simplifications.

Thus, even among some people who have been ardent supporters of SNCC since its beginning in 1960 and who want to understand its position, there has been confusion and questioning about where the organization is going.

The first thing to note is that the so-called "new directions" of SNCC do not represent any sudden change of policy. Rather they are trends that have been developing over a period of years. All that has happened recently is that certain surface events have suddenly brought these trends into public view and focus.

Recent Events

The surface events were that in May, SNCC held a week-long staff meeting near Nashville, Tennessee, and tried to

define its position on basic questions, and elected new officers.

The election was widely interpreted as a "change in command." In part it was, and in part it was not.

John Lewis, who has served as SNCC chairman since 1963, was replaced by Stokely Carmichael, a young man reared in the slums of the West Indies and New York City, educated at Howard University, and now identified in the public mind with the new all-Negro political organizations he has sparked in the Black Belt of Alabama, with the symbol of the Black Panther.

Thus his election was interpreted as a new turn toward militancy by SNCC, but it should be recalled that SNCC has always been militant and has long been attacked and admired for it, depending on the attitude of the viewer.

Three years ago it was John Lewis who was being attacked as "too militant" at the time of the March on Washington. Carmichael has been a part of SNCC from its earliest days and was one of the key organizers in Mississippi, where he developed many of the ideas he is now putting into effect in Alabama.

Jim Forman, who has been executive secretary of SNCC since 1961, did not run for re-election but remains a key figure in the organization. He simply decided that instead of spending most of his time fund-raising in the North he wanted to concentrate on developing new leadership among Southern Negroes.

He was replaced as executive secretary by Mrs. Ruby Doris Robinson, former Spelman College student in Atlanta, one of the earliest sit-in leaders and an original founder of SNCC who has been a leader in the organization ever since. Cleveland Sellers,

who was named program secretary in 1965, was re-elected to that post; he too is a long-time SNCC worker and was a key organizer in Mississippi.

These three-Carmichael, Sellers, and Mrs. Robinson--make up the present governing "secretariat" of SNCC. They are important as individuals in that they obviously represent the long-developing trends in SNCC that are now being brought into public focus.

Background Trends

The current call for "black power" is only one of these trends, and it cannot really be understood except in the context of at least three others:

1. The first is the movement of SNCC toward an increasingly close identification with the poor and disinherited Negroes of the South and of the entire country. This began when SNCC moved from campus to community organizing in 1961, began to work with people who were very poor and very hungry, and decided that campaigns to integrate lunch counters were not very important after all.

Obviously, this didn't happen in 1966 in Nashville, but it helps to explain why SNCC in 1966 is rejecting the concept of coalitions with so-called moderate forces in the South.

Some SNCC people deny that white moderates exist in the Deep South. This probably depends on how the term "moderate" is defined. But one essential fact is that the people usually described as "moderate"--the white people and the Negroes who

form coalitions with them--are generally people who never knew or have forgotten what it is to be poor.

SNCC simply does not believe that these people, even if they were strong enough to win elections in Alabama or elsewhere, are going to make the social and economic changes necessary to improve the life conditions of poor people. They think poor people have to do it themselves.

2. The second basic trend in SNCC is the movement away from dependence on the federal government--either for protection or action that can change poor people's lives.

That started when civil rights workers' calls for help brought much talk but little action, when FBI agents kept taking voluminous notes but people kept getting shot and beaten and killed, when new laws were passed but scantily enforced and nothing really changed in the South.*

Obviously this disillusioning process did not happen in 1966 in Nashville either, but it helps explain why, soon after the Nashville conference, SNCC issued its statement refusing to take part in the White House Conference on civil rights.

3. The third basic trend has been SNCC's slow but steady move toward independent political organization--independent, that is, of the old political parties.

SNCC spokesmen now are saying this has always been the organization's goal--to help previously powerless people organize their own political vehicles.

*See Appendix J

The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) was actually a move toward independent politics. It was people organizing for themselves--even though at that point they hoped to work within the framework of the national Democratic Party.

Most of them concluded they couldn't do it. The rejection of MFDP at the Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City in 1964 and the failure of the congressional challenge in 1965 had a profound influence on SNCC workers. Many decided then and there that there was no way for Negroes to build political strength within the American two-party system.

The next logical step was to try building their own parties where they had the numbers and conditions to do it--and that is what has developed with the Black Panther parties in Alabama. It is significant that these parties, which held their own nominating conventions on primary day in Alabama, will have their candidates on the ballot in November, whereas almost all Negro candidates who ran for nominations in Democratic primaries have now been eliminated from the races.

The idea of independent political parties is sure to spread--both through the Black Belt areas of the South and the ghettos of the North. This does not mean that SNCC is rejecting the idea of coalitions for all time to come. It is rather obvious that in a country where Negroes represent only 10 per cent of the population and even in the South do not have a majority in any state and only in a limited number of counties there must someday be coalitions with someone.

The question SNCC is asking at this point is coalition where, when and with whom. It is saying that in order for a meaningful coalition to take place, at least two conditions must exist: (1) the people who have been powerless must create a power of their own, else there will be no coalition but only a situation in which they will be absorbed and controlled by those who have all the power; and (2) there must be groups with kindred interests with whom to make a coalition.

Since SNCC orientation is to a politics of power for poor people, this makes meaningful coalition with white people impossible at this moment, since organized groups of white people who are poor simply do not exist.

SNCC's Position on White-Black Relations

The phrase that is being used widely in Negro organizations today is "black consciousness," and that is one of the things SNCC is saying must be built.

With this phrase, SNCC is saying to Negroes that they need to eliminate from their thinking and feeling the patterns that have been put there by a society which is essentially built on the concept of the superiority of the white man.

It is saying that Negroes need to reject the unconscious idea that what is white is better. And because they do live in a society that holds to that idea, they will begin to think and feel differently only when they realize their own history, their own worth as a people, their own ties with dark-skinned people elsewhere in the world.

With this phrase of "black consciousness" SNCC is also saying some crucially important things to white people within the movement.

It is not true, as has been falsely rumored, that SNCC is asking all of its white staff members to leave. Rather it is saying to them that they simply cannot, because of objective conditions, attempt any longer to organize in Negro communities.

SNCC is saying that this is impossible because if Negroes are ever to achieve the "black consciousness" that is necessary to human dignity they must organize themselves--that as long as white people are there doing the work the idea is perpetuated that only white people can do things.

They are saying further that the very presence of white organizers in black communities has an intimidating effect on Negroes who have known white people only in the role of oppressors. This happens, SNCC says, even if the white organizers have the best of attitudes, even if they don't actually do anything to make it happen.

Thus SNCC is saying, in effect, to its white organizers, "Sure you served an important function in the Negro communities of the South. You helped break the ground and establish the right to organize. But now this is done, and if you really mean what you said about why you came here in the first place--that you wanted to help people win the power to control their own lives--you must now step aside and let them do it in the manner that they decide to do it."

Beyond this, and maybe more important, SNCC is saying something else to white people in the movement. It is saying that instead of giving their time and their energy--and maybe their lives--in the Negro communities it is now time (and long overdue) that they turned to the essential task of working in the white community.

It is there, SNCC points out, that the basic problem in race relations in America exists because the basic problem is white racism. It is time that white people who care address themselves to the task of confronting this racism on its home ground, combating it, and organizing white America for a new kind of world.

The "Freedom-High" Element

From the beginning SNCC has been loosely organized. This has been in a way its genius, since it gave free rein to individual creativity, but it has also been its weakness. Creativity sometimes became over-weighted by wasted effort when some people came into SNCC seeking the "new world" and were more interested in finding their own freedom there than in doing what might be needed at the moment to build that new world. This became known as the "freedom-high" movement in SNCC.

Now they are rejecting the "freedom-high" idea and are saying that if people are serious about making a social revolution there are certain organizational disciplines that are necessities of the struggle.

The Non-Violent Philosophy in SNCC

Another development is that most people in SNCC have rejected the idea of nonviolence as a philosophy and in most situations even as a tactic.

Like the other trends, this one has been developing over the last five years, but has just now been brought into public focus.

It is important to add quickly, however, that this in no way means that SNCC has turned to advocating violence.

As a matter of fact, those who jump to this conclusion should stop to realize that SNCC's emphasis on serious political organization is the direct opposite of advocacy of violence. Effective independent political organization may be the last, best, and only hope of avoiding widespread violence as a means of attacking the racial situation in America.

But most people who work with SNCC in the Deep South--and for that matter with other civil rights groups--simply reject the idea of turning the other cheek. They believe in people's right to defend themselves against the continuing and unrelenting violence of white racists.

The idea of nonviolence as an aggressive weapon of social change--the concept of nonviolent revolution--has, at least for the time being, disappeared as a significant factor in the South.

The Integration Philosophy in SNCC

Stokely Carmichael has been widely quoted as saying recently that "integration is irrelevant." His entire quote, which

was not used in the press but which sheds considerable light on what he meant, was:

"Integration is irrelevant when initiated by black people in the present society. It does nothing to solve their basic problems."

Most people in SNCC agree with him. What white people must realize is that integration has been presented as a matter of Negroes being "integrated" (or absorbed) into white society. On the face of it, this says plainly that what is white is better. This is a raw insult to Negroes; many have long sensed this and now they are saying it.

Asked recently how he defined integration, Jim Forman said: "moving Negroes into the mainstream of American life and its accepted value system--which I reject."

This is not what everyone in the movement has meant by integration. To some it has meant the literal meaning of the word integrate: "to make whole"--that is, to make whole the human race. It meant integration of peoples not into the existing society but into a new society that the movement would build where different groups of people could enrich each other's lives, where all men could be free, and where it was possible for men to live as brothers.

But SNCC believes "integration" can never exist until there is equality in strength between different groups of people--that the human race can never be "made whole" until those who have been oppressed can create for themselves their own strength. The concept of white supremacy which we must realize has been the cornerstone of our society makes this impossible today.

The Future--Organizing Whites

This is a time of great flux in the Southern movement. Many white people who have worked in Negro communities in the South are being hurt because they now feel rejected. There are individual instances in which they feel overt hostility which for some reason they did not realize was there before.

SNCC says white people must get to the task of organizing poor white people of the South who are also oppressed but have been by-passed by the civil rights movement and thus left prey to their fears, to white racist groups and their propaganda. Unless someone with a belief in the freedom movement organizes these people there is no hope of those meaningful coalitions for the Negro movement that have been talked about.

Many Negroes in SNCC are frankly doubtful that the poor white people of the South can be organized for such coalition, but they have not reached the point of rejecting the hope of trying.

SNCC is not rejecting white people. Rather, by forcing them out of the black communities and back into the white communities where so much work needs to be done, it may be providing this generation with the last chance white people may ever have to overcome the racism and white supremacy by which western man has come close to destroying this planet.