

## THE TRIP

### LIBERIA

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

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

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

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

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

### GHANA

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

## ZAMBIA

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### THE INDEPENDENCE CEREMONIES

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

## KENYA

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

#### ETHIOPIA

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

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

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

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

#### EGYPT

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The ride back to Cairo was a silent one.

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

#### PROPOSALS:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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by:

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