

THE RIOTS — AND CORE

by James Farmer

No one on earth would have been happier than I to have been proved wrong when we warned early last spring that the summer promised to be long and hot in the northern cities unless creative steps were quickly taken to begin an assault on basic problems of jobs, housing, schools and police brutality. Thousands of youth, we warned, filled with frustration to the point of hopelessness, were about to retch forth in violent anger. We have no pride, only anguish, at the accuracy of this judgment. Explosions have come and, with chain reactions, spread in spite of all that CORE could do to prevent them. It is a curious commentary on the confusion of our times that those who warned against the riots are now being accused, by some quarters, of bringing them about. If only we had not pointed to the lighted fuse, some argue, that fuse might have gone away.

Hardly a press interview goes by these days without the question being asked: "What good purpose do you think is served by riots and demonstrations?" Riots and demonstrations indeed! As if the two were indistinguishable and identical, or as if riots would not occur if there were no demonstrations. The Harlem riot of 1943, it must be remembered, came before direct action demonstrations had found widespread use. And the problems which produced that riot have remained unresolved. They have, in fact, grown worse.

The rioting youth in Harlem, Bedford Stuyvesant, Rochester and Jersey City, were largely unemployed and angry with the world. A lash-out in blind fury was the result.

As CORE Director of Organization, James McCain and I spent many long hours trudging the streets of Harlem, trying to halt a tragedy and pleading against madness, members of New York City CORE chapters joined us as peacemakers and first aid squads to care for the injured.

The rioting was insanity, and the rioters were wrong, however great their grievances. Yet the civil rights groups, CORE included, had been unsuccessful in removing the hurt that drove them to desperation, so that they took matters into their own hands. It was bloody, if one-sided warfare between two ancient adversaries; the aggrieved ghetto community and the police. The police, largely white, became the symbols of the oppression of the ages and all that is

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THREE CIVIL RIGHTS WORKERS MURDERED



Andrew Goodman, James Chaney and Michael Schwerner were assassinated near Philadelphia, Mississippi, late at night on June 21. Their bullet-ridden bodies were found by FBI agents 44 days later buried in a newly-erected earthen dam six miles from town. Arrests are expected as this issue goes to press. Goodman was a student who had just arrived in Meridian from the Freedom Summer training center in Ohio. Chaney was a CORE Task Force worker and a native of Meridian. Schwerner also was a CORE Task Force worker who, with his wife Rita, had directed a CORE community center in Meridian since January.

THEIR STATION WAGON . . .



. . . charred and wrecked, was found on June 23 by FBI agents in a swamp on Bogue Chitto Creek. Former CIA Director Allen Dulles was dispatched to the scene by President Johnson and a Navy contingent joined the search. CORE National Director James Farmer flew to Mississippi to help press the inquiry.

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CIVIL RIGHTS WORKERS

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The three rights workers had been arrested on a speeding charge by a deputy sheriff while on their way to Longdale to investigate the burning of Mount Zion Methodist Church. The triple murder occurred following their release late at night.

Mass picket demonstrations at federal buildings in many cities across the country promptly were organized by CORE groups to urge federal intervention and full federal protection for civil rights workers in the deep south. However, as the summer continued, there have been repeated shooting, arson, physical violence, threats and other forms of intimidation by Mississippi and Louisiana segregationists. There also have been a large number of harassing arrests of civil rights workers by local officials.

109-YEAR-OLD WOMAN REGISTERS

by Judy Benninger

July 27 became an unplanned CORE Freedom Day in Gadsden county, Florida. When the registrar's office in Quincy opened at 9 A.M. about 20 Negroes had lined up. Between then and closing time at 5 P.M. there were from 15 to 75 Negroes in line at all times. A Negro was being registered every second. The number registered plus the number turned away during this one day approximately equaled the total number of Negroes registered in the county as of January.

One CORE member walked up and down the line of those waiting to register, answering questions and keeping the line orderly. Another CORE member stood at the exit, pinning "I Am Registered" buttons on those who had completed registration. CORE Task Force workers, members of the local CORE group and adults from the voter registration steering committee canvassed and leafleted.

At about 2:45 a car from Chattahoochee, 26 miles away, arrived and a woman, 109, was helped out by two CORE Task Force workers accompanying her. She had been born in slavery, she told them, and thought it about time that she should register and vote. Others in her neighborhood had said they were afraid and she had made them promise that if she came back alive from the registrar's office, they would register next week. Upon returning to Chattahoochee, she was confronted by a small group of anxious neighbors. "There was nothing to it," she assured them. Her daughter, who is 90 years old, and her granddaughter immediately promised to register the following Monday.

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wrong in our society. And the police used more force than was necessary in response to the initial rioting, against guilty and innocent alike. More rioting was the result.

One night in Harlem, as hundreds of angry youth milled about 125th Street in front of the New York CORE chapter office, and a bloody confrontation with a mass army of police seemed imminent, CORE members and I tried a desperate strategy to bargain for time and prevent violence. When the youth rejected my plea to get off the streets and go home, we began a disciplined march, seeking to lead them out of the trouble area and disperse them when tempers had cooled. It appeared to be working. For three blocks we marched, away from the tension spot, urging people to drop off at their homes as we passed, hoping to march until exhaustion calmed feverish nerves. For some inexplicable reason the police, slowly following the line of march, appeared to panic and started firing their service revolvers into the air. Order then gave way to confusion and chaos. Why did the police do it? Rationality is not a common quality in time of war. Nor is it unusual for the peacemakers to be accused by both sides of betrayal.

Yet, CORE's role will not be forgotten by Harlem. No other civil rights organization was on the streets during the first few nights of the rioting, counseling sanity. No other dedicated itself to a mission of mercy, caring for the injured and the hysterical.

In Bedford-Stuyvesant the CORE chapter played a similar role of peacemaking and first aid.

In South Jamaica, reported the Herald Tribune, "Negroes and whites alike say that trouble was averted because of some remarkable cooperation between the police officers and civil rights groups. Stanley Hamilton, chairman of South Jamaica CORE, had noticed in Bedford-Stuyvesant that when policemen congregated conspicuously, it seemed to create tension. Mr. Hamilton told Captain McAuley that such congregating might be a good thing to avoid in South Jamaica and the captain agreed."

In Rochester, in conjunction with the local NAACP and other civil rights groups, Rochester CORE organized teams which visited the trouble spots. On the Joseph Avenue block, which was most damaged, the CORE store front with its "Freedom

WIDOW OF CORE VICTIM PICKETS



Accompanied by her young daughter Janice, Mrs. Joanne Klunder, widow of Cleveland CORE Vice Chairman Bruce Klunder, joins a civil rights demonstration at the National Governors Conference. Rev. Klunder was killed on April 7 when a bulldozer accidentally backed-up over his prostrate body during a demonstration at the construction site of a school in a segregated neighborhood. As a consequence of the tragedy a biracial committee has been appointed and, under a new school superintendent, headway is now being made against de facto segregation.

Now" sign in the window, was the only one intact after the looting.

In Jersey City, in addition to peacemaking, CORE engaged in negotiations with the mayor, seeking redress of grievances and relief of tensions.

It is to be hoped by all rational individuals that the nightmare is now at an end. The job of rational people, however, has just begun. A respite gives our cities an opportunity to match the work that needs to be done with the unemployed youth who need work to do, to launch a crash program of rehabilitating old housing and providing new, to clean up the debris-littered streets and alleyways of the ghetto, to provide new recreational facilities for youth with time on their hands, to speed up programs for quality integrated schools, and to begin to build communication and rapport between traditional enemies who must become friends—the police and the residents of the ghetto. If city officials fail to take this opportunity, however, and if they follow a do-nothing policy, they will be inviting a recurrence of the riots.

RIGHTS LAW FLOUTED IN RURAL LOUISIANA

by Ronnie Moore



These burned planks constitute the remains of Faith Hope & Charity Hall, headquarters of CORE's registration drive in Hammond, Louisiana, after it was burned to the ground on the night of June 27. They also constitute graphic evidence of how the civil rights law is being violated in rural Louisiana where we are engaged this summer in an intensive voter registration drive.

In the little town of Jonesboro, which remains completely segregated, our civil rights workers were met with violence and intimidation. After our initial meeting with community leaders, Mike Lesser and I were ambushed on our way back to Monroe by three carloads of whites. One car got in front of us and the other behind. Swamps border the highway. Our chances of survival appeared slim. However, we managed to make a U-turn, at 45 miles an hour, bypass the two cars which had been behind us and, at speeds of over 90 miles an hour, to return to our Jonesboro headquarters and safety.

About two weeks later, on July 29, on a night when all lights had been turned off allegedly to repair power lines, hooded Klansmen with torches, escorted by a sheriff, marched through the Negro community. That same night a mob of about 100 whites armed with rifles converged on the parish jail where 20 of our rights workers were imprisoned. The mob finally dispersed after CORE alerted the FBI.

During the three preceding days, a total of 39 rights workers had been arrested for picketing the library and for standing-in at the municipal swimming pool. Subsequently, other members of our staff were jailed. Parents of some local demonstrators were arrested for "contributing to the delinquency of a minor."

We are countering these acts of

Farmer Signs Anti-Riot Statement, Declines on Demonstration Moratorium

Following a top civil rights leadership conference on July 29, CORE National Director James Farmer joined with four other leaders in signing a statement "strongly opposing looting, vandalism or any type of criminal activities" but declined to join them in signing a statement urging "a broad curtailment, if not total moratorium of mass demonstrations until after Election Day."

The four other signers were Martin Luther King of SCLC, Roy Wilkins of NAACP, Whitney Young of Urban League and A. Philip Randolph of NALC. John Lewis of SNCC declined to sign either statement.

While expressing "our serious concern with the recent riots which have taken place in several urban areas," the anti-riot statement made clear: "We wish to draw a sharp distinction between the above-named activity and legitimate protest effort by denied and desperate citizens seeking relief."

NAC Upholds Farmer

Farmer's refusal to sign a moratorium on demonstrations was upheld on August 9 by CORE's national action council, which adopted a statement saying: "Because the deep grievances of the Negro community continue to be present, we continue to demonstrate. Well-organized and disciplined demonstrations must continue as a way to work toward the elimination of these grievances. Only by constant public reminders of the evils that exist will the white majority face these evils and take the necessary steps to eliminate them."

"Demonstrations serve as a way to channel in a militant fashion the justifiable frustrations and anger of the Negro community. A community with no way of acting directly on its own behalf is far more likely to erupt in anger and violence than one which has the opportunity to vigorously demonstrate and whose just demands are met."

"Because proposals of temporary moratoriums can lead to the permanent end of viable protest by the Negro community, we continue to demonstrate. The so-called 'white backlash,' a phenomenon whose appearance has frequented America whenever Negroes have vigorously spoken out on behalf of their rights, will not be mollified by temporary cessation of demonstrations. Indeed, more likely, the vote will be in just the opposite manner from that sought by the moratorium proposers; for, having gained a moratorium by the threat of a Goldwater victory, the white backlashers and their allies, the racists, will seek a permanent cessation in the event of Goldwater's election."

intimidation by both direct action and lawsuits. A \$500,000 damage suit has been filed against Pro-Tem Mayor D. J. McDuffie of Plaquemine who threatened Spiver Gordon, Tolbert Harris and other CORE testers by raising a bottle and threatening: "The first black . . . that steps into this cafe, I'll knock his brains out!" In St. Francisville Bob Hurwitt, a rights worker, swore out a warrant for the arrest of Teddy Martin, a former sheriff who had attacked him and later shot at a car of prospective registrants.

* * *

In New Orleans suits have been filed by CORE members to desegregate the Wild Life & Fisheries Building, which houses the federal courts and which has "white" and "colored" drinking fountains and restrooms (the building has been picketed by New Orleans CORE), Schwegmann Brothers Giant Supermarkets, which has segregated eating facilities and Charity Hospital.

CORE WORKER BEATEN IN JAIL

Pointing to bruises on his face, CORE Field Secretary Edward Hollander reported to the FBI that he had been beaten by three prisoners in Hinds County jail, Jackson, Mississippi. Being white, he was confined to the white section.

He had been arrested May 29 in Canton while attempting to take pictures of arrests during the Freedom Day demonstration. Following an attempt by his attorney to get the case into federal court, he was transferred by U.S. marshals from Canton to Hinds County jail. He was imprisoned a full month prior to release on bond.

* * *

The conviction of CORE Field Secretary B. Elton Cox for "defaming" a judge and district attorney at an NAACP mass meeting in Baton Rouge in the summer of 1962 was reversed on technical grounds by the Louisiana Supreme Court. He had faced the maximum penalty of two years in jail and a \$6000 fine.

First CORE Project on Migrants' Plight

The first action project by CORE to deal with the plight of migratory workers is underway in an eastern Long Island farming area to which 3000 workers, most of them Negro, come each year. Long Island and Suffolk County CORE have assigned two full-time workers for the summer's duration: Michael Raskin and David Thompson. The project is called "Operation Tinderbox" in memory of 15 Negroes who have been burned to death in Hollis Warner shacks. Two Negro children were burned to death in a poultry brooding shed where they lived as recently as this May, only a few days before the county took over the property.

Since the first CORE goal is to help find decent housing for more than 100 families still living in brooding sheds and tarpaper shacks, CORE set up a field office in one of the sheds. But on June 29, county officials brought a bulldozer and threatened to crush the shed. Soon thereafter, they demolished it.



This photo, taken by Richard Robinson prior to its demolition, shows Henry Smith and Delores Quentine (the two persons wearing glasses) signing up seasonal workers for a march on June 27 to the center of Riverhead protesting the refusal of Town Supervisor Robert Vojovoda to discuss the issue of adequate housing. Eight participants were arrested for sitting down at Riverhead's main intersection. Finally, on August 3, Vojovoda agreed to negotiate with CORE.

On June 20, Smith, Raskin and Lincoln Lynch, chairman of Long Island CORE, were arrested for dumping a truckload of refuse in front of Riverhead town hall to protest the lack of regular refuse collections at the migrants' shacks. Regular garbage collections were started two days later. On July 18 a brief picket demonstration forced one landlord, Frank Truckowski, to make much-needed repairs on six houses which he owns.

Raskin was arrested again twice in July, once for sitting-in in the shack of Grady Currence who was facing eviction and once for escorting an official of the State Commission on Human Rights around the Hollis Warner shacks. Lynch was arrested while leading a similar inspection tour by Monsignor Michael McLaughlin of the Roman Catholic Rockville Centre diocese and Hyman Bookbinder, executive director of President Johnson's task force on poverty. Following the tour, Mgr. McLaughlin described the living conditions as "unbelievable," and Bookbinder commented, "some of the houses are as bad as any I've seen in Appalachia or Harlem." As a result of the CORE campaign and pleas from other civil rights groups in the area, the Suffolk County Board of Supervisors allocated \$8000 for hiring an expert to help relocate the families still living in Hollis Warner shacks. Some families finally have been moved but CORE charges that their relocation has been to living quarters which in many instances are too distant, too expensive and inadequate.

RATS AND REFRIGERATOR DRAMATIZE ANTI-SLUM PROTESTS

by Eugene Tournour

Dead rats and an old refrigerator have been used at Chicago's City Hall to render more graphic the anti-slum campaign which is a part of CORE's northern summer project in which 115 tenant councils have been organized.

Over 200 tenants brought four dead rats to City Hall on July 24 and then proceeded to demonstrate outside. Then four women who went inside with Winston Lockett, the demonstration's leader, to negotiate, placed the dead rats in their pocketbooks. One of the women, Mrs. Carol Redmond, deposited one of the rodents on the desk of a secretary to Raymond Simon, the mayor's chief administrative officer, who earlier in the day had issued a statement rejecting CORE's demands. These demands include city employment of 250 jobless slum dwellers for rat clearance. We have organized over 400 unemployed persons who participate in our program.

As part of a picket demonstration a week later, a work brigade of 10 unemployed men moved an abandoned refrigerator from a condemned building on the North Side to City Hall. There, a young girl played inside of it, giving a graphic picture of how children accidentally get locked into iceboxes. Then, a bill was presented at City Hall for transportation costs. In subsequent demonstrations, bills will be presented for all slum clearance work performed on the project including garbage removal and the proposed demolition of a building which the city condemned 14 months ago.

Presently 22 buildings are on rent strike. Landlords have started to make repairs in five buildings.

Our program is led by 30 Task Force workers working out of three community centers. At one of these centers a program of literacy training for children, teenagers and adults has been launched. Instruction on Negro history and the civil rights movement is taking place at all three centers.

* * *

A fair employment agreement negotiated with 14 employers and covering 22 department and drygoods stores in Sacramento, California has been termed "historic" by both daily newspapers.

The Union points out that "the negotiations were initiated by CORE, headed by Aubrey Hammond, president."

THE WIDOW OF A SLAIN RIGHTS WORKER...



... Rita Schwerner, reads to Negro children in CORE's community center in Meridian, Mississippi. Hopefully, before too long, she will be doing this and other community center tasks in a brand-new building constructed to memorialize her husband, Michael, James Chaney and Andrew Goodman, who were murdered on June 21 near Philadelphia, Mississippi. She has worked at the center since January and, following her husband's death, she has been named a CORE field secretary.

Albert Mayer and Paul Willen, architects and Frederick Rose, builder, together with Jackie Robinson have agreed to head the sponsorship of the new center. The National Council of Churches will help.

The center will include facilities for a pre-school childrens' day care program, an expanded library, a sewing room, game room, workshop and offices.

GET FLORIDA CITY TO ADOPT FAIR HIRING POLICY

For about 10 years there have been attempts by civic groups to get the city of Gainesville, Florida, to adopt a fair system of hiring its some 800 employees. This demand has been won as a result of action by Gainesville CORE.

Following an investigation by the CORE group which demonstrated anti-Negro discrimination in city hiring and a "spoils" system of promotion, a CORE spokesman met with the city commissioners. He was told that it would be three years before the commission even would consider the issue.

So the entire membership of Gainesville CORE attended a city commission meeting, submitted the findings of its investigation and said they were ready to go into action on the issue.

"Apparently the response of the

CORE group that direct action would ensue if the city did not show immediate good faith produced these really startling results," reports CORE Task Force Worker Judy Benninger. "The City Council agreed to set up a central personnel office, to post job vacancies and qualifications and to establish a merit system of hiring."

Gainesville CORE now is soliciting Negro applicants in preparation for ensuring enforcement of the new policy adopted by the City Council."

At the height of the controversy, Mayor Howard McKinney publicly referred to members of the CORE group as "Communist dupes." However, following a joint protest from CORE, the NAACP Youth Council and the Student Group for Equal Rights, the mayor denied that his remarks had been directed against CORE.

FREE NINE FREEDOM RIDER-CLERGYMEN WHO CHOSE JAIL

Nine ministers and rabbis arrested during CORE's 1961 interfaith, interracial Freedom Ride for trying to desegregate the Tallahassee airport restaurant, were freed on August 6 after serving 4 days of a 60-day sentence. Having lost their appeals, they had surrendered to go to jail rather than pay \$500 fines.

After four days, Judge John Rudd signed an order remitting the balance of the sentence. Their attorney, Howard Dixon, attributed the judge's action to "a realization by city officials that they were gathering a harvest of ill will throughout the country because of the treatment of the clergymen."

The nine are Rev. Robert Brown, Rev. John Collier, Rabbi Israel Dresner, Rabbi Martin Freedman, Rev. Arthur Hardge, Rev. Wayne Hartmire, Jr., Rev. Petty McKinney, Rev. Robert Stone and Rev. A. McRaven Warner.

The airport restaurant became desegregated soon after the Freedom Ride following negotiations between CORE and the Union News Co.

ADOPT A RIGHTS WORKER!

So that the Summer Freedom Program in the deep south can continue after the participating students return to school, more civil rights workers are needed now.

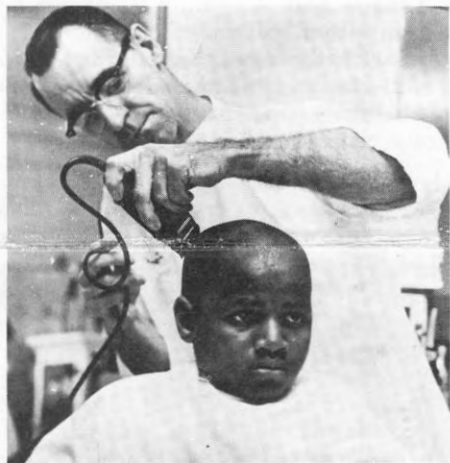
CORE will engage some, but CORE cannot possibly finance the hiring of a sufficient number to carry on the program. Hence, CORE is hereby appealing to its chapters, to unions, to churches and to other civic organizations to ADOPT A CIVIL RIGHTS WORKER. The cost, for an entire year, is only \$1300, which includes subsistence. Groups willing to adopt a civil rights worker should contact the CORE office as soon as possible.

Candidates Apply Now!

Candidates for these civil rights workers' jobs should send in their applications now either to the CORE national office (38 Park Row, New York, N. Y.) or to the CORE southern office (2211 Dryades, New Orleans, La.). Preferably, they should be southern Negroes, and, preferably, they should be experienced in teaching and group work. However, these are not prerequisites. The main qualification is wholehearted devotion to the civil rights cause.

UTILIZE PLACES OPENED BY LAW

One minute after the President had signed the civil rights bill, Gene Young, a 13-year-old CORE convention delegate from Mississippi, entered the Hotel Muehlebach barbershop in Kansas City for a haircut. When he was refused, other convention delegates sat-in, forcing the shop to close. Next day, Young got his haircut as did several other Negro delegates.



This was the first test of the law and the start of CORE's nationwide action program to utilize the hotels, restaurants, theaters and other public accommodations opened under the law's provisions. "We cannot allow resistance to build up as occurred in the 1954 school cases," says a testing form sent to all affiliates. "CORE groups can and should begin immediate attempts to utilize the facilities newly opened by law." CORE National Director James Farmer emphasized: "It is not enough to merely test once or twice. It is necessary to patronize newly opened public accommodations regularly so that owners, employees and customers can become accustomed to desegregation and fully accept it."

Testing started as the CORE convention delegates left Kansas City for their homes. CORE National Chairman Floyd McKissick, on his way back to Durham, North Carolina, was refused admittance at two motels in Clarksdale, Mississippi and filed complaints under the law. A national NAACP deputation touring the state refrained from testing in Clarksdale, but its members were accommodated without incident in Jackson and Meridian.

Public facilities were tested and found to be generally complying not only in Jackson but also in Birmingham, Danville, Albany, St. Augustine and other cities which have been the sites of major civil rights demonstrations over the past two years. In

REJECT GOLDWATER! . . .



. . . is the message of these pickets, led by CORE National Director James Farmer, at the Republican National Convention in San Francisco. Other protest actions on the civil rights issue included a mass march with over 50,000 participants, infiltration of the convention hall by some 200 demonstrators, sit-downs which blocked the exits and a mock funeral complete with coffin for the Republican Party.

CORE demonstrations at the Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City will focus on attempts to unseat the segregationist delegations from Mississippi and Louisiana and to seat the Freedom Delegations in their place.

many smaller communities such as Americus, Georgia, Quincy, Florida, and Greenwood, Mississippi testers were served but then attacked by gangs of white youths. In Greenwood, FBI agents arrested three whites for assaulting two Negroes who had attended a local movie theater.

In some rural communities such as Jonesboro, Louisiana, segregation remains 100% in force and CORE testers have been arrested. In Monroe, Louisiana, 22 Negroes were arrested for attempting to use the municipal

library, but no arrests were made in privately-run public accommodations, although 40% of them refuse service to Negroes. But in New Roads, Louisiana, tests showed that the library and all public buildings had desegregated. However, in one restaurant CORE testers were charged \$20 for a hamburger. They got a receipt and have turned it over to the Justice Department with a formal complaint. The Louisiana testing is proceeding in conjunction with CORE's voter registration campaign in that state.

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