

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE



Bay Area Friends of The

M FDP Congressional Challenge of All Mississippi Representatives - and SNCC Campaign

At the Regional SNCC Conference in San Francisco November 14-15 discussion of possibilities of reducing Mississippi's representation in the House of Representatives via enforcement of the Fourteenth Amendment Section 2 was enthusiastically received, and we have now received details from Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party and National SNCC on the specific congressional challenge which FDP will make to the seating of ALL the Mississippi representatives on the grounds that Negroes were unconstitutionally denied the right to vote in the primary and general elections of 1964.

FDP will challenge and contest the seats of all the Mississippi representatives pursuant to Title 2, United States Code, Sections 201 through 226. This statutory challenge was filed by giving notice in writing to the Mississippi members of the House and members-elect on December 3, 1964. Under these statutory provisions relating to contested elections, all those served must answer the notice, either admitting or denying the facts alleged by FDP, and serve a copy of the answer upon the contestant within 30 days.

The statute provides that in all contested election cases there shall be ninety days allowed for taking testimony. This testimony may be taken at two or more places at the same time.

The testimony will be taken in Mississippi in January and February and Friends of SNCC groups should give publicity to the challenge and urge public figures to go to Mississippi for taking of testimony on the denial to all but a token number of Negro citizens of Mississippi of the right to vote for representatives in 1964.

Before the testimony begins however, a resolution will be introduced in the House of Representatives on the opening day of Congress, January 4, 1965, asking that the challenged Mississippi members not be seated or sworn in until the House rules on the election contest after all of the evidence is in.

Northern Friends of SNCC groups must begin immediately to make appointments with their congressmen in each district

over the Christmas holidays, circulate petitions to the constituents of each congressman asking the congressman to support the resolution and the challenge, form delegations of citizens to see the congressman personally and urge him to support the resolution delaying the seating and swearing in of the Mississippi representatives.

The grounds of challenge in this case are so fundamental, and the figures of the Mississippi FDP's election so clearly indicative of the flagrant denial of the vote to Mississippi's Negroes, that those claiming seats in the House of Representatives from Mississippi on the basis of the 1964 elections should not be allowed to sit pending the outcome of the congressional challenge.

A fact sheet on the statutory challenge and information on the resolution to delay the seating of the Mississippi representatives on opening day of Congress will be available at each of the West Coast Friends of SNCC offices. Friends of SNCC groups should call public meetings to explain, dramatize and publicize the congressional challenge and the resolution not to seat the Mississippi representatives. As many members of each community as possible should become informed and write or visit the congressmen in addition to the SNCC delegations.

Returned summer volunteers should accompany SNCC delegations and other groups to visit the congressmen. A list of the California congressmen, by district and party follows:

5 Burton (D); 7 Cohelan (D); 9 Edwards (D); 18 Hagen (D); 34 Hanna (D); 2 Johnson (D); 4 Leggett (D); 15 McFall (D); 8 Miller (D); 3 Moss (D); 16 Sisk (D); 37 Van Deerlin (D); 14 Baldwin (R); 1 Clausen (R); 6 Mailliard (R); 38 Martin (R); 12 Talcott (R); 13 Teague (R); 35 Utt (R); 36 Wilson (R); 11 Younger (R). All of the above except for Martin, Utt and Wilson voted for the passage of the Civil Rights Bill of 1964. To all those congressmen who voted for the Civil Rights Bill it should be pointed out that the seating of Mississippi representatives is inconsistent with the 14th and 15th Amendments and the Civil Rights Bill. **NEXT PAGE**

LOCAL AFFAIRS

● In the East Bay, a group of musicians is presenting five evenings of chamber music. Each concert will be devoted to different aspects of the chamber music repertoire. The first concert of sonatas and ensemble music for flute, cello and clarinet will be performed by Lucia Yates (flute), Phyllis Luckman (cello), Eugene Turitz (clarinet) and (pianists) Jean Margen, Sharon Polk and Claire Shallit. It will take place on Saturday, January 23, at the home of Jean and Sheldon Margen, 1521 Hawthorne Terrace, Berkeley (turn left 4 blocks east of Oxford on Cedar). Guests are invited to arrive at 8:00 p.m. Refreshments will be served and the program begins at 8:15 promptly.

The concerts will benefit SNCC, donations are from \$1.00 to \$25.00 for each.

The following four Saturday evening concerts in the series will take place **February 20** - string quartets and duos for strings, flute and bassoon - at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Luckman, 668 Fairmount Ave., Oakland;

March 20 - trios for violin, cello and piano - at the home of Ephraim & Barbara Kahn, 2709 Claremont Blvd., Berkeley;

April 17 - ensemble music for flute and strings and woodwind quintet - at the home of Mr. & Mrs. Robert Sicular, 842 Mendocino, Berkeley;

May 29 - a recital of violin sonatas - at the home of Justin Shapiro, 39 Domingo, Berkeley.

For information and reservations, call the East Bay Friends of SNCC, 655-9545 or Phyllis Luckman, 652-9821.

● In the Mid-Peninsula, beginning with the New Year, all people will be personally contacted by the newly established Friends of SNCC chapter, from new headquarters at 180 University Avenue in Palo Alto.

● Regionally representatives from the local Friends of SNCC to the Newsletter committee will meet early in 1965. Watch the inter-office MEMO for meeting date. In the meantime local chapters might consider suggestions for improving the Newsletter. Suggested so far: each representative take on the assignment of reading a southern newspaper or national periodical and abstracting or reviewing civil rights items for the Newsletter.

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Reference materials for study: 1961 United States Commission on Civil Rights Report on Voting, tables on Mississippi by counties, pp. 272-277; 1963 U. S. Commission on Civil Rights Report, statistics on Mississippi voter registration, p.34 and list of suits filed by United States Department of Justice in Mississippi on discriminatory registration and election practices, under 42 United States Code Section 1961(a), pp. 43-49. Also pertinent:

The United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit took judicial notice of the fact that "Mississippi has a steel-hard inflexible, undeviating official policy of segregation" in U.S. v. City of Jackson, 318 F. 2d 1 (1963).

ELECTION RESULTS IN THE SOUTH ANALYZED

On November 15 the Southern Regional Council released a report on "What Happened in the South?" in this year's election, giving figures on the number of Negro registered voters and the impact they had on the election results nationally and locally. The Council's Voter Education Project has been working for the past two years, in cooperation with civil rights groups, to accelerate Negro registration throughout the eleven southern states.

"The results of this concentrated drive" are pointed up in the report by noting that "Between 1952 and 1962, Negro registration increased from 1,008,614 to only 1,386,654. From 1962 to Fall, 1964, it rose to 2,164,200." Spread over the entire South, this increase in the actual number of Negro voters registered is not world-shaking. But the contrast of a 56 percent jump in two years with a 37 percent "normal rate of increase" over a span of ten years is striking.

The report states that this increased Negro vote "was responsible for election of many local and state office holders ... including some Negroes. The latter included two justices of the peace, a member of the school board and a member of the county board of revenue in Macon County, Alabama; a second Negro senator in Georgia, in a district where the majority of voters are white; a member of the state House of Representatives and a county judge in Shelby County, Tennessee. It was responsible also for adoption of a constitutional amendment in Arkansas which sets up a permanent voter registration system for the first time, and eliminates the poll tax in all elections, not just federal elections as required by the Twenty-Fourth Amendment."

In Alabama and Mississippi, where "only relatively small gains were made" in the number of Negroes who went to the polls, the report reveals there were

political upsets that may have repercussions beyond state lines. "In Alabama ... voters were not able to vote for the Democratic (presidential) candidate, but chose between the Republican candidate and a slate of unpledged electors controlled by Governor George Wallace. Governor Wallace was left with the Alabama Democrats in the shambles of a Republican sweep which, in the election of five freshmen Republican congressmen, destroyed nearly a century of seniority for three conservative Democratic congressmen, and put the GOP in charge of ten county courthouses. Probably only in his battles against school desegregation has Governor Wallace served better the cause he was against."

In Mississippi, the report continues, the "U.S. House victory of a conservative Republican unseated one of the Democrats' ultra-conservatives of long-standing Representative W. Arthur Winstead (opposed by Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer in the Freedom Party campaign,) an irony repeated in several of the southern upsets."

From these and other election results reported, the Southern Regional Council makes a few general observations:

"1. Effective Negro registration and participation in elections is the best assurance that race will be eliminated as a politically profitable issue, ... and that all the southern states will be freed from the threat of demagogic appeals to racism.

2. Continued efforts to achieve the basic constitutional right of the ballot for Negroes is essential in all eleven states, and is most notably needed in those two states where the Negro electorate is most restricted. (Alabama & Mississippi.) This is not for the advantage of any one political party over the other, but necessary for healthful self-government in the South and the nation.

4. In the pragmatic terms of politics, Democrats and the nation's majority owe a greater debt to the Negro electorate in the South than has so far been acknowledged..."

Freedom is a crime in Mississippi

Since the beginning of October, eight people have been arrested in Belzoni, Mississippi, for Criminal Syndicalism, with bail set at \$1,000 each.

The Criminal Syndicalism bill was passed by the Mississippi legislature in the spring, along with other bills designed to thwart the Summer Project. Now that national attention is somewhat averted from the state and the program that grew out of the Summer Project, the local police are using the bills passed in the spring, to intimidate local people and workers involved in the movement.

West Coast Conference -- OVER 750 CONVENE

SNCC's first westcoast conference, held on November 14-15 in San Francisco, drew over 750 people into a weekend of discussion and program planning.

Bob Moses, SNCC staff worker and director of the Mississippi Freedom Project, was the center of the conference, serving as the main speaker, panelist and resource person. Among local figures who participated in conference workshops were Assemblymen Willie Brown and Mervyn Dymally; political analyst Hal Dunleavy; jazz columnist Ralph Gleason; attorneys Peter Franck, Joe Grodins, Jim Herndon and Ed Stern; fund-raiser Lou Stein; political leader Nancy Swadish; businessmen Hal Light and Gus Ravetz; and community leaders Sue Bierman and Naomi Lauter.

Moses spoke of the freedom movement in Mississippi as an avenue for people "to determine their own lives." He described how Freedom schools and the Freedom Democratic Party are giving people the organizational means to do this — and "the sense of community" that is growing out of their participation.

On the possibility of organizational allies, Moses asked, "What group can Negroes ally with?" Organized labor, the group usually named in answer to this question, he challenged as "part of the establishment" and only concerned with its own members, not giving any concern to people who are not working.

A panel of lawyers, including former Justice Department Attorney Thelton Henderson, Ann Ginger, Fay Stender and law student Al Katz, was critical of the Federal Government's handling of civil rights in the South. They agreed that legislation exists, and was already on the books before the recently enacted Civil Rights Law, to provide protection for civil rights workers and local Negro citizens who are active in the movement.

The conference concluded with consideration of a Negro-white alliance developing in the South. The Populist Movement, which in the 1880's and '90's had shown promise of nurturing such an alliance into a powerful force in southern politics, served as the background for this panel discussion.

The next Newsletter will carry detailed reports of the conference discussions and Bob Moses' observations. In the meantime, workshop papers, along with information on SNCC activities, are available from the Bay Area Regional office: 584 Page Street, S.F. (MA 6-5129).



Send your **Blue Chip Stamps**, being collected in a drive to get autos and trucks for the Mississippi Project, to **BOX 210, MILL VALLEY**

THREE VIEWS OF MISSISSIPPI ● ● ●

(Interviewed by a young New Zealander, Florence Jones, in Gulfport)

A FRENCH JOURNALIST

"No, I don't like this country," said a French journalist. "There's something terribly wrong about America. All Americans including the poor, have refused to wake up and face the daylight. They're still asleep, dreaming the American Dream. In this country there are millions of the poor. Now in France there are also millions of the poor; but the poor there know that if there are so many of them poor in a rich country when times are good, then there's something wrong with the system. So they vote to change it — probably vote Communist, or something like that. At any rate, they protest. But the poor people in this country present a pitiful sight: they still believe in the system. They're convinced that if they're not rich, or if their son doesn't grow up to be President, then they've failed personally. Or, if that idea of personal failure is too hard for a poor Southern white to accept, then it's because there's a conspiracy against him, of Communists, Jews, Catholics, Negroes and Damn Yankees. Don't you laugh. That's what he seriously believes. You go and get talking to the crowd of poor whites round any country store in any part of this state, and you'll hear somebody swearing to Almighty God that Mississippi is being ruined by Lyndon Johnson, Martin Luther King and Khrushchev. And these same poor crazy brainwashed people keep on voting for the likes of Ross Barnett to preserve their state from the Communist invasion!" There they are living on beans and grits in a shack with one window and voting to keep the cotton magnates in office!"

A SOUTHERN LIBERAL

"Well, how do you Civil Rights workers find the Gulf Coast?" said one of those rare men, a native-born white Mississippian who is a liberal. "I imagine you find it much easier to work here than in the Delta. No Negro has ever been forced away from the poll at gunpoint in this town, and some white employers have even encouraged their Nigrus to vote, so long as they vote for the candidate they're told to vote for. Quite traditional here, you know, for a candidate to buy up a few thousand votes, and the Nigrus can do with the money as well as anybody else. Of course the money's taken away from them ten times over, as soon as their candidate gets in to office. No sheriff in this town retires with less than a fortune: he spends a few hundred dollars to get himself in,

and his salary's not so high. So how does he make the money but by graft, and mostly it's the Nigrus who pay him off. This is a dry state, you know. Very fortunate for the administration. Sometimes they close down the colored nightclubs and bars and leave the white bars open, just for spite. Another time the mere threat to do that gets the right sort of money from the bar-owner. Maybe slavery is over, but the Nigrus are still being bought and sold. In fact, they buy and sell each other. And, you know, there are shops in this town which refuse to comply with the Civil Rights law — still won't serve Nigrus at the lunchcounter — and the Nigrus are still buying their goods in that store! I'm glad you people are down here to teach them what their own best interests are.

I guess you've discovered how the Nigrus are scared stiff to demonstrate. Martin Luther King pulls off a miracle every time he gets a sit-in or a wade-in or something of that order down here in the South, and you can't over-estimate the importance of leadership in the Civil Rights Movement. Now the people in this town are too scared even to try to find out whether a number of these hotels and restaurants along the beach are open to them. I know myself of quite a few white businessmen along the Coast for whom the Civil Rights Bill was a god-send: they wanted to integrate their clientele, and they dared not have said such a thing in public or they'd have been ostracized by the whole town. But the Government has now obliged them to admit Nigrus, and secretly, they couldn't be more grateful. Only, since the Bill was passed no Nigruh has appeared wanting to be served. They're too scared. This is a liberal town, as towns in Mississippi go, and they know it, and yet they've been held down and knocked about for so many centuries, that when the opportunity comes to assert something like equality, most of them would miss out on it.

Now you can help them to see all this, and I can't. If I were so much as to show myself on the street in the Nigruh ghetto over the railroad track, the Uncle Toms would make sure that the white community knew about this, and my friends would start to eye me, and pretty soon, if I made a habit of it, I'd have no business left.

You might think that the Nigruh has a hard time of it, and so he has: poor living conditions, poor education, poor everything. But his chief grievance is that he doesn't have Freedom; and I tell you that the liberal white in this state has less freedom than he. If I were to come out with my true sentiments in public, I'd have to arm myself to the teeth, and even then I wouldn't be safe sleeping in my own house at night. The

Klan's more anxious to keep me toeing the line than it is to keep the Nigruh down. Now I may despise the Klan, because the rank and file are ignoramuses, but I can't afford to despise the White Citizens Council which is a perfectly respectable body of citizens doing the same job by more subtle means. That White Citizens Council represents the prevailing sentiment in this town, and public sentiment won't tolerate any deviation. James Silver was quite right to call his book on Mississippi "The Closed Society".

Things have reached such a stage here that not only 'Socialist' but also 'Liberal' and 'Moderate' have become dirty words. One of the newspapers the other day indicted a Southern senator for what it called "the worst form of Moderation"! And where semantics have gone haywire, you can be sure that the mentality of the community has gone haywire too. If any single person was so fanatically opposed to change as is the state of Mississippi, he'd be recognized as a pathological case.

So I'm asking you, when you've come down here to work for the Nigruh people who invited you to help them, to remember that there's just as much to be done for the whites who didn't ask you, and even abuse you for coming. You must tell the Nigrus that the whites, in denying them Freedom, have lost it for themselves also, and their only chance now is that the Nigruh, when he wins his freedom, will have learned this lesson from the past and will be magnanimous.'

A NATIVE SON RETURNED

(Newsweek Associate Editor Frank Trippett, born and raised in Aberdeen, Mississippi, returned after five years to report on his home state. These are his words, excerpted from Newsweek.)

Everywhere in Mississippi the economic overtones of white supremacy are as audible as they are insistent ('Now, my neighbor's maid,' says a Sunday-school teacher, 'gets \$15 a week, but of course that's for seven days').

The Baptists put up their first church in Mississippi in 1791 and led all other fundamentalist denominations in providing the theological myths that prop up the racial mythology. In Jackson, I heard that the Citizens Councils these days were helping the schoolteachers of Mississippi explain God's policy to third and fourth-graders by giving them this script to read:

"We do not believe that God wants us to live together. Negro people like to live by themselves. Negroes use their own bathrooms. They do not use white people's bathrooms. The Negro has his

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A Native Son CONTINUED

own part of town to live in. This is called our Southern Way of Life.'

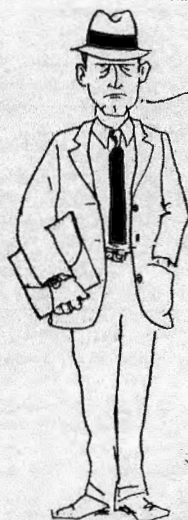
Methodically, resourcefully, and willfully, white Mississippi has subdued the black man. And now, at last, the black man dominates the white. Even in the subjugation that continues, the Mississippi Negro dominates the thoughts, the emotions, the politics, the conscience of the white man. By his presence he dominates the economy. By his plight he dominates the present. And by America's insistence on altering that plight he dominates the future.

Just as it once took the Federal government to free the slaves, and will take it again to free the Mississippi black from subjugation, so in all likelihood will it take the Federal government to free the Mississippi white man from his self-imprisonment. So be it. Mississippi was not without eyes to see it coming. As they themselves say of so many victims of violence: they are asking for it.

Volunteers for Mississippi still needed

Volunteers willing to go to the south for a minimum of two months to work in Freedom Schools, Voter Registration, Community Centers and research Projects are urged to apply for the Mississippi Freedom Project. Applications are available from local Friends of SNCC groups or from the SNCC regional office, 584 Page Street, San Francisco.

Scenes of the South



WELL, MURDER
IN THIS CASE
IS A LOCAL MATTER.
WOULD YOU LIKE
TO CONTEND THAT
THE SHERIFF
DENIED THIS NEGRO
SOME CIVIL RIGHT
IN KILLING HIM?

J. EDGAR STANDBY
(FEDERAL OFFICER)

DOCTORS WHO PRESCRIBE FOR FREEDOM

The Medical Committee for Human Rights (MCHR) was established in response to a request from COFO in New York City on June 27, 1964. At that time it consisted of a small group of prominent doctors from that city. Since July the Committee's office has served as an administrative center to channel doctors from all over the country who wish to go to Mississippi. By the first of September, a total of 98 medical personnel had worked for short periods on a rotating basis in the Summer Project.

Because the medical staff is not licensed to practice in the state, its contribution consists primarily of advice and moral support. One of the most important goals has been to achieve a "medical presence in behalf of the civil rights movement" in Mississippi. Through their mere "presence," the doctors influence local white doctors, reminding them of their responsibilities as fellow practitioners of the Hippocratic Oath. In addition, Mississippi's 57 Negro physicians — the total number in the state, according to the MCHR — have been contacted and have offered assistance in the care of COFO workers.

The MCHR is also interested in the establishment of an efficient public health program in Mississippi to improve: (1) immunization services, including diphtheria, anti-toxin and typhoid; (2) child care, both prenatal and postnatal; (3) personal health including sanitation, plumbing, sexual education, family planning and contraception; (4) the health of COFO workers and (5) surveys — two currently in preparation concern the lack of nutrition of Mississippians and of the COFO workers themselves. The MCHR feels that the COFO staff and volunteers are its "main concern," as Dr. Robert Axelrod of Detroit has stated, and that "the only resource COFO has is its people."

Doctors function in various ways in local projects. For example, the Canton COFO office reported that the presence of an MCHR doctor, as a sympathetic professional person, gave some reassurance to seven Negro students who attempted to enroll in a previously white school, when he accompanied them to the school. Another did the same thing in Clarksdale.

The MCHR has established itself in seven communities in Mississippi: Canton, Clarksdale, Greenwood, Hattiesburg, Meridian, Jackson and McComb. Its personnel work on a rotating team basis for about a week at a time, at which time a new medical staff arrives from the north and the previous group leaves. They represent many fields of specialization. In the week of August 31, there were two psychiatrists, two pediatricians, an intern, a dermatologist, an orthopedic surgeon, a cardiologist and three registered nurses. About this same number is present in the state each week.

Each individual doctor arranges with the MCHR in New York for his time in Mississippi, taking leave from his practice (it is not a vacation — as Dr. Axelrod said, "Who wants to take his vacation in Mississippi?") and paying his own way. The full and parttime employees of the New York office are also financed by contributions from individual doctors.

The most serious problems the MCHR personnel face in Mississippi are the lack of drugs (such as vitamins, salt tablets, aspirin, etc.) and the difficulty of arranging adequate care for indigent local citizens. There is also need for facilities, such as ambulances, to meet medical emergencies.

The MCHR is developing a Rest and Recreation program for overworked and mentally strained COFO workers who have been in the field for extensive periods of time without adequate food, hygiene or rest. The MCHR is also considering the establishment of a comprehensive health insurance plan for COFO workers. A thorough physical examination rendered to about 245 staff and volunteers is serving as a guide to future medical aid for COFO workers.

The National Medical Association is trying to find a way for the doctors of the MCHR to obtain reciprocal privileges in order to practice medicine in Mississippi. The MCHR is committed to continue its work in the state as long as COFO continues there. Many doctors throughout the country have been informed of its work and "several hundred" more doctors have applied to the Committee's office for a period of practice in Mississippi.

FRIENDS OF SNCC IN YOUR AREA



Bay Area SNCC
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MARIN COUNTY	388-1770
SAN JOSE	251-6372
STANFORD	321-5638
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