

The SNCC Conference calls upon students all over the U. S. to move on Election Day, November 8, 1960. Three political points must be made: (1) We demand immediate action on civil rights from the victorious candidates. This action should embrace the re-commendations of Section III of the 1957 Civil Rights Act. (2) We demand that the right to vote be assured and protected by the Federal Government, through appropriate Legislation. (3) We demand that Rule 22 of the Senate be changed so that civil rights legislation will not be blocked by filibustering.

THE DEMONSTRATIONS SHOULD OCCUR ON THE AFTERNOON OF ELECTION DAY (4 P.M. your time) and should continue until the polls close. They should involve a march to the central polling place, State Capitols, Court Houses, and City Halls. Pre-demonstration meetings are urged - to analyze the situation and make plans for covering your area.

While recognizing the fact that the great strength of the movement will remain on the local level, we are convinced of the necessity of all areas joining in the campaign to secure civil rights. We hope that ALL students and many adults will recognize this and join, on NOVEMBER 8th, the march for freedom and human dignity for all Americans.

CONFERENCE

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee Conference on "Nonviolence and the Achievement of Desegregation" was held on the campuses of the Atlanta University Center, October 14-16, 1960. This was the sec ond Southwide conference of students who are participating in the movement.

There to welcome some 300 persons from all over the nation were members of the Coordinating Committee and members of the host - the Atlanta Committee on the Appeal for Human Rights. Marion S. Barry, Jr. of Tennessee is chairman of SNCC; Lonnie C. King, Jr., chairman of the Atlanta group.

Highlighting the conference were discussions and speeches by great leaders in civil rights and human relations. Among these were Dr. Martin L. King, Jr., Ella J. Baker, James Lawson, Marion Wright of the Southern Regional Council, Lewis W. Jones of Tuskeegee, William Stuart Nelson of Ho-ward, Richard B. Gregg, and author Lillian Smith of Georgia.

84 observers from all over the nation were in attendance; 40 of these were from

and the District of Columbia. This represented a total of 46 protest centers.

Southern schools present were: Alabama A & M, Stillman, Talladega, Tuskeegee, Ark ansas A M & N, Philander Smith, Bethune-Cookman, Florida A & M; Stetson, Clark, Fort Valley State, ITC, Morehouse, Morris Brown, Spelman, Paine; Savannah State; Dillard, Loyola; McNeese, Maryland State, Morgan State, Univ. of Maryland; Tougaloo, N.C. A & T, Barber-Scotia, Duke, Johnson C. Smith, Livingstone, Shaw, Claflin, Friendship Junior, S. C. Etate, Morris, American Bartist Seminary, Fisk Knowyille, Lane Baptist Seminary, Fisk, Knoxville, Lane, Le Moyne, MeHarry, Tenn. State, Bishop, Wiley, Univ. of Texas, Hampton, Va. Union, Va. State, Univ. of Va., Howard, and George Washington University.

This is the drama from October 19 until... Ll A.M. Wednesday-75 students, from 5 colleges in the Atlanta University Center, went into 8 downtown stores and "sat in". They were participating in an all-out protest instigated by the Atlanta Committee on the Appeal for Human Rights, formed last year.

11:30 - 6 were arrested at the entrance to the Magnolia Room of Richs Department Store, Atlanta's largest.

11:40 - 2 were arrested at the entrance to the Cockerel Grill, Richs basement.

1:15 - 3 students and Dr. King were ar-rested at the Magnolia Room entrance.

1:45 - 3 students were arrested at the Barbecue Grill, Richs sub-basement.

2:00 - 19 students were arrested at the entrance to the Magnolia Room.

'2:30 - 13 students were arrested same place.

2:40 - 2 students were arrested at the

Cockerel Grill entrance. Many of these had left seats in Davisons, Woolworths, Kress, McCrorys, Grants, Newberrys, and H. L. Greens. There, all the nonsouthern colleges; 44 from organizations J counters had been closed within seconds 138 students came from 14 Southern states and ropes put around the students. When word came of the arrest of Lonnie King, chairman and of Dr. Martin L. King, Jr., the students went to Riches ... and were arrested. At 2:30 and 4:30, they were tried in city court. 36 were sent to Fulton Tower, on \$500 bond, charged with the violation of the Ga. Anti-Trespass Law. 13 were released since the Magnolia Room had already been closed when they arrived. 10:30 A.H. Thursday-Hundreds of students entered 16 downtown stores. Counters were closed and 26 were arrested. 22 of these were charged with loafing and disturbance in the Terminal Station and were sent to the city prison farm for 10 days. 3, arrested for trespass in the Terminal Station lunch counter, were sent to Fulton Tower. (continued p. 2)

ACROSS THE EDITORS DESK

The sick South symbolizes the sick world. Men are full of fear because their world is trembling. They have no place to stand. This is why nonviolence has real healing potential. It says that the only "place to stand" is in relation. To what? To the self and the other. Nonviolence says that each person has personhood, that each of us is capable of entering into relation.

Consequently, nonviolence refuses to manipulate. It refuses to regard persons as things, as "its". If we lose sight of this basic concept of nonviolence, no matter how nonviolent our external tactics remain, we will lose the ultimate potential of the student movement. For, without this commitment to the validity of the other person,

the movement will become an institution and the persons will become things.

But, we say, somebody is going to manipulate and to capitalize on the movement. Therefore, we seek to do it ourselves, being convinced that "we" are right. Let us all know that there is a great difference between active concern and the attempt to make the movement what it ought to be". The danger of manipulation can be removed only when our active concern takes the form of concern for the individual person involved - the student and the segregationist. These people have names, and, though coming together they form great forces, they remain people. They, and we all, must so remain. To retain personhood will be the hardest battle of all...in a world where a mass movement is necessary to save the South and America. But the South and America will not be worth saving unless there are persons, real selves, left to live there. This retaining and creating of personhood is the great and final goal of the student movement. It will be reached IF the students and IF all persons involved truly understand and follow the concept of nonviolence.

The most immediate threat to personhood is organization. This is essential to the movement now. But organizations are totally vulnerable to institutionalization and to "thingness". The movement is more than a social force, a nameless entity. It is

people sitting, people standing, people waiting, people giving, people hoping. It can be a vision of the self into the self and an acceptance of the other.

We quote from Martin Buber's I and Thou: "This is part of the basic truth of the human world, that only IT can be arranged in order. Only when things, from being THOU, become IT, can they be coordinated. The THOU knows no system of coordination...THOU establishes relation". Let us watch that we do not miss the real potential of the student movement, or shall we say, the students moving...in commitment to nonviolence. The longing of the South, the North, the students, the world is a place to stand. Nonviolence says...stand in relation.

THE ATLANTA STORY (continued) 10:30 A.M. Friday-Students continued the picket lines around these stores. 2 were arrested at the Lane Drug Co. and were sent to Fulton Tower.

Same Night - 41 persons were in the Tower, refusing bail, and 22 were on the prison farm.

Saturday - Students were off the streets. The Ku Klux Klan picketed instead. The mayor had had the 22 under city charges released. Richs had dropped charges and the Fulton Tower prisoners were out. The students had agreed to a 30-day truce during which time Mayor Hartsfield will negotiate with store managers in the attempt to arrive at an "ultimate solution".

THE THIRTY DAY TRUCE IS ON! You are urged to write letters of support to Mr. Lonnie C. King, Jr., chairman of the Atlanta student committee, 1972 Auburn Ave., N. E., Atlanta 3. You are asked to write to Mayor William Hartsfield pressing him to fulfill his terms of the truce as the students are doing.

Orangeburg

October 20 - another drama was taking place to the north of Atlanta when Chuck McDew, student at South Carolina State, and member of the Coordinating Committee, led five other students into Kress of Orangeburg. Ther refused to leave...and were arrested for brespassing and jailed under \$100 bond.

Minutes later, at the Orangeburg City Jail, over 100 students marched in protest of the action by the city, and in support of the students. Orangeburg resorted to its usual method and brought out the fire hose to break up the students who were singing in front of the jail.

It looked like a recurrence of Black Friday in Orangeburg when, on March 15, last Spring, 318 were protesting and 249 arrested.

October 24 - the 6 students were released. They wait again to be tried. You are asked to write, supporting S. C. State and Claflin students: c/o Mr. Charles McDew, S. C. State College, Orangeburg, South Carolina.

** Students outside the South and in areas where lunchcounters have been desegregated are asked to picket the following stores under a MAKE TRUE THE TRUCE . . . FREE THE SOUTH! campaign: Woolworths, Kress, McCrory, Grant, H. L. Green, Newberrys, Lane Rexall Drug Company, and Walgreen Drug Company.

This sympathy campaign will apply specifically to Orangeburg and Atlanta but will be a continuation of the sympathy demonstrations against a segregated society.

DR. KING ISIN - DEKALB COUNTY JAIL

PARKER STILL JAILED

Richard Parker, student at Florida State University, sits in the Duval County Jail, Jacksonville, Fla. with a broken jaw and without 25 lbs..lost because he could not eat solid food. He is serving a 90 day sentence, charged with inciting the Jacksonville riot of Aug. 27. Parker was the only white student to join the Aug. 25-26 sit-ins in Jacksonville, but was arrested while sitting alone, 3 days later, in a white restumrant! Write to Parker and to his Dean, Dr. R. R. Oglesby, Florida State

University, Tallahassee, Fla. trial of Dr. Martin L. Ming, Or.

SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS: SNCC thanks Brewster Kneen and Jim Laue for these contributions
and for their deep and continuing concern. Kneen, a senior at Union Theological Seminary in N. Y., has worked for some time with the Fellowship of Reconciliation and recently led one of the workshops in nonviolence at the SNCC conference. Laue, graduate sociologist at Harvard, spent the summer in the South, working with students and with SNCC, getting in and out of jail and recently, helping with the October conference.

"NONVIOLENCE AND VISION" Brewster Kneen

The sit-in movement has developed from a single assertion of man's integrity and love by God to a sweeping drive to end the political, social, and economic exploita-tion of one class by another. The movement The movement has begun a crusade which few dreamed possible-and yet, it may, at any time, fail and be only a spark of hope extinguished.

The threats to it are essentially two. The most obvious is that under aggrevation, violence will come, wiping out the moral force of the movement and discrediting all the real reconciliation it has so far achie ed. The second threat to the movement is short-sightedness, not seeking to reach and maintain an integrity basic to the Christ-ian life and the Way of Love. It is this threat which I wish to emphasize here.

If the sit-in movement, with its hall mark of nonviolence, is to be true to itself, it must not limit itself to reaching selfish end, i.e., improvement of the economic and social conditions of a particular class. It is not wrong to seek a resolution segregation in only a few months seems alto the very severe injustice of segregation but when men take up the way of reconciliation, there are no longer limits to their self-identification; there are no longer simply exploited Negroes; but members of the family of man. Thus, they must seek to improve not only their own status, but they must also seek to resolve those conflicts which separate men from men through

out the world.

Love itself implies concern and responsibility for those loved, and when love takes action, this action must be such that it respects the integrity of the other and accepts its responsibility for the welfare and selfhood of the other: But such love knows no bounds, no class, no nation. Its concern is with the communication of men with men under every condition. Its expression is the resolution of those conflicts which divide men. Thus, the segrega ted Negro in the South bears a responsibility for his exploited Puerto Rican brother in the North. So, too, he bears a respon-sibility not just to man around the world but to future generations, and thus he must insist on and work for an end to nuclear arms and testing. He must see also that his larger class, the United State, has no (continued p. 4)

"SOUTHERN MINISTERS PILCRI AGE"

There are persons in the Southern Church who are deeply concerned about the racial situation in America. On October 25, a large group of Southern students from the seminaries, both North and South, joined Southern ministers in a pilgrimage to Atlanta. Their purpose was prayer and witness - to the evil of segregation and to the integrity of all persons.

The ministers remained in Atlanta for two days in their stand against injustice. They were present for the DeKalb County trial of Dr. Martin L. King, Jr.

> SOCIOLOGY, SIN, AND SNAILS? James Laue

Few who read this column will need convincing that the lunchcounter protest move ment has had an unfathcmable impact on Amerian life. The evidence is everywhere.

At latest count, the number of cities where counters have been desegregated since F Day (Freedom Day, Feb. 1, 1960) was a passing 112. 11 states have been affected; counters will open in some of the 5 deep South holdouts before the first anniversary of F Day, I predict. Thousands of northern students and adults have joined in aympathy and have moved into the fight against discrimination problems in housing and in employment which still smudge the Yankee conscience. These overt evidences need no further elaboration.

From a socio-anthropological point of view, there is no better indicator of the saliance of a cultural event or complex than its expression in the language. The the suffix "in" could have become the by word for nonviolent direct action against most unbelievable to the sociologist who is used to snail-like change in linguistic patterns. That the American public is now immediately able to understand such coinages as "wade in" and "kneel in" is perhaps the best indication of the de facto status of the nonviolent civil rights protest in our culture today.

.Since my return to Cambridge and the cloistered life of a graduate student, after a summer of research and participation in the protest movement, I have been asked by many persons, "Where will the movement go next?" My answer invariably is "kneel ins". This reply has grown from observation as a sociologist and involvement as a human. The lunchcounter sit-ins have appealed to the individual conscience with such success. It is "time"...both sociologically and morally...to start tickling the guilt on the collective conscience. The church as institution appointed to guard America's social souh, holds an overflowing reservoir of guilt about racial and ethnic injustice, reservoir long ready for draining.

The widespread nature of the press attention to the Atlanta kneel-ins of August 7, conducted by SNCC and Atlanta students, is a good gauge of just how heavily this issue rests on the American mind. While

(continued p. 4)

"NONVIOLENCE AND VISION" (cor. 'd, from 3)
no right to exploit the proulations of

other nations through support of such fascist dictatorships as Spain and Formosa. This may mean the end of a concept of "defense" through violence - a concept which is totally contradictory to the way of nonviolence and reconciliation taken up by the American Negro. It is essential

up by the American Negro. It is essential if man is to live with man and not against him.

Having shown their love and responsibility for the antagonist, the participants in the sit—in movement are called to extend their vision and to see the responsibility they bear for all exploited and all exploiters. Will the movement fail as one more expression of one class asserting its rights against another...or will the Negro and his white sympathizer accept the challenge for vision?

the ultimate purpose of such action is the temporal unification of the Christian community, the immediate effect is the calling to American Christians to take a stand on this moral dilemna. The Christian Century of August 24 calls Christian to this stand "... The will of Christ for the races will not be accomplished until Negro Christians and white Christians break bread together on their knees".

A final observation: as a white American (not a "Northern white"), I feel the most important attitude for persons on every side of the geographical, racial, and religious coin is that this is not a movement of any particular group of people against any other group. It is not "black against white"; it is justice against injustice. We must strive to abhor and fight the evil principle, but not its bearer.

AND SMILES. . . A wonderful by-product of the movement has been the constant good humor maintained by students in the face of threatening situations. They tell these:

The waitress told a pair of sit-inners, "I'm sorry, but we don't serve Negroes here." "Oh, we don't eat them either", came back the reply. "We just want a cup of coffee."

Or how about the flustered counter clerk who, when approached by an integrated group in Miami, blurted out, "I'm sorry, we don't serve...er...ah...people here."

-Jim Laue, again.

REPORT FROM THE CFFICE OF SNCC

The following is an outlined condensation of the SNCC office report, given at the October Conference by Edward B. Kings, Jr., administrative secretary of the Committee. After a presentation of the background of the Committee, Mr. King outlined the areas in which SNCC has functioned during the summer:

I. The Committee and Relief: We have supported all activities carried out on the local level throughout the South, endeavoring to supply service to these areas.

A. By contact with expelled students-SNCC worked with the students and with the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students.

 By contact with students involved in litigation - SNCC worked with the students and with the Legal Defense and Education Fund of NAACP.

C. By contact with students active in protest.

II. The Committee and Involvement: Again, supporting activities on the local level, SNCC sought to strengthen the local protest and, thus, the Southwide movement.

A. By encouraging non-protest areas to begin action.

By supporting the action of nonsouthern students.
 By seeking to involve white Southern students.

III. The Committee and Long Range Coordination: Coordination is the basis of all areas in which we have worked. We aimed at organization that would be lasting.

A. Working for the organization of state coordinating committees.

B. Working for national coordination on particular projects.

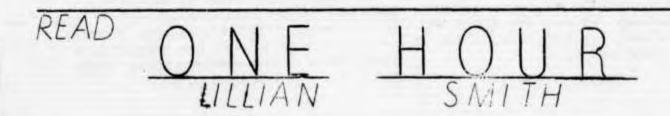
C. Working for permanent civil rights legislation by speaking before the Platform Committees of both major pelitical parties, by letters to Congress, and by demonstrations in Washington.

IV. The Committee and Primary Problems.

A. Lack of cooperation from a few highly autonomous local groups.

- B. Lack of communication across the South, due partly to the fact that many students involved last Spring had been graduated and moved out of the South.
- C. The threat of compromise: groups desiring to capitalize on the movement, or to control it subtly, have caused us to face the danger of forgetting the real goals of the movement. These goals cannot be bought and sold. To compromise the means is to forsake the end. Mr. King warned of this ever-present danger of forgetting the real meaning of nonviolence and the ultimate goals of the student movement the freedom of persons to be persons.

(Condensation of the SNCC OFFICE REPORT, given at the October 14-16 Conference by Mr. Edward B. King, Jr. of SNCC)



ALBATROSS

This summer, Blake Smith, student at Swathmore, conceived of "an intercollegiate magazine of letters written by students to men of influence, which will transform every letter published into a powerful social lever". ALBATROSS is such a magazine and is now a going thing! It is published by Swathmore students, but reflects the ideas and desires of all America.

"...because our minds are knit into a web, the agitation of a few will tremble in all dimensions. Students cannot control they can only communicate; in a Tokyo snake dance, a Nashville sit-in, or a chorus be-hind their printed word". (Sept. Press

Summary of ALBATROSS)

SEND CARBONS OF YOUR PRESSURE LETTERS TO ALBATROSS, Swathmore College, Swathmore Pa. Subscription rates are \$2 for students and \$5 for patrons, for six issues. REMEMBER THE ALBATROSS! SEND OLE CARBONS!

"UNFINISHED REVOLUTION"

SNCC strongly recommends this brilliant, most complete account of the social revolution that is transforming America. UN-FINISHED REVOLUTION, by Tom Kahn, is the outstanding analysis of the movement, its background and implications;

Order from Igor Rogdenko, printer, 36 East Tenth Street, New York 3, N. Y. 50¢ per copy; 35¢ when ordering 100 or more.

MUSIC OF THE MOVEMENT

Guy Carawan, artist of folk music, introduced "We Shall Overcome" to the students This great ballad has become the theme song and Guy, the music man.

Recently released by Folkways is the LP "The Nashville Sit-In Story", conceived and directed by Guy with the Nashville students and ministers. These are the sounds that sweep the South today.

Order: Folkways Records, Album No. FH 5590, 117 West 46th St., New York, N. Y.

THE SITUATION !!

Support has been great. Again, we thank you all. For your interest, we outline very briefly the channels for contributions (1) Scholarship money should go directly to the National Scholarship Service and' Fund for Negro Students, 6 East 86th St., New York, N. Y.

(2) Legal aid money should go directly to the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund 18 West 40th St., New York 18, N. Y.

(3) Money given directly to the students for their conference, SNCC meetings, the newsletters, and office maintenance should be sent to SNCC, 1972 Auburn Avenue, N. E. Atlanta 3, Georgia.

REMEMBER NOVEMBER PAPE & La TAYL

A Midwestern Student Coordinating Committee was formed at the October 8 Seminar on Human Relations held at Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio. The seminar was attended by students from 24 midwestern colleges and universities. Three members from each participating school will serve on the Coordinating Committee.

According to the newsletter of the MNCC, the purpose is "to coordinate all civil rights direct action in the area and to be the center for the collection and dispersal of information about the midwestern area as well as information about Southern schools

and SNCC".

Midwestern colleges not yet members of the Coordinating Committee should contact: KATHLEEN COULBOURNE, NOBLE COTTAGE, CBUHLIN COLLEGE, OBERLIN, CHIO. Action reports and requests for the newsletter, "The Activist" should be sent to that address also.

People on the West coast are doing a great job. There are active groups both on the campuses and in communities. One guy particularly is really working for the coordination out there and for SNCC. TOM ROSE is a voluntary coordinator! He is selling buttons like crazy...and needs help from "sales groups".

The black and white buttons read: "SUPPORT SOUTHERN STUDENTS" and around the edge is "STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING

COMMITTEE".

Persons in the West should contact Tom about projects and all persons interested in buying the buttons, or in handling sales in their areas should write immediately: TOM ROSE, 1438 McAllister St., San Francisco, California.

Plus being a Source of income for the movement, such buttons give one identity

(!) which one does need ...

PLEASE WRITE! 1 ATLANTA, GA: Mayor Wm. Hartsfield, City Hall, supporting his efforts in negotiation.

ORANGEBURG, S.C.: Mayor Fair urging desegregation of lunchcounters there; also to S. H. Kress Co. where the 6 were arrested.

JACKSONVILLE, FLA .: Richard Parker, white student still in fail for "inciting the Jacksonville riot" of August 27; also to Dean R. R. Oglesby of Fla. State Univ. urging him to act to see that Parker gets food while jailed.

SNCC DOES NOT ASK THAT YOU WRITE FOR THE RELEASE OF JAILED STUDENTS, but that you urge stores and city officials to desegregate. We do support Jail versus Bail.