

February 6, 1965

Dear Phil,

So damn much has happened since my last letter I'm not exactly sure where to start. Let me give you some address changes and additions: Bill Boltz should go to 1510 Spruce Street Berkeley, Calif. Pat and Paul Thrash should go to 66th Civil Engineering, APO NY, NY 09017; also add Don Harris at 2225 Fifth Avenue New York, New York; deLissovoy is now living with us, but when he leaves I will send you his address. Let me discuss finances for a moment: the books you sent cost \$5.10 - did I give you enough money to cover this before I left? Also the record cost about \$3.50 and I forget what postage was. Please let me know how much I owe you and don't give me any silly shit about not to bother as I know I have more money than you.

Now to your letter of Jan 15: I guess I didn't express myself clearly before, or more accurately I didn't know how to express what is happening. It's not really a question of attending SNCC conferences "whenever I have time" as I would always make time. It is much more a discipline which I am still trying to develop which will allow me to attend and observe and especially to control myself - urge to dominate discussions. Not that this is a problem at top echelon meetings where I feel humble inadequate enough to keep my mouth shut though. What it really is is that I want to be in a position locally, that is in my relationship with Roy (did I tell you he is now director, I will talk about him later in the letter) and Randy to have a natural relationship with them, one which transcends color, etc. Having deL living here is wonderful as I am learning a great deal from him - from his attitude and disposition which has enabled him to communicate completely with Randy. Anyhow I am starting to get into this but it is a long slow process and I have to do everything I can not to blow it through stupidity and wanting to accelerate the process. I have to deal with Roy very slowly and carefully as he is extremely suspicious of whites, intellectuals, etc. The one thing in our favor is that Harris told him to trust us and he relies a lot on what Harris said "until I can decide for myself whether he was right or not". And there have been a lot of action in Moultrie which Roy has had to attend to, so not been in town much - but I am confident that if I don't let my ego get in the way I can build a very successful relationship with him and eventually be asked to help represent SWGa in Atlanta. I think with Randy it will be easier as I have known him longer and we had a long drunk kind of talk which helped to get things straight between us.

You ask whether I believe there is no contradiction between a highly trained leadership limited in numbers and decision making spread outward as far as possible. I have no problem with this as basically this is what SNCC is and is living proof that you can function this way and function effectively. First of all different projects are run differently - Albany under Sherrod and Harris was under two very different "strong leaders". Sherrod was a Christ figure who people believed in and wanted to die for - they looked to him for every decision and felt they couldn't function in his absence (tho they did very well while he was in jail). Harris I think inspired a kind of confidence in the people, tho he was kind of a final word on who did what, when (if there was a conflict). But when the project ran smoothly because people were excited about what was happening, it was almost as if there was no decision making apparatus - or it wasn't visible as people did what was necessary and what was necessary was right. Roy is working out this way - like he sent Herman Kitchens to Moultrie because Herman wanted to work there (mainly because he is basically a gambler and likes the pool hall crowd in Moultrie). So I had kind of given up on him doing anything and used to mutter to myself about their need for some way to get rid of people doing nothing (a big question within SNCC with views running from Guyot "who can do the judging and besides he is our brother and if he is unable to work we still support him" to a Negro from Harlem working in Miss who said we need a committee to deal with this just like we need committees to deal with all problems so things will run

smoothly") but anyhow ~~ish~~ while I was mulling ov. what you do in these situations (or in the case of Willie Ricks who hasn't functioned in over two years, except to pick up speeding tickets) word comes from Moultrie that Herman, by himself, has organized a ~~sk~~ school boycott (more detail in general letter) which was 75% success first day and 100% the next day - they completely closed the Negro highschool - and Herman used to sit at meetings and talk about the need for unions and then the fact that he didnt know anything about unions so he couldnt do anything now and that was his excuse for not really doing any work and using his paycheck to gamble with. So stuff like this happens which in retrospect makes Roy the ideal director. At the same time he is personally efficient like he takes care (or rather delegates to a white kid who just came onto the project and who had been in Miss for 6 months) of all the necessary stuff in the officed like attending to the distribution of clothing which comes from the North (I mean seeing that it is picked up from the trucking company instead of getting a \$100 storage bill like when Sherrod ran things), and Roy is trained leadership in that he learned under Harris who is a ~~great~~ fine teacher in that he has so much in him that you can learn and obviously Roy was a fine pupil. I am sorry this is so goddman incoherent but I k am trying to put my thoughts together as I type this - I am trying ~~s~~ to answer you original question and as I write I begin to see that the answer is yes and Roy is the proof of the answer as you can see from the way he works. So in the SWGa project this is correct. I am just not sure how bigger SNCC works. There will be a conference I think next weekend - like a MAJOR planning conference in Atlanta and I will go, or position myself so that I can get Roy to invite me ~~mm~~ which is the much better way. As for sharing what I can tell you of SNCC with Mina, Dutcher and your friend in London - I have confidence in your judgment, and so long as they are cautioned to the necessity of not repeating it, then go ahead and send it.

Now I am on your Feb 1 letter - and also hungry as hell so I might just finish this and send it off, and send of my newsletter tomorrow. I think I told you I got the record, thank you, and the books. Without going into details hold off on sending more books. Things are fucked up in re the library in that they are not really doing anything at the moment but are trying to get money together to build a large community center which would be beattiful if it comes off, but meanwhile alot of books are still sitting up in cartons. You can send the letters to Joni. She is a very sweet person; also no problem with giving Doug Hill copies. I think what I will have to do is really only write my "secret-type" observation to you and let you share them with people you think discreet, and keep my letters more general local color stuff and close out stuff about SNCC except for the obvious and what cannot do them harm. This is not in re Doug Hill, but rather because they are now going to so many people including Establishment (or rather people who run in those circles like the LSCRRRC etc) that tho I personally trust the people who are recipients there is a possibility of others reading them or the wrong parts of them. Forgive the rambling. As for the book (re. Ann), fuck the book. I feel very guilty in that she spent alot of money having the manuscript typed, etc. but I am just as glad there isnt a book. I had along talk with deL about writing and I see very clearly that I am not a writer and do not want to be a writer in the common sense of the word. What I want to do is share ideas with ~~fix~~ friends, a small handpicked group of friends, and friends of those people, but am really very secretive so far as others are concerned. As for Maxwell and publishing me, o.k. on your terms (a copy to me first). Id like to hear more about the SNCC benefit. This doesnt come as any grea shock as it was a matter of time for Miller after what you said about his Ford Foundation project, etc.

I should let Wendy write about the N/S but as what I want to tell you bears out what you have been saying I will state it myself: You do not need foundations or national publicity or anything else to get something done as you can capture the imaginations of people who want to do something but just ~~as~~ didnt know what, and itx gets done. Like Cordell Reagon who worked here (he is a Freedom Singer) liked the idea of the N/S

and put Wendy in touch with a woman active in the teachers union in NYC. We went there for dinner and had a long talk with her in which she asked brilliant pointed questions that made Wendy think through a lot of her ideas about what she realistically thinks she can accomplish, and I had the feeling that the woman didn't think much of the project. After we got down here we get a letter with \$400 in checks that she raised at a cocktail party she had for the nursery school - and one of the women at the party, who never even met Wendy or talked to her first hand, but read the literature wrote letters to 50 friends asking them for \$10 each, which has actually started to come in (she typed the envelopes herself and every day two or three come in). It is really amazing. I want to talk about SNCC "fundraising" in my letter though I am not sure yet how much I want to include. Like the fact that one of the big single sources of donation comes from a woman in Chicago who called Jim Foreman one day and said "unless that darling Stokely comes to visit me again I won't send my check" - which is a beautiful way to finance a revolution and this isn't the only time this has happened.

In case this gets to you before our note to Dusk'n, tell him that he shouldn't worry about the check. It seems that the bank deposited it to our personal account instead of the NS account and we didn't learn this till the other day - after a whole lot of hassle. So we are switching banks.

As for news of the Challenge, I really don't know anything here but hope to know more next weekend. I'll tell you an awful story but don't repeat this to Mina as she will feel bad. Wendy had gone up there that afternoon and I was to meet them for dinner. Just before dinner Harris and I went up to visit Kinoy and Kunstler. Then Mike Standard came in (a young guy, a real swinger, who works with Vic Rabinowitz) and another Guild lawyer from NY who does work for CORE and they are all going out to get something to drink and TALK ABOUT THE MISSISSIPPI LEGAL SITUATION and invited us; and I almost shit but decided I owed it to Wendy not to cancel out on the dinner with Mina as I had not spent much time with her in NY. But it's a matter of time until I learn what I missed that night. What has happened so far is that COFO got itself a Legal Advisory committee which is really K & K, Ben Smith (New Orleans) and a couple of other Guild lawyers who Moses felt he could trust "this was a quote from Bob M about "lawyers he could trust". Then they decided to hire a guy to be staff counsel on the spot and Henry Arronson who had worked in Miss with the LCDC was selected, though why I never understood. The LCDC is the group formed by NAACP, CORE, ACLU, Am Jewish Cong, Council Churches, etc. to keep the Natl Lawyers Guild out of Miss last summer - as you know it didn't work. Anyhow Arronson was personally antagonistic to most of the SNCC staff - like Hunter Morey who is "legal coordinator" hated his guts, and the staff in general had no use for him. The more I think of it it might have been a very clever tactical move of K and K. But anyhow SNCC accused him of "redbaiting the Guild" (which he probably did, but denies) and he wrote about a 7 page memo explaining why he was resigning - he says a combination of not getting paid and that his clients "were being turned against him" and then gets into a vicious attack of the Guild which is prefaced about how he doesn't indulge in redbaiting. But as of now the only Legal staff in Miss is the Guild office in Jackson run by Claudia Shropshire who is one smart bitch; the three stooges (the Naacp Inc Fund Negro lawyers who are puppets for Jack Greenberg); Marion Wright - another front for Greenberg; and a guy named Bill Copit who is with the LSCRR but getting rapidly sick of the situation.

If you think the New Leader was bad, check out Lipset in the latest issue of The Reporter. Just got a phone call from Roy in Moultrie. Nothing much except that the Toms are working deals all around him and that the three white schmucks from here, former peacewalkers trying to organize the white community, whatever that means, have showed up there and are trying to go to jail and get beaten and bask in the praises of the old ladies at mass meeting "for giving up their firstclass citizenship to be with us in our struggle..." and Roy can't make them leave as they

wont listen to him and accuse him of being a "black nationalist". Man, I swear I will kill those dumb cunts when they get back here. It is really grotesque.

Let me close this off right here as I am starving, tired, and really pissed off at this point. I'll send the newsletter part tomorrow if I can get down to it. This is what happens when you let three weeks go by.

Dennis