

April 4, 1965

Dear Phil,

This letter will be a grab-bag as I have been saving alot of clippings and assorted stuff for you, and will forward it today. Also will write the newsletter which has been owing for the past two weeks if I find some time. I'll takin things one at a time to see that everything gets covered. First, your letter: First, as to Martin. SNCC is holding a meeting in Atlanta on Monday just about this subject and I will tell you about it when Roy gets back and lets me know. Slater went to an SCLC conference in Baltimore a few days ago and I havent spoken to him yet but heard second hand that "Martin seems very depressed and despondent about the situation in America". When I find out what the hell that means and whether it can be translated into action I will let you know. I PROMISE that I will do something about the Jacobs piece - probably one evening this week. Its just that I have been helping Wendy try to get caught up on her N/sCorrespondence and last week we had a friend from NYU law school who came to stay with us - he became a huge fucking pain in the ass and I thought I'd go crazy the last couple of days. deLissovoy can live with you for a month and you dont even notice that he's in the house but this guy (Hoguet) was everywhere and underfoot all the time. The place we have here isnt a hell of a lot bigger than the Neilsen St place so you can imagine the problem. As for the duBois club mag, ask Phil D if he put me on the list, otherwise have him send it as I havent gotten anything as yet. Let me know all you can re the HUAC visit to the Bay Area (or Santa B) I havent heard anymore than what you mentioned.

Now for your mailings, clippings, etc. First a letter from Cahn to Robert Albritten, (carbon Cahn sent to me). I am including my original letter to Cahn about this which will explain what its all about. Please send both back to me. I just want you to see them because I think that Cahn is better than most. His letter, the immediacy of it in response to what is obviously a very pissed off letter from me, would seem to indicate that he really does care about people, and there just isnt a whole hells of a lot that he can do about it.. Anyhow, it is an interesting series of exchanges. I'll let you know if there are any further developments. Meanwhile, OEO Project Head Start has been sniffing around Wendy's ass like a cat in heat. She has gotten phone calls from them about "how wonderful, how exciting" her project starts, and it really seems as if they will get money ON HER TERMS. But the best part is that they seem (they being Wendy and Carol) to have convinced the Supt of Schools to turn over two classrooms in two different Negro grammar schools to run a Head Start Program there this summer, and this WILL NOT BE UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE SCHOOL BOARD, BUT RUN BY THE DOUGHERTY COUNTY RESOURCES DEVEL. ASSN., INC. But tomorrow we serve a motion on Mr. Cordele the Superintendent asking for further relief in the school desegregation suit, so this project might be short lived.

Other goodies are a long piece on Malcolm from the Village Voice forwarded by Mina. I think I might have sent you this already, but now you can have two copies. Also an interesting thing from Muhammed Speaks which shows you where Lewis is at - and this is clearly the Don Harris influence - they became very close during the Africa trips. And a beautiful dialogue from a freedom school class conducted by Stokely C. Mr. Turnbow who is referred to in the dialogue is a very strong local guy, very active in the MFDP. And a carbon of a letter I sent Minnis which accompanied a clipping from the Village Voice which talked about a new anti-communist game which was just unbelievable. And another clip from the Voice on the War on Poverty with some nice questions asked by Jane Jacobs. But the most important thing from the Voice is "We Shall Overcome-Wham?" by Nat Hentoff. I wont even comment on this

other than to say that it is one of the best criticisms of LBS's speech and the moronic wake of white liberal ecstasy which followed it. See that this gets wide circulation on the Coast as I really think that he sums it up beautifully - especially in that bit about his Jewish mother who hated the goyim until her dying day - and no one questions her.

And now, the newsletter...

I worked on the Bill of Exceptions in the Burkes habeas off and on during last week, and after two trips to Camilla this week we finally got it filed. The Judge had finally denied the habeas (after the hearing at the end of last year) and we had to file the B/E to carry it up to the Georgia Supreme Court. The Judge of the City Court who ruled against us is a very interesting guy. He was extremely courteous and civil to us, and after the second visit to his office got into a long conversation about antiques he has collected around South Georgia and told us his wife's family came from Fresno, Calif. I believe I had mentioned that he was very fair during the habeas hearing itself, and I had no complaint about the majority of his rulings. So many of these Judges don't really care what the record looks like and overrule you all over the place, but he seemed to be very concerned about this. When we talked to him this week it came out in the conversation that he did not go to law school (this requirement before you can practice law in Georgia is a very recent one - in fact there are quite a few lawyers who did not go to law school who are in practice.) He seems to take the law very seriously, and this might be because he isn't one of the boys from the U of Ga. Anyhow, we had a hearing in which we argued over the completeness of the record and matters which we claimed were error. The lawyers for the Warden are two local guys from Camilla - one has been in practice for many years, and the other is a very recent grad of law school. Anyhow I guess it was too demeaning for the old lawyer to attend this hearing, so he sent his associate who had never handled one of these bill of exception hearings before. And he made a complete ass out of himself, with the old Judge finally telling him pretty much to shut up as he was only confusing the issues. Anyhow the whole thing was a relatively pleasant experience as compared to most appearances of this sort where they engage in the most irrelevant kinds of harassment. Stuff like objecting to a couple of typographical errors in the copy of the record and bill and requesting that it be typed over before they will sign it, and worse...

SNCC and the Movement have just been made parties to a \$300,000 lawsuit. Carl Smith, the grocer who claims he was put out of business by the picketing by the Albany Movement, and who is suing the Fed. Government for \$200,000 for failure to protect him in his capacity as a federal juror is now suing SNCC, Albany Movement, Slater, and assorted other people (the choice of six defendants seems very irrational as neither Goldie or Joni is named, yet three people who are not in Georgia are named as parties defendant, and also a woman who was never mentioned in the original trials or grand jury hearings. Bob Hoguet, a friend who is at NYU Law School was down for the week last week. Aside from doing a lot of work around the nursery school like cleaning about a ton of crap out of the backyard he also did some preliminary research into the complaint in this suit.

I finally got around to reading the file in Preston King's case. Preston was CB's youngest brother, an extremely brilliant guy who was offered scholarships all over the world after he graduated from Fisk. He finally went to the London School of Economics and got his masters degree. He wanted to go on and get his doctorate (which he would have completed before he was 23) but the draft board started to write him. Their initial

correspondence to him had been written, "Dear Mr. King:" but after they discovered he was a Negro the letters were "Dear Preston,". He also got a letter from his mother telling him that the Draft Board called his home to find out his address and was into that first name crap with Mrs. King too. So he wrote them a nice letter telling them that he didnt feel that there was any reason for the intimate form of address as he didn't know the lady who was writing to him, and that he felt that an agency of the Federal Government should not ~~xxxx~~ display this sort of racism, and that therefore he would disregard any further communication to him which wasn't properly addressed. So the bastards back-dated his notice to report for a physical and he was declared delinquent before the letter reached him. He kept up a correspondence with various officials in the Army meanwhile, but when he came back to the US a few months later on a speaking tour sponsored by an Afro-American association he was arrested and tried for draft-dodging. The transcript reads like a comedy script and would be funny if it weren't such a tragic loss. He was convicted and decided it just wasn't worth staying a round to fight this kind of idiocy in the land of the ~~fa~~ free, so he went ~~g~~ back to England, got his doctorate, and is now a full professor at the University ~~of~~ of Ghana. But the brother of CB who is really fascinating is Clennon, who in 1957 applied for admission to the University of Mississippi, and was kidnapped and put in an insane asylum. It took CB 3 weeks to finally get the doctors to admit that he was perfectly sane and turn him loose.

During the middle of last week Hosea Miller died. He was the farmer from Baker County who was murdered by the white man. He leaves a wife and five children, and she is pregnant. But there is even some imperceptible change in Baker County. Walter Miller, his older brother, ~~wk~~ went to the justice of the peace and demanded a warrant for assault with intent to murder be sworn out. A few years ago this would have been unheard of but then JP swore out the warrant and set a \$5000 bond, which is a reasonable bond for assault with... And the day ~~at~~ that his brother died Walter Miller went back to the JP and had him swear out a murder warrant, and the white was put into jail, without bond, and held there for a few days until the commitment hearing. Of course the commitment hearing went as expected. We had been over in Camilla that day on the Burkes matter and drove into Baker County for it. There are only three ways out of Baker County (Newton, Ga) You can go along a 2 lane road which runs to Albany to the North, or a road which runs to Bainbridge to the southwest. The other way out of town is the road to Camilla, to the southeast. To get out that way you have to cross over a bridge which is only one lane. The bridge crosses the muddy, swampy, Flint River, where many Negroes have been found washed up on its banks. Baker is a frightening county to work because two cars can block all the exits and there is no other way out. When we got to Newton it was about 1:30 and the hearing was to start at two. The change since '63 was immediately apparant among the Negroes. Very few showed up for the Charlie Ware trial - too intimidated to come into town. But now they lined the street across from the court house, and sat along the court house wall (a space generally only used by the white courthouse gang) And they didnt smile and nod at the white folks who passed by...they were angry and their expressions showed it. The CourtHouse itself had undergone a complete transformation. When we were there in '63 it was filthy. Years of slime and grease covered the walls and pews. The ante-bellum spittoons were overflowing. But now the interior was covered with a coat of cream paint; everything, wall, pews, and the Bench was cream colored. And new porcelain spittoons, hardly spit in, gleamed in the corners. But the most noticeable change was the absence of the little sign which used to sit on the wall behind the Judge - "Keep Smiling" - was gone. Such a great ~~xxxx~~

because if you were a black man, up for trial in Baker County, all you could do was smile. The Negroes entered and overflowed "Buzzard's Roost" where ~~xxx~~ they were still being relegated by the officers of the Court. Oh there are some changes in Baker County but lets never forget ourselves for a minute. But there were so many Negroes that the Sheriff grudgingly had to have some of the white folks clear out of ~~a~~ one section of the downstairs and he put the extra Negroes into it. When we walked in CB said hello to the Sheriff, and the Sheriff even mumbled some kind of reply. We walked down in front and sat down on a bench. There were some angry looks but no one said anything. But all of what was happening goes so well to prove CB's argument that you can whip these Sheriff's by hitting them with damage actions and forcing them into the expense of a civil litigation and the humiliation of being ~~xxxx~~ cross examined by a Negro lawyer with all the sordid revelations that are produced, because once they have experienced that they are much more careful about indiscriminately murdering Negroes - its just too painful an experience to want to go through again. It would be nice if some day the Justice Department decided that they were really interested in putting a stop to the violence and brutality practiced by police officials throughout the South, and the North for that matter, and started prosecuting these guys - knowing they wouldnt get convictions, but for the theraputic effect these actions would have. But its a lot easier to palm off a voting bill, like a civil rights bill and let that take care of things for a while. I'd normally get into a long denouncement of the federal government, but tonight I'm tired, trying to get two weeks worth of ~~xxxx~~ newsletter out at once, and besides everyone who gets this knows where its at with the Federal Govt and if you dont it would be a waste of ~~xxxx~~ time to try and explain.

out
 PHIL: I dont remember if I told you this before, but I finally got the answer on the business about Foreman not having walking shoes or a sleeping bag along with Martin. It seems that just before the march was to start Martin told the top people, including Foreman, what the story was. Foreman was absolutely furious, but didnt know what else to do, so went along with the march. But this was what precipitated his dencouncing of Martin and some furious cursing him out - and he didnt care who heard. He told him he was a "monkey faced mother fucker" among other choice remarks, and this, along with "If I cant sit at the table of deomcracyk I'll kick the fucking legs out from under it", was overheard by the Pittsburgh rabbi, leading to the AP story. Did you get a copy of the two news items that Miller was putting out from the LA Times (I believe). Very interesting. If you didnt see them let me know and I'll send you my copies. Miller has written me several letters asking to be put on the mailing list. I ignored the first but he wrote again. I guess it cant do any harm - what do you think? He obviously has seen some of them of he wouldnt know about them. Anyhow, let me know your thoughts on this.

A week ago Sunday we went to Coretta King's "Freedom Concert". She did a nice thing by donating the entire proceeds to the Dougherty County RDA, Inc to be used for the community center. But that woman can not sing. Wow. Its funny because I had seen various reviews praising her performance as "the greatest". I guess for white liberals she has to be good, I mean after all she's Martin's old lady, but the performance was terrible. Another~~x~~ thing which I thought was bad was that the performance - if you havent seen it she does a kind of narration interspersed with song of the h~~is~~story of the Movement - had been written about 6 months ago and she didnt ~~xxxx~~ bother to update it. Like there is one part where she starts to name people who have been killed in the movement but she only gets as

the three guys killed in Mississippi, and its like Jimmie Lee Jackson, Rev Reeb, and the white woman from Detroit never happened. And there is= another part where she talks about the bastard police chiefs like Bull Connor and Sheriff Clark, but she doesn't bother to mention Laurie Pritchett. Sure its o.k. for Los Angeles where people know about Bull Connor and dont know about Laurie, but she wasn't performing in L.A. that night. I was just disappointed in the whole thing. The best part was the audience. All the society asses, people who had not done a damn thing for the Movement, were there resplendent in their gowns and jewels. I kind of expected to see a couple of local white bigshots, but I guess the white community project that the peace chicks were running couldnt even produce that.

One of the SNCC guys

Ray has been having a bit of a hassle with his draft board. I dont know if I mentioned before that all SNCC people seem to turn up 4-F as far as the Governemtn is concerned. About the last thing they want is guys like Cobb ~~xxxxxx~~ to get into the Army and start asking the same questions that theyx are asking Negroes in the South. Anyhow the ~~xxxxxx~~ Texas board wrote him telling him they wanted him ~~xxxxxx~~ for a physical. He wrote back explaining that he was much too busy to get to ~~xxxxxx~~. Then he made a collect call, which they wouldnt ~~xxxxxx~~ accept, and finally he wound up paying for the call himself. He got into a long argument about why they wanted him to ~~xxxxxx~~ sign a form which clearly said, "fill out completely excépt for signature", and this went on and on. Finally the following letter was written:

"Miss Mullins:

I was not able to keep the engagement of March 29, 1965 with your agency in ~~xxxxxx~~ Texas owing to my dire financial straits. However I do plan to be in Atlanta between April 5 and April 7 and would appreciate it if you would alert your agency there so that I could see them on April 5 about 10:00 a.m. That would afford me maximum convenience. In regard to our conversation of March 29, I do not understand why I have to pay for a business call to your agency from Albany, concerned purely with dealings concerning the Selective Service and an appointment which I didx not make but which was made for me, without any regard or concern shown for my business. We will send you a bill for this call when the next phone bill comes in. I would appreciate prompt payment.

Also, at the earliest possible date I would like to make an appointment with someone who would be able to explain to me the reasons for your apparant interest in having me in your Army. Since your government has allowed me to be excluded from almost everything else run by white folks, it seems rather odd that you would want me to be in your Army, but perhaps you have a satisfactory explanation for all of this. I would also question your motives regarding this as all the Army seems to be doing lately is fightxng my black brothers in Africa and Asia.....

Yours in this, our struggle for freedom,

He got back a letter which sort of ignored everything he said, quoted a paragraph from some army regulation about no discrimination based on race or religion, and sent him a whole lot of forms to fill out for a transfer of physical to Atlanta. Oh, I forgot the best part. In the phone conversation the lady asked him if there was anything physically wrong with him. He told her he had asthma. She asked if it were a chronic thing and he said no, only when he got around white folks, and then x he got to wheezin and snortin.

Yesterday the Nursery School got its tax exempt status from the Internal Revenue Service. I put this in here as it saves me writing a letter to my friend Phil, in Washington, who showed me how to get it. But I can't help mentioning that we got the damn thing in 14 days and I didnt have to get to Washington to do it. But this is only because I had good forms to copy. Thank you.

We are now in a new office. A nice, clean, freshly painted duplex on South Jefferson. This had been talked about for a long time but we finally made the move. We had an eviction notice in March (two months notice which was given in January) but we never did anything about it because of time shortage and just because there is a whole ~~x~~ lot of stuff that my man never does anything about and just hopes it will go away - like a chapter of a book he promised some guy in New York that he would write about 8 months ago and he still hasn't written the first sentence. Anyhow the guy who owns our building wanted to turn it into a whore house. Well, that isn't really fair, he wants to make a Hotel out of it, but... So when we didnt move the bastard let us stay but increased the rent from \$40 to \$105 - which is unbelievable rent for down here. So we used to talk about moving. Finally Slater told us about this duplex and we went over and decided to take it. The rent is \$50/mo. We will stay in it through the summer while they build the new offices for Slater and CE. Moving was a grueling experience. We had volumes of books which we moved by putting them in cartons. We had a bunch of little kids come up from Harlem to help us move. Since we didnt do too much supervising, not only were all the volumes packed in at random order, but I forgot to note down what volume ended on what shelf, so the only way to get the books back in the bookcase was to sort through all the boxes until you found number 1 and then start building from there. I also discovered that CE hordes all sorts of old crap. We dont have an ~~xxxx~~ much storage space here so we had to throw away alot. But he went through a whole lot of changes before he would throw away his notes from his Torts class and Contracts class in law school. After three days and nights of loading up pickup trucks and lugging boxes we finally got all straight and are now in pretty good shape.

Dennis