

THE MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY

"RACE HAS KEPT US BOTH IN POVERTY"

Only one year old, the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) is one of the most exciting political phenomena of the country. Born of the voter registration drive initiated in Mississippi by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the MFDP now is an independent organization, claiming before the nation its right to be recognized by the national Democratic Party as the Democratic Party of Mississippi. The MFDP first came to the attention of the nation when it challenged the seating of the so-called "regular" Democrats at last summer's Atlantic City Democratic Convention. Again the country was aroused by the Mississippians when, on opening day of Congress, they challenged the right of Mississippi's five Congressmen-elect to sit as the Representatives of the State of Mississippi. Behind these national confrontations is a quiet, but even more dramatic, story of people in Mississippi creating their own state-wide political organization, an organization growing up from the grass-roots, expressing the demands of the movement in Mississippi and reflecting the problems of poverty and deprivation faced by the vast majority of Mississippians, both black and white.

TO RALLY AGAINST FEAR

Beginning in 1961, Negro citizens increasingly sought to register to vote. For SNCC, two basic problems had to be faced. First, the overwhelming fear based on the experience of beatings, killings, home bombings, evictions and firings that confront Negroes who seek their constitutional rights in the State; second, more subtle, and more difficult to work with, was the feeling shared by many Negroes in the State that politics wasn't their business. The phrase commonly used was, "politics is white folks business". The oppression of the caste system leaves its mark on the consciousness of those who must live under it. Behind that phrase was a sense of inferiority, a sense of being "unqualified", that was shared by many of the Negroes in Mississippi.

For two years, first one at a time, then in tens, then in hundreds, Negroes went to the country courthouses seeking to register to vote. In some cases, they were not even allowed to fill out the application form that precedes registration. In most cases, they were told they failed to successfully complete the application. Two questions were generally used to flunk the applicant: (1) interpret the following section (chosen from 383 sections of the Mississippi State Constitution) of the Constitution; (2) interpret the duties and obligations of citizenship under a constitutional form of government. Whether the applicant passed or failed was determined by the registrar of voters, usually a member of the White Citizens Council.

THE FIRST BALLOTS CAST

Early in the summer of 1963, a Yale law student who had come to Mississippi to work with SNCC, discovered a statute which allowed any person who believes he is being illegally denied the right to vote to cast a ballot along with an affidavit stating that he is an elector in the State. In a state-wide meeting with local movement leadership, the statute was described and discussed. It was decided that a concerted effort would be made across the State to get Negro voters to the polls with affidavits and that they would seek to vote. In the first state primary election, thousands of Negroes in Mississippi went to the polls for the first time. The response across the State varied. In some places, like Greenwood, ballots and affidavits were accepted and later disqualified by local officials. In other places, like Ruleville, Negro voters were met with

guns and driven away from the polling places. Despite the fact that no votes counted, the confrontation was an important one. State officials became apprehensive over the national publicity around the voting and in some cases Negroes had their first polite treatment by a white official.

Equally important, the primary election Negro turnout demonstrated to civil rights workers in the State that their painstaking door-to-door, church to church, bar to bar work was paying off. Morale was bolstered, both among the full-time SNCC workers and among the Negroes in the communities where election challenges took place.

83,000 FOR FREEDOM

Out of the summer election came new discussions about politics in Mississippi -- and a new concept, the "freedom vote". Excluded from the official elections in the state, Negroes in Mississippi decided to hold their own election. The Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) met on Oct. 6, 1963 and named Aaron Henry and Rev. Ed A. King as freedom candidates for Governor and Lt. Governor of the State. (COFO, probably the most misinterpreted civil rights organization in the country, is a loose coalition of local movements in the State of Mississippi, including some branches of the NAACP, and of full-time staff workers from SNCC, CORE and SCLC). A freedom ballot, naming the "regular" candidates -- Democrat Paul Johnson and Republican Rubel Phillips -- and the freedom candidates, was printed. Freedom registration forms were used to enroll voters. The first experiment with Northern college students coming into the State as volunteers was initiated as some 30 students from Stanford and Yale joined regular staff and local community activists in the circulation of the freedom registration forms and the election day collection and tabulation of ballots. When all the ballots were turned in, 83,000 Negroes had cast freedom votes, with the overwhelming majority cast for Aaron Henry and Ed King.

A PARALLEL POLITICAL FORCE

The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party was a logical extension of the concept of freedom votes and freedom candidates. That the new Party be a Democratic Party was a matter of some discussion in the State. Following the November, 1963 freedom election success, another state-wide meeting of civil rights activists in Mississippi, held April 26, 1964, discussed the future. Their decision was to create a parallel Democratic Party -- one that would, in every respect, comply with the rules and regulations set down by the Mississippi State Constitution for the conduct of political parties, and that would be Democratic because it was in the Democratic Party that significant decisions about the lives of the people in the State were made. However, the MFDP was independent in the sense that it owed no patronage or appointments to the National or State Party. This double character of the Freedom Democratic Party, at once inside and outside the system, is a major source of its national strength and the fear that it later caused the "pros" of the National Democratic Party.

Underlying the Atlantic City Convention challenge were three basic considerations. A special MFDP report named them as "(1) the long history of systematic and studied exclusion of Negro citizens from equal participation in the political processes of the state ...; (2) the conclusive demonstration by the Mississippi Democratic Party of its lack of loyalty to the National

Democratic Party in the past ...; (3) the intransigent and fanatical determination of the State's political power structure to maintain the status-quo..." At its founding meeting, the MFDP stated, "We are not allowed to function effectively in Mississippi's traditional Democratic Party; therefore, we must find another way to align ourselves with the National Democratic Party." So that such an alignment could be established, the MFDP began organizing meetings throughout the State to send delegates to the Atlantic City Democratic Convention.

THE PEOPLE COME TO ATLANTIC CITY

Beginning at the precinct level, moving then to county meetings and Congressional District caucuses, and ending with a State Convention on August 9, 1964 in Jackson, Mississippi, the Freedom Democrats went to work. The meetings were conducted under the leadership of a temporary State MFDP Executive Committee which had been chosen on April 26th. Out of the meetings came a full delegation, ready to go to Atlantic City claiming the right to sit as the Democrats of Mississippi.

NATION-WIDE SUPPORT: BUT NOT FROM THE WHITE HOUSE

At the same time as work was being done in the State, representatives of the MFDP were traveling across the country seeking support from Democratic Party delegations for the Challenge. As Convention opening drew near, the following States were among those whose State Democratic Executive Committees or State Conventions had passed resolutions (some of them not binding) supporting the MFDP's Challenge: New York, Massachusetts, District of Columbia, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan, Oregon, California, and Colorado. A SNCC worker who travelled across the Country seeking support for the MFDP later described the Convention experience. Writing in the October, 1964 Liberator (an independent Negro monthly), Frank Smith said,

"... by the time the Convention started, there were eight state delegations which had passed resolutions supporting the seating of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, but word had come down from Washington that President Johnson wanted the Regulars seated and the FDP ousted. The word from the President came as an unexpected shock to the FDP, because their basic strategy had been built around the idea that the President would either be on their side or be neutral. There were, however, political considerations involved, and there is an old political adage that says 'whenever there is cake to be cut, never fail to get your two cents' worth.' With this in mind, it now seems foolish that the FDP could have ever expected the President to be either on their side or neutral."

"The hearing at the Credentials Committee added more brush to the fire. The FDP had developed a strategy of getting the required 12 signatures out of the Credentials Committee to file a minority report, and thus get their fight to the floor of the Convention, and to get the required eight state caucuses to sign a petition to get a roll-call vote on the floor. So that when Washington decided to bring pressure, it first started on the Credentials people from the states that had already passed resolutions in support of the FDP. By Sunday, the second day of the Credentials Committee hearings, there were reports of threats of bank charters and judgments being denied and various kinds of appointments being in jeopardy."

Smith notes that FDP delegates learned a great deal at the Convention. It was clear, he said, that at the Convention "the delegates did not vote on anything ... It seems, however, that the delegates were satisfied to have their right to vote us urged, and the decision handed down to them." He points to the contradiction between this and the FDP position. "The FDP philosophy was one-man, one-vote, a philosophy born of the democratic process, and fostered in the faith that if the people are allowed to decide they will make the right and just decisions."

NO TO THE COMPROMISE

The credentials committee, reflecting the Johnson Administration, offered a series of compromises. The "best" compromise they offered was to give Aaron Henry and Rev. Ed King votes as Delegates-at-Large, to require the Regular Democratic Party of Mississippi to pledge support for the national Democratic ticket and to establish a committee to work on requirements for ending racial discrimination in the Party by the 1968 Convention. Liberal spokesmen across the country could not understand why the FDP refused to accept the compromise. Among other things, they called the decision "apolitical". The FDP answered its critics -- though the press never saw fit to carry the answer. In its reply to critics, the FDP said,

"... In analyzing why the FDP did not accept this compromise, it is important to understand first what the FDP delegation represented and what it accomplished at the convention. The FDP delegation was not simply an "alternative" delegation chosen by Negro instead of white Mississippians. The FDP is not a Negro party, but an integrated party, open to all whites, it grows directly out of the civil rights movement in Mississippi. It came to Atlantic City demanding, not simply that Negroes be represented, but that racism be ended -- in Mississippi and in the Democratic Party. Moreover, the conditions under which the FDP delegation was chosen were certainly unique. Though the FDP delegation was chosen according to the laws of Mississippi, its role, was only partially political. This is so because simply to take part in political processes of the state makes the Negro in Mississippi automatically a rebel against the segregated society. This means that he is in immediate and grave danger of losing his job, his home, and possibly his life. Many of those who represented the FDP at Atlantic City have suffered the most brutal and continual reprisals ever since they began working for their

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THE MOVEMENT

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political rights. This lends a peculiar and unique air to their efforts to attend the Convention, and means that they were literally gambling their lives against the right of being seated in Atlantic City.

The third thing that must be understood is that the FDP had the support it needed to win the fight at Atlantic City. Within the Credentials committee there was sufficient support to get the FDP's demands on the floor, there was sufficient support to force a roll call vote. Once a roll call was allowed, most observers agreed that the FDP would have been seated. What prevented this was the massive pressure from the White House, through the mediation of Hubert Humphrey. The FDP delegation was aware of all of this, and it therefore knew that the leadership of the Party and the Convention was denying it what it had the popular support to win. This kind of dictation is what Negroes in Mississippi face and have always faced, and it is precisely this that they are learning to stand up against.

THE FREEDOM PRIMERS

The FDP has launched a major new educational program in the state through the use of Freedom Primers. The Freedom Primers are short, simple booklets on different phases of politics, economics, and civil rights as they affect Mississippians. The first primer challenged the Convention Challenge and the Freedom Vote.

The primers will be distributed to MFDP activists and to students in the Mississippi Project's Freedom Schools. As much as possible, MFDP distribution will be made through local officers of the party. In this way they will serve an organizational as well as an educational function.

The primers will be used as the basis of discussion at precinct and county meetings and at voter registration meetings. It is hoped that the primers can be published once every 10 days for a full year, each issue on a different topic. It is hoped the primers will provide a breadth of facts and concepts more vital to the growth of political understanding than a more rigid educational program.

DECISIONS RISE TO THE TOP

The basic tool of political education and decision-making in the FDP at the local level is the workshop. Workshops are designed to do two things: (1) to share information; (2) to open discussion and begin to break through the feeling of being unqualified that still exists among many Negroes in the State. In most places, workshops are now led by members of the MFDP. Only in new, unorganized areas do staff members organize initial workshops and these are soon led by people from the local community. Workshops deal with real problems confronting the FDP, like organizing in the next community or county, or developing a program for coming county elections, or selecting Freedom Registration forms, or selecting local Freedom candidates to run for council, sheriff and other local posts.

THE MODERATE OPPOSITION

Atlantic City represented a major new stage in the development of the FDP. Conservative civil rights spokesmen joined with conservative -- and some liberal -- Democrats in questioning this new maverick party. Since Atlantic City, FDP leaders have been warned against starting a Third Party. They are told to be "realistic". They are urged not to move too fast. These warnings are reflected by the behavior of the NAACP National Staff person in Mississippi, Charles Evers. The NAACP said it was pulling out of COFO (though the National was never really in) and Evers became the spokesman

within the State of this position. Despite Evers' position, branches of the NAACP in Mississippi remained active in the FDP, some of them providing the Party with active members. In other places, local people had their first real internal political fights. It is interesting to note that recently national columnists, like Evans and Novak, have sought to use these internal debates as a lever to split the FDP and to weaken its Northern support. In their nationally syndicated column, Evans and Novak spoke of three known Communists in the FDP delegation. Mrs. Fanny Lou Hamer, former sharecropper and now a major spokesman for the FDP, whose testimony before the Atlantic City Credentials Committee stirred the Nation, was recently called "demagogic". More interesting and important than the attacks has been their apparent lack of success in changing the minds of either Negroes in Mississippi or people across the country who are tired of the Eastlands, and Whittens who have for so long represented the Magnolia State in Congress.

With Atlantic City behind them, the Freedom Democrats went back to Mississippi to begin work on two new endeavors. First, and by this time almost a routine, was a freedom election, with freedom candidates from the FDP running for office and supporting the national Democratic ticket. Second, and now the major national effort of the FDP, was the Congressional Challenge.

ROCKING THE BOAT FROM THE BOTTOM

The Congressional Challenge is based simply on the idea that the Congressmen of Mississippi have been illegally elected and should, therefore, not sit in the House of Representatives.

On the opening day of Congress, acting in close contact with the MFDP, but using a different legal base for the Challenge, Congressman William Fitz Ryan of New York introduced a "Fairness Resolution" which stated that in all due fairness to the challenging MFDP candidates and in recognition of the discriminatory practices of the Mississippi Democrats, the Mississippi Congressional delegation should not be seated and the contestants, Mrs. Fanny Lou Hamer, Mrs. Victoria Gray, and Mrs. Annie Devine, should be given floor privileges through the session of the House so that, should their challenge be successful, and should they later be named Congresswomen, they would have the opportunity of knowing the history of the session of Congress.

Again the Freedom Democrats stirred the nation -- and rocked the political boat. Working through ad hoc committees in many Congressional districts, through Friends of SNCC groups, CORE chapters, some NAACP branches, ACLUs, ADA chapters and other organizations, the FDP was able to build a movement that led, finally, to 150 votes in support of the Challenge. While the final result is impressive, it was not enough to win. Equally impressive was the way in which the coalition backing the challenge was built. Many of the national organizations that were to finally back the FDP's challenge only did so after they began to receive pressure from their own members at home. The final January 4th grouping that was around FDP was built from the bottom up, beginning first with maverick chapters, branches and locals of national organizations that only after questions from below began to move.

The California vote for the January 4th Fairness Resolution is a clear indicator of how Congressmen may be expected to vote on the Statutory Challenge when it comes to the floor of the House again. It should not be taken for granted that Congressmen who voted for the opening day Fairness Resolution will also vote for the Challenge. The voting record of the California Congressmen follows:

- (R) Republican; (D) Democrat;
- (Number of Congressional District)

Against seating the Mississippians; supporting the MFDP:
Robert L. Leggett (D) (4th)
Phillip Burton (D) (5th)

- William S. Mailliard (R) (6th)
- Jeffery Colahan (D) (7th)
- George P. Miller (D) (8th)
- Don Edwards (D) (9th)
- John F. Baldwin, Jr. (R) (14th)
- Chet Holifield (D) (19th)
- Augustus F. Hawkins (D) (21st)
- James C. Corman (D) (22nd)
- Ronald Brooks Cameron (D) (25th)
- James Roosevelt (D) (26th)
- Alphonzo Bell (R) (28th)
- George E. Brown, Jr. (D) (29th)
- Edward Roybal (D) (30th)
- Ken W. Dyal (D) (33rd)
- Lionel Van Deerlin (D) (37th)

For seating the Mississippians; opposing the MFDP:

- Don H. Clausen (R) (1st)
- Harold T. Johnson (D) (2nd)
- John E. Moss (D) (3rd)
- Charles S. Gubser (R) (10th)
- J. Arthur Younger (R) (11th)
- Burt L. Talcott (R) (12th)
- Charles M. Teague (R) (13th)
- John J. McFall (D) (15th)
- B. F. Sisk (D) (16th)
- Cecil R. King (D) (17th)
- Harlan Hagen (D) (18th)
- H. Allen Smith (R) (20th)
- Del Clawson (R) (23rd)
- Genard P. Lipscomb (R) (24th)
- Ed Reinecke (R) (27th)
- Charles H. Wilson (D) (31st)
- Craig Hosmer (R) (32nd)
- Richard T. Hanna (D) (34th)
- James B. Utt (R) (36th)
- John V. Tunney (D) (38th)

The Statutory Challenge to the seating of the five Mississippi Congressmen now is supported by the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE), the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA), the National Council of Churches (NCC), and the Louisiana Committee of Concerned Citizens. In addition, numerous organizations at the state and local level have given support to the Challenge, as well as many less known national organizations.

THE MFDP: CANNOT BE BOUGHT AND SOLD

Within this national coalition and within the State of Mississippi a quiet struggle goes on over the Freedom Democratic Party. Two central issues are involved. One has to do with the militant stance of the FDP, especially in regard to the national Democratic Administration. No State Democratic Party is as



independent as the MFDP would be if it were to become the Democratic Party of Mississippi. Despite the fact that our civics books tell us that the national parties are weak, there is a web of Presidential power that keeps most State Democratic Parties in line. The web is held together by powers of patronage and appointment by the discretionary powers involved in the awarding of contracts and the selection of sites for public spending. The tools of national power that can be mobilized against recalcitrant Congressmen and maverick State parties are many, and they are manipulated by a master in the arts of politics, Lyndon Johnson's Great Society does not seem to include room for the MFDP; nor does his style of consensus politics allow the sharp raising of fundamental questions that has been so characteristic of the MFDP in its short history.

THE MFDP: BELONGS TO ITSELF

This quiet struggle goes on, perhaps even more intensely in Mississippi. Here is the second aspect of the fight

over FDP. Just as the FDP raises fundamental questions and issues, so does it also function in a way that is frightening to the manners of polite society. The FDP is genuinely a party of the grass-roots people in Mississippi. They participate in and run the Party, sharecroppers and domestics, laborers and unemployed, they make up and control the destiny of their Party. Because this kind of participation has become so alien to American political thinking (the Town Meeting was alright then, but after all --), many Doubting Thomases have questioned its existence. Generally, they advance a conspiracy theory regarding the FDP. It is, they say, manipulated from someplace else -- most frequently it is alleged that SNCC manipulates the FDP. And the more SNCC staff pulls out of Mississippi to begin work in other places where the movement has not yet begun to take hold, the more sinister is SNCC's control over the MFDP.

The two qualities of MFDP -- its rank and file participation and its ability and desire to raise basic issues and questions -- are related. It is, after all, those who are hungry, ill housed and ill-clothed, those who are denied the right to vote and who are beaten and abused by local police who are most likely to raise questions of poverty and civil rights. And because they have nothing to lose, having nothing to begin with, they are also least likely to "sell out." Thus their participation in and control of the MFDP is intrinsic to its ability to remain a voice of honesty, dealing with central issues, refusing to substitute rhetorical gains for substantive victories. And it is here, in this area, that the day to day politics of the MFDP is fought out.

For some time, it was argued that the Mississippi movement ought to be guided by a national Board of Directors that would include representatives of the major liberal and civil rights organizations in the Country. It was always SNCC's position -- and others came to share it -- that such an idea was a direct violation of the spirit of one-man, one-vote. SNCC workers took the position that people who lived and worked in the State of Mississippi would have to be the ones who made the decisions. This did not mean that everyone had to automatically accept these decisions; it did, however, mean that control of decision making would have to be in the hands of the people of the State.

This decision has now been accepted -- in part because it is a reality, and in part because some have come to see the merit of the view.

There tends to be a correlation between social status in the Negro community and the militancy advocated for the movement and the issues to be raised. The moderates tend to be the people with more status in the community -- whether this be the status of money or education or position. The moderates also tend to be the traditional leaders (or non-leaders) of the community, and this relates to the whole question of qualifications and who can participate in politics. There is now a new leadership in the State, built around people like Mrs. Hamer. Some of the people of status in the Negro community have joined with this new leadership in raising basic questions. Most have not.

The issue is particularly painful as the voting bill nears passage. Even on its face, the bill has serious inadequacies. In particular, it offers no protection against economic harassment against Negroes who seek to vote, nor is it clear why this bill will be any more forcefully executed than the many good laws already on the books. It is clear, however, that some Negroes are going to register to vote -- and that this number may, in some cases, be a key bloc vote able to carry primary elections or even general elections one way or the other. So basic questions are raised: Will Negroes continue to support the MFDP and its present positions? Will Negroes support white "moderates" when they run against blatant racists?

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MFDU - CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3
THE 'REGULARS' FEUD

Within the State's Democratic Party, a split appears to exist just below the surface of racist unity. One wing of the Party seems to be ready to concede that the days of Southern style racism are done. They are the realists who recognize that de facto segregation will have to be tried now, and who are learning how to do that from the North. The white patriots who defend "the Southern way of life" to the end are now on the defensive. With the voting bill, the national Party will be able to align itself with the realists in the State. This means that tremendous resources will suddenly become available to those who will make some concessions toward joining the rest of the country in its more subtle forms of discrimination and prejudice. The realists are joined by a tiny number of white Mississippians who are committed to racial justice but who have been silent. Generally these are churchmen, professionals and others in the middleclass.

THE NEGROES MAY SPLIT

The Negro moderates see in the development of the white realists an ally. Since their major concerns have to do with civil rights and not poverty, they do not demand a program of social reform along with a promise of legal reform. To the extent that their voices are still respected in the broad Negro community, their advocacy of moderation may well be extremely powerful. They might even take the position that the MFDU ought to be allowed to die and that Negroes ought to join in the formation of a new Democratic Party which would force the rabid racists into the State's Goldwater Republican Party.

NEEDED: A WIDER INSURGENT MOVEMENT

The moderates position is strengthened by two other facts. First, the MFDU, as it is now constituted, has no counterparts anywhere in the country. There are local movements, such as the county movements in Louisiana, Virginia, Alabama and other places in the South; there are small pockets of insurgency in poverty areas, such as Appalachia, the California farm valley, and the urban ghettos. But nowhere is there a full fledged insurgent Democratic Party. The reform Democratic movements in the North tend to be led by professionals -- lawyers, businessmen and professors. Thus poor Negroes in Mississippi who now lead a political party must feel themselves quite alone and must, indeed, wonder at times whether they really can do what they are doing. Second, within the State, there is no movement among poor whites which could be a counter-part to the realists who have emerged within the Democratic Party.

The white community project, initiated well over a year ago by COFO under the slogan, "Race has kept us both in poverty", remains more an organizing goal and political strategy than a reality. Efforts to bring whites together to discuss their problems of poverty have invariably failed because of the identification of the white COFO workers who were in the project with the Negro based movement.

FREEDOM LABOR UNIONS, CO-OPS

COFO staff in Mississippi is beginning to deal with some of these prob-

lems. A Mississippi Freedom Labor Union is being organized specifically to raise issues of wages, hours and conditions. Farmers' Leagues are growing in the State and making demands for just treatment for the small farmer. Small co-ops are being talked about and, in Ruleville, the first start to building them is underway. Federal programs, such as those under the Department of Agriculture, the Housing and Home Finance Administration, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the Office of Economic Opportunity, are being investigated. Still a weak point in the COFO program is its white community project.

THE CHALLENGE

For MFDU, the problems of the immediate now take priority. Calls to the country for support of the Challenge are now out. SNCC Chairman John Lewis recently called the Challenge the most important political event of 1965. To support the Challenge and to raise the issue of home rule in Washington, D.C., SNCC is calling for students from across the country to come to the Capital from June 13 to July 4. During that time there will be a student lobby for the MFDU. Subsequent to the lobby, some students will be asked to return home to engage in lobbying activities in their home districts; others will go South to join in summer projects.

Whatever the future for MFDU, it constitutes, in the eyes of many, the most exciting political event of post-World War II era. Whether, the MFDU will be able to maintain itself as a movement of the poor or whether it is only the first in the development of new movements at the grass roots level that are soon to join in the development of a program that addresses itself to the basic problems of the society can only, at this point, be a question.

Mike Miller

CANDIDATES - CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE

issues was the proposed bond election to allocate \$1 million for the repair of streets in white neighborhoods, with only one street in any Negro area involved. Out of these meetings came the campaign to start legal action contesting this bond issue if it passed -- on the grounds of Negroes' tax money being used without their having a voice, perforce of their being denied the ballot. (The goal now is to stop construction until federal registrars start functioning.)

Both candidates conducted a heavy campaign. During the last two weeks before election, Mr. Martin and Mr. Dodds spoke at 17 meetings in homes all around town. Mass canvassing was done with brochures and ads in the local newspaper. Mailings went out to northern contacts: press, ex-staff members and ministers who had worked in McComb. Letters giving Martin's platform were sent to 650 white residents who had signed a "Citizens for Progress" statement of principles before last November's elections.

FINANCES

"All the money for this campaign was raised locally," the campaigners report. Students put on a play "McComb, U.S.A." and raised over \$125. People pledged \$1 and more a week. Other fund-raising events were a piano concert, wig show, pancake sale and dinners. The office rented for the campaign is continuing as the FDP county headquarters, manned by a local woman, who's being paid a salary of \$21 a week.

The McComb FDP spent about \$100 for newspaper ads and another \$50 for stamps, paper and office supplies in the whole campaign.

THE RESULTS AND WHAT THEY MEAN

The campaigners sum up the election results as follows: *There are 3,410 registered voters in McComb; about 200 of these are Negro. Mr. Martin received 62 votes in the regular election. Many Negro voters did not vote for Mr. Martin because they feel he isn't "qualified." There are 7 precincts in McComb - only 3 of them include Negroes - yet Mr. Martin received votes from every precinct. 2,262 people voted in the regular election; the winner received 1,517. Freedom Vote polling places were set up - 9 in all, covering the 4 Negro sections within the city limits. Five hundred sixty (560) votes were cast in the Freedom election - Mr. Martin received 558 and Mr. Dodds received 547. We estimate that there are about 1,000-1,500 Negroes of voting age in McComb.*

This campaign has been very significant for McComb. Mr. Martin is the first Negro to be on a local ballot in Mississippi since Reconstruction, and the first Negro candidate ever in McComb. We've all - staff and community - learned more about local government, taxes, etc. than we ever dreamed possible. This election really shook the white people uptown - they kept inviting Mr. Martin to meetings and to their homes trying to get him to compromise on his platform. He didn't.

A great many people became deeply involved in this campaign and worked very hard on it. The small turnout in the Freedom Vote was disappointing - it also shows us the necessity of organizing people around issues other than the vote. All in all, though, this campaign was very good, because a great many people were involved in making decisions that affected their lives.

SF HOUSING -

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The Housing Authority had suddenly begun to charge tenants for the extra electricity they used. Many bills were high -- up to \$34 -- and the three-day deadline forced many tenants to use food money to pay the charges.

Tenants were also angry because Housing managers would not provide a room for their meetings, even though several rooms were made available for Boy Scout troops and election polling places.

The tenants at the small meetings formed a Union for all 819 families in the Yerba Buena project. They decided to solve some immediate problems to give their fearful or disinterested neighbors confidence in the Union. Mrs. Smith was elected chairman, and Mrs. Ethel Mosley was elected secretary-treasurer.

THE COMMISSION BACKS DOWN

Mrs. Smith and tenants from another San Francisco project, North Beach Place, met with the Housing Commission to discuss the extra electricity charges. The Commission admitted the extra fees had been badly handled. They agreed not to penalize tenants who were unable to pay the bills within the time limit and are considering refunding the money already received.

The Union is fighting to have apartments repainted more often than every seven years. They also want pest extermination services, bulletin boards for meeting notices and night-watchmen for each building cluster.

Many of the Yerba Buena families are on welfare or Aid to Dependent Children. They are concerned because they are charged higher rents than people not on welfare, who have the same incomes. Often money from their welfare food allotment is used to pay rent and extra electricity charges. The Tenant Union is starting a Welfare Rights Committee to work towards either higher rent allotments or lower rents for people receiving aid.

THEY WANT FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES

Beyond these immediate goals, Mrs. Smith said the Union is trying to bring together tenant groups from each of the ten projects in San Francisco. Such an alliance would be politically forceful enough to demand fundamental changes in the administration of existing projects and in the design and location of future public housing.

The Union thinks tenants should be able to choose managers and other administrative personnel for their projects. Tenants should also be able to elect from among project residents at least three of the five Housing Commissioners, presently appointed by the Mayor. Then public housing tenants would have a voice in important decisions which affect their lives.

Judi Lynch

LA FREEDOM SCHOOLS CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE

Can young people, who've been told that they're too young, not qualified, not fully educated, that they have to be molded and developed and have to be administered, make decisions about their own lives just as they are? Can they run their own school newspaper, student government, Board of Education? Maybe by the end of the Freedom School session some of these questions will have been dealt with.

Jimmy Garrett

REGIONAL STAFF CHANGES: Danny Benson is leaving Bay Area SNCC for field work in the South. His parting words are "I shall return." Norma Whitaker is also leaving regional staff. Coming up next full time: Ron Bridgforth, just returned from 10 months in Mississippi, and Terence Cannon. Cliff Vaughn is joining Jimmy Garrett and Ed Wilson in the L.A. Regional Office as special fundraiser.

Bay Area Events: THE SAN FRANCISCO MINE TROUPE presents a double feature: Bertold Brecht's *The Exception and The Rule* and Robert Scheer relating Brecht to Vietnam. 8:30 p.m. May 14, 15 at Garfield Junior High in Berkeley. May 21, 22 at Marines Memorial in San Francisco. May 29, 30 at Palo Alto Senior High in Palo Alto. Tickets \$2.50 at Downtown Center Box Office - PR 5-2021, and at the Mine Troupe - AT 2-7462.

NEWSPAPER

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SNCC Plans Summer Projects

POLITICAL, ECONOMIC ACTION

ARKANSAS

The Arkansas SNCC staff is planning a summer program under local leadership supplemented by 50 to 100 volunteers. Political organizing will be done in 31 Arkansas counties. A Freedom Center program will be implemented in four cities: Pine Bluff, Little Rock, Helena and Forrest City. Classes will be held for young people and adults on voter registration, political issues, Negro history, literacy and various skills. Community meetings will shape the growth of independent political organizations.

ALABAMA

Expansion will also occur in the Alabama black belt. Thirty-five SNCC workers are presently organizing in ten counties and by the end of the summer local movements should be active in triple that number. The emphasis will be on opening up areas for further work as well as building organizations which are run by local people.

SOUTHWEST GEORGIA

Organizing efforts will continue in this, SNCC's oldest project and 22 county area, and new ground will be broken in adjoining counties. Economic, as well as political, organizing will take place. Programs similar to the development of a maid's union in Americus last summer will continue. A number of volunteers are needed.

MISSISSIPPI

SNCC will work with the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party's summer program. Over 400 volunteers will do intensive political organizing. The program will include holding workshops on political questions, building block clubs and strengthening FDP county organizations. The most important task will be to create an atmosphere where local people can continue to develop leadership skills.

San Francisco:

There has been a great deal of recent discussion of what an organizer is, what he does, who he is. This discussion goes on in SNCC and among people interested in SNCC's work. The following are some notes and thoughts on the work of SNCC field secretaries. In particular, these ideas seem to me to be applicable to the work done by those organizers who have been most successful in developing local grassroots organizations that remain functioning after the organizer leaves the community and goes on someplace else.

An organizer likes people -- all kinds of people. He takes people the way they are. I would say that for most SNCC workers this attitude applies to "the enemy" too -- that SNCC people are not interested in the annihilation of their opponents. This attitude is especially relevant to our time. Relevant practically because a minority movement must finally live at peace with the majority, even if this is after deep conflict. Relevant morally because in the time of The Bomb it is good that there are people in motion, furthering their interests, who do not see the elimination of their opponents as a precondition to the realization of their values. I do not mean that this coincidence of the practical and the good always exists; when it does not, the decisions to be made are deeply agonizing and ultimate goals are sacrificed to realism and practicality.

AN ORGANIZER LISTENS

An organizer doesn't like to do all the talking. He talks; he listens; he asks questions. He operates on the principle that the people in the streets, in the neighborhoods, in the fields, in the plants, on the unemployed lines, on the welfare rolls know better than he what they want and need -- but they don't know how to get it.

An organizer begins his work with a conversation. First he talks with people one at a time. He's always trying to get people talking, so he can listen. Then the



COFO WORKERS SING AT A MEETING IN THE

HATTIESBURG, MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM HOUSE

George Jellis

What Is An Organizer?

organizer wants to get the people with whom he has been talking one by one to talk with each other -- first in a small group where they won't shy away from saying what they said to him alone, then in bigger and bigger groups. These bigger groups become organizations.

The first kind of group the organizer brings together is informal -- that is, it doesn't have a constitution or elected officers and special jobs for the people. In the group, he does this because he wants people to get comfortable with one another before they start dividing up work in very specialized areas.

This kind of organizing is frequently enhanced by mass marches, direct action demonstrations and the like. Negroes in Mississippi for a long time called the SNCC workers "freedom riders". They had seen the freedom rides on television or had heard about them. The "rides" were a break into Mississippi. If they hadn't been followed up by door-to-door work with the people in the State, they would have been largely meaningless. But, if they hadn't occurred, the door-to-door work might have taken many more months before it began to be successful. Similarly, the Selma-Montgomery march opened people in Perry, Wilcox, Lowndes, Dallas and other counties in Alabama to the idea that they could begin to do something to change their lives. The appropriate balance between direct-action and door-to-door community organizing is a subject of continuous discussion and debate in SNCC.

GETTING TO THE ROOT

SNCC's organizing techniques have been called "radical", and that is an accurate statement if by "radical" one means going to the root of things. Getting to the root of things means getting to the people, because at the root of America's problems is the fact that a very few people make most of the important decisions for most of the people.

When an organizer has brought people

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS STRIKE

Freedom Labor Union Formed

The Mississippi Freedom Labor Union (MFLU) formed early in April, 1965, has at least 1200 members working for better wages and conditions in six Delta region counties.

Workers in Shaw, Washington County, who started the MFLU, were being paid \$1.75 daily for ten hours of cotton-chopping. "We felt we should be getting a fair price for what we were working for," George Shelton of Shaw said. "Members of our Union have gone on strike. They will only work for \$1.25 an hour."

The Union has been organizing in Bolivar, Holmes, Issaquena, Sharkey, Sunflower and Washington counties. All members have signed pledges promising to work with the MFLU, through "strikes, picketing, boycotts, collective bargaining and non-violent action" to make the people they work for meet Union demands.

The MFLU is demanding a \$1.25 per

hour minimum wage for a eight-hour day, free medical care, social security and accident insurance, government compensation for people who cannot get full-time work and equal hiring practices, working conditions and wages for all workers.

LABORERS KEPT OUT OF LABOR CONFERENCE

April 14, 60 MFLU members tried to attend the eighth annual Farm Labor Conference, held in Greenville. A Union organizer said that though "the Conference dealt with the fates of thousands of Negroes", none were invited by the sponsors -- the US Department of Labor Bureau of Employment Security, the Mississippi Delta Council (an owner's organization), the State Extension Service and the State Employment Office.

When MFLU members got to the Conference, they were stopped by Greenville Police Chief Burnley. Then a Delta representative of the State Employment Service said that eight members could attend the afternoon Conference session. The entire delegation asked to attend; they also said they wanted to go to the morning session on cotton-chopping. They were told that the morning session was over, even though it had begun at 11:00 and the MFLU group had arrived at 11:30.

The eight who attended the afternoon meeting said the Conference Room was large enough for 50 to 100 more people. They left early, because the afternoon topic was uninteresting, and joined the rest of the delegation picketing the meeting.

MFLU members want telegrams and letters sent to Labor Secretary Willard Wirtz protesting that no Negroes were invited and few were allowed to attend.

Union membership is increasing rapidly. More than 100 attended a workshop in Shaw to discuss MFLU goals and purposes. Most of the members are cotton-choppers, haulers and laborers, but the MFLU is also trying to organize more skilled workers, such as tractor drivers.

SOME BOUGHT OFF BUT MANY JOIN

To keep his drivers out of the Union, the owner of the Dunlease plantation near Greenville offered them an increase of \$7.50 for a ten-hour day. Though his drivers agreed to accept the increase and not become MFLU members, drivers on other plantations are interested in the Union. Seventy of the 450 Greenville Union members are tractor drivers.

More than 600 MFLU members have gone on strike in Shaw, Rosedale, Laymont and Glen Allen. Union members in Shaw have cleared and planted a three-acre Freedom Farm to help feed 130 strikers there, but donations of canned food are also needed. (Send to COFO, 830 Nelson, Greenville)

(Just before this issue of THE MOVEMENT went to press, we received word that tractor drivers in Washington County, Mississippi have struck on one plantation. The drivers and their families -- roughly 80 people -- have been evicted. Efforts are being made to set up a tent city to house them.)

SNCC Worker Wins Georgia Primary

VICTORY SEEN AS START OF GEORGIA FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY



SNCC Communications Director Julian Bond ran in the Democratic Primary as a candidate to represent his district, newly created through reapportionment, in the Georgia state legislature and won.

Twenty-five years old, Bond was the youngest candidate running in the state primaries. He is a leader of the Atlanta Student Movement and former managing editor of the Atlanta Inquirer, the city's Negro newspaper.

(For a personal analysis of the Bond campaign by a SNCC field worker, see page 3)

The young civil rights leader campaigned on a platform calling for a \$2.00 minimum wage, improved urban renewal programs, repeal of the right to work law and an end to the literacy test for Georgia voters. "Talking with the people in my district to see what they want done" gave Bond the issues that led to his victory.

"I see this campaign as a chance to prove that the ordinary citizen has decision making power," he emphasized.

Georgia held special primaries in May to implement the U.S. Supreme Court's "one-man one-vote" decision for the newly reapportioned state House of Representatives. Twenty-four Negroes were candidates, 17 running on the Democratic ticket and 7 on the Republican. The general election is scheduled for June 16. No less than 6 Negroes are expected to win, giving Georgia Negroes their first legislative voice since Reconstruction.

WHAT IS AN ORGANIZER?

CONT. FROM FRONT PAGE

that you're working on related to that other problem we were talking about last week?" And, "Who decided that Negroes couldn't vote?" And, "Where did he get the money to run his campaign?" And, "Why did they give him that money?" And so forth. These are clearly not neutral questions. They make people begin to think about what democracy means, and what one-man, one-vote means. The organizer uses the technique of asking questions because he knows that if he gives the answers, people won't have to struggle to come to their own answers; and, when people don't have to struggle for something it doesn't mean too much to them. But when they grasp it themselves because they found it out, then it can never be taken from them.

Asking questions is part of working yourself out of a job. And a good organizer does that too. At some point, people in the communities get the knack of asking questions. They begin to see relationships between things in their environment. It's time for the organizer to move on. His job has been done; he can go on to the next county or state and start work again. The psychological drain that results from this kind of work is tremendous. It goes against everything we are brought up to think is how one operates. Instead of working yourself into something and keeping people from knowing what you know, you do the very opposite. Let people know what you know and hope that they will take over your job. Another important aspect of this process is giving people information that they need to make decisions and letting them know where they can get more information. This is one of the major roles of the SNCC research department.

There are two fundamental things that I think can be said about SNCC organizers who do effective work. These two things have to do with the whole character of SNCC and the movement in the South.

First, SNCC organizers are primarily concerned with the most disenfranchised people of the Deep South. They know that a movement for basic social change cannot be based on the thin layer of Negro middle-class people in the South. Rather, they seek a movement based and led by the millions of domestics, day laborers, farm workers and unemployed Negroes of the black belt. And they hope that working and unemployed whites in the South will themselves begin to raise the issues of equal rights, democratic participation and a decent standard of living that are now being raised by the movement.

Second, SNCC organizers aren't afraid to raise those questions, which, when discussed by local people, frequently lead to fundamental challenges to the whole system of segregation, degradation and exploitation in the Deep South -- and in the country.

This approach leads to some of the problems Friends of SNCC have in working in the North -- and to some of the questions raised by people about SNCC. It means that SNCC isn't projected -- local people and local organizations are. It means that SNCC doesn't have exact timetables and beautiful programs on paper. If we did that, it would mean that we, not the local people, were really making the decisions. This is the meaning of that SNCC decision that summer projects will be held only if they are planned by local "people's conferences" in the Black Belt states. Maybe this is the difference between SNCC and what I call "press release revolutionaries" -- those who announce big plans in the mass media but who don't have any people with them when it comes to implementing those plans.

MONEY AND PEOPLE

To sum up. The major problem in the country today is that a very few people make the decisions for most of us -- black and white. Basically, these are political decisions, decisions having to do with war or peace, free and open discussion or elite manipulation of the public, spreading of the wealth of the land or greater concentration of it. Politics is the struggle

for power, and there are two basic sources of power: money and people. The power of people can only be brought to bear when those people are organized in democratic organizations which they control, and in which they make the decisions on program and policy. The organizer is the catalyst who makes this source of power possible. To organize people who have been exploited all their lives is a tough job. It demands of an organizer that he bring out of people what they have within them but have been told isn't there -- because they aren't "educated" and "qualified" or because they are Negroes or because they are poor. To do this requires of the organizer that he know who he is and that he not confuse what he wants with what the people with whom he is working want. Organizing in this way finally requires a self-discipline and a respect and love for other men that is not common in The Great Society.

MIKE MILLER

Some Personal Reflections Continued from Page 3

tion of instability in these political forms, created by people whose needs are not being and probably will not be met by these forms anyway. I think it is to our advantage to have oppressive government unstable. They have to release some of their control to steady themselves, or they try and steady themselves by tightening control which heightens the potential for rebellion. . . .

I think that SNCC needs to commit itself to an all-out effort to get an overwhelming turnout for this election. . . . The concept we need to focus attention on is that of people's right to shape and use politics. If that can happen in any one district in Georgia (or anywhere) it poses a threat to current politics all over. . . .

Julian's opponent was a minister. I think this was the first time since I've been south, that I've seen a large reaction against the ambitions of a minister. Apparently, people just draw the line at having a minister overtly involved in "political decision making"

What I learned most from the campaign was, that in the final analysis, organizing in the urban is the same as in rural areas (though the specific of why may be different). What people need -- all over -- is something they can grab hold to, or build, that is their own. . . .

I found that my own fears about controlling people or manipulating them blurred in the give and take dialogue (which implies give and take of decision making and ideas) with the community. Within the context of Julian's campaign, at least, I was part of that community.

CHARLES COBB

LIFE WITH LYNDON IN THE GREAT SOCIETY THE POVERTY MAIDS

On February 1, Lyndon announced that he was launching yet another battle in the war on poverty. He said he had instructed his Secretary of Labor to use existing funds and laws for what he called his Job Development Program. Lyndon said that there is a labor shortage in employment areas such as domestic service, and he wanted Secretary Wirtz to do something to provide more trained servants for families which don't like to do their dirty work for themselves.

The Washington Post calls the new program "dignifying the service jobs that are necessary to running a modern home and meeting the needs of family life today." The Post did not explain just how you could inject dignity of any kind into a relationship which requires that one person, in order to live, bind himself to the personal service of another. Nor did the Post explain what's to become of those families that can't afford to hire someone to run "a modern home" for them. But the Post did describe one of Lyndon's Job Development Programs which is underway in LaGrange, Georgia.

Lyndon's Office of Manpower and Training (OMAT) got together with a retired school teacher, Emmy Murray, in LaGrange. OMAT put up the money to redecorate an old roadhouse, and to equip it with various household appliances. Emmy is now teaching prospective household servants "cleanliness and work discipline", which is to say she's teaching Negro women how to address Miss Anne and Mr. Charlie with the proper degree of deference, teaching them how to shuffle their feet and tug their forelocks and convince the white folks of their profound satisfaction with a life of servitude.

The top wage available to the best-trained household servants in LaGrange -- that is, the top graduates of Emmy's careful instruction -- is \$4 per day. If the servant works every day of the year (and this is usually the case) she makes \$1,460 per year. This is just half of what Lyndon says (out of the other side of his mouth) is necessary for a minimum subsistence, and about one fourth of what is really necessary for a decent standard of living. And this is being done with federal tax money from Lyndon, the Second Great Emancipator of Black America.

There are two kinds of people in LaGrange who will be employing Emmy's graduates. The first kind is represented by the Callaway family. They own Callaway Mills, a textile manufacturer which is LaGrange's largest employer, employing more than 3,000 persons in a town of 23,000. The Callaway family owns the mills in a peculiar way. They don't own the stock of the corporation personally. Rather they control tax-exempt foundations, which, in turn, own the stock. In this way dividends paid by the mills to the foundations are free of federal income tax.

Callaway Mills received more than \$600,000 of federal money last year as part of Lyndon's program of subsidizing the textile manufacturers. If they used all this to employ household servants for the various branches of the family, they'd be able to hire about 410 servants at the going wage. Thus the Callaways could use the money Lyndon gave them, which is tax free, to employ more servants than an Oriental Potentate, the servants having been trained to the peak of servile perfection with money supplied by Lyndon from the federal taxes from which the Callaways are exempt.

The second kind of prospective employers for Emmy's graduates are the workers in the Callaway Mills. Diane McKaig, who works in the Atlanta office of Lyndon's Labor Department, explains that these Callaway employees don't make much money (she doesn't explain why, nor does she compare the amount they make with the amount the Callaways make), so the servants -- she calls them "home-making aides", a bit of double talk worthy of Lyndon himself -- have to be "taught to make low-cost dishes, including surplus foods." She doesn't say whether the servants will be preparing surplus foods for themselves, or for the Callaway employees -- perhaps both, considering the general level of wages.

The white female Callaway employees, of course, can't work in the mills unless they can find Negroes to care for their children and homes while they're at the mills. Since the Callaways don't pay their workers much the workers can't pay their Negro servant much. So the upshot of Lyndon's new job program, is to provide cheap and well-trained servants for the Callaway employees, at a price the employees can afford to pay without requiring a raise from the Callaways.

The Callaways exploit their white workers at low wages, and the white workers exploit their Negro servants at even lower wages. Lyndon lavishes hundreds of thousands a year on the Callaways, in the form of textile subsidies, and provides federal money with which to train Negro servants for the Callaways and their white mill employees.

JACK MINNIS

Challenge Volunteers Needed

to join in a massive student lobby in Washington, D.C. in behalf of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. Student lobbyists will join in seminars, workshops, and Freedom Schools with SNCC staff and FDP leadership. The purpose of the lobby is to unseat the racist Mississippi Congressional delegation. For applications contact your nearest SNCC office

NORTHERN OFFICE VANDALIZED

During the Memorial Day Weekend the Mid-Peninsula Friends of SNCC office in Palo Alto was broken into. Papers were strewn about the floor, and water was poured over everything. Two typewriters were sledge hammered, and part of the mailing list was stolen.

BAY AREA EVENTS

SNCC PICNIC

There will be a SNCC Picnic on Sunday, June 20, at Indian Campground, Tilden Park, Berkeley, from 2 p.m. til dark. Dinner is at 5 p.m. - food, beer. Donation \$1.25, children 75¢. Money will be sent to Southern Voter Registration Drive.

SEND SNCC YOUR GREEN STAMPS

NEWSPAPER

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INVOLVING WORKERS IN THE MOVEMENT

Proposal To The Unions

Writing in the August issue of *The Movement*, Jack Minnis disputes what he calls the "coalition theorists" who argue that the civil rights movement, in his terms, needs "to smuggle up close to Lyndon's Labor organizations." He continues, "The theory is that, if Negroes are to get what they want, being a minority of only 10% of the population, they're going to have to have allies." These allies, the theory goes, are in the unions. But, Minnis argues, the unions are among the haves, protecting the interests of the haves, uninterested in the have-nots and, in some cases, hostile to the have-nots who are now making demands that could threaten the interests of the unions.

To prove that the unions are hopelessly lost, Minnis, drawing heavily from a recent article by Sid Lens in *The Nation*, portrays the international role of the AFL-CIO as an anti-revolutionary force working closely with the CIA and other governmental agencies designed to keep the underdeveloped countries from gaining full political and economic independence. This is demonstrated, according to Minnis, by the source of funds for AFL-CIO's international projects and the influence of corporate directors with foreign investments in these labor projects.

Unions not Monolithic

Whether Minnis' argument is true or not, the method he uses to persuade us is far from convincing. In the first place, the unions are not monolithic. While Meany-Lovestone may define the AFL-CIO's international role, there are voices in organized labor that make, mild to be granted, protests.

Second, if we judged who was run by who contributed we would have to conclude that SNCC, because it draws heavily from middle-class white support in the North, is run by middle-class whites. Southern Negroes fighting on the front lines in the MFDP, MFLU, Poor Peoples Corporation, Farmers Alliances, freedom schools and community centers have come to a different conclusion.

Third, and related to the first point, is the fact that within the unions there are organized blocs of Negroes and low-paid whites who are pushing for something new to happen in the unions. These trade unionists, largely found in the unskilled and service occupations, are beginning to feel the pressure of automation. They are also aware that friends and relatives are without work and they bear this message into the unions. In the Laborers, Hospital workers, Steelworkers, Auto and others, there are Negro caucuses pushing in uncertain directions, but looking for new ideas with which to move.

Fourth, the unions, like the corporations and the government, are not immune to the pressures placed on them by the civil rights movement. The NAACP's Herbert Hill has led a drive on union discrimination at the national level. Local CORE chapters and action committees around the country cause the unions concern.

The unions, unlike government or business, have a basic problem which Minnis mentions but seems to dismiss. In his words, "the labor organizations don't even pretend to represent anybody except their members who have jobs and can pay dues, and that representation is often more pretense than reality." But this is to ignore their problem: how to deal with an expanding labor force and a shrinking job market.

This is not the civil rights movement's problem and the civil rights movement has, by and large, been satisfied to demand equal unemployment.

In the absence of some kind of program, Minnis is right -- a coalition with the unions means giving up demands of unorganized Negroes and whites. Without a program, a coalition is dominated by the stronger force and at this time the unions have much more money, more staff, and a much firmer entrenchment in the system than does the civil rights movement.

Four-Step Program

Is there an alternative? I propose a framework for the discussion of a coalition -- a coalition in which the demands of the Negro community for jobs, housing, schools and equal treatment would not get lost behind the hollow cry of "unity". I think that programs can be built around housing needs and social service needs of the ghetto.

STEP 1. Negro neighborhood (and Mexican-American and low income Anglo) community groups, leaders, etc. would develop an inventory of neighborhood needs: new low income housing, recreation facilities, paved streets, social services administered by the local community, and the like. Where traditional neighborhood organizations fail to do this, those unions with a large Negro, Mexican-American, or low income Anglo membership would organize their own membership according to residence and urge members who lived together in a neighborhood to take the initiative themselves.

STEP 2. The unions would support these demands because new jobs would be created as these needs were answered. The unions would also bargain for the inclusion of light-industry parks in replanned neighborhoods, these industries being an important way to stop the flow of work out of the unionized city into the non-union suburban, semi-rural or rural sections of the country. The unions would support the local initiatives from the neighborhood in exchange for the inclusion of permanent job opportunities in the light industry parks.

STEP 3. The neighborhood groups would insist upon certain terms before accepting the support of the unions. First, that a certain proportion, to be fixed in joint discussions, of the new jobs would be set aside for the unemployed of the neighborhood who would be brought into the job market through union apprentice programs, government training under MDTA, war on poverty, etc. Second, that final say in any program must remain in the hands of those who live in the neighborhood. Only with this veto power could the neighborhood interests prevail over the sometimes conflicting city-wide or state-wide or even national political and economic interests of some of the unions. Third, that the unions, through their pension and welfare funds, would make funds available to the neighborhood for the development of small housing cooperatives, small producer cooperatives, jointly sponsored neighborhood centers and so forth.

STEP 4. The unions would only conclude such agreements if the neighborhood supported programs for the creation of more jobs in the area of their jurisdiction. Thus a general program of public works might come out of the Alameda or San Francisco or Santa Clara Valley or Los Angeles County labor councils that would reflect the need for more jobs and the specific needs of particular neighborhoods for housing, services, or whatever would create

LIFE WITH LYNDON IN THE GREAT SOCIETY

HOUSEWIFE'S MANUAL..

YOUR BANTU SERVANT

The South African Government has just opened its first nuclear reactor, with the help and assistance of Lyndon and the U. S. corporations. It's been a marvelous example of international cooperation. "About 80 South Africans (just as white as they could be, every one of them) were trained abroad for the Pelindaba (as the reactor station's called) staff, many of them at Oak Ridge, Tenn., at the U. S. Atomic Energy Commission's national laboratory. Tome Cole (also quite white) was on loan to Pelindaba as a consultant, reported the New York Times.

What does South Africa have to offer to black Africa, besides the nuclear power which Lyndon and his friends have provided?

Well, for one thing it has a government. The Government of South Africa is probably as close to that of the classic police state as anything that's been developed since Hitler. South African police are authorized to take "witnesses" into "protective custody" for as long as six months. Too, there is a law which can be applied at any time permitting persons to be arrested and held for 90 days without charge.

This South African police state government has decided that there are "dangerous implications" in an experiment to upgrade black workers in the mines. The poorest paid whites in the mines earn six times as much as the best paid blacks. Most of the mines are owned by U. S. and British businessmen, whom we have named many times in these pages. Naturally, these businessmen want the cheapest labor possible. They'd like to get rid of the white supervisors and let the blacks do it all. But if the whites refuse, then they'll go on paying the whites to supervise the blacks, and paying the South African government to police the blacks so they've no choice but to work as they're told.

That's the kind of government that South Africa has to offer the rest of Africa. That and the nuclear power that we of the Great Society have provided.

Anything else?

Well, yes, there is one other thing. It's a book. This book is published by the City of Johannesburg. The title of the book is "Your Bantu Servant and You". It's designed to tell the white masters in the City how they can get the most out of their black servants.

The City tells the white masters that servants like to be called by their names, rather than "boy." The City explains that "in his own mind he identifies himself with his name." A revelation. The City tells the masters that they should speak to the servant in a language the servant understands, if they want him to do what he's told. And the servant, says the City, should be given only one order at a time since "very few servants are able to follow, remember, and carry out a series of instructions in the correct order, at all, for that matter." It seems the South African black men are not computers. The way for the whites is indeed hard in that frontage-land.

The City is particularly concerned about the relation between white women and black menservants. "Never," says the City, "appear in front of him in any state of undress, or allow any female in the family to so appear." All work--no play.

Lastly, the City cautions the white masters that the blacks are human and have their own social and recreational interests. They should, therefore, not be required to work more than 65 hours per week. The City says it is necessary to pay good wages in order to get good servants, and it recommends pay of \$22 per month, for four 65-hour weeks. That figures a bit more than one cent per hour.

And such is the country in Africa which Lyndon, his Atomic Energy Commission, and his corporate friends, singled out for the gift of a nuclear reactor and the expertise to run it.

FOOTNOTE ON WATTS

Los Angeles and its rebellion are interesting. The cops are out there now gathering all they can of the goods that were taken by the rebels from the stores. The cops say they'll give the goods back to the store-owners, if the store-owners can identify them. Such goods as can't be identified will be kept by the police and auctioned off later this fall.

The money that's made from the auction will go to the policemen's and firemen's pension funds. While the rebels who took the goods are serving out their sentences in the California prisons, the cops against whom they were rebelling will be enjoying the fruits of the looting.

JACK MINNIS

Justice in the Great Society.

those jobs. Further, this plan would retain in the neighborhood local initiative and leadership so that programs would not be imposed from above but developed by community organizations at the grass roots level.

Whether such planning is technically possible, I do not know. The problem, however, is not a technical one. It is, in the broader sense, a political one. Not political in the Democratic vs. Republican sense -- there is little likelihood of initiatives from either of those sources -- but political in the sense that different interests must be brought together around a common program and that such a program must, if it is to deal with the tremendous sense of powerlessness, despair and frustration that leads to explosions like the Watts riot, come out of the communities; not be imposed by government bureaucracies or paternalistic social welfare agencies. When the political problem is solved, answers to technical questions will emerge.

It has never been clear to me why private

agencies must be controlled by absentee, generally corporate, interests with no roots in the communities. The days of benevolent or not so benevolent colonialism are coming to an end. Yet, labor councils and locals throughout the nation continue to pour funds into Red Feather, Community Chest, United Fund, whatever they are called drives instead of demanding that social work services be placed under the direction of local leaders at the neighborhood level.

The Mississippi movement began in the plantations, towns and counties. It moved state-wide. It then challenged the nation with the Freedom Democratic Party. The process took four years. The problems of the North are deeper, more complex. We cannot solve them more quickly here. We can, however, begin to understand that problems will not be solved by any ideological elite studying the basic texts for utopia. Rather, they will be solved in the work and thoughts of people trying to build meaningful programs in the "other America".

MIKE MILLER

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COLLEGE OF MARIN
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UNIVERSITY OF S.F.
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MT. DIABLO
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Job Corps Workers Strike For Hours, Wages

SAN FRANCISCO — The Job Corps Program is a farce, according to a SNCC field worker and a Job Corps crew leader in San Francisco. The crew leader has worked on the "apprenticeship" program in Golden Gate Park, and the SNCC worker has talked at length with some of the participants.

Crew leaders and Job Corps workers get \$1.35 an hour. The Foremen, recruited from the labor unions, gets \$5 an hour. When the kids were recruited, said the crew leader, they were told that they would be able to work eight hours a day after the first few weeks of work.

Until then they were to have a four hour day.

"They're supposed to be apprentices in landscaping," said the crew leader, "but all they do is dig up stumps and clean up. They don't learn anything except how to use a shovel."

Racial Fighting

On September 27, when the program was in its fifth week, trouble broke out. The kids and crew leaders were dissatisfied with the wages and hours and

had been talking about a protest.

Then three white kids from the South told a foreman that they refused to take orders from any Negroes or Mexican-Americans (the Job Corps workers are primarily from these two minorities).

When word of this spread, members of a Negro Job Corps gang caught the three and beat two of them badly. The third escaped, but was later beaten by a group of Negroes and Mexican-Americans.

Sit Down Strike

The rest of the workers, Negroes and Mexican-Americans, decided to go on strike to demand an eight hour day. One of the foremen, white, objected and was run off by the kids.

The next morning the strike was still in effect. A white crew leader was run out of the park for objecting. The kids sat down on their tools and demanded that the Jobs Corps Coordinator come out and talk to them. When he did, they thoroughly questioned him and forced him to send a proposal to Washington requesting longer hours for the workers and higher wages for the crew leaders.

"The kids are in a trap," said the crew leader. "Most of them are on parole; they can't get any other job. The whole operation is marked with apathy; kids are dropping out. Some clown is sitting in an office downtown, making a thousand a month, and never comes out to see them. The kids are hip to this. They don't expect anything from the program."

Asked what the workers he had spoken to felt about the Job Corps program, the SNCC worker said, "They know they're being exploited. They were given these jobs to keep the city safe from them, and they don't have any illusions about it. They know what's happening."



JOB CORPS TEAM talks about conditions with SNCC field secretary.

Things SNCC

Hasn't Done

We keep reading about ourselves in the papers: SNCC does this, SNCC endorses that, SNCC says something or other. Now it's not that we agree or disagree with these various reports. We'd just like to be in on the decision to use our name, so we can decide for ourselves whether we agree or not. To clear the record, as far as we know it:

SNCC has taken no position on police in Oakland; SNCC has not asked for information regarding Viet-Nam troop train movements; SNCC did not organize the Watts action.

We have not been asked, nor have we volunteered any organizational resources to the protests against the war in Vietnam now taking place.

SNCC did not endorse Jack Morrison in the recent San Francisco Supervisorial elections.

A word on how SNCC works might help those who have been confused by these reports. The national SNCC staff, which meets three or four times a year, decides what SNCC is going to do. Individual SNCC field secretaries may, as individuals, do what they would like to do. If their action is a violation of basic SNCC views or principles, then SNCC folks talk about what they're going to do about that. Friends of SNCC, the northern support arm of SNCC, primarily engaged in fund-raising, political pressure and educational work in behalf of the Southern movement, decide what they are going to do. About 20 such groups exist in California.

For the record, we hope that friends in other organizations in the movement will show some respect for these concerns.

MIKF MILLER

A Freedom Worker's View on War And Peace

CONVERSATION WITH
BOB PARRIS

The basic question regarding the relationship of civil rights and peace, Bob Parris says, is not whether civil rights organizations should take formal positions on the war in Vietnam.

In the first place, he notes, formal resolutions are meaningless unless they grow out of the natural direction of organizations and are combined with action.

Instead, Parris thinks, the correct starting point is for those identified with the freedom movement to consider the underlying philosophy of their own movement, to decide what response this philosophy calls for in relation to war, and what natural courses of action flow from this.

"Those who say people identified with civil rights should not become involved in the peace question," he explains, "threaten the Negro with probable loss of what he stands to gain from the civil rights movement if this involvement develops."

"Certainly one of the most basic rights we have been seeking is the right to participate fully in the life of this country," he goes on. "Now if by participating — that is, taking part in the discussions of the great issues that face the country — we threaten the right to participate, we have to begin to wonder whether the right is real."

In addition to the right to take a stand on the peace issue, however, civil rights forces may also have the responsibility to do so.

At present, Parris notes, there is a general assumption that foreign policy is to be made by the executive branch of the government.

"But the civil rights movement, in line with its philosophy, puts forth a different idea," Parris says, "We have always said people should be involved in all the major decisions that affect them."

"We do not want the new politics to be just the old. People need a chance to vote on real issues. That means, among other things, debate on foreign policy in our election campaigns — something that doesn't really happen anywhere in the country now."



As to what people and organizations in the civil rights movement can do about all this, Parris notes that even critics of their participation in the peace movement concede the right of an individual in the movement to join peace groups. It is involvement of civil rights organizations that they question.

But this objection tends to silence the individual too, Parris says, because American society identifies people primarily as part of a category.

As for the whole freedom movement, Parris says the relevant question is not whether this movement should join the peace movement; this is not a possibility.

"Rather the question we must ask ourselves is what kind of a movement are we going to be," he says. "Are we going to address ourselves to the broader problems of society? Can we build a wider base for a movement in this country; and actually can the freedom movement as it has existed survive and achieve its goals unless it does this?"

One thing is sure, Parris says. There is a sickness in this country in its view of the world. And it is possible that those who have been part of the agonies of the South in recent years can understand it better than some others.

The White Southerner, like the nation today in regard to the world, he points out, has been twisted and perverted by its fear

of the "outsider," the "foreigner," "one different from us," a fear of the "foreigner" telling him what to do, a fear of a "conspiracy" from those "outside forces."

"What do you do when the whole country has a sickness?" Parris asks. "How do you break through then? Are they the people

who have the information about the world and its complexities and also the legitimacy to speak? Can they awaken the nation as the South is beginning to be awakened?"

— Condensed from an article in the SOUTHERN PATRIOT, October, 1965.

THE NOCTURNAL MESSENGER...

Citizens of Holmes County:

We come to you as a group of men who have dedicated ourselves to the task of stopping the on-slaught of communism, in the disguise of so-called "civil rights" to which we are being subjected, in this area.

We have watched this Godless Movement advance, along with its infamous fellow traveler, integration, until it is on our own door steps. We do not intend for it to go any further. We are going to fight back and, as our ranks grow, we intend to regain the ground we have lost. We are going to do this by whatever means we deem necessary to accomplish the task.

If some of you begin to feel that our methods are too severe, just remember this. The same blood that gave our forefathers the strength to band together and defend what they believed in, flows also in our veins. Any thing worth living for is also worth dying for if this becomes necessary. The raging inferno of Communism which is running rampant in this country is not going to be stopped by the garden hose type of resistance which we have offered up to now. Every action our so-called "leaders" have taken up to now has been a step backward and we are tired of retreating. Battles are not won by appeasement and surrender. As our gallant soldiers fight this Godless Evil in the far off jungles of Viet-Nam, so shall we fight it here at home.

Because we are in an area of heavy bi-racial population, we feel that we should advise all members of the Negro Race that we are not going to be "overcome" by any one. The many negroes who have remained aloof from the Communist inspired and directed "civil rights" movement have nothing to fear from us. They have intelligence enough to know that we can and must live together here in the future as we have in the past, with mutual respect and understanding for each other.

We grant the other group of Communist indoctrinated, mis-led troublemakers these choices. They can get the white scum known as "civil rights" workers out of their homes and away from their churches. They can get their children out of the white schools of this county and put them back into their own schools which our taxes built for them. They can do these things or they can prepare to take the consequences. The same eyes that observe them by day will also be watching them by night. **WE DO NOT PROMISE, WE PRODUCE.** God Bless and keep you fellow loyal Holmes Countians.

(Copy of letter being distributed in Holmes County, Mississippi, by "A Local Civic Group.")

Says Bob Parris, "The rationale this nation uses to justify war in Vietnam turns out to be amazingly similar to the rationale that has been used by the white South to justify its opposition to the freedom movement." For the racist white Southerner, there is a logic in this parallel, he notes. He condones murder in Vietnam for the same reason he condones it at home — he sees a threat to his civilization.

A Note From the New SNCC Chairman

"The following speech by a white SNCC worker indicates that the so-called new direction in SNCC is not so new after all. I hope SNCC staff and supporters across the country will give this talk their attention. At a time when SNCC is being misinterpreted by the press and misunderstood by its friends, it is useful to look into the history of the organization and see that we are taking no great departure from our original direction -- the direction of independent

power for Negroes in America.

"It is important to note that this speech was given almost two and a half years ago -- before the 1964 Summer Project. I have capitalized and underlined those sections I think are especially important today. Not one word of the speech has been changed or omitted.

"While there may be some of us who differ with some of the views expressed, it is imperative for us to understand our own history."
 — STOKELY CARMICHAEL

IS THERE A CHANGE IN SNCC?

By Mike Miller

2 YEARS AGO: A WHITE SNCC WORKER TALKS ABOUT BLACK POWER

(Author's Note: As Stokely says, some of us would differ with some of the views expressed in this speech I gave two years ago. If I were giving it today, I would say some different things, too, though I would not change the substance of the talk).

FEBRUARY 1, 1960 — the place is Greensboro, North Carolina — four young Negroes demand to be served at a local fountain and refuse to leave when the service is denied. What in retrospect is named the sit-in movement has begun. Word returns to the college campus and is spread from there to other Negro schools throughout the South. In the next two months dozens of campuses became involved. Four years later, February 1, 1964, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee is known to all who are interested in civil rights movement. It is generally acknowledged as the most militant of the civil rights organizations.

I think it would be fruitful for us today to consider the origins of this movement, the source of its strength, its direction, and its meaning for us. If a single source of inspiration had to be named, it would probably be found in the Montgomery bus boycott and the inspiration of Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. Others point to the long history of sit-ins staged by CORE. But neither of these led to a full movement in the South — the Montgomery Improvement Association was unsuccessfully copied in a few other Southern cities and the work of CORE remained in the hands of a dedicated minority, indeed a handful, who were a valuable moral witness but never at the center of a mass movement.

CORE and King were, in fact, distant models for the students who began the sit-ins — almost as distant as the works of Gandhi and Thoreau. Indeed, Walden Pond and the march to the sea may have been as relevant to these undergraduates as the earlier experience of their black brethren in the South. Paradoxically, it may be the very isolation created by the McCarthy period and the institutionalization of its premises during the '50's that provided the climate for new ideas in the South. I am told by some of the old timers in SNCC that circles developed on the Southern Negro campuses in the mid and late '50's and that discussion in these circles, especially among Negro seminarians, was deep and intense. Here were debated the ways to freedom. The Greensboro Four were the first to publicly proclaim what had been privately discussed.

I was struck by the sense of isolation in which this movement grew while I was in Mississippi this past summer. There was a universal feeling in SNCC that we were the first to grab the tiger by the tail — and he wasn't a paper one either — and that before us there had been nothing. I was disabused of these notions by a wise middle aged Negro in Cleveland, Mississippi, who told me of what must have been a very real movement until it was squashed by the fear and black exodus that followed the brutal killing of Emmet Till.

Let me elaborate for a moment the importance I place on this period of isolation. If McCarthyism disrupted the continuity of political generations, it also allowed the new generation to think in its own terms without using a language foreign to its experience. If McCarthyism devastated existing movements in its time, it also made possible the growth of a movement whose internal dialogue was not hampered by the narrowed perceptions and hardened styles that is personified in the ideological disputes I was a hour in New York among those of the

older generation who were trying to understand how SNCC had happened and interpret what it is doing. What I am suggesting is that this movement owes its health and vitality, at least in part, to the sickness that was the McCarthy era. These isolated conditions produced a core of dedicated militants who are building a new, non-violent American revolution. The character of that revolution is what I would like to discuss next.

If SNCC's uniqueness stems from the period of isolation in which it developed, its continued strength reflects the rapid way in which it broke out of that isolation. I suppose that it is difficult to recall that SNCC's first demands were not very different from the demands of the most moderate of the forces in the civil rights movement: the integration of lunch counters and theaters, libraries and swimming pools, and so forth. We should also remember that the militant manner of protest for these rights was one that required little support in Southern black communities. All it required was a few students sick and tired of signs that said "white only" or "Negroes on Tuesday" and who were willing to challenge with their bodies the structure of power and myth that stood behind those signs. In its beginnings, SNCC continued the tradition begun by CORE of protest by moral witness and added an ingredient of spontaneity, but didn't really change the nature of the enterprise.

Because the sit-in can be staged from isolation, continued involvement in it is difficult to sustain. It was no accident that CORE until very recently was a tiny organization — the risks were high, the rewards very distant. Except for those who make witness to save their own souls, without concern for the consequences of what they do, it is difficult to sustain the desire to act when there are not too many others around to act with you. And SNCC was having difficulty over this problem. SNCC was formerly organized at a conference in Raleigh, North Carolina, on April 1, 1960. The summer saw sit-ins continue throughout the South, but as the Fall semester moved along, it became apparent that the sit-in movement would be a dead-end movement if it were not accompanied by something else. Nor was that something else found in the Freedom Rides of Summer '61. While an extremely important injection of life into the Southern movement, the Freedom Ride, like the sit-in, was here today and gone tomorrow. The Freedom Rides did, however, accomplish something else — they came at a time when isolation was no longer healthy, when the exposure to new ideas was needed and helpful to young Negro militants in the South. Jails, like Parchman penitentiary, became the setting for new schools in the South. Negro students from the South, whose community was identified in the still loose-knit SNCC, were now to be exposed to the ideas and disputes of northern radicals and liberals, churchmen and atheists, pacifists and tactical practitioners of non-violence.

The Freedom Rides also pushed a new Administration to act. The international implications of Southern Negroes and their white allies being beaten, jailed and terrorized were too much for the Kennedys not to act. (I might say here that the tragic assassination of the President is only compounded by a reluctance to analyze what in fact happened under his leadership. That he was a personal friend of the civil rights movement is undoubtedly true; that he understood the magnitude of the problem or moved to meet it is as clearly untrue.) The Administration's first approach was to get the demonstrations

off the streets, out of the public accommodations, into some more manageable arena of politics. Thus in the Fall of 1961, the Justice Department approached SNCC to interest it in a program of voter registration in the South. There was a fortunate coincidence of interest. FOR SNCC, HERE WAS A PROGRAM THAT COULD BEGIN TO MOBILIZE THE ENERGIES THAT NO LONGER FOUND SATISFACTION IN THE SIT-IN; FOR THE ADMINISTRATION, HERE WAS A WAY, OR SO IT APPEARED THEN, TO GET CIVIL RIGHTS POLITICS OFF THE STREETS AND INTO THE COURTS WITH, PERHAPS, THE POSSIBILITY OF A NEW BASE FOR THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY. With administration aid, funds were made available for voter education campaigns in the South. SNCC provided most of the manpower and got the least money, but it was enough to cover irregular \$10 per week salaries. The Justice Department also promised to provide protection and legal support to voter registration efforts.

Voter registration proved to be all important in changing the direction of SNCC. The isolation of campus and community was radically changed. If anything, the new SNCC was in danger of losing its ties to the campus as its field secretaries became parts of the poverty stricken black communities in Mississippi, Alabama, southwest Georgia, Arkansas, and elsewhere in the South. And it is at this point in its history that something else happened in SNCC. And this I say with hesitation because it is a phrase that I think has been greatly abused. There emerged in SNCC a new man. The summer soldiers dropped from the battle, and there remained a core of dedicated field secretaries whose lives were inextricably bound to the future of millions of black tenant farmers, domestics, sharecroppers, unemployed, day laborers.



Photo: Gerhard Gschiedle

STOKELY CARMICHAEL talks with MIKE MILLER, author of this article.

And here I would like just to mention what I am sure is well known to all of you here. Conditions in the Deep South, for the vast majority of Negroes, are little different from what they were in slavery. The rural Negro is totally dependent on the plantation — he has no rights before the owner, he owes his soul to the company store, his children at an early age begin to drag the cotton sack behind them, he is close to being illiterate and, because of the unique character of his enslavement, he has been robbed of his identity. The poor blacks of the South represented, until only yesterday, a tragic combination of the Sicilian communities made famous by Dolci, and the victims of Nazi concentration camps. Politics was, for the majority, white folks business. To some, it was only colored folks business if you were a minister, a doctor, a teacher or a lawyer. It took a month for some of the people I met in Greenwood to be able to call me "Mike" rather than "Sir" or "Mr. Mike."

IT WAS THE EXPERIENCE OF THIS ENSLAVEMENT, I THINK ALMOST AS

SHOCKING TO SOME OF THE BORDER STATE NEGRO SNCC WORKERS AS IT WAS TO ME, THAT SHAPED THE BEGINNINGS OF A FUNDAMENTAL EXAMINATION OF AMERICAN SOCIETY BY THE MORE THOUGHTFUL ACTIVISTS INSIDE SNCC. THEY MET TWO CLASSIC PROBLEMS: POVERTY AND ALIENATION. THEIR ABILITY TO DEAL WITH THEM IN A FRESH WAY OWES, AT LEAST IN PART, SOMETHING TO THE DAYS OF ISOLATION WHICH SURROUNDED THE BEGINNINGS OF SNCC. IT IS AS A GROUP WITH ITS OWN IDENTITY, THOUGH WEAKLY DEFINED, WITH A COMMON HISTORY OF EXPERIENCE, WITH THE MECHANISMS OF INTERNAL DIALOGUE, WITH THE STRENGTH OF CHARACTER TO RESIST VARIOUS NORTHERN YOUTH WHO SOUGHT TO GIVE IT LEADERSHIP FROM ON HIGH, IT IS WITH ALL THIS THAT SNCC NOW EXAMINES THE MEANING OF ITS EXPERIENCE IN THE SOUTH. I still hear, at different times, talk among northern students of going South to give ideological perspective to the southern movement. I can only say that we should have learned that there is no place for this kind of arrogance in a democratic movement.

What is happening in the South is the development of a style and a mode of analysis that is closely wedded to the experience in the South of the SNCC field secretaries who are so deeply involved in the lives of their black brothers and sisters.

I think now, having said this much, I ought to try to outline what is the SNCC point of view. I do this with hesitation and with the warning that no single statement like this exists, and, indeed, no single view exists within SNCC. In fact, you may be learning more about what I think ought to be SNCC's point of view than what it in fact is. That, I suppose, is the risk of all theorizing.

FUNDAMENTAL TO THE SNCC VIEW IS THE DESIRE TO FREE — POLITICALLY, ECONOMICALLY, SOCIALLY AND PSYCHOLOGICALLY — THE MILLIONS OF ENSLAVED NEGROES IN THE SOUTH TODAY.

POLITICALLY, SNCC SEES VOTER REGISTRATION AS THE KEY TO FREEDOM. WHERE THE NEGRO, ONCE ENFRANCHISED, IS TO GO WITH HIS VOTE IS CERTAINLY IN DOUBT, UNTIL VERY RECENTLY, THERE WAS LITTLE QUESTION OF THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM IN SNCC. HOWEVER, AT THE RECENT WASHINGTON CONFERENCE, SNCC LEADER "ROBERT MOSES" OPENLY QUESTIONED WHETHER FREEDOM COULD COME TO THE SOUTH THROUGH EITHER OF THE POLITICAL PARTIES THERE. THE BUILDING OF AN ELECTORAL APPARATUS AROUND THE MISSISSIPPI M O C K ELECTION SUGGESTS THE POSSIBILITY OF STATE OR REGIONAL PARTIES THAT OPERATE OUTSIDE THE FRAMEWORK OF THE DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN PARTIES IN THE SOUTH, WITH THE POSSIBILITY OF INDEPENDENT MOVEMENT IN THIS DIRECTION NATIONALLY OR THE FORMATION OF DIRECT TIES TO NORTHERN SECTIONS OF THE DEMOCRATIC OR REPUBLICAN PARTIES.

CONTINUED NEXT MONTH

ANYBODY HAVE A CAR?

We need a car (and a credit card); very much. If you have one to donate, please call SNCC — 626-4577 — in San Francisco. Our work depends on it.

Book Reviews

HUELGA

HUELGA

By Eugene Nelson

Farm Worker Press, Delano, California, 1966 \$1.50

This is a poor book. Everyone knows it, but no one says it. It's overwrought and badly written, but it's published by the National Farm Workers Association, and the money from its sale goes to El Malcriado, their newspaper, so everyone should buy a copy.

The circumstances under which it was written could not have produced a fine book. Written in the fourth month of the strike, during crises, in a week's time by a young man who came in as an outside volunteer, an Anglo. The style is 19th century melodrama. The good people are "husky Reverend Jim Drake," "big smiling Julio Hernandez," "witty, handsome Bob Solodow," "blonde, svelte, beautiful Wendy Goepel."

The villains are "murderous maniacs," "rash Sergeant Dodd," "malevolent Pagliarulo." This is probably how it looked to someone who said of himself "I am awed by the rush and sweep of it all, it is beautiful and frightening and inspiring; it is the most thrilling and important thing that has ever happened to most of us." That may be how he felt — but the result comes out more full of gee whizz than a Billy Batson dime thriller.

Nelson's fixation with the threats to himself; the building up of run-of-the-mill picketline harassment to epic proportions; the present tense style that begins to stick in the reader's throat — these are understandable and can be dismissed, considering the pressure under which it was written.

What cannot escape is the Anglo kid son of a grower condescension toward Mexicans and Negroes that permeates the book. Indirectly it shows up in the descriptions of the NFWA staff members. The only individually drawn characters are the Anglos and Cesar Chavez. The rest — the people whose strike it is — appear as "shadowy brown faces."

"brown-skinned shivering men," "dark-skinned, jovial." Any book about a revolution of Mexican-American farm workers that begins by introducing as its first character, "blonde, svelte, beautiful Wendy Goepel, former member of Governor Brown's poverty program," can't be headed in the right direction. This attitude is followed by openly condescending or racist statements.

A group of white and Negro workers is approached in the field by "dashing and captivating Dave Havens," who begins to read to them "with stirring magnificence," Jack London's definition of a strikebreaker.

"The men in the field watch in awe, a glimmer of something perhaps not far removed from comprehension seems to flicker in their eyes, they seem in spite of themselves to regard the striking and courageous figure before them with admiration."

Nelson makes you wonder whether farmworkers are capable of being unionized. Later, Nelson is talking to a group of Negro farm workers:

"Why don't you people join us? See that man? I indicate Chuck Gardiner who is next to me on the line. 'He went down to the South to help your people — he was beaten by police in Mississippi to help you. And now you people up here won't even try to help yourselves when we show you the way.'"

Nelson is a white man with a burden. Still the book should be bought. The information on pages 15 - 18 and 45 - 52 is worth the price. So are the photographs. And sales of the book go to the NFWA newspaper. Better books will be written on the strike (One I know of has already been finished; the hope is that one of them may be written by a Mexican-American whose strike it was.

TERENCE CANNON

SCLC Statement on Vietnam

Following is the resolution of the annual board meeting of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference at Miami, Florida April 13, 1966:

What has aptly been called "the gangrene of Vietnam" has in recent weeks made a conflict of confused directions a tragic spectacle. American policy has become imprisoned in the destiny of the military oligarchy. Our men and equipment are revealed to be serving a regime so despised by its own people that in the midst of conflict they are seeking its overthrow. Not only the Viet Cong but basic institutions of the South Vietnam society, Buddhists, Catholics, and students are expressing contempt for the bankrupt government we have blindly supported and even exalted.

The immorality and tragic absurdity of our position is revealed by the necessity to protect our nationals from the population and army we're told were our cherished allies and toward whom we were benefactors.

Beyond this, the confused war has played havoc with our domestic destinies. Despite feeble protestations to the contrary, the promises of the great society top the casualty list of the conflict. The pursuit of widened war has narrowed domestic welfare programs, making the poor, white and Negro, bear the heaviest burdens both at the front and at home.

Another casualty in this war is the principle of dissent. We deplore efforts to characterize opposition to the war as disloyal or traitorous because such attacks on dissent are themselves destructive of our most fundamental democratic traditions.

More important, SCLC as an organization committed to non-violence must condemn this way on the grounds that war is not the way to solve social problems. Mass murder can never lead to constructive and creative government or to the creation of a democratic society in Vietnam.

We call on our government to:

1. Desist from aiding the military junta against the Buddhists, Catholics, and students of Vietnam whose efforts to democratize their government are more in consonance with our traditions than the policy of the military oligarchy. The amazing courage they have displayed in seeking to maintain non-violent methods of protest deserves our support and sympathy. They are perhaps the first people in history to attempt to secure representative government in the midst of war by peaceful means. If we are true to our own ideals we have no choice but to abandon the military junta under such manifestly vigorous popular opposition.

2. The intense expectations and hopes of the neglected poor in the United States must be regarded as a priority more urgent than pursuit of a conflict so rapidly degenerating into a sordid military adventure.

The longer we support a war of such dubious national interest, the more deeply we complicate and postpone solution of domestic problems.

The longer we support such a war, the more do we strengthen the reactionary elements at home who bar us from social progress and urgently needed reforms.

We urge that our government make a forthright declaration that until a solution is reached, no program for human betterment at home will be sacrificed or curtailed.

GOD'S MESSAGE TO LYNDON

"He that passeth by and meddeth with strife not his own, is like one that taketh a dog by his ears."

— Proverbs 26:17

THE MOVEMENT'S BURDEN

THE NEW RADICALS: A Report with Documents

by Paul Jacobs and Saul Landau

Vintage Press, paper, 1966 \$1.95

Like most of what has been written about SNCC, this new book, in its chapters on us, continues to present SNCC as an anguished bunch of young romantic radicals who seek to bring a revolutionary new society to the South and the nation. According to the Jacobs-Landau argument SNCC "visionaries" believed that "organization can be built through openness, honesty, and personal contact". They are becoming disillusioned with this view, yet have no guiding ideology to replace it. Organizing, in SNCC, means just talking to people about their problems. "We're not concerned with time," Nor do we seek to impose a point of view on the people; in this we are basically "unlike the Marxist-Leninist vanguard party vision". The basic thesis is that SNCC romanticism doesn't work; on the other hand, SNCC lacks an ideology to guide its work. Thus the organization wavers between anguish on the one hand and compromise to "more practical and in a sense realistic goals" on the other.

From the beginning, I knew something was going to be wrong. Any observer of the Southern scene who relies on Jack Newfield's Greenwich Village romanticism for his view of the Southern movement is bound to be in trouble. Thus Bob (Moses) Parris, the "visionary" went into Mississippi. In fact, Bob went into Mississippi to see what could be done with local people who wanted to bring change to the State—and the one way they thought they could move was through voter registration.

The big debate in SNCC during the Mississippi period — between direct action and voter registration (which extended into community organization) — is never presented. Yet it is this debate that is crucial for an understanding of what SNCC was then and what it has become.

The most difficult of the SNCC questions — how to organize — is passed over with facile generalities. "There was no urgency in SNCC's approach, for its premise was that to be an effective organizer one had to be involved in the daily lives of the people. Sometimes this meant, as one SNCC staffer wrote, "We might just sit there and build a base in the community....We're not concerned with time..."

As a matter of fact, SNCC had a Mississippi timetable. That time was not dictated by a "we just might sit here"

attitude. It was dictated by two facts in Mississippi life, one political, one economic. The political timetable was the Democratic convention and electoral politics. The economic timetable was the conscious plan of the White Citizens Council to mechanize out of the Mississippi Delta the tens of thousands of Negroes who could elect county, state and national politicians if they were able to gain the vote.

Another false issue is raised in the author's attempt to present some understanding of what is going on in Mississippi now. We are told that Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer (who isn't chairman of the MFDP), James Foreman and John Lewis, "who are trying to make order out of chaos (with) more practical and in a sense realistic goals have replaced the poetic ideals that Moses personified."

Moses, as a matter of fact, only personified these goals to a coterie around him. In my opinion, no one better understood Mississippi and national politics than Moses. His decision as Parris, to do whatever he is doing now is not, as Jacobs-Landau suggest, based on his inability to deal with his leadership role and the "anguish" it is supposed to have created, but is more likely based on an assessment of what is necessary to (a) organize Negroes, and (b) move the country.

But the deal with Moses as a political, rather than a heroic, legendary or poetic figure, would destroy the authors neat dichotomies: romanticism vs. realism; purity vs. cooption; non-directive organization vs. vanguard party; dignity vs. bread and butter gains.

If anything can sum up SNCC's position, it is that Negroes in the black belt can only achieve their dignity by fighting for what is rightfully theirs: the vote, jobs, good housing, good schools, adequate welfare. The synthesis of the authors' is in mass independent political and economic power—and that is exactly what SNCC is seeking to organize.

There is much in THE NEW RADICALS that I have not mentioned. Chapters on SDS, VDC, FSM, DuBoise and others are not covered. I have written briefly about what I know. I hope others in the movement will do the same about what they know. I hope they will do this because if they don't we will continue to have the burden of explaining what we are not as well as what we are.

MIKE MILLER

CONVENTION OF POOR SHAKES UP SMALL TOWN

FONTANA, CALIFORNIA — The week before June 4th, a rumor spread in the town of Fontana, that 12,000 Negroes were going to march in the streets. What actually happened was the 2nd state-wide meeting of the California Convention of the Poor.

The Fontana establishment, dominated by Kaiser Steel, was moved to provide \$500 worth of food for the meeting; the food was cooked by local women. The City Manager greeted the conference delegates.

Last fall the people of Fontana could get no response to their complaints from the county officials or the county OEO. As a result of the pressure from the two state-wide meetings, they have received poverty funds for Fontana. They also were able to get a man favored by the poor hired by the county OEO.

The coalition of groups drawn together to organize the conference will stay together to work for the poor in San Bernardino County.

The Conference met at Fontana High School. 269 people attended, representing 140 organizations. Many participants were from San Bernardino County. A state-wide welfare rights organization was set up.

One resolution passed by the Convention was the demand of a Compton minister

that uniformed policemen be required to wear nameplates "in a conspicuous place on their uniforms so that their names may be known and used by the citizens."

Another resolution denounced night raids and mass checks on welfare recipients and supported social worker Benny Parrish of Alameda County, who was fired for refusing to participate in a mass night raid and bed check.

Mr. Willie Thompson, a member of the Ways and Means Committee, writes: "(The resolutions) will be put in rough form and copies will be sent to the proper authorities on the city, county, state, regional and federal level. Other copies will be sent to local organizations who are ready to take action on the resolutions. The Federation of the Poor will send housing officials a copy of the resolution on public housing and a notice to the effect that these groups will be coming in to talk to them..."

In this way the resolutions serve as an introduction to action. This method, one participant noted, is especially effective in a small town, where the state-wide organization appears to be more of a power than a struggling local group. Mr. Thompson adds, "With the number of resolutions passed during our previous meetings we should have enough material for action programs for the next five years."

August 1966

THE MOVEMENT

BEST PAPER

TO THE EDITOR:

My best wishes - THE MOVEMENT gives me more of the information I want and can't find any other place, than any newspaper I take. Every issue gets better.
 Jean F. Stewart
 Berkeley

AUTO ROW

Editor
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Sir:

The San Francisco hotel and auto row sit-in demonstrators who made national headlines in March 1964 won a series of remarkable victories hailed at the time by civil rights leaders across the country. At the height of the demonstrations the San Francisco Hotel Association, representing 33 major hotels, signed an agreement meeting all of their demands. A spokesman for the Association termed it a "milestone in community relations." Later a similar agreement was negotiated with Auto Row. The Human Rights Commission, established by the Mayor shortly after the sit-ins, has acknowledged that the pioneering demonstrations facilitated its work.

This is all ancient history. One would think that the demonstrators might have received the public gratitude of the city fathers and, after the customary presentation of medals, desk sets and parchment scrolls in recognition of their services, be allowed to go about their business. But no.

This month, two and a half years later, some 160 men and women charged with misdemeanors are beginning to serve jail terms totalling 4,940 days and must pay fines totalling \$13,289 for their part in the sit-ins. Outside the San Francisco Bay Area there has been hardly a word in the press about these mass imprisonments, although there are some noteworthy names amongst those presently in jail: Mrs. Vivian Hallinan and four of her sons; Mrs. Robert Scheer, wife of the Congressional candidate; Dr. Thomas Burbidge, University of California professor and former president of NAACP. The majority of the prisoners are young people whose lives are being bitterly disrupted by these vicious sentences. Those unable to pay the fine must serve an additional day in jail for each \$5, which in some cases amounts to 44 days,

I am reliably informed by lawyers who represent pimps, shoplifters, bookmakers and the like that the usual outcome for a convicted first offender may be suspended sentence or a token fine. Trespassers and disturbers of the peace—if they are hearty, healthy, white, all-American panty raider types—routinely get off with a simple reprimand. Why this vindictive "justice" for civil rights demonstrators? Perhaps because these defendants are being used as pawns in the coming election campaign.

Governor Edmund G. Brown has the power to extend executive clemency to all the defendants, yet he seems paralyzed into inaction, some say out of fear of a certain television actor. Letters, telegrams and phone calls to the Governor urging him to grant a full pardon would be in order. So would cash contributions to help pay the fines of those being punished for obeying the dictates of conscience. Checks may be sent to: Funds for Justice, Edward Stern, Trustee, 690 Market Street, San Francisco, California.

Yours truly,
 Jessica Miford

HUELGA

Dear Terry -

Your review of HUELGA is probably worse than the poorest part of Gene's book. 60% of the review is devoted to making a point about the author's personal orientation towards minority groups. The book does not warrant that attack and a book review is no place to make such a point even. If Gene's work with farm workers gives you that impression, I personally would question such a conclusion, but that is up to you.

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Thanks for your help and please continue. If I didn't care about your opinion and THE MOVEMENT I wouldn't take the time to write.

Viva la causa,
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2 YEARS AGO: A WHITE SNCC WORKER TALKS ABOUT BLACK POWER

CONTINUED FROM LAST MONTH

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to the South.

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I might add that SNCC's concern for political freedom is not limited to the Deep South. It is our commitment to political freedom that is the basis of a policy that brings SNCC speakers before political groups of all persuasions, from conservative to radical. At the root of this is a faith in the democratic process even if it is continually abused and if its premises are ignored by the practices of local, state and federal government.

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SNCC workers are attempting desperately to cope with this. At the policy level, they have urged a massive program of federal spending to meet social

needs—spending for schools, hospitals, homes, and so forth. They are also seeking ways to work within existing programs such as ARA and MDTA, meager as they are. Self-help programs are being investigated and co-ops are now in operation in Selma, Alabama, and Ruleville, Mississippi. Finally, national campaigns for food and clothing are organized to meet actual starvation conditions that exist for too many Negro families in the South. And, as a sideline, SNCC workers in Atlanta have served as union organizers when the AFL-CIO and Teamsters didn't want to get involved.

None of this is extraordinary. I think the uniqueness of SNCC is to be found in its program to deal with problems of identity and motivation in the Black Belt of the South. Here I feel on less steady ground; the problems are certainly not as clear—and the solutions are more remote. (I THINK THERE IS A BELIEF WIDESPREAD IN SNCC THAT EVERY MAN MUST BE REACHED; THERE IS A BELIEF IN THE DIGNITY AND WORTH OF EVERY INDIVIDUAL; THEIR IS A COMMITMENT TO THE CREATION OF THOSE INSTITUTIONS IN WHICH EACH PERSON CAN EXPRESS THAT WHICH IS IN HIM. THIS IS THE BELIEVED COMMUNITY OF WHICH JOHN LEWIS SPEAKS. SNCC IS REALLY CONCERNED WITH THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEW MEN—not in the future, not the product of a transitional period, not the result of the work of a self-conscious apparatus creating conditions for this kind of freedom after other problems are solved, but new men who are developed and who develop themselves in the process of the struggle for freedom. THIS THE FIRST PRIORITY IN EVERY SNCC PROJECT IS THE DEVELOPMENT OF LOCAL LEADERSHIP; THIS IN SNCC IS THERE THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF RACIAL HISTORY, THE UNDERSTANDING OF THE NEEDS TO ELIMINATE FROM BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS THE DESIRE TO BE WHITE. BUT, AND EQUALLY IMPORTANT, ESPECIALLY FOR MOST OF US HERE, IS THE VIEW THAT THIS CONSCIOUSNESS DOES NOT DEPEND ON THE EXCLUSION OF WHITES FROM THOSE TO BE SAVED. BORROWING FROM THE NATIONALISTS, THEN ARISING ABOVE THEM, SNCC IS CREATING IN ITS COMMUNITY CENTER PROGRAM IN THE SOUTH, THE INSTITUTIONS IN WHICH THE FULLNESS OF FREE MEN WILL BE EXPLORED AND

IN WHICH THE NEEDS OF MEN FIGHTING FOR FREEDOM—LITERACY, HISTORY, HEALTH, CHILD CARE, AND SO ON—WILL BE MET.

I was struck, when John Lewis was here, by the ease with which he discussed the need for an integrated America and the need for a black identity—the two were not exclusive, rather each the necessary counterpart of the other. AND IN HIS DISCUSSION WITH LOCAL AFRICAN-AMERICANS, HE WAS NOT OUTFLANKED IN A COMMITMENT TO THE BLACK REVOLUTIONS OF AFRICA. THESE LEWIS SEES AS PART OF WHAT HE IS BUILDING, TO BE STUDIED AND TO BE A PART OF, BUT NOT TO MECHANICALLY APPLY TO THE CONDITIONS HE FACES.

As the break with the past was a necessary condition for the emergence of this fresh movement in the South, so is the new international situation part of what will be its success. The world is a more complicated place today than many thought it to be. I was in an informal gathering with some of the recent visitors from the Soviet Peace Committee and we were discussing the Sino-Soviet dispute. The discussion triggered a series of thoughts: China trades on nationalism in its dealings with the third world; Spain trades with Cuba; France affords recognition to China and accepts the Oder-Nisse Line; the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. move hesitatingly toward detente. This setting is part of the world which makes SNCC possible as something new in America.

I would like, in concluding, to return to an earlier statement I made and here modify it. I guess I haven't lost the academic habit of the footnote. I said that SNCC's early isolation was valuable and traced it to the period of McCarthyism. I think it also must be said that a price is paid for that isolation. The price is the loss of a continuity with the past and, with that, the danger of refusing to learn from history. In part, we in SNCC try to resolve this by discussing what we are and where we're going with as many people and groups as will give us a platform. No two SNCC workers will sound alike—I hope I've made that clear—but there is also a core of shared values, and I hope I've made that clear too. (I think a phrase used by Chuck McDew is apt to conclude "We who have fought to make the work safe for democracy must now fight to make democracy safe for the world.")

MIKE MILLER

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August 1966

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BEST PAPER

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None of this is extraordinary. I think the uniqueness of SNCC is to be found in its program to deal with problems of identity and motivation in the Black Belt of the South. Here I feel on less steady ground; the problems are certainly not as clear — and the solutions are more remote. (I THINK THERE IS A BELIEF WIDESPREAD IN SNCC THAT EVERY MAN MUST BE REACHED; THERE IS A BELIEF IN THE DIGNITY AND WORTH OF EVERY INDIVIDUAL; THEIR'S IS A COMMITMENT TO THE CREATION OF THOSE INSTITUTIONS IN WHICH EACH PERSON CAN EXPRESS THAT WHICH IS IN HIM. This is the beloved Community of which John Lewis speaks. SNCC is really concerned with the development of new men — not in the future, not the product of a transitional period, not the result of the work of a self-conscious apparatus creating conditions for this kind of freedom after other problems are solved, but new men who are developed and who develop themselves in the process of the struggle for freedom. THUS THE FIRST PRIORITY IN EVERY SNCC PROJECT IS THE DEVELOPMENT OF LOCAL LEADERSHIP; THUS IN SNCC IS THERE THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF RACIAL HISTORY, THE UNDERSTANDING OF THE NEEDS TO ELIMINATE FROM BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS THE DESIRE TO BE WHITE, BUT, AND EQUALLY IMPORTANT, ESPECIALLY FOR MOST OF US HERE, IS THE VIEW THAT THIS CONSCIOUSNESS DOES NOT DEPEND ON THE EXCLUSION OF WHITES FROM THOSE TO BE SAVED, BORROWING FROM THE NATIONALISTS, THEN RISING ABOVE THEM, SNCC IS CREATING IN ITS COMMUNITY CENTER PROGRAM IN THE SOUTH, THE INSTITUTIONS IN WHICH THE FULLNESS OF FREE MEN WILL BE EXPLORED AND

IN WHICH THE NEEDS OF MEN FIGHTING FOR FREEDOM — LITERACY, HISTORY, HEALTH, CHILD CARE, AND SO ON — WILL BE MET.

I was struck, when John Lewis was here, by the ease with which he discussed the need for an integrated America and the need for a black identity — the two were not exclusive, rather each the necessary counterpart of the other. AND IN HIS DISCUSSION WITH LOCAL AFRO-AMERICANS, HE WAS NOT OUTFLANKED IN A COMMITMENT TO THE BLACK REVOLUTIONS OF AFRICA. THESE LEWIS SEES AS PART OF WHAT HE IS BUILDING, TO BE STUDIED AND TO BE PART OF, BUT NOT TO MECHANICALLY APPLY TO THE CONDITIONS HE FACES.

As the break with the past was a necessary condition for the emergence of this fresh movement in the South, so is the new international situation part of what will be its success. The world is a more complicated place today than many thought it to be. I was in an informal gathering with some of the recent visitors from the Soviet Peace Committee and we were discussing the Sino-Soviet dispute. The discussion triggered a series of thoughts: China trades on nationalism in its dealings with the third world; Spain trades with Cuba; France affords recognition to China and accepts the Oder-Nisse Line; the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. move hesitatingly toward détente. This setting is part of the world which makes SNCC possible as something new in America.

I would like, in concluding, to return to an earlier statement I made and here modify it. I guess I haven't lost the academic habit of the footnote. I said that SNCC's early isolation was valuable and traced it to the period of McCarthyism. I think it also must be said that a price is paid for that isolation. The price is the loss of a continuity with the past and, with that, the danger of refusing to learn from history. In part, we in SNCC try to resolve this by discussing what we are and where we're going with as many people and groups as will give us a platform. No two SNCC workers will sound alike — I hope I've made that clear — but there is also a core of shared values, and I hope I've made that clear too. (I think a phrase used by Chuck McDew is apt to conclude "We who have fought to make the world safe for democracy must now fight to make democracy safe for the world.")

MIKE MILLER

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