



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: 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.



COFO WORKERS SING AT A MEETING IN THE

HATTIESBURG, MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM HOUSE

George Ballis

San Francisco:

What Is An Organizer?

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

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 owners' 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.

EDITORIAL: LIFE OUTSIDE THE SOUTH

The question, "Who decides?", was raised in the April issue of The Movement by Jimmy Garrett and related to the Southern movement. But isn't it time to ask the question of all America?

Who decides the fate of our cities? Urban renewal legislation requires "maximum feasible citizen participation" in the renewal process. Yet in every Negro community across the land urban renewal is one of the most despised Federal programs. The slogan, "urban renewal is Negro removal", is common in the ghettos of the North. Nor is the feeling limited to Negroes. In some cases it is Mexican-American removal, in some Puerto Rican, in others senior citizens of old Anglo-Saxon stock. Each of these groups is poor and powerless. Urban renewal agencies do not operate in their behalf.

Who decides? Perhaps it is the banks, the savings and loan associations, and the professional agency personnel who must keep renewal projects going if their Federal grants are to continue.

Take the War On Poverty: there is a Federal requirement for citizen participation. Yet organizations of the poor and those representing poverty neighborhoods have had to fight city poverty councils and mayors to force compliance with the language of the legislation which initiated the war on poverty. By and large, the poor have had to fight the established social welfare agencies (with their respectable Boards of Directors) and the political appointees of city administrations.

In looking at urban renewal and the war on poverty it would be a mistake to view the problem simply as one of city administrations sabotaging well intentioned and well planned Federal programs.

It is impossible to specify the complex interplay of Executive and Congressional power here. "Life With Lyndon", in other columns of this paper, indicates the way power is used by the Executive Branch of the Government. No doubt key legislators, many of them Southern, are able to hold up programs initiated by the Executive Branch. Suffice to say that neither the President nor Congress have made any startling efforts to pass or implement legislation that would begin to meet the problems of the cities or the poor. Nor have they been outspoken critics of the implementation of these programs when it fails to include participation by the poor.

Let's put the whole question another way, "Whose government is it?" Is it the government of the people or of the narrow vested interests -- the corporations, the financial centers of power?

Ask the question of our schools: Liberal educational theory suggests that students learn by making their own mistakes, that ideas and action are intimately related, that students should be able to relate action and ideas and that universities and colleges are independent centers of intellectual and social activity serving as reservoirs for the best values of our society. But what happens? The Administration of the University of California did everything it could to frustrate the efforts of students to relate ideas to action. Schools daily trade their independence for grants from Federal agencies and large private foundations. Professors look more like businessmen hustling for another contract, too busy to take seriously their obligations to students or to independent intellectual inquiry. If the values of colleges and universities are going to be preserved, it will largely be due to the work of the students.

Finally, the question, "Who decides?" must be raised regarding the formation of American foreign policy. Has there been any great public debate over the war in Vietnam? Has the government given even the minimum of information necessary for serious debate? The answer is clearly, "no". For that reason, public discussion of Vietnam itself becomes a political act by suggesting that there are two sides to the question -- not just the official view of Rusk-Bundy-Johnson. James Reston, writing recently in the S.F. Chronicle, noted that President Johnson now acts on the advice of a handful of close advisors. These advisors have, according to many reports in the press, closed themselves off from criticism of our policy in Vietnam. Policy in the Dominican Republic now seems to be determined as a result of the debate between the CIA and the FBI over how many Communists belong to the rebel forces.

The risks of war and the effect of war demands for national unity and a halt of social movements at home led the SNCC Executive Committee to endorse the recent March on Washington against the war in Vietnam, sponsored by the Students for a Democratic Society. Among the speakers at the March was SNCC field secretary Robert Parris. Among those participating in the March was a busload of Mississippi Negroes who came to Washington to demand a change in our Vietnam policy.

Who decides is intimately related to what is decided. The problem today is to get the American people into the American decision-making process.

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NURSERY SCHOOL FOR RURAL CHILDREN IN ALBANY

The Albany Georgia Nursery School opens this spring for fifteen children of working mothers. "It will not be the purpose of the nursery school to teach children how to read, count, or memorize nursery rhymes," emphasizes Mrs. Wendy Roberts, organizer of the school and one of the two teachers. "Rather, the purpose will be to offer an environment where pre-school children can gain feelings of confidence, pride and worth in themselves."

Parental involvement will be a significant part of the program. The nursery school will be family centered. Parents will be encouraged to attend picnics, open houses, informal discussions and meetings to better acquaint them with what the school is attempting to accomplish.

Several learning areas will be stressed: language development, concept formation and perceptual discrimination.

Underlying all activities and experiences will be the idea of instilling a positive self-image. There will be mirrors so that children can gain a sense of identity. Many of these children have never seen their own reflection.

Books and stories that relate to real life experiences of the children will be used. If a child feels good about himself and can do things himself, the transition to first-grade will be a positive one. This will have a marked effect on his attitude in relation to his education.

DURING THE SUMMER: TRAINING

During the summer vacation the school will be a center to train people from various communities in the South in nursery school techniques. The trainees will be involved in a work-study program of seminars, observation and participation.

Training sessions, which will be free, will involve workshops in art, music, dance, literature and science, as well as programs in child development, concept formation, importance of play, and other areas of nursery school education as applied to the Negro child from the rural and semi-rural South.

The resource persons will arrive in Albany prior to the students to familiarize themselves with the community. The workshops will be geared toward the use of inexpensive ways of making equipment.

Staff persons will accompany trainees to their communities to talk to people about what they hope to set up. To ensure that actual nursery schools will be set up as a result of the training program, the trainees must have broad financial support -- from local groups working on poverty proposals, civic clubs, churches and civil rights clubs.

MFD Leader,
SNCC Worker Testify

"FREE ELECTIONS OR TERROR"

Mrs. Victoria Gray of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFD) and Ralph Featherstone of SNCC testified before a House Judiciary Subcommittee concerning Johnson's Voting Rights Bill. Both concurred with numerous other civil rights groups and individuals in asking that an amendment calling for new elections within six to nine months in the affected areas be added to the legislation.

In his testimony Mr. Featherstone said: "First, it should be pointed out that many of the states most affected by the bill will not hold state or local elections for the next two or more years. This means that democracy--in its true meaning of government by the people as distinct from the bill's present thrust of only the right to vote--is years away in many of these states.

"Second, it has historically been true in the South that the Negro has been denied the right to vote either through violence or intimidation or through restrictive voting qualifications and frequently through both.

"We believe that passage of the bill without requiring new elections will lead directly to a degree of terror and intimidation yet unseen in the civil rights movement. This bill in effect leaves violence and intimidation as the only out for those who would prevent Negro voting.

"Third, much of the national revulsion and disgust with racial events in the South concern law enforcement and police brutality. Who can forget the murder of the three civil rights workers in Neshoba County, Mississippi, the murder of James Reeb, and, in the same spirit, the refusal of Governor Wallace to do his duty to prevent a potential mass murder on the march from Selma to Montgomery.

THE LAW CHANGES, THE LAWMEN ARE THE SAME.

"Though Governor Wallace's term expires in January of 1967, Sheriff Rainey's in Neshoba County extends to January 1968, and that of Jackson, Mississippi, law enforcement officials until July 1969.

"Unless the subcommittee takes forthright action to require new elections in the areas affected by this bill, the problem of civil rights intimidation, violence and terror will increasingly occupy the Congress and the President for the next several years.

"Fourth, as so eloquently stated before the subcommittee by the distinguished Chairman of the Committee on Education and Labor, the poor black people of the South, who are in the greatest need of the program and benefits of the War on Poverty, who need most to be brought into the Great Society, will be waiting on the outside for years after passage of this bill unless a provision for new elections be included. Our experiences with the refusals of the state and local authorities to provide the benefits of federal programs to all--much less, under grossly discriminatory conditions, to the Negro citizens of the South--would fill volumes of testimony."

THE RIGHT TO PETITION

Mrs. Gray and Mr. Featherstone also supported Congressman John Lindsay's (Rep. N.Y.) proposed amendment that would empower the President to appoint Federal registrars to any area where fifty persons have sworn that they have been denied the right to vote. Mrs. Gray said, "We believe very deeply that people who have been victimized should be able to directly petition their government for redress of such grievances, and that the initiative should be in the hands of the people and not solely dependent on involved political and bureaucratic procedures."

Another proposal that was supported by both Mrs. Gray and Mr. Featherstone was an amendment that would deal with economic and physical intimidation of registered voters. Mr. Featherstone suggested language changes in the proposed bill that would "deal with economic intimidation by denying the benefits of Federal programs to persons impeding others in regard to their right to vote. The proposal is similar to Title 6 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and would be particularly effective through, for example, the Community Credit Corporation and other such agricultural programs in the South."

"I WANT TO SAY...."
Excerpts From a Long Poem

...
the cop
in Selma
pulls the trigger
that
kills for alabama
for god and alabama
as he's been taught
just like his brother
who fought
or bombed
or gassed
in south viet nam last week

and all the people
who don't make wars
but just kill and get killed in them

kill some more
or bury the dead
wishing mostly
that it
all would end
so they could go home
which is not on the battle field killing
that's just Patriotic Duty
and Responsibility

So people who cry for
Rev Reeb
and the Jimmy Lee Jacksons
should really cry
for all the killing
that has got to stop
and all the uniforms
that have got to be torn off

And someday
maybe
if i give america a chance
i'll be able to
wear the uniform
and have the gun
of the cop
that shot
Jimmy Lee Jackson

or be the commander
of the army
that will send the bombs
to blow up more people

i won't have to cry
for the jimmy lee jacksons
cause i'll have the right
along with the Responsibility
to kill them
for god
and my country
which i'll have learned about
standing at attention
in uniform

that's what will happen
to me
when i'm given
equality. . . .

So we throw away
our lives
and take instead
their things

and the things they have
are like
missiles & guns
money & cars
slots & walls

we take these things
and use them to
kill and hurt
be AFRAID
and be Unhappy
and to lose life
but to mostly kill

cause we want to die
cause deep down
we know
WE are life
and we have been taught
that's bad
and must be destroyed
(our life)
cause that's a threat
to

missiles & guns
money & cans
slots & walls
cause life can be ours

to be planted and grown
in 2 Billion ways
we can each call our own

CHARLIE COBB

New Territory, New Methods

This summer the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee plans to enlarge its present staff of six staff workers and one volunteer in Arkansas with 50 to 100 volunteers. The project will concentrate on voter registration and community organization; Freedom Schools and Community Centers are also planned. Presently the project is operating in 13 counties centered around Freedom Centers in Pine Bluff, Helena, and Forrest City; but with the coming of the summer and the coming of the fifty volunteers, the plans call for the project's enlargement into 31 counties in the state's Delta area.

NEW VOTING LAWS ARE KEY

As of March 1st, all elections in Arkansas must be held under the provisions of a new registration procedure that was adopted in a state-wide referendum last Nov. 3rd. This new amendment to the state constitution outlaws the poll tax (people had to re-register every year), sets up a system of permanent registration with only age and residence requirements, makes the county clerk the Registrar instead of the sheriff, and puts in provisions to safeguard against election fraud (which was rampant in the past.) It is around these new provisions to the state constitution that the Arkansas project plans to center its activities.

49TH IN EVERYTHING--

Arkansas is 49th in per capita income, 49th in money spent per pupil in public schools, and 49th in teachers' salaries. 55% of the students (black and white) graduated by Arkansas colleges every year leave the state; with 6.5% of the population in general leaving the state between 1950-60. (Arkansas is first in one thing, however--the University of Arkansas has the number one football team in the nation.

EXCEPT POLITICAL POWER

Politically, Arkansas has the most powerful delegation, man for man, in the United States Congress. Representative E.C. Gatherings is the third ranking Democrat on the Agriculture Committee and is the chairman of the subcommittee on cotton. Representative Wilbur Mills is the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee. Representative Oren Harris is the chairman of the Commerce Committee and Representative James Trimble is the fifth ranking Democrat on the Rules Committee. Senator William Fulbright is the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee and Senator John L. McClellan is the chairman of the Government Operations Committee and is the third ranking Democrat on the Judiciary Committee.

On the state level, the Democratic machine is very strong. Orval Faubus is in his sixth term as governor and some members of the State Legislature make him look green. However, Arkansas is now under court order to reapportion both state and federal districts--this may change things considerably. In addition, the Republican Party is gaining strength and although it has nothing really to offer either the Negro or the poor in general in the state, it can break the seemingly unbreakable Democratic machine.

The State of Arkansas has two distinctly different areas. The northern and western parts of the state are in the Ozark mountain country. This area is very sparsely populated and has almost no Negroes. There are about ten counties in the state that have no Negroes living in the entire county. This is because the system of slavery never flourished in this section for the land was not conducive to the plantation system. (A white community project has been considered for this area.)

According to the 1960 census report, Arkansas has a total population of 1,786,222. Around 450,000 (25%) of these are Negroes. Somewhere in the vicinity of 210,000 of these are of voting age and as of October 1, 1964, (the last time any one could register), there were approximately 85,000 registered Negroes in the state.

LIVING CONDITIONS

Between 1950 and 1960, 8.9% of the Negro people left the state. The reasons for this unusually high migration lie in the deplorable conditions under which people -- especially Negro people -- live in Arkansas. The Negroes who remain live mostly in those counties bordering on the Mississippi River and the southern counties of the

state. Some of these counties have as high as 61% Negro population. Most have between 30-50%.

In rural areas, 40% of all Negro dwellings are "deteriorated" and 41% are "dilapidated." (The U.S. Census Bureau defines "dilapidated" as housing which "does not provide safe and adequate shelter and its present condition endangers the health, safety, or well-being of the occupants.") Forty-four percent of all Negro housing is without piped water; 66% is without flush toilet facilities or any at all.

The median income of white families in 1960 was \$3,678, that of Negro families, \$1,636. Thirty percent of all Negro families in Arkansas exist on less than \$1,000



JAMES JONES, DIRECTOR OF THE SNCC ARKANSAS PROJECT

per year. (The U.S. Government sets the figure of \$3,000 per year as that income below which a family may be said to be poverty-stricken -- 80% of the Negro families fall into this category). The median yearly income for individual whites is \$1,788 that of individual Negroes, \$712. Only 3.2% of Negroes over 25 years old, living in rural areas have completed high school. Generally, all conditions of life are worse in the rural areas than in the cities, and most of the Negroes live in rural regions.

SNCC IN ARKANSAS

After working briefly in Little Rock, SNCC moved into Pine Bluff and the surrounding counties in early 1963. Because SNCC has been understaffed since the beginning, it was not until February 1964 that work was expanded to Helena and the counties in that area of the state. Late that year another project in Forrest City and surrounding counties was begun. The state headquarters was then moved from Pine Bluff to Little Rock.

At the present time there are three main project areas with offices in Forrest city, Helena, and Pine Bluff. Out of these three field offices, and the state office, thirteen counties are presently being worked.

PINE BLUFF NEGRO CANDIDATES

The project in Pine Bluff covers four counties -- Jefferson, of which Pine Bluff is the county seat, Lincoln, Cleveland, and Desha. The boundaries of this project area, as well as the others, are not fixed by any governmental lines and can be changed at any time. Due to the lack of staff most of the work in the past two years has been limited to Jefferson and Lincoln counties. In Pine Bluff the project began with sit-ins in early 1963, out of which was formed the Pine Bluff Movement. Since that time the voter registration of Negroes in the area has nearly doubled, bringing the total to about 40% of the eligible Negroes. Jefferson County and Pine Bluff in particular, have come a long way in the past two years -- Civil Rights workers are not frequently arrested any more and people are willing to talk about opening up job opportunities for Negroes. Of course, nothing much has been done, but it is a start. Future plans for Pine Bluff call for a Freedom School-Community Center which will house a li-

brary and include training workshops for the jobs that are opening up for Negroes.

Political strides have also been made in the area. Last fall, two local Negroes ran for positions on the School Board. Arthur H. Miller won by approximately 600 to 540. (His opponent attempted to contest the election but could not prove his allegations.) Two candidates ran for state representative from Jefferson County (for two different positions). One was Ben Grinage, presently the project director for the area, the other James A. Babsby, chairman of the Pine Bluff Movement. Both lost but the voter turnout was encouraging and plans are being made for the 1966 elections.

SNCC first went into Lincoln County in the spring of 1963, but harrassment has continued longer in that county than in Pine Bluff. SNCC workers were arrested constantly on minor traffic violations (once four were arrested in a period of one week). On one occasion, a worker was arrested at two o'clock in the afternoon for not having a light over his license plate. On election day last fall, one of the workers was beaten in front of a polling place. Local people who have cooperated have also been threatened and harrassed.

Despite this, registration has increased and a Lincoln County Civics Club created. In November, William Green, a local farmer, ran as an independent candidate for state representative from Lincoln County. Attempts were made to keep his name off the ballot, but failed. (92 names on the petition were challenged, but sufficient people came to court to testify that the signatures in question were in fact theirs.) Mr. Green lost the election and is not through with his troubles. In the election for Justice of the Peace in his township last fall, he ran without opposition, however, when he appeared to be sworn in for his second term, he was told that his election as Justice was invalid because his name appeared on the ballot twice (once for Justice, once for state rep). The refusal to swear him was in clear violation of the state constitution.

HELENA INTIMIDATIONS

SNCC first went into Helena in November 1963, but because of a lack of staff and police harrassment, were forced to leave. Three months later two SNCC workers returned to Helena and there has been some one there ever since. The Helena project includes four counties bordering the Mississippi River (Phillips, Monroe, Lee, and Arkansas), but lack of staff has limited

SOME PERSONAL REFLECTIONS ON THE BOND CAMPAIGN

I approached the campaign with some misgivings and ambivalence...I felt, and I still feel, the threat that American "politics" has on people who "play the game"... On the other hand I felt that Julian on the floor of the Georgia State Legislature would inherently focus attention on the politics that he articulated. In Julian's politics I have faith, so in the end, I based my decision to work on knowing Julian...

What is clearest to me in the cities, is that the politics that runs things is out of the hands of the people who need to use it most...Julian's campaign, then, was a chance for me to explore the possibilities of people being able to use the politics that exist. Within the confines of today's "political realities" I don't think we've (SNCC) ever had such a real opportunity before...

Like most communities, the 136th District has been ripped and torn apart. Julian was like a sewing needle...it is important to understand that, during the campaign, Julian was SEEN and KNOWN. People voted for someone they knew and felt comfortable with. Very important: a politician who took the time to walk streets, knock on doors and know people, a politician who was not threatened by a constituency that was organized around issues and not the politician. I think that literally 100% of the people I canvassed had never had anyone come to their house, sit down and seriously talk to them about their community. Imagine a politician suggesting that he wasn't the most relevant thing in politics! Imagine that politician winning!

We did not need the Negro democratic machine in terms of the politics we were organizing, which was politics that did not belong to the politicians, which meant that

most work to Helena and West Helena.

For the first six months police harrassment was fairly constant. On one occasion three staff members were arrested in the same afternoon; two were charged with inciting a riot, the third with car theft, the car in question belonging to one of the other workers. On another occasion, the police broke into the house where the SNCC people were living and arrested them for vagrancy; their bond was set at \$1500 each. The police are always arresting SNCC workers and people who are working with them for minor charges which, when totaled up, has come to mean quite a bit of time and money.

On three occasions the police have broken into mass meetings and intimidated the people attending. Last summer several houses were fired into by whites and there was an unsuccessful attempt to bomb the Freedom House. When a mob of about 150 whites gathered on the road in front of the house on a hot July night last summer the SNCC workers inside were forced to flee and spend the night sleeping in a corn field.

Despite this 2,000 Negroes were registered and parts of the Civil Rights Bill were tested. The voter registration amendment just barely carried Phillips County and it was the increased Negro vote that did it.

FORREST CITY

In December 1964, two SNCC workers moved into Forrest City, the seat of St. Francis county, to open up a new project. The Forrest City project covers five counties (St. Francis, Mississippi, Woolrud, Cross and Crittenden), three of which border the Mississippi River.

Up until now most of the activity has been in making contacts and talking to people about the kinds of programs they wish to have in their areas. There has been some testing of public accommodations in Forrest City -- this is what the people have wanted to do.

Forrest City has experienced considerable industrial expansion, for a city of 12,000, in the last few years. Two factories with a combined work-force of almost 2,500 have moved into the area. Both hire a few Negroes but only in menial capacities. One of the plants has a union but the other is unorganized. One of the immediate things that Negro residents of Forrest City talk about is wanting more and better jobs at these places. A letter has been sent to the SNCC Research Department asking them for all the information possible on these businesses.

we were taken seriously by this machine because if we won we couldn't be controlled by them, which seriously threatens the operation of this machine. Especially if what we do catches on and extends itself. Leroy Johnson (Negro Senator) wants "politicians" that he can control and use for his political ends...

Negro politics in Georgia is still new enough and open enough for Negroes to force a whole new concept of what politics is.

I want to repeat that last sentence: "Negro politics in Georgia is still new enough and open enough for Negroes to force a whole new concept of what politics is," not to mention other deep south states. Immediately after it became clear that Julian had won, I thought that we (SNCC) could have pulled off the same thing in all of the Districts where Negroes had won. There were districts in Georgia where nobody even bothered to qualify. I guess these seats are still open...Imagine ten SNCC guys in the Georgia House committed to organizing their districts to using the seats in the House to meet community needs defined by the community.

I think that what we will increasingly find, especially in the urban South, are chances to explore American politics and the ways it can be shaped (if it can at all) to meet our needs. This can mesh and hook up with the radical forms of our own (like FDP).

Admittedly there are dangers inherent in this exploration. (Pressure of traditional politics, isolation, the fact that some people will be corrupted.) However, I am fascinated with the idea of communities moving in and out of traditional American political forms. It implies a crea-

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

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 seat 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

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