



**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

**STUDENT NON-VIOLENT  
COORDINATING COMMITTEE  
(SNCC)**

**PART 2 OF 14**

**BUFILE: 100-439190 SECTION 1 (CONTINUED)**

# **SECTION 1 CONTINUED**

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

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TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *MS*

DATE: August 8, 1967

FROM : Mr. R. W. Smith *R*

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SUBJECT: STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE  
RESEARCH-SATELLITE MATTER

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Approval is requested for captioned monograph to be disseminated to all field offices and Legal Attaches and to interested Government agencies and officials on the enclosed list.

This monograph depicts the evolution of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) from a peaceful civil rights movement primarily devoted to direct-action, voter registration campaigns for the Negro in the Deep South to a hate group preaching violence and black supremacy. Created in 1960, SNCC veered to its present course when Stokely Carmichael became national chairman in May, 1966, and popularized the slogan of "Black Power."

Now, under the flagrantly incendiary leadership of H. Rap Brown, SNCC is motivated by a revolutionary, direct-action, antiwhite ideology that places no faith in normal democratic procedures. There can be no doubt that SNCC's present collision course with American society makes it a potent threat to racial peace.

The enclosed monograph has been proofread by the Reading Room. Upon approval, it should be returned to the Central Research Unit of the Research-Satellite Section, where arrangements will be made for its printing and distribution.

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SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

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The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) was created in 1960 as a nonviolent civil rights movement primarily devoted to direct-action, voter-registration campaigns for the Negro in the Deep South. While attracting the most militant workers, both Negro and white, it practiced nonviolence despite repeated incidents where SNCC followers were clubbed, tear-gassed, beaten, whipped, shot, and even killed.

By 1965, however, SNCC began to shift its orientation from the civil rights field emphasizing integration toward one seeking political and economic power for the Negro. It also began to protest United States policy in Vietnam and referred to Negro soldiers fighting there as "black mercenaries."

When Stokely Carmichael emerged as SNCC national chairman in 1966 and popularized the slogan of "Black Power," SNCC began a radical change from a dedicated, peaceful civil rights organization to a hate group preaching violence and black supremacy. Today, its leaders, particularly Carmichael and present national chairman H. Rap Brown, travel around the country inciting violence not only against

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the white people but also against the Negro middle class. SNCC is now an almost entirely Negro organization and has been referred to as a Ku Klux Klan in reverse--a black Klan.

SNCC is one of the foremost components of the New Left organizations and has cooperated with Communist Left groups as well on various occasions. It has also participated in joint activity with other Negro protest groups having highly divergent approaches such as the Revolutionary Action Movement, the Nation of Islam, and Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

SNCC does not regard itself as a membership organization but as a group to stimulate a faster growth of local protest movements. It claims that it is not concerned with the social, political, or ideological views of its workers as long as they believe in SNCC's aims and program.

The headquarters of SNCC is in Atlanta, Georgia, where its staff is under the leadership of national chairman H. Rap Brown. However, a dominating figure in SNCC continues to be Stokely Carmichael, who has been described as the youngest, most

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flamboyant, most controversial, and--along with Martin Luther King--the most charismatic civil rights leader in the country.

-----Because it has adopted and promotes a revolutionary black racist and white exclusionary policy, SNCC is no longer a civil rights organization in the traditional sense. It is now motivated by a revolutionary, direct-action, antiwhite ideology that places no faith in normal democratic procedures. The "Black Power" concept promoted by SNCC has come to mean to many Negroes the power to riot, burn, loot, and kill.

There can be no doubt that SNCC's present collision course with the established social order makes it a potent threat to racial peace. The repeated exhortation of "Black Power" by Carmichael and Brown and their many incendiary statements advocating, encouraging, and condoning lawlessness and civil disobedience, which have helped to trigger violence in the past, can very well incite even greater violence in the future.

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I. ORIGIN, AIMS, AND PURPOSES

A. Origin

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC--pronounced "Snick") evolved from the lunch-counter, sit-down demonstration of four Negro college students at Greensboro, North Carolina, in February, 1960, which quickly spread throughout North Carolina and other Southern States. Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) saw that an agency to provide communication and coordination for these demonstrations would be useful. Accordingly, there was a meeting of student leaders in Raleigh, North Carolina, in April, 1960.

On the 17th of that month, a Temporary Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee was formed, and an executive committee composed of one person from each of the 15 Southern States represented at the meeting was set up. The committee decided to maintain "friendly relations" with other civil rights organizations such as the SCLC, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) but to be independent organizationally.

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In May 1960, the executive committee met in Atlanta, Georgia, with Martin Luther King and observers from the National Student Association, the Young Men's Christian Association, and the American Friends Service Committee. It elected Marion Barry, Jr., chairman and decided to open an office in Atlanta and to hold another Southwide meeting in October, 1960.

Throughout the Summer of 1960, the executive committee of this temporary group reportedly met "once a month, in Nashville, Tennessee; in Louisville, Kentucky; and in Jackson, Mississippi." But it really accomplished little before October, 1960, when the second conference tightened the organizational structure. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee was officially created at the October conference, made possible by funds donated by college students, labor unions, civil rights groups, and other interested organizations, and attended by over 200 delegates. (1,2,3,)

B. Aims and Purposes

SNCC was created to foster the growth of civil rights agitation primarily through nonviolent direct action--demonstrations, sit-ins, prayers, freedom rides, marches--in the Deep South. Its founding statement of purpose, adopted at the October,

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1960, conference, read:

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"We affirm the philosophical or religious ideal of non-violence as the foundation of our purpose, the presupposition of our belief, and the manner of our action.

"Non-violence, as it grows from the Judeo-Christian tradition, seeks a social order of justice permeated by love. Integration of human endeavor represents the crucial first step towards such a society.

"Through non-violence, courage displaces fear. Love transcends hate. Acceptance dissipates prejudice; hope ends despair. Faith reconciles doubt. Peace dominates war. Mutual regards cancel enmity. Justice for all overthrows injustice. The redemptive community supersedes immoral social systems.

"By appealing to conscience and standing on the moral nature of human existence, non-violence nurtures the atmosphere in which reconciliation and justice become actual possibilities.

"Although each local group in the movement must diligently work out the clear meaning of this statement of purpose, each act or phase of our corporate effort must reflect a genuine spirit of love and good-will." (4)

Although claiming to follow the policy of nonviolence, SNCC, from the first, attracted the most militant of the civil rights workers--Negro and white. From 1961 to 1964, SNCC was actively supported by northern white college students in its primary project--

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voter registration in Mississippi, Georgia, Alabama--  
and in other civil rights activities. Its adherents  
suffered much physical harm; they were shot, beaten,  
tear-gassed, whipped, and jailed--some repeatedly.

By 1965, many SNCC workers began to question  
the ultimate value of their method of achieving Negro  
equality through the right to vote. They felt that,  
even if the Negroes achieved voting strength, their  
power would be nullified, or at least greatly hampered,  
by unrepresentative candidates and by Negroes' lack  
of resources to make their own choices. They also  
evidenced an increasing tendency to regard what they  
called the "white capitalist" system in the United  
States as basically a white supremacist system which  
would have to be changed before true psychological  
integration could be achieved.

Accordingly, SNCC began to shift its  
orientation from the civil rights field emphasizing  
integration toward one seeking political and economic  
power for the Negro. It also entered the foreign  
policy field by claiming that the war in Vietnam is  
"racist" and characterizing United States Negro soldiers  
fighting there as "black mercenaries."

During the Winter of 1965-1966, SNCC issued

a "position paper," which gave a detailed explanation of the thinking behind the "Black Power" concept which was to be adopted by SNCC. Basically, SNCC called for Negro nationalism and separatism and concluded that white people should at best have only a minor role in civil rights activity and in political organization among Negroes. The document states:

"If we are to proceed toward true liberation, we must cut ourselves off from white people. We form our own institutions, credit unions, co-ops, political parties, write our own histories."

"...whites...can participate on a voluntary basis. We can contract work out to them, but in no way can they participate on a policy-making level." (5)

When Stokely Carmichael was chosen national chairman of SNCC in May, 1966, he reiterated these statements and declared that "integration is irrelevant. Political and economic power is what the black people have to have." (6)

During the civil rights march through Mississippi in June, 1966, Carmichael popularized SNCC's new philosophy when he began chanting "Black Power." In a lengthy article published in "National Guardian," a communist-oriented weekly, in October, 1966,

Carmichael explained "Black Power" in these terms:

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"Where Negroes lack a majority, black power means proper representation and sharing of control. It means the creation of power bases from which black people can work to change state-wide or nation-wide patterns of oppression through pressure from strength--instead of weakness. Politically, black power means...the coming-together of black people to elect representatives and to force those representatives to speak to their needs,...Most of the black politicians we see around the country today are not what SNCC means by black power. The power must be that of a community, and emanate from there."

Carmichael concluded that "only when the Negro community can muster enough political, economic, and professional strength to compete on somewhat equal terms, will Negroes believe in the possibility of true cooperation and whites accept its necessity." (7)

While the foregoing remarks seem to depict "Black Power" in the terms of the peaceful use of political and economic pressures, Carmichael, speaking for SNCC, on the other hand, has made frequent contradictory and incendiary statements which give "Black Power" a violent connotation. In a speech in Cleveland, Ohio, in August, 1966, he unequivocally stated:

"When you talk of black power, you talk of bringing this country to its knees."

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"When you talk of black power, you talk of building a movement that will smash everything western civilization has created.

"When you talk of black power, you talk of the black man doing whatever is necessary to get what he needs...We are fighting for our lives." (8)

On another occasion, when asked about preventing the civil rights movement from breaking into widespread violence, Carmichael retorted:

"...This nonviolence bit is just a philanthropic hang-up....The violence is inevitable. I don't try to stop the fight. I try to prepare the people I am organizing so that when the fight comes they will be able to win it." (9)

H. Rap Brown, who replaced Carmichael as national chairman in May, 1967, said there will be no change in SNCC's "Black Power" policy. Brown also wants to build a strong nationwide antidraft program and movement among Negroes.

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## II. COMPONENT OF NEW LEFT

### A. Communist Left and New Left

Deeply involved in the protest movements of recent years relative to civil rights, university reform, and the war in Vietnam have been the Communist Left and the so-called New Left. Prominent among the organizations of the Communist Left which have been active in fomenting and exploiting protests have been the pro-Soviet Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), and its youth arm, the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA); the Red Chinese-oriented Progressive Labor Party (PLP); and the Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and its youth wing, the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA).

Foremost among New Left organizations are SNCC and the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), the latter being a militant, socialist-oriented youth organization. New Left organizations are largely student-based and are composed of individuals of all shades of social, political, and ideological conviction--radicals, anarchists, socialists, communists, pacifists, idealists, and malcontents.

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B. Cooperation with Communist and New Left Organizations

1. Communist Party, USA (CPUSA)

SNCC has been praised by the CPUSA for moving rapidly to the left and for being among the first to emphasize the link between civil rights and peace. Like the CPUSA, SNCC maintains that United States participation in an "imperialist war of aggression" in Vietnam is contrary to the welfare and best interests of the Negro people, since the war prevents the Government from expending funds essential to Negro betterment.

SNCC does not exclude from among its workers communists or members of any other organization.<sup>(11)</sup>

SNCC claims that it is not concerned with the social, political, or ideological outlook of its workers as long as they believe in SNCC's aims and programs.<sup>(12)</sup>

The CPUSA views every noncommunist organization as a target for infiltration.<sup>(13)</sup> Naturally, SNCC is no exception, although communists are not known to have gained any national leadership positions in SNCC to date. But there have been instances of local penetration. For example, a Communist Party club member in Los Angeles worked on the SNCC publication in that city. Another example is a young CPUSA

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member whose Party assignment was to go to Atlanta and work with SNCC. Later, SNCC sent this volunteer to the SNCC office in Philadelphia. (14)

The CPUSA and SNCC frequently cooperate in protest demonstrations and in exchanging speakers and sharing public platforms. (15, 16) CPUSA groups have also collected and contributed funds to help SNCC.

Individuals with communist backgrounds are known to have assisted in SNCC's 1964 "Mississippi Project." (17, 18)

At the suggestion of the CPUSA, the Soviet Committee of Youth Organizations invited four SNCC members to visit the Soviet Union in June, 1966. (19, 20)

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Two organizations cited as communist fronts by the House Committee on Un-American Activities have provided legal aid for SNCC--the National Lawyers Guild and the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (ECLC). (23, 24) Stokely Carmichael was elected a member of the national council of the ECLC in April, 1966.

In commenting on the concept of "Black Power" espoused by SNCC, the CPUSA has expressed full support for the "struggle of the Negro people to secure the power required to free themselves from racist tyranny,

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exploitation and social discrimination," but has stressed that "it is necessary to win broad strata of the white masses in an active participation in the struggle for the freedom of the Negro people."<sup>(25)</sup>

2. W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA)

Between SNCC and the DCA, the youth group of the CPUSA, there has been joint activity in demonstrations.<sup>(26, 27)</sup> At the DCA founding convention in 1964, a SNCC staff member chaired a workshop on civil rights in the South.<sup>(28)</sup>

In other activities, DCA members have been identified as working for SNCC.<sup>(29, 30)</sup> Franklin Alexander, national chairman of the DCA, was arrested in April, 1967, on the campus at Texas Southern University in Houston, where the campus chapter of Friends of SNCC was demanding recognition by the administration and reinstatement of its faculty advisers.<sup>(31)</sup>

3. Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Young Socialist Alliance (YSA)

The Trotskyite SWP and its youth group, the YSA, have also collaborated with SNCC. The SWP, for example, has assisted SNCC in fund-raising ventures such as collecting trading stamps and holding a dinner.<sup>(32)</sup>

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4. Progressive Labor Party (PLP)

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[REDACTED], a Negro and a PLP national vice-chairman, contributed \$75 to complete the \$1,000 bail set for Carmichael after the latter's arrest in Atlanta on September 8, 1966, when he was charged with inciting to riot and disorderly conduct. About the same time, the PLP reportedly sent SNCC considerable propaganda material which it had requested in order to set up study groups. (33) (u)

At meetings in Los Angeles held in June, 1966, the PLP supported SNCC's position on "Black Power" and distributed copies of "The Movement," SNCC's publication for the west coast. (34)

5. Students for a Democratic Society (SDS):

CPUSA General Secretary Gus Hall has characterized the SDS, along with the DCA, as part of the "responsible left" which the CPUSA has "going for us." The SDS accepts communists as members and has received support from the CPUSA. The SDS claims some 200 chapters throughout the United States. (35)

An SDS chapter on the campus of the University of Michigan is known by the name "Voice Political Party." (36) An ad hoc committee of the Voice Political Party is known as "Friends of SNCC."

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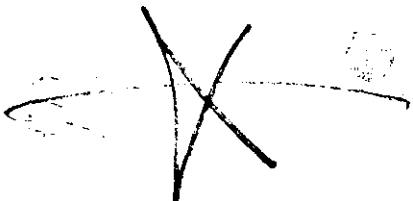
The chairman of this committee is a DCA member. In other words, a DCA member heads an SDS committee that is composed of SNCC workers. In his SNCC activities, the chairman is assisted by a number of SDS members.<sup>(37)</sup>

One of SNCC's field secretaries from the Washington, D. C., office, Ralph Featherstone, attended the national membership conference of the SDS at the University of Illinois on December 27, 1965. Featherstone is now one of SNCC's top leaders. At the SDS conference in Clear Lake, Iowa, August 27 to September 1, 1966, Charles E. Cobb, Jr., a member of SNCC's Central Committee, conducted a workshop.<sup>(38)</sup>

The National Council of SDS in June, 1966, passed a resolution to continue fraternal relations in support of SNCC.<sup>(39)</sup> On October 29, 1966, the SDS held a "Black Power Day" conference on the campus of the University of California at Berkeley, at which Stokely Carmichael, then the national chairman of SNCC, was the featured speaker.<sup>(40)</sup>

Currently, however, the SDS is almost all white and is alienated from SNCC by virtue of the latter's exclusion of white people from its ranks.<sup>(41)</sup>

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C. Cooperation with Negro Protest Organizations

1. Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM)

RAM is a small, secret, all-Negro, Marxist-Leninist, Chinese-communist-oriented organization which advocates guerrilla warfare to obtain its goals. (42)

RAM has received the approbation of Stokely Carmichael.

 a field chairman of RAM, sought help from Carmichael to set up a Black Panther Party in New York City for bringing Negroes together as an independent political group. Carmichael, who had established the original Black Panther Party in Lowndes County, Alabama, offered to assist  Carmichael was one of the main speakers at a Harlem rally on August 29, 1966, following the founding of:  new group in New York City. (43) ~~A~~(u)

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2. Nation of Islam (NOI)

Stokely Carmichael has been in contact with leaders of the NOI, including Elijah Muhammad, concerning their mutual advocacy of "Black Power." The NOI is an all-Negro pseudoreligious organization which advocates a doctrine of violent hatred of the United States Government and the white race. Its members are commonly called Black Muslims. In an address to NOI adherents, Carmichael told them that no matter what

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their religious beliefs, "all black men should work together to offset the white policy of dividing blacks." (44, 45, 46)

The October 28, 1966, issue of "Muhammad Speaks," official publication of the NOI, contained an article soliciting funds and urging support for the Black Panther Party in Lowndes County. (47)

3. Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)

Martin Luther King's SCLC and SNCC have had little contact with each other except for a joint committee to study tactics. (48, 49) One of King's associates once said: "Snick is like a younger brother; you love 'em and you work with 'em but they sure can be a pain in the neck." (50) (u)

King has said he is in favor of "Black Power" only in the sense of encompassing improvement in the economic, social, and political position of Negroes. However, he has declared he could not countenance the violent approach favored by SNCC and Carmichael. (51)

On January 14, 1966, SNCC and the SCLC jointly sponsored a march of 500 to the Georgia State Capitol, as a demonstrative measure, seeking recognition by the Georgia House of Representatives of the election to that body of Julian Bond, a



SNCC official. (52)

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King's aloofness toward SNCC diminished when he began to denounce the Vietnam war, which he regards as a barrier to civil rights progress. King's stand automatically aligned the SCLC with the "Black Power" advocates, SNCC and CORE, (53) on the Vietnam issue.

#### 4. Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)

SNCC and CORE cosponsored a picket demonstration at the site of the Democratic Party's National Convention in Atlantic City, New Jersey, on August 24, 1964, to win support for the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP), the political party formed by Mississippi civil rights groups on the ground that Negroes had been denied participation in the election process in that State. The Mississippi SNCC staff members at that time were MFDP members. (54)

CORE, like SNCC, is emphasizing black political control in Negro areas. At the CORE convention in Baltimore, Maryland, in the Summer of 1966, Carmichael and CORE's national director, Floyd B. McKissick, declared that the time had come for Negroes in ghettos to organize themselves into local political blocs that could determine elections outside the Democratic and Republican Parties. (55)

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In March, 1967, Carmichael and McKissick joined Adam Clayton Powell on Bimini Island to support him in his plan to regain his seat in the United States Congress. CORE and SNCC's emphasis on black consciousness has caused black as well as white integrationists to break away and leave these groups to the militants.

5. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)

Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, has denounced "Black Power" as "black racism" and has deplored SNCC and CORE's modification of the doctrine of nonviolence. SNCC and the NAACP were "partners" in the Council of Federated Organizations and engaged in the "Mississippi Project," but Wilkins has commented that other groups, SNCC included, "furnish the noise" while the NAACP "pays the bills."

Speaking at the opening of the 58th Annual National Convention of the NAACP in Boston in July, 1967, Wilkins paid a grudging tribute to the "militants" of the civil rights movement. He stated that "the real service of militants should not be underestimated...in spite of their raucous activity, their shock techniques and their oversimplification of complex issues, they have shaken up Negroes and whites, both of whom badly needed the treatment."

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### III. MEMBERSHIP

#### A. Work Force

SNCC claims it has no members but rather is composed of a "work force." It states it is not a membership organization but an agency attempting to stimulate and foster the growth of local protest movements. In other words, if one is interested in participating in one or more of SNCC's activities (in the North or in the South), he is welcome. When he is working, he is a SNCC worker; when he is not, he is an individual. For this reason, SNCC has no membership, only workers.

SNCC says, "We have no qualifications for workers. We welcome people of all walks of life, of all religions, beliefs, and all political persuasions to work with us in the movement."  
(57)

#### B. Appeal

SNCC appeals to the young, more militant Negroes who want social changes now and are prepared to go to any lengths to get them. When they began their activities in the organization, they were

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probably college students. Now, most of the leaders are out of school and have changed their mood and manner, so that they compose what has been jocularly called the "Nonstudent Violent Coordinating Committee."

When H. Rap Brown, national chairman of SNCC, was asked recently whether SNCC could still accurately be called nonviolent, Brown replied, (57A)  
"Put that nonviolent in quotes."

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IV. ORGANIZATION ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

A. Headquarters

SNCC is a complex, unincorporated association with national headquarters at 360 Nelson Street, Southwest, Atlanta, Georgia. This property is owned by a cover company called the Southern Education and Research Institute, Incorporated. SNCC had been occupying the property at this address for some time on a rent-option-to-buy basis. On February 1, 1966, the corporation purchased the property for \$65,000.<sup>(58)</sup>

The Southern Education and Research Institute was chartered on September 7, 1965, and was composed of a group of six, with James Forman, the executive secretary of SNCC, as president. The stated purpose of the corporation was to be a nonprofit organization exclusively for charitable and educational purposes.<sup>(59)</sup>

B. National Officers

It is SNCC's practice to elect new leading officers every one or two years. Marion Barry, Jr., the first national chairman, is still with the organization. Recently, he resigned as staff organizer of SNCC in Washington, D.C., to devote full time to the problems of the District's Negroes.<sup>(60)</sup> SNCC's second

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national chairman was Charles McDew, who at the end of his term departed to live among a colony of leftists in Mexico. (61) The third national chairman was the mild-mannered John Lewis, who left the organization about a month after Carmichael had been voted to replace him in May, 1966. Although Lewis was retained as a member of the Central Committee and appointed to head the International Affairs Committee, he resigned to continue his college course, because he objected to the "black consciousness" view adopted by SNCC. (62)

Carmichael, the fourth of SNCC's national chairmen, allegedly expressed a desire to return to field organizing and was reportedly directed by the Central Committee to work in Washington, D. C., as a "target city" for a civil rights campaign directed toward home rule. (63,64) By the end of July, 1967, however, there was no evidence of his engaging in this project.

The present national chairman, elected in May, 1967, is H. Rap Brown. SNCC's three top leaders--"the triumverate," sometimes referred to by the membership as "the troika"--are the national chairman, the national executive secretary, and the national program director. (65,66)

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C. Central Committee

The Central Committee is SNCC's policy-making body. At a staff conference held in May, 1966, the Central Committee was reduced from 21 to 10. (67, 68, 69)

Another change in the make-up occurred in line with decisions made at the Catskill conference in early December, 1966, to the effect that the Central Committee would be composed exclusively of Negroes.

D. Catskill Conference

About a hundred or so staff members met for ten days in a resort in the Catskill Mountains of New York to make plans for programing "Black Power". The "separatists" advocated complete withdrawal from white America. The Carmichael faction--called "the Washington clique"--believed that whites could help in several ways. When the "white question" was put to a vote, it lost by one vote. As a compromise, whites would be allowed to remain in fund-raising and administrative work but would be excluded from any organizing and policy roles.

The other major decision that came out of the Catskill meeting was to expand SNCC's small foothold in the Negro ghettos by setting up a national network of "freedom organizations" to push for "Black Power"--economic and political. (70)

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E. Staff

A person can "join" SNCC only by becoming a full-time staff worker, which just about means taking an oath of poverty. The present staff numbers less than 100.<sup>(71)</sup> About mid-1965, SNCC was reported to have a full-time staff of 230, but thereafter it dwindled.<sup>(72)</sup> Some one third serve in office and clerical jobs in cities, the rest engage in field work and other tasks--traveling and speaking.<sup>(73)</sup> The average SNCC staff member is in his mid 20's,<sup>(74)</sup> but is a veteran of many civil rights actions.

F. Field Secretaries

That portion of the staff that is out doing the actual organizing and the voter-registration work, for about \$10 a week, is referred to as the field organizers or field secretaries. In 1965, SNCC claimed 150 field secretaries, but in 1966, only half that number.<sup>(75)</sup>

A field secretary spurns all comforts and luxuries. Straw hat, blue jeans, denim jumper, and sandals became the SNCC uniform in the Mississippi countryside and the Southern ghetto. Now, the outfit is worn chiefly for effect, as it was by Carmichael during his January, 1967, trip to Puerto Rico.<sup>(76, 77)</sup>

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G. Friends of SNCC

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1. Campus Groups

To support SNCC's programs, individuals who may be members of other left and protest groups but sympathize with the aims of SNCC have gathered on certain campuses across the country, chiefly in the North, organized loosely, and called themselves Friends of SNCC. In mid-1965, there were 150 (78) chapters, two thirds of them outside the South.

By 1967, Friends of SNCC chapters numbered only about a dozen. (79) Since SNCC made it clear that white students are not wanted to work in black communities, white students are unable to see what role they can play in the South and in civil rights. In many cases, the student groups affiliated with SNCC either have disappeared or have become almost dormant. Active workers have dropped out of most (80) of the remaining groups. The "Black Power" slogan has alienated others. For example, the head of the SNCC unit in Arkansas said he would not go along with the national organization's policy of seeking political power outside the white power structure. (81) Efforts were made in the Spring of 1967 to recruit additional students and gain wider

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recognition for SNCC on the college campus. (82)

## 2. International Groups

Just prior to his resignation from SNCC, John Lewis, in his capacity as head of the International Affairs Committee, went to Europe. There he reportedly established Friends of SNCC groups in London, Paris, Norway, and Sweden, and spoke to student groups in Sweden, Denmark, Norway, and Italy. Lewis claimed that African students from Angola, Mozambique, Rhodesia, and South Africa had been recruited to take part in SNCC projects. (83)

## 3. Purpose

SNCC national leaders exercise little control over local SNCC groups, but the national organization does benefit from them. A Friends of SNCC group makes no binding agreement with SNCC but is expected to adhere to certain basic philosophy and to participate locally in activities such as sit-ins and demonstrations, not on its own but through other organizations, e. g., CORE and the NAACP. Local direct action cannot be initiated without authorization by the national office. Friends of SNCC are expected to lay the groundwork for the recruitment of field workers and to report

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any progress and activity to the Atlanta staff. (84)  
International Friends of SNCC, as well as the  
domestic Friends of SNCC, <sup>(85)</sup> serve as fund raisers  
and demonstrators for SNCC.

Originally, Friends of SNCC were organized  
on the basis of student excitement and compassion over  
obtaining civil rights for Negroes in the South.  
White students took time to go down South and  
work on voter registration, set up freedom schools,  
and the like. If they did not go south, they  
spent time outside the South demonstrating, recruit-  
ing, fund raising, and gathering clothing and books  
to send down to support SNCC activities. <sup>(86)</sup> Friends of  
SNCC still sponsor speakers and are furnished from  
Atlanta films, tapes, and literature to publicize  
locally the plans and programs of the national  
office.

Since the emphasis on "Black Power,"  
however, Friends of SNCC have had to suffer the shock  
of the relegation of white supporters to a position  
of less regard. Friends of SNCC, forced to drop  
their work in the integration movement, now engage

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mainly in fund raising. They will be further affected by the decision of the SNCC staff to move into the North, form a coalition of civil rights organizations in the big cities, and organize neighborhood residents into effective political units.

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V. LEADERS

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A. Stokely Carmichael

The dominant figure in SNCC for more than a year has been Stokely Carmichael. In May, 1967, he was not reelected national chairman of SNCC, the position he had held for a year. It was reported that he would serve in Washington, D. C. as a field secretary in an effort to build opposition to the drafting of Negroes for the war in Vietnam and to promote home rule for the District of Columbia. By late July, however, Carmichael had not appeared in Washington for any extended period.

Carmichael was born in Port of Spain, Trinidad, West Indies, on June 29, 1941. In 1952, he joined his parents, who had been residing in New York City since the mid-1940's. On April 27, 1953, he attained United States citizenship through his father's naturalization.

In high school, Carmichael associated with a "left-wing" group which included Eugene Dennis, Jr., who is a son of a former general secretary of the CPUSA and was a founder of the Party's youth group, the DCA. While in high school, Carmichael read Karl Marx and pondered radical ideas.

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After graduating from high school, Carmichael matriculated at the predominantly Negro Howard University in Washington, D. C., where he obtained a Bachelor of Arts degree in philosophy in 1964. In June, 1961, Carmichael experienced his first of many arrests for his civil rights activity.

Carmichael has been inspired and influenced by a book entitled "The Wretched of the Earth" written by the late Frantz Fanon, a West Indian psychiatrist. This book, said to be Carmichael's "bible," has been called a handbook of revolution for underdeveloped countries, for it emphasizes the necessity for violence in ending colonialism and achieving independence.

Carmichael's adoption of the "Black Power" concept, his glib speech, and his "firebrand" personality won the admiration of the SNCC staff. Consequently, SNCC chairmanship was taken from John Lewis and given to Carmichael at the May, 1966, conference. Under Carmichael's leadership, SNCC became a vastly different organization. He turned SNCC from an interracial organization promoting civil rights by integration and "educating" Negroes to vote into a "Black Power" organization.

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Carmichael's advocacy of "Black Power" has encouraged the Negro to flout law, order, and established authority. Carmichael has also caused SNCC to lose financial support from white sympathizers and to arouse the distrust of less militant Negroes. (101,102)

In his public appearances, Carmichael has bitterly denounced the war in Vietnam and the draft. It is his contention that the Vietnam war is inseparably linked with the civil rights movement. He has repeatedly stated he would not fight in Vietnam if drafted, and he also has urged other Negroes to refuse to serve in that war. Sixteen SNCC staff members have refused to be inducted when called by their Selective Service Boards. Carmichael vows that none of them will serve. Carmichael himself has been classified IV-F and has been rejected for military service. Psychiatric tests have disclosed Carmichael to be "schizophrenic with psychopathic, pseudoneurotic and paranoid trends." (103,104,105) (106,107)

On July 25, 1967, Carmichael arrived in Havana, Cuba, to attend a conference of the Latin-American Solidarity Organization, a group that advocates revolution. It was reported that in Santiago de Cuba, Premier Fidel

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Castro introduced Carmichael at "26th of July" ceremonies as "one of the most distinguished civil rights leaders in the United States." Carmichael shared a place of honor with communists from Latin America and Vietnam, (107A) according to reports.

Carmichael was quoted as saying: "In Newark, we applied war tactics of the guerrillas. We are preparing groups of urban guerrillas for our defense in the cities. The price of these rebellions is a high price that one must pay. This fight is not going to a simple street meeting. It is going to be a fight to the death." (108)

B. H. Rap Brown

Prior to replacing Stokely Carmichael as national chairman of SNCC in May, 1967, H. Rap Brown worked as SNCC project director for the state of Alabama in which capacity he engaged in voter-registration drives and other civil rights programs. He (109, 110) has been a SNCC worker for about four years.

Brown, whose true name is Hubert Geroid Brown, was born in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, on October 4, 1943. He attended the Southern University and

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Agricultural and Mechanical College in Baton Rouge for  
(111)  
three years as a sociology major.

Since becoming national chairman, Brown has been travelling around the country making speeches and holding press conferences in a blatantly inflammatory style similar to that of Carmichael. He usually appears at rallies in the traditional garb of the Southern Negro sharecropper--a blue denim jacket and  
(112)  
tight blue jeans.

Brown was arrested by the FBI in Alexandria, Virginia, on July 26, 1967, on a Federal fugitive warrant. He was wanted by Maryland authorities on charges of inciting a crowd and unlawfully, willfully, and maliciously burning a school in Cambridge, Maryland,  
(113)  
on July 24, 1967. During the rally which preceded the fire and rioting, Brown told a crowd of 400 Negroes, "It's time for Cambridge to explode, baby. Black folks built America and if America don't come around,  
(114)  
we're going to burn America down."

In a statement issued by Brown following his arrest, he said:

"I consider myself neither morally nor legally bound to obey laws made by a body in which I have no representation.

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"We stand on the eve of the black revolution. Masses of our people are on the move, fighting the enemy tit for tat, responding to counter-revolutionary violence with revolutionary violence, an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, and a life for a life.

"These rebellions are but a dress rehearsal for the real revolution." (115)

Brown was released under bond. At a rally in a Washington, D. C., church on July 27, he stated that "there should be more shooting and looting." He said, "If Washington, D. C., don't come around, Washington, D. C., should be burned to the ground." Brown predicted that "The rebellions will continue and escalate. I say violence is necessary. It is as American as cherry pie." (115A)

C. James Rufus Forman

In May, 1966, James Forman gave up his office as national executive secretary to Ruby Robinson. He was then made manager of SNCC's national office in Atlanta, but he resigned that position after about two months and is now international director of SNCC. (116,117)

Forman was born in Chicago, Illinois, on November 4, 1928. He was honorably discharged from the United States Air Force on September 23, 1951. (118)

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He attended the University of Southern California in 1952, and received a Bachelor of Arts degree in public administration from Roosevelt University in Chicago in January, 1957. (119)

While in California, Forman suffered a nervous breakdown in 1952 and was hospitalized for nine months. His condition was diagnosed as "dementia praecox of catatonic type." (120) (121)

Forman has been active throughout the South in demonstrations, "freedom rides," and voter registration. He has spoken in favor of abolishing the House Committee on Un-American Activities and has been friendly with communists. He has been arrested a number of times for disorderly conduct and breach of the peace. (122,123)

D. Stanley Leroy Wise

Stanley Wise was born on June 12, 1942. He is a native of Charlotte, North Carolina. At the SNCC staff conference in May, 1967, he was elected to the second highest position in SNCC--national executive secretary. In April, 1966, Wise accompanied John Lewis to Europe, ostensibly on a fund-raising mission. (124) (125) (125A)

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E. Ralph Edward Featherstone

The new national program director, Ralph Featherstone, chosen in May, 1967, to replace Cleveland Sellers, was born on May 26, 1937, at Washington, D. C. Featherstone's interest lies in economic projects and he is expected to guide SNCC's program in this field.

Featherstone is a graduate of the District of Columbia Teachers College and taught speech correction in 1963 and 1964 at elementary schools in Southeast Washington. He began as a field secretary from the Washington, D. C., office of SNCC and saw action in setting up "freedom schools" in Mississippi in 1964. In May, 1966, Featherstone was placed on SNCC's Central Committee.

F. Cleveland L. Sellers, Jr.

Cleveland Sellers, Jr., was born November 8, 1944, in Denmark, South Carolina. During the year ending in May, 1967, Sellers, as national program director, held the third highest office in SNCC. With the election of new officers, he was replaced by Ralph Featherstone.

At Howard University in Washington, D. C.,

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Sellers studied mechanical engineering. In the Summer of 1964, following his junior year, he went to Mississippi as a SNCC field worker with the Council of Federated Organizations soliciting Negro voter registration. (127)

In early 1967, Sellers, part of the time in the company of Carmichael, was crisscrossing the country by plane, making stops at Philadelphia, Chicago, Baltimore, New York City, Detroit, San Francisco, and Washington, D. C. (128)

In May, 1967, Sellers became the 16th member of SNCC to reject military service when called for induction. (129, 130)

G. Courtland Vernon Cox

Courtland Cox was born on January 27, 1941, in New York City. Both his parents were born in the British West Indies. Cox attended Howard University with Stokely Carmichael. (131) (132)

Cox invented the "Black Panther" label for SNCC's independent political party in Lowndes County, Alabama, and was placed on SNCC's Central Committee. (133)

Substituting for Stokely Carmichael, Cox sat on the panel of the so-called "International War Crimes Tribunal" which convened in Stockholm, Sweden, in May,

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1967, under the auspices of Bertrand Russell. The "tribunal" was held for the purpose of "indicting" President Johnson and "other war criminals responsible (134,135) for American atrocities in Vietnam."

H. Ivanhoe Gaylord Donaldson

Ivanhoe Donaldson was placed on SNCC's Central Committee in May, 1966. The following (136) September, he was designated New York field secretary.

Donaldson was born on October 17, 1941, in (137) New York City and attended Michigan State University. In 1962, Donaldson was active in trucking food, clothes, and medicine to destitute Negro families in Mississippi. In 1963, he submitted articles to the staff of "Freedomways," which is a quarterly Marxist Negro (138) review.

A psychiatrist whom Donaldson consulted in (139) February, 1964, described him as "neurologic psychiatric."

I. Bill Mahoney

Bill Mahoney has been acting as SNCC's national press relations officer. Mahoney is one of Carmichael's Howard University friends who were active in the Committee for Nonviolent Action, a (140) SNCC affiliate at Howard.

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## VI. ACTIVITIES

### A. General

During its initial organizational period in 1960, SNCC served as a clearinghouse for information emanating from the protest groups making up the committee and promoted their joint activities. From that time, the activities of SNCC may be separated into two periods: the voter-registration and direct-action civil rights campaigns in the South from 1961 to 1964, and the shift from the South to the North and into the foreign policy field beginning in 1965.

### B. Civil Rights Activity, 1961-1964

In August, 1961, SNCC decided to set up voter-registration and direct-action projects with offices and permanently placed staffs in various areas of the Black Belt of the South. Robert Moses,\* a Negro SNCC field organizer who had quit his teaching job at a private school in New York, moved into Pike County, Mississippi, and opened the first voter-registration school for Negroes in the South. The school was supplemented with direct-action movements including sit-ins, sing-ins, marches, et cetera. In

\*Moses resigned from SNCC in 1965 partly because he was said to be afraid that a cult was developing around him. He even changed his name from Moses to Parris to put an end to the adulation.

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McComb, Mississippi, over a hundred high school students, in response to their principal's demand that they pledge not to participate in demonstrations, stayed out of school and were expelled. SNCC then opened "nonviolent high" to take care of their education, offering courses in algebra, physics, chemistry, and history until a local junior college agreed to accept the students.

In 1962, SNCC moved deeper into Mississippi and set up voter-registration projects in "crash programs" during the summer months. SNCC workers conducted sessions in the techniques of nonviolent direct action and ran into not only physical but economic opposition. They solicited and received for distribution to the needy, food, clothing, and other supplies from Northern college students. SNCC also began organizing campaigns in other Southern States, notably Georgia, Alabama, Virginia, North Carolina, Arkansas, and Maryland.

During 1963, SNCC joined CORE, the SCLC, and the NAACP in setting up the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) to carry on a unified, expanded voter-registration drive. SNCC dominated COFO. By the Fall of 1963, SNCC had initiated or participated in 54 local projects in 13 states. (141, 141A)

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The main single activity of SNCC during 1963 was the organization of Selma, Alabama, for voter registration. Selma is the seat of Dallas County, a town of about 28,000. Between September 15 and October 2, over 300 people were arrested in Selma in connection with voter-registration activities. SNCC decided to designate October 7 as "Freedom Day"--the day to bring hundreds of Negroes to the county courthouse to register. As "Freedom Day" approached, mass meetings were held every night and the churches were packed. National civil rights figures came to address the gatherings. Over 300 Negroes assembled to register to vote. (142)

On a national level, John Lewis, then national chairman of SNCC, delivered an aggressive speech at the massive civil rights march on Washington, D. C., on August 28, 1963, in which he denounced President Kennedy's proposed civil rights legislation as inadequate. The original version of his speech was considered so violent as to be a possible incitement to riot. At the request of other civil rights leaders, he toned it down slightly, saying Kennedy's bill could be supported, but only with "great reservations." He promised to "splinter the segregated South into a thousand pieces and put them back together again in the image of democracy." (143)

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In 1964, SNCC played the primary role in the Mississippi Summer Project--a statewide voter-registration campaign among Negroes also aimed at education and job-training. Workers had been given intensive orientation for their tasks in Mississippi during a week-long seminar at the Western College for Women in Oxford, Ohio. An estimated 900 volunteers, mostly Northern college students, assisted in this project. SNCC and its supporters endured at least 1,000 arrests, 35 shooting incidents, eight beatings, and six murders--including the murders of three volunteer helpers, Andrew Goodman, James Chaney, and Michael Schwerner near Philadelphia, Mississippi.

It was during this project that the figure of Stokely Carmichael emerged on the scene. He was made SNCC field director of the Second Congressional District in the Mississippi Delta. At the end of the summer, 200 volunteers remained in Mississippi, and the Mississippi Freedom Project began. (144, 145, 146)

In August, 1964, members of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, which was born with SNCC's help, went to the Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City, New Jersey, where they attempted unsuccessfully to have an integrated delegation seated in place of the regularly selected white delegation from Mississippi. (147)

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In September, 1964, SNCC's young "activist" leaders began identifying themselves with the leadership of the emerging new nations of Africa and other underdeveloped parts of the world. John Lewis, James Forman, Robert Moses, and a few others went to Guinea on a three weeks' trip as guests of President Sekou Toure and held two long sessions with him. (148)

C. Political Organizing, 1965

In 1965, SNCC, while concentrating its activities in the rural South--chiefly in Arkansas, Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia--also moved into Northern cities. By this time, SNCC had concluded that the more effective way to deal with the problems of racial discrimination was through political organizing so that local leadership could emerge. Organizing included helping the disfranchised Negro in the South gain the political power that he was denied by (1) being unable to register to vote, (2) not being offered a proper candidate, and (3) being intimidated through violence and economic pressures.

In June, 1965, approximately 100 college students recruited throughout the United States by SNCC went to Washington, D. C., to participate in lobbying activities on behalf of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, which was hoping still to unseat the Mississippi Congressmen. SNCC also planned lobbying

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activity to force national recognition of the need for new and free elections in the South. (149, 150)

On June 20, 1965, some 60 students collected at the entrance to the Department of Justice Building in Washington, D. C., and sang civil rights songs. A SNCC representative said that these young people, sponsored by SNCC and CORE, would go on to Mississippi. Some had blankets and bedrolls and held an all-night sit-in. The group had cardboard signs expressing the need for Federal protection of "freedom workers." They passed out leaflets headed by SNCC's local address and titled "Why Are We Here?" (151)

SNCC with other youth groups, including the DCA and the SDS, sponsored a demonstration in Washington, D. C., from August 6 through August 9, 1965, known as the Washington Summer Action Project. This demonstration included picketing the White House, a sit-in at the White House gate, as well as workshops on Vietnam, the draft, Puerto Rico, and South Africa. On August 9, the demonstrators marched to the Capitol Grounds for the purpose of staging a "Congress of Unrepresented People" to declare peace in Vietnam. Numerous demonstrators were arrested when they attempted to enter the grounds. This activity on the part of SNCC marked one of the first steps in its shift from the field of civil rights to that of foreign policy. (152, 153) (154)

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In the Summer of 1965, SNCC, under the guidance of Stokely Carmichael, helped organize the Lowndes County Freedom Organization in the Black Belt voting district in Alabama. With the passage of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, the Department of Justice appointed a Federal registrar for the county. Although not one Negro was on the voting roll in January, 1965, by November, Negro registration had passed the 2,000 mark. In November, SNCC organizers decided to form a separate political party in Lowndes County and in six nearby counties and run their own candidates. The Party adopted as a symbol a charging black panther and became known as the Black Panther Party. (155, 156)

In September, 1965, SNCC issued a 50-page report which was sharply critical of the United States Office of Education's program for desegregating Southern schools. According to the report, the number of Negro children in previously white Southern schools remained "pitifully low." It particularly criticized the approval of "freedom of choice" plans which, SNCC charged, encouraged tokenism, placed a burden on Negro parents in hostile situations, and led to intimidation of Negroes to stay out of white schools. (157)

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D. Protest Activity, 1966

1. Vietnam Protests

a. Julian Bond Refused Seat in Georgia Legislature

In January, 1966, John Lewis, then national chairman of SNCC, issued a fiery statement condemning United States policy in Vietnam and urging all Americans to use any method they saw fit to avoid being drafted. The statement asserted in part: "Vietnamese are murdered because the United States is pursuing an aggressive policy in violation of international law," and "we are in sympathy with, and support, the men in this country who are unwilling to respond to a military draft which would compel them to contribute their lives to United States aggression in Vietnam in the name of the 'freedom' we find so false in this country."

When Julian Bond, public relations director of SNCC and Fulton County representative-elect to the Georgia House of Representatives, publicly agreed with this statement, he was denied his seat in the legislature on the grounds that he had advocated violation of the draft law and had given aid and comfort to the enemy. In his endorsement, Bond said that he would "admire the courage of anyone who burns his draft card,"

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but would not burn his own. This action precipitated considerable controversial comment in the press throughout the Nation and led to rallies and demonstrations in support of Bond, including a march in Atlanta, Georgia, led by Martin Luther King, who said that he did not endorse the nature of Bond's stand but defended his right to disagree with the Administration. (158, 159, 160, 161)

b. Demonstrations and Speeches

Throughout 1966, SNCC took part in numerous demonstrations against United States action in Vietnam and SNCC representatives, in speeches at conferences and before college groups across the country, denounced United States participation in the war. In March, SNCC workers in various cities took part in the so-called International Days of Protest observed by various communist, subversive, and pacifist groups to condemn United States action in Vietnam. They distributed leaflets designed to plant doubts as to the legality of United States foreign policy.

In May, 1966, a group representing SNCC picketed Independence Hall in Philadelphia and protested United States "intervention" in Vietnam. Later, in front of the same national shrine, a dozen members of SNCC, protesting American policy in Vietnam, ended a 55-hour fast at midnight on August 8, 1966. (162, 163, 164)

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One demonstration involving violence took place on August 17 and 18, 1966, in Atlanta, Georgia, when groups of Negro SNCC workers shouting "Black Power" picketed the 12th Army Corps Headquarters and fought a brief battle with police. They carried signs with slogans such as "The Viet Cong Never Called You Nigger," "Black Man Stay Home," "Fight for Black Power," and "The White Man Kills Black Kids, I Won't Kill Vietnamese Kids." A leaflet distributed by the pickets urged Negroes "to stay at home and fight for your black self, your family, your community and your black nation. Why must we go abroad to kill yellow-skinned men for white-skinned men who force us to live in rat-infested slums?"

Twelve demonstrators, including Larry Fox, a SNCC field secretary, were arrested. Fox was charged with creating a disturbance, failing to obey an officer's command, resisting arrest, and assault and battery. (165, 166)

In September, 1966, William Higgs, a SNCC representative, was one of the speakers at a conference held at Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio, to set a date for nationwide demonstrations to promote civil rights and to protest against United States participation in Vietnam.



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Among other things, Higgs stated that the United States suppressed revolution in Vietnam with napalm and then cast the blame for the resulting devastation on those who were attempting to determine for themselves their own form of government.

In October, 1966, James Forman, manager of SNCC's national office, addressed several colleges in Texas where he called for "Black Power" and denounced the war in Vietnam. Speaking before the University of Houston, he said, "All that democracy abroad--and not enough at home." (167, 168)

## 2. President's Conference on Civil Rights

After Stokely Carmichael was elected national chairman of SNCC in May, 1966, one of his first acts was to release a statement rejecting the invitation to the White House Conference on Civil Rights. In this statement, SNCC claimed that the conference was absolutely unnecessary, hypocritical, and propagandistic. The SNCC statement placed the problems of the Negro in the United States strictly on the shoulders of white Americans and said the executive department and the President were not serious about insuring constitutional rights for "black Americans." It said that the President had called the conference at that time to recoup

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national prestige abroad lost due to United States intervention in Vietnam. SNCC concluded with a call to "all black Americans to begin building independent political, economic, and cultural institutions that they will control and use as instruments of social change in this country." (169, 170)

SNCC followed this statement early in July by denouncing the 1966 civil rights bill as a "sham" and began a campaign of active lobbying against it. A two-page summary of objections to the bill, written by Carmichael, was circulated to more than 300 House and Senate offices. It declared that "any civil rights organization or congressman who works for the passage of this bill, and any legislator who votes for it, is sharing in the hypocrisy of President Johnson and his Administration." (171, 172)

### 3. Mississippi March

On June 6, 1966, James Meredith was wounded on the second day of a scheduled walk from the Tennessee line to Jackson, Mississippi, to dramatize his appeal for increased voter registration among Negroes. Meredith was the Negro who desegregated the University of Mississippi in 1962.

Following the shooting, civil rights leaders-- including representatives of the SCLC, CORE, and SNCC-- banded together to resume the march. They issued a

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manifesto demanding that President Johnson undertake sweeping new civil rights action, including sending "mobile" Federal voting registrars into 600 Southern counties, and working for a "freedom budget" involving "billions" in aid for low-income Negroes. The manifesto asked Congress to pass the President's civil rights bill but with amendments that would require states and counties to hire Negro law enforcement officers and put Negroes on jury lists in direct proportion to the population ratio. (173)

Carmichael was one of those signing the manifesto and was on the policy-making committee for the march. He and two others were arrested during the (174) march on charges of trespassing. It was during this march that Carmichael popularized the slogan of "Black Power" which was to be the rallying call for SNCC in the future. (175)

#### 4. Chicago Summer Project

Chicago was selected by SNCC as the location for a pilot project for the implementation of "Black Power" during the Summer of 1966. The plan was to withdraw the black ghettos from the city's control and allow those areas to control their own political, economic,

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and industrial affairs. Also planned was a central intelligence agency for so-called "instant agitation." Accumulated information concerning alleged indignities committed against Negroes would be furnished immediately to ghetto residents. Violence was recommended if redress could not be attained peacefully. In conjunction with this project, SNCC published a hand-out reading "...improve our community...use black power." (176)

5. Chicago Coordinating Committee for Black Power.

In the latter part of September, 1966, representatives of local Negro nationalist groups oriented toward the concept of "Black Power" met in Chicago to form a loose amalgamation generally known as the Coordinating Committee for Black Power (CCBP). This is not a formal organization as such, but is basically composed of individuals of like thinking in regard to the "Black Power" movement and includes such groups as SNCC, CORE, Deacons for Defense and Justice (DDJ), and Associated Community Teams (ACT). The DDJ advocates arms for the defense of Negroes, and ACT too is a militant civil rights group.

Most prominent among the leadership of the CCBP are Lawrence Landry, chairman of ACT; Frederick Douglas Andrews, chairman of the West Side Branch of

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ACT; Monroe Sharp, chairman of Chicago SNCC; and Eugene "Fats" Crawford, self-proclaimed leader of the Chicago DDJ.

The CCBP was to be in the nature of an "action group" which would generally serve to promote the SNCC view of "Black Power" and was to be referred to as the "Black Truth Squad." This so-called "truth squad" represented an effort to publicize the facts to Negro people about happenings in the civil rights field and in connection with general racial matters. It also planned to obtain funds for legal aid and assistance of militant civil rights workers who might be arrested or involved in court actions.

The organizations involved have not delegated any of their individual authority or funds to the CCBP. Meetings in the latter part of 1966 were largely devoted to the November, 1966, elections, and demonstrations were conducted protesting the lack of suitable candidates.

On November 18, 1966, the CCBP, under the name of Lawndale Youth Alliance, circulated leaflets and conducted an orderly picket demonstration before the Clark Super Food Mart in Chicago calling for a Negro boycott of this store. When the manager of the store readily agreed to their demands--a minimum wage

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for employees and the utilization of Negro produce suppliers--the demonstrators were completely taken aback, unable to supply names of any Negro business firms with whom he should deal. (177)

#### 6. General Election in Alabama

SNCC activity in Alabama in 1966 was largely confined to the November general election in which SNCC attempted to influence Negroes to vote for Negroes only and preferably Negroes of SNCC's choice. However, in Lowndes County, seven Negro candidates of the Lowndes County Freedom Organization--the Black Panther Party organized by Carmichael in 1965--running as independents were defeated in the November election by white candidates. At the same time, a group of all-Negro candidates of the Dallas County Independent Free Voters Organization was also defeated. Both slates of candidates were vigorously supported by SNCC, which viewed the elections as a test run of "Black Power" politics. (178, 179, 180)

#### 7. Miscellaneous Activities

SNCC has also engaged in demonstrations, boycotts, sit-ins, marches, and other activities throughout the country. In Washington, D. C., in January, 1966, Marion Barry, then chairman of the

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local SNCC, sponsored a one-day bus boycott of the D. C. Transit System to protest a rise in fares. During the Spring of 1966, representatives of SNCC conducted sit-ins at the South African Embassy in Washington, D. C., and the South African Consulate in New York City to protest the practice of apartheid in South Africa. A number of the demonstrators were charged with disorderly conduct and unlawful intrusion. Among the five arrested in New York City were James Forman, Cleveland Sellers, and John Lewis. Bail was posted for them by singer Harry Belafonte and actor Sidney Poitier. (181, 182, 183, 184)

In September, 1966, about 300 people, mostly of the "beatnik" variety, held a two-hour demonstration and rally at Washington Square in New York City to protest actions of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. SNCC was one of the sponsors of the rally. One of the speakers characterized the committee's activity as a "witch hunt to silence protest voices against the United States." (185)

On December 29, 1966, Joseph Waller, accompanied by about ten members of his local branch of SNCC in St. Petersburg, Florida, appeared at City Hall, entered the building, ripped down a mural depicting different forms of musical entertainment by Negroes,

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and proceeded through the streets with it. They displayed antiwhite placards and shouted, "We gonna take this picture down where all the black folks can see it." The mural was badly damaged in the process. A physical altercation occurred between the demonstrators and police officers. Six were arrested and charged with grand larceny and other offenses. (186)

Representatives of SNCC attended the National Youth Seminar on Racialism held in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, April 27-30, 1966. William Hall, one of the representatives, made a special plea regarding the plight of the American Negro and was critical of the United States policy in South Vietnam. On June 20, 1966, Hall was interviewed in Sofia, Bulgaria, and stated that he, as a representative of SNCC, was there attending the Seventh Congress of the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY). The WFDY is an international communist front organization. (187, 188)

E. Steps toward "Black Power," 1967

1. General Perspectives

At a national meeting in December, 1966, SNCC, in "common struggle with peoples of the Third World (Black World)," decided to promote a national antidraft program and to call regional and national

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antidraft conferences. SNCC leaders agreed that their main objective for 1967 would be to develop "freedom organizations" which would expand from the concept that built the Lowndes County Freedom Organization. SNCC claimed that the latter organization was the first major contemporary challenge to white political power in the Deep South.

Its "freedom organizations" would not be solely electoral parties, SNCC decided, but would be designed to serve all the day-to-day needs of a community. A model group would have subdivisions dealing with politics, economics, education, welfare, culture, and housing, and would sponsor a separate youth division. A special task-force committee was set up to determine in which communities, North and South, SNCC could most effectively organize. SNCC planned to expand its organizing activities in several Northern cities and simultaneously concentrate on local elections in Mississippi and Alabama during the year. SNCC organized an intensive program of internal and external education and stated that some of its staffers were going abroad, particularly to Africa, to internationalize Black America's struggle  
(189)  
for human rights.

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Carmichael has indicated that SNCC is looking even more hopefully to forming a working alliance with Latin America, for he believes Latin Americans in the next ten years will be throwing off American domination. He urges Black America to form a coalition with anyone who can help get the "hooks and claws of the eagle out of my throat." (190)

2. Puerto Rican Agreement

A joint communique pledging united struggle against the draft, for improved housing conditions, and for Puerto Rican independence was issued in January, 1967, in San Juan, Puerto Rico, by SNCC, the Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico (MPI), and the Federacion de Universitarias Pro Independencia (FUPI). These three organizations affirmed the need for a joint struggle against the political, economic, social, and cultural "oppression" inflicted upon the Negroes and Puerto Ricans. They agreed to act jointly (1) against the draft and the war in Vietnam; (2) for better living conditions and against "police brutality" in the urban ghettos; and (3) for bringing international attention, through the United Nations, to their "struggle for independence." (191, 192)

Speaking in San Juan in January, 1967, Carmichael stressed SNCC's international approach.

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He referred to the "oppression" of Asians and Latin Americans by the United States, and he vowed that the American Negroes' fight should be in their own country for their own liberation. He asserted that the power of the oppressor is not to be compared with the force that could be wielded by the world's oppressed to destroy the oppressor. (193)

3. Adam Clayton Powell's Congressional Seat

In March, 1967, following the unseating of Adam Clayton Powell, Representative from New York's 18th Congressional District to the United States House of Representatives, for alleged misuse of Government funds, Carmichael announced that SNCC would campaign actively in Harlem for Powell's re-election. Carmichael intimated that white men were trying to play one black man against another in nominating James Meredith to run against Powell in the special election in New York scheduled for April 11. Carmichael charged that "the issue is bigger, much bigger than Adam Clayton Powell... It is a showdown between Whitey and the Man and the Man means us--black men. It is an international issue that will affect the whole world, especially the third world, the black world." (194, 195, 196)

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4. National Conference of Students

In March, 1967, SNCC held a national conference in Nashville, Tennessee, which placed major emphasis on peace-related workshops. The meeting was attended by over 100 students from colleges in 30 states, including Harvard, Northwestern, Cornell, Boston University, Tougaloo in Mississippi, Tuskegee in Alabama, the University of California at Berkeley, San Francisco State, and the University of Chicago. Workshops discussed the need for elimination of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps, development of reading clubs and speakers' bureaus, elimination of compulsory class attendance and chapel, and control of campus communications. (197)

5. Spring Mobilization

Mass demonstrations in New York City and San Francisco on April 15, 1967, were expressions of a fusing of the civil rights and the antiwar movements. The war protest activity was sponsored by the Student Mobilization Committee and the Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. Participants in the activities of these committees were members of the CPUSA, DCA, PLP, SWP, YSA, CORE, and SNCC.

In New York City, SNCC members marched in the antiwar parade and rally, and civil rights leaders

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Martin Luther King, Floyd McKissick, and Stokely Carmichael were among the principal speakers. The Reverend James Bevel, an official of SCLC, was the national director of the Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. (198,199)

6. National Conference on Black Power

An all-Negro National Conference on Black Power was held in Newark, New Jersey, July 20-23, 1967. This conference was an outgrowth of a suggestion made by Adam Clayton Powell in September, 1966. More than 800 delegates, representing a number of militant Negro organizations, attended the conference. H. Rap Brown and Ralph Featherstone, of SNCC, were prominent among the conferees. (199A)

A number of resolutions were adopted by the conference calling for an independent course for the Negro in America. One resolution urged the formation of a black militia to train black families in all aspects of self defense and racial survival. Another resolution denounced Selective Service and the Federal Government and supported a "Hell no, we won't go" attitude toward the draft. (199B)

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**VII. PUBLICATIONS**

**A. "Student Voice"**

Student Voice, Incorporated, a SNCC subsidiary, was established after an Eastern widow left SNCC a \$15,000 bequest. The first issue of "Student Voice" appeared in June, 1960. It has been SNCC's intermittent official publication; however, no issues have been published for almost a year. It has been distributed on college campuses.

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(201)  
(202)  
(203)

A supplementary four-page issue prepared by a Northern student group at the time of the presidential election of 1960 was a joint effort of the SDS and SNCC. This "Student Voice" supplement listed and gave details regarding marches in "non-Southern areas" to foster solidarity between Northern and Southern students in the movement for racial equality.

(204)

Student Voice, Incorporated, owns printing equipment, including a photo offset press. In 1965, SNCC presses rolled almost continually, turning out papers, Negro-history pamphlets, and "Black Power" bumper stickers embellished with a lunging black panther. Since then, SNCC's presses have had to be used also for commercial printing to help defray SNCC's expenses.

(205)  
(206)

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Funds were furnished in 1965 by Student Voice, Incorporated, for the initial 15,000 copies of a 50-page paperback history of American Negroes, written by SNCC staff members who had worked on the 1964 Mississippi Summer Project. Charles E. Cobb, Jr., of SNCC, who developed the Freedom School idea, wrote the introduction. (207)

B. "The Movement"

"The Movement," a monthly newspaper, was published by SNCC of California in San Francisco until December, 1966. Then the publishers incorporated separately as The Movement Press so that national SNCC would not be sued "for anything we say." Nevertheless, The Movement Press wanted it understood that "We are still very much a part of SNCC...." and intend "to be publishing material for the national SNCC office..." (208) In its June, 1967, issue "The Movement" unequivocally stated that it fully supported the "Black Power philosophy of S.N.C.C." (209)

C. Publications by Friends of SNCC

Certain chapters of Friends of SNCC have published newsletters for local campus distribution. "The Drummer," for example, is a biweekly paper started by Cleveland Friends of SNCC. Its stated aim is to play up for ghetto residents of Cleveland the things that are not highlighted or reported in the general press. Other organizations, such as the SDS, assist with the circulation. (212)

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Other SNCC affiliates have issued publications.

"The Voice of Washington SNCC" has been published by SNCC of Washington, D. C., and "Tell It Like It Is" has been issued by Friends of SNCC at Texas Southern University (213) in Houston. Chicago SNCC published a pamphlet in August, 1966, entitled "Black Power," which featured a speech (214) made by Stokely Carmichael in Chicago. Opinions of residents in Negro neighborhoods were solicited for (215, 216) subsequent "Black Power" issues.

D. Posters, Fliers, and Circulars

SNCC pickets and demonstrators make use of posters, leaflets, and fliers to protest actions by the (217, 218, 219) police and the war in Vietnam. San Diego SNCC printed and sold posters at 25 cents apiece at a rally in 1965. "The Draft and You" is one of the Friends of SNCC circulars issued to undermine the loyalty of young (220) Americans.

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VIII. FINANCES

A. Expenditures

1. Heavy Expenses

SNCC has operated on a scale requiring substantial funds. For instance, SNCC's telephone bill (221) in Atlanta has run as high as \$1,000 a month. Several years ago, SNCC acquired some 70 automobiles and established a cover company called Sojourner Motor Fleet, Incorporated, to handle this pool of cars for field workers in the Southern States. SNCC at one time also possessed more than 50 short-wave radio units, about 20 walkie-talkies, and a number of long-distance radio (222) units. Furnishing bail for frequently arrested field workers has cost SNCC heavily since its inception.

SNCC's full-time staff at times has numbered as high as 230, 25 of whom worked in the Atlanta office, 20 in offices in the North, and the others in the South--in McComb, Mississippi; Selma, Alabama; et cetera. About 150 were paid a salary and the rest (223) were volunteers. The average staffer was paid between \$20 and \$25 a week, while others received \$10. However, SNCC has often gone for long periods without (224) being able to meet a full payroll. ~~(u)~~

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Local SNCC offices also have had their own financial problems. In December, 1966, the Washington, D. C., office owed two months' rent, had forbidding telephone bills, and suffered the theft of \$3,000 worth of its office equipment. In 1965, Philadelphia SNCC was \$20,000 in debt. (225) ~~(u)~~

2. Financial Crises

SNCC has experienced periodic financial crises. When, in December, 1965, SNCC announced the formation of the Lowndes County Freedom Organization in Alabama to function as an all-Negro "third party," the SNCC treasury was virtually empty. Officials attributed this poverty to (1) "battle fatigue" on the part of the staff, (2) a belief among former Northern contributors that the civil rights struggle was over, and (3) an adverse reaction among contributors who objected to civil rights involvement in demonstrations protesting United States policy in Vietnam. This crisis was the worst that SNCC had faced-- \$25,000 in debt and \$100,000 in arrears in meeting (226) its \$800,000 annual budget.

By not taking on large numbers of summer volunteers, who had once numbered more than 300, and by slashing the size of its full-time staff to about 135, SNCC found it could manage on as little as \$150,000 (227) or less a year.

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Some so-called SNCC "separatists," holding the view that blacks must separate themselves from whites, are quite willing to forego white financial support for the reason that such support entwines SNCC in "the tentacles of the white power complex that controls this country." (228) Other SNCC officials have expressed concern about the reduced funds they have been able to raise, especially among white liberals, since SNCC began espousing the "Black Power" philosophy. (229)

B. Sources of Income

1. Dues

SNCC has no set dues, although some chapters of Friends of SNCC adhere to a dues schedule. The chapter at the University of Nebraska, for example, charged dues of one dollar each semester and accepted pledges to support the civil rights movement in the South. (230) (u)

2. Contributions

Contributions to SNCC have been dropping markedly since 1964, when, largely because of the dramatic impact of the Mississippi Summer Project, they totaled \$700,000. Contributions reportedly began shrinking when SNCC attacked the Democratic Party for refusing to oust the all-white Mississippi delegation to the 1964 Democratic National Convention. A further decline occurred when

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SNCC began to advocate "Black Power" and voiced its  
(230A)  
opposition to the war in Vietnam.

Dr. Percy L. Julian, a wealthy Negro  
chemist in Chicago, has given financial support to  
SNCC. His son helped organize SNCC. Dr. Julian,  
however, disapproves of SNCC's present orientation  
(231)  
toward "Black Power."

The CPUSA, the SWP, and the SDS have taken  
up collections and held functions such as fund-raising  
(232)  
dinners on behalf of SNCC.

### 3. Fund Raising

It is reported that SNCC's money problems  
during the past year were somewhat eased by Stokely  
Carmichael's college speeches and fund-raising  
(233)  
projects. Carmichael received fees ranging from  
\$1,000 to \$1,300 for each appearance, and he averaged  
(234, 235)  
three or four speeches a week. Since he was replaced  
as national chairman in May, 1967, it is not known  
whether he will continue his fund-raising activities.

SNCC has solicited contributions by mail  
and by personal contact. Fund raisers have approached  
the well-to-do for large sums. A Hollywood producer  
(236, 237)  
gave generously when asked for a donation. (u)

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SNCC has raised money in a variety of ways.

A fund-raising affair in a New York sculptor's home is  
(238)  
said to have produced at least \$10,000. One chapter  
of Friends of SNCC charged admission to a beer party;  
another held a Chinese auction; another sent out a  
chain letter to obtain trading stamps to be used for  
(239, 240, 241)  
procuring a bus to take Southern voters to the polls.

Friends of SNCC have sold recordings and  
freedom songbooks. SNCC has sent its own Freedom  
Singers on a national tour and sponsored benefit  
performances featuring such well-known entertainers  
as Pete Seeger; Dick Gregory; Harry Belafonte; and  
(242, 243, 244, 245, 246)  
Peter, Paul, and Mary.

#### 4. Funds and Foundations

SNCC has been the recipient of money from  
(247)  
several funds and foundations. In addition, a civil  
rights research organization, the Atlanta-based Southern  
Regional Council (SRC), contributed thousands of dollars  
to SNCC for its voter-education project. However, SNCC's  
"third party" activities in Alabama have jeopardized  
(248, 249)  
its chances of receiving additional grants from the SRC. (u)

In 1961, the Southern Conference Educational  
Fund, Incorporated, granted SNCC \$5,000 for the salary  
and expenses of a field worker to publicize the civil  
rights movement in white colleges and universities (u)

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throughout the South. The Southern Conference Educa-  
tional Fund, Incorporated, is the successor to the  
Southern Conference for Human Welfare, which was cited  
as a communist front organization by the House Committee  
(250)  
on Un-American Activities. ~~(u)~~

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